

El olvido está lleno de memoria: Memory in Post-Franco Spain

by

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Abstract

This thesis explores Jerónimo López Mozo's play *El olvido está lleno de memoria* (2003) and its attempt to recuperate historical memory in post-Franco Spain. In continuing the trend of demystification of Franco and his dictatorship, the playwright comments the modern perspective towards Franco and the Spanish Civil War through his play as well as modern memory and identity within the post-Franco social landscape. In addition, he attempts to recreate and represent history through a contemporary lens casting doubt on the Francoist regime. This thesis investigates the ways in which López Mozo accomplishes this recuperation of historical memory by analyzing the playwright's use of memory and trauma in the development of protagonist Edmundo Barbero, metatheater in connection to artistic and theatrical representation, and a postmodern analysis of history.

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Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate how and to what extent the work of theater *El olvido está lleno de memoria* (2002) by Spanish playwright Jerónimo López Mozo (Gerona, Spain, 1942) constitutes a recuperation of historical memory exploring the themes of trauma, memory and identity in post Civil War Spain. Furthermore, I intend to critique the necessity of historical memory and affirm the reasons of the author that the recuperation of historical memory is of the utmost importance and completely necessary in Spain today. This process is integral to the continuation of debunking Francoist myth of which this play serves as a political vehicle. López Mozo achieves a level of recuperation through the development of the protagonist Edmundo Barbero, his use of metatheater with the actor Barbero and the play *La vida es sueño*, and postmodern techniques in positing work as a historical drama.

Jerónimo López Mozo was born in Gerona, Spain in 1942. Quickly, after moving to Madrid, López Mozo discovered his passion for theater. In his own words, his “vocación teatral surgió después de ver representada *El diario de Ana Frank*” (Cervantes Virtual). After this initial entrance in Spanish theater, López Mozo has situated himself as one of the most interesting playwrights of contemporary Spain. Although he has yet to figure in the traditional canonical literature, his works have been well received publicly as well as critically during his more than forty-year activity as an author. During his tenure, López Mozo has written many works that symbolize the ever-changing landscape of contemporary Spanish theater and characterize the evolving tendencies found in twentieth- and twenty first-century theater.

His career began in 1965 with the representation of his first play, *Los novios o la teoría de los números combinatorios*. He has published and premiered more than 45 works of theater as well as a handful of narrative works and works of criticism. His work has been widely

awarded during his career including but not limited to: the premio Sitges de Teatro, the Enrique Llovet, the Tirso de Molina, and the Álvarez Quintero de la Real Academia Española (Cervantes Virtual). The work of López Mozo has grown and adapted to the changing social environment in Spain. His works accurately reflect the period in which he lived and wrote, finding himself at the forefront of the experimentation of the generation known as the Nuevo Teatro Español. As he himself has observed, his career has passed through three distinct phases: during the first, López Mozo utilized the works of Beckett and Brecht as examples for his own dramaturgy, the second is marked by his own personal growth during the early 1970s, and his third has been greatly influenced by the death of Franco in 1975. In this last phase, the author questions Franco and his dictatorship as well as the Spanish response to Francoism during the years of what is referred to as the Transition and the newly formed democracy.

Like the other playwrights of his generation and of the Nuevo Teatro Español, López Mozo is continuously experimenting with forms and themes in order to expand Spanish theater. Eileen J. Doll calls his theater neorealist as well as, much later, postmodern. As John P. Gabriele notes, his theater “se caracteriza por una profunda integración de lo social y lo artístico” (*Forma* 11). The playwright uses theater to reflect the social problems while not sacrificing the artist. Many of his plays revolve around aesthetic questions as well as characters who are artists themselves.

Gabriele summarizes the canon of López Mozo in three preoccupations: “uno, la dinámica de forma en la creación del arte; dos, las fuerzas ideológicas que gobiernan e influyen la representación de la realidad; y tres, el valor del propio teatro como el portador de un mensaje social y artísticamente indagador y edificante” (11). Given the historical period in which López Mozo developed his theater, there is no surprise that his work reflects Spanish ideology and its

tumultuous twentieth century. As he begins his biographical blurb, López Mozo identifies himself as “hijo de un telegrafista destinado a Gerona en castigo por haber permanecido fiel a la República durante la Guerra Civil” (Cervantes Virtual). His plays are based in the human drama of personal experiences, in his life and the lives of many other Spaniards during this period of uncertainty. Although his plays are not realistic in the quotidian sense, he attacks social questions by employing a variety of techniques that at the same time explore theater as both art and life.

As the playwright self identifies in reference to the Civil War, one can observe how much Spanish society has influenced himself and his writing. His plays take the position of analyzing reality while forcing the public to doubt their own perspectives of contemporary Spain. His writing has converted into his personal political message, presenting his vision of Spain and its society. His works, while attempting to be realistic, convey his particular view in regards to how Spanish society should be. With the rise of interest in historical memory, his dramas represent the “reconstrucción del pasado para comentar el presente” (Doll 29). As an author, he tries to (re)construct the past in a certain way so that today’s public can meditate his version of past events. His postmodern perspective intends to be realistic by deciphering the past and bringing to light the true history. Doll observes that his theater presents “la intrahistoria y desenmascara las manipulaciones del pasado, subvirtiendo la gloria” (35).

His focus on the past creates in his theater a place of memory, a place where the past is always alive in our present. It is a place in which the past is not as clear as the historians or the official History of Francoism details, rather an entity that is continuously reconstructing itself in order to move closer towards the truth. His works present an alternative history in order to collapse the false notions of history presented by Franco. By presenting these alternate histories,

López Mozo aims to bring the audience closer to the truth while forcing the audience to reconstruct their own history and memory based on the reconstruction of history provided.

The play of which this thesis focuses, *El olvido está lleno de memoria*, fits within the third phase of his career. This drama tells the fictitious history of the real life actor Edmundo Barbero and his flight to exile in Latin America at the beginnings of the Spanish Civil War. After his return to Spain, Barbero joins an acting company premiering *La vida es sueño*. The entrance of a young journalist, Julia Ayuso, signals that Barbero must confront his past and his own history. Julia's attempts to write a biographical piece regarding Barbero shows his inability or the lack of willingness to remember his past. Barbero is frozen between two identities: that of his former pre-exile self and this of his returned self. The lack of integration illustrates the power forgetting has on the personal self. His sudden return to Spain also signals the return of his fragmented past which is not easily reconciled with his present self.

Despite his initial reluctance, Barbero agrees to the interview with Julia. The testimony that arises in the form Julia's interviews function as Barbero's attempt to remember his past, his own history. Through these interviews, one can view clearly the frustration that marks the protagonist and his inability to overcome the trauma of exile. He is no more than a character in his own play. The confrontation with his past forces Barbero to reintegrate his past into his present. The play culminates in the integration of Barbero's fragmented self and the recuperation of memory for both the fictitious and real Barbero.

López Mozo assaults the problem of historical memory in this play. Analyzing Barbero, the playwright confronts the incompatibility between the past and the present that exists today in Spain thanks to the incongruity of the dictatorship. Barbero, the character, represents the multiplicity of people that are not able to reconcile their past, that of the Civil War and of

Francoism with their present. López Mozo comments on the present situation of reality in Spain: a grave problem exists in how society views Franco and the period of dictatorship. With modern scholarship and rewriting of histories, the truth that once existed is now cast in doubt. The citizens of Spain, like Barbero, have to reconstruct their personal selves within a new historical context.

This work well represents the dramaturgy of López Mozo and his mission of reflecting reality in his writing. The themes found within the play mirror the themes debated today within daily Spanish life. López Mozo fuses history with fiction in order to provoke discussion of what really constitutes a more accurate account of Spanish history as well as questioning the importance of history in itself.

The historical happenings of the twentieth century in Spain have defined the literature that exists today. The Civil War, and later Francoism, has the same if not more relevance today infiltrating all aspects of popular culture and national discussion. The Spanish Civil War and Franco created a rupture within Spain so divisive that it continues in today's life. Historians, authors, politicians and the general Spanish population have not yet reconciled completely the events that occurred during this time period. The ghosts of war and of Franco pervade every facet of daily life, torturing the memory of many for whom Franco symbolizes an incomplete period, an open wound that still dictates Spanish life.

The Spanish historical problem began with the methods Franco utilized to centralize and legitimize his power. Although Franco took power through force, he needed to exert his vision in the minds of all, not only his own supporters. In order to achieve his goal of absolute power, Franco intended to manipulate reality and truth to give legitimacy to his position of power. Manipulating the truth included manipulating memory. As theorist Tzvetan Todorov comments,

“the totalitarian regimes of the twentieth century sought to achieve total control of memory” (113). The Franco regime did much the same. Todorov also notes the use of intimidation to achieve such goal (114). Utilizing intimidation and censorship, fear of disseminating the truth grew and the dictatorship relegated truth to a whisper. Todorov mentions, as well, the use of propaganda as a tool to manipulate. Franco’s propaganda propagated a twisted truth that, combined with censorship and total control of information, slowly transformed Francoist half-truths into a position of power and legitimacy. Instead of constructing memory based in truth, Franco constructed a truth based in myth and falsifications.

Henry Kamen explains that myths “are an expression of reality...even partial versions of a truth that lies behind them” (x). For Kamen, “the main purpose of myth-making at a political level was to outline a common past that would explain the present and also define the future” (206). Franco utilized these myths to impose *his* memory on the people. Combined with his propaganda and control of information, myths of false Spanish history painting liberals and dissenters as outcasts became a version of truth, a truth that did not have a legitimate opposition. The only opposition that did exist existed in the memories of the people. After forty years of dictatorial reign, the distortions of truth entered in to the collective memory and produced the desired effect. With the death of Franco, the Francoist history, the official “History” created the need of a recuperation of historical memory, the necessity to recover the “true” history.

After Franco’s death in 1975 and the beginning of the Transition, Spain entered a new phase of history. Suffering from forty years of false history and false memory, the transition to democracy fomented a hope that transcended the dark past of Francoism. The politicians in charge of the newly formed government compromised on a mutual agreement known as the Pact of Silence. This pact supposedly sought to leave Francoism in silence. For Antonio Sánchez,

however, the pact symbolized the “reluctance to confront the responsibilities of the traumas” (102). As Paloma Aguilar Fernández observes, “era Franco quien se empeñaba en recordar a todos la guerra” (*Memoria* 498). In the absence of Franco and his manipulations of the truth, the pact was observed as forgetting the Civil War and of its associated trauma.

Many historians, critics and sociologists view the pact as a condemnation of the war to the realm of oblivion. They argue that the politicians ignored the war in favor a political concessions. The forgetting of the war, the silence was vital for the continuation of democracy in Spain. The only way to form a democracy was to forget Franco.

By contrast, Stanley G. Payne quotes that the pact “never existed” (251). The pact never existed how the critics described, a pact to actively and explicitly forget the war. Payne develops the idea that the politicians never agreed to a silence in the form of an absolution of blame for Franco and the war. Payne observes that the politicians agreed to a pact with an “understanding that historical conflicts would be consigned to the labors of the historians and journalists” (251), not politicians. Payne is correct that the politicians only entered into the agreement in order to resign Francoism and its consequences to social discourse and academic research. The politicians of the Transition chose the Pact of Silence to preserve peace and democracy instead of the perpetuating old conflicts. The pact achieved a shift between governments without conflict. Supporters of Franco accepted the Transition. Without question, the pact was a necessary step in order to achieve democracy and accommodate the support of Franco’s supporters.

Although the pact never existed in the form described by historians, the choice to not confront Francoism directly formed the roots of modern Spanish society. Spain today has many histories all referencing the same events but with varying details. The lack of confrontation only

guaranteed the perpetuation of many of the Francoist manipulations that has created confusion as to what the true history of Spain is. Spain perfectly describes a postmodernist state, one in which an overarching truth does not exist. Sánchez notes that Spain also has “quintessential postmodern elements such as...historical amnesia” (21). The pact can be defined as the end of the Francoist myth making, and also as the beginning of a society with multiple histories. The official History of Franco converted into something unreachable and intangible.

In the context of postmodern Spain, it is necessary to note the double entendre of the word history. History can mean both a simple story as well as the overarching narration of events that occurred in the past. For postmodernists, History as a complete, absolute entity of truth does not and cannot exist. They reject a History that represents the only truthful version of events. Now, History has transformed into multiple histories, each representing the history of certain person, of their version of events. The difficulty that we encounter in the multiplicity of voices that characterizes postmodernism is how to decipher the absolute History from the multitude of histories of each person that deviates the truth. A complete and absolute truth does exist, but perhaps in unattainable due to the human condition and our own fallibility.

In addition to that question, we must ask ourselves whether or not History matters. With the historical amnesia that characterizes postmodern societies, there exists a historical apathy as well. In Spain, Sánchez explains a paradox: in a society that suffers from historical apathy, a great amount of attention is given to memory. The secrets and manipulations of the truth by the Franco regime have contributed to the distortion of History. Because of this, History, as described above, is unachievable. With the death of Franco supporters and without documentation, events delve into oblivion. Sánchez calls this the “collapse of a specific modern perception of history” (101). An absolute History cannot exist in a post-Franco Spain due to

forgetting on behalf of many people including actors on both sides. Today, there exists the historical problem of Francoism: a “web of multiple realities” (Sánchez 101).

Recognizing this problem yields another: how to represent the history. The fragmentation of History into multiple mini-histories does not represent the full truth. The Spanish paradox of the 80’s and 90’s was that society had no history and had many histories at once. David K. Herzberger reminds us that “writing the past [is]...a means to develop narrations that allow (and even compel) the opening of history to divergence” (*Narrating 2*). Spain suffered from a distorted sense of history but also, within these distortions lays the truth: “the representational underpinnings of the real (history) and the imaginary often share the same points of reference” (*Narrating 4*).

With the arrival of democracy and the termination of censorship, Francoist manipulations are not being debated. The doubt created by the negation of Francoist history has exacerbated the problem. There are completely false histories, semi-false histories and true histories but all exist within the Spanish collective memory. Postmodernism has given birth to the idea of a fluid and dynamic history. “Both fiction and history...mediate human perception” (*Narrating 7*). Within memory, history exists next to fiction as truth. With the plurality of history and lack of a finite distinction between history and fiction, for readers and writers alike, “there is no single truth that lies at the end of narration” (*Narrating 5-6*).

History transforms from being linear and fixed into something that represents fiction. For Herzberger, historic representation is “both a creative device and a critical perspective: it overextends the folds of one thing (fiction) into those of another (history) without eliminating entirely the discreteness of each” (*Narrating 6*). The definite boundary between history and fiction is now erased, replaced by an interweaving narrative that contains representations of both.

In postmodern society, historic representation and fiction are linked and cannot be separated. This confusion does not eliminate the necessity or the importance of history but rather makes the task of decoding the truth much harder. For many, there is no distinction between the history and memory. Within the realm of memory, there exists this plurality, a fragmentation of history where truth is malleable, influenced by fiction and the manipulations of a postmodern history.

From the current Spanish problem of postmodern history arises the debate of historical memory. Simply, the argument comes from the existence of multiple histories and the need, to expunge the manipulations of truth to uncover a true history. The process to debunk Francoist myth is exactly this attempt: a need to uncover truth amongst many lies that have replaced the actual historical happenings. This demystification intends to place in doubt and refute the official History of the Franco regime by revealing the atrocities and exploitation of Spain while reestablishing a new history. The work of many writers, historians and politicians is to uncover the undocumented events and give a voice to the voiceless. The complexity of this task does not lie in only the rewriting of books but in the difficulty to change one's memory and Spanish collective memory after years of falsifications.

Scientifically, memory is an individual function. Social science theories have allowed the viewing of the act of remembering as having a social function. Maurice Halbwachs, in his study on collective memory, constructed the idea of memory as a social process. In his thesis, "individual memory is located in social frameworks, these frameworks determine how an individual remembers anything" (38). This context can be the space, time or a combination of the two including social factors associated with the memory.

The key in collective memory is the social factor. Although memories can exist without context, the process of remembering and perceiving said memory cannot function without a

social context. Memory needs this context to create meaning for the individual. In order to create a context and make memory social, there is a need for a collective entity. The idea of a collective society plays off nationalistic ideas. Using Benedict Anderson's theory, an imagined community is created by the shared and similar experiences that affect many people that may not necessarily personally interact. Similarly, collective memory functions this way. The collectivity of a group, whether it is a defined nation, territory or family, is branded by what is common to all. The group shares the context that Halbwachs calls *les cadres sociaux*. The context forms a point of sociohistoric reference in which collective memory is based.

Halbwachs reminds us that memory is not a fixed function within a singular context. One remembers the past through the present. "What makes recent memories hang together is not that they are contiguous in time: it is rather that they are a part of a totality of thoughts common to a group, the group of people with whom we have a relation at this moment" (52). One can say that collective memory has a temporal and spatial function. The context, *les cadres*, dictates that we remember within the context of the specific group or time to which we belong at the time of remembering. "Present factors tend to influence...our recollections of the past" says Paul Connerton (2). Also, "la memoria individual y la memoria colectiva coexisten en el tiempo y se interrelacionan e influyen mutuamente [pero]...no siempre coinciden" (Aguilar Fernández 26). As we remember the past within our future, collective memory is a construction of each individual and each collective. For Paloma Aguilar Fernández, collective memory is "el recuerdo que tiene una comunidad de su propia historia" (25)¹. Pierre Nora summarizes

¹ The idea of social memory is a simplification of Spanish social memory. Many different memories existed within many different groups. For this study, social memory will be used to describe the protagonist's situation.

collective memory as “what remains of the past in the lived reality of groups, or what these groups make of the past” (13).

Nora’s declaration reveals a very interesting facet of collective memory. It does not necessarily reflect actual history. Nora supports the idea of an acceleration of history that separates history in two: 1) real history that represents the social memory of primitive society and 2) history as an organization of the past that is going to be forgotten. Although, this thesis does not enter the debate of acceleration of history, Nora correctly affirms that collective memory and history are not bound together. He views history as “a critical method whose purpose is to establish true memory” (4).

In today’s society, Nora’s idea of real history does not exist. With the creation of the printing press, history and memory separated into two entities. Memory no longer carried the guarantee of representing history accurately while the printing press eliminated the ephemeral nature of real history in favor of the concrete longevity provided by reproduction. There is still the difficulty of distinguishing between memory and history. Nora labels this problem, historicized memory. This problem refers to the confluence of memory and history that accurately describes the actual Spanish historical problem.

Due to Francoist distortion efforts, Spanish collective memory does not reflect true Spanish history. The manipulations of the regime pervaded and perverted collective memory. Upon Franco’s death, Spanish collective memory reflected the false history that Franco himself perpetuated. Franco succeeded in controlling not only the flow of information, but to a certain extent the collective Spanish memory.

Recently writers, journalists and many more have focused on the task of recovering a historical memory that accurately represents Spain. Despite nearly forty years of democracy, the

focus still remains on how to recuperate the lost years. Newspapers such as *El País* and organizations like the “Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica” intend to rewrite history based on newly investigated facts.

The idea of historical memory comes from the theories of Nora and refers to the confluence of memory and history. This term, however, is problematic. Aguilar Fernández describes historical memory as “una abstracción y simplificación de la pluralidad de memorias que se encuentran en una sociedad” (32). José F. Colmeiro refers to historical memory as “[un] antídoto a la historia oficial, a la falsificación de la memoria y falsificación de la realidad por parte de franquismo, como un intento de una contra-memoria forcejada” (21). The historian Payne paints another idea of historical memory. As a historian, Payne subscribes to the idea of an absolute and completely objective history. His job is to classify evidence to represent the past in an objective and truthful manner. Of historical memory, the historian notes the paradox of the terminology. Memory is “strictly individual, and is subjective and very frequently fallacious...[it] provides one version or interpretation” (252) while history is “neither individual nor subjective” (252). Historical memory is, thus, an attempt to recuperate the personal memories of those affected by Francoism. It is a tool that aids to describe the history of Spain.

Again however, the tension between history and memory is apparent. Payne is correct in stating that history should seek to be objective with a fixed truth and that memory, scientifically, is completely an individual process. There is, however, a need to recover the History of Spain that was lost during Francoism. There exists the imperative to repudiate the falsifications of the dictatorship and represent society, as it truly was, not through the filter of censorship or any other partiality. The problem of historical memory is purely terminological. Personal recollections give clues as to how people viewed specific events. Memory, however, still remains a fallible

human function. Its subjective nature inherently rejects an objective history. History, while objective, does not carry the emotional attachments to events that memory does. The combination of these two seeks to provide the emotional background to these historic events.

Halbwachs reminds us that one remembers the past within their present. Being that memory is subjective, historical memory does not adequately and cannot adequately represent an objective history. Recovering historical memory only recovers the subjective memories of the past. Historical memory is the recuperation of collective memory that “incluye tanto el contenido de la memoria (recuerdo de acontecimientos históricos específicos) como los valores asociados a su evocación (lecciones y aprendizajes históricos) modificados, frecuentemente por las vicisitudes del presente” (Aguilar Fernández 25). Furthermore, the present has the ability to distort our view of the past. Memory is ever fluid and continuously dynamic based on present perception.

The tension shifts with the idea of specific values associated with certain historic events. One must note that the recuperation of historical memory goes much further than simple recovering of historical events. Adding and combining a value system to historical memory makes this memory less historical, less objective. It is imperative to recognize that historical memory has a subjective function. With that, there remains a susceptibility to manipulate and politicize memory. Just as with Franco, there is still a need to decode truth from lies.

With that said, the recuperation of historical memory is of the utmost importance. However, it cannot be seen as historical truth. Its value rests in the ability to represent how Spaniards feel and felt regarding themes of the war, Franco, etc. Each person’s memory is important in understanding the societal landscape but each memory does not guarantee historical

accuracy. Historical memory serves only as a tool, a stepping-stone in recreating an accurate picture of the past.

The need for this recuperation comes from the trauma that still exists in Spanish social conscience as well as on a personal level of each individual. The Pact of Silence and the lack of a formal confronting of Francoism have contributed to the forgetting of many events. With the rise of the historical memory movement, Spain can finally confront its own demons regarding the Civil War and Franco.

While many believe that the Pact of Silence and the Transition silenced memory and fomented certain oblivion of events, there is juxtaposition now with the arrival of the Law of Historical Memory. There is an imperative to remember, however remember is difficult. After years of silence, an influx of memory creates conflict within an individual and a society. Equally, both must reconcile the discrepancies that exist between memories, past and present. Forgetting has created trauma. Many choose not to remember as “el ejercicio de la memoria es siempre una tarea dolorosa” (Álvarez Fernández 30).

Based in psychoanalytical theory, Francoism represents, for some, a traumatic period. For Cathy Caruth trauma is “an overwhelming experience of sudden or catastrophic events” (Caruth, *Unclaimed* 1). Caruth describes trauma using Sigmund Freud’s *Moses and Monotheism*. Freud observes that after a traumatic event, a person represses the memory, breaking the integration of the personal self. The experience does not require understanding of the event or the experience. The memory enters a type of forgetting that he calls latency. Latency acts as a waiting room where the memory is not forgotten completely, but not fully comprehensible. It represents a complete or partial negation of the event. For Caruth latency

“paradoxically explains the peculiar, temporal structure, the belatedness, of the...historical experience” (*Unclaimed* 17).

In the period of repression, a person does not feel differently. The key to latency is that the subject does not have any perception that the event symbolizes trauma. Latency ends in “insight,” the recognizing of the trauma (Caruth, *Unclaimed*). Caruth notes “between...the accident, and the ‘striking of the insight...is the force of a fall’” (*Unclaimed* 22). This recognition of the trauma places the person in conflict. The perception of the trauma forces the subject to confront and reconcile the past and live with the traumatic experience and integrate the trauma with their personal self.

In the case of Spain, the war and the subsequent dictatorship can be viewed as a traumatic event. The years of dictatorship can also be viewed as the latency period while the Transition and the choice to not confront this trauma perpetuated the latency period. The recent period of renewed interest in the war and Franco represents the insight and recognition of the trauma and its effects. The impetus now lies in integrating this trauma with the Spanish collective memory.

In the following chapters, this thesis criticizes the work utilizing the said theories. The first chapter analyzes the trauma, memory and identity of the protagonist Edmundo Barbero. Focusing on his exile and subsequent return to Spain, this chapter explores the interplay between Barbero’s trauma, the external forces dictating collective memory and his sense of self in a new Spain. Chapter two analyzes López Mozo’s use of metatheater and describes how this technique aids the recuperation of historical memory. Using theater as a background and the representation of *La vida es sueño*, the playwright uses the protagonist Barbero as a vehicle for his political message. Finally, chapter three examines the work as a historical play and explores the use of

postmodern techniques in framing the question and validity of history within modern Spanish society.

Chapter 1: Trauma and exile: Recuperation for Edmundo Barbero

It is easy to observe in Edmundo Barbero, the protagonist, many of the characteristics that dominate Spanish society. Barbero functions as an archetype that attempts to represent the collective memory during post-war Spain. After exiling to Latin America during the Franco dictatorship, he finds himself an unknown in a new country very different than the Spain he left. Searching for his niche in his new country, his plight for identity mimics that of the Spanish society. Like many other exiles, the Francoist period created an identity gap between old and new Spain. His struggle to regain and reconcile these two identities represents not only his, but also mirrors Spanish society's arduous process of recuperating historical memory. Barbero and his attempts to remember force the Spanish public to discuss and confront their own past traumas and experiences and relays the importance of recovering this lost history of the dictatorship.

Edmundo Barbero is the perfect example of Freudian and trauma theory. For him, the war and his subsequent exile create a traumatic moment in his life that he does not register immediately. His return to a Spain that does not correspond to his memory exacerbates the depth of the trauma and continues his latency period. As Freud describes, his latency refuses any understanding or confrontation with the said trauma. He cannot yet appreciate the severity of his problems. This period acts to completely negate any confrontation or understanding of the said trauma. It is characterized by blanks in his personal narrative.

Julia's first appearance gives the audience and the reader a sense of Barbero's trauma. Interviewing Barbero, Julie urges that he speak, of himself and his past. The interview subject masks his reticence in a false modesty. He evades questions with casual jokes, deflecting any praise to other characters. Julia stops him saying, "[y]o quiero saber quién es Edmundo Barbero" (136). Barbero ignores her, responding with another question, demonstrating a

complete evasion of anything reflecting his personal past. Julia's incessant questioning, however, reveals an angry and insecure Barbero. Unsure of his own past and his own identity, Barbero is unable to narrate his life. His reticence is less a resistance to his past but an inability to conjure memories without reference. He sharply replies to Julia's investigation, "[s]in preguntas, no puede haber respuestas. Así, no hay diálogo posible" (137). In this statement, the protagonist unveils the key to begin his process of recuperation: dialogue. He needs dialogue, testimony to initiate the process.

According to scholar José Ignacio Álvarez Fernández, testimony should contain three elements: 1) a narration in first person, 2) a witness and protagonist and 3) a journalistic element. For Spain and Barbero alike, "la lucha entre memoria y el olvido es una constante en las sociedades que mantienen una relación traumática con su pasado" (Álvarez Fernández 31). Trauma is always linked to silence; however, testimony provides a means to overcome said trauma. Álvarez Fernández notes the therapeutic power of testimony. Julia's character is a key figure in this process for Barbero. Her incessant questioning, while initially annoying to Barbero, holds the key to revealing his trauma.

In the context of Álvarez Fernández's formula for testimony, Julia corresponds to the journalistic element as well as witness. Barbero serves as protagonist supplying his own personal narrative. Without Julia, the testimonial process could not be fulfilled. In order to remember, all three elements must be present. Julia's role as journalist relates and underscores the importance of journalism in furthering the discussion of historical memory in Spain today. This testimonial method represents the beginning of the difficult process of recuperating memory and overcoming trauma.

The therapeutic nature of testimony also doubles as a tool in recovering identity. From memory, one can reconstruct their lost identity. Testimony creates the opportunity to recover these two personal functions. Despite Barbero's preliminary caginess, Julia continues her journalistic duty returning with concrete dates and events forming a rough timeline. These reference points allow her and Barbero to recreate different happenings utilizing specific points in his life. This foundation creates not only confidence in Julia, as she does truly find his life interesting, but also allows Barbero to begin his personal narration.

Barbero, at the insistence of Julia, starts with his pre-war life. His narration of his time in the theater *El Sol* and his role as Jason founds the beginning of a solid personal recounting with himself as protagonist. In recovering his memory, Barbero does not jump straight to his trauma. The audience understands that this event, in the form of war and exile, is still unknown to him. His beginning with his past pre-trauma commences to slowly build the road map that will have a gap, forcing Barbero to confront his own traumatic past.

The framing of Julia's character plays perfectly in this piece. Her inquisitive nature as a young journalist emulates the efforts by all journalists contributing to the demystification of Franco. Her job is to once again give these voiceless, memory-less Spaniards their identity and memory. In the context of Spain today, Barbero functions as an allegory for the modern Spanish society: lost in a new Spain searching for their own identity and memory. Subscribing to this idea, Julia's role expands further to include all journalists as well as historians, sociologists and all those working to uncover the lost identities and memories of Francoism.

These professionals ask the appropriate questions, much like Julia, turning the Spanish public into Edmundo Barbero, a protagonist of his lost past, narrating his memories. Each

person plays the double role of protagonist telling their own stories and that of witness listening to each story recovered.

With the testimonial process already initiated, Barbero transforms as a character within his own drama. Barbero utilizes a tape recorder and old recordings of performances to fill the blanks in his own personal narration. The recorder symbolizes the bridge between his present and his past. As Halbwachs states, we remember our past from our present perspective. Barbero is able to play both protagonist, filling his void with memories, and witness by listening to his own voice. The tape recorder creates a new testimonial process where Barbero can have dual roles. His present self transforms into a witness for his recorded tapes, forcing himself into his own past. These tapes serve as the link between the past and the present. While Barbero can now witness his own past, he still must create a flowing story incorporating these experiences into his grand personal narrative.

In a similar fashion, the hanging photos on the walls of his dressing room provide reference points in his narration. Julia's inquisition in regards to each photograph forces Barbero to incorporate these memories once again and move closer to becoming self aware of his own trauma. Moreover, the ability to use his performance tapes and photos to remember affirms that Barbero does not suffer from a physical deficiency of the ability to remember. As Andrew Kennedy states, "it is easier to listen to a tape than to recall memories at will" (104). The only thing that impedes the protagonist's act of remembering is the unresolved trauma.

The decisive moment in his testimonial process comes when his narration arrives at the theme of the war. Barbero declares, "Seguramente usted oyó hablar de la Guerra. Yo la viví. Quiero hablar de ella. Y de lo que vino después" (150). The actor finally fulfills his role as protagonist within his own testimony. Responding to Julia's uncertainty, Barbero affirms,

“necesito que me escuche. De pronto, la cabeza se me ha llenado de recuerdos” (151). Arriving at the theme of his own trauma, the protagonist is able to give narration and remember his lost memories. The importance of having a witness underscores one’s ability to narrate their past. The witness gives legitimacy to each personal narration and allows each recovered memory to be firmly cemented. Elizabeth Jelin notes that historic trauma represents “the double void in the narrative; the inability or impossibility of constructing a narrative due to the dialogical void” (64). With the presence of dialogue and the testimonial process, Edmundo Barbero is able to fill his narrative with lost memories thus reconstructing his memory and identity.

At this point, the audience appreciates the easiness and difficulty of remembering. While Barbero can recall any past role and in which theater he performed, López Mozo places the war and Barbero’s associated experience inside the intangible sphere of trauma. While the war for Barbero and Spanish society is a topic that can never be forgotten, it is oddly enough unable to be remembered. Despite the efforts of the dictatorship to erase and change history, individual memory and collective memory still has fragments and traces of each experience that are slowly being reconstructed in a coherent narration. Barbero arrives at his own mnemonic emptiness as a result of Julia’s interrogation of his past. Arriving chronologically at this void, Barbero must finally face and remember his traumatic past.

Of traumatic past, Cathy Caruth describes: “an overwhelming experience of sudden or catastrophic events in which the response to the event occurs in often delayed...appearance” (*Unclaimed* 11). As a result of this trauma and the subsequent void characterized by latency, Barbero’s personal self separates. Unable to recall these traumatic events, Barbero’s present self does not reflect his past. The separation of the self occurs when a subject is unable to incorporate all past experiences in their present identity. Equally in the context of Spain,

Franco's attempts to distort the events of the war produced a similar effect in Spanish collective identity. Franco's insistence in preserving his version of the war did coincide with neither collective memory nor individual memory. Like Barbero, present Spanish identity did not accurately reconcile past events causing a disintegration of the personal self.

The longevity of this period of disintegration, latency, can be attributed to the longevity of the Franco regime. The extension and depth of this period are caused by two facts. First, the latency period is strengthened by Franco's manipulation of memory and history. Ironically, the glorification of the war by Franco perpetuated an inability of many to actually remember the war. Second, the effect of exile contributed equally to this period. Exile, as Edward Said defines, is "the unbearable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home" (173).

This unbearable rift, manifested in Barbero as the loss of identity and memory, extended the latency effect. The rift between his Spanish identities persist the trauma by never allowing Barbero to reconcile his past and present. Exile, in effect, turns into another form of trauma for him. By separating Barbero from his true identity and forcing a new identity ungrounded in his own past, this separation impedes his ability to remember accurately. Without the appropriate Spanish context, his memories do not have meaning in his new location.

While memory, as we have seen, pertains to an individual capacity, the context of collective memory gives individual memories meaning within a broader spectrum. As Halbwachs states, social contexts shape each memory's individual meaning. As one remembers from a present perspective, the past is shaped by present social contexts. A change in context can alter memories by presenting a new perspective in order to view the past.

In regards to Barbero, his exile shifts his social context thus shifting and reconstructing the way he views the past. Paul Connerton describes that one remembers by utilizing the perspective of “our present in a context which is usually connected with [the] past...hence with reference to events and objects” (2) of our past. In his new social construct of Latin America, his Spanish memories of the Civil War do not carry the same meaning. In his new Latin American context, his memories lack these reference points that give meaning to his past. The absence of these mnemonic roots strengthens the traumatic effect of latency. The presence of a non-corresponding social context does not permit Barbero to place his own recollections within a context that will provide a cohesive personal narrative.

For these reasons, exile inhibits the proper mnemonic processes. Lacking proper context to give memories meaning, Barbero’s recollections are never fully formed and left for oblivion during his exile. Combined with the inability to remember, Barbero was left with no more than mere shreds of his own past. Furthermore, his exile guaranteed an inability to overcome his trauma. Should he have been able to recall his past, his memories would not have had any meaning, exacerbating the traumatic effect.

Upon return, the change in Spanish context from his social context of forty years prior produced the same effect. The recollections that he managed to remember had no meaning in a post-Franco society. In the testimonial structure, Julia, as witness, plays an interesting role. As witness, she has the ability to create a fragile environment that spans both the pre- and post-Franco contexts. With her, Barbero narrates his wartime experience: “Toca hablar de cómo escapé de Sevilla y llegué a Madrid. Una odisea. De día, me escondía en cualquier sitio para no ser visto. De noche, viajero en el furgón de cola en los trenes de mercancías. España empezaba a convertirse en un cementerio inmenso” (156).

López Mozo's language in the words of Barbero expresses the emotional gravity of remembering. The audience can relate to the difficulty and pain of his past experiences. His narrative reflects many similar stories of trauma. López Mozo utilizes this to appeal to the audience's emotions. The playwright must create a connection between his protagonist and the public in order to achieve his mission of advancing the cause of historical memory.

Continuing his narration without Julia, Barbero "*va ordenando las ideas en voz alta y resolviendo sus dudas a través de un diálogo que mantiene consigo mismo...Alguna idea le ha venido a la cabeza. Busca apresuradamente una cinta virgen y la coloca en el magnetófono*" (156). López Mozo reveals his protagonist's progress. Although Julia is not present, the tape recorder replaces her in the role of witness. While he appears to be speaking with himself as the stage directions suggest, the apparatus serves as the listener Barbero needs to continue his personal narrative. It continues having the ability to link Barbero with his past. Also, the tape recorder guarantees preservation of his reminiscing.

This self-dialogue reveals an interesting change in the protagonist's behavior. While Julia opened the line of communication between the past and present, Barbero has achieved a level of self-reflection that can be maintained in an artificial manner. The tape recorder only represents a mini-step between dialogue and the ability to fully remember without the testimonial process and structure. Without a bodily witness, the device maintains a sense of continuity of dialogue between protagonist and a witness. No longer does Barbero need fixed reference points; he has achieved a level of autonomy in remembering in a fluid, abstract manner. This progress underlines the difficulty associated with traumatic memory.

This difficulty often manifests itself in setbacks for the subject. Despite his early breakthroughs, Barbero suffers a delay thanks to the absence of Julia at Café Dorín for a

prescribed interview. Although the setback is a symptom of the fragility of this process, the episode with Julia and the subsequent episode with the director Alvar, are representative of the generation gap that disallows the memory conversation in Spain. While a little forced, the interactions between the septuagenarian and his twenty-something counterparts stress the differences that do exist between each generation. Each generation is equal in the blame of the lack of communication.

López Mozo, however, reveals that this specific gap goes much deeper than the normal prejudices that always exist between age groups. This generational incongruity is the result of two main factors. The first is the manner in which one remembers. Again, using the social context theory of Halbwachs, each generation will remember differently according to their differing social contexts. While the old generation has both the explicit experience and the present memories of the war and dictatorship, the youthful generations do not view or share the same memories or associated feelings regarding these themes.

Although they do share certain aspects within the post-Franco Spanish context, the two group's perspectives of the war are not compatible. This incompatibility is due to the younger generation's view of the war through the lens of forty years of distortion. In addition to this skewed view, the younger generation lacks the emotional connection that the older generation still maintains with these events. The younger generation cannot appreciate nor understand how Franco affects not only them, but also the larger social landscape. Julia, in her role as journalist, is able to span both generations due to the empathy required by her profession. This general lack of empathy on behalf of the younger generation is the second factor. Her ability to connect on an emotional, trusting level with Barbero allows for the flow of dialogue. Alvar, at his best, can never understand Barbero due to these factors. The director's inflexibility demonstrates why the

process of recovering historical memory is difficult. The majority of the population were not interested in hearing these stories. Their lack of interest intensified the problem by not simply listening and understanding. The younger generation is characterized by perpetuating this memory crisis that is described “as a generalized inability to retain the historic past that is now being replaced by a continuous present, destroying in the process all the traditions that previous social forms has tried to preserve” (Sánchez 98). Sánchez notes a young culture “pointing towards a growing collective historical apathy, our culture has become more obsessed with practices of memory” (98).

López Mozo admonishes Spanish society for this historical apathy. Therein lies the paradox of post-Franco Spanish culture: a society so obsessed with memory but that cannot remember itself. The same generation of the Transition is now the generation in power. The playwright directs this criticism directly at this audience. While generations have passed, there still exists this crisis of memory. Alvar attempts to shame the public, recognizing their own apathy and calling their attention to the necessity to listen and remember. Moreover, López Mozo observes a lack of communication due to political differences. Alvar calls Barbero, “ese rojo” (169), underscoring the deep political divisions that still influence Spanish society. This play borders on liberal propaganda creating binaries between Julia and Alvar, and Alvar and Barbero, exposing the generational and political rifts that perpetuate this memory crisis.

Due to these problems, López Mozo deftly delays the insight of Barbero until the final scene. The audience is able to finally understand the profundity of the protagonist’s anguish. The weight of the trauma changes his behavior stressing him into forcing the audience to finally listen. With a pistol in hand, Barbero gives his final monologue. In his desperate words, the

audience understands the pleas and the effects of the painful process. He can finally vocalize his despair and anxiety attacking the audience and general society:

“de lo que no se ha visto, no hay memoria. Es como si no hubiera existido. O como si el que lo cuenta, lo hubiera soñado. Yo tenía que haber vivido en España. No fue posible. ¿Saben que hubo una guerra civil? ¡La hubo! Esas caras... ¿Acaso lo dudan? Disculpo a los más jóvenes, aunque me sorprende su ignorancia. Alguien tendría que haberles hablado de ella. Alguno de ustedes ya estaba, entonces, en este mundo. ¿Por qué no le han dicho nada? ¿Tal vez porque es algo remoto? ¿O, simplemente, la han olvidado? Me extraña... Los recuerdos perduran” (186).

In this passage, López Mozo summarizes his argument. Airing his frustrations, the audience sees the manifestation of Barbero’s trauma and inability of memory. Through Barbero and the playwright’s eyes, Spain is destined, condemned, to forgetting. This also provides Barbero with an opportunity to confront his past. As Caruth observes, Barbero is feeling “the force of the fall, a falling that is transmitted precisely in the unconscious act of leaving” (*Unclaimed* 22). His monologue doubles as his insight, his understanding of his trauma and the leaving of the latency period. He, himself, understands the weight of his fall, understanding that “the historical power of the trauma is not just that the experience is repeated after its forgetting, but that it is only in and through its inherent forgetting that it is first experienced at all. And it is the inherent latency of the event that paradoxically explains the peculiar temporal structure, the belatedness, of the...historical experience” (Caruth, *Unclaimed* 17). Free of his traumatic bondage, Barbero can freely narrate his past:

“En esa guerra yo estaba del lado de los que la perdieron. Me fue mejor que a otros. O eso creí entonces. El precio que pagué fue poner tierra por medio. Con la esperanza de

volver pronto, claro. Visto así, un castigo llevadero. Con el paso del tiempo, una losa. Hice el viaje de ida en barco. Despacio, como quien se resiste a marcharse. Quería alejarme de la costa, pero que las amarras no estuvieran sueltas. Lo estaban. El regreso, en cambio, ha sido veloz” (186-87).

Barbero reclaims his lost memories and his lost past. He directly confronts his exile and overcomes it. In his monologue, the audience can feel his emotional disillusion accompanied by the trauma. Now, he has the ability to remember but his payment was forty years of lost identity and history. Tied to memory, identity is “una construcción individual” (Casteñeira 41). Suffering from a disconnected history, the reconstruction of his historical memory is accompanied by the reconstruction of identity through the construction of a new, inclusive narrative that represents “una identidad personal...una historia vital dinámica, un relato que vamos consrtuyendo, desplegando” (Casteñeira 46). The recovered memories fill the existential gaps as well as give new meaning to his life. The reintegration of these memories, reconciles the disintegrated personal self.

Barbero’s story serves as a warning of the polemic memory crisis. His life is an allegory for many lives forced to live in constant conflict with such a harrowing event that many choose to forget completely. In equally as many cases, forgetting was not a choice rather an imposition by circumstances dictated by Franco. For Barbero, his exile was a circumstance of his dissenting beliefs. Persecuted for his actions, he broke with his life in Spain. This rupture caused his trauma, one that he did not completely understand until his return. With his personal self fragmented between his Spanish and Latin American identities, his return began his difficult process to reintegrate his identity and memories while overcoming his trauma.

While also recuperating the memory of the real Edmundo Barbero, the fictionalized play represents the playwrights' political message. The trajectory of Barbero's life warrants a recuperation of historical memory while serving as an allegory for modern Spain. Too many histories have been lost by not listening to each other's and our own memories. Barbero personifies the memory-less Spain. Neither the individual nor the society will overcome the trauma of the Civil War and of Franco without the recuperation of historical memories. This play and Barbero provide the call to action of this work of social theater. López Mozo forces the public to concentrate on these issues and take a stance while demonstrating the need to reconcile the collective Spanish trauma. In this way, the playwright is slowly debunking the myths of the dictatorship and righting the oppression of all Spaniards.

Chapter 2: *La vida es sueño*: Metatheater and Recuperation of Historical Memory

Allegory, as seen in the first chapter, is a very strong and useful technique to aid in the recuperation of historical memory. The protagonist Barbero helps to create an allegorical drama by relating on a personal level with the audience and reader alike. As José F. Colmeiro states, “la metateatralidad se constituye como un lenguaje alegórico” (125). He continues: “el marco metateatral proporciona a su vez un mecanismo ideal para reconstituir secuencias del pasado por medio de escenas donde este es reconstruyendo y sometido a un proceso de manipulaciones por parte de la memoria...mostrando la fragilidad en la construcción” (125) of identity and memory. This observation defines the vision of López Mozo. Known for his enthusiasm for artists and actors, the playwright uses theater as a setting and the actor as a character to achieve his social commentary.

Theater permits López Mozo to create a situation that can reflect realistic ideas while also creating an alterable landscape to define a specific view of reality. The dynamic nature of theater allows the reflection of the ever-changing social ideologies, which the author critiques and recreates to benefit his social and political message. This work fits perfectly within the artistic concerns of López Mozo. The playwright, as Gabriele notes, uses theater as an art and the artist, in the form of Barbero, in order to articulate and critique the social norms governing society while formulating his own message of hope for future society.

As the critic Wilifried Floeck observes, “el tema de la búsqueda de la identidad es también una consecuencia de la deconstrucción creciente del individuo” (147). As this theme is noteworthy in the development of Barbero as protagonist, Floeck also notes “muchas veces, los dramaturgos reaccionan frente a esta situación con la puesta en escena de juegos metateatrales, mediante los cuales las figuras dramáticas intentan volver a encontrar su identidad perdida”

(148). Metatheater “vuelve a contar una historia, pinta personajes que responden a la realidad y cuyos problemas el espectador conoce por su propia experiencia” (Floeck 155). This quote explains López Mozo’s rationale in utilizing metatheater to aid in his pursuit to recuperate historical memory. The playwright utilizes this theatrical technique to investigate the themes of identity and memory through the development of Edmundo Barbero as protagonist while utilizing his ability to relate to the audience to convey the message of a need for the recuperation of historical memory. This chapter analyzes López Mozo’s metatheater usage while framing it under the larger goal of recovering memory and identity.

The use of metatheater manifests in different ways in *El olvido está lleno de memoria*. First, the playwright utilizes the development of Barbero to further his social commentary. López Mozo plays with the idea of Barbero as both protagonist and actor, erasing the distinction between the two in order to explore the effects of trauma. Also, the author utilizes traditional metatheater tropes like drama within drama to add symbolism and strengthen his argument. This usage of metatheater adds another symbolic literary place to reinforce his message by focusing the audience on the relationship between *El olvido está lleno de memoria* and *La vida es sueño*.

John P. Gabriele confirms this usage: “Desde el principio, *El olvido está lleno de memoria* se contextualiza por una confluencia operativa de arte y vida como reflejo de la crisis personal del protagonista...no se distingue entre el espacio propio de la representación teatral (el dominio del personaje) y el espacio del teatro (el dominio del actor). No se diferencia entre lo real y lo ilusorio” (*Metateatro 2*). This idea is the basis of metatheatric manifestations in this work. The idea of a confluence between real and illusory underlines the difficulty of memory within a fragmented self as well as in a traumatized society. This binary also defines the basis of

the recuperation of historical memory. Within this blend of real and illusory, López Mozo is searching, through his dramatic writing, for the ultimate truth.

To personify this idea, Barbero is portrayed as a character in a state of perpetual grayness. He confounds his past and present and relays them through the real and theatrical life. This confusion between real and artistic creates the first example of metatheater. In addition to his greater goal, López Mozo exploits the confusion to give the audience a correct sense of Barbero's trauma, of his own personal exile. Being an actor, Barbero's profession (playing many roles) lends itself to this complicated, intentional mixture of real and artistic life.

In explaining this phenomenon, Richard Hornby states that actors are the perfect characters to personify this uncertainty. He expounds the stereotype that exists by claiming actors, in themselves, are portraits of unstable personalities. This preconception comes from the many roles and identities that an actor must assume and adopt. The notion is that a good actor does not have a fixed identity, rather only adopts those of the characters they portray.

In addition, Barbero embodies what June Schlueter calls the "fictive character." For her, "the relationship between reality and illusion is the fictive character" (6). As an actor, "the fictive character is a multiplicity of selves" (6-7) highlighting the instability of identity in a metatheatrical character. Barbero is a creation of the playwright as much as of himself. The differences in interpretation create "a collective, communal response" (Schlueter 7) that aids in making this type of theater efficient in delivering sociopolitical messages.

During his illustrious career, the fictitious (as well as the real) Barbero has depicted many of theater's most storied characters. In his first encounter with Julia, the young journalist looks through the catalogue of roles as evidenced through photographs of Barbero in costume. He declaims, "no me reconoce" (135) and Julia negates, "vestido de esa guisa" (135). In this ironic

interchange, the audience appreciates the confusion that has taken hold of Barbero. López Mozo transmits his protagonist's disintegrating self through these many roles he assumes. Each one represents a certain facet of his own shredded personality and at the same time, no role really represents Barbero as his true self. This actor's paradox confounds his true identity and memory.

These choices are not arbitrary. López Mozo attempts to create this confusion amongst the audience and reader. Schlueter notes, "the playwright is constantly and overtly sustaining the dialectic which exists between reality and illusion" (13). This idea, according to Schlueter, arises the theme of a loss of identity of the character-actor. The audience's recognition of this tool cements the metatheatric protagonist. The spectators must recognize this in order to give this character meaning within the larger allegorical message. The confusion that fades the identity of the protagonist also vanishes the spectator's perspective allowing character and audience to develop equally during the representation.

During the drama, López Mozo plays on Barbero's fragmented identity through his past roles. Although it appears Barbero cannot define his emotions, the playwright uses the tape recorder to locate his protagonist's emotions. As explained in the previous chapter, the apparatus is the link between past and present. Also, it has a metatheatrical quality, containing various declamations of the many characters Barbero has portrayed.

Immediately following the initial confrontation with Julia, Barbero plays his monologue as Segismundo in *La vida es sueño*. "¡Ay misero de mí, ay, infelice!" (139) recites Barbero. Segismundo's soliloquy reveals and expresses the feelings of unhappiness that plague Barbero. His multiple roles demonstrate what Hornby explains that character's roles within the larger work show "not only who the character is, but who he wants to be" (67). The multiplicity of

roles contained on his old tapes as well as the characters themselves reveal more to the audience about Barbero's identity.

In addition, Barbero is the consummate actor, always in character. He becomes self-absorbed in theater, always reciting and declaiming lines from his favorite characters. He is quick to tell an anecdote of his storied theatrical history much to the chagrin of others. His director, Alvar, tires quickly of Barbero's behavior. In one heated exchange, Alvar interestingly exclaims, "deja, en cambio, de ser tu propio personaje" (167). The confluence between real and artistic life is obvious to everyone except Barbero.

Nevertheless, for the protagonist, "ser actor es [su] oficio" (167). His ignorance to his own disillusion is only a symptom of his trauma. Barbero, in an ironic way of describing his craft, notes that "la personalidad de los actores también cuenta...Las experiencias, los recuerdos..." (174). In his own words, the audience comes to understand the duality that actors demonstrate. He continues: "los actores tienen la habilidad de mostrar lo falso como verdadero, de dar gato por liebre, de llevarnos al personal al huerto" (167). Again, Barbero ironically defines his own condition. As his confluence of reality and illusions grows, he becomes detached from reality, only portraying his own character. The ability to demonstrate "lo falso como verdadero" exemplifies his traumatic condition. Unable to perceive the truth, he only has the ability to portray the false nature of his fragmented self.

Barbero, however, enjoys the idea of being the other. Describing the thrill of acting, he states, "vivimos en el mundo de lo fantástico y de lo original...Porque actuamos para mentir, para desmentirnos, para ser diferente de lo que somos..." (167). Barbero almost understands the irony of his situation. He acts to lie to himself, to create an alternative persona but he does not understand the pity his ignorance creates in the spectator. In his penchant for role play, Hornby

notes of Barbero: “ironically, the role is closer to the character’s true self than his everyday ‘real personality’” (67). Not only does he confuse between his roles and his self, he prefers to act as himself. Acting provides the escape that continues the latency of his trauma. In the realm of theater, he does not have to confront his own self.

To connect himself with these past roles, Barbero employs his tape recorder to recreate his old performances. In contrast to the general plane of this work, the tape recorder creates a second level of theater. Giving background to his character, López Mozo uses the apparatus to display Barbero as unstable, highlighting his loss of memory and identity.

Corresponding to this second level of theater, the tape recorder is an allusion to *Krapp’s Last Tapes* by Samuel Beckett. In this work, Beckett’s protagonist similarly remembers his past with the aid of technology. While already mentioned in the first chapter, the tape recorder creates a testimonial process between Barbero and himself. In his critique of Beckett, Andrew Kennedy notes that Krapp’s monologues convert into dialogues with the projection of himself. This critique can be extended to this present work. In this use of metatheater, the Barbero of the tapes converts into protagonist of this mini-drama to the witness/spectator of the present-day Barbero.

The dialogue between manifestations of distinct epochs of a singular protagonist proposes, however, certain problems. According to Paul Lawley, “the face can hardly recognize its own reflection” (90). Although the declamations are in Barbero’s own voice, as will Krapp, the present day spectator cannot identify with the past protagonist as himself. The tapes are “a dialogue between living and remembrance, present and past” (Malkin 27). Moreover, this type of dialogue represents “a brilliant way to theatricalize dual consciousness” (Malkin 27).

In *El olvido está lleno de memoria*, López Mozo engages this same technique to stress the duality of Barbero. The tapes provide the audience with multiple versions of Barbero. In *Krapp's*, the protagonist attends directly and explicitly with his memories. López Mozo, however, decides to force Barbero to use the apparatus as a way to reconnect with his past. The tapes reflect the many stages of his life. The different Barberos achieve and cement the instability of the Barbero of the grand work. His dependence on the tapes in order to remember exemplifies the depth of his trauma and the extension of its effects to hinder memory-making processes.

Also, the Barbero of the tapes becomes a tangible character in the drama. Fulfilling the idea of a dialogue between man and machine, the interaction of the grand protagonist Barbero and the projections of himself in the past create “a semblance of dialogue...a self addressing speaker absorbed in...his former self” (Kennedy 103). To recover lost memory, the character of the tape recorder is key in the development of this theme and Barbero. This technological object is the connection that allows metatheater in this work. The instrument provides the pretext so that the present day Barbero can develop and remember through interactions with himself.

The monologues on the tapes are representations by Barbero for Barbero. In his dressing room, the protagonist ceases to be. Instead, he transforms into a spectator of himself, of his own projected voice. Although the tapes only contain declamations of past roles, its function has more utility to Barbero and the play. In order to connect the past to the present, the tape recorder functions in a similar fashion to that of Beckett's. Barbero listens to his own voice in order to regain his past. The old roles serve to construct a context to his past. The tapes conjure memories, forcing Barbero to enter into the context(s) of each tape, thus entering his own past. For him, “it is easier to listen to a tape than to recall memories at will” (Kennedy 104).

The action of listening is equivalent to the action of remembering. The tapes are like photographs or home movies resurfacing things lost and hidden. Like Krapp, Barbero “is free to shape or reshape these fragments of unpublished biography” (Kennedy 104). The position of spectator to his own life fills the gap of his past with memories that Barbero can now confront or refuse.

Nevertheless, these tapes are tantamount to Barbero’s personal history. Through them, he can “separate the grain from the husk” (Lawley 90), separate reality from illusion amongst memories and repression. This interaction between his many selves acts to reconstruct his identity by reintegrating and reconciling memories of his past with the personality of his present.

Barbero uses the tapes in order to be a witness to his own history providing the ability and opportunity to remember and make memories. The transformation from actor to audience offers the ability to accomplish this communication between present and past. In this way, the tape recorder has two primary functions: confirm the depth of his duality and fragmentation while also giving him the power to remember and confront his trauma.

López Mozo is able to fulfill these tasks by playing on the idea of testimony. Julia and Barbero create the first level of testimony in this work. The second level, or metatheatrical level, occurs within the act of recording and listening. Julia may initiate this process, but Barbero becomes, once again, protagonist of his own life with the act of recording his memories.

Instead of listening, of being spectator to his life, Barbero reconstructs and narrates his history. He remembers, makes memories signaling the crucial moment in his confrontation with his personal trauma. Now, the tape recorder does not only symbolize a connection with the past, it symbolizes the reintegration of this past with the present. It is the instrument that integrates Barbero’s fragmented self. As both protagonist and spectator to his life, Barbero’s catharsis is

complete. The creation of a new narrative signals the end of the second plane of metatheater within this work.

The third metatheatrical level is a symbolic and abstract level. This plane encompasses the setting of the theater of the greater work. To frame the setting, López Mozo chooses to include the effect of theater within theater. The action of the play takes place during the representation of *La vida es sueño* by Pedro Calderón de la Barca. While Lionel Abel recognizes this drama as one of the first examples of metatheater, López Mozo takes advantage of the inherent metatheatrical nature of the former work to comment on a similar context.

In the case of the present work, *La vida es sueño* represents what Hornby would call “the inner play” (33) that is secondary to the principal action. Nevertheless, in this type of drama, Lionel Abel observes that “illusion becomes inseparable from reality” (153). The playwright uses this tool to add to the confluence of roles as well as construct the allegorical element of the play.

Similar to the discussion of the confluence amongst roles, Barbero’s role within the inner play symbolically reveals the influence of his trauma. In his first declamation to Julia, Barbero “(*...recita, algo modificado, parte de un parlamento de Segismundo.*) Decir que sueño es engaño” (134). The exchange yet again places emphasis on the symbolism that exists between Barbero and Segismundo. Both, unsure of reality and illusion, create an obvious connection between the inner and outer plays, as well as correspond Barbero’s trauma to the lack of liberty Segismundo suffers at the hand of his father. As with Segismundo, Barbero lives the illusion that becomes reality. For him, the inability to remember and distinguish between illusion and reality is his tower prison.

Soon, however, Barbero takes the role of Basilio. Gabriele observes that this signals “un momento crucial en el desarrollo del actor-protagonista de López Mozo” (*Metateatro* 4). His portrayal of Basilio changes his perspective. If Segismundo represents the inability to overcome the illusory effects of trauma, as Gabriele explains, “Barbero, como Basilio..., es el responsable de su propio encierro metafórico, es decir de su inhabilidad de confrontarse con su pasado traumático. Cualquier escape de dicha prisión metafórica del olvido y reconciliación con su pasado residen últimamente con él” (*Metateatro* 4).

Adding to that idea, Gabriele states that Barbero’s transformation to a character of power represents “la oportunidad de integrar las distintas realidades de su existencia, las distintas facetas de su ‘yo’ fracturado” (*Metateatro* 4). The power to control the illusion of life is the power to decipher reality and confront and overcome his trauma. The conversion from a character identifying with Segismundo to that of Basilio occurs correspondingly with the testimonial process with Julia and the tape recorder. The role of Basilio opens the possibility of having a dialogue and beginning the process of recovering memory and identity. It is ironic, though, that Barbero finds the ability to overcome his trauma by relating yet again with another role. As Hornby affirms, “there must be *some* integration[...]the outer play must in some way acknowledge the inner play’s existence” (34). His identification with Basilio or the integration of Barbero and his role as Basilio, gives him the power to free himself from the illusions, metaphorical and real, that scar his past and present. Metatheater allows the opportunity to develop Barbero in a way to demonstrate the fragility of his traumatic self as well as develop his catharsis with his own past. For him, theater is “a la vez un remedio y una enfermedad de la memoria” (Colmeiro, *Memoria* 156).

Moreover, *La vida es sueño* serves as a symbol for the purpose of this work. The imprisonment of Segismundo corresponds directly to the atmosphere created by Francoism. Spanish society under Franco was no more than Segismundo, confined to this realm of uncertainty. Eventually, as with both protagonists, society could not distinguish the differences between reality and illusion. López Mozo applies the theme of illusion to critique the dictatorship. The period of Franco's rule can be observed as a stage where illusion and reality mixed into one shade of gray.

Segismundo and Barbero's escape from the confusion of exile yields the idea of a need to demystify Franco. Hornby states that metatheater is "both reflective and expressive of its society's deep cynicism about life[...] When the prevalent view is that the world is in some way illusory or false, then the play within the play becomes a metaphor for life itself" (45). *La vida es sueño* transforms into a metaphor for the outer play as well as reality. López Mozo laments the present situation of society's confluence of real and illusion. He searches, just as Segismundo and Barbero, for the truth, for identity. He searches for lost memories and lost years due to repression and exile. The metaphor is easily extended to the audience. The use of metatheater achieves López Mozo's goal of disseminating his ideologies.

Through the technique of metatheater, López Mozo develops his drama and protagonist Edmundo Barbero. The many roles that Barbero has portrayed represent the confining confluence of personalities that confounds Barbero's personal history and identity. Ironically, the playwright plays on this idea of an unstable actor to establish the lack of identity as well as the basis of the process to recuperate historical memory. Through allusions to and technique of *Krapp's Last Tape*, López Mozo demonstrates the importance of dialogue between past and present. The dialogue aids in the testimonial process that eventually liberates Barbero from his

traumatic history. Equally, the usage of an inner play in the form of *La vida es sueño* stresses the confluence of roles but also shows the power of theater in helping Barbero once again identify with himself. While ultimately Barbero achieves a level of recuperation, López Mozo reminds the audience that they had “el privilegio de verle actuar en el papel más difícil: el suyo” (190).

Chapter 3: Historical Drama: Myth-Making and Postmodern History

During the action of the play, the protagonist is continually reconstructing his past. Reincorporating forgotten memories into an already established set of remembrances, Edmundo Barbero achieves a certain level of reconciliation of his trauma and fragmented identity. Tantamount to Barbero, López Mozo attempts to reconstruct the past and recuperate the historical memories of the real Edmundo Barbero as well as the many forgotten people affected by the Civil War and Francoism. In his drama, the playwright rewrites the past from his present day perspective. His work attempts to reclaim that which is lost by reintroducing Barbero, the already forgotten actor. Moreover, this play is the author's personal argument to reclaim the forgotten in the face of forgetting.

In framing this work as a historical drama, López Mozo seeks to recuperate of historical memory. This chapter discusses the ways in which López Mozo creates his historical drama and the effect this structure has on the construction of memory. Also, this section critiques this genre and explores the unintended consequences of recreating history.

In describing the work of López Mozo, Eileen J. Dolls observes that his work is a “reconstrucción del pasado para comentar el presente” (29). In positioning this work as a historical drama, López Mozo does not only comment on the present, but also shapes history. While one of his main objectives is to bring light to the current crisis of memory, the recreation of history allows him to rebuke and correct the fallacies propagated by years of dictatorship. Instead of focusing on famous historical moments or well known figures, López Mozo “[presenta] la intrahistoria y desmascara las manipulaciones del pasado, subvirtiendo la gloria” (Doll 33).

While the interhistories of seemingly insignificant figures of Spanish history may seem less useful in rejecting years of historical deviations, the opposite is true. López Mozo's choice of Edmundo Barbero as protagonist has equal if not more power in his mission to recuperate historical memory; Barbero's utility is two-fold.

Using an unknown person, the playwright is able to better connect with the audience. Barbero's plight to find his own identity and recover his own personal memory reflects reality. As in the previous chapter, in regards to metatheater, the historical drama "vuelve a contra una historia, pinta personajes que responden a la realidad y cuyos problemas el espectador conoce por su propia experiencia" (Floek 155). Edmundo Barbero's seemingly insignificant life is now his best attribute. His everyman quality allows López Mozo to connect with the audience by presenting a humble protagonist whose story is not very far from reality. Moreover, his story reflects that of many Spaniards creating an easily relatable situation for the audience. In fact, Barbero as a person is as much responsible for this connection as his story. The playwright uses these quotidian, mundane qualities to best exemplify the personal, human experience that affects the mnemonic crisis.

Secondly, Edmundo Barbero is a real figure. He lived and died. He was an actor. These are facts that permeate into this work of fiction. The author, in the preface to this work, is quick to clarify this coincidence stating that the intention of this character is not to be real but to tell the similar story of many Spaniards and "rendirle su personal homenaje" (133). His real existence helps, even if by seducing the audience to believe a falsified history, to give this work a historical feel. Both these qualities help López Mozo create the active relationship necessary to a historical drama. Edmundo Barbero, the protagonist, is essential to the success of this work and the playwright's goals for it.

In order to analyze the effectiveness of this genre on historical memory, there must be clarifications to what qualifies it as historical drama. Samuel Coleridge quipped: “in order that a drama may be properly historical, it is necessary that it should be the history of the people to whom it is addressed” (Lindenberger 6). As a basis of the genre, López Mozo ensures that his play is completely Spanish. While the themes of war, exile, identity, etc. are universal in some ways, this play is unique to the Spanish context. Relating it exclusively to the Spanish audience creates and reinforces the active relationship required to support a historical drama. This relationship needs to create, as stated earlier, situations in which the spectator can relate personally. This personal aspect of themes, situations and characters intertwines the underlying message of the play with the personal life of the audience. Lindenberger also suggests that there must be some amount of fusion between theatrical and historical reality. Moreover, the relationship between fiction and history must support the overall goal of catharsis and criticism of the past and present.

In regards to the action of the play, these characteristics are easily observed. In attempt to recuperate not only Barbero’s but also many Spaniard’s historical memory, López Mozo quickly sets the scene stating that many “ignoraba[n] todo de un actor llamado Edmundo Barbero” (146). The playwright creates the need to remember and to not ignore or forget people and events. López Mozo fuses both history and reality including specific theaters and actors such as El Teatro Español and Margarita Xirgu that creates the necessary confusion between fact and fiction essential to this play. This fusion is what makes this drama so effective in recuperating the historical memory of Edmundo Barbero.

Admittedly, López Mozo knows his rethinking of Barbero’s return from exile is fictional. His inclusion of these historical events and people gives the audience the sense of factual history.

The audience is transformed by the power of Barbero's testimony and history. His story is equal to the many exiles that fled Spain at the same time. In this way, López Mozo's representation of Barbero is as good as history.

Captivated by the story, the audience does fulfill the playwright's goals for this play. Firstly, the author does fulfill his homage to a great, forgotten actor. While fictionalizing his life, the playwright brings the real Edmundo Barbero back from the realm of oblivion. His personal homage to a great past actor is fulfilled by the mere resurgence of his likeness in theater. In this way, this work recuperates, even on a small scale, a certain level of historical memory. López Mozo uses his personal homage, however, as a stepping-stone the recuperation of historical memory on a large scale.

In trying to achieve the goal need, Barbero, the character, does make the spectator think about the difficulties that Spain and its people are facing in regards to traumatic memory. They can appreciate the hardship of exile and remembering such a difficult period. By this definition, López Mozo does create and accomplish a work that conveys this need to recuperate historical memory. It is hard to not feel some sort of emotional response and connect this to the present issues. The way in which the playwright transforms history to his benefit and recovers history and memory is interesting.

In order to understand López Mozo's technique to recuperate historical memory, one must first understand from where the need came. As discussed earlier, Franco sought to legitimize his power by creating myths that supported his position as dictator. These myths, perpetuated endlessly, were comprised of a combination of historical and fictional accounts that benefited his view of Spain. Furthermore, these myths were created in order to propagate a certain Spanish history that reflected his conservative perspective and denigrated liberal causes.

To substantiate these myths, the Franco regime played on common past events to give an amount of authenticity to his deviated truths. These true referential points made his myths more believable and made it difficult to refute his claims.

In using true reference points, Franco was able to slowly skew the truthful meaning and eventually create new meaning by achieving control of memory. His new facts were irrefutable as it was the regime that controlled all dissemination of all information. Slowly, truth and fiction were no longer relevant. Memory contained what one person knew to be. Whether or not these facts were true, the Spanish people believed in these myths. Franco blurred the line between fact and fiction by using known facts to his advantage. As Herzberger observes, “the representational underpinnings of the real (history) and the imaginary often share the same points of reference” (*Narrating* 4). In doing this, Franco guaranteed that “no single truth [lie] at the end” (Herzberger, *Narrating* 5-6) of his historical representations. The ability of fiction to become history created the longevity of his historical myths. The inclusion of Franco’s version of history in the social and collective memory of Spanish society guaranteed Francoist legitimacy as well as further widening the rift between truth and fiction and the gap between truth and memory. Franco’s achievement precipitated the historical crisis in Spain during this time.

His ability to manipulate historical thought and memory by a combination of oppressive censorship and blatant fictions has created this historical uncertainty in contemporary Spain. In addition, these changes developed concurrently into an evolving postmodern society. This fragmentation, this loss of a sense of History, left only one thing: memory. This memory, however, was left corrupted by the same fragmentations of true and false. The deviations of official history left each memory, considered historically accurate, to flood History; contributing to the rejection of an absolute, objective idea in favor of a plural, subjective world. Georg

Iggers, paraphrasing many postmodern scholars, definitively states that there is “no distinction between fact and fiction, history and poetry” (100).

As a consequence of this convergence, Spain suffered from a historical crisis that corresponded to this shifting postmodern society. With Franco’s intent not on veracity but instead on control of knowledge, truth no longer mattered. While officially touted as truth, the facts offered by the dictatorship were not widely believed. Spanish society accepted an “imposibilidad de realismo” (Lozano Mijares). As with postmodern societies, Spain experienced a fragmentation of the truth where no History, in the objective sense, is attainable. The many manipulations of Franco, crafted with truthful reference points, reflected the truth and at the same time, reflected nothing of it.

In the past decade, Spanish writers have become obsessed with Francoist myths and their affect on Spanish society. Searching for a way to not only correct these lies, but to also recreate and recuperate lost voices, writers have begun to represent history within their works. To combat Francoist false impressions, authors, including López Mozo, have attempted to right wrongs by uncovering the buried truth. In addition to proper historical research, these authors have attempted to restore historical truth by presenting and casting doubt on Francoist myths. As Todorov observes, a process of constructing new meaning based on truths created these myths.

The process to correct these myths reflects, however, the difficulty in perceiving history and memory within a postmodern landscape. As David K. Herzberger states, “writing the past [is]...a means to develop narrations that allow (and even compel) the opening of history to divergence” (*Narrating* 2). López Mozo does exactly this by creating his historical drama. He rewrites the past in order to reopen the present ideas of history. He does this to subvert the Francoist historical perspective and to reclaim the lost history. In recreating history, however,

the playwright takes his own liberties and admittedly writes a fictional play based on true historical figures and events. This begs the question: Does López Mozo's attempt to recuperate historical memory by producing a fictional historical narrative constitute as yet another historical divergence, confusing even more the line between history and fiction?

As an answer that question, López Mozo does blur even more the line between history and fiction. He does this, however, as an adept tool in debunking Francoist myth and recuperating historical memory. In subverting the nineteenth century idea of objective History and introducing his own myths, Franco succeeded in creating a new official idea of History. In his Spain, this History was completely objective and in accordance with the notions of modernist historical thought. In reality, Franco laid the groundwork for Spanish postmodern loss of History. His use of History (real) and fiction (myths) to create his idea of an official History succeeded in infiltrating social memory and changing perspective. His failure, however, is that he did not create an official History (objective and irrefutable) as he intended. His myth filled history reflects more of the postmodern view of a fragmented history, real combined with fiction than his idea of an overarching History. Franco himself created the blueprint on how to subvert official History to not only contest the facts that are uncooperative to the new perspective, shrouding these in doubt but also use history itself to create new historical thought.

Ironically, writers, López Mozo included, use this blueprint to demystify Francoist mythical History. By following the same process of utilizing historical reference points and shaping them to reflect a new meaning, López Mozo has cast doubt upon Franco. This play manipulates history by using true historical references to maintain the idea of historical (truthful) representation while inhabiting it with fiction to shape the meaning to reflect the playwright's goals. As Franco used postmodern loss of history to permeate social memory, so does López

Mozo, playing on the idea of this blended fictional history to gain control of the discussion within the Spanish social memory and shift the present view of Franco to reflect his present perspective.

His present perspective is seen in his choice of framing his play as a historical drama. In describing historical dramas, Floeck contends that a “reconstrucción objetiva del pasado no es posible...Cada reconstrucción es fragmentaria, incoherente y provisiona” (169). This play is a complex example of the relationship between historical truth and fictional, artistic esthetics that Floeck claims describes the genre today. As Kurt Spang notes, the author’s job “[no] consiste en introducir ‘mentiras’ entre los datos históricos comprobados, sino es transformar y ‘rellenar’ los acontecimientos históricos de tal forma que destaque la ejemplaridad” (14). López Mozo follows this doctrine as well as Buero Vallejo’s idea of presenting historical drama by reinventing history without destroying it. His drama reshapes history in a manner that does bring to light the prevailing Francoist ideas of history and replaces them with his own present day view. By reshaping from a modern perspective, López Mozo continues to contend Francoist myths and alter social memory.

By rewriting history and fusing truth with fiction to fill the forgotten gaps, López Mozo, as a result, does develop a new trend of historical thought. His play fits what Spang titles the illusionist historical drama where the playwright attempts to create a situation where the spectator “se indentifique con las figuras [históricas] y su problemática...que el espectador viva el conflicto como si fuera el suyo” (30). This idea is exactly what López Mozo intends. He does this so that the audience does connect with Barbero’s struggles and reflects upon them as they reshape the post-Franco sociohistorical landscape.

As Franco did, this work, while appearing to be historic, does not appeal to historical thought, but instead to the audience's memory. This work accomplishes its goals of recuperating historical memory by appealing to the spectator's present day viewpoint. As Maurice Halbwachs states, we remember our past through our present. This idea is never more prevalent than in this work. By reshaping the present day attitudes and memories of Edmundo Barbero and consequently Franco and the Civil War, López Mozo, in turn, changes the modern perspective regarding these issues. By doing this, the playwright changes the modern historical outlook. While López Mozo exploits the loss of a traditional sense of history that has become increasingly evident in the postmodern Spanish society, he blurs history (fact) and fiction to rewrite his own version of events.

By using Franco's template, authors can renounce Francoist history by engaging in the same manipulations. This act, however, carries unintended consequences. Lindenberger states that "in a fictive action the only reality is the one enacted before us; the actor, instead of being 'only' an actor, is much more likely to 'become' the personage whom he claims to represent" (24). In this way, fictional historical drama becomes tantamount to history. While this fulfills López Mozo's goals, his mistake is that his manipulations, while undermining Francoist myths, still deviate Spain and the modern Spanish social memory further from historical truth. Scholars will endlessly debate the existence or importance of a traditional History within the postmodern society. Postmodern theorists will point to the confluence of history and fiction, as seen in this play, as the cause of this dilemma.

As stated earlier in the introduction, however, History does still exist and is still important. While Franco's manipulations must be righted, replacing one myth for a more accurate myth is not the answer. History is not unattainable, only difficult to accurately decipher

in the postmodern condition. Spain, while effectively moving toward a recuperation of historical memory and thus, reconciling its own traumatic history, is still entrenching itself deeply in this historical crisis. Historical dramas, while accurately portraying some information, should not be equal to Historical thought. This is by no means a criticism of recuperation of historical memory and/or this play. It is, however, a criticism of the lack of emphasis on History. In order to finally end the myth-making and historical crisis, one must finally fill in the gaps with as much verifiable evidence and somehow learn to live with the existence of certain gaps.

This dilemma brings to mind a quote from Cervantes' *Don Quijote*:

“Así es – replicó Sansón -, pero uno es escribir como poeta, y otro como historiador: el poeta puede contar o cantar las cosas, no como fueron, sino como debían ser; y el historiador las ha de escribir, no como debían ser, sino como fueron, sin añadir ni quitar a la verdad cosa alguna” (569).

In the vein of this quote, López Mozo is both the poet and historian in this play. Combining both, his historical drama's task is two-fold. He attempts to recreate history while simultaneously playing the role of poet (or dramaturge). In recreating (fictitiously in his own words) the return from exile of Edmundo Barbero, López Mozo attempts to recuperate historical memory not only for an admired actor, but for all those with similar tales as well. In writing this play as a historical drama, the work's action is taken as history, fusing together both truth and fiction.

By doing this, Edmundo Barbero is once again remembered; accomplishing the personal homage set forth by the playwright. More importantly, this work utilizes the same process of manipulating history used by Franco to shift meaning based in history to conform to López

Mozo's desire. By reshaping modern perspective on past events, the playwright does achieve a recuperation of historical memory and a certain level of demystification of Francoist myth.

In fusing history and fiction, Jerónimo López Mozo is both playwright and historian. He can, in one work, recreate history as it was and as it should be. Therein, however, lies a paradox. Historical drama is neither history nor fiction. It is a new recreation, a manipulation of both and a representation of neither. It gives fiction more legitimacy and history new meaning. In this way, it takes Spain further from finding an absolute historical truth and deeper in this historical crisis.

Conclusion

The Spanish Civil War has not yet entered the realm of past events. Throughout Spain, there are constant reminders of the war and of its lasting protagonist, Francisco Franco. In political rhetoric and in the words of its citizens, Spain is still struggling with the divisiveness that separated and forced the nation to its former bloody standoff. In many ways, the Civil War is still dictating daily life. With the great cross of El Valle de los Caídos standing firm, public discourse is searching for the answers that lay buried beneath its soaring arms. Across the nation politicians, journalists and ordinary people are searching for the answers that were denied to them during forty years of dictatorial rule.

Franco, ruthless in his struggle for power, effectively changed the social landscape that still persists long after his death. By modifying history to represent his crusade, Franco introduced many lies to the Spanish people who internalized them in their memory. Withholding and controlling information, the Franco regime solidified its legitimacy by dominating Spanish social memory. His changing of historical thought has precipitated the historical and memory crises that plague Spain today.

In their final acts of rebellion to the ceaseless repression, contemporary Spanish writers are remolding the same affected social memories in order to portray Franco as the oppressive dictator he was. Jerónimo López Mozo is such a writer. Influenced by a personal life marked by this ever present struggle between freedom and oppression, the playwright is now reclaiming the lost voices of this era. In his play *El olvido está lleno de memoria*, the author sets out to not only reclaim the actor Edmundo Barbero from oblivion but to force the Spanish public to face their own skewed views regarding Franco and his manipulations.

This play adds to the growing genre dedicated to recuperating historical memory. Fulfilling its goal, this work accomplishes in reclaiming and reshaping the way the present society views its own past. In protagonist Barbero, López Mozo paints a fictional character plagued by his own demons of exile. Upon return, the protagonist struggles to find his place in a Spain that no longer resembles what he left. Trying to find his position in this new, almost foreign place, the playwright highlights the traumatic struggles facing many as they attempt to reconcile years lost to Franco. The author makes great use of metatheatrical techniques demonstrating the prison of trauma to the audience. These same techniques force the audience to identify with the main character, creating an emotional bond that eventually leads the audience to understand his plight and pity his situation. In this sympathy, López Mozo reveals the need to remember and reclaim these memories and to correct the past traumas.

This drama, however, culminates its mission in recreating history mimicking the same process Franco used to create his new historical thought. By working within the historical framework provided by Franco, the playwright is able to create doubt and cement his view of Franco in the words of his drama. Succeeding in demystifying Franco, López Mozo, however, substitutes one myth for a more suitable myth. The lasting effects of Franco are a complete disillusionment of history. History as an objective discourse is undistinguishable within memories filled with equal parts fact and fiction. These two antagonistic ideas have combined to constitute the present notion of history, a representation that is neither historically accurate nor inaccurate. This confluence, continuously dynamic as it is, only shapes the manner in which present contexts permit the viewing of history. With the influence of future representations, historical notions will continue to change.

While accomplishing in recuperating historical memory and adding to the demystification of Franco, this work leaves many questions unanswered. Truth still needs to be addressed. Incomplete representations of history only add to the deepening trench that separates truth and falsehood. Among the vastness of converging fictions and histories, History as an objective truth to the Franco era must be found. In this truth, the Spanish people must finally face their own traumas and learn to live with what has been lost.

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