

The Magic Mountains: Narratives of Historical Memory, Folk Literature and Communities of Memory in the Popular Imagination of the Maquis

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Today's Maquis

Today, the Spanish maquis commands a social imaginary that is all its own.¹ This is not to say that there existed a moment when stories were not told or when a “pact of forgetting” allowed the maquis to finally emerge victorious, transfigured into a *guerrilla warfare of memory*.² Rather, it is to say that thirty years later circumstances have finally permitted old oral accounts, historians’s pioneering studies, and testimonial works to produce two distinct currents in its representation. The first of these emerges from the flow of news reports that register the milieu of civic associations that compose this guerrilla movement, as if they sought to forever prevent the symbolic closure of the Civil War. As the trailer of *Silencio roto (Broken Silence)* remarks, “algunas guerras nunca terminan” (Armendáriz) (some wars never end).

The return of the maquis affirms that civil war is, in the wake of *Introduction à la guerre civile*, an inherent part of the Social, constitutive of its own metaphysics; it is an embryonic state of being that only succeeds in delaying its own emergence, just as at the conclusion of *Pan’s Labyrinth*, when in a still frame, the maquis arrive at a fictional triumph that the viewer is all too aware is at variance with the impending history on which the story is based. The failure of the 1944 Aran Valley campaign leads the exaltation of these redeeming maquis warriors to coincide with the phantasmagoric anticipation of their reemergence as *desaparecidos*, “disappeared,” even as

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the narrator's voiceover asserts that simultaneously *they will give rise to a new future*, as if to acknowledge that the Political can only resolve itself within the Symbolic.

The second branch of the maquis's reemergence belongs, above all, to the realm of the Symbolic, filling the public space with representations, much as the cinema, novels and comics of the Transition did at one point. In this respect, it is worth remembering a principle of the national historical syntax that adheres to a strict regime of representations in the portrayal of the various socio-political subjects central to twentieth century Spanish history (Labrador). This syntax forcibly divides the surfacing accounts of the maquis in democratic Spain according to two patently distinct periods (the interval of the Transition, 1977–1985 and the interval of historical memory, 2000–present, which refers to and relies on the first interval). The aforementioned regime of representations achieves this by instituting a discontinuity that is solely qualitative and inextricably bound to the country's political syntax.³ Since the year 2000, the possible representations of the maquis have multiplied in that spiraling double helix that fiction *based on true events* and academic bibliographies shape into the narratives of historical memory. The maquis is a critical element in memory's material, forming a subgenre therein.⁴ Every panoramic novel of the Civil War has its maquis fighter, or in his absence, a pitiful *topo*, his pathetic kinsman.⁵

The growth in the number of possible representations of the maquis, together with their determinant association with groups dedicated to the promotion of historic memory, the notable increase in research on them, and their conspicuous display in various forms on the Internet and on television has inevitably generated a new "hour of the guerrillas" that provides a place for their remembrance in the realm of the Social.⁶ This place has brought with it clearly articulated outlines for their representation and put limits on the discourse that, although frequently mediated by the *novelistic* portrayal of its historical subject (the maquis) as a literary adventure, continues to play on the heroic values they embody, and to the effects they produce on collective memory. This essay seeks to call into question exactly that which these discursive boundaries deny and to examine the possibility of alternative maquis constructed according to hermeneutical traditions that have been disregarded due to their rural origins.

The number of possible maquis has multiplied, and yet it is not clear that the quantity of possible interpretations of them has also increased. This is due to the fact that existing accounts (academic, fictional or documentary) affirm a priori that the maquis was unjustly forgotten, the victim of a supposed and massive pact of silence that took place during the Spanish Transition, and that the maquis as a guerrilla movement must be analyzed within the moral framework of the European antifascist resistance as one that practices an ethically legitimate and politically necessary violence that transforms the maquis fighters into heroes of democracy *as we know it*.

Which, therefore, demands an institutionalized practice of memory that can assume the historical experience of the maquis guerrilla movement and to which fiction, academic investigation, documentary efforts and political and civic activism can decisively contribute, charging social institutions with an agenda of civil rights and demands.

This is not to say that one must disagree with this model, but rather that it is necessary to assume the consequences of its existence as a paradigm, and as a result, of the limitations it has placed on the maquis's historical experience. In doing so, one must assume the existence of alternative paradigms and other historically related experiences, particularly those of rural communities that have passed on a powerful memory of the maquis historically and orally.

The Recuperation of the Memory of the Maquis During the Spanish Transition and in Rural Communities

The supposed “forgetting” of the maquis can be thought of as the discontinuity between pre-existent cultures of memory and a “memory” that has arisen instead from the negotiation of meanings between *historical content* and interpretative traditions. This negotiation has entailed the construction (circa 2000) of a new culture of memory (that incorporates the younger generations born into democracy). Accordingly, the archival data must be fit together so to attest that the Transition was actually the emergence of *other* pasts that sought to counter the hegemonic interpretations of Francoism and to explore their margins. This process altered the maquis imaginary, detaching it from the hermeneutic mold of Communist culture. Beyond books and fictions, other acts of the recuperation of memory transpired during the Transition, once again within the rural setting.

The urban character of the maquis imaginary should be emphasized. The history of rural guerrilla warfare has always proposed representations that differed with respect to those of Francoism. The maquis performs a dynamite negation of the city's fantasy of control over the mountainside. The warfare itself having ceased, the mountains are transformed into a silent screen where a complete guerrilla mythology is projected, at first with negative connotations, but later with positive ones. It is in this way that they have been transformed into *magic mountains*.

Few writings took into account that, somewhere between the urban gaze and those mountain ranges, other communities existed that incarnated a different historical experience. This is the experience of the maquis's very same environment and that of the natural heirs of their memory. It is one that is structurally associated with a concrete human geography and topography.

Consequently, the content of these communities's stories should not be appropriated without an understanding of how they have circulated in the spaces where, to this day, they are transmitted and remain intact.⁷

During the first postwar period, the stories of the maquis articulated the life of those valleys where there was guerrilla activity that shaped the community's very identity and where it affected the very survival of family structures. At the same time, mention of such subjects was forbidden since it put the community's wellbeing in jeopardy, and, with the passing of time, would bring with it painful recollections, traumas, and taboos. As one informant disclosed: "La gente no hablaba aunque los vería [a los maquis] [. . .], la gente tenía miedo . . . cuidadín, no se podía hablar y si les habías visto no se podía decir" (JL) (The people didn't talk about it even though they saw [the maquis fighters] [. . .], the people were afraid . . . they were cautious, nobody could talk and if you had seen them you couldn't say so).⁸ It is a system of accounts, then, with two levels that doubly mark the maquis's importance as a network of narratives. First, as stories that form family memories and are integrated into the valley's and the nation's political histories, and second, as *secret stories*, since knowledge and concealment of them was essential to the very survival of both the individuals and the community that transmitted them.

Something is a stir in those valleys during the Transition. A collective critical revision of the repression during the Dictatorship begins via the imaginary of the maquis. It is at this time that the first inquiries by historians and writers in search of maquis, or "*pueblo*," take place. Not all investigators saw in these stories about the maquis capital worth adapting for the cities. Some recognized their rural interlocutors as intermediaries between the communities and the maquis's past, and placed great importance on the experiences of community members that had maintained the guerrilla fighters.

From this perspective, Isidro Cicero writes *Los que se echaron al monte* (*The People Who Took to the Hills*), a book about guerrilla warfare in Cantabria that, in introducing the subject of the crimes of Francoism, serves both as a regional history of the maquis and as a record of Francoist repression. The focus in this essay will be his second book, *Los torvos y fieros motivos del Cariñoso* (1978), reedited as *El Cariñoso: Los emboscados del Miera* (2001), a polyphonic reconstruction of a literary collage of oral testimonies, police investigations, and journalistic texts based on the life and legend of a mythical guerrilla fighter in Trasmiera.

Los emboscados is transformed into a powerful instrument of collective memory, a true *technology of the (our)self(ves)*, insofar as it circulates intensely within the community to which it is tied. It is the story of an unusual relationship, that which is established between the book and its sources (these are not lettered cultures): it is a work that *returns* to the communities from which it *emerges*, a text that connects the cities that

demand stories and the rural world that *provides them*. It is a book rooted in an understanding of how to intercede in the debates with the peasant communities that have been excluded from modernization and the Transition's processes of political change over democracy and historical memory.

“Hubo un libro por ahí, de uno de ellos, de toda la vida que hacía, de Pin el Cariñoso. Y daba así nombres [de los] que andaban por las noches pasando de unos montes a otros y por el alto del cerro se les veía cruzar” (ME) (There was a book around somewhere, belonging to one of them, about Pin el Cariñoso's whole life. And it gave the names [of those] that walked at night, passing from one mountain to another, and could be seen crossing the hilltops). In March of 2010, in a survey of dozens of local residents of the Miera Valley, we documented the unrelenting persistence of this book. When questioned about their orally-transmitted memories of the maquis, those interviewed mentioned it frequently. In some cases it was the only book they had in their houses. “Del Cariñoso, mucho [hemos oído hablar], si hemos tenido el libro y le llevaron [unos familiares] y hasta hoy [no ha sido devuelto]. El libro le tenía yo, le leímos y todo . . . venía todo, estaba muy bien” (QYA) (About el Cariñoso, [we've heard said] a lot; but we had the book some [acquaintances] took it and to this day it [hasn't been returned]. I had the book, we read it and everything . . . it had everything in it, it was really good).

Maquis Stories and Comparative Popular Literature

The testimonies mentioned here form part of a more ambitious project that included the compilation of testimonies that indirectly corroborate the maquis guerrilla activity in connection with the rural communities where they operated. For reasons pertaining to methodology, the investigation was focused on the Spanish northwest. In addition to first-hand accounts, it also encompassed the collection of second- or third-hand oral accounts that deal with a collective experience of exposure to guerrilla warfare. Transmitted verbally, these were subject to the formalization processes typical of oral traditions.⁹ The project's aim was to examine how these mechanisms function and to study the types of images constructed of the maquis, keeping in mind that the formal characteristics of these testimonies have rarely been taken into account.

The formal mechanisms that popular oral tradition uses to fabulate, corrupt and over-interpret “history” are not *disturbances* that the investigator should eliminate so as to access the *true* facts, but rather indicators of the presence of other narrative paradigms. These processes are not only pertinent to the field of ethno-literature, but can also be used to draw

powerful conclusions of a historical nature insofar as they illustrate other ways of talking about the maquis that bring into focus the very communities to which these stories belong.¹⁰

What is important to the fieldwork carried out from this hybrid perspective situated between oral history and ethno-literature is how the stories circulate within communities. This approach allows questions to arise regarding how historical interpretations are constructed using oral traditions capable of formalizing collective historical experiences. The initial results of this project (Monasterio) would seem to demonstrate that accounts of the maquis are inseparable from other stories of collective postwar experiences, and that within these communities, it is impossible to divide the experience of repression and misery from the exploits of those community members that sought refuge in the nearby mountains, at first fleeing from reprisals and then becoming politicized, or vice-versa.

By interviewing various informants, the recurrence of a series of stories that shared certain formalized details that were transmitted in a codified manner was confirmed: the story of the guerrilla fighter who was lead to his wretched death “atado a la cola del caballo” (tied to a horse’s tail), the five young men “muertos a golpe de azadas” (beaten to death with a hoe) and their cadavers exposed “en una curva” (by the side of a bend), the murder of a guerrilla’s relative to whom “le salieron todos los sesos y había una gallina con pollos y comían los sesos de la señora aquella” (JLV) (all of her brains burst out and there was a hen with chicks and they ate the brains of that woman).¹¹ In other words, an oral corpus of stories existed that, in the course of its circulation, combined a large degree of generality with precise references to very concrete details. They are stories that refer to *true* events; they are, consequently, oral history, or even better, *social memory* (Fentress and Wickham). This said, they are also *social memory* that incorporates a highly specific set of formal markers when transmitted, which in turn correspond to what folklorists call *types* or *motifs*, or in other words, codified forms or mnemonics, that act as signifiers within popular and oral literature’s narrative paradigms.

The narrative devices associated with the maquis in oral tradition are many. All of them correspond with much broader and older patterns from universal folklore. It should be made explicit that the methodology employed is based on certain premises of the Neo-Comparatist school, brought together in an extensive but finite inventory of narrative *motifs* and *types*.¹² The inventory’s common anthropological structures, responsible for sustaining the stories within human communities, link them to the same common folkloric background (Uther; Pedrosa). Beyond possible criticisms of Neo-Comparatism, for the purposes of this project it is enough to admit that there is a structural recurrence in the use of types and motifs among folkloric literatures, and that in the corpus these mechanisms are exactly those which serve to formalize the memory of the maquis. How these

narrative types operate within the oral archive gathered will be demonstrated with a few examples.

The Notorious Robbery of La Vega

Le habían enviado una carta a un señor donde [se] le decía: “Mañana a las doce estate preparado que voy a robarte.” Firmado por: El Cariñoso. El señor llamó a la policía y vinieron a docenas. Rodearon la casa y se subieron por las escaleras y los tejados [. . .] Poco antes de las doce se presenta un militar con muchas estrellas, se apea de un coche, todos los policías le saludan, les pregunta “¿qué hacen ustedes aquí?”, “Pues es que hemos recibido un aviso de que a las doce viene El Cariñoso a robar a esta casa.” “No, pues no creo que se atreva con este despliegue que han organizado. Váyanse a tal sitio y estén allí alerta. Yo les esperaré solo arriba con el dueño de la casa. Si a las doce no ha venido, es que el aviso era falso.” [. . .] [Cuando el militar está sólo con el dueño de la casa] saca la pistola [. . .] Era El Cariñoso. (qtd. in Cicero 291)

(They had sent a letter to a man that said: “Tomorrow at midnight be prepared because I’m going to rob you.” Signed by: El Cariñoso. The man called the police and they came by the dozens. They surrounded the house and went up the stairs and onto the roof [. . .] Shortly before midnight a military officer with several stars [on his uniform] showed up, got out of a car, and all of the police officers saluted him, and the military officer asked them, “What are you all doing here?”; “Well, it’s that we received a warning that at midnight El Cariñoso is going to come rob this house.” “No, I don’t believe he’ll dare to with this operation you’ve all organized. Go to such-and-such a place be on the alert. I will wait for [the robbers] alone upstairs with the homeowner. If he hasn’t come by midnight, it’s because it was a false warning.” [. . .] [When the officer is alone with the homeowner] he took out his gun [. . .] It was El Cariñoso.)

This excerpt contains a typical folkloric motif belonging to oral tradition: “Trickery in plain sight.” It is related to etiological myths, but also to epic pursuits in many cases (Pedrosa et. al.), and is the same one that Poe captured brilliantly in *The Purloined Letter*. As a result, the account of “El Cariñoso’s” historic assaults is formalized through literary devices that place the guerrilla leader within the framework of *the heroic* and of *the trickster* (Pedrosa), of the hero that acquires goods and trespasses by means of deception. Thus, the presence of one of the mythopoetic characteristics of

the guerrilla fighter in the oral tradition is evident: he possesses a magical control over his own body that allows him to evade recognition.

The Stolen Secret or the Curious Man's Punishment

David el cojo [estaba] a oscuras, [en un cuarto] dividido por un tabique de tablones, subido a un montón de paja, y pegaba el oído a la madera, sin hacer ruido. En el otro lado estaban reunidos su cuñado, [. . .] y otros impresentables del partido ganador. Van diciendo los nombres [. . .] Supongo que mi abuelo [David] haría un esfuerzo terrible por recordarlos. Después iba casa por casa y avisaba. Cuando llegaban los matones nunca había nadie [. . .] Una noche [David] oyó su nombre. (RMF)

(David the Cripple [was] in the dark, [in a room] divided by a wood partition, on top of a pile of straw, and he pressed his ear against the wood, without making any noise. On the other side were gathered together his brother-in-law [. . .] and other distasteful folks from the winning team. They go on pronouncing names [. . .] I suppose that my grandfather [David] must have made an extreme effort to try to remember them. Afterwards he went house by house warning everyone. When the thugs arrived nobody was there [. . .] One night [David] heard his name.)

This story, in its third-generation version, transpires in Magaz de Arriba, Bierzo. It brings together various well-documented folkloric motifs pertaining to the procurement of information vital for survival, both individual and collective, in the possession of hostile external powers (ogres and natural spirits): the “story of the man who takes seriously the foretelling of his own death” (ATU), “the expedition to catch the murmurs of nature” and “curiosity rewarded/curiosity punished” (Pedrosa et al.).

The Self Did It

Clementina Sousa, a súa muller [de Enrique Fernández, un escapado], dicícalles ós dous fillos [. . .] que o seu pai se chamaba “Nadie” por se nalgunha ocasión os falanxistas lles preguntasen aos rapaces: “¿Quién está ahí?” Os nenos respondían “Nadie.” Todas as precaucións eran poucas. (Parrado 33–34)

(Clementina Sousa, the wife [of Enrique Fernández, a fugitive], told her two sons [. . .] that their father's name was "Nobody," so that whenever the Falangists asked the boys: "Who's over there?," they responded, "Nobody." All of the precautions were few.)

This example contains the international motif in which the trickster outwits the ogre with a name that is a non-name, a concept classified under type ATU 1137 (Uther): *Self did it*. The most well-known example of this motif occurs in the scenes in *The Odyssey* in which Odysseus encounters Polyphemus. This narration, here verbally transmitted by the son of a fugitive maquis fighter, reveals the evocative capacity that the narrative types of folkloric origin possess in their ability to integrate any fragment of historical experience.

The Fake Maquis Fighters

Muchos querían ser El Cariñoso [. . .] Dos mujeres muy mayores [. . .] y un sobrino, que había llevado una vaca y un toro a vender a la feria, [. . .] y [se les aparece uno] con un trozo de un jersey puesto tipo pasamontañas. Pues fue allí y dijo "alto, soy Pin el Cariñoso" con una pistola, y le dice a aquellas dos mujeres de Linto que le den el dinero del toro y de la vaca. "Ay Pin, hijo mío, no me mates," porque la que dijo eso conocía a Pin muy conocido [. . .] y entonces al decir "ay Pin, hijo mío, no me mates, no me mates, que el dinero sí voy a buscarlo," esa bien lo pensó, [. . .] y dice a la hermana "sal y pide auxilio" y entonces ya se reunió allí toda la gente, [le capturaron y] le quitaron el capote: [era] el jefe de falange de Miera, Chucho Fernández. (EVN)

(Lots of people wanted to be El Cariñoso [. . .] Two very elderly women [. . .] and their nephew had taken a cow and a bull to sell at the fair, [. . .] and [an impostor maquis fighter appeared] with a piece of sweater pulled over his head like a ski-mask. He went up to them with a gun and said, "stop, I am Pin el Cariñoso," and he told those two women from Linto to give him the money from the bull and the cow. "Oh, Pin, my child, don't kill me," said one of the women because she knew Pin very well [. . .] and so upon saying, "Oh, Pin, my child, don't kill me, don't kill me, I am going to go look for the money," she thought hard about it, [. . .] and she said to her sister "go and ask for help" and then at once all of the people assembled, [they captured him] and they took off his hood: [it was] the chief of Miera's Falange, Chucho Fernández.)

Together with the “Other mistaken identities” (ATU) narrative type, the question of *the fake maquis fighter* constitutes an entire sub-theme. There are many stories that tell of people who took advantage of the circumstances to imitate the operative methods of the maquis guerrilla movement and commit robbery without having to face punishment. Beyond their moralizing function as tales of greed, they are based on Francoist counterinsurgency tactics. Seeking to separate the guerrilla movement from its social base, Francoist soldiers copied the *modus operandi* of the maquis guerrilla as part of attempts to turn the civilian population against it. Behind this we find a classic folkloric motif of *the guardians of the forest*, or *the imaginary phantom*. In this narrative structure, the community uncovers that the ogre and the hero are one and *the same*.

No more examples will be given here, but those already mentioned seek to prove the hypothesis that these rural communities have constructed their collective memory of the maquis using verbally-transmitted popular literature by fashioning stories that in turn formed part of their oral tradition. This mechanism is that which resolves the tension between history and literature through the application of narrative types.

The Maquis’s Grand Legend and the Logic of the Heroic

Some of the stories documented would seem to refer directly to Isidro Cicero’s book. This link is particularly explicit in one of them in which an incident from *Los emboscados* reappears: “Si según decía el libro ese, [El Cariñoso] con la cuchara de la comida [. . .], hizo una llave para poder abrir y escapar, que si no aquella noche le mataban” (QNT 35–37) (Well according to that book it said that, [El Cariñoso] with an eating spoon [. . .], made a key to open the lock and escape, because if he didn’t that night they would kill him). This is an example of the process of *contamination* in which the classic phenomenon of *interference* involving oral and written traditions occurs (Zumthor). Its appearance here is a testament to the vitality of a culture of oral transmission that, though the threatened vestige of an earlier era, still has the capacity to seamlessly integrate new stories with roots in written literature. When one informant spoke of “un libro con una gran leyenda de Rada y el Cariñoso” (DCB) (a book with a grand legend about Rada and El Cariñoso), she couldn’t have been more precise. Just like the rest of the maquis stories, the tales about “El Cariñoso” are legends in the analytical sense that the tradition of folklorists attributes to the term:

A legend is an oral or written narration that presents extraordinary events considered to be true or as possibly having occurred by both the narrator and the listener, events that are connected to the historical past

and the geographical environment of the community that the narration concerns or in which it develops. (Pedrosa 34)

Los emboscados can be considered a written legend. It recounts events (regarded as *being true*) from the life of Pin “El Cariñoso,” an individual of great merit endowed with an exceptional talent for escapes in which he partners with Nature from the day of his arrest and subsequent getaway until the evening before he intended to set sail for America, when he met his death in Santander at the hands of the Civil Guard. The book offers a panorama of the Cantabrian maquis guerrilla based on oral accounts, but its stories are no less legendary than those of other *emboscados*—forest dwelling outlaws (Orestes, Ramiro, Tampa and Ferroviario). Always communicated with superb narrative skill, numerous incidents (infiltrations, shootouts, acts of vengeance), invariably governed by complex codes of honor, are counter-texts to Franco’s ruthless repression of the civilian population. These adventures are not *impossible*, but together they do seem unlikely. Many literary elements are clearly at play here. With the clear intent of demonstrating this to be so, *Los emboscados* employs the *livre trouvé* (the discovered book) structure with the supposed diary of one of “El Cariñoso’s” lovers.

Los emboscados is not the only written narrative about the maquis, based on testimonies, that takes on the statute of *legend* belonging to its oral elements (Gómez), though the type of narrative mediation that it proposes is unique in that it is right on the line between fiction and oral history. By adhering to the forms in which the highly unusual narrations of Pin were transmitted (in the use of both narrative *types* and *motifs*), *Los emboscados* remains *faithful* to the primary oral community’s tradition. In turn it allows the community to recognize itself in the book, and, what is more, it symbolizes the maquis experience through the use of the written legend’s narratological categories.

From a thematic perspective, the written legend employs the literary schematic of bandit stories in which the protagonist is forced to leave his community and live in the wilderness, thereby assuming a double nature—human-animal. In the heroic narratives, the protagonists must also abandon their own *territory* and search in a *wild space*, a place of continuous motion in which the heroes remain only so long so as they can avoid spending energy necessary for the completion of their epic exploits (Pedrosa *et al.*). In bandit stories, the *wild space* becomes the protagonist’s *territory*, although the tension of his double nature is resolved in the form of a return to humanity or a final disintegration in nature. It is worth mentioning a common statement of guerrilla melancholy as it appears in the film *La guerrilla de la memoria*: “estuvimos demasiado tiempo en el monte” (we were in the mountains too long). Partly hostile and without narrative

solutions, the mountains disrupt the maquis fighter's state of self-recognition.

Los emboscados and other maquis testimonies are constructed according to the narrative terms of heroic legend, in the sense in which Pedrosa uses this term in an already classic essay (2003), applying the theory of the gift (of Mauss and Lévi-Strauss) to the Neo-Comparatism of ATU (Uther). As specified by Pedrosa, a heroic tale is a story of a hero that, beginning from a position characterized by scarcity (economic, familial, and symbolic), goes on an epic search that leaves him in a position of potential abundance. Along the way, the hero faces one or several adversaries with or without the help of auxiliaries. According to Pedrosa, the hero is characterized as a universal giver (as opposed to the adversary, who is characterized as a universal hoarder, typically in the mythological form of the *ogre*). He is also portrayed as a minimal consumer, as a *closed body* subject (that rarely eats or speaks and forgoes sexual relations throughout the duration of his epic search), in contrast to his opponent's *open body*.

The hero only exists as such with respect to a specific community that is affected by the initial scarcity provoked by the hoarding ogre. In the testimonies gathered, it is the entrance of Francoist troops that produces this initial state of scarcity, in which cows, land or women are removed from the cultural network of gifts and stockpiled by prominent Francoist officers. The function of the hero is to recover these goods and return them to the *original* circuits of trade belonging to these preindustrial communities. In this way he earns his *charisma*. In the corpus, certain representatives of Francoism are depicted as the hoarding ogres: "Tenía una vaca un tío, una vaca buena, [y don Gregorio] se la *comía*, se la compraba, pero [por] lo que él quería [. . .] La vaca valía veinte, se la compraba en ocho o en menos, el don Gregorio" (JL) (One man had a cow, a really good cow, [and Mr. Gregorio] ate it. He bought it, but [for] how much he wanted to pay [. . .] The cow was worth twenty, but he bought it for eight or less, that Mr. Gregory did); "El Rey de los Campos, [. . .] a mi abuelo le quitó todas las vacas y todo, cuando vivíamos en la cabaña allí arriba. Le quedó una vaca muy buena y fue el Rey de los Campos y se la quitó" (CAC) (El Rey de los Campos [*the King of los Campos*], [. . .] took away all of the cows and everything from my grandfather, when we lived in the cabin up there. He had one really good cow left and el Rey de los Campos went there and took it from him).

As specified by Pedrosa, the hero is characterized by his capacity to dominate both expansive and limited spaces (forests, mountain ranges, caves, bridges, passes). "El Cariñoso" is portrayed as a "lord of the spaces." One of his other most prominent attributes is his ubiquity. These capabilities are critical to his successful conclusion of the epic search. In this case, in a militarized territory, the hero is able to take advantage of the ogre's absence by entering his residence, to evade the Civil Guard's checkpoints or to show up at public processions (Cicero 78–95). It is the ability to cross boundaries

and to move objects or people through an inhospitable environment that defines the maquis fighter according to the mythologies. According to Pedrosa, the epic search concludes when the illegitimately removed goods are returned and the situation of initial scarcity is transformed into one of potentially unlimited wealth (a happy ending). In exchange, the protagonist is bestowed with the title of hero.

This schema is put in place in *Los emboscados* by means of the narrative model of *the death of the hero*. The reading community members that invented a legendary “El Cariñoso” now had a story that recast the verbally transmitted, fragmentary tales. This structure belonging to the *heroic* allowed them to celebrate their own feats, motivated by the desire to escape, and mock those responsible for the community’s suffering. The epic life of “El Cariñoso,” his theatrical avenging, granted a symbolic reward to the community, an imaginary compensation for the goods taken from them unjustly. In the end, when “El Cariñoso” is about to escape once and for all, he meets a tragic death and so ends up sacrificing his life as *a representative of the community*. Thus an individual resolution is avoided and *the failure of the maquis in his epic search* is highlighted.

Memory of Repression, Rural Identity and the Formalization of the Maquis

The only guerrilla fighter of the Miera Valley with a *heroic* legend is “El Cariñoso.” The attitudes with respect to the others are ambiguous: “Decían que estaban robando, yo no lo sé” (DC) (They said they were stealing, but I don’t know). On some occasions the penetrance of Francoist language can be observed: “Delincuentes, emboscados, que andaban a secuestrar gente para que les dieran dinero” (PLR) (Criminals, forest people, that went around kidnapping people to get ransom money). Overall, they do not give the impression that the maquis fighters were described in heroic terms. Rather, it seems that the guerrillas are judging one-by-one according to their individual acts. The maquis, according to this hermeneutic tradition, were basically village kids: “Eran unos muchachos buenos, normales” (EVN) (They were good, normal boys).

It would be necessary to explain why, in general terms, the maquis’s portrayal is not the one expected, which would be that derived from heroic tales, especially since it does fit so well with the oral paradigm. In other words, the ethno-literary reasoning that makes it so that, here and now, the maquis fighters *are not* heroes, would have to be discovered. Why is there such a *décalage*, or discrepancy, between the urban historical narrative that today associates democracy with the maquis and the historical-narrative

parameters used to narrate the maquis guerrilla experience by the communities that are its very inheritors?

Here is one hypothesis: the maquis fighters who are reconstructed within these fragments of legends function in terms of their corporeal worth as bodies that *are not sufficiently closed*: “Vicentón el de Cándida, un sinvergüenza, [...] comía donde cualquier vecino [...] Una noche le llevó la chaqueta y los zapatos. Se dedicaba a eso, a robar, a vivir de vago sin trabajar” (ABS) (Vicentón of Cándida, a shameless lowlife, [...] would eat wherever he could find a neighbor [...] One night he made off with somebody’s jacket and shoes. That’s what he did, steal, and live like a bum without ever working).

It is not that the maquis fighters are truly *open bodies*, but rather that they are seen as *consumers of resources*. The testimonies affirming this to be so are plentiful, even if they sometimes do so with the understanding: “Tienen que sobrevivir” (MAB) (They have to survive). Their humanization is precisely where the problem lies. If the maquis fighter’s behavior is human, *it cannot be heroic*. By reminding the hero *that the community sustains him*, the implication is that the individual who thereby obtains *heroic charisma* is not merely returning to the community resources intended to compensate for those provided to him.

The unbalanced relationship between the maquis and the labor of the community reappears so often that it comes to constitute the key factor defining the popular moral-political stance in regard to them; such a stance is always a polemic one. Consequently, the sister of the mythical Girón defends him saying that “se valía de la caza, de su trabajo, no robaba nada a nadie, ni cogía nada de nadie, al contrario, aún daba, en vez de coger” (Corcuera) (he made use hunting, and of his work, he didn’t steal anything from anybody, nor did he borrow anything from anybody, on the contrary, he would give to people, instead of taking). That is to say that Girón was, with respect to his community, a giver as opposed to a hoarder and therefore he satisfied the basic condition necessary to be considered a hero.

There is no shortage of maquis stories in the ‘Robin Hood’ style: “A los que robaban las gallinas y les robaron los terneros, eran los que mandaban en toda la otra pobre gente” (EYY) (The people whose chickens and calves were stolen were those who ordered around all of the poor people). A common argument concerning the guerrilla movement’s integration into its environment lies along these lines. It maintains that these formed networks of mutual solidarity, which in turn resulted in the intensification of political repression:

Los refugiaban en cabañas y ellos los daban dinero, porque [los emboscados], a la gente que tenía mucho le quitaban dinero, pero a la gente misera la ayudaban [...] Cuando se descubrió, los tuvieron en la cárcel mucho tiempo a los que los habían refugiado. (MTE)

(People would shelter them in cabins and they would give them money, because [the *emboscados*] would take money from people who had a lot, but they helped the penniless [. . .] When this was discovered, they put the people who had sheltered them in jail for a very long time.)

The maquis fighters from Miera, like those from all parts, contributed economically to the communities that sustained them (Gómez). That is why the metaphor of nourishment seems to indicate a different type of *costs*. The informants equate the maquis's political situation with the postwar experience of scarcity: "Llevaron a casi todo el pueblo a la cárcel, a la gente que les protegía [. . .] Aquello de los del monte, de aquello quedó el pueblo arrasado" (EVN) (They took nearly the whole town to jail, the people that protected them [. . .] That matter of the people in mountains, because of that the whole town was destroyed). As a result, a link emerges between the maquis phenomenon and the progressive destruction of the community's *habitat*. In essence, the rural communities's support of the maquis led them to become primary targets of political violence. Franco's *scorched earth policy* destroyed entire families and villages: "El pueblo de Mirones estaba casi todo en el trullo" (JLN) (Nearly the whole town of Mirones was in lockup). These are the resources that the maquis was consuming. Due to his incapacity to provide compensation for these losses, the maquis became an unsustainable phenomenon for the rural communities safeguarding his existence.

The logic of sustainability of the rural world leads the maquis to be conceived of as a serious and real threat to the viability of these communities. It never escapes notice that scarcity is imposed from outside the communities: "Para que no dieran de comer a los emboscados, no dejaron a nadie en San Roque, ni el ganado ni nada" (ABS) (They didn't leave anybody in San Roque, not even the livestock, so that they didn't feed the *emboscados*). It is also clear that, at certain moments, the maquis had nothing to offer to the communities that sustained him, the very same communities that were obligated to support him due to bonds of kinship. This is the cause of the impotence one informant, a noted defender of the guerrilla movement, expresses:

Eran cobardes, porque a las familias las machacaron, a las familias y al que no era familia, y eran unos cobardes porque no tenían narices de bajar al pueblo y matar a los tíos aquellos, porque es lo que tenían que haber hecho, unos cobardes y al único que mataron era a uno que llamaban el Rey de los Campos. (ECB)

(They were cowards, because their families were being murdered, their families and people who weren't family, and they were cowards because

they didn't have the guts to go down to the town and kill those guys, because that's what they should've done, they were cowards and the only guy they did kill was the one they called *el Rey de los Campos*.)

If the hero is not capable of slaying the hoarding ogres, then he is not a hero; he is something else instead, perhaps just a desperate man or someone who is trying to survive.

Those That Did Not Go to the Mountains

The outline of a different historical account, molded from other cultural categories, emerges from the quick survey provided here. Perhaps these communities's narrative positions would not have been the same in the past. Their moral judgment of the maquis reflects what is today *the memory of a failure*, not necessarily that of the maquis as a guerrilla movement so much as that of the very communities that surrounded and protected it.

One of the informants, fifty-years-old, was interviewed in the company of his two adolescent sons. They also knew the maquis stories and questioned their father's manner of telling them. In doing so, those boys gave evidence of the survival of the valley's collective memory in its oral storytelling traditions. In spite of the partial destruction of rural cultures in Spain's processes of modernization (Cazorla), it is possible to document the preservation of the aforementioned narrative traditions.

Many questions arise from this reconstruction. Some of these suggest the exclusion of these communities as the producers of folktales from the processes of recovery of memory. Others suggest the privileging of a different kind of historical experience over the maquis's armed warfare, one focused instead on the effect of the State's political violence on the neighboring bodies. The communities themselves are the center of focus, but so is their own unique and complex phenomenology of violence.

The memory of the maquis retained by the inhabitants of Spain's magic mountains is clear. The maquis once belonged to their community, but, at a certain point in time, ceased to do so. Today the maquis is an object of memory, an etiological myth that attests to the community's contemporary origins, when the State militarized the mountain ranges and took control of the inhabitants's ways of life. By declaring themselves to be distant relatives of those who took to the mountains, the community members dispute their right to possess a territory in the midst of an external and threatening dominant culture. The maquis fighters are creatures of this rural culture's imagination and of its ways of asserting its place, historically and politically, within this territory.

Notes

1. A terminological precision regarding the translation of the polysemic term *maquis* is necessary. When *maquis* refers to an individual warrior, the expression *guerrilla fighter* or *maquis fighter* will be used. When *maquis* refers to the armed struggle in its totality, however, the term *guerrilla warfare* will be employed. In the remaining cases, *maquis* is used to name a movement, an imaginary, a world or discourses and stories, as with the same ambiguous and productive usage that the term possesses in Spanish. This does not prevent the need for clarification in some cases.
2. The expression *guerrilla de la memoria* is taken from the biography of Francisco Martínez López “Quico” (146), and is the title of an important documentary directed by Javier Corcuera, based on interviews of guerrilla fighters and an investigation of their surroundings. The fighters discuss the duties and objectives of their struggle and express their demands for public recognition, all the while in dialogue with the agendas of groups for the recovery of historical memory. For an outline of the issues that surround the discourses, practices and institutions concerning “historical memory,” the collective volume *Unearthing Franco’s Legacy*, along with the classic book by Paloma Aguilar, will serve as useful and up-to-date accounts. Regarding the specific case of the guerrilla movement, it is Serrano’s work that most clearly connects the history of the *maquis* with the debates about historical memory (2001), although nearly all of the books published after 2000 incorporate this angle (Vidal). The documentary website www.lagavillaverde.org is also indispensable to the study of the relationship between historical memory and guerrilla warfare.
3. A simple bibliographical consultation demonstrates the unsettling exactitude with which this pattern is upheld. In the archives of the National Library of Madrid, out of the sixty-four entries yielded by the category “Spanish guerrilla warfare, 1939–1975,” eleven pertain to the transitional period (1976–1985) and forty-seven to the period “of historical memory” (2000–2010), while between the two of them there are only three titles.
4. La Gavilla Verde’s webpage provides one of the most complete inventories of studies and fictional works that explore the *maquis* imaginary. The fiction section offers more than two hundred titles, which provides an idea of the importance of this production and of its potential reception.
5. The term “*topo*,” literally “*mole*,” refers to the individual who remained in hiding while Franco was in power, as well as to those who went into hiding at the start of the Civil War and lived completely subterranean lives, sometimes for decades.
6. The first and most beneficial effect of such recognition was the inclusion of the *maquis* within the annals of twentieth century Spanish history (this is certainly true of the most widely distributed scientific bibliography, though it remains unclear if the same can be said for educational textbooks). Usually this took the form of knowledge of important historical episodes: the participation of Spanish republicans in the French *maquis*’s guerrilla movement and within the Allied forces, the transfer of Spanish prisoners to Nazi concentration and extermination camps, the existence of concentration camps in Spain for the politically persecuted, the role of political prisoners in the building of public infrastructure (and, subsequently, the existence of *reeducation* camps for homosexuals and other *social public enemies* in Spain). These are a few of the dark chapters many that connect Spanish history with that of the horrors of the twentieth-century in the rest of Europe. In many cases, these were tied to the *maquis* that had been “forgotten” (in some instances having ceased to be

represented, or in other much more serious cases, having never constituted historical accounts beyond victims's personal recollections) and finally surfaced along with this possible reemergence of the maquis. It is disturbing to think that resurfacing, which begins to take place in 2004, was pointed out by Eduardo Pons, author of one of the first monographs about the maquis, in an early interview-article by Ramos Espejo, "La España oculta del maquis," but did not receive much attention.

7. As for the questioning of the place that these communities's testimonial subjectivity can occupy within the context of late-capitalist (and anti-rural, as in Spain) modernization, this text proposes that such a place indeed exists. Furthermore, it proposes that these communities capable of dialogue are also producers of discourse, and know how to identify and recognize themselves in relationship to an urban-rural system of communication that is capable of constructing a language that mediates between oral-popular story form and lettered culture, as is documented in the case of Cicero analyzed in this essay. It is not "how an otherness is represented"—the presence of alternative subjectivities in these "other" stories about the maquis—that is interesting, nor how any other processes animate a *paper maquis*. Instead, it is a question of analyzing other phenomena involving the circulation of languages around the maquis, and the community constructions that emerge from these at the exact point where the story's semantics *is* its pragmatics. A perfect example of this was the presentation on November 19, 2010 of Vicente Vega's documentary *La saga de El Cariñoso (The Saga of El Cariñoso)*, produced by the Asociación Miradas Sociales de Cantabria. There *pro-memory* activists, researchers, the work of two generations of scholars of the maquis, families of victims of Francoism, a civic association and neighbors of the Miera Valley gathered and co-existed.
8. All of the testimonies cited in this essay have been collected by the authors, as part of a project focused on the study of the rural cultures surrounding the maquis through the collection of oral testimony. Concerning the methodology of this task, see note 10. For procedural reasons, the names of the interviewees cannot be revealed as long as they are alive (nor can other details such as their ages or the villages they live in) or at least not directly, nor in all cases. Thus acronyms that refer to their initials will be used in most cases. These abbreviations always correspond to complete archival records where all of this information is stored.
9. The methodology employed in conducting the interviews has relied upon encounters of different lengths with individuals willing to participate in this project, most of whom were contacted previously by a third party. The means of access used in the interviews often involved invoking ties to friends of other community members or even, in some cases, distant family ties. Secondly, the methodology was built on a commitment to listening. No open questionnaires were used. When asked about their recollections of their experiences in the immediate post-war era or the stories from that period that they had heard told, the interviewees were allowed to talk freely. For this reason some of the interviews last only a few minutes, while others last several hours or even, in a few cases, require several meetings. It is important to keep in mind that the experiences of the maquis and of repression are inseparable from the family biographies themselves. Thus, to assume responsibility for these stories is to assume responsibility for the interviewees's lives. At specific moments the interviewers interceded in order to obtain information about other aspects or to recover elements previously mentioned. Different versions of the stories were also compared. In some cases, the interviewees were asked to relate specific stories when they had knowledge of them. The interviews were either individual or conducted in the presence of family members, friends and neighbors. Overall, an effort was made to preserve the story's usual conditions within these communities as much as

possible, and, when feasible, to integrate the interviews into the everyday environment. The proceedings's confidentiality, when published, was guaranteed to the interviewees. These conditions were not maintained for the interviews in Bierzo and in Galicia, and therefore they correspond to particular typologies. For this reason, they were not the fundamental basis for this study, and they have been used only at particular times. It is the authors's hope that these shortcomings can be further developed in a future version of the project.

10. The language and the methodology of ethno-literature are being used as supports in order to reflect on the relationships and narratological transferences that take place between lettered and non-lettered cultural spaces, local and international oral traditions, folklore and ethnography, oral history, and social memory and biographies. As a discipline that serves as a bridge between the studies of discourse and socio-cultural anthropology, ethno-literature makes use of a very effective analytical language. In a complex terrain of oral narrations that involve collective protagonists, it is able to clearly mark places of subjectivity and historical experiences, to present objectively structures and narratives, and their recurrences, and to offer genealogical, ecological, symbolic and socioeconomic explanations of their forms of being codified and transformed.
11. The italicized phrases indicate those formal elements that repeat themselves in all the recorded versions of these stories. These are the very elements that can be considered markers of a process of cultural, mnemonic and legendistic formalization. The systematized nature of these markers is what suggests that the stories belong to a tradition, in the sense that they transmit themselves in a codified manner.
12. Following Uther's aforementioned work, a lucky period appears to have begun for scholars of ethnofolklore and comparative ethno-literature, disciplines that dialogue with the positivist comparatism of the early twentieth century, from the theoretical and analytical backgrounds of sociocultural anthropology and other auxiliary disciplines, and of postcolonial studies, or, at least, from the viewpoint that is of interest here it does. Uther returned to the classifications of types and motifs realized during the previous century by Aarne and Thompson, systemizing and reorganizing them, as well as contributing his own categories. This amounted to the construction of a complex categorical corpus of minimal narratologic. In reality, Vicentón was not exactly a maquis fighter but rather a fugitive, probably from before the war. Some testimonies (the most favorable towards the maquis) show a great interest in maintaining this distinction, but still show interest in using the same narrative logic as the rest of the maquis stories. Vicentón's dwelling in Darma Blanca (San Roque de Miera, Cantabria) is called, significantly, "the cave of the maquis." All structures present in the oral (and written) traditions belong to numerous languages and cultures and extend over the entire planet, although with variable emphases depending on the location. While Uther's work focused on traditional stories, a similar task still remains to be completed for legends, in spite of the existence of synergies between the different forms of different narratological traditions. The works of José Manuel Pedrosa constituted the fundamental Neo-Comparatist references for this essay.

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