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1. Introduction

We [...] who have lived in other countries as well as our own have spoken and understood the language of these countries and have heard what was said by the people. We have something that cannot be taken from us by an article or a critical agreement of professors. (Hemingway, *88 Poems* 95-96, quot. in Herlihy-Mera 48)

Having lived not only in the United States, but also in Canada, Paris and Cuba, as well as having traveled extensively within Europe and having explored the African continent on numerous safaris, Ernest Hemingway got to experience various different cultures and lifestyles. However, the Spanish country, its people and their ancient traditions seem to have been especially appealing to Hemingway, as he not only spent many summers celebrating the Fiesta de San Fermín in Pamplona, but also stayed loyal to the country in its darkest time during the Spanish Civil War (Castillo-Puche 369).

This thesis focuses on the presentation of Spain in selected fictional texts by Ernest Hemingway. It intends to demonstrate how the Spanish landscape, history and people are depicted in those texts and in how far the fictional presentation of Spain may reflect the author's personal experiences. Furthermore, the thesis will explore to what extent the presentation of Spain in Hemingway's texts dealing with the Spanish Civil War differs from the depiction of the Spanish culture in his early works.

The texts that were chosen to be analyzed in order to discuss the research questions are the six interchapter vignettes of *In Our Time* dealing with the art of bullfighting, Hemingway's first novel *The Sun Also Rises*, his major novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, as well as his short stories *The Denunciation*, *The Butterfly and the Tank* and *Old Man at the Bridge*. However, in order to fully understand not only the relevance of the selected fictional texts, but also the major topics they frequently address, it is necessary to provide certain background information on the author's life and his personal relationship with the Spanish country. Therefore, chapter two will mainly focus on Hemingway's trips to Pamplona in the 1920s, where he became acquainted with the lively

world of bullfighting, as well as on his trips to Spain during the Spanish Civil War in the late 1930s, which let him experience a less positive atmosphere.

The third and main chapter of this study will present a close analysis of the chosen texts, starting with the interchapter vignettes of *In Our Time* and *The Sun Also Rises*, all of which were written before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War and thus draw on Hemingway's early experiences of Spanish life. Whereas the analysis of the short vignettes will focus on the highly judgmental presentation of matadors and their bullfighting skills, the presentation of Spain in *The Sun Also Rises* will be analyzed according to the novel's main Spanish settings and the narrator's changing perception of landscape, people and events, as the story develops. The analysis of Hemingway's fictional texts which are based on the author's experiences of the Spanish Civil War will mainly focus on the presentation of the Civil War's destructive nature and its effects on the Spanish country and its people. Finally, the findings will be compared and contrasted and conclusions in regards to the research questions will be drawn.

2. Ernest Hemingway – a selective biography

2.1. Childhood, youth and young adulthood

Ernest Miller Hemingway was born in Oak Park, Illinois, on July 21, 1899, as the second of six children of Clarence Edmonds Hemingway, a renowned doctor (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 3-5), and Grace Hemingway, a singer of English ancestry, who was earning a considerable amount of money by giving singing lessons and composing numerous religious songs (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 106-107). Putting her career first, Grace never took over the role of a typical housewife and mother, but instead hired maids to look after her children and do the chores around the house (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 108).

Hemingway's father, who was himself a great fan of outdoor activities, introduced his first-born son to hiking, hunting and fishing at an early age (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 101) so that the two men would later not only share their passion for those sports, but also for guns (Castillo-Puche 369). Furthermore, Clarence Hemingway was eager to awaken his son's interest in medicine and thus trigger Ernest's desire to become a doctor (Mellow 21).

After graduating from Oak Park High School in June 1917, Hemingway's parents urged him to enroll in college in order to start his medical career, yet he refused, insisting on enlisting in the American army, as the United States had just entered the First World War two months earlier (Gurko 7). However, his father's disapproval as well as the fact that Hemingway was not yet 18, the minimum age for volunteering, kept him from enlisting immediately (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 45).

Nevertheless, instead of pursuing an academic career, Hemingway decided to go to Kansas City to live with his paternal uncle who could get him a job as a cub reporter at the *Kansas City Star* and thus enabled him to gain his first journalistic experiences (Mellow 35). Hemingway's early stories which he produced for the *Star* usually covered local issues, and hardly ever exceeded the length of a few paragraphs. Yet, the young reporter constantly tried to

improve his writing and story development by frequently asking experienced colleagues for advice (Mellow 42-43).

However, when Clarence finally gave his son the permission to volunteer for the army in the winter of 1917, only a few months after his 18th birthday, Hemingway was rejected, as his eyesight was considered to be too weak to serve (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 45). In early 1918, when members of the Italian Red Cross recruited men to serve as ambulance drivers in their country during World War I, Hemingway signed up (Mellow 47) and left for Italy in April the same year (Baker, *Life Story* 38).

Only three months later though, Hemingway and three Italian soldiers, whom he was providing with snacks, were bombed by the Austrian front (Mellow 60). Hemingway, whose leg was shattered by shell fragments in the attack, was first treated at the field hospital in Treviso, before being transferred to the American Red Cross Hospital in Milan, where he would spend the next few months recovering from his war wounds and establishing a romantic relationship with the American nurse Agnes von Kurowsky (Mellow 61-66).

After the end of the war, Hemingway finally returned to the United States in January 1919 (Mellow 88). While being celebrated as a hero in his home town Oak Park, which resulted in Hemingway still wearing his uniform even four months after his return (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 40), his private life turned out to be more challenging because of the physical and psychological consequences Hemingway had to bear as a result of his traumatic war experiences. Suffering from insomnia, nightmares and depression, he sought fulfillment in writing and heavy drinking (Mellow 89-90). Furthermore, Clarence Hemingway's depressions, which he had suffered from for several years, had become significantly worse during Ernest's absence, resulting in the fact that Clarence no longer engaged in outdoor activities, which once used to build the common ground of their father-son relationship (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 39). In 1928 Clarence Hemingway would ultimately commit suicide as the first of five members of the Hemingway family, amongst them Ernest himself, who ended their lives because of suffering from depression (Castillo-Puche 373).

Nevertheless, after Ernest's return from Italy, his father no longer insisted on his son becoming a doctor, but rather supported Ernest's wish to write fiction. However, in order to fulfill his dream, Hemingway returned to the *Kansas City Star*, since working as a journalist was the only way for him to receive regular payment while having enough time to dedicate to fiction (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 100). In 1920 Hemingway started writing for the *Toronto Star Weekly*, a magazine which gave him opportunities to deal with a much wider range of topics than the *Kansas City Star*, for which he mainly had to cover issues of local interest (Gurko 15). Although Hemingway had still not managed to produce fiction for a living, writing for the *Toronto Star* enabled him to incorporate fictional elements into his articles, letting them appear livelier and more impressive, as for example his description of events at the Italian front, where he pretended to have spent several active years instead of serving as an ambulance driver for merely a few months (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 196).

2.2. American Expatriates – a lost generation in Paris

In the fall of 1920, Hemingway moved to Chicago, where he met his first wife Hadley Richardson shortly after his arrival (Mellow 125-127). The couple got married only one year later, in September 1921 (Mellow 140), just three months before Hemingway accepted a job as a foreign correspondent for the *Toronto Daily Star* (Gurko 20), and therefore left the United States for Paris in order to be able to report on European political and social events accurately (Mellow 141).

By leaving America for Europe, Hemingway followed a tradition of American authors, amongst them Washington Irving and Henry James, who had left their home country and established their literary careers in Europe (Curnutt 20). However, abandoning the United States had never been so popular amongst American intellectuals and artists as in the 1920s, when numerous young ambitious adults sought to fulfill their dreams in France (Earnest 251).

Many of the young American writers who came to France in the early 1920s had served in the First World War and thus still suffered from the traumatic experiences which they had encountered (Aldridge 3). Since their emotional responses to these events were rather similar (Aldridge 3) and mainly

characterized by a loss of moral values and beliefs, Hemingway and his fellow American expatriate writers who came of age during World War I belonged to a generation which Gertrude Stein named “Lost Generation” (Fitch 162) and which Malcolm Cowley (9) characterized as

lost because it tried to live in an exile. It was lost because it accepted no older guides to conduct and because it had formed a false picture of society and the writer’s place in it. The generation belonged to a period of transition from values already fixed to values that had to be created.[...] [I]n the midst of their doubts and uneasy gestures they felt homesick for the certainties of childhood. It was not by accident that their early books were almost all nostalgic, full of the wish to recapture some remembered thing, [...] a home to which they couldn’t go back.

There were several reasons for young American artists to leave the United States and start a new life in Paris. While there is no doubt that France had always been an important center of literature and art and thus French writers functioned as models for American literates due to their excellent reputation, being able to live less restricted lives in Paris and escape from American Puritanism, which was made responsible for having reduced art to its economic function, certainly appealed to a great number of American writers as well (Hoffman 52-53). The expatriates’ desire to live in a country in which literature and art were truly appreciated for their artistic nature rather than their commercial aspect (Earnest vii) is described by Gertrude Stein (8) as follows:

The reason why all of us naturally began to live in France is because France has scientific methods, machines and electricity, but does not really believe that these things have anything to do with the real business of living. Life is tradition and human nature.

However, the fact that life in Europe suddenly became cheaper due to inflation and the favorable exchange rate of the dollar, which enabled expatriates to live a much more luxurious life in European countries than they could probably have afforded back in the States, certainly had a great influence on young American writers’ decisions to leave their home country as well (Fitch 163; Hoffman 46). Moreover, France was particularly cheap to live in during the 1920s, as decent apartments rarely exceeded a monthly rent of fifty dollars (Curnutt 15).

There were several important gathering places for American expatriate writers in Paris, one of them being Sylvia Beach's bookstore *Shakespeare and Company*, which was opened in 1919 (Earnest 251). Beach, an American expatriate herself, originally did not expect her bookstore in France to attract as many young writers from the United States and thus to indirectly profit from the rather hostile atmosphere towards artists and free thinkers in America (Earnest 252). However, the bookstore quickly having turned into one of the major centers for young American intellectuals in Paris, Hemingway and other expatriates stopped by on a daily basis not only to engage in sophisticated conversations, but also to pick up their private mail, which they had delivered there (Earnest 251). It was *Shakespeare and Company*, where Hemingway read novels by authors such as Dostoievski, Tolstoi, Flaubert, Henry James and James Joyce for the first time and was clearly inspired by their works (Baker, *Writer as Artist*, 10).

Another important center for young American expatriates, and probably the one which had the most impact on Ernest Hemingway and his writing, was Gertrude Stein's apartment at 27 rue de Fleurus, where she lived with her partner Alice B. Toklas (Mellow 147). Gertrude Stein, an American expatriate who was 48 years old and had already been living in Paris for more than a decade when Hemingway and his wife Hadley first met her in early 1922, was known to welcome any young intellectual who was interested in participating in discussions about literature and art (Earnest 251-252). Hence, her studio in Paris not only attracted American writers and editors, but also famous painters such as Henri Matisse, Juan Gris or Pablo Picasso, who even drew a portrait of Gertrude Stein herself (Mellow 147-148).

Therefore, it was Stein who introduced Ernest Hemingway to contemporary painters and thus awakened his interest in art, which he would retain for the rest of his life (Mellow 151). Furthermore, Gertrude Stein gave him valuable feedback on the stories and poems he had written so far. While Stein generally praised Hemingway's poetry, she severely criticized the young author's first stories as being too descriptive and focusing too much on sexual acts (Mellow 152). In a letter to a friend Hemingway described Gertrude Stein and the relevance of her critiques as follows:

She's the best head I know. Never wrong. Geest she can pick them – painters etc. when nobody can see it. Never picked a loser. Can always tell you whats [sic] wrong with your stuff when you dont [sic] know but only that it aint [sic] right. She's sure given me straight dope. (Hemingway, *Letters 1923-1925* 258)¹

However, Gertrude Stein was not the only one who would give the young Hemingway valuable feedback and thus influence his personal writing style. Such an influence was the American poet Ezra Pound, who had come to Paris only a few months prior to the Hemingways and significantly contributed to Ernest's famous plain, straightforward style (Curnutt 36-37). In a letter to Pound in 1933, Hemingway thanked him for teaching him more about the art of writing than anyone else (Mellow 159), thus referring to Pound's advice to spare adjectives and adverbs whenever possible and thus acquainting him with the art of "paring and compressing" (Curnutt 37).

2.3. Hemingway's interest in Spain

The Spanish landscape, history and people were a major focus of many of Hemingway's works almost from the beginning of his writing career (Baker, *Writer as Artist* 143). However, when having a closer look at his texts dealing with Spain, one could categorize them into two main groups according to their date of origin, which reflects Hemingway's seemingly changing interest in the country's different aspects (Baker, *Writer as Artist* 143).

Since Spain and Portugal were the only Latin countries about whose politics the young Hemingway had never written in the *Toronto Star*, it is assumed that in the 1920s he did not have as deep insights into Spain's political situation as he had gained in other countries' politics (Stanton 15). Therefore, texts which were written between 1923 and 1932 tend to focus on the portrayal of the Spanish countryside, cultural events and the people living in this country (Baker, *Writer as Artist* 143), describing them very similarly to Hemingway's personal impressions of Spain, as the following chapters will demonstrate. Hemingway's later works which were written between 1936 and 1940 strongly focus on the tragedy of the Spanish Civil War (Baker, *Writer as Artist* 143), events that the

¹ Mellow (152) also comments on this quote when discussing Stein's influence on Hemingway's writing style.

author himself came to experience from the perspective of a war correspondent (Castillo-Puche 376-377).

In order to gain full understanding of the interrelation between Hemingway's personal experiences in Spain and the presentation of the country's various aspects in his works, it is thus necessary to get an insight into the author's several trips to Spain, which the following subchapters will provide.

2.3.1. Hemingway as an *aficionado*

Having traveled through Europe extensively in order to accurately cover events for the *Toronto Daily Star* (Mellow 141), by 1923 Hemingway had been to a great number of European countries except for Spain, which he had only passed through briefly (Castillo-Puche 371). However, the British author George Borrow's lively description of Spain in his novel *The Bible in Spain*, which first introduced Hemingway to the Spanish country and its culture in the early twenties (Reynolds, *Young Hemingway* 184), as well as Gertrude Stein's excited interest in bullfights and the famous matador Joselito, who had been killed in the arena in 1920, awakened the young Hemingway's desire to visit Spain and experience its culture and the ritual of bullfighting (Mellow 235). After the first bullfights Hemingway attended in 1923, he developed a deep passion for this sport, which he preferred to call "tragedy" (Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon* 18), and claimed to be a real *aficionado*, a Spanish term which Hemingway defines as follows:

The aficionado, or lover of the bullfight, may be said, broadly, then, to be one who has this sense of the tragedy and ritual of the fight so that the minor aspects are not important except that they relate to the whole. Either you have this or you have not, just as [...] you have or have not an ear for music. (Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon* 8)

2.3.1.1. Hemingway's first trip to Spain – June 1923

Together with Robert McAlmon and Bill Bird, publishers whom Hemingway had met in Paris, the young author visited Spain for the first time in June of 1923 (Reynolds, *Paris Years* 128-129), not only for leisure but also to improve his writing, as Hemingway stated in retrospect:

The only place where you could see life and death, i.e., violent death now that the wars were over, was in the bull ring and I wanted very much to go to Spain where I could study it. I was trying to learn to write, commencing with the simplest things, and one of the simplest things of all and the most fundamental is violent death. It had none of the complications of death by disease, or so-called natural death, or the death of a friend or some one you have loved or have hated, but it is death nevertheless, one of the subjects that a man may write of. (Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon* 2)²

Having experienced his first bullfights in Madrid and Seville (Baker, *Life Story* 110-111), Hemingway was clearly overwhelmed by the ritual, as he later explained as follows:

So I went to Spain to see bullfights and to try to write about them for myself. I thought they would be simple and barbarous and cruel and that I would not like them, but that I would see certain definite action which would give me the feeling of life and death that I was working for. I found the definite action; but the bullfight was so far from simple and I liked it so much that it was too complicated for my then equipment for writing to deal with [...]. (Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon* 3)

Since Hemingway was already fascinated with the art of bullfighting, but felt like he needed to know more about it in order to be able to write about it properly, he decided to leave for Spain again only a few weeks after his return to Paris (Reynolds, *Paris Years* 132).

2.3.1.2. Pamplona – July 1923

Hemingway's wife Hadley, who had already been six months pregnant with the couple's first child, accompanied her husband on his second journey to Spain in July 1923, which led them to Pamplona, where they attended the famous annual festival of San Fermín (Reynolds, *Paris Years* 132), which Gertrude Stein had recommended, as it would provide the young writer with plenty of material to write about (Baker, *Life Story* 112).

The Fiesta de San Fermín is usually celebrated in early July (Mellow 238) and the festivity traditionally starts with religious processions in honor of Navarre's patron St. Fermín (Burgess 13). The extraordinary celebration then continues

² Parts of this as well as the following passage taken from *Death in the Afternoon* are also commented on in Mellow 236.

for an entire week, including fireworks, dancing in the streets, drinking, running of the bulls as well as daily bullfights, for which only the most talented matadors and strongest bulls are chosen to perform (Baker, *Life Story* 112).

In Pamplona Hemingway and his wife watched men risk their lives when running through narrow streets in front of aggressive bulls every morning before admiring Spain's bravest matadors in the bull ring (Reynolds, *Paris Years* 135). Their nights were usually spent in crowded bars and cafés enjoying exotic food and heavy drinking while watching riau-riau dancers moving to loud music in the streets (Mellow 238). However, in one of his poems, Hemingway does not define these Spanish events as "night life", when he states that "[t]here is no night life in Spain. They stay up late but they get up late. That is not night life. That is delaying the day" (Hemingway, *88 Poems* 72).

Having gained a deeper insight into the Spanish country, its culture and the art of bullfighting than during his first trip to Spain one month earlier, Hemingway finally felt secure enough to write about his great passion for bullfights, as the story *Bullfighting a Tragedy*, published in the fall of 1923 in the *Toronto Star Weekly*, shows. In this article, which can be seen as a close description of Hemingway's personal experiences of a typical bullfight in Pamplona, he emphasizes that bullfighting should not be considered as sport, but rather as a tragedy, as it "symbolizes the struggle between man and the beasts" (Hemingway, *Dateline: Toronto* 344). He further explains that

[t]he three absolute acts of the tragedy are first the entry of the bull when the picadors receive the shock of his attacks and attempt to protect their horses with their lances. Then the horses go out and the second act is the planting of the banderillos³. This is one of the most interesting and difficult parts but among the easiest for a new bullfight fan to appreciate in technique. [...] Last is the death of the bull, which is in the hands of the matador who has had charge of the bull since his first attack. (Hemingway, *Dateline: Toronto* 345)

Furthermore, Hemingway also expressed his newly discovered fascination with bullfighting in numerous letters written to his family and friends, such as in the following letter to his friend William D. Horne, on July 18, 1923:

³*Banderillos* is the term commonly used for the "barbed dart[s] stuck into the bull's neck" during a bullfight (*Oxford Dictionary Online*).

You'd be crazy about a really good bullfight, Bill. It isn't [sic] just brutal like they always told us. It's a great tragedy- and the most beautiful thing I've ever seen and takes more guts and skill and guts again than anything possibly could. It's just like having a ringside seat at the war with nothing going to happen to you. (Hemingway, *Letters 1923-1925* 36)

Shortly after the Hemingways' return to Paris and the publication of his first work *Three Stories and Ten Poems* (Josephs xiv), Ernest and Hadley moved to Toronto, where they planned to stay for a couple of years after the birth of their child (Reynolds, *Paris Years* 145). However, after John Hadley Nicanor Hemingway was born on October 10, 1923 (Mellow 242), the young family only stayed in Toronto until January the following year, when they moved back to Paris (Josephs xiv), partly because Hemingway felt like it was "impossible for [him] to do any writing on [his] own", since "[t]he paper want[s] all day and all night", as he wrote in a letter to Sylvia Beach in late 1923 (Hemingway, *Selected Letters* 68, quot. in Mellow 242). Furthermore, Hemingway quit his job at the *Toronto Star* in order to be able to fully focus on his career as an individual writer back in Paris, where he soon published *In Our Time* (Josephs xiv), a collection of short stories, of which five stories, as well as six out of thirteen interchapter vignettes, which will be analyzed in greater detail in chapter three, deal with Spanish culture (Baker, *Writer as Artist* 143).

2.3.1.3. Pamplona 1924 and 1925

Hemingway and his wife returned to Spain in the summer of 1924, traveling to Madrid and Aranjuez before finally reaching Pamplona, where they were accompanied by several of their friends who had been drawn to the Fiesta de San Fermín by Hemingway's excitement about the entire festivity and the bullfights in particular (Baker, *Writer as Artist* 26). Hemingway, who at the time of his third trip to Spain was even more secure about his expertise in bullfighting, which he felt distinguished him from many of his *non-aficionado* friends (Baker, *Writer as Artist* 26), even participated himself in one part of the bullfights which usually follows the running of the bulls, namely the one in which amateurs face bulls whose horns are padded with leather pieces in the arena (Reynolds, *Paris Years* 213). Describing his experience in the ring, Hemingway included the following lines in a letter to Ezra Pound on July 19, 1924, as Reynolds (*Paris Years* 214-215) points out:

I appeared in the bull ring on 5 different mornings- was cogida⁴ 3 times- accomplished 4 veronicas⁵ in good form and one natural with the muleta, [...] was offered a job as Picador by Algabeno after hanging onto the bulls [sic] horns for about 6 minutes and finally getting his nose down on the sand[.] (Hemingway, *Letters 1923-1925* 134)

However, Hemingway's third trip to Spain in the summer of 1924 is not only important to mention because of his bullfighting experience he gained from the perspective of an active participant, but rather because for the first time Hemingway went trout fishing near the small Basque town Burguete (Baker, *Writer as Artist* 26), which would later function as one of the main settings in his novel *The Sun Also Rises*, which will be analyzed in great detail in chapter three.

One year later, in 1925, Hemingway and Hadley came back to Pamplona to attend the San Fermín Fiesta again. However, this time they were accompanied by a different group of friends than on their previous trip, resulting in a rather tense atmosphere full of unforeseen interpersonal events (Baker, *Writer as Artist* 26), some of which Hemingway incorporated into the novel *The Sun Also Rises*, which he started writing that summer (Josephs xiv).

Nevertheless, once more Hemingway obviously seemed to be overwhelmed by the Spanish country and its culture, even going as far as comparing the bull ring to heaven, when writing the following lines to his friend F. Scott Fitzgerald on July 1, 1925:

I am feeling better than I've ever felt- havent [sic] drunk any thing but wine since I left Paris. God it has been wonderful country [sic]. [...] I wonder what your idea of heaven would be- a vacuum filled with wealthy monogamists, all powerful and members of the best families all drinking themselves to death. [...] To me heaven would be a big bull ring with me holding two barrera seats and a trout stream outside that no one else was allowed to fish in and two lovely houses in the town[.] (Hemingway, *Letters 1923-1925* 358).

⁴"sufrir una cogida = to be gored" (*Free Dictionary Online*).

⁵The term *Veronica* describes "a slow movement of the cape away from a charging bull by the matador" (*Oxford Dictionary Online*).

2.3.1.4. Death in the Afternoon

Fascinated by the celebrations Hemingway experienced on his first three trips to Spain, he came back for the Fiesta almost every summer for the next six years and even stayed there for a few months several times in his life (Castillo-Puche 371 ff).

After having divorced Hadley and married Pauline Pfeiffer, with whom Hemingway had two sons (Reynolds, *Homecoming* x-xiv), the author and his second wife continued to spend their summers in Pamplona, and in the summer of 1929 Hemingway started to take detailed notes during the Fiesta de San Fermín, as he was about to write a nonfiction book about bullfighting, which would take him two years to finish (Reynolds, *The 1930s* 20).

Considering himself a real *aficionado*, in addition to the knowledge Hemingway gained through his own experience, he even subscribed to bullfight magazines in order to be able to write about the art of bullfighting accurately in *Death in the Afternoon*, which was to be different than any other book he had ever read (Reynolds, *The 1930s* 41).

Indeed, *Death in the Afternoon* turned out to be unique in many ways. Michael Reynolds (*The 1930s* 41) describes it as

a book without models or comparisons, a book in several voices, many tenses, and doubling points of view. About many things- the rearing, fighting, and demise of bulls, a history of bullfighters, an explanation of their art, a guidebook to Spain, a discussion of writers and their craft, of critics and their shortcomings, a book of landscapes with and without figures, a philosophy of life in the lap of death, a Spanish food and wine digest- it is a discursive book of huge risks which no publisher would have encouraged had the author not been Ernest Hemingway.

Reynolds' (*The 1930s* 41) description perfectly captures the nature of Hemingway's *Death in the Afternoon*. Furthermore, it shows how much effort Hemingway put into his nonfiction book in order to introduce the reader to the Spanish country, its culture and rituals, which the author himself was so passionate about.

2.3.2. The Spanish Civil War and its consequences

Despite his deep passion for Spain, Hemingway only visited the country once between 1931 and 1937, as Ernest and Pauline had permanently settled in Key West and spent their summers in Havana, as well as on safaris in Africa (Reynolds, *The 1930s* 307-311). Hemingway would not come back to Pamplona until the summer of 1953 (Reynolds, *Final Years* 365).

However, in 1937 Hemingway returned to Spain, yet not to attend the Fiesta, but to cover the events of the Spanish Civil War as a foreign correspondent for the *North American News Alliance* (Reynolds, *The 1930s* 311). In order to better understand the circumstances of Hemingway's four stays in Spain during the Spanish Civil War, which inspired him to write *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, as well as to gain insights into the novel's setting, it is thus necessary to give a brief overview of the main events of the Spanish Civil War, which the following subchapters will provide.

2.3.2.1. The main events of the Spanish Civil War – a brief overview

The Spanish Civil War, which is generally dated from 1936 to 1939 (Payne ix ff), can be considered to be the most significant European military and political conflict preceding World War II (Payne 1). The many different names that were commonly used as synonyms for the Spanish Civil War, such as “fascism versus democracy”, “revolution versus counterrevolution”, “the future versus the past”, all terms used by leftists and liberals, or, as rightists and conservatives would name it, “Christianity versus atheism”, “Western civilization against communism” and “Spain versus anti-Spain”, describe the various conflicts of the war (Payne 1).

What is important to point out, as it shows the unique characteristics of the Spanish Civil War, is not only the fact that it was the only civil war taking place between 1918 and 1949 which broke out in a Western European country, but also that it is the only one occurring between World War I and II (Payne 1-2).

2.3.2.1.1. Initial Conflicts

After having experienced very little internal conflicts in comparison to other Western European countries between the 16th and 18th centuries, Spain's situation changed radically in the 19th century, when becoming "the most conflict-prone country in Western Europe" due to its "transition to modern politics" (Payne 5). The fact that Spain is not only geographically divided by numerous mountain chains, but also through the co-existence of four languages, namely Spanish, Catalan, Basque and Galician, which are spoken in distinct parts of the country, certainly had an enormous effect on the nation's lack of political and social unity, which was even more weakened when nationalist movements arose in Catalonia and the Basque country at the beginning of the 20th century (Payne 9).

Since the country had fallen even more apart after the defeat of the Spanish army in Morocco in 1921 (Anderson 6), the parliamentary monarchy lost power and in 1923 was replaced by General Miguel Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, which only lasted for a few years (Payne 10). Although Spain's situation radically improved initially, the former parliamentary parties were oppressed so that "no new leadership emerged to lead the way back to parliamentary government" after Primo de Rivera's resignation in 1930 (Payne 10).

However, new elections were not held until February 12, 1931, when the Republican Parties gained the majority in almost all big cities and provincial capitals, and the Monarchists lost power, as they could only achieve satisfying results in the rural areas of the country (Anderson 7-8). Only two days later, on April 14, King Alfonso XIII left Spain and on the same day the Second Republic was declared by Niceto Alcalá Zamora (Anderson 8).

2.3.2.1.2. The Second Republic

The newly established Second Republic of Spain was now governed by three political sectors, namely "the middle-class left Republicans, the Socialists, and the centrist Radicals [of which] only the latter considered liberal democracy and the rules of the electoral parliamentary system of a value" (Payne 13). However, the left Republicans did not seem to focus on the achievement of true

democracy, but rather on the rigorous implementation of reform programs, which was considered to be a revolutionary act (Payne 13).

The newly introduced reforms clearly had an impact on people's lives, as their civil rights were drastically limited in various ways (Payne 14). However, the alienation from the Catholic Church, which a vast number of Spaniards had to experience during this time (Anderson 10), needs to be dealt with in greater detail, as it plays an important role in Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.

On May 6, 1931, the government abolished the former compulsory religious instruction in state schools in order to restrict the power of the Church, which still claimed "a monopoly in matters of religion and education and that it be the sole judge of moral standards", which the government was no longer willing to accept (Anderson 10-11). After the resignation of Alcalá Zamora only five months later, the leftist Republican Manuel Azaña, who temporarily took over the presidential function, even went as far as declaring that Spain was no longer a Catholic country (Anderson 11).

From then on measures to limit the role of religion became even more radical, including, for instance, proclaiming church weddings to be invalid and demanding university education for all primary school teachers, which resulted in the fact that the majority of nuns teaching in this sector lost their jobs due to their lack of qualifications (Anderson 11). Furthermore, cemeteries were secularized, which resulted in an obligatory civil funeral for anyone who had not demanded a Catholic one in a legal testament (Anderson 11). However, these developments had been even more radicalized over the following years, resulting in a complete suppression of religious services and the closing of Catholic schools in large parts of the country in 1936 (Payne 15).

In early 1933, CEDA⁶, a right-wing party formed by 42 different rightist organizations, was founded in Madrid under the leadership of Gil Robles, a lawyer and great supporter of Hitler and Mussolini (Anderson 26). After CEDA's triumph in the elections held in late 1933, which resulted in a great defeat of the leftists and thus ended in a center-right government, CEDA immediately took

⁶Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas (=Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rights) (Anderson 26).

initiative concerning the repeal of laws which had suppressed the power of the Catholic Church during the past years (Anderson 28-29). However, the Second Republic's era of the right-wing government was marked by a great number of riots and revolts caused by the leftist Republicans, who worked hard to set an end to Spain's fascist government, which was finally achieved in late 1935, when CEDA lost power and new elections were held at the beginning of 1936 (Anderson 30-33).

The elections of 1936 resulted in the country basically being "evenly divided into two opposing blocs", as the left-wing Republicans, who were supported by almost all large cities, gained 48% of the votes, whereas the conservative rightists, who once more achieved their greatest success in the rural areas, reached 46% (Anderson 35). Since the right-wing bloc, which radically developed into a revolutionist regime, was not willing to form a coalition with the leftists, Spain was now governed by a leftist minority coalition of Republican parties under the leadership of Manuel Azaña (Payne 37).

2.3.2.1.3. The Spanish Civil War and its aftermath

After the new government had been set up, military generals including Franco, Goded and Mola, planned to overthrow the government in order to further spread the ideologies of conservatism and fascism and take over the country (Anderson 37-38). Being supported not only by the Spanish Civil Guard and naval officers, but also receiving foreign assistance from the Italian fascists, Franco and his confederates were deliberately stationed on the Canary Islands, the Balearics and in Pamplona, and plans were made to start the military uprising, which was planned to take place on July 18, 1936, throughout the Spanish territory (Anderson 38-43).

However, the military insurrection broke out one day early, on July 17, in Spanish Morocco, with riots on the Canary Islands, in Mallorca, Barcelona and Pamplona following the next days (Anderson 43). General Franco quickly became the main leader of the uprising and his troops managed to take over a large number of big cities within the first days of the revolt (Anderson 43). Cities, such as Zaragoza, which initially offered resistance, were brutally taken over at the cost of the deaths of thousands of innocent unarmed people (Anderson 43).

The Spanish Civil War had now officially started and the initial battles were followed by three years of massacres on both sides which resulted in the whole country being taken over by the Nationalists and turned into a military dictatorship under Francisco Franco, who ruled the country until his death in 1975 (Anderson xiv-xx).

2.3.2.2. Hemingway as a war correspondent

[I]n stories about the [Spanish Civil] war I try to show *all* the different sides of it, taking it slowly and honestly and examining it from many ways. [...] We know war is bad. Yet sometimes it is necessary to fight. But still war is bad and any man who says it is not is a liar. But it is very complicated and difficult to write about truly. [...] I would like to be able to write understandingly about both deserters and heroes, cowards and brave men, traitors and men who are not capable of being traitors. (Hemingway, *Selected Letters 1917-1961* 480)⁷

During the Spanish civil war Hemingway traveled to Spain four times in the years 1937 and 1938 (Mellow 494) to cover the events of the war as a foreign correspondent for the *North American Newspaper Alliance* (Reynolds, *The 1930s* 311), as already mentioned earlier.

On his trips to Spain during the Civil War Hemingway, who was still married to his second wife Pauline, was accompanied by Martha Gellhorn, a young American writer and journalist, whom Ernest had met in Key West in late 1936 for the first time (Mellow 483). Staying at the Hotel Florida in Madrid together with other foreign writers and journalists such as Virginia Cowles, Henry Buckley, John Dos Passos and Joris Ivens, only to name a few, Hemingway and Martha started an affair (Mellow 263-264), which resulted in Ernest's divorce from Pauline and his wedding with Martha in 1940 (Reynolds, *Final Years* 361).

Even though Hemingway had always refused to talk about politics and had neither incorporated political topics into his works, nor "support[ed] any political party" so far, he clearly sympathized with the Spanish Republicans (Reynolds, *The 1930s* 261), as they not only represented ideals such as "liberty, equality

⁷ Solow (103) refers to this quote when commenting on Hemingway's main motives for writing *For Whom The Bell Tolls*.

[and] justice”, which were important to Hemingway, “but also the Spanish people, to whom he always felt sympathetic” (Ruiz 107). In 1956 Hemingway openly talked about his probably “strongest political statement of his life” (Reynolds, *The 1930s* 261), when he proudly wrote in a letter that “[i]n spite of having been on the Republican side” he was “considered a Spanish author who happened to be born in America” (Hemingway, *Selected Letters 1917-1961* 873, quot. in Ruiz 106).

It is further important to note that although supporting the Republic, for which Hemingway even organized fund-raising activities in the United States, he clearly distanced himself from communism (Benson 123). On several occasions Hemingway stated that the main goal should be to defeat Fascism, which he also expressed in a speech given at the American Writers’ Congress in Newark in 1937 (Reynolds, *The 1930s* 270).

When covering the events of the Spanish Civil War for the *North American Newspaper Alliance*, Hemingway tried to capture all sides of the war, as the subchapter’s introductory quote indicates. However, in his endeavor to deliver to the world an accurate description of the cruelty of the war, Hemingway was willing to “tak[e] risks beyond those expected of a correspondent, exposing himself to artillery, rifle fire, and strafing” (Reynolds, *The 1930s* 288). Hemingway’s experience of a shattered country where he used to spend his most carefree summers only a few years earlier, are expressed in the following report he wrote for the *North American Newspaper Alliance* in 1936:

Over the battlefield on the heights above Brihuega were scattered letters, papers, haversacks, mess kits, entrenching tools and everywhere the dead. [...] They did not look like men, but where a shell burst caught three, like curiously broken toys. One doll had lost its feet and lay with no expression on its waxy stubbled face. Another doll had lost half of its head. The third doll was simply broken as a bar of chocolate breaks in your pocket. (quot. in Reynolds, *The 1930s* 265)

Besides covering the war for the *North American Newspaper Alliance*, in 1937 Hemingway further engaged in the production of the documentary film *The Spanish Earth*, which he worked on together with Joris Ivens (Reynolds, *The 1930s* 311). Moreover, having experienced the horrors of the war, Hemingway

was inspired to write several texts dealing with the Spanish Civil War, such as his only play *The Fifth Column* in 1937 and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* in 1939 (Reynolds, *The 1920s* 311). The latter as well as three out of the many short stories which are also set in the Spanish Civil War will be analyzed in great detail in chapter three.

2.4. The final stage of Hemingway's life

After Franco's victory Hemingway did not return to Spain for almost fifteen years (Stanton 210), but rather moved to Cuba in 1939, where he could expand his knowledge about the Spanish language and enjoy a "Hispanic atmosphere" in a country not being "scarred by civil war" (Stanton 210). Moreover, by the time Hemingway settled in Cuba, he had "become the most widely read male author in America" (Reynolds, *Final Years* 26), and when he published *For Whom the Bell Tolls* in 1940, it instantly became a bestseller with almost 500,000 copies being sold only within the first six months (Reynolds, *Final Years* 31-32).

In 1945 Ernest divorced Martha Gellhorn and only one year later married his fourth wife Mary Welsh, whose marriage with Hemingway would last until his death, even though she could not bear him any children after a tubal pregnancy in 1946 (Reynolds, *Final Years* 363).

In 1953 Hemingway was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for *The Old Man and the Sea*, which had been published in the fall of the previous year (Reynolds, *Final Years* 263), and in 1954 he won the Nobel Prize, which he accepted, yet refused to attend the ceremony (Mellow 588-589). However, despite his successful literary career, Hemingway had already suffered from depression for several decades (Mellow 89) and his condition became worse after his mother and second ex-wife Pauline Pfeiffer had died and Hemingway himself had survived two airplane crashes in Africa in 1954 (Castillo-Puche 382).

However, Hemingway's bad medical condition reached its peak in late 1960, the year he spent his last summer in Spain (Ruiz 109), when his "erratic moods, paranoia, and despondency [became] worse" and he entered the Mayo Clinic in Minnesota for electroshock treatments (Reynolds, *Final Years* 368). Being released in January 1961, Hemingway was physically too weak to write due to

an immense weight loss, which ultimately resulted in two suicide attempts within only three days in April the same year (Reynolds, *Final Years* 368-369). After a second extended stay at the Mayo Clinic from April to June and his release on June 30, Ernest Hemingway shot himself with his favorite shotgun at his home in Ketchum, Idaho, on July 2, 1961 (Reynolds, *Final Years* 369).

Having canceled his planned trip to the San Fermín Fiesta which would have started only four days after his suicide may indicate that Hemingway deliberately avoided dying in Spain (Stanton 211). This assumption is further strengthened by the following lines, taken from an interview Hemingway gave in 1960: "I will not die in Spain. Spain is a country for living, not for dying" (quot. in Stanton 312).

3. Depiction of Spain in Hemingway's fiction – a close analysis

After having provided an overview of Hemingway's biography and his close relationship with the Spanish country, its culture and history in the previous chapter, the present chapter will complement these findings with a close analysis of Hemingway's presentation of Spain in selected fictional texts in order to be able to answer the research questions accurately.

3.1. The interchapter vignettes of *In Our Time*

In Our Time, a collection of fifteen short stories, was published in 1924 (Waldhorn 45), only a few months after Hemingway's first trips to Spain in the summer of 1923. However, when examining the presentation of Spain, it is necessary to have a close look at the eighteen interchapter vignettes, which Hemingway titles "chapters" and which can be found between the actual stories.

Although *In Our Time* seems to be a random collection of short stories at first sight, the stories and miniatures yet create a unity as far as that they all present different aspects of "the cruelty of life" (Slabey 65), which may even give the impression of "a fragmentary novel" (quot. in Slabey 65). According to Robert Slabey (68), the fifteen short stories of *In Our Time* chronologically depict several events involving a young man called Nick Adams. They can be grouped into four main categories, namely "Nick Adams: The Young Man", "The Effects of War", "The Failure of Marriage" and "Sports: The Search for a Code". Whereas a chronological unity may be found when looking at the arrangement of the short stories, when examining the interchapter vignettes, the ideological structure of the entire work becomes more obvious, as the miniatures do not follow a timeline (Slabey 66).

Generally it can be said that, with the exception of very few (Slabey 66), the eighteen miniatures, which hardly ever exceed the length of one paragraph, are based on Hemingway's personal experiences of horror and violence which he had encountered during his time as an ambulance driver in Italy, as foreign correspondent for the *Toronto Daily Star*, as well as during the attendance of his first bullfights in the summer of 1923 (Baker, *Life Story* 113; Waldhorn 46).

However, when analyzing the content of the short sketches, it becomes obvious that the six vignettes which deal with the art of bullfighting (chapters IX to XIV) clearly stand out in as far as that they present a different form of violence and cruelty than the others (Slabey 67).

According to Slabey (66), chapters I to VII depict the horrors of World War I and of the Greco-Turkish War and thus present a variety of “settings and nationalities”. Furthermore, these miniatures “universalize the theme” of cruelty and “emphasize the plight of modern man” (Slabey 66), as the following lines from chapter II, which sketches a scene from the Greco-Turkish war, demonstrate:

Water buffalo and cattle were hauling carts through the mud. No end and no beginning. Just carts loaded with everything they owned. The old men and women, soaked through, walked along keeping the cattle moving. [...] Women and kids were in the carts crouched with mattresses, mirrors, sewing machines, bundles. There was a woman having a kid with a young girl holding a blanket over her and crying. Scared sick looking at it. It rained all through the evacuation. (Hemingway, *In Our Time* 21)

However, chapters VIII and XV are set in the United States and depict criminals who have to face the cruelty of life when being either shot by fascist policemen, or executed by hanging (Slabey 67-68). The fact that violence and “sudden death” are not only presented in the context of war, but also as being present in America, points out the general “hostility and violence of the world” as well as a suggested “breakdown not only of tradition but also of manhood and individuality” (Slabey 67), which strongly reminds one of the ‘Lost Generation’s’ dilemma.

As already indicated above, the six interchapter vignettes which deal with the practice of bullfighting convey a different concept of life and death, namely a struggle which is artificially arranged and celebrated as a ritual (Slabey 67). The fact that the matador ideally has full power over the temporary prevention of his death, which in case of carelessness can be instantly caused by the bull (Slabey 67), clearly distinguishes these miniatures from the others, which are characterized by the people’s inability to prevent their fate.

However, Hemingway certainly does not deny the cruel nature of the art of bullfighting, but rather makes it explicit in chapter X, when describing a gored horse in the ring, whose “entrails hung down in a blue bunch and swung backward and forward as he began to canter” and whose “blood pumped regularly from between [its] front legs” (Hemingway, *In Our Time* 89). The author further presents the description of two matadors being wounded by the bull in chapter IX, and the famous bullfighter Maera’s death in the bullring in chapter XIV.

Nevertheless, it seems that the six sketches dealing with bullfighting focus less on the cruelty of the Spanish ritual, but rather on the matador’s power to defy “man’s ultimate fate and achieve [...] a temporary victory over it” (Slabey 67). The fact that some matadors do not seem to appreciate their privilege and risk their lives because of their careless behavior can be interpreted as being highly criticized in chapter XIII, when the narrator and Maera try to persuade a drunken matador to stop drinking, as he has bulls to kill later that afternoon. Moreover, Hemingway depicts the fate of an unskilled bullfighter as follows in chapter XI:

The crowd shouted all the time and threw pieces of bread down into the ring, then cushions and leather wine bottles, keeping up whistling and yelling. [...] The crowd came over the barrera and around the torero and two men grabbed him and held him and some one cut off his pigtail and was waving it and a kid grabbed it and ran away with it. Afterwards I saw him at a café. He was [...] quite drunk and he said after all it has happened before like that. I am not a really good bull fighter. (Hemingway, *In Our Time* 95)

As the extract from chapter XI shows, the crowd is clearly displeased with the matador’s performance, as he does not make use of his privilege to temporarily defeat death in a dignified way due to his poor bullfighting skills. As a logic result, he does not deserve the crowd’s admiration but rather its mockery, which Hemingway depicts in great detail.

However, in addition to criticizing undignified bullfighters, Hemingway also depicts matadors whose brilliant performances in the ring seem to indicate that they truly appreciate their powerful position of being allowed to conquer death in an artificial setting. Thus, they clearly deserve the crowd’s approval, as the

following lines from chapter XII, which describes a perfect bullfight performed by the matador Villalta, show:

[W]hen the bull charged [Villalta] swung back firmly like an oak when the wind hits it, his legs tight together, the muleta trailing and the sword following the curve behind. Then he cursed the bull, flopped the muleta at him, and and swung back from the charge his feet firm, the muleta curving and at each swing the crowd roaring. [...] He drew out the sword from the folds of the muleta and [...] called to the bull, Toro! Toro! and the bull charged and Villalta charged and just for a moment they became one. Villalta became one with the bull and then it was over. Villalta standing straight and the red hilt of the sword sticking out dully between the bull's shoulders. Villalta, his hands up at the crowd and the bull roaring blood, looking straight at Villalta and his legs caving. (Hemingway, *In Our Time* 105)

However, the fact that Maera, whom Hemingway depicts as a man aware of his privilege when persuading another matador to drink less in chapter XIII, suffers a cruel death in the ring in chapter XIV, might appear disturbing at first sight. Nevertheless, it has to be pointed out that his deadly wounds do not seem to have been provoked by careless, undignified action, as the reactions of others who "had the bull by the tail" and "were swearing at him and flopping the cape in his face" (Hemingway, *In Our Time* 131) let the reader assume. In contrast to the depiction of the wounding of two matadors who are taunted by the crowd in chapter IX, Hemingway does not mention any form of insult when presenting Maera's fate, which clearly distinguishes his story from the ones Hemingway presents of less honorable matadors.

In conclusion it can be said that the six interchapter vignettes dealing with the art of bullfighting clearly reflect Hemingway's personal attitude towards the ritual, which he used to call a "tragedy" (see Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon*, 18). The fact that the matador has the chance to prevent his immediate death in the artificially created "struggle between man and the beast" (Hemingway, *Dateline: Toronto* 344), a privilege which some matadors appear to appreciate more than others, seemed to be especially important to the *aficionado* Hemingway. Thus, he clearly distinguishes between honorable bullfighters and matadors who do not seem to be fully aware of their privilege.

When analyzing the bullfighting-vignettes of *In Our Time* in regards to the other twelve sketches of the collection of short stories, it can be noticed that chapters IX to XIV present a different form of cruelty, namely one that allows to be admired due to its artificial ceremonial nature, which stands in great contrast to the universal cruelty of life depicted in the other miniatures.

3.2. *The Sun Also Rises*⁸

Most writers' first novels do not turn out to be their most important work. In Ernest Hemingway's case, *The Sun Also Rises* has gradually come to have just that reputation. (Wagner-Martin 1)

Even though Hemingway's first novel, which he wrote in 1926 after mainly having produced short stories and brief sketches, was severely criticized for its story, "which, like its characters, begins nowhere and ends in nothing" (quot. in Wagner-Martin 1), it is nowadays perceived as one of Hemingway's greatest works, as the quote above indicates.

The novel's rather shallow characters, who seem to spend their days drinking and engaging in quite meaningless conversations and activities, perfectly represent the loss of morals and values which Hemingway and his fellow American expatriate writers had to deal with themselves after the horrors of World War I (Wagner-Martin 5). However, according to Wagner-Martin (5-6), the novel reaches perfection by depicting typical behavioral patterns of the 'Lost Generation' on the one hand, while on the other hand breaking these clichés by indicating that the beauty of Spanish nature actually has the power to at least temporarily help the characters to regain their lost values. Hemingway already points toward this contradiction in the novel's epigraph, which presents Gertrude Stein's famous quote "You are all a lost generation" (quot. in Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises*), followed by "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh; but the earth abideth forever" (quot. in Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises*), a passage from *Ecclesiastes*, indicating the importance of the (Spanish) land, which has the power to inspire all generations (Wagner-Martin 6).

⁸ Part of this chapter's content was prepared in the course of the seminar *Classic American Novels*, offered by Prof. Dr. Zacharasiewicz at the University of Vienna in the Winter Term 2013/2014.

The following subchapters will provide a close analysis of the interplay between scenery and the development of the characters, as well as insights into the connections that can be drawn between Hemingway's personal experiences during the San Fermín Fiesta and the events depicted in the novel.

3.2.1. Brief summary of the plot

Book One of *The Sun Also Rises* is set in Paris, where the narrator Jake Barnes, an American former World War I veteran, and his friends live an expatriate life characterized by heavy drinking. The story of Book Two, the main part of the novel, takes place in Spain, where Jake attends the San Fermín Fiesta in Pamplona together with Bill Gorton, a fellow war veteran from New York, Robert Cohn, a college friend, Lady Brett Ashley, a promiscuous woman whom Jake is deeply in love with but unable to fulfill her needs due to a war wound which resulted in impotence, and Brett's Scottish fiancé Mike Campbell.

Robert Cohn, who later reveals to Jake that he has recently had an affair with Brett, is jealous of her and cannot bear seeing her with other men, which causes troubles as the story goes on. After Jake and Bill enjoy five days of trout fishing in Burguete, the group of friends meets up in Pamplona, where Jake introduces the others to the art of bullfighting, which he is truly passionate about. Brett falls in love with the 19-year old matador Pedro Romero, whom she starts an affair with. Driven by his jealousy, Cohn beats up Romero, Mike and Jake, which he later deeply regrets and thus asks for forgiveness. However, since no one is able to truly forgive him, Robert Cohn leaves Pamplona early the next day. The remaining friends stay to watch some more bullfights before Brett and Romero depart for Madrid.

Book Three deals with the events which take place after the Fiesta de San Fermín has finished. Jake decides to go to San Sebastian to rest from the drama in Pamplona. Shortly after his arrival at San Sebastian, Brett sends him a telegram, telling him that she has just ended her relationship with Pedro Romero and thus suggesting that he should join her in Madrid. Jake follows her wish and Brett tells him that she has decided to reconcile with Mike. Jake finally seems to have realized that he would never become happy with Brett.

3.2.2. Genesis of the novel

It is highly interesting to have a closer look at the genesis of Hemingway's first novel *The Sun Also Rises*. According to the author himself, "95 per cent of *The Sun Also* [sic] was pure imagination" (Hemingway, *Selected Letters 1917-1961* 400), as Hemingway claimed in a letter to his editor Max Perkins in 1933. However, the remaining five per cent that can therefore be assumed to represent the author's personal experiences need to be closely examined, as they not only build the basis for the novel (Balassi 39), but may also have had an influence on how events and rituals are depicted as perceived by the narrator Jake Barnes.

As already indicated in chapter two, the events that took place during the San Fermín Fiesta in the summer of 1925 were characterized by tensions amongst Hemingway and his friends who accompanied him on the trip. The group of friends consisted of Ernest and his first wife Hadley, Lady Duff Twysden and her fiancé Pat Guthrie, as well as two other men named Bill Smith and Harold Loeb (Reynolds, *Paris Years* 299 ff). However, when Ernest discovered that Duff and Loeb had recently had an affair, he was jealous for no reason and the situation got out of control (Reynolds, *Paris Years* 300), as the following apology expressed in a letter written to Gerald Loeb suggests:

I was terribly tight to you last night and I dont [sic] want you to go away with that nasty insulting lousiness as the last thing of the fiestas. I wish I could wipe out all the mean-ness and I suppose I cant [sic] but this is to let you know that I'm thoroly [sic] ashamed of the way I acted and the stinking unjust uncalled for things I said. (Hemingway, *Selected Letters 1917-1961* 166)⁹

Only one week after the fiesta, Hemingway started to write a short story based on the events that had taken place at the recent festivities in Pamplona. However, this short story was never published as such, as Hemingway wanted to turn it into a bigger project by the time he had finished it (Balassi 33). For the original short story Hemingway used real names, ironically calling the narrator Hem, who presents the story of the young bullfighter Cayetano Ordoñez, also called Niño de la Palma, who needs to be protected from the various

⁹ This passage is also cited in Reynolds, *Paris Years* 305.

temptations that come with a successful bullfighting career (Balassi 35-36). However, Hem's passion is not as "pure" as the hotel owner Quintana's *afición*, as the narrator is strongly drawn to alcohol and sexual amusement, which is the reason why he actually endangers the young matador's career instead of protecting it (Balassi 35). When Niño invites the narrator to sit with him at a restaurant table one night, Duff, who would later become Brett, asks him to introduce her to the young matador (Balassi 37-38). Just like Jake Barnes, who cannot deny Brett's request, Hem agrees to set Duff up with Niño (Balassi 38). When Quintana comes in, spotting the young bullfighter among a group of drunken men and two women, he does not even look Hem in the eye, despising him for his actions (Balassi 38).

Furthermore, the short story not only deals with the fate of Niño de la Palma, but also with the relationships amongst the expatriates, depicting Pat and his anger towards Harold Loeb, who has only recently had an affair with Duff (Balassi 38-39).

Wanting to create a novel, Hemingway decided to transform the short story he had already written into the beginning of a bigger work that was to build on these events (Balassi 39). The shift from a realistic short story to a novel was accomplished not only by adding fictional events and changing the characters' names, but also by shifting the setting to Paris at some point of the story (Balassi 39ff). The decision of introducing Paris as an additional setting, as well as further developing the character of Gerald Cohn, whose first name was later changed to Robert, helped Hemingway to emphasize the clash of two different worlds- the expatriates' lifestyle, on the one hand, and the unspoiled Spanish culture, on the other (Balassi 46-47).

However, Hemingway was not satisfied with the novel's "in medias res" opening story set in Pamplona and therefore tried to revise it three times before deciding to entirely delete the original short story at the beginning of his text and incorporate only fragments of it into the novel (Balassi 33). Thus, he created a "chronological narrative" that opens in Paris (Balassi 48), which not only enabled Hemingway to introduce the reader to Jake Barnes' eccentric expatriate lifestyle, but also to show in how far the characters' habits appear to

be influenced by the Spanish country, its people and their rituals, as the following analysis will demonstrate.

3.2.3. Jake Barnes' perception of the novel's major Spanish settings and events

3.2.3.1. Pamplona

Pamplona functions as the main setting of *The Sun Also Rises*, as most of the action takes place there, including the majority of the novel's crucial scenes that are either essential for the development of events, or reveal the characters' true natures through comparisons that the reader can draw between the description of cultural rituals and the behavior of Jake Barnes and his expatriate friends.

The first impression the reader gets of Spain and the Spanish countryside is at the beginning of chapter ten, when Jake describes his experience of nature right after passing the Spanish border with Bill and Cohn on their way from Bayonne to Pamplona:

We all got in the car and it started up the white dusty road to Spain. For a while the country was much as it had been; then, climbing all the time, we crossed the top of a col, the road winding back and forth on itself, and then it was really Spain. There were long brown mountains and a few pines and far-off forests of beech trees on some of the mountainsides. The road went along the summit of the col and then dropped down, and the driver had to honk, and slow up, and turn out to avoid running into two donkeys that were sleeping in the road. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 81)

In this passage, Jake demonstrates what he considers to be the main difference between France and Spain, and which, at least at the beginning of his travels, he appears to highly appreciate. Whereas initially the road they take does not significantly differ from the ones in France, Jake suddenly gets the feeling of really being in Spain when he finds himself in the middle of an unspoiled landscape- a peaceful country in which drivers yield to sleeping animals.

Another aspect that can be noticed and which the chosen passage is representative of, is the fact that when describing panoramic views or Spanish cultural rituals, Jake's narrative is suddenly characterized by complex sentence structures that create a new poetic tone (Wilson 86), which greatly differs from

the plain and simple style that is usually associated with Hemingway and which is also predominant in most other parts of the novel. When Jake goes on describing their journey to Pamplona, the images that arise in the reader's mind are not only created by lively descriptions but also by making use of sentence structures that seem to represent the road traveled by the character, as the following passage shows:

We climbed up and up and crossed another high col and turned along it, and the road ran down to the right, and we saw a whole new range of mountains off to the south, all brown and baked-looking and furrowed in strange shapes. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 81-82)

The description of the first glimpse Jake gets of the town of Pamplona at their arrival, and which Cohn, who also at other points of the story does not seem to appreciate Spanish culture as much as the narrator, ironically does not get since he is asleep, is a very realistic one, even reminding one of travelogues.

Then we crossed a white plain, and there was a big river off on the right shining in the sun from between the line of trees, and away off you could see the plateau of Pamplona rising out of the plain, and the walls of the city, and the great brown cathedral, and the broken skyline of the other churches. In back of the plateau were the mountains, and every way you looked there were other mountains, and ahead the road stretched out white across the plain going toward Pamplona. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 82)

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that Jake's depiction of the Spanish town that he has visited so many times and knows so much about as "rising out of the plain", surrounded by illuminated landscape, already lets the reader speculate that this place must somehow be special and important events might take place there.

When finally having arrived at Pamplona Jake and his friends stay at the hotel Montoya right by the bullring, which is "high and white and concrete-looking in the sun" (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 82). Montoya, the owner of the hotel, reserves a room for Jake each year, as he considers him to be a true *aficionado*.

Aficion means passion. An *aficionado* is one who is passionate about the bullfights. All the good bullfighters stayed at Montoya's hotel; that is,

those with *afición* stayed there. The commercial bullfighters stayed once, perhaps, and then did not come back. The good ones came each year. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 115)

Suddenly Jake, who due to his impotence resulting from a war wound cannot compete with the other male characters in gaining Brett's sexual attraction and responding to it, presents himself as being superior to the others, as he is the only one who shows pure passion, even though "it was taken for granted that an American could not have *afición*" (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 115). The fact that the narrator frequently makes use of Spanish terms, sometimes even without providing an English translation, when describing cultural events, also contributes to the creation of a sense of superiority (Wilson 80). However, it should be mentioned that Jake's passion clearly differs from a bullfighter's *afición*, as it can be claimed that he has "the passion of knowledge rather than the passion of the act itself, the emotion of the spectacle instead of the participant" (Gurko 58). However, because Montoya appreciates Jake for his *afición*, he also lets his less "passionate" friends stay at his hotel.

He always smiled as though bullfighting were a very special secret between the two of us; a rather shocking but really very deep secret that we knew about. He always smiled as though there were something lewd about the secret to outsiders, but that it was something that we understood. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 114)

Even though "[i]t would not do to expose [... the secret] to people who would not understand" (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 114), Jake tries to introduce his companions to the Spanish customs and rituals so that they might one day appreciate them as much as he does.

In a conversation with Bill, Jake explains to him the role of the steers when unloading the bulls:

"It's pretty good," I said. "They let the bulls out of the cages one at a time, and they have steers in the corral to keep them from fighting, and the bulls tear in at the steers and the steers run around like old maids trying to quiet them down." (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 116)

When the narrator describes this opening ritual of the bullfights, it becomes quite obvious to the reader that Jake himself takes over the role of the steer

amongst the group of friends, not only because he is literally emasculated by his war wound, but also because he seems to be the one who tries to solve conflicts and quiet everybody down whenever there is a turmoil. By describing this practice in such great detail, the narrator reveals a lot about himself, but also about the other characters of the novel, who seem to take advantage of him, the person they all come to with their problems. The conversation between Bill and Jake, who further elaborates the steer's inability of action, is closed with Bill's highly sarcastic statement "[m]ust be swell to be a steer" (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 116).

After Jake and his friends watch the actual unloading of the bulls, Mike's and Cohn's actions mirror the events that take place in the bull ring. When Mike indirectly accuses Robert Cohn of having slept with Brett and going on his nerves by following her around all the time, the two men represent the bulls that go at each other in the ring before being calmed down by the steers. When the situation between Jake's friends is finally more relaxed again, with their conflict being put aside for at least some time, the narrator creates a relatively peaceful image of Pamplona, similar to the previous description of the Spanish countryside surrounding the town.

The next two days in Pamplona were quiet, and there were no more rows. The town was getting ready for the fiesta. Workmen put up the gate-posts that were to shut off the side streets when the bulls were released from the corrals and came running through the streets in the morning on their way to the ring. [...] The big gate of the bullring was open, and inside the amphitheater was being swept. The ring was rolled and sprinkled, and carpenters replaced weakened or cracked planks in the *barrera*. Standing at the edge of the smooth rolled sand you could look up in the empty stands and see old women sweeping out the boxes. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 130)

Due to the highly detailed and realistic description of Pamplona preparing for its probably most important week of the year, the readers might even get the feeling of experiencing this special atmosphere themselves and can certainly relate to Jake's fascination with this Spanish town.

An identical effect is created by the presentation of Jake's impressions of a quite different side of Pamplona, namely a town full of life and energy, as the narrator and his friends get to experience at the beginning of the fiesta.

At noon of Sunday, July 6th, the fiesta exploded. There is no other way to describe it. [...] By the time the second rocket had burst there were so many people in the arcade, that had been empty a minute before, that the waiter, holding the bottle high up over his head, could hardly get through the crowd to our table. People were coming into the square from all sides, and down the street we heard the pipes and the fifes and the drums coming. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 132-133)

The celebration of the San Fermín Fiesta seems to be especially important to Jake, as his personal lifestyle characterized by heavy drinking and excessive partying, which is highly representative of the 'Lost Generation', suddenly appears to be the norm, even if only for a few days per year. Therefore, he perceives the events taking place at the fiesta as "quite unreal [...] and [...] as though nothing could have any consequences" (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 134), just the way he presents them to the reader.

When finally watching the bullfights, Jake gets to sit next to Brett during the second fight, performed by the exceptionally handsome and talented 19-year old matador Pedro Romero. Immediately the narrator takes over the role of the *aficionado* and introduces Lady Brett Ashley to the art of bullfighting by guiding her through the whole process and telling her what to pay special attention to (Daiker 76).

I sat beside Brett and explained to Brett what it was all about. I told her about watching the bull, not the horse, when the bulls charged the picadors, and got her to watching the picador place the point of his pic so that she saw what it was all about, so that it became more something that was going on with a definite end, and less of a spectacle with unexplained horrors. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 145)

As the fight goes on, the narrator continues to focus on Brett's insights that she gains only through his teaching. The following depiction of the bullfight, loaded with sexual associations because of Romero's seductive movements in the arena, enables the reader to draw comparisons between Pedro's bullfighting

and Brett's promiscuous behavior that harms all men she is romantically involved with.

I had her watch how Romero took the bull away from a fallen horse with his cape, and how he held him with the cape and turned him, smoothly and suavely, never wasting the bull. She saw how Romero avoided every brusque movement and saved his bulls for the last when he wanted them, not winded and discomposed but smoothly worn down. She saw how close Romero always worked to the bull [...]. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 145)

One could even go one step further when comparing Brett Ashley to a bullfighter, by taking into consideration that "by exercising sexual freedom she risks disease, pregnancy [and] ostracism", just like a bullfighter takes certain risks when facing the bull (W. Martin 77). However, Jake does not seem to have realized yet that Brett treats her men, including himself whom she claims to truly love, just like a bullfighter treats the bulls that he slowly turns down. Moreover, Jake, whose love for Brett is so strong, even agrees to set her up with Romero upon her request. However, the day he does so, for the first time the narrator presents a less positive description of a rainy Pamplona, which suddenly creates a rather depressing, even threatening atmosphere:

In the morning it was raining. A fog had come over the mountains from the sea. You could not see the tops of the mountains. The plateau was dull and gloomy, and the shapes of the trees and the houses were changed. [...] The flags in the square hung wet from the white poles and the banners were wet and hung damp against the front of the houses, and in between the steady drizzle the rain came down and drove everyone under the arcades and made pools of water in the square, and the streets dark and wet and deserted [...] (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 148)

After Cohn's brutal attack on Jake and Mike, the narrator even goes one step further, claiming that he does not recognize the place he used to be so fascinated by, anymore, when he depicts the following scenario:

Walking across the square to the hotel everything looked new and changed. I had never seen the flagpoles before, nor the front of the theater. It was all different. It felt as I felt once coming home from an out-of-town football game. I [...] walked up the streets from the station in the

town I had lived in all my life and it was all new. [...] It was all strange. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 167).

Additionally, for the first time, Jake Barnes reports on the tragedies that happen frequently during a fiesta. He describes in great detail the death of a young farmer who is being gored by the horns of a bull during the running of the bulls. Furthermore, Jake enters a conversation with a waiter who strongly disapproves of bullfighting and the running of the bulls and holds a view that clearly distinguishes him from an *aficionado*:

“[...] What are bulls? Animals. Brute animals. [...] You hear? *Muerto*. Dead. He’s dead. With a horn through him. All for morning fun. *Es muy flamenco*. [...] No fun in that for me.” (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 171-172)

By having introduced Pedro Romero, who represents an innocent, honorable “carrier of ancient tradition” (Wilson 83) to Brett, who likes to play with men and simply uses them, Jake seems to have betrayed his pure *aficion*, which becomes obvious when having a closer look at how the narrator reports on Romero’s fight the day after the matador has slept with Brett.

Again Jake sits next to Brett when watching the fight, however, this time he does not have answers to her questions (Daiker 77). As, for instance, he cannot tell her why the sticks that carry the red cloth are called *muletas*. Moreover, he unknowingly gives her wrong advice when telling her to spread out the cape she received from Pedro, which she is actually supposed to keep folded in her lap. The description of the fight itself is much more detailed than the one that is depicted earlier in the novel. However, this time the narrator does not present Brett’s observations, but rather his own, as the following passage demonstrates:

The bull did not insist under the iron. [...] He turned and the group broke apart and Romero was taking him out with his cape. He took him out softly and smoothly, and then stopped and, standing squarely in front of the bull, offered him the cape. [...] The bull wanted it again, and Romero’s cape filled again, this time on the other side. [...] It was all so slow and so controlled. [...] The bull charged as Romero charged. Romero’s left hand dropped the muleta over the bull’s muzzle to blind him, his left shoulder went forward between the horns as the sword went in, and for just an instant he and the bull were one [...]. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 188-190)

By making use of highly ecstatic language that is even more sexually loaded than the description of Romero's previous fights, as the passage above demonstrates, the narrator seems to prove to himself, but also to the reader, that he still deserves to be called an *aficionado*, as he is able to experience the act of a bullfight as a moment of total perfection.

3.2.3.2. Burguete

Right before the start of the fiesta, Jake and his friend Bill take a bus to Burguete, where they spend five days of trout fishing. However, Jake's perception of those days in the countryside greatly differs from how he experiences his stay in the lively town of Pamplona. When the narrator describes the countryside that the two friends pass through on their journey to the Basque village Burguete, he emphasizes that this region differs from the nature that Pamplona is surrounded by.

It was a forest of cork oaks, and the sun came through the trees in patches, and there were cattle grazing back in the trees. We went through the forest and the road came out and turned along a rise of land, and out ahead of us was a rolling green plain, with dark mountains behind it. These were not like the brown, heat-baked mountains we had left behind. These were wooded and there were clouds coming down from them. [...] As we came to the edge of the rise we saw the red roofs and white houses of Burguete ahead stung out on the plain, and away off on the shoulder of the first dark mountain was the grey metal-sheathed roof of the monastery of Roncesvalles. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 95)

The almost poetic description of leaving the brown mountains and entering a land of green plains already points towards five highly relaxing days in nature which Jake is about to experience on his fishing trip with Bill (Waldhorn 106).

The conversations that Jake and Bill have during their short vacation seem to be the only ones in the whole novel that are direct, honest and compassionate. Bill makes Jake aware of his expatriate life which is characterized by "drink[ing] yourself to death, [...] becom[ing] obsessed by sex [...] and] hang[ing] around cafés" (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 100-101), and the two friends joke about a man who is impotent like Jake.

The way the narrator perceives nature surrounding the valley of the Rio de la Fabrica, which he describes in an even more idyllic, peaceful way than his arrival at Burguete, shows that he is fully satisfied “away from civilization [and] in communion with nature” (Baldwin 116), which enables him to escape the tensions amongst his friends.

We walked on the road between the thick trunks of the old beeches and the sunlight came through the leaves in light patches on the grass. [...] We were on the top of the height of land that was the highest part of the range of wooded hills we had seen from Burguete. There were wild strawberries growing on the sunny side of the ridge in a little clearing in the trees. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 102)

Jake’s and Bill’s usual behavior of heavy drinking and engaging in rather meaningless activities, which represents the lifestyle of the ‘Lost Generation’, does not seem to be present in Burguete. Moreover, it appears that inspired by the beauty of the place, which they seem to truly appreciate, the two men are suddenly attracted to activities they would usually not engage in, as the following lines let the readers assume:

It was hot enough so that it felt good to wade in a cold stream, and the sun dried you when you came out and sat on the bank, We found a pool deep enough to swim in. In the evenings we played three-handed bridge with an Englishman named Harris, who [...] was very pleasant and went with us twice to the Irati River. There was no word from Robert Cohn nor from Brett and Mike. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 109)

3.2.3.3. San Sebastian

After all the troubles that Jake and his friends went through in Pamplona, everyone returns to Paris. However, the narrator, who states that he is “through with fiestas for a while” (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 203), decides to go back to Spain and spend a few days in San Sebastian to relax. The fact that amongst all the places he could choose to free his mind from the personal drama he has been going through for the past few weeks, he decides to return to Spain, shows how much this country means to him. Although Jake feels that he is “a fool to be going back into Spain” (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 204), he demonstrates to the reader that no other place appears to be as attractive to him.

It would be quiet in San Sebastian. The season does not open there until August. I could get a good hotel room and read and swim. There was a fine beach there. There were wonderful trees along the promenade above the beach, and there were many children sent down with their nurses before the season opened. In the evening there would be band concerts under the trees across from the Café Marinas. I could sit in the Marinas and listen. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 203)

Indeed, the scenery that the narrator presents when finally having arrived at the coastal town, enables the reader to share the fascination of this place for Jake, which reminds him of his “pleasures while fishing in Burguete” (Rovit 157).

Even on a hot day San Sebastian has a certain early-morning quality. The trees seem as though their leaves were never quite dry. The streets feel as though they had just been sprinkled. It is always cool and shady on certain streets on the hottest day. I went to a hotel in the town where I had stopped before, and they gave me a room with a balcony that opened out above the roofs of the town. There was a green mountainside beyond the roofs. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 205)

However, when a telegram from Brett arrives asking Jake to come see her in Madrid, as she is in trouble, his relaxing vacation comes to a sudden, yet somehow foreseen end, which Jake, probably angry with himself for not being able to refuse her request, expresses as follows:

Well, that meant San Sebastian all shot to hell. I suppose, vaguely, I had expected something of the sort. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 209)

3.2.3.4. Madrid

Even though only the last seven pages of the story take place in Madrid, the way how Jake perceives the arrival at the city tells the reader a lot about the personal change that the narrator has gone through in the course of the novel.

I did not sleep much that night on the Sud Express. In the morning I had breakfast in the dining-car and watched the rock and pine country between Avila and Escorial. [...] I saw Madrid come up over the plain, a compact white skyline on the top of a little cliff away off across the sun-hardened country. The Norte station in Madrid is the end of the line. All trains finish there. They don't go on anywhere. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 210)

The fact that all trains finish at the station in Madrid, might symbolize Jake's "journey" with Brett, which has also come to an end in this last setting of the novel, as for the first time the narrator indicates that he has realized that a relationship with Brett would not do him any good (Daiker 83).

"Oh Jake," Brett said, "we could have had such a damned good time together." Ahead was a mounted policeman in khaki directing traffic. He raised his baton. The car slowed suddenly pressing Brett against me. "Yes." I said. "Isn't it pretty to think so?" (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* 216)

Although Jake has once more come to comfort Brett when having relationship troubles, his highly ironic rhetorical question that closes the novel suggests that he has learned his lesson in Pamplona (Daiker 84), where Brett has revealed her true character.

Furthermore, Jake obviously does not even look at Brett during their final conversation, as his description of a traffic directing officer suggests. Therefore, this cab ride in Madrid differs significantly from the first one that Jake and Brett take in Paris at the beginning of the novel, where the narrator cannot resist staring at Brett and touching her (Daiker 82).

3.2.4. Résumé

When analyzing the presentation of the Spanish country and its culture in Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* and relating it to the author's exceptional interest in this country, it seems to be quite obvious that the depiction of events closely corresponds to Hemingway's personal experience of Spanish life during the San Fermín Fiesta in the 1920s. This assumption is further supported when taking into account the genesis of the novel, which reveals that Hemingway initially wrote a short story dealing with the events that had occurred involving himself and his friends on their trip to Pamplona in the summer of 1925, before finally adding fictional characters and events and thus transforming the story into a novel.

Generally it can be argued that the rural world seems to be depicted as being superior to the urban (Wilson 82), which becomes obvious as soon as the narrator leaves Paris and enthusiastically describes his first impression of the

idyllic Spanish landscape right after passing the border. Although Jake Barnes is clearly fascinated by the lively town of Pamplona, where his excessive lifestyle seems to be the norm during the annual Fiesta de San Fermín and where he can watch bullfights with other *aficionados*, the only time he can truly relax is when being away from civilization during his fishing trip near Burguete. The fact that after the Fiesta Barnes decides to go to San Sebastian, where the hotels would not open for a few more weeks and where he can thus enjoy tranquility on the beach, as well as the fact that this trip suddenly comes to an end when leaving for Madrid, a city which is rather negatively depicted, further support the idea of Hemingway “privileging [...] the rural over the urban” (Wilson 82).

3.3. *For Whom the Bell Tolls*

Of the writers who saw the Spanish War at firsthand, probably more was expected from Ernest Hemingway than from any other. Because he knew and loved Spain and her people out of an intimacy long antedating the revolt, because he had found in the cause of the Spanish republic something to believe in and fight for, and, finally, because he is one of the great writers of our time, most people felt that the novel he would inevitably write, in his own good time, would be *the* book about the Spanish War. *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, published this week, is undoubtedly that book. (quot. in Josephs 13)

The quote taken from a review published shortly after the release of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* in October 1940 is only one example of the large number of “overwhelmingly positive reviews” that the novel received all across the United States (Josephs 13). American critics mainly appreciated Hemingway’s novel for its realistic depiction of the Spanish tragedy, which not only – as they claimed – made it the “fullest, the deepest, the truest” of his books, but also “the first major novel of the Second World War”, as “the bell that began tolling in Madrid four years ago is audible everywhere today” (quot. in Josephs 14). However, the anti-fascist ideas as well as a clear sympathy towards the Spanish Republic, which are expressed in the novel, were considered “a threat to the [Spanish] postwar government” (Twomey 54). As a result, Hemingway was even set on a list of “forbidden authors”, and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* was not allowed to be published in Franco’s Spain until 1968 (Twomey 54).

The fact that for the first time Hemingway made use of omniscient narration in a novel enabled him to tell his story from various perspectives (Solow 112). This certainly helped the author to create a deep story, and further contributes to the pretense of delivering the whole truth about the tragedy of the Spanish Civil War, which American critics highly appreciated. However, it needs to be mentioned that the story focuses on a small group of guerilla fighters trying to complete a mission, rather than foregrounding political authorities (Ruiz 112), which also lets the story appear to be more authentic. In 1949 Hemingway explained in an interview that “it wasn’t just the Spanish Civil War I put into it. It was everything I had learned about Spain for eighteen years” (quot. in Sanders 134).

The following subchapters will therefore examine how the horrors of the Spanish Civil War are presented in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, regarding their influence on the novel’s characters and the depiction of the Spanish countryside. Furthermore, it will be elaborated in how far the fictionalization of historical events mirrors the author’s personal experience, on the one hand, and contributes to the novel’s suggested authenticity, on the other.

3.3.1. Brief summary of the plot

The story takes place in the spring of 1937 and is set in the Spanish mountains near Segovia, where the American college instructor and dynamiter Robert Jordan fulfills his mission to blow up a bridge with the help of an anti-fascist guerilla band.

From the moment Jordan meets Pablo, the guerilla band’s leader, he senses his hostility towards him and does not trust him, but rather fears that the man might threaten the success of his mission. At their camp, which is hidden in the mountains, Jordan meets the rest of the guerilla group, including Pablo’s wife Pilar, who is of gypsy descent and later takes over the leading role, since the others do no longer trust Pablo either. Some of the men even try to persuade Jordan to kill him, but Pilar assures that Pablo does not seriously threaten the mission.

The second woman living at the camp is a girl named Maria, with whom Jordan immediately falls in love. Maria was rescued by the guerilla band after the fascists had killed her parents and raped the girl several times. Robert Jordan and Maria make love four times within the novel's time span of only three days and each time they not only connect with each other but also with nature.

On their hike back from El Sordo's camp, another guerilla band, whom Jordan was able to persuade to take part in the mission, Pilar tells Jordan and Maria how the fascists were brutally killed in their town under the command of Pablo a few months earlier.

After their return to the camp the members of the guerilla band decide that Pablo should be killed, as he announced earlier that he would not support the mission and is thus considered as dangerous. Jordan immediately offers to carry out the job. However, when Pablo enters the cave, he suddenly announces that he has changed his mind and would from now on support the mission.

The next day the guerillas hear gunshots in the distance and know that El Sordo's camp is being attacked by the fascists. When they hear planes bombing the hills, Jordan's guerilla band knows that there is nothing they can do to help El Sordo and his people. The next morning Jordan is woken up early by Pilar who tells him that Pablo has left with part of the dynamite that was needed to successfully complete the mission. Thus, Jordan is forced to develop a new plan to make the mission work by using less dynamite. However, Pablo finally returns and since he feels bad for having destroyed the dynamite, he brings men from other guerilla bands to support Jordan in carrying out his mission.

Everybody takes their position for the blowing up of the bridge. Jordan manages to place the explosives and the bridge is actually successfully destroyed. However, several members of the band do not survive. Pablo reports that all five men he had brought to help them were killed. However, it turns out that he deliberately killed them all in order to steal their horses. On their way back Jordan's horse gets shot by a fascist, falls onto Jordan and thus breaks his leg. Jordan realizes that his leg injury makes it impossible for him to keep up with

the others and he says farewell to Maria. Being left behind, Robert Jordan thinks about committing suicide but then decides to wait for the fascists to kill him.

3.3.2. Depiction of Spain – Traces of an “unspoiled” country amongst the horrors of the Spanish Civil War

3.3.2.1. Characters

When having a closer look at the main characters of Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, it is important to examine to what extent not only their lives but also their values and beliefs have been shattered by the violence of the Spanish Civil War and in how far they represent the beauty of the “unspoiled” country before the war.

As the following analysis will show, the characters tend to handle their situations quite differently. While some of the main characters seem to have accepted that fighting a war inevitably demands killing, others cannot bear the fact that they have turned into murderers and desperately seek forgiveness of their sins.

3.3.2.1.1. Robert Jordan

He fought now in this war because it had started in a country that he loved and he believed in the Republic and that if it were destroyed life would be unbearable for all those people who believed in it. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 170)

As the quote above indicates, the American Robert Jordan, who teaches Spanish at a university in Montana, deeply cares for the Spanish country and its people. His devotion even goes as far as that he is willing to risk his own life when fighting against Fascism in the Spanish Civil War. However, there is no doubt that his love for the Spanish country certainly becomes most evident through his extraordinary relationship with Maria and his connection with nature – aspects that will be discussed in great detail in the following subchapters.

Loving the Spanish country, its culture and people, Robert Jordan not only fights “their” war, but also seeks to be fully integrated with “the Spanish people and their customs” (Ruiz 111). When introducing himself to Pablo, Jordan immediately apologizes for not being Spanish when stating: “That I am a

foreigner is not my fault. I would rather have been born here” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 18). By telling Pablo that he would rather have been born in Spain, he not only expresses his love for the country but also the wish to be accepted as one of its people.

However, Jordan seems to be aware of the fact that as a foreigner he will never be considered to be a real Spaniard (Allen 205), yet he does everything to be as much integrated as his foreign origin allows him to be, as the following passage shows:

He was lucky to have lived parts of ten years in Spain before the war. They trusted you on the language, principally. They trusted you on understanding the language completely and speaking it idiomatically and having a knowledge of the different places. A Spaniard was only really loyal to his village in the end. First Spain, of course, then his own tribe, then his province, then his village, his family and finally his trade. If you knew Spanish he was prejudiced in your favor, if you knew his province it was that much better, but if you knew his village and his trade you were in as far as any foreigner ever could be. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 141)

It is further stated that Robert Jordan “never felt like a foreigner in Spanish” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 141-142), a claim which is confirmed by Anselmo who defends Jordan when saying that “[h]e speaks Spanish as we do, [...] why should he not teach Spanish?” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 218) after the other members of the guerilla group criticize the fact that native speakers of English teach Spanish in the United States.

Nevertheless, Jordan’s desire to reach a state of unrestricted acceptance by the Spaniards seems to be constantly disillusioned throughout the novel. Not only do the members of the guerilla band call him *Inglés* and never refer to him as “comrade, brother, or friend” (Herlihy-Mera 95), but they also explicitly refer to his role as a foreigner several times. When Pablo realizes that he will have to follow Jordan’s orders in the near future, he expresses his anger by asking him: “What right have you, a foreigner, to come to me and tell me what I must do?” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 17). Pilar even goes one step further and severely insults Jordan after he suggests that the members of the guerilla band

should go to the mountains of the Sierra de Gredos as soon as their mission is successfully completed:

“[J]ust shut up about what we are to do afterwards, will you, *Inglés*? You go back to the Republic and you take your piece with you and leave us alone here to decide what part of these hills we’ll die in. [...] I like thee, *Inglés*, but keep thy mouth off what we must do when thy business is finished. [...] Take thy little cropped-headed whore and go back to the Republic but do not shut the door on others who are not foreigners and who loved the Republic when thou wert wiping thy mother’s milk off thy chin.” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 156)

Furthermore, Jordan’s love for the Spanish country also becomes obvious when closely examining his political stance, as his main reason for fighting in the Spanish Civil War seems to be his endeavor to prevent the fascists from taking over the country. Like Hemingway, Robert Jordan clearly distances himself from communism, and when being asked whether he is a communist, he replies: “No, I am an anti-fascist” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 69). However, since Robert Jordan is convinced that “[i]f the Republic lost it would be impossible for those who believed in it to live in Spain”, which he knows “from the things that happened in the parts the fascists had already taken” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 170), he is even willing to temporarily accept communism, as the following passage shows:

He was under Communist discipline for the duration of the war. Here in Spain the Communists offered the best discipline and the soundest and sanest for the prosecution of the war. He accepted their discipline for the duration of the war because, in the conduct of the war, they were the only party whose program and whose discipline he could respect. What were his politics then? He had none now, he told himself. But do not tell any one else that, he thought. Don’t ever admit that. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 170)

However, the fact that Jordan does not believe in communism although he seems to accept it for the duration of the war, and rather fights for his personal values and beliefs, is revealed in the following passage, when he tells himself:

You’re not a real Marxist and you know it. You believe in Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. You believe in Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. Don’t ever kid yourself with too much dialectics. They are for some but not for you. You have to know them in order not to be a sucker. You have

put many things into abeyance to win a war. If this war is lost all of those things are lost. But afterwards you can discard what you do not believe in. There is plenty you do not believe in and plenty that you do believe in. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 315)

Even though Jordan seems to strongly believe in certain values, the violence of the Spanish Civil War nevertheless appears to have a strong impact on his personal values and beliefs, as Robert Jordan is clearly torn between the feeling of guilt, on the one hand, and his responsibility towards the Republic, on the other.

There are several scenes in the novel, in which Jordan appears to have lost his morals in the course of the war. The fact that he immediately volunteers to kill Pablo and considers the crime to be “a service that [he] can do” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 228) after the other members of the guerilla band decide that Pablo is a potential threat, indicates that Jordan considers his killing to be justified given the circumstances. This claim is further strengthened when taking into account the following passage, in which Jordan justifies the killing of “cowards” who tried to run when being attacked by the fascists:

He had seen them shot and left to swell beside the road, nobody bothering to do more than strip them of their cartridges and their valuables. Taking their cartridges, their boots and their leather coats was right. Taking the valuables was only realistic. [...] It had seemed just and right and necessary that the men who ran were shot. There was nothing wrong about it. Their running was a selfishness. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 244)

However, although it seems obvious to the reader that Robert Jordan does not regret killing, as he considers it to be his duty for the duration of the war, he nevertheless appears to hold on to his morals to a certain extent, as the following lines show:

[Y]ou mustn't believe in killing, he told himself. You must do it as necessary but you must not believe in it. If you believe in it the whole thing was wrong. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 314)

The fact that Robert Jordan tries to keep himself from believing in killing suggests that he is aware of the potential loss of one's personal values and beliefs during a time dominated by the horrors of the war. Thus, it appears as if

he tried to salve his conscience when reminding himself of his personal reasons which make it worth fighting for the Spanish Republic as a foreigner:

[Y]ou did the thing there was to do and knew you were right. [...] [Y]ou fought that summer and that fall for all the poor in the world, against all tyranny, for all the things that you believed and for the new world you had been educated into. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 245)

Towards the end of the novel, right after the successful blowing up of the bridge which the old man Anselmo does not survive, Jordan suddenly even seems to despise war as such, as a close reading of the following passage may suggest:

The anger and the emptiness and the hate that had come with the let-down after the bridge, when he had looked up from where he had lain and crouching, seen Anselmo dead, were still all through him. In him, too was despair from the sorrow that soldiers turn to hatred in order that they may continue to be soldiers. Now it was over he was lonely, detached and unelated and he hated every one he saw. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 465)

When Jordan knows that he has to be left behind because of the severeness of his leg injury, Augustín offers to shoot him. However, he refuses this act of mercy, which might suggest that he wants to spare Augustín at least one act of killing and the feeling of guilt that inevitably goes along with it. Although Robert Jordan generally seems to have accepted that fighting a war demands the willingness to kill, if necessary, in his moment of approaching death he seems to finally make peace with himself by at least sparing the people he loves one more act of cruelty.

3.3.2.1.2. Maria

When examining the character of Maria, who is mainly presented to the reader “through the eyes of Jordan and Pilar” (Gurko 118), it seems evident that her character is presumably the one with the highest symbolic function of all the characters depicted in Hemingway’s *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Maria not only represents the Spanish country as such, but her personal fate also mirrors certain characteristics of the Spanish Civil War (Guttman 546), as the following analysis will demonstrate.

When Robert Jordan sees Maria for the first time right after his arrival at the guerilla band's cave, he is immediately fascinated by her beauty, which makes it impossible for him not to stare at her (Carter 8):

She set down the flat iron platter in front of him and he noticed her handsome brown hands. [...] Her teeth were white in her brown face and her skin and her eyes were the same golden tawny brown. She had high cheekbones, merry eyes and a straight mouth with full lips. Her hair was the golden brown of a grain field that has been burned dark in the sun but it was cut short all over her head so that it was but little longer than the fur on a beaver belt. [...] Her legs slanted long and clean from the open cuffs of the trousers as she sat with her hands across her knees and he could see the shape of her small, up-tilted breasts under the grey shirt. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 24-25)

This first description of Maria's outward appearance already points towards the high level of symbolism, as the reader might immediately associate the comparison of the color of her hair with a grain field with an idyllic, rural Spanish countryside. However, the fact that it appears to be burned by the sun might indicate that terrible things have happened not only to Maria but also to this peaceful country.

Moreover, Jordan thinks that "[s]he'd be beautiful if they hadn't cropped her hair" (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 24), which suggests that just as the fascists have "destroyed" Maria's beauty by raping her and shaving her head, the Spanish country has lost some of its beauty due to the brutality of the war. Jordan even states that he wishes he could have seen Maria's full beauty before her hair was cut, just as he got to experience the "true" beauty of Spain, since he "know[s] this country from before the movement"¹⁰ (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 26).

However, Maria's beauty – just as the beauty of the Spanish country – is not completely lost, as the following passage, in which the girl's body is compared to the beauty of the Spanish countryside, suggests:

Maria lay close against him and he felt the long smoothness of her thighs against his and her breasts like two small hills that rise out of the long

¹⁰ Since Hemingway repeatedly refers to the Spanish Civil War as "movement" in *For Whom The Bell Tolls*, the term is also frequently used as a synonym in this thesis.

plain where there is a well, and the far country beyond the hills was the valley of her throat where his lips were. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 354)

Throughout the novel it becomes evident that the young girl Maria is clearly traumatized by the abuse she suffered when being kept as a prisoner by the fascists. When telling Jordan about the day her parents were killed, she also reports details about how the fascists cut her hair:

“At that time I wore my hair in two braids and as I watched in the mirror one of them lifted one of the braids and pulled on it so it hurt me suddenly through my grief and then cut it off close to my head with a razor. [...] Then he cut off the other braid. [...] [T]hen he stood in front of me and struck me across the face with the braids[.] [...] And he struck me again and again across the face with the braids which had been mine[.]” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 365)

The fact that Maria is tortured with her own braids not only emphasizes the cruelty of her abuse, but also lets the reader draw parallels to the Spanish country, whose spirit was likewise “destroyed” by the actions of its “own” people during the Spanish Civil War. Carl Eby (213) goes as far as claiming that “[t]he rape of Maria represents nothing less than the fascist rape of ‘virgin Spain’ itself” (quot. in Carter 16).

Shaken by the violations that were done to her, the girl does not understand how anyone could ever be attracted to someone like her, which becomes obvious when she offers Robert Jordan a cup of wine and explains: “It is necessary to drink much of that for me to seem beautiful” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 68). However, just like Jordan’s love for the Spanish country does not fade under any circumstances, there is nothing that can lessen his admiration for Maria. Moreover, the fact that a young woman, as flawless as Maria seems to him, responds to his love, even appears to him as unreal:

He looked at her striding happily in the sun; her khaki shirt open at the neck. She walks like a colt moves, he thought. [...] Such things don’t happen. Maybe it never did happen, he thought. Maybe you dreamed it or made it up and it never did happen. Maybe it is like the dreams you have when some one you have seen in the cinema comes to your bed at night and is so kind and lovely. He’d slept with them all that way when he

was asleep in bed. [...] Maybe it was like those dreams. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 143)

Jordan's eagerness to lessen Maria's mental pain, which can be argued to symbolize his fight for the Spanish Republic, is most evident in the scenes that describe the couple's love-making. When they sleep together for the first time, Jordan is fully aware of the fact that Maria's only sexual experience results from her raping. Since she has never slept with a man by choice and thus in a sense "retained her innocence" (Eby 213), he patiently teaches her how to kiss and tries to convince her that she is not "ruined" by any crime the fascists have done to her:

"I love thee, Maria," he said. "And no one has done anything to thee. Thee, they cannot touch. No one has touched thee, little rabbit." (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 74)

Assuming that Maria's character symbolizes Spain as such, Jordan thus not only declares his love for the young woman, but also for the Spanish country, its people and culture, whose true beauty – at least for Jordan – cannot be entirely destroyed by war.

The fact that there is still hope for Maria – as there is for Spain – to recover from her "wounds", not only becomes evident by the fact that her hair will grow back and she will eventually regain her beauty, but also when the girl assures Jordan that she does not suffer from any sexually transmitted diseases and therefore the fascists have not completely ruined her. She further strengthens this claim when telling Jordan the following while sleeping with him:

"[Pilar] said that [...] if I loved someone it would take it all away. I wished to die, you see. [...] And now I am happy that I did not die. I am so happy that I did not die. [...] And now let us do quickly what it is we do so that the other is all gone." (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 76-77)

Once more Jordan's engagement with Maria seems to mirror his relationship with the Spanish country. Just as he tries to lessen the girl's pain by sleeping with her, he tries to restore the "unspoiled" Spain he believes in by fighting in the Spanish Civil War.

When sleeping with Maria, Jordan not only connects with the young woman, but he also seems to intensify his extraordinary relationship with Spanish nature – a special connection which will be further discussed in one of the following subchapters. The fact that Jordan and Maria always make love outdoors and the earth directly responds to the couple's pleasure by "mov[ing] out and away from under them" (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 166), suggests that Jordan's union with Maria symbolizes his true connection with the Spanish land.

However, although Robert Jordan seems to have found a way to deeply connect with the Spanish earth by sleeping with Maria (Stanton 175), at the same time he appears to realize that his love for the Spanish country and his willingness to fight for it might even kill him:

[T]here was the smell of heather crushed and the roughness of the bent stalks under her head and the sun bright on her closed eyes and all his life he would remember the curve of her throat with her head pushed back into the heather roots [...] and the fluttering of the lashes on the eyes tight closed against the sun [...] and for her everything was red, orange, gold-red from the sun on the closed eyes[.] [...] For him it was a dark passage which led to nowhere, then to nowhere, then again to nowhere, heavy on the elbows in the earth to nowhere, dark, never any end to nowhere, [...] this time and again for always to nowhere. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 166)

Whereas the repetition of "leading to nowhere" on the one hand symbolizes Jordan's act of penetration, on the other hand it clearly emphasizes the uncertainty of his future, as blowing the bridge could – at least for him – literally lead to "nowhere". Robert Jordan indeed seems to be aware of the fact that fighting for the Republic, and thus trying to "save" Spain, does not necessarily imply saving his own life, as the highly symbolic passage, in which Jordan thinks about his nonexistent future with Maria, shows:

No time, not happiness, not fun, not children, not a house, not a bathroom, not a clean pair of pyjamas, not the morning paper, not to wake up together, not to wake and know she's there and that you're not alone. No. None of that. [...] You ask for the impossible. You ask for the ruddy impossible. So if you love this girl as much as you say you do, you had better love her very hard and make up in intensity what the relation will lack in duration and in continuity. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 175-176)

Nevertheless, although Robert Jordan seems to accept the fact that he might not survive his upcoming mission, he assures Maria that her sore feeling she has been suffering from since her rape will heal just as he truly appears to believe that Spain will recover from its “wounds” caused by the Civil War. When saying goodbye to Maria, realizing that he has to be left behind because of his leg injury after the successful blowing up of the bridge, Jordan symbolically says goodbye to the Spanish country when saying:

“What I do now I do alone. [...] That people cannot do together. Each one must do it alone. But if thou goest then I will go with thee. It is in that way that I go too. Thou wilt go now, I know. For thou art good and kind. Thou wilt go now for us both.” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 181-182)

By sending Maria away, Jordan not only protects the girl, but he also appears to express his deepest wish – that the Spanish Republic does not symbolically die with him, and the fight against Fascism will continue after his death. Taking into account that Maria, who symbolizes the Spanish country as such, is “not completely defeated by [the] war”, as she is one of the few characters who survive the blowing of the bridge (Carter 16), suggests Jordan’s belief in the beauty of Spain to be justified, as it can never be entirely destroyed.

3.3.2.1.3. Pilar

The characters Pilar and Rafael are the only members of the guerilla band who are of “gypsy” descent. However, the way they are presented to the reader differs significantly. Whereas Rafael’s character is highly stereotypical, as he is generally depicted as “carefree, easygoing, [...] lazy [and] unreliable” (Murad 87), Pilar appears to feature less characteristics commonly associated with “gypsies”. The fact that she even has a “strong hatred for [Rafael]”, who states that “[s]he is against gypsies”, even though “[s]he has gypsy blood” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 30), supports this claim.

However, it is important to keep in mind that Pilar’s “gypsy blood” is by no means entirely neglected and the fact that she represents an ethnic minority group in Spain seems to be present throughout the novel. When the reader and Robert Jordan are first provided with information about Pilar by Rafael, it

becomes obvious that her character clearly differs from the other members of the guerilla band, which may be explained by her Romani descent:

“And how is she, the *mujer* of Pablo?” “Something barbarous”, the gypsy grinned. “Something very barbarous. If you think Pablo is ugly you should see his woman. But brave. [...] But something barbarous.” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 28)

Furthermore, Pilar’s “gypsy” descent becomes obvious through the description of her outward appearance, which is presented in a highly negative way and thus stands in great contrast to the novel’s other female character Maria, who represents a “true” Spanish beauty:

Robert Jordan saw a woman of about fifty almost as big as Pablo, almost as wide as she was tall, in black peasant skirt and waist, with heavy wool socks on heavy legs, black rope-soled shoes and a brown face like a model for a granite monument. She had big but nice looking hands and her thick curly black hair was twisted into a knot on her neck. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 32)

However, Pilar’s “gypsy” origin not only distinguishes her from the other characters in terms of her looks, but, according to Murad (87), also becomes evident when “she reads palms [...] and smells approaching death – skills which make her mysterious and even discreditable”. Moreland (380) further argues that “having been the lover of three matadors, among more casual liaisons, before becoming Pablo’s woman”, also perfectly fits the cliché of a promiscuous “gypsy” woman.

Unfortunately there is only little historical information on the situation of “gypsies” during the Spanish Civil War. However, it is known that although “Romanies had no clear collective allegiance in the war [...], many Catholic Romanies actually supported Franco’s Nationalists and were killed for it” (Murad 100). Thus, taking into account the Romanies’ suggested tendency to support the fascist regime, it becomes obvious that neither Rafael nor Pilar represent stereotypical “gypsies” when it comes to their political stance, as they are both members of a Republican guerilla band. Pilar even directly expresses her sympathy towards the Republic and at the same time distances herself from religion when stating:

“I put great illusion in the Republic. I believe firmly in the Republic and I have faith. I believe in it with fervor as those who have religious faith believe in the mysteries.” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 96)

Pilar’s engagement in fighting against the fascists also becomes obvious when she turns against Pablo and takes over the guerilla group’s leadership – an act that is highly appreciated by the others and even lets her appear beautiful for a brief moment:

“Thou wilt blow no bridge,” Pablo said heavily. “And thou?” Robert Jordan spoke to the wife of Pablo who was standing, still and huge, by the fire. She turned toward them and said, “I am for the bridge.” Her face was lit by the fire and it was flushed and it shone warm and dark and handsome now in the firelight as it was meant to be. “What do you say?” Pablo said to her and Robert Jordan saw the betrayed look on his face and the sweat on his forehead as he turned his head. “I am for the bridge and against thee,” the wife of Pablo said. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 56)

The fact that Pilar even “betrays” Pablo in order to ensure the success of Robert Jordan’s mission, shows that the woman deeply cares for the Spanish country and is willing to do anything in her power to prevent the fascists from taking it over. However, although Pilar’s character clearly shows the willingness to fight, Moreland (381) notes that throughout the novel Pilar is mainly depicted as an observer of events who rarely takes action, which becomes most evident in the description of the killing of fascists in their town, which she merely passively observes and which will be further discussed in chapter 3.3.2.4. Furthermore, Pilar is never depicted “shooting a gun, only holding a gun, carrying a gun, or reloading guns for the men” (Moreland 381), which further contributes to Pilar’s rather passive role of an observer.

However, it seems as if the only action Pilar is actively involved in is taking care of Maria, whom she rescued from the fascists after the attack on a train (Moreland 381). When taking into account the high level of symbolism that is associated with Maria’s character – as discussed in great detail in the previous subchapter – it seems reasonable that instead of actively participating in bloody battles, Pilar rather chooses to “fight” for Spain by taking care of the girl who seems to represent the country’s innocent nature. Thus, Pilar not only teaches Maria how to cook, please a man and make a “good” wife, but she also tries to

protect her from being exposed to any more cruelty than she already has been. Pilar's eagerness to protect Maria is depicted when Jordan wants to hear the story of the killing of fascists in Pablo's town, but the "gypsy" initially refuses to tell it, since she considers it to be too brutal for the girl to hear.

There is no doubt that at first sight the nature of Pilar's character might seem disturbing to the reader, since, on the one hand, she takes over the leading role of the guerilla band, whereas, on the other, she does not appear to actively take action in fighting for the Republic. However, the seeming conflict of Pilar's two opposing character traits appears to dissolve when interpreting the woman's "fight" for Maria as her way of "fighting" for the Spanish country.

3.3.2.1.4. Pablo

Pablo is probably one of the most complex characters of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and his authenticity is severely questioned by Arturo Barea (204ff) who claims that Pablo – as well as Pilar – would never have been accepted by peasant guerillos of a Sierra village as their leaders. According to Barea (204-205), "peasants from Old Castile", which the other members of the guerilla fighters seem to represent, would usually not have gotten involved with an "old gypsie whore" and her "lover, the horse dealer" who are suggested to represent life in villages that are characterized by tourism.

However, considering the fact that Hemingway was highly familiar with the art of bullfighting, it only seems logical that he incorporated into the novel the character of Pablo, who worked as a horse dealer in the bullring before the Spanish Civil War (Barea 204). Pablo's and Pilar's past not only enabled Hemingway to include passages about bullfighting – and thus images of ancient traditions which Hemingway highly appreciated – into the novel, but Pablo's experience of ritualized death in the bullring might have contributed to his cruel nature which becomes evident throughout the novel (Barea 205-206).

However, although Pablo's temporary role as the leader of a guerilla band might – at least to some extent – lack authenticity, there is no doubt that the description of Pablo's character convincingly demonstrates how the brutality of the war can fundamentally change decent people and turn them into cruel

murderers who “kill[...] more people than the typhoid fever” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 28).

The description of Pablo’s outward appearance, which is presented to the reader through Robert Jordan’s eyes when being introduced to the guerilla band’s leader by Anselmo, already depicts Pablo as rather threatening:

Robert Jordan looked at the man’s heavy, beard-stubbed face. It was almost round and his head was round and set close on his shoulders. His eyes were small and set too wide apart and his ears were small and set close to his head. He was a heavy man about five feet ten inches tall and his hands and feet were large. His nose had been broken and his mouth was cut at one corner and the line of the scar across the upper lip and lower jaw showed through the growth of beard over his face. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 12)

Indeed, throughout the novel Pablo is clearly presented as the most brutal and least trustworthy member of the guerilla band (Barea 205), as he kills fascists in a barbarous way and further does not hesitate to betray his “own” people by deliberately trying to sabotage their mission. However, Pablo does not seem to be “evil” by nature, but rather appears to have lost his morals in the course of the war and as a result seeks comfort in drinking, as Pilar indicates:

“In the first days of the movement, and before too, he was something. Something serious. But now he is finished. The plug has been drawn and the wine has all run out of the skin.” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 95)

Pilar further states that she liked Pablo better before he became an alcoholic, since “[o]f all men the drunkard is the foulest. [...] The murderer when he is at home can wash his hands. But the drunkard stinks and vomits in his own bed and drowns his organs in alcohol” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 217).

However, the fact that Pablo’s character is not cruel by nature becomes most evident in the following passage, taken from Pilar’s narration of how the fascists were killed in their town:

“Look, Pilar,” he said. “This was in the hand of the officer who killed himself. Never have I fired a pistol. You,” he said to one of the guards, “show me how it works. No. Don’t show me. Tell me.” [...] “Pull the small

lever down,” the man said in a very dry voice. “Pull the receiver back and let it snap forward.” “What is the receiver?” asked Pablo, and he looked at the four *civiles*. [...] “The block on top of the action.” [...] “Kneel, I say,” Pablo said [...] and the four knelt, looking very awkward with their heads against the wall and their hands by their sides, and Pablo passed behind them and shot each in turn in the back of the head with the pistol, going from one to another and putting the barrel of the pistol against the back of their heads, each man slipping down as he fired. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 106-107)

It can be argued that the highly symbolic passage suggests that Pablo, who initially does not know how to fire a pistol and thus needs to be taught by a fascist, had likewise not been acquainted with killing before the Spanish Civil War, but rather had to “learn” how to fight for the Republic as the war progressed.

Furthermore, Pablo is fully aware of the cruelty of his actions and even seems to regret the brutal killing of the fascists in his town, when he states that “it was barbarous. [...] In those days I was very barbarous” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 217). He further claims:

“I am drunk on wine and I would be happy except for those people I have killed. All of them fill me with sorrow. [...] If I could restore them to life, I would. [...] I would bring them all back to life. [...] Every one.” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 217)

Therefore, it can be argued that Pablo is clearly capable of feeling remorse. However, in contrast to Robert Jordan, whose morals do not seem to be completely lost, as he appears to be able to return to his “true” self at the end of the novel, Pablo seems to be unable to solve his inner conflict. Although he appears to generally disapprove of the act of killing, he nevertheless shoots his “own” men and steals their horses to ensure the mission’s success at the end of the novel, which indicates that he is hopelessly trapped in the vicious circle of violence.

3.3.2.1.5. Anselmo

It is highly interesting to closely examine the impact of the horrors of the Spanish Civil war on Anselmo’s character, as the old man’s misery is mainly

caused by the country's alienation from the Catholic Church, which prevents the highly religious man from seeking comfort in God.

Throughout the novel Anselmo is presented as a loyal character, who is convinced that in times of war it is of highest importance to obey orders. Thus, Anselmo follows his orders without any exception, even if they demand the killing of men, which he clearly despises, as the following conversation with Robert Jordan shows:

"You like to hunt?" "Yes man. More than anything. We all hunt in my village. You do not like to hunt?" "No," said Robert Jordan. "I do not like to kill animals." "With me it is the opposite," the old man said. "I do not like to kill men." (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 42)

When Jordan asks Anselmo, if he had ever killed a man, the old man replies:

"Yes. Several times. But not with pleasure. To me it is a sin to kill a man. Even Fascists whom we must kill. To me there is a great difference between the bear and the man and I do not believe the wizardry of the gypsies about the brotherhood with animals. No. I am against all killing of men." (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 44)

Besides considering killing to be a sin, Anselmo also doubts its necessity in the course of the Spanish Civil War, as – according to him – "[t]o kill [the fascists] teaches nothing. [...] You cannot exterminate them because from their seed comes more with greater hatred" (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 45). Anselmo further feels compassion for the men his guerilla group is about to attack and the reader is once more reminded of the fact that the old man merely kills when being ordered to do so, as the following passage demonstrates:

I have watched them all day and they are the same men that we are. I believe that I could walk up to the mill and knock on the door and I would be welcome except that they have orders to challenge all travellers and ask to see their papers. It is only orders that come between us. Those men are not fascists. I call them so, but they are not. They are poor men as we are. They should never be fighting against us and I do not like to think of the killing. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 201)

Being haunted by the feeling of guilt, Anselmo desperately seeks forgiveness. However, he does not know how he could ever be set free from his sins with the absence of God, which he expresses as follows: "Since we do not have God

here any more, neither His Son nor the Holy Ghost, who forgives? I do not know” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 44). Furthermore, it is important to point out that Anselmo not only feels urged to abandon religion because of the Republic’s general alienation from the Catholic Church, but he also seems to question God’s existence, as he is convinced that “[i]f there were a God, never would he have permitted what I have seen with my eyes” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 44).

Although Anselmo does not understand how “his” God would ever accept such great misery as the bloodshed of the Spanish Civil War, he nevertheless feels the urge to pray. However, his loyalty towards the Spanish Republic keeps him from finding comfort in religion:

In the old days he could help this loneliness by the saying of prayers and often coming home from hunting he would repeat a great number of the same prayer and it made him feel better. But he had not prayed once since the start of the movement. He missed the prayers but he thought it would be unfair and hypocritical to say them and he did not wish to ask any favors or for any different treatment than all the men were receiving. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 205)

However, when Anselmo realizes that all members of El Sordo’s band were brutally killed by the fascists, he returns to religion in his moment of despair and not only prays “for the souls of Sordo and all of his band” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 338), but also asks God to give him the strength he needs to fight the upcoming battle¹¹:

Help me, O Lord, tomorrow to comport myself as a man should in his last hours. Help me, O Lord, to understand clearly the needs of the day. Help me, O Lord, to dominate the movement of my legs that I should not run when the bad moment comes. Help me, O Lord, to comport myself as a man tomorrow in the day of battle. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 338)

¹¹ Indeed, Anselmo is not the only character of Hemingway’s *For Whom the Bell Tolls* who returns to religion and seeks comfort in praying when being directly confronted with the horrors of the Spanish Civil War: Moments before his death Joaquín prays *Hail Mary* and asks God to forgive him for having distanced himself from religion; Maria prays for Jordan’s safety while she is watching the horses during the attack on the bridge; even the Fascist Lieutenant Berrendo prays for forgiveness after having ordered the barbarous beheading of El Sordo and the members of his band who were killed in an attack.

By returning to religion, Anselmo finally seems to be able to make peace with himself, which becomes obvious when taking into account that after his prayers “Anselmo grinned in the dark”, although “[a]n hour ago he could not have imagined that he would ever smile again” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 339).

Although Anselmo dies in the guerilla band’s attack on the bridge and is thus literally “destroyed” by the war, the fact that he manages to break free from the Republicans’ general rejection of the Catholic Church and is finally released from his sins by returning to “his” God, indicates that he dies being the same person he used to be before the movement and hence remains true to himself in his moment of death.

3.3.2.2. The importance of nature

The importance of nature seems to be omnipresent throughout the novel, not only because the presentation of Robert Jordan’s deep connection with the Spanish earth symbolizes his devotion to the country, but also since the depiction of the Spanish countryside in times of war significantly contributes to the demonstration of the horrors of the Spanish Civil War. Both aspects will be closely examined in the subsequent subchapters.

3.3.2.2.1. Robert Jordan’s connection with nature

He lay flat on the brown, pine-needled floor of the forest, his chin on his folded arms, and high overhead the wind blew in the tops of the pine trees. The mountainside sloped gently where he lay; [...] There was a stream alongside the road and far down the pass he saw a mill beside the stream and the falling water of the dam, white in the summer sunlight. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 3)

Robert Jordan’s special connection with nature is already presented to the reader in the very first scene of the novel, which depicts the protagonist lying on the forest floor and experiencing the beauty of the Spanish landscape he is surrounded by (R. Martin 57). Furthermore, the fact that Jordan seems to be “much closer to nature than the others” (R. Martin 60) not only becomes obvious when the earth moves as a response to his unification with Maria, who – as discussed earlier – symbolizes the Spanish country as such, but also in numerous other scenes in the novel.

It needs to be pointed out that Robert Jordan is the only member of the guerilla band who does not sleep inside the cave, but rather spreads his robe “on the forest floor in the lee of the rocks beyond the cave mouth” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 72) and even creates himself a “bed of nature” when the weather changes and the ground is covered with snow, which shows how deeply he is connected with the Spanish earth:

There was no wind now and the pines were still in the night. The trunks of the pines projected from the snow that covered all the ground, and he lay in the robe feeling the suppleness of the bed under him that he had made. [...] Earlier in the evening he had taken the ax and gone outside of the cave and walked through the new snow [...] and cut down a small spruce tree. [He] had lopped off all the boughs until he had a pile of them. [...] [H]e scraped the ground clear of the snow along the rock wall and then picked up his boughs and [...] laid them in rows, like overlapping plumes, until he had a bed. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 267-268)

Robert Jordan further connects with the Spanish earth when “feeling the dead pine needles under his rope-soled shoes” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 424) while approaching the bridge only a few hours before the explosion. Moreover, a moment of true intimacy between Jordan and nature is presented to the reader when Robert Jordan lies on the forest floor waiting for the right moment to carry out their mission:

Robert Jordan lay behind the trunk of a pine tree on the slope of the hill above the road and the bridge and watched it become daylight. [...] The pine trunks below him were hard and clear now, their trunks solid and brown and the road was shiny with a whip of mist over it. The dew had wet him and the forest floor was soft and he felt the give of the brown, dropped pine needles under his elbows. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 448)

Although Robert Jordan’s love for the Spanish countryside and his ability to bond with nature becomes obvious throughout the novel, it appears as if only in his moment of death does he feel to be truly connected with the Spanish earth (Herlihy-Mera 95), as the novel’s closing passage suggests:

He was completely integrated now and he took a good long look at everything. Then he looked up at the sky. There were big white clouds in it. He touched the palm of his hand against the pine needles where he

lay and he touched the bark of the pine trunk that he lay behind. [...] He was waiting until the officer reached the sunlit place where the first trees of the pine forest joined the green slope of the meadow. He could feel his heart beating against the pine needle floor of the forest. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 490)

When feeling his heartbeat against the Spanish earth and waiting for his “death in the arms of nature” (R. Martin 62), Jordan finally feels “fully integrated”. Thus, it appears as if the Spanish earth responded to his love for the country by giving him what the Spaniards seem to deny at least to a certain extent – the feeling of full integration he has been desperately longing for.

When analyzing Robert Jordan’s extraordinary relationship with nature, one should also take into account the frequent references to pine trees throughout the novel (R. Martin 58). According to Robert Martin (58), Hemingway may have chosen the pine tree as a recurrent element when describing Jordan’s connection with nature not only because “pine trees are [...] the type of tree that most abundantly graces that part of Spain”, but also because “[p]ines are one of the most ancient classes of tree”. Therefore, it can be argued that just like Maria’s character, the ancient pines might symbolize the “unspoiled” Spanish country before the Spanish Civil war, which Robert Jordan deeply cares about and whose spirit he can still feel as being present when feeling the pine needles on the forest floor.

3.3.2.2.2. The presentation of nature and war

When analyzing the presentation of the Spanish countryside in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, it needs to be pointed out that despite Robert Jordan’s deep connection with nature, his perception of the Spanish countryside – which at some points of the story is presented as highly idyllic, whereas at other points it creates a rather threatening atmosphere – seems to mirror Jordan’s mixed feelings about his mission. Generally it can be noticed that the highly peaceful images of the Spanish countryside, which the reader is presented at the beginning of the novel, tend to disappear and turn into less positive descriptions as the blowing up of the bridge – and thus Jordan’s death – gets closer.

Indeed, Hemingway creates an idyllic scene when he describes Jordan enjoying the Spanish countryside before being brought to the guerilla band’s cave,

meeting the members of the band and thus “officially” starting his dangerous mission:

He sat now by the stream watching the clear water flowing between the rocks and, across the stream, he noticed there was a thick bed of water cress. He crossed the stream, picked a double handful, washed the muddy roots clean in the current and then sat down again beside his pack and ate the clean, cool green leaves and the crisp, peppery-tasting stalks. He knelt by the stream and [...] he lowered himself with a hand on each of two boulders and drank from the stream. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 11)

However, the positive atmosphere which is created by the description of the peaceful countryside Jordan enjoys prior to his mission, appears to be no longer present in the following passage, in which Jordan approaches the steel bridge – and thus the place where he will die – for the first time:

They came down the last two hundred yards, moving carefully from tree to tree in the shadows and now, through the last pines of the steep hillside, the bridge was only fifty yards away. The late afternoon sun that still came over the brown shoulder of the mountain showed the bridge dark against the steep emptiness of the gorge. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 38)

Therefore, it can be argued that as the mission starts – and thus Jordan’s situation becomes gradually more dangerous – he no longer finds himself surrounded by a merely peaceful countryside, but suddenly encounters less idyllic objects which might even appear slightly threatening.

The fact that Hemingway also frequently “juxtaposes descriptions of the Spanish landscape with descriptions of war machines, a technique that implicitly questions the necessity of war” (Lester 115), not only contributes to the creation of a rather threatening atmosphere, but also seems to express Hemingway’s personal negative attitude towards the destructive character of war machines. In an article published in the *New Republic* in 1937, Hemingway states:

There is nothing so terrible and sinister as the track of a tank in action. The track of a tropical hurricane leaves a capricious swath of complete destruction, but the two parallel grooves the tank leaves in the red mud lead to scenes of planned death worse than any the hurricane leaves. (quot. in Guttman 544)

However, the nature of war machines depicted in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* seems to be destructive in two different ways. On the one hand, they – just like the tanks Hemingway describes in his article – literally destroy people's lives and parts of the Spanish countryside, whereas, on the other, they frequently seem to destroy Robert Jordan's illusions of Spain still being the peaceful, "unspoiled" country it used to be before the movement, and which he appears to have experienced at the beginning of the novel.

When Jordan enjoys "the clear night air of the mountains that smell[s] of the pines and of the dew on the grass in the meadow by the stream" (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 62) in his first night after his arrival at the guerilla band's cave, the peaceful image of Jordan connecting with nature does not last for long, as he wakes up from the "sound of airplane motors" (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 79):

Lying on his back, he saw them, a fascist patrol of three Fiats [...]. The three passed and then came nine more, flying much higher in the minute, pointed formations of threes, threes, and threes. [...] [A]s Robert Jordan lay still, the sky now full of the high hammering roar of motors, there was a new droning roar and three more planes came over at less than a thousand feet above the clearing. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 79)

A similar atmosphere is created towards the end of the novel, when Jordan's illusion that "nothing could happen on such a lovely late May morning", as he once more seems to be truly connected with nature, is immediately destroyed by a "sudden, clustered, thudding of the bombs" (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 451).

By directly contrasting the destructive nature of war machines against the beauty of nature, it can be argued that Hemingway thus not only "creates a consistent tension" (Lester 116) which may represent Jordan's mixed feelings about his mission, but that he also makes use of the juxtaposition to emphasize the general misery caused by the Spanish Civil War. The following passage, in which the reader is presented a lively image of the fascists' planes through the eyes of Robert Jordan, further contributes to the depiction of nature being endangered by the horrors of war:

The bombers were high now in fast, ugly arrow-heads beating the sky apart with the noise of their motors. They *are* shaped like sharks, Robert Jordan thought, the wide-finned, sharp-nosed sharks of the Gulf Stream. But these, wide-finned in silver, roaring, the light mist of their propellers in the sun, these do not move like sharks. They move like no thing there has ever been. They move like mechanized doom. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 92)

3.3.2.3. Images of ancient tradition and Spanish life before the war

Besides contrasting the destructive nature of war machines against the beauty of the Spanish countryside, Hemingway also presents the reader idyllic images of Spanish traditions and peaceful life before the war, not only to emphasize the characters' suggested desire to return to their old lives, but also to further demonstrate the brutality of the Spanish Civil War.

When Pilar talks about her time in Valencia with Finito, the bullfighter she once had a relationship with, she spreads a feeling of nostalgia, when describing the "Feria" as follows:

"Never have I seen so many people. Never have I seen cafés so crowded. [...] In Valencia there was movement all day and all night. [...] We ate in pavilions on the sand. Pastries made of cooked and shredded fish and red and green peppers and small nuts like grains of rice. [...] When I think of those melons long as one's arm, green like the sea and crisp and juicy to cut and sweeter than the early morning in summer. [...] We made love in the room with the strip wood blinds hanging over the balcony and a breeze through the opening of the top of the door [...]. We made love there, the room dark in the day time from the hanging blinds, and from the streets there was the scent of the flower market and the smell of burned powder from the firecrackers of the *traca* that run through the streets exploding each noon during the Feria." (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 89-90)

Pilar's lively description of the Fiesta, which at a later point of the story is supplemented by the vivid presentation of her memories of Finito's movements in the bull ring, strongly reminds the reader of Hemingway's personal experience he had gained through his regular visits to the San Fermín Fiesta in Pamplona prior to the Spanish Civil War. However, the highly positive atmosphere Hemingway temporarily creates by letting Pilar talk about her

carefree days in Valencia, is immediately destroyed when the fascist planes – and thus the horrors of the war – return as soon as Pilar finishes her story.

However, Pilar is not the only character whose stories and thoughts create images of a peaceful, traditional life in Spain prior to the movement. When Robert Jordan promises Maria that they would have a life together in Madrid after the blowing of the bridge, he is fully aware of the fact that they do not have a common future, as already discussed when analyzing Maria's character. Nevertheless, Jordan seems to keep dreaming about his return to life in Spain before the movement, as the following passage shows:

“We can get an apartment in Madrid on that street that runs along the Parque of the Buen Retiro. I know an American woman who furnished apartments and rented them before the movement and I know how to get such an apartment for only the rent that was paid before the movement. There are apartments there that face on the park and you can see all of the park from the windows; the iron fence, the gardens, and the gravel walks and the green of the lawns where they touch the gravel, and the trees deep with shadows and the many fountains, and now the chestnut trees will be in full bloom. In Madrid we can walk in the park and row on the lake [...].” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 360)

It appears as if the thought of a peaceful life in Madrid helps Jordan to escape from reality at least for the moment. This impression is further strengthened when taking into account that he even thinks about asking his superiors for a few days of vacation to go to Madrid to relax and temporarily get away from the misery:

In Madrid I wanted to buy some books, to go to the Florida Hotel and get a room and to have a hot bath, he thought. I was going to send Luis the porter out for a bottle of absinthe if he could locate one at the Mantequerías Leonesas or at any of the places off the Gran Vía and I was going to lie in bed and read after the bath and drink a couple of absinthes [...]. (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 236)

However, when Jordan meets the guerilla band and thus his mission of blowing the bridge actually starts, he realizes that he would not be able to relax in Madrid, as he planned to do only a few days earlier, when – at least for him – “[i]t was a much simpler world” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 236). Therefore, it can be claimed that Robert Jordan's illusion of returning to a

peaceful life in Spain seems to be immediately destroyed as soon as he is actively involved in the violence of the Spanish Civil War.

3.3.2.4. The fictionalization of historical events

As already indicated, Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* was highly appreciated by American critics for the realistic depiction of the Spanish tragedy, which – as the preceding analysis has demonstrated – manifests itself not only in the presentation of characters, but also in the frequent juxtaposition of idyllic scenes and the destructive nature of war.

Although Hemingway thus manages to deliver a highly realistic portrayal of the Spanish Civil War, the reader may be surprised that the novel contains only very few concrete references to historical people and events. Whereas Barea (202 ff) appears to misinterpret the almost complete absence of concrete references as a lack of accuracy, Josephs (44) disagrees and emphasizes that one should keep in mind that “Hemingway *intentionally* wrote an ‘invented’ novel rather than a personal rendition of the war’s reality”. Joseph’s claim is supported by the following analysis of Pilar’s tale about the killing of the fascists in their town, which perfectly demonstrates Hemingway’s intention of deliberately fictionalizing historical events.

There is no doubt that Pilar’s story may be considered one of the most shocking passages of the novel, as it not only vividly describes the brutality of the Spanish Civil War, but also explicitly depicts the cruelty of massacres initiated by Republicans and thus enables Hemingway “to show all the different sides [of the war]” (Hemingway, *Selected Letters 1917-1961* 480), which he considered to be essential when writing about the Spanish Civil War.

Despite the fact that the name of the town where the massacre takes place is never mentioned, Hemingway later revealed that he had the Andalusian town Ronda in mind when writing the novel: “When Pilar remembers back to what happened in their village when the fascists came, that’s Ronda, and the details of the town are exact” (Hotchner, *Papa Hemingway* 131). Pilar describes the location to Jordan and Maria as follows:

“The town is built on the high bank above the river and there is a square there with a fountain and there are benches and there are big trees that give a shade for the benches. The balconies of the houses look out on the plaza. Six streets enter on the plaza and there is an arcade from the houses that goes around the plaza so that one can walk in the shade of the arcade when the sun is hot. On three sides of the plaza is the arcade and on the fourth side is the walk shaded by the trees beside the edge of the cliff, with, far below, the river. It is three hundred feet down to the river.” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 108)

Whereas Hemingway’s description of the town indeed seems to resemble Ronda, it is essential to point out that the massacre described by Pilar significantly differs from the historic events that actually took place in Ronda during the Spanish Civil War (Buckley 50).

After Ronda’s mayor successfully managed to prevent Franco’s regime from taking control of the city in June 1936, a group of peasants belonging to the CNT¹² formed the so-called “Comité”, which – amongst taking over several other responsibilities – was in charge of arresting everyone suspected of sympathizing with the fascists, as well as defending the town from anticipated fascist attacks (Buckley 51-52). Numerous massacres, including the execution of priests, indeed occurred in the town of Ronda. However, the “practice of ritual” as presented in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, where the fascists are held captive in the City Hall before being beaten to death by the crowd and thrown over the cliff, was not performed in the actual revolution of Ronda in 1936 (Buckley 53-54).

Although the killing of fascists as depicted in the novel clearly differs from the massacres that actually took place in Ronda during the Spanish Civil War and can thus be regarded as fictional, it is important to take into account that the “ritual-of-death” as such, as presented in the following passage taken from Pilar’s tale, indeed occurred in various forms in other Spanish villages during the movement¹³ (Buckley 55):

¹² Confederación Nacional del Trabajo = Anarchist Labor Union (Buckley 51)

¹³ Historical records mention, for instance, the shooting of six fascists during a bullfight in Almería, as well as the killing of a man in Huercanal, which was performed by all members of the village, lining up in the streets and stabbing him with their kitchen knives (Buckley 55).

“It was Don Federico Gonzáles [...]. He was barefoot as when he had been taken from his home and he walked ahead of Pablo holding his hands above his head, and Pablo walked behind him with the barrels of his shotgun pressing against the back of Don Federico Gonzáles until Don Federico entered the double line. [...] Don Federico stood there and could not move. One of the drunkards poked him in the backside with a flail handle and Don Federico gave a quick jump as a balky horse might, but still stood in the same place, his hands up, and his eyes up toward the sky. [...] Then Don Federico dropped his hands and put them over the top of his head where the bald place was and with his head bent and covered with by his hands [...] he ran fast through the double line with flails falling on his back and shoulders until he fell and those at the end of the line picked him up and swung him over the cliff.” (Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* 115-116)

There is no doubt that the ritual character of the cruel killing of fascists, which Barea (207) even compares to the ritual death of a bull in the bull ring, significantly contributes to the vivid description of the bloodshed in the course of the Spanish Civil War the reader is constantly confronted with throughout the novel. Moreover, the fact that Hemingway does not present any concrete historical events which happened in Ronda in 1936, but rather creates a fictional massacre, not only enables him to incorporate the aspect of ritualized killing, a highly barbaric practice which was indeed frequently performed in the course of the Spanish Civil War, but also contributes to the suggested authenticity of his fictional story.

3.3.3. Résumé

To sum up the main findings in regards to the presentation of Spain in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, it needs to be mentioned that the reader is confronted with depictions of an “unspoiled” Spanish country, on the one hand, and the misery of the Spanish Civil War, on the other, throughout the novel. Hence, it can be argued that the depiction of the two different aspects of the Spanish country might mirror Hemingway’s personal impressions of Spain which he had gained over the years. There seems to be no doubt that the experiences he had made as an *aficionado* in Pamplona prior to the war significantly differ from the Spain he encountered when reporting on the Spanish Civil War.

Robert Jordan's love for the Spanish country and his deep connection with nature is already presented to the reader on the first page of the novel. His highly symbolic relationship with Maria, who resembles Spain as such and whom Jordan wants to protect at any cost, as well as his special connection with the Spanish earth not only create images of an "unspoiled" Spain before the war, but also express Jordan's wish to restore the beauty of the Spanish country. Moreover, the presentation of the characters' nostalgic memories of a highly idyllic, peaceful life in Spain prior to the movement indicates their desire to return to their old lives.

However, the horrors of the Spanish Civil War not only become obvious when analyzing in how far the characters' lives as well as their beliefs and values have been shattered in the course of the war, but they are further vividly depicted by juxtaposing peaceful images of the Spanish countryside with the description of destructive war machines. Pilar's detailed narration of the ritual killing of fascists in her town further contributes to the highly authentic depiction of the people's misery in the fratricide.

3.4. Three selected short stories about the Spanish Civil War

Before writing *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, which is undoubtedly considered to be Hemingway's most important work dealing with the Spanish Civil War, the author published five short stories¹⁴ in the magazines *Esquire* and *Cosmopolitan* between 1938 and 1939 (Light 64). However, the fact that it was too late to include the short stories in the story collection *The Fifth Column and the First Forty-Nine Stories*, which was published in the fall of 1938, as well as the fact that Hemingway refused to have the short stories reprinted and thus they were not republished until 1969, seem to be the main reasons why these five stories have been rather neglected and considered to be of little significance by critics over the years (Light 64).

However, when analyzing the presentation of Spain in Hemingway's fiction, the stories' relevance should not be underestimated, as the following analysis of

¹⁴ The respective short stories are titled *The Denunciation*, *The Butterfly and the Tank*, *Night Before Battle*, *Nobody Ever Dies* and *Under the Ridge* (Light 66).

two of the five stories, namely *The Denunciation* and *The Butterfly and the Tank*¹⁵, along with the analysis of *Old Man at the Bridge*¹⁶ will demonstrate.

3.4.1. *The Denunciation*

In *The Denunciation* the narrator, an American writer living at the Hotel Florida in Madrid, where Hemingway himself frequently checked in during his four stays in Spain in the years 1937 and 1938, tells the story of an incident which occurs at Chicote's bar in November, 1937.

On his way home from the American embassy to the Hotel Florida, the narrator enters Chicote's bar to seek shelter from the bombing in the streets of Madrid. Inside the bar he observes Luis Delgado, a man whom the narrator as well as some of the waiters still know from before the movement, and who has been on the fascists' side for more than a year, although wearing a Republican uniform and engaging in a conversation with young loyalists. Having identified him as a spy, one of the waiters considers it his duty to denounce the old friend. The narrator provides him with the counterespionage bureau's phone number, yet feeling guilty for having betrayed Delgado. He leaves the bar in order to avoid witnessing Delgado's arrest and later calls his friend Pepé, who was involved in Delgado's arrest, to ask him to tell the fascist that it was the narrator himself who denounced him.

The atmosphere at Chicote's, which functions as the main location of the short story, is generally described as highly positive, which already becomes obvious when the narrator describes the owner of the bar, Pedro Chicote, as follows:

Pedro Chicote was the proprietor and he had one of those personalities that make a place. He was a great bartender and he was always pleasant, always cheerful, and he had a lot of zest. Now zest is a rare enough thing and few people have it for long. [...] Chicote had it and it was not faked or put on. He was also modest, simple and friendly. He was really as nice and pleasant and still as marvelously efficient as George, the chasseur at the Ritz bar in Paris, which is about the

¹⁵ Both stories were written in 1937, on Hemingway's second trip to Spain during the Spanish Civil War (Light 65).

¹⁶ The story was written during Hemingway's third trip to Spain during the Civil War in 1938 and was originally published in *Ken* magazine. Although it was initially published together with articles and short essays, *Old Man at the Bridge* was later classified as a short story, as it features most of the genre's typical characteristics (Light 65).

strongest comparison you can make to anyone who has been around, and he ran a fine bar. (Hemingway, *The Denunciation* 420)

The highly positive description of Chicote's zest for life and the carefree time one can spend at his bar, where "the good guys" go, "you [do] not talk politics" and "the drinks [are] wonderful" (Hemingway, *The Denunciation* 420-421), might indicate that – despite the misery of people during the Spanish Civil War – at Chicote's one can still experience Spanish life as it used to be prior to the movement. Moreover, one could go one step further and claim that Chicote's even functions as a symbol resembling the "unspoiled" Spain before the war, which customers can temporarily return to and connect with when visiting the bar.

However, even though Chicote's seems to have managed to retain its good spirits, the bar clearly could not entirely avoid being affected by the omnipresent violence of the Spanish Civil War, since "[m]ost of Chicote's old customers are on Franco's side" and another "big part of Chicote's customers are now dead", as – according to the narrator – "it was a very cheerful place, and [...] really cheerful people are usually the bravest, and the bravest get killed quickest" (Hemingway, *The Denunciation* 421).

Nevertheless, the narrator also explicitly points out aspects which have not changed at Chicote's, and thus are still the same as they used to be before the war, such as the waiter's "very old-fashioned manners" and the fact that the bar still sells tonic water for "the same price as before the revolt" (Hemingway, *The Denunciation* 421-422). The fact that the two probably most important factors contributing to the cheerful atmosphere at Chicote's – namely the hospitality of the waiters and the price and quality of the drinks – were not affected by the war, becomes especially relevant when taking into account the suggested symbolic function of Chicote's bar. Drawing connections to the Spanish country as such, it can thus be claimed that just like Chicote's, it has managed to retain its true beauty, which can never be entirely destroyed.

Assuming that Chicote's indeed symbolizes the "unspoiled" Spanish country before the Spanish tragedy, it seems only logical that the narrator apparently feels the need to protect the place where one can still get a taste of the good

old Spanish life. Although he knows that Delgado has become an enemy due to his sympathy for fascism, he vividly remembers the times they had together in San Sebastian prior to the movement and clearly disapproves of the waiter's decision to denounce Delgado. However, "[c]aught between fellowship and politics" (Light 69) the narrator hands over the phone number to the waiter and thus not only feels to have betrayed Delgado, but rather his own principles (Light 69) by indirectly having brought the violence of the Civil War into Chicote's. Thus, the narrator tries to soothe his bad conscience by offering the waiter the option to take the blame for the denunciation, which the old man refuses, as he holds on to his principle that "[e]ach man must take his responsibility" (Hemingway, *The Denunciation* 427).

Feeling guilty for having betrayed Chicote's, the narrator decides to leave the bar before the officials arrive for the arrest of Delgado. However, as soon as he steps out of Chicote's, the brutality of the war the narrator experiences not only creates a highly threatening atmosphere, but further seem to make it impossible for him to escape from the fatal results of his betrayal:

As we went out of the door and turned to walk up the street, a big Seguridad car drew up in front of Chicote's and eight men got out of it. Six with submachine guns took up positions outside the door. Two in plain clothes went inside. [...] In the dark going up the Gran Via there was much new broken glass on the sidewalk and much rubble under foot from the shelling. The air was still smoky and all up the street it smelled of high explosive and blasted granite. (Hemingway, *The Denunciation* 427)

Not being able to cope with his feelings of guilt, the narrator finally calls his friend Pepé to let Delgado know that it was himself who denounced him and thus Chicote's bar can by no means be blamed for the betrayal. Therefore, it can be argued that the narrator not only tries to make up for indirectly having threatened the cheerful atmosphere one can always encounter at Chicote's, but he further "allows his own name to be dishonored" (Light 69) in order to enable Delgado to die without losing faith in Chicote's – and thus Spain's – honorable nature, as the story's final passage demonstrates:

All we old clients of Chicote's had a sort of feeling about the place. I knew that was why Luis Delgado had been such a fool as to go back

there. He could have done his business some place else. But if he was in Madrid he had to go there. He had been a good client as the waiter had said and we had been friends. Certainly all small acts of kindness you can do in life are worth doing. So I was glad I had called my friend Pepé at Seguridad headquarters because Luis Delgado was an old client of Chicote's and I did not wish him to be disillusioned or bitter about the waiters there before he died. (Hemingway, *The Denunciation* 428)

3.4.2. *The Butterfly and the Tank*

The Butterfly and the Tank tells the story of a real-life incident which happened at a bar in Madrid in late 1937 and only speculations can be made about whether Hemingway experienced the incident firsthand or merely learned about it from other sources (Johnston 184).

The narrator – once more an American writer living at the Florida Hotel – stops by at Chicote's bar for a drink, when a man enters and starts squirting with a flit gun. At first the man is beaten up and thrown out of the bar by soldiers, but he nevertheless comes back to squirt some more, for which he finally pays with his life. The next day the narrator returns to Chicote's and the manager tells him that the flit gun was filled with eau de cologne, which the man squirted in order to give everyone a good time. The manager finally suggests that the narrator should write a story about the unfortunate incident, insisting that it should be called *The Butterfly and the Tank*.

Chicote's bar, where most of the action of *The Denunciation* takes place, once more takes over the role of the main setting in *The Butterfly and the Tank*, in which initially it is likewise described as a highly joyful place. The narrator, who stops by for a drink to escape the heavy rain outside, provides the following positive depiction of the atmosphere he encounters at Chicote's:

The place was crowded. You couldn't get near the bar and all the tables were full. It was full of smoke, singing, men in uniform, and the smell of wet leather coats[.] [...] You couldn't hear yourself talk for the singing and I ordered a gin and Angostura and put it down against the rain. The place was really packed and everybody was very jolly; maybe getting just a little bit too jolly from the newly made Catalan liquor most of them were drinking. (Hemingway, *The Butterfly and the Tank* 429)

However, although the atmosphere at Chicote's is described highly positively at first, as the story progresses, it becomes obvious to the reader that the cruelty of the Spanish Civil War indeed affects each and everyone's life and thus does not spare Chicote's from being affected either. It may even be claimed that in contrast to the depiction of Chicote's bar in *The Denunciation*, emphasis is not put on the bar's cheerful character, but rather on the gradual loss of the values and morals of its waiters, as well as the customers.

When the civilian starts "clowning around from table to table [and] squirt[s] one of the waiters with a flit gun" (Hemingway, *The Butterfly and the Tank* 431), everyone seems to be amused, except for the waiter, who tells him to stop. However, the man keeps squirting and the situation becomes serious, as the following passage shows:

"No hay derecho," the waiter said. This means "You have no right to do that", and is the simplest and the strongest protest in Spain. [...] People had laughed, however, and the flit gun man, not noticing how the singing had fallen off, squirted his flit gun at the back of a waiter's neck. The waiter turned holding his tray. "No hay derecho," he said. This time it was no protest. It was an indictment and I saw three men in uniform start from a table for the flit gun man and the next thing all four of them were going out the revolving door in a rush and you heard a smack when someone hit the flit gun man on the mouth. (Hemingway, *The Butterfly and the Tank* 431)

When the man re-enters the bar and starts squirting again, the situation finally gets completely out of control and the flit gun man is shot by one of the customers. The fact that none of the waiters and customers even tries to solve the conflict in a nonviolent way, but the stranger is rather immediately attacked and ultimately even killed, can be claimed to demonstrate in how far the brutality of the Spanish Civil War even affects a joyful place like Chicote's.

Furthermore, it becomes obvious that the destructive nature of war has a strong effect on everyone involved in the Spanish tragedy when analyzing the narrator's reactions to the incident. The fact that his first thought after the shooting of the innocent man is to write about the occurrence, as he considers it to be "a pretty good story" (Hemingway, *The Butterfly and the Tank* 433), might suggest that experiencing the bloodsheds on a daily basis during the Spanish

Civil War has resulted in the writer's lack of sensibility towards the situation (Johnston 186). This claim is further strengthened when having a close look at the following passage, in which the narrator refers to the shooting as being "comic" and tries to justify his intention of writing about it without showing any compassion for the victim:

I said that I had been in Spain for a long time and that they used to have a phenomenal number of shootings in the old days in Valencia and that for hundreds of years before the Republic people had been cutting each other with large knives [...], and that if I saw a comic shooting in Chicote's during the war, I could write about it just as though it had been in New York, Chicago, Key West or Marseilles. (Hemingway, *The Butterfly and the Tank* 433)

However, when the bar's manager tells the narrator that the flit gun was filled with eau de cologne and the stranger, who sought shelter from the rain at Chicote's, was overwhelmed by the "gaiety" of the bar and thus "became gay too" and started squirting with the flit gun he had bought "to use as a joke at a wedding", the American writer seems to become aware of the seriousness of the situation, as he does not "like the story very well" (Hemingway, *The Butterfly and the Tank* 435). Moreover, he does no longer appear to have the intention to write about the incident. However, the manager persuades him of the incident's relevance, as he considers "the misunderstood gaiety coming in contact with the deadly seriousness that is here always" as "very interesting and important" (Hemingway, *The Butterfly and the Tank* 435).

Furthermore, it is the manager who urges the narrator to call his story *The Butterfly and the Tank*, a title which perfectly describes the short story's suggested demonstration of the immense impact of the Spanish Civil War's tragedy on each and everyone's life. It can thus be claimed that even innocent people with good intentions, whose spirits apparently have not been broken by the cruelty of war, are ultimately "destroyed" by the seriousness of war, just like a butterfly is inevitably defeated when coming in contact with a tank.

3.4.3. *Old Man at the Bridge*

The Old Man at the Bridge, one of Hemingway's shortest stories with the length of only about two pages, impressively depicts the tragic fate of an old peasant, who not only loses everything he owns in the course of the Spanish Civil War, but also suffers from his inability to protect what he deeply cares for – his animals.

The story is set in a rural area, where peasants flee from the approaching fascist troops, and where the narrator, whose job it is to "cross the bridge, explore the bridgehead beyond and find out to what point the enemy had advanced", starts a conversation with "[a]n old man with steel rimmed spectacles and very dusty clothes", who sits on the side of the road, as he is "too tired to go any farther" (Hemingway, *Old Man at the Bridge* 57). When talking to the old man, who has no family and is clearly too exhausted to keep on marching, the peasant repeatedly expresses his deep concern for his animals, which he had to leave behind:

"There were three animals altogether," he explained. "There were two goats and a cat and then there were four pairs of pigeons." "And you had to leave them?" I asked. "Yes. Because of the artillery. [...]" "And you have no family?" I asked [...]. "No," he said, "only the animals I stated. The cat, of course, will be all right. A cat can look out for itself, but I cannot think what will become of the others." (Hemingway, *Old Man at the Bridge* 58)

The fact that being unable to protect his animals appears to bother the old man even more than his own hopeless situation, as the following passage, in which he seems to have accepted his own fate, but cannot dismiss the thought of his animals, suggests:

"I am seventy-six years old. I have come twelve kilometers now and I think I can go no further." "This is not a good place to stop," I said. "If you can make it, there are trucks up the road where it forks for Tortosa." [...]" "Where do the trucks go?" "Towards Barcelona," I told him. "I know no one in that direction," he said, "but thank you very much. [...]" He looked at me blankly and tiredly, then said, having to share his worry with some one, "The cat will be all right, I am sure. There is no need to be unquiet about the cat. But the others. Now what do you think about the others?" (Hemingway, *Old Man at the Bridge* 58)

However, the old man is not the only character who clearly suffers from being unable to protect others from the destructive nature of the Spanish Civil War. The narrator, who constantly tries to encourage the old man to keep walking to save his life, finally seems to accept that there is nothing he can do for the man and tries to compensate his inability to help him with convincing the devastated man that his animals will be all right.

However, when the old man finally decides to continue walking, but is physically too weak to get up to his feet, the narrator is forced to accept that both men are “defeated” by the destructiveness of the Spanish Civil War in as far as that they cannot protect what they care about – the old man cannot save his animals, whereas the narrator is not able to save the old man’s life:

There was nothing to do about him. It was Easter Sunday and the Fascists were advancing toward the Ebro. It was a gray overcast day with a low ceiling so their planes were not up. That and the fact that cats know how to look after themselves was all the good luck that old man would ever have. (Hemingway, *Old Man at the Bridge* 58)

4. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to elaborate how the Spanish landscape, history and people are presented in selected fictional texts by Ernest Hemingway. Furthermore, it was examined in how far the fictional presentation of Spain mirrors the author's personal experiences, and thus to what extent the presentation of Spain in Hemingway's texts dealing with the Spanish Civil War differs from the depiction of Spanish culture in his early works. In order to give accurate answers to the research questions, this study has not only offered a detailed analysis of the chosen texts, but also insights into Hemingway's personal relationship with the Spanish country, which is essential to gain a full understanding of the analyzed fictional texts.

Spending numerous summers in Pamplona, where Hemingway experienced the world of bullfighting as a real *aficionado* in the 1920s, as well as covering the events of the Spanish Civil War as a foreign correspondent for the *North American Newspaper Alliance* in the late 1930s, Hemingway not only got to experience Spain's cheerful, carefree way of life, but also the Spanish country devastated by the horrors of the war.

Therefore, it seems only natural that the mainly positive depiction of the Spanish country in the interchapter vignettes of *In Our Time*, as well as *The Sun Also Rises* – texts which were written prior to the emergence of political conflicts in Spain – clearly differs from the rather threatening images of the country frequently presented to the reader in Hemingway's later works *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, *The Denunciation*, *The Butterfly and the Tank* and *Old Man at the Bridge*. However, a close analysis of the texts has shown that although Hemingway's works about the Spanish Civil War clearly present an overall less positive picture of the Spanish country, they nevertheless have a lot in common with Hemingway's earlier texts in regards to highlighting the true beauty of the Spanish country and its culture. This might give valuable information about Hemingway's personal attitude towards Spain.

One of the most significant features presented in *The Sun Also Rises* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* is certainly the importance of nature. Not only do both texts contain highly graphic descriptions of the Spanish countryside, but Jake Barnes'

and Robert Jordan's exceptional connection with nature also seems to emphasize the suggested beauty and innocent nature of the Spanish country. In *The Sun Also Rises* the rural seems to be depicted as being superior to the urban (Wilson 82), which becomes obvious when taking into account that Jake Barnes can only truly relax on his fishing trip near Burguete, when he is away from civilization and surrounded only by nature. The suggested glorification of nature is even more present in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, where Robert Jordan's deep connection with the Spanish earth and his ability to truly bond with nature enables him to at least temporarily forget about the cruel nature of the war and experience the "unspoiled" Spanish country as it used to be before the outbreak of the Civil War.

Another important aspect, which becomes evident when analyzing the characters' extraordinary relationship with Spanish nature, is the fact that as foreigners Jake Barnes and Robert Jordan both seek complete integration with the Spanish people. Whereas Barnes initially seems to be entirely integrated into the world of *aficionados*, but then appears to have betrayed his own principles by having introduced Pedro Romero to Lady Brett Ashley and thus loses his superior status to a certain extent, Robert Jordan is never fully integrated with the members of the guerilla band throughout the novel. However, nature can ultimately give both characters the feeling of being truly integrated. Jake Barnes appears to be most connected with the Spanish country surrounded by nature in Burguete and San Sebastian, whereas Robert Jordan finally experiences a moment of full integration with the Spanish soil when "feel[ing] his heart beating against the pine needle floor of the forest" (Hemingway, *For Whom The Bell Tolls* 490) in his moment of impending death.

Further parallels between Hemingway's early fictional texts dealing with the Spanish culture and *For Whom the Bell Tolls* can be noticed in the presentation of bullfighting and the world of *aficionados*. Hemingway's personal fascination with the ancient Spanish tradition of bullfighting is clearly expressed in the interchapter vignettes of *In Our Time*, in which the main focus lies on the presentation of bullfighting as an honorable form of ritualized death – a ritual not everyone is privileged to perform. Therefore, matadors who appear not to appreciate this privilege are indirectly criticized, as the close analysis of the

interchapter vignettes has demonstrated. Moreover, Hemingway's passion for bullfighting is clearly reflected in *The Sun Also Rises*. As the close study of the text has shown, the detailed descriptions of bullfighting scenes as perceived by the narrator not only enable the reader to get a feeling of the atmosphere in the bullring, but further seem to mirror the main events that take place as the story develops.

Lively depictions of the world of *aficionados* are also incorporated into Hemingway's Spanish Civil War novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, in which Pilar presents nostalgic memories of her former carefree life with the matador Finito. However, Pilar's vivid descriptions of the Fiesta and Finito's movements in the bullring not only reflect Hemingway's personal experiences he had made on his numerous trips to the Fiesta de San Fermín in Pamplona, but rather function as a great contrast to the depiction of the Spanish Civil War's destructive nature, which is omnipresent throughout the novel. As the close analysis of the text has shown, the Spanish Civil War's brutality is further emphasized through the depiction of its effects on the Spanish countryside as well as on the characters' morals, values and lives.

Taking into account the frequent juxtaposition of idyllic Spanish landscapes, ancient traditions and the destructive nature of the Spanish Civil War in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, the characters' desire to protect what is left of the "unspoiled" pre-war Spanish country and their wish to return to their old lives only seem logical. The characters' desperate endeavor to preserve Spain's innocent nature is also presented in Hemingway's short stories about the Spanish Civil War. Just like Robert Jordan feels the need to protect Maria, who symbolizes the Spanish country as such, the narrator in *The Denunciation* seeks to protect Chicote's bar, where one can still enjoy Spanish life as it used to be prior to the movement, from the cruelty of the Spanish Civil War. Furthermore, the old man in *Old Man at the Bridge* desperately wishes for his animals, which represent his old life, to survive the war unharmed. However, the old man's inability to protect what he truly loves in times of war – a cruel fact which all characters of Hemingway's analyzed fictional Spanish Civil War texts have to experience to a certain extent – further emphasizes the Spanish Civil War's far-reaching destructive effects on people's lives.

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6. Appendix

6.1. Abstract English

This thesis deals with the presentation of Spain in selected fictional texts by Ernest Hemingway. The aim of this study is to demonstrate how the Spanish landscape, history and people are depicted in six interchapter vignettes of *In Our Time*, in the novels *The Sun Also Rises* and *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, as well as in Hemingway's short stories *The Denunciation*, *The Butterfly and the Tank* and *Old Man at the Bridge*. The paper will further examine in how far the fictional presentation of Spain in these texts mirrors the author's personal experiences, and to what extent the depiction of Spain in Hemingway's texts dealing with the Spanish Civil War (*For Whom the Bell Tolls*, *The Denunciation*, *The Butterfly and the Tank*, *Old Man at the Bridge*) differs from the presentation of the Spanish culture in his earlier works *In Our Time* and *The Sun Also Rises*.

In order to give accurate answers to the research questions, this thesis offers valuable insights into Hemingway's personal relationship with the Spanish country, which is essential for a full understanding of the selected texts. The analysis of the interchapter vignettes and *The Sun Also Rises* mainly focuses on the presentation of Spanish life during the Fiesta and the art of bullfighting, whereas the analysis of Hemingway's texts about the Spanish Civil War primarily discusses the destructive nature of the war and its far-reaching effects not only on the Spanish countryside, but also on people's lives, as depicted in the texts. The results of this study show that the depiction of Spain in Hemingway's fictional texts dealing with the Spanish Civil War indeed differs from the presentation of Spanish culture in his early works. Taking into account Hemingway's personal relationship with the Spanish country, these differences can be explained by the author's personal experiences of Spanish life in various stages of his life.

6.2. Abstract German

Diese Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit der Präsentation Spaniens in ausgewählten fiktionalen Werken Ernest Hemingways. Ziel dieser Studie ist es, aufzuzeigen, auf welche Art und Weise die spanische Landschaft sowie die Einwohner des Landes und dessen Geschichte in Hemingways Vignetten aus *In Our Time*, den Romanen *The Sun Also Rises* und *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, als auch in den Kurzgeschichten *The Denunciation*, *The Butterfly and the Tank* und *Old Man at the Bridge* dargestellt werden. Weiters wird untersucht, inwiefern die Darstellungen Spaniens in den ausgewählten Texten die persönlichen Erfahrungen des Autors widerspiegeln, und inwiefern die Präsentation Spaniens in Hemingways fiktionalen Werken über den Spanischen Bürgerkrieg (*For Whom the Bell Tolls*, *The Denunciation*, *The Butterfly and the Tank*, *Old Man at the Bridge*) von jener in seinen älteren Werken *In Our Time* und *The Sun Also Rises* abweicht.

Um sorgfältig abgewogene Antworten auf die Forschungsfragen liefern zu können, bietet diese Arbeit auch Einblicke in Hemingways persönliche Beziehung zu Spanien, welche für das kritische Verständnis der Texte von großer Bedeutung sind. Die Analyse der Vignetten und des Romans *The Sun Also Rises* konzentriert sich hauptsächlich auf die Darstellung des unbeschwerten Spanischen Lebens während der Zeit der Fiesta, als auch auf die Präsentation der Kunst des Stierkampfes. Die Analyse jener Werke, welche den Spanischen Bürgerkrieg thematisieren, beschäftigt sich hauptsächlich mit der Frage, wie die zerstörerische Natur des Krieges in Hinblick auf deren Auswirkungen auf die Spanische Landschaft und das Leben der Menschen dargestellt wird. Anhand der Ergebnisse dieser Studie ist festzustellen, dass die Präsentation Spaniens und der spanischen Kultur in Hemingways fiktionalen Werken über den Spanischen Bürgerkrieg durchaus von jener seiner früheren Texte abweicht. Unter Berücksichtigung Hemingways langjähriger Beziehung zu Spanien können diese Unterschiede durch die persönlichen Erfahrungen des Autors begründet werden.

6.3. Curriculum Vitae

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