HEMINGWAY AND GOYA: THE CONVERGENCE
OF THREE ARTISTIC MOTIFS

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IRIS ROSA ZERBA
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Approved by:

[Signature]
Major Professor
If I could draw I would make a picture of a table at the café during a feria with the banderilleros sitting before lunch, the papers, a boot-black at work, a waiter hurrying somewhere and two returning picadors, one a big brown-faced, dark-browed man usually very cheerful and a great joker, the other a gray-haired, neat, hawk-nosed, trim-waisted little man, both of them looking the absolute embodiment of gloom and depression.

—Ernest Hemingway, *Death in the Afternoon*

Ernest Hemingway had a deep, abiding interest in painting. As he declared in *Green Hills of Africa*, hunting, fishing, "and writing, and reading, and seeing good pictures was all I cared about doing." During his lifetime he revealed familiarity in his works with almost as many painters as writers. Painters who are mentioned with some frequency in his works include Cezanne, Utrillo, Rubens, El Greco, Velasquez, Klee, Tintoretto, Degas, Van Gogh, Gris, Miro, Titian, Botticelli, Bosch, Bruegel, Braque, Masson, Van Dyck, Renoir, Manet, Monet, Ganguin, Veronese, Mantegna, and Whistler. He also maintained friendship with several minor painters who included Waldo Pierce, Luis Quintanilla, Antonio Cattorno, Nina Hammett, Ethel Moorhead, and Henry Strater, who made two portraits of Hemingway in 1922 and 1923.

Hemingway was also a fairly persistent visitor to several important museums both in the States and abroad. These included the Chicago Art Institute, near his birth place in Oak Park, Illinois; the Metropolitan Museum in New York; the Luxembourg Museum in Paris; the Prado Museum in Madrid; and the Accademia di Belle Arti in Italy. When impressed with a particular painting, he would study the technique of the artist that provided the desired effect. A. E. Hotchner, who accompanied Hemingway on
several museum trips, describes in his controversial work, his own observations of Hemingway's approach to a painting:

    When Ernest went to a museum, it was never to look at pictures in general but only at particular canvases. Sometimes he would go to look at one picture, and then leave. He would walk across an entire room of Titians, not looking at any except the one he wanted to see, and then he would stand in front of that picture, absorbed in it, looking at it for as long as his emotions demanded. On one occasion I was with him in the Accademia di Belle Arti when he stood in front of Veronese's "The Feast in the House of Levi," for twenty minutes.²

On the occasion of seeing Goya's famous portrait of the royal family of Charles IV, Hotchner records Hemingway's admiration for Goya's skill at hiding his feelings beneath the surface of his painting: "Is it not a masterpiece of loathing?" Ernest asked. "'Look how he has painted his spittle into every face. Can you imagine that he had such genius that he could fulfill this commission and please the King, who, because of his fatuousness, could not see how Goya had stamped him for all the world to see.'"³ Hemingway apparently saw the portrait as an exemplification of his iceberg theory of art.⁴

Hemingway's knowledge of painters derived from a direct study of admired works as well as from a fairly substantial amount of reading.⁵ His interest in modern painting, however, seems to have been directly stimulated by Gertrude Stein. In A Moveable Feast, Hemingway described Miss Stein's discussion of several modern paintings she owned.⁶ Miss Stein, moreover, criticized some of the early stories Hemingway gave her in terms of painting analogies.⁷ At this time during his first protracted stay in Paris, Hemingway also started going to the Luxembourg Museum to study Cezanne, Monet, Degas, and other Impressionists. Gertrude Stein may have
suggested these trips, although he later said the museum was a cheap place to go when you were hungry.

Cezanne, more than any of the other Impressionists in the Luxembourg Museum, drew Hemingway's attention and admiration. "'Cezanne is my painter after the early painters,'" he told Lillian Ross during a visit to the Metropolitan Museum in New York. At the same time, he mentioned specifically that he had learned to describe landscape by studying Cezanne's method. 

This celebrated method of Cezanne, and of the Impressionists in general, involves working tiny patches of a dominant color into the whole canvas. Hemingway admired the craftsmanship by which Cezanne attempted to create mood and tone in his art by this seemingly simple method, one that David J. Schneider sees employed in Hemingway's second novel:

In *A Farewell to Arms* the dominant state of mind—the sense of death, defeat, failure, nothingness, emptiness—is conveyed chiefly by the image of rain (with all its tonal associates, mist, wet, damp, river, fog), by images and epithets of desolation (chiefly bare, thin, small, and fallen leaves), and by images and epithets of impurity and corruption (chiefly dust, mud, dirt, and disease). Hemingway's method of working with images is surprisingly uniform. I have already employed an analogy to music; another way of describing the method is to think of a painter (Cezanne) working tiny patches of a dominant color over his entire canvas.

The method of Cezanne fits well into Hemingway's own developed technique of describing landscape in terms of key words and images that also provide the tone and mood he desired.

Another painter that Hemingway mentions frequently in his fiction is El Greco. El Greco's famous painting of the city of Toledo was one of Hemingway's favorite paintings. The painting hangs in the Metropolitan Museum where Hemingway had occasion to see it during his short trips to New York. On the day he left for post-World War II France, he visited the
museum in the company of his fourth wife Mary, his son Patrick, Hotchner, and Lillian Ross, and commented to all that he considered El Greco's "Toledo" the finest painting in the museum. El Greco's "Toledo" has been described as one of the most dramatic landscapes ever painted. While all the elements of landscape are present, sky, hills, river, meadows, and a city, they are arranged in such a manner that a tremendous sense of movement and activity is created which is normally conveyed by the human figure in art. Hemingway undoubtedly was impressed with El Greco's use of landscape methods to create such an unusual effect. The idea of doom and catastrophe shown in the painting is very close to Hemingway's own tragic views of the hostility of the universe surrounding man. There is a sense of oppression and sinister threat in the vacuum of the sky that suggests the real danger present in the nothingness enveloping man.

Velasquez, another Spanish painter, is also frequently mentioned by Hemingway in his works. In Death in the Afternoon, Hemingway sums him up in a simple statement: "Velasquez believed in painting, in costume, in dogs, in dwarfs, and in painting again." The costumes, dogs, and dwarfs constituted the people and things in the royal court of Philip IV that Velasquez was commissioned to paint. The dwarfs, jesters, clowns, and lunatics, which the king insisted on surrounding himself with, Velasquez painted out of his own feelings of outrage and pity. They constitute a certain strain of the grotesque similar to that found in some of Goya's etchings. It is this strain of the hideous or grotesque in Velasquez that probably appealed the most to Hemingway.

There are several other painters who Hemingway also mentions occasionally in his works, but none with the frequency and interest that he
mentions Cézanne, Velasquez, and, of course, Goya. These were the painters that impressed him the most with their ideas and techniques. It is Goya, however, that provides the deepest affinities in ideas and vision of life. And it is to Goya that we now turn for an analysis of these similarities.

In *Death in the Afternoon*, Hemingway offers a detailed observation of what he considered the aims and beliefs of Goya:

Goya did believe in blacks and in grays, in dust and in light, in high places rising from plains, in the country around Madrid, in movement, in his own cojones, in painting, in etching, and in what he had seen, felt, touched, handled, smelled, enjoyed, drunk, mounted, suffered, spewed-up, lain-with, suspected, observed, loved, hated, lusted, feared, detested, admired, loathed, and destroyed. Naturally no painter has been able to paint all that but he tried.¹²

Hemingway, himself a great prose painter who depicted many of the things Goya did in much the same manner, ranging from the sheer horror of war and violent death, to the human terror resulting from a dark, hostile universe of "Nada," was not far wrong in his own emotional appraisal of Goya's life and painting. Consciously or not, Hemingway in speaking of Goya is revealing many affinities he shares with the Spanish painter. This study will focus on the peculiar relationship existing between the 20th-century American writer and the late 18th-century, early 19th-century Spanish painter. This relationship will be approached by a comparison of Hemingway's works with Goya's famous series of etchings, *The Disasters of the War*. The similarities that will be discussed are consistently fostered by Hemingway in his works.

This study will go beyond the mere "listing" of the numerous allusions to Goya scattered in Hemingway's works to investigate the broader, realistic world-view shared by both in the representation and description of death and
the tragic vision of nothingness in life that at times gripped both artists. Goya's etching of "Nada" stands as a common testimonial of this despair and fear: a despair and fear that Hemingway tried to escape in a continuous swirl of activity and that both tried to exorcise through their art. Both considered war as a proper subject for art to depict the terror and violence they saw around them. Goya looked upon war with an anger and scorn that allowed him to depict violent scenes of human nature at its most barbarian level, while Hemingway, cool and detached, offers his characters a stoic code to keep from being destroyed inwardly by the warfare that rages without. In pursuing these themes, this study will shed greater light on Hemingway's own brand of pessimism and ritual, and on the darkness that looms over his fictional universe.

Very little is known for certain about the early life of Francisco de Paula Jose Goya y Lucientes, except for his birthplace near Saragossa in northern Spain in 1746, and his early apprenticeship to a local artisan's shop at the age of thirteen or fourteen. It is only after Goya's first trip to Italy in 1771 and his establishment at court as a full-fledged painter that factual knowledge of his life is more substantial.

After his arrival at court, Goya's success rose steadily. In the same year that Charles IV was proclaimed king, 1789, Goya was granted the title of Painter of the Royal Household. Appointed court painter for life, Goya had obtained everything a Spanish painter of the time could have wished for in the form of wealth, prestige, and success. He was all set for the type of life his predecessor Velasquez had enjoyed as court painter.

Jose Gudiol in his critical biography suggests that Goya was haunted constantly by certain psychological fears related to his life at court that
appear in his paintings. These fears constitute an insecurity which Gudiol believes might be traced to the poverty surrounding Goya's childhood and to a certain lack of confidence in dealing with people:

It may be suspected that Goya really was always weak--firm in his art, but insecure in his relationships with the outer world. Despite his achievements, there may be continuously glimpsed the reactions of a timid man, governed by emotion and somewhat lacking in self-confidence. From the misery surrounding his childhood, he always retained a chronic fear of poverty. Thus, he was constantly more preoccupied with small professional rivalries and economic problems than with the conception of a work of art. However, his art was effortlessly produced; he brought to the creative process his instinct and the nimble hand that painted with miraculous synchronization the products of his imagination and his aesthetic purpose.\textsuperscript{13}

Goya, like Hemingway, outside of a few basic ideas, never formulated an elaborate philosophy of art.

During the years 1792-1793, Goya suffered from a serious illness which left him deaf, paralyzed, delirious, and almost blind. His slow recovery left him permanently deaf. The close rub with death produced an extraordinary effect and left him a changed man. When he was able to paint again, his work exhibited such a propensity for the grotesque and fantastic that it surprised many people, including the king and the Inquisition. These tendencies were embodied in the first of his brilliant series of etchings, \textit{The Caprices}, a long, drawn-out project published in 1799. \textit{The Caprices} mark a new development in the history of art.\textsuperscript{14}

The year 1808 saw a second major change come over Goya's life. The effects of war between Napoleon's invading troops and the Spanish people left Goya outraged and stunned at the atrocities men were capable of inflicting upon each other. Out of the shock of such events came Goya's next series of etchings, \textit{The Disasters of the War}. 
The last years of Goya's life saw the production of three other series of etchings, The Disparates, Proverbios (Proverbs), and the etchings on the history of bull fighting, Tauromachia. All these etchings are the property of the Prado Museum where Hemingway had occasion to see them at the same time he viewed The Disasters of the War series. It may be conjectured that he became familiar with Goya's etchings on bull fighting when he was researching all the information available on the subject for his non-fiction work, Death in the Afternoon.

Goya died April 16, 1828, of a heart attack. He had accomplished enough to rank him as a major painter during his own lifetime and to bring him a cult of admirers, imitators, and later, forgers. He had succeeded in displacing a certain aura of sentimentality in the art of his time. In its place he put a new stark realism. It was this strain in Goya that Hemingway would find affinity with more than a century later.

There are not many points of similarity in the life and development of Hemingway and Goya. They did share a propensity for the outrageous and shocking which shows best in Goya's etchings and Hemingway's conversational and fictional stories. Goya's pictures of demons, witches, monsters, and distorted images find a parallel in many of Hemingway's short stories and novels. Malcolm Cowley, in an essay entitled "Nightmare and Ritual in Hemingway," has concisely summarized Hemingway's morbid fascination with the grotesque:

In no other writer of our time can you find such a profusion of corpses: dead women in the rain; dead soldiers bloated in their uniforms and surrounded by torn papers; sunken liners full of bodies that float past the closed portholes. In no other writer can you find so many suffering animals: mules with their forelegs broken drowning in shallow water off the quay at Smyrna; gored horses in the bull ring; wounded hyenas first snapping at
their own entails and then eating them with relish. And morally wounded people who also devour themselves: punch-drunk boxers, soldiers with battle fatigue, veterans crazy with "the old rale," Lesbians, nymphomaniacs, bullfighters who have lost their nerve, men who lie awake all night while their brains get to racing "like a flywheel with the weight gone"—here are visions as terrifying as those of "The Pit and the Pendulum," even though most of them are copied from life; here are nightmares at noonday, accurately described, pictured without blur, but having the nature of obsessions or hypnagogic visions between sleep and waking.16

Both Hemingway and Goya declared at various times to close friends that their art served as a means of relief or private catharsis of the doubts and torments in their lives.

In religious attitudes, both Hemingway and Goya declared themselves Christians at various times in their lives, although of the two Hemingway was more preoccupied with religious matters. Goya had to confirm his beliefs several times before the tribunals of the Spanish Inquisition, while Hemingway declared that he had been a Catholic all his life after his conversion to catholicism just before his second marriage. Whatever the public avowals of faith, however, the sentiments of both came out quite the opposite in their work. Satire and cynicism directed towards the church and clergy are prevalent in the work of both. Neither seemed entirely convinced of an after-life:

For Goya transcendental reality did not exist. There is no evidence in his biography or his works that he ever had even the most distant personal experience of it. The only reality he knew was that of the world around him; and the longer he lived the more frightful did that world seem—the more frightful, that is to say, in the eyes of his rational self; for his animal spirits went on bubbling up irrepresibly, whenever his body was free from pain or sickness, to the very end.17

Huxley's observation on Goya's lack of any firm religious belief and his
indulgence in the world of the senses might also describe Hemingway's lack of concrete belief and the endless rounds of activity that took him half around the world during his lifetime.

The most important point of comparison in the lives of both Hemingway and Goya, insofar as it affected their art directly, lies in the change that came over them after an early rub with death. The closeness of death seemed to add a new toughness and character to Goya's work that Guidiol complained was lacking in Goya's early years at court. Several critics have noted that, if Goya had succumbed to the despair of the disease in 1793, he would have been only one of a number of distinguished painters of the time without the rank of genius that he subsequently earned. But the disease had precipitated even deeper mental changes. In the new etchings that resulted from this change, the direct result of his brush with death and the conditions of repression and violence that gripped Spain, Goya reached the same unsentimental approach to reality and view of the nothingness of life that Hemingway did after his own bout with death two weeks before his nineteenth birthday in 1918.

In a letter written to his father a month after receiving his wounds, Hemingway reveals a certain soberness of thought concerning the meaning of life and death. "'There are no heroes in this war,'" he writes his father. "'Dying is a very simple thing. I've looked at death and really I know.'" It is "'better to die in all the happy period of undisillusioned youth, to go out in a blaze of light,'" the wounded son continues "'than to have your body worn out and old and illusions shattered.'" Hemingway's words at this time imply a tremendous shock to his sensibilities and the emergence of a tragic view of life after the shattering of illusions.
As is well documented, Hemingway received numerous wounds in his feet, knees, arms and head when an Austrian mortar shell exploded near a trench where he and three Italians were surveying the scene. Two of the Italians died instantly, while the third screamed in agony as one of his legs was blown off and the other was barely hanging on by tendons and ruptured muscles. Hemingway, hurt seriously himself, tried to carry the wounded Italian back to safety when a round of machine-gun fire again hit him. The Italian was dead when rescue finally came and of the original four, only Hemingway made it to the hospital alive. Many of these real-life events surrounding the wounding are fictionally presented in *A Farewell to Arms*.

Philip Young, in one of the first psychological treatments of Hemingway's development, presents the thesis that all of Hemingway's wounded heroes date back to the wounds received by the author in Italy in 1918 near Fossalta di Piave. The development of a pattern of wounded heroes begins with the first collection of Nick Adams stories, *In Our Time*:

> From here on in the Hemingway hero is to be a wounded man, wounded not only physically but—as soon becomes clear—psychically as well. The pattern of Nick Adams' development, which exists so far only in sketchiest outline, is of a boy who, while with his father up in Michigan, and without him on his own as a hobo or with friends, has been learning some lessons about life.¹⁹

Like Goya, Hemingway's close rub with death produced deep and immediate results in his work.

*The Disasters of the War* etchings provide the best comparison of the similarities of views between Hemingway and Goya for several reasons. *The Disasters*, executed after Goya had suffered his illness and had witnessed the atrocities committed during Napoleon's invasion, vividly reflect the
artist's response to the horror and violence of death and war. Goya's depiction of bodies, dying, swollen, naked, and at times dismembered, parallels Hemingway's own description in several works. The rotting bodies of the dead, or almost-dead described by Hemingway do not appear valorous or inspiring. The pictures and descriptions of the war dead represent the greatest effort at realism in art by both Hemingway and Goya, and it is precisely this level of stark realism that Hemingway's admires in Goya.

The second area of comparison lies in the important "Nada" etching that is part of The Disasters. Through this etching Goya brings into the foreground an unveiling of a vision of nothingness that has significant implications for comparison to Hemingway's art and beliefs. The conceptual basis suggested in the "Nada" etching revolves around a two-fold idea of nothingness: a vision of the nothingness of the after-life; and a suggestion of the nothingness or purposelessness in life which no amount of activity or escape can dissipate. Hemingway, who mentions The Disasters in Chapter IV of Death in the Afternoon, no doubt was familiar with this etching.

Finally, The Disasters brings into focus the entire panorama of war as a subject of art. Hemingway, who judged whether a writer of war was good or bad depending on the amount of sentimentalism vs. realism in his works, expressed the greatest admiration for Goya's own representation of war scenes. In "A Natural History of the Dead," Hemingway laments to the little old lady who is his audience that it is too bad the mules and dead horses with broken legs he had once seen could not reassemble for Goya to paint their plight, as he had once done in similar circumstances:

The number of broken-legged mules and horses drowning in the shallow water called for a Goya to depict them. Although, speaking literally, one can hardly say they called for a Goya
since there has only been one Goya, long dead, and it is extremely doubtful if these animals, were they able to call, would call for pictorial representation of their plight but, more likely, would, if they were articulate, call for some one to alleviate their condition. 21

In the panorama of war, Goya's etchings deal with animal as well as human victims. Hemingway, however, extended the battlefield motif to include psychological warfare between characters and to portray other casualties of the war besides the actual dead or physically wounded.

In Death in the Afternoon, Hemingway declares that the only place where one could see violent death depicted, now that the wars were over, was in the bull ring. Violent death, he argues, is one of the simplest and most fundamental things in life, and he wanted to learn to write by beginning with the simplest things in life. Many authors invariably failed, Hemingway concludes, because they closed their eyes at the moment of impact, and the realistic depiction of violent death cannot be done with any shutting of the eyes. Forty-six of the eighty-five etchings that make up The Disasters depict the dying agonies and grotesque deaths of men, women, children and animals in such poses as only an artist who had not shut his eyes could have done.

Men are depicted at the moments of greatest pain as they fall dying in The Disasters. Such depiction parallels Hemingway's own prose descriptions of violent death unattended by any discipline or bravery on the individual's part. Hemingway clearly distinguishes between the ignoble and instantaneous death caused by modern technological warfare, and the prolonged final blow that allows the individual to exert some control over his thoughts and die with some dignity. Not all those who are given this chance to prepare their minds for death, however, are able to die nobly when the end finally comes.
Hemingway's fiction is filled with descriptions of those who die instantaneously without any preparation, those who die nobly and retain some dignity, and those who are cowards and cannot face an eventual death. Goya's representations of death, on the other hand, focus only on those victims who are caught unexpectedly in the violence of war.

In the etching entitled "Is this what you were born for?" a single man is depicted in the act of falling forward on his face with blood pouring copiously through his mouth and throat. His hair is wildly flying while his eyes are almost out of his head. The sense of pain is dramatically captured in the chiaroscuro technique. The feeling produced is that of a man caught suddenly by a lance or bullet facing violent death without any warning. Such a representation of the immediacy of death parallels Hemingway's account of the sudden wounding of Frederic Henry in *A Farewell to Arms*:

Through the other noise I heard a cough, then came the chuh-chuh-chuh-chuh—then there was a flash, as when a blast-furnace door is swung open, and a roar that started white and went red and on and on in a rushing wind. I tried to breathe but my breath would not come and I felt myself rush bodily out of myself and out and out and out and all the time bodily in the wind. I went out swiftly, all of myself, and I knew I was dead.\(^2\)

Hemingway's description simulates the same sense of spontaneity of being hit, the loss of mental and physical equipoise, and the immediacy of pain that Goya's etching tries to show. Hemingway has also provided the innermost thoughts of Lt. Henry as he thinks he is about to die, a psychological insight which is perforce absent in Goya's etching.

There are two other etchings in *The Disasters*, numbered 37 and 39 respectively in the series, which show the trunk of a man hanging on a tree while an arm and a leg are shown on different branches of the tree at
different angles. The expression on the man's face is one of blank agony and numbness. One of the captions expresses Goya's feelings of outrage and scorn: "Wonderful heroism! Against dead men!" These two etchings are among the most grotesque of the entire series.

Two other etchings reveal a different attitude towards the brutality of war in which Goya upholds the right of the people to fight back against their oppressors. In "He Deserved it," a soldier is being dragged out of the town by a rope tied on his feet. In the other entitled "The People," a soldier is being beaten by clubs and a pitch-fork as he lies down on the ground. On the faces of the Spanish people appear the expressions of scorn, anger, and even fear. These two particular etchings parallel Pilar's account of the mob action against enemy fascists in a village taken over by Pablo in For Whom the Bell Tolls.

Pablo's methods were brutal but effective, Pilar comments at the beginning of her account to Robert Jordan. Pablo had arranged for all the peasants in the village to stand in two lines armed with flails, heavy herdman's clubs, or ox-goads, wooden pitch-forks, sickles and reaping hooks. At the end of the two lines was a cliff overlooking a river. All the known fascists in the village, which included the mayor and several rich landowners, were walked between the lines, beaten severely and thrown over the cliff. At first the peasants were uneasy about what they had to do, but as more fascists were walked through the lines and killed, the peasants became more fierce and determined. Don Ricardo Montalvo's defiance and insult greatly aroused the anger and blood-thirstiness of the mob:

So they clubbed him to death very quickly because of the insult, beating him as soon as he reached the first of the men, beating him as he tried to walk with his head up, beating him until he
fell and chopping at him with reaping hooks and the sickles, and many men bore him to the edge of the cliff to throw him over and there was blood now on their hands and on their clothing, and now began to be the feeling that these who came out were truly enemies and should be killed.\(^2^3\)

Hemingway's description of the killing of these fascists by the village people resembles Goya's etchings, "The People," and "He Deserved it." The range of emotion described by Hemingway, from uneasiness and fear to anger and scorn, also matches the expressions on the faces of the people in Goya's two etchings.

In several etchings the dead lying together in mass groups or piles are shown either with no facial expressions, or with blank looks. The eyes and mouth of many of the dead are opened as if in the last anguished moments of expiration. Only parts of bodies are discernible in many of Goya's arrangements, and the total effect of such representation is one of mass carnage in which all individuality is lacking. Some of the etchings depict scavengers pulling the clothes off the dead and leaving them naked. In one entitled "Charity," the dead are being thrown into a big hole. Several bodies appear skeleton-thin and half-rotting, while others appear swollen as if bursting out of their clothes, or what remains of their clothes. These pictures of the dead directly parallel Hemingway's description of the dead in "A Natural History of the Dead," "A Way You'll Never Be," and "After the Storm."

"A Natural History of the Dead" contains Hemingway's most extended description of the war dead. Hemingway's intention in the story is to show how the war dead actually appear on the field.\(^2^4\) Like Goya, Hemingway is an artist who does not shut his eyes:

"Until the dead are buried they change somewhat in appearance each day. The color change in the Caucasian races is from white to
yellow, to yellow-green, to black. (This aspect of color change is of course lost in Goya's etchings.) If left long enough in the heat the flesh comes to resemble coal-tar, especially where it has been broken or torn, and it has quite a visible tarlike iridescence. The dead grow larger each day until sometimes they become quite too big for their uniforms, filling these until they seem blown tight enough to burst. The individual members may increase in girth to an unbelievable extent and faces fill as taut and globular as balloons.  

Aside from the color aspect, Hemingway's description of the war dead might be used to describe Goya's representations. Death depicted in such mass quantities appears to both men as an ugly, undignified, and meaningless end. Such an effect is further heightened by both artists' attention to detail.

In the short story "A Way You'll Never Be," Hemingway again uses accumulative details to create an accurate picture of the war dead. In the story Nick Adams is surveying the battlefield outside a small town after an attack. Riding around the area on a bicycle, he sees the dead lying "alone or in clumps in the high grass of the field and along the road, their pockets out, and over them were flies and around each body or group of bodies were the scattered papers." Hemingway in several accounts of the war dead appears always impressed with the amount of paper surrounding the dead almostironically as the last surviving testament of each individual, or as the vestiges of the civilization that had sent them cruelly to their graves. Nick Adams surveys this mass of papers as he contemplates the mass of bodies lying around the town:

There were mass prayer books, group postcards showing the machine-gun unit standing in ranked and ruddy cheerfulness as in a football picture for a college annual; now they were humped and swollen in the grass; propaganda postcards showing a soldier in Austrian uniform bending a woman backward over a bed . . . . There were many of these inciting cards which had evidently been issued just before the offensive.
In none of Goya's etchings does there appear any of this massive amount of paper surrounding the dead, although it is difficult to pick out many minute details in the chiaroscuro effects. In one particular etching, however, entitled simply "The Ravages of War," there is a picture of several people killed from an attack in which some debris, such as Hemingway describes, is depicted around them. In the etching one body is shown up in the air as if the attack had been a bombing or mortar attack. The background shows details of furniture in a house, with parts of the roof and walls falling down. The war dead in this etching include children also. The scattered debris adds to the effect of total destruction.

In the short story "After the Storm," Hemingway describes the bodies of the dead found in a sunken ocean liner. This description is similar to those of the war dead. The protagonist in the story is a first-person narrator who comes across a sunken ocean liner that he conjectures ran aground in some quicksand. When the narrator dives down to see the wreckage, he peers through the closed portholes and sees several bodies floating inside, one of which is a woman: "I could see the woman floated in the water through the glass. Her hair was tied once close to her head and it floated all out in the water. I could see the rings on one of her hands." 28 Between dives the narrator again grimly takes note of the many birds that have come around to feed on the pieces of flesh from the bodies of the dead: "... near the bottom something must have been open because there were pieces of things floating out all the time. You couldn't tell what they were. Just pieces. That's what the birds were after. You never saw so many birds. They were all around me; crazy yelling." 29 Hemingway uses the image of the animal scavenger frequently in his works, the most notable of which is the screaming
hyena in "The Snows of Kilimanjaro." Goya also depicts several distorted animal figures in a few etchings, and in one particular etching entitled "The Consequences," there is a representation of a huge vulture devouring the flesh of a man.

In his portrayal of the dead, Hemingway is also greatly concerned with the conduct of those who know they face a certain death, and are given some time to prepare for it. This aspect is somewhat difficult to interpret in Goya's Disasters, although in two etchings the pose of a brave man is easily detectable: "Do they belong to the same race?" shows a tranquil, thin-faced old man confronting his enemies, while "With Reason, or without" pictures two men armed only with sticks stoically facing the onslaught of a group of enemy soldiers approaching them with lances.

Hemingway's biggest group of cowards is undoubtedly the politicians and the spoiled rich men; by contrast those who face death bravely are usually of lower origin with no distinguished background except what they earn militarily or in the warfare of life. During a conversation in The Fifth Column between Philip Rawlings and Antonio, a security chief, politicians are discussed as the first to talk under pressure. Antonio mentions to Rawlings the cowardly conduct of one politician that was brought to security:

I have seen a politician on the floor in that corner of the room unable to stand up when it was time to go out. I have seen a politician walk across that floor on his knees and put his arms around my legs and kiss my feet. I watched him slobber on my boots when all he had to do was such a simple thing as die. I have seen many die, and I have never seen a politician die well. 30

In For Whom the Bell Tolls, a rich young man, Don Faustino Rivera, the most notable coward in the novel, faces his enemies, Pablo's men and the town people, with so much fear that he falls down and begs them not to kill him.
The effect is one of extreme disgust. By contrast, Robert Jordan, facing a
certain death at the end of the novel, presents one of the most dignified
portraits of a man awaiting death in war to be found in Hemingway's works.
With a leg badly broken and his captors slowly approaching, Jordan's greatest
anguish is to fight off the instinct for self-destruction.

Hemingway perceives the positive effect of ritual in an act of war or
killing. Through the exercise of a certain disciplinary ritual, the individ-
ual can face death in a truly heroic manner. Technological warfare as
depicted in both Goya's etchings and Hemingway's narratives has destroyed a
large part of the ritual involved in war by its massive destructive poten-
tial. But in those situations where the abruptness of the violence is taken
away or reduced and the individual has some chance to evaluate the rules of
the game he is in, Hemingway creates a code to superimpose order on the chaos
created by the war. It is through this code that the brave men are able to
face death honorably. Later when the war is over, those that survive, still
hurt and broken by the war, are able to give their lives a modicum of dignity
and meaning through this code.

Hemingway's code involves a realistic appraisal of a situation on the
part of the individual, a stoic acceptance of the negative consequences any
line of action can bring him, and an overriding insistence that the action
be performed properly, whether it be killing a lion, landing a marlin,
fighting a bull, or conducting oneself manfully in time of war. Hence when
a Hemingway protagonist decides to take part in a dangerous mission such as
a war, he must be totally prepared to face the most horrible consequences,
including death. Robert Jordan, in For Whom the Bell Tolls, is typical of
Hemingway's protagonists in accepting the consequences of his action; aware
that his mission will probably cost him his life, he not only blows up the bridge but also makes sure that it is done properly and on schedule. At the end when Jordan lies dying, he knows he has done correctly what he was ordered to do. The code holds the only semblance of unity and surety in a strange world filled not only with the ever-present danger of death, but also with the unpredictable and unknown. Whatever the unknown involves, the code of stoic acceptance of consequences developed during wartime allows the Hemingway hero to arm himself before the face of an eventual death. The code, of course, can be learned apart from the war in the general battle of life. For example the Mexican Cayetano, in "The Gambler, the Nun, and the Radio," and the aging bull fighter Manuel Garcia, in "The Undefeated," accept pain and death with stoicism and dignity.

Goya's only etchings that deal with casualties of war other than the actual dead concern the gloomy fates of those survivors whose loved ones have been killed in combat or by starvation and disease. In one etching entitled "The Unhappy Mother," a single child is depicted watching her mother being taken away by a group of soldiers. The focus of attention is concentrated in the sorrowful, anguished face of the child. In several other etchings, the results of famine and starvation are depicted in the groups of emaciated and haggard-looking people that sit around on street corners pitifully portrayed in their condition. The facial expressions of many have an eerie quality of doom and desperation, while some appear eyeing the possessions of others with almost pure hate.

John Portz, in an examination of the various allusions used by Hemingway in "A Natural History of the Dead," has noted striking similarities between Hemingway and Goya:
Goya was one of Hemingway's favorite painters, and his etchings on the Napoleonic invasion of Spain in 1808 are probably the most horrifying commentary on war ever painted. In this series Goya catches that Spanish love of and obsession with death which Hemingway writes of in Death in the Afternoon and which he himself so deeply shared. Hemingway and Goya had in common a certain love of the brutal, as well as a flat abbreviation of expression which makes its appearance even in the captions to Goya's drawings: "I saw this"—"Bury them and be silent"—"Is this what you were born for?"—"What more can be done?"—"This is bad." These are the artists who do not shut their eyes when they look at the fearful object, who could not shut their eyes even if they wished.  

Portz points out many similarities between Goya's and Hemingway's realistic, detailed portrayals of the victims of war. In fact, when Hemingway gives an account or prose description of the dead, or dead bodies, it is fairly certain his account will parallel Goya's etchings in one respect or another. 

While Goya shares Hemingway's ability to look upon violent death and depict it objectively, he does not seem to share as intensely Hemingway's obsession with death as a subject of art. Nowhere else in his lifetime work does Goya again use the subject of violent death as he does in The Disasters. Only in the Tauromachia etchings on bull fighting does he deal with any violent scenes of death which perforce must figure in any complete study of the bull ring. Hemingway, by contrast, has descriptions of violent death of one sort or another scattered throughout most of his works. 

John Killinger, in Hemingway and the Dead Gods, declares that Hemingway must continue to represent the death experience in order to maintain a certain tension in the protagonist. Killinger makes his observations against the background of a study of existentialism. He also makes the same observation that Philip Young makes on Hemingway's pattern of death stemming from the wound received in Italy by Hemingway in July, 1918. But Killinger adds, significantly, that Hemingway diverges from Freud's idea of repression of
the original shock condition by constantly re-living the experience in his
works, instead of trying to repress it.

A study of the depiction of death in *The Disasters*, such as has been
attempted in this section, not only serves to heighten one's understanding
of Hemingway's treatment of death, but also helps to show in pictorial form
what Hemingway was trying to do in prose. This is not to suggest that, if
Hemingway had never seen Goya's etchings on war, his descriptions would have
been any different. But Goya's artistic vision in *The Disasters* focused
sharply upon the realistic, the tragic, the violent; and Hemingway clearly
saw, and openly acknowledged, the similarity between his own vision and that
of Goya, the artist who kept his eyes open when depicting the horror of war.

The second area of comparison between Goya and Hemingway, the nada
concept which strikes the deepest chord of affinity in the tragic vision of
both, is somewhat more difficult to apprehend. Part of this difficulty lies
in the abstractness of the conceptual basis of "nothingness." It is easier
to speak of Hemingway's concept of nothingness not only because of his own
particular emphasis on the idea, but also because of the broader predominance
of the idea as a 20th-century intellectual malady after World War I. In this
respect, Hemingway is certainly not alone in his belief in the meaninglessness
and purposelessness of life or in his disbelief in the after-life, although he chooses to call it by the Spanish name for nothingness, *Nada.*

For purposes of clarity and organization, the best approach to uncovering
the basic meaning of nothingness shared by both Hemingway and Goya is to
concentrate on a study of the etching "Nada" and then to relate it to
Hemingway's own thoughts. The etching appears as number sixty-nine in the
series and the full caption reads, "Nada. Ello dirá," or "Nothing. It
speaks for itself."

Goya's etching of "Nada" presents a picture of a man, almost skeleton-thin, who on the verge of dying sees a vision of the beyond where shadowy figures appear along with a figure holding a pair of unbalanced scales. On the verge of expiring and with a deep expression of horror on his face, he manages to scribble the word "Nada" on a book, or a piece of paper. The etching suggests several levels of interpretation all in keeping with Hemingway's own idea of nothingness. In the etching Goya seems to be wondering if there is really any justice in the after-life for the crimes committed in the war. The unbalanced scales represent the absence of any such justice and by further elaboration, the whole question of meaning and purpose in life is also brought into question. A shadowy outline of a figure pointing away from the plane of the picture leans over the dying man in the act of screaming something in his ear. Next to the screaming figure stands a hooded figure symbolizing death. The bleakness of the vision, and the gloominess of the universe surrounding the dying man seem to cause him more anguish than perhaps the pain of death itself.

The despair and anguish depicted in the vision of nada in Goya's etching have been amply demonstrated and discussed by numerous critics analyzing Hemingway's work. Carlos Baker, however, is the only one who has made any connection between Goya's etching of "Nada" and Hemingway's own idea of nothingness. Baker states that the Not-Home stream of images in Hemingway's writing is another name for Goya's nada:

The Not-Home is another of the names of "nada," which Carlyle once rhetorically defined as the vast circumambient realm of nothingness and night. It was perhaps never more sharply drawn than by Goya in the horrific etching which he calls "Nada." An arc of the nada-circle runs all the way through Hemingway's
work from the night-fears of Jake Barnes to the "horrors" of Philip Rawlings and the ingrowing remorse of Richard Cantwell.\textsuperscript{32}

Nowhere else in Hemingway's work do all the particular nuances of Goya's \textit{nada} receive more direct attention than in the short story "A Clean Well-Lighted Place."

The idea of a "clean well-lighted place" is the complete antithesis of the dark universe depicted in Goya's etching. An old man, who in his closeness to death is like the figure in Goya's etching, sits alone every night drinking brandy until the cafe closes. The old man's particular problem is a metaphysical fear of the darkness outside, which is an objective correlative for the universe of \textit{nada}. The older waiter understands the problem of the old man because he shares the problem. The younger waiter does not understand what there is to fear in nothingness. Carlos Baker points out how in a skillfully controlled conversation between the older and the younger waiter, the idea of nothingness becomes a huge actuality.

The great skill displayed in the story is the development . . . of the young waiter's mere nothing (or nada) into the old waiter's Something--a Something called Nothing which is so huge, terrible, overbearing, inevitable and omnipresent that, once experienced, it can never be forgotten. Sometimes in the day, or for a time at night in a clean well-lighted place, it can be held temporarily at bay.\textsuperscript{33}

It is this same terrible, huge actuality that creates the sense of oppression in the dark universe of Goya's etching. The old waiter, walking home in the dark after the closing of the cafe, remarks to himself on a vision of nada similar to that which the dying man in Goya's etching sees with horror. Light provides the only refuge from this vision of darkness:
Turning off the electric light he continued the conversation with himself. It is the light of course but it is necessary that the place be clean and pleasant. You do not want music. Certainly you do not want music. Nor can you stand before a bar with dignity although that is all that is provided for these hours. What did he fear? It was not fear or dread. It was a nothing he knew too well. It was all a nothing and a man was a nothing too. It was only that and light was all it needed and a certain cleanliness and order. Some lived in it and never felt it but he knew it all was nada y pues nada y nada y pues nada. 34

There is no permanent relief from the sense of nothingness or nada that dominates the story. Every word of hope and promise in the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary has been replaced with the word nada in an attempt to close any avenue of escape in religion.

In both Hemingway and Goya, the nada concept is viewed with the atrocities of war as a background. Both imply, in one way or another, that the shock produced by war on the individual causes him to reflect on the meaning and purpose of life. The result of such reflection leads the individual to a vision of nothingness in life after all the bloodshed and activity are over. For the Hemingway hero the only relief or escape from such a vision of nothingness lies in the stoic acceptance without remorse or self-pity of anything life brings and in a thorough immersion in physical and sensual activities.

Since the idea of nada negates both space and time which define the limits of our universe in which the purposes of human life are possible, the Hemingway hero exhibits a definite preoccupation with objects and things in experience. In the short story "Now I Lay Me," Nick Adams is depicted trying desperately to hold on to objects and events that come into his consciousness as he fights off sleep. In the story, Nick begins by trying to remember all the things he had seen during a fishing trip: "insects in the
swamp meadows," "beetles," "insects with legs like grass stems," "grubs in old rotten logs," "white grubs with brown pinching heads that would not stay on the hook," "wood-ticks under logs," and "angle-worms that slipped into the ground as soon as the log was raised."35 He stretches his memory further back in time to the things he did and saw in his boyhood. The objects and events that Nick remembers provide the only meaning and purpose in life he can hold on to. Without these he is left to roam in a non-spatial, non-temporal abyss of nothingness that springs forth as a horror to his being. This abyss of nothingness has its objective correlative in sleep. Sleep brings on the loss of consciousness through which Nick Adams knows he will lose control over himself and fall prey to the deepest fears of his mind.

I myself did not want to sleep because I had been living for a long time with the knowledge that if I ever shut my eyes in the dark and let myself go, my soul would go out of my body. I had been that way for a long time, ever since I had been blown up at night and felt it go out of me and go off and then come back. I tried never to think about it, but it had started to go since, in the nights, just at the moment of going off to sleep, and I could only stop it by a very great effort.36

The night also becomes for the Hemingway hero another objective correlative of nada. Its very darkness brings about the terror of the vision of nothingness, as sleep brings about the loss of consciousness and annihilates the events and objects of existence. Again, it is the war which provides the background for the vision of nothingness.

The idea of the body being blown up and the soul leaving it suggesting the loss of consciousness also becomes a part of the dramatic situation in the two parts of "Big Two-Hearted River." In this story Nick Adams is engaged in a fishing trip that is similar to the one he recalls in "Now I Lay Me." The problem of falling asleep is again one of great concern, and Nick
is happy in the first part of the story when he is able to fall asleep 
pleasantly without too much trouble. In the story Nick pays close attention 
to all the details of his trip; a concentration which gradually emerges as 
an intense effort to ward off the vision of nothingness which enters the 
story through the parallel suggested between the burned city of Seney in 
Michigan, and an equally burned city of Europe after the war. Seney brings 
to mind all the associations of horror of the war and the reflections on 
nada. A significant intensification of feeling is focused on Nick's refusal 
or fear of going into the swamp area near the river in the story. As a 
representative Hemingway protagonist, Nick is trying to lose himself in ob-
jects and facts, to ward off the limitless vision of nothingness. In asso-
ciating the vision of nothingness with the pain of being wounded, Hemingway 
is following Sartre's idea that nothingness is revealed to man most fully 
in anguish.

Jake Barnes in *The Sun Also Rises* and Colonel Cantwell in *Across the 
River and Into the Trees* are also depicted as mounting a similar defense 
against the loss of consciousness which brings on the vision of nothingness. 
Both Jake and the Colonel try desperately to hold on to the confines of the 
concrete present by engaging in a whirl of physical and sensual activity 
involving fishing, drinking, duck-shooting, love and sex. Through sensation, 
thought is fended off and being, or consciousness, is felt more powerfully. 
By contrast, Philip Rawlings in *The Fifth Column*, and Robert Jordan, in *For 
Whom the Bell Tolls*, are depicted as so involved in the Spanish war effort 
that there is less surface indication of a struggle against nothingness. 
For all four protagonists, the war has caused a distortion of any normal 
love affair.
Nick Adams, Jake Barnes and Richard Cantwell represent the Hemingway hero making his greatest effort to retain his consciousness in a counter-attack against the vision of nothingness. Along with the escape into a whirl of activities, they are also depicted as prepared to meet any of the tragic consequences that life may bring them. In complying with the Hemingway code, which requires such tragic acceptance, they are further characterized by a strong sense of alienation from the people around them.

Santiago, the old fisherman in _The Old Man and the Sea_, is the only Hemingway hero that succeeds in achieving any organic unity with the hostile universe around him as he engages in a life-and-death struggle for his prized marlin. In achieving this level of unity, Santiago seems to have found some meaning and purpose in life in a "victorious" defeat that brings him personal, if not public, dignity. At the end of the struggle, he is one of the few protagonists who is able to sleep soundly and peacefully. Sleep becomes a reward for a hard struggle against the forces of nature instead of an analogy for a vision of nada. Harry Morgan in _To Have and Have Not_ comes the closest of any Hemingway hero in realizing a certain common interest with the rest of humanity in exclaiming at one point that a man alone, "ain't got no bloody chance." Near the end of the novel, Morgan reveals a similar distaste and fear of the night and sleep that characterize Nick Adams, Jake Barnes, and Richard Cantwell.

Goya's view of nada is not as pervasive and all-encompassing as Hemingway's. He portrayed it in his art at a moment of great despair, while Hemingway accepted the nothingness of life as a basic part of his beliefs. In an article entitled "Nada, Religion, & Hemingway," C. N. Stavrou points out that the Hemingway hero knows well all the facets of despair and is
permeated with knowledge of the nothingness of life:

The Hemingway hero knows well what it is like to be a stranger, an exile, an expatriate, a foreigner in another country, a Cain in the land of Nod. He knows how it feels when one can descry no purposeful goals to life, no abiding fulfillment in his work, no cogent reason for protracting the repetitive, inane existence prescribed by a society which neither consults his wishes nor provides for his personal needs. What is worse, he knows that no amount of courage and resourcefulness can hope to cope with the enervating terror and anguish such knowledge engenders. Nevertheless . . . he usually resolves to persevere—at least a little longer—even though all faith and hope are gone.37

Hemingway's tragic vision of nada, despite the desperate attempts at relief or escape by each of the Hemingway protagonists, remains essentially gloomier and bleaker than Goya's partly because of its greater intensity and pervasiveness. Goya's despair stems more from a greater disgust with atrocities committed by man in war than with a deeper disgust of life itself, and in this respect he condemns mankind for its vile conduct. Hemingway engages in no such moral reflections and only condemns individuals who are cowardly or can not accept the tragic consequences that life may heap upon them. In the end Hemingway's vision of nada serves as the constant opposition offered to all his heroes, against which they must fight. Nada succeeds in becoming an enemy more fearsome and terrifying than death itself.

The last area of similarity shared by Goya and Hemingway lies in their focusing on war as a proper subject for art. Goya was one of the first major painters to bring to the canvas realistic depictions of war scenes. In France, Elie Faure points out, where the same drama of revolution and violence had been going on even earlier, "not a single writer nor a single painter appeared to be aware of it. Daumier lived thirty-years too late."38
Outside of The Disasters, Goya does not use the war setting at all. In contrast, no other subject preoccupied Hemingway's mind as much as war. Directly or indirectly, it enters into almost all of his work, including his journalism. Many critics believe that Hemingway's interest in war is directly attributable to his interest in death; hence a discussion of war in Hemingway becomes at times synonymous with a discussion of death. War is a metaphorical base of Hemingway's work; it provides the Hemingway hero with the necessary pressure of opposition and stress with which he must cope and from which he will emerge as either truly brave and admirable, or shamefully weak and ignoble. The bull ring, the big game hunt, and the prize ring are likewise arenas for the test of manhood under battle-like conditions.

In a novel or a short story dealing directly with a war situation, Hemingway quickly involves a character in some pose or action by which a reader might judge the behavior as acceptable or unacceptable. Robert Jordan, in For Whom the Bell Tolls, must consider shooting Pablo, the old guerilla leader, because of fears that his behavior will spoil the plans for destroying the bridge. The waiter in the story, "The Denunciation," must turn in an enemy fascist who has come into his cafe, even though he is an old customer from before the war. For both Robert Jordan and the waiter, adherence to a certain war-time discipline becomes the standard of acceptable behavior. Personal desires must be held in check, and a soldier must be prepared to face the worse much as the code hero is prepared for any tragic consequence of life.

For those who must live with the knowledge of certain death in war, Hemingway's treatment of acceptable conduct is nowhere more admirable than in the depiction of a young lieutenant in the short story "Night Before
Battle," dealing with the Spanish Civil War. The young lieutenant, a foreigner, has been put in charge of a unit of tanks charged with the task of destroying the enemy's position as much as possible before any regular infantry moves in. The enemy's position is well-fortified with the advantage overwhelmingly in his favor. To attack as directed with poor support from his own troops, the young lieutenant knows he faces a certain death. The story is partly built on a contrast of the lieutenant's brave behavior with the cowardly behavior of his men. In a conversation with a friend at a cafe, he describes how he must push his men to comply with orders:

"It won't be all right. But it will be just exactly as good as I can make it. I can make them start all right and I can take them up to where they will have to quit one at a time. Maybe they can make it. I've got three I can rely on. If only one of the good ones doesn't get knocked out at the start."39

The young lieutenant keeps telling his friend to stop him if he starts talking "crap." He is nervous and uneasy, yet still determined to follow his orders, even in spite of some criticism by another gentleman in the cafe, calling them into question. What emerges as significant is that Hemingway depicts such heroic conduct along with the normal human feelings of fear and uneasiness.

Anselmo, the old man in For Whom the Bell Tolls, approaches the heroic behavior of the young lieutenant in a less tragic circumstance. When Robert Jordan goes on an inspection of the enemy's position at the bridge that will be blown-up, he leaves Anselmo on one of the guard positions until he can get back. During Jordan's absence, the weather changes drastically and a bitter cold develops that endangers the old man. After some debate with himself over the consequences of his leaving his post, Anselmo stays on to
wait for Jordan to return. Later on when the final plans are being made to
blow up the bridge, Jordan knows he will be able to count fully on Anselmo's
doing his job.

In the portrayal of the young lieutenant and Anselmo, Hemingway succeeds
in depicting a range of human behavior possible during such a strenuous con-
dition as war. For those writers who missed such an opportunity of depict-
ing human conduct he considers the loss irreplaceable:

I thought about Tolstoi and about what a great advantage an
experience of war was to a writer. It was one of the major
subjects and certainly one of the hardest to write truly of
and those writers who had not seen it were always very jealous
and tried to make it seem unimportant, or abnormal, or a
disease as a subject, while really, it was just something
quite irreplaceable they had missed. 40

In the same vein Hemingway considers how Flaubert, Stendhal, and Dostoevsky
became good writers because they had seen either a revolution or been sent
to the labor camps. The underlying idea is that harsh conditions allow the
writer to see a wider range of conduct in his characters. War as a subject
provides Hemingway with one of the best means possible to use his recurrent
themes of great courage and manhood to the fullest extent.

The reasons why men go to war have perhaps never been as fully explored
by any other artist. Even Goya in his elaborate study of war does not pro-
vide as full a range of human motivations as Hemingway does. Goya concen-
trates on an innate depravity in men that compels them to kill and destroy
in war. Hemingway gives a fuller scale of motivations ranging from politi-
cal idealism to greed for the spoils of war, from patriotism to social
coercion of the individual, from the love of adventure and action to the
testing of manhood. The reasons range from the simple to the complex. Like
Goya, Hemingway judged war correctly to be a great panorama of the times and did not miss the opportunity to use it in equally broad fashion in his art.

Several concluding remarks are in order before adding the final words to this study. In comparing The Disasters of the War to Hemingway's works there are some interpretative problems that must be mentioned. Primarily these involve the differences between the media under discussion. Hemingway's works cut across the serious, ironic, comic, and tragic planes, while Goya's etchings are more one-dimensional in their tragic scope. Furthermore, Hemingway, in typical literary fashion, sets up in every novel and short story, issues which are specifically novelistic. These further weave a web of complexity specifically prosaic, and answerable only in prosaic terms. Hemingway's universe, when compared to Goya's, is hence more complex.

It seems appropriate to close this study by noting some remarks by an early critic of Hemingway, Paul Rosenfeld, concerning the similarities between Hemingway and Goya. In an 1928 essay Rosenfeld called Hemingway, "a prose Goya," and stated that the young writer, like the old Spanish artist, presented only one side of the coin in the depiction of life. Seeking balance and moderation in art, Rosenfeld angrily protested that the gloomy, violent world of Hemingway and Goya could not be accepted.

Rosenfeld's essay, despite its negative tone, has captured the essential tragic similarities shared by Goya and Hemingway. However, his view implying that both writer and painter are one-dimensional misanthropes is too simple. Men that have risen to the stature of Hemingway and Goya have not done so on so narrow a basis. Goya's and Hemingway's early rub against death and their front-row seats in the arena of violence compelled them to look long and hard into human life. Predictably they stressed the tragic
view because the tragic side loomed the greatest before them. The eventual fate of man and the atrocities that men were capable of committing found their way more readily into their respective art mediums, than any lesser aspect of human life. Underneath the dark surface of the art, however, lies a greater complexity which only close and elaborate study unveils.

As in every work of art, only close scrutiny of the work itself will bear further testimony as to the rigorness and truthfulness with which it has depicted a fresh insight for man to ponder. Perhaps it is only an old truth newly stated. Practically every artist from antiquity onwards has commented on a gloomy and tragic strain in the human condition. Hemingway and Goya in their tragic vision have, in the final analysis, seen no more than this age-old view, but it is the credit of their genius that they were both able to embody the vision in new terms of greater objectivity and realism than ever before.
Footnotes


3 Ibid.

4 In Death in the Afternoon (New York, 1932), p. 192, Hemingway explains his iceberg theory: "If a writer of prose knows enough about what he is writing about he may omit certain things that he knows and the reader, if the writer is writing truly enough, will have a feeling of those things as strongly as though the writer had stated them. The dignity of movement of an iceberg is due to one-eighth of it being above water."

5 Hotchner, p. 205.

6 Miss Stein was probably instrumental in introducing Hemingway to Picasso, Gris and Miro, Spanish painters she was encouraging in their art at the time of Hemingway's first protracted stay in Paris. From Miro he purchased a painting entitled "The Farm," as a present for Hadley.

7 In A Moveable Feast (New York, 1965), p. 15, Hemingway writes that Gertrude Stein criticized his early short story "Up in Michigan" by describing it in terms of a painting that a painter discovers he can't hang afterwards. "Inaccrochable" was the word she used to describe his story. The word stuck somewhat comically in Hemingway's mind.


10 Lillian Ross, p. 85.

11 Death in the Afternoon, p. 204.

12 Ibid., p. 205.

14 Goya's chiaroscuro, the use of light and shade in painting, extended the range of emotional expression in painting, at the very same time Beethoven was doing the same for music.

15 Goya's "Naked Maja" was a first as a landmark against Spanish prudishness. Cezanne, Van Gogh, and other Impressionists would later copy it.


20 Only one Goya etching, which pictures a woman shooting a canon while all around her lay the dead, gives any suggestion of valor.

21 *Death in the Afternoon*, p. 135.


23 Ernest Hemingway, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (New York, 1940), p. 111.

24 Along with depicting the actual appearance of the dead in the field, Hemingway is portraying a state of mind leading to total numbness and blankness.

25 *Death in the Afternoon*, p. 137.

27 Ibid., pp. 402-403.


29 Ibid., p. 374.


33 Ibid., pp. 124-125.


36 Ibid., p. 363.


40 Green Hills of Africa, p. 70.
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HEMINGWAY AND GOYA: THE CONVERGENCE
OF THREE ARTISTIC MOTIFS

by

IRIS ROSA ZERBA

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HEMINGWAY AND GOYA: THE CONVERGENCE
OF THREE ARTISTIC MOTIFS

This study focuses on the peculiar relationship existing between the
20th-century American writer, Ernest Hemingway, and the late 18th-century,
early 19th-century Spanish painter, Francisco Jose de Goya. This relation-
ship has been approached by a comparison of Hemingway's works with Goya's
famous series of etchings, The Disasters of the War.

The Disasters of the War etchings provide the best comparison of the
similarities of views between Hemingway and Goya for several reasons. The
pictures and descriptions of the war dead represent the greatest effort at
realism in art by both Hemingway and Goya, and it is precisely this level
of stark realism that Hemingway admires in Goya. The second area of com-
parison lies in the important "Nada" etching that is part of The Disasters.
Through this etching Goya brings into the foreground an unveiling of a
vision of nothingness that has significant implications for comparison to
Hemingway's art and beliefs. Finally, The Disasters brings into focus the
entire panorama of war as a subject of art. Hemingway, who judged whether
a writer of war was good or bad depending on the amount of sentimentalism
vs. realism in his works, expressed the greatest admiration for Goya's own
representation of war scenes. Violent death, he argues, is one of the
simplest and most fundamental things in life, and he wanted to learn to
write by beginning with the simplest things in life. Many authors invari-
ably failed, Hemingway believes, because they closed their eyes at the
moment of impact, and the realistic depiction of violent death cannot be
done with any shutting of the eyes. Forty-six of the eighty-five etchings
that make up The Disasters depict the dying agonies and grotesque deaths
of men, women, children, and animals in such poses as only an artist who had not shut his eyes could have done.

This study concludes that Hemingway and Goya in their tragic vision present no more than an age-old view going back to the classical beginning of Western literature, but it is to the credit of their genius that they were both to embody this vision in new terms of greater objectivity and realism than ever before.