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Master's Thesis of Literature

Resistance, mourning and
testimony as ethical responses to
the call of the other in *La voz
dormida* and *Sonyeoni Onda*

『잠자는 목소리』와
『소년이 온다』에서 나타나는 타자의 부름에 대
한 윤리적인 반응으로서의 저항, 애도와 증언

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Abstract

How should literature handle the pain of others in an ethical way? This thesis examines two attempts to bring to the forefront the memory of victims of state violence: *La voz dormida* by Dulce Chacón and *Sonyeoni Onda* by Han Kang. *La voz dormida*, written in 2002, is set in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) and the first years of Francoist dictatorship. It follows the plight of several women, imprisoned in the women’s prison of Las Ventas for supporting the Republic, and that of their families and acquaintances. The novel’s third person narrator complements the fragments that mimic the speech of the characters with an omniscient voice that complements with historical facts the thoughts of the characters. The narrative voice mimics the speech patterns of testifiers and supports this testimony with factual evidence, making the novel into a document of testimony, albeit fictional. *Sonyeoni Onda* (2014) tells the story of victims and their bereaved families after the brutal state repression that followed democratic protests in the city of Gwangju, South Korea in May 1980. It also introduces the fictionalized author of the novel as the character that focuses the last chapter, exploring the problematics of writing about other’s pain. *Sonyeoni Onda* utilizes first, third and second person narrators depending on the chapter. This allows the novel to create different effects, and affects, on the reader, who is engaged by the voice of the characters, even interpolated in the second person.

Starting from Cathy Caruth’s analysis of the Freudian story of the burning child, who after dying calls to his father from a dream and asks him to be aware that he is burning, this thesis focuses on how the relationship with the other, especially those who cannot speak anymore, is established within the novels. The father of this story is being called to wake up, survive and tell the story of having survived his late son. From that moment on, he will become the carrier of the story of someone who cannot tell it for himself anymore. In both

works, survivors receive the call of other victims to survive and tell their story, which may allow them to take on three different but complimentary responses: resistance, mourning and testimony. In some of the characters, the call of the other triggers rage, which they manage to channel into a stance of resistance that allows them to take on challenges that they had not believed themselves capable of. Mourning allows survivors to come to terms with the traumatic death of their friends and family. But, within the historical setting of both novels a proper mourning cannot take place. Mourning must be social in order to be successful, and the repression of the dictatorships that portray victims as enemies of the state does not allow for a collective mourning. That is why both novels emphasize the role of recording, which allows for a later mourning. Since a proper mourning could not take place at the time of the events, both novels become places of mourning, allowing fictional victims and bereaved families to speak within the novel, engaging the readers and marking them as new receivers of the call of the other. Giving testimony, that is, finally narrating what has happened and putting the trauma of encountering death or extreme cruelty into words could be seen as the final response to the call of the other who asks for their pain to be remembered and narrated. *La voz dormida* presents testifying as the best option: surviving to tell the (Hi)story, and not letting others write it instead is shown as the right ethical and political choice. However, *Sonyeoni Onda* problematizes testimony not only through characters who struggle to give it but in questioning the motifs of those who ask victims to testify to their plight.

The call of the other can only be answered successfully when the receiver has managed to maintain or reestablish links with others, to have a community that can listen and support them. But sometimes, these listeners can also be outside of the world of the novel. Ultimately, this call of the other is also extended to the reader through the novels, asking them to take the torch and remember the victims and their stories. In the case of *La voz dormida*, this took on a literal character when book presentations around the novel became spaces of testimony, where women who had been imprisoned or

repressed during the dictatorship were able to tell their stories to people who were interested and willing to listen. The novel created new places for real world victims to be able to testify. These two novels present us with two ways of looking at a painful past from the present, whilst trying to establish links between the victims and the readers.

Keywords: mourning, the call of the other, testimony, resistance, memory, trauma studies, La voz dormida, Human Acts

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The novels *Sonyeoni Onda* (소년이 온다) by Han Kang (Changbi, 2014) and *La voz dormida* by Dulce Chacón (Alfaguara, 2002) deal with violent events that, for years, were contested within the official history of their respective nations. Han Kang was born in Gwangju in 1970, ten years before the Gwangju Uprising. Whilst her family was living in Seoul when the events took place, that personal link compelled her to write the novel. Dulce Chacón was born in Zafra (Badajoz) in 1954, fifteen years after the end of the Spanish Civil War. She is part of the "grandchildren's generation", a group of writers who did not experience the war but felt the need to memorialize it before those able to give testimony passed away. After the death of dictator Francisco Franco, Spain transitioned to democracy in a period known as *Transición*, a time in which the majority of the population sought political and social agreements, motivated by the fear that a conflict would arise again (Liikanen 43). Whilst it is widely believed that there was a political agreement called *pacto de silencio* or *pacto de olvido* to not speak about the Civil War and dictatorship, these actions did not come out of a specific consensus to hide the past but were motivated by the discourse of reconciliation prevalent at the time (Liikanen 44). With the turn of the century, a new generation who had not experienced the war felt the need to come to terms with that part of Spanish history, gripped by a sense of justice and the impending death of the surviving victims of the war due to old age. Additionally, unlike during the *Transición*, dealing with the Civil War had most likely lost its potential political danger during the 90s and early 2000s (Gómez López-Quñones 15). The urge to memorialize the Civil War was translated into the "memory boom" that characterized Spanish literature at the turn of the millennium. Novelists belonging to the grandchildren's generation show an ethical compromise with the victims of the war and those who were on the losing side, and seek to repair their memory through their writing (Liikanen 59). Compared to other

"memory booms", such as the literature produced after the Holocaust or dictatorships in South America, Spanish novels are characterized by realistic portrayals typical of realism and lack reflections about the role of testimony or the representation of horror and torture in fiction (Liikanen 61). *Sonyeoni Onda* deals with the events that took place in Gwangju in May 1980, after democratic protests against the coup d'états that followed the Yushin regime turned into brutal state repression of the students and citizens of this South Korean city. and the repercussions that they had in the lives of the victims and their families. Each chapter follows a different character from May 1980 to the present, including the soul of a dead child and the fictionalized author of the novel. *La voz dormida* portrays the lives of a group of female prisoners at Las Ventas prison after the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), as well as those of their relatives. The narrative voice is that of a third person omniscient narrator, intertwined with the thoughts of the characters reported in the third person but mimicking their particular ways of speaking.

Whilst there is a twelve-year gap between the publishing of the novels, as well as a generational gap between these two authors, both were published about a quarter of a century after their respective countries transitioned from dictatorship to democracy. In both cases, this might have allowed them an openness that literary accounts produced at the time of the events could not have had. This temporal distance and safer political climate allowed both authors to write about the past from the present, whilst creating a legacy for the future. In that sense, both novels revisit historical events influenced by the ramifications that those events had in the present, and propose a way of looking at that history going forward. Both novels were written when their respective countries had become an established democracy and the historical facts that inspired them were recognized officially in historical records, but there was a climate of defamation around the two events. Regarding Gwangju, at the time of the writing of the novel, victims were being made fun of or

called spies in right-wing online communities (김종엽 194-195). Considering the differences between *Sonyeoni Onda* and other Gwangju novels, Yeongchae Seo also reads the novel as a product of its time: "변한 것은 작가가 아니라 시대와 풍조이니까. 지금 우리는 바로 그 시간 속에, 한국 민주주의 역사에서 퇴보의 시기로 기록될 시간 속에 살고 있는 것이니까. 무슨 일이라도 해야 한다는 절박한 마음이 점점 더 커지고 있음을 많은 사람들이 느끼고 있으니까" (서영채 434). In Spain, efforts to dignify the memory of victims of the Civil War and Francoist repression were painted as attempts to create unnecessary conflicts. In several interviews, Chacón stated that she felt the responsibility to lend her voice to the generation that came before that of her parents (EFE). She also expressed her wish for memory to stop being a conflict point, so that it could become a way to reconcile with the past. For her, processing the past was a necessary step in order to move forward towards the future. The repression during and after the Spanish Civil War and the Gwangju Uprising were extensively dealt with in literature, but these two novels gained enough popularity to be considered bestsellers. Whilst this is not something that the authors could have predicted at the time of writing, both novels were picked up by major publishing houses, and their popularity points out to the social relevance of the issues the novels discuss.

In her essay *To remember or to forget*, Aleida Assmann mentions the different ways of moving forward from a shared history of violence. She contrasts Christian Meier's idea that forgetting is necessary for moving forward with real life cases and concludes that forgetting and remembering are two different sides of the same coin. Instead, she proposes focusing on who benefits from forgetting or remembering and who suffers because of it (Assmann 68). Both of the novels use remembering as a tool to process a shared history of violence, but it is unclear whether both feel that moving forward is the best result.

Giving testimony of someone else's story, an effort attempted by both writers in their respective novels, presents an ethical problem. The words of those who are unable to testify (because they have died, or because they are not heard) are not the ones that are being received. Instead, what is transmitted is the version of another survivor who has come in contact with the victim who has not survived, or the narration that someone, like a historian, who has met the victim, elaborates. However, staying silent is also not an ethical option, since it could result in the victim's testimony being lost forever. In these two novels, both authors attempt to give testimony for the victims whose voices were not being heard, engaging the readers and using their platforms so that the testimonies can reach a wider audience. In both works, the call to testify is extended to the reader. The urge to let others know of the victims' plight and maintain their memory goes beyond the written pages. At the same time, both works show the difficulties that characterize the process of giving testimony. Whilst in *La voz dormida* the problematics of testifying are only shown through a character's individual perspective, as part of their internal processing of mourning, in Han Kang's novel this process is shown in a much more skeptic light, portraying not only the internal conflict of the characters triggered by the call to testify, but also their mistrust towards those who ask them to do so. This is also further explored through the self-insert character of an author writing a novel about Gwangju.

Han Kang, born in 1970, was a child in 1980 (she would have been a few years younger than the characters Dongho and Jeongdae). Dulce Chacón, born in 1954, takes on the role of telling the story of her grandparent's generation. Unlike Han Kang, who moved from Gwangju to Seoul a few months before the massacre and feels that her close family or herself could have been directly affected, Chacón takes on the role of a narrator who simply feels a debt towards Spanish Civil War repression victims. In a 2002 interview, the Spanish author said that she felt responsible for the silence of her parent's

generation, now unjustifiable in a democratic society (EFE). This is a position that may be similar to that of the self-insert author of *Grass* by Keum Suk Gendry-Kim, someone who acts as a bearer of testimony from a victim who could be her grandmother but has no previous personal relation to her beyond nationality and womanhood.

Whilst Chacón seems to have faith in the project of a Spanish democracy, Han Kang's work questions even what humanity is. The seeds from which the projects were born are also different: for Han Kang, the 2009 Yongsan tragedy had a significant impact in inspiring the novel, so it is the injustices in the present that make her deal with those in the past. After all, Gwangju has come to signify state violence against its citizens, so current injustices bring back Gwangju into the present (김미정 258). For Chacón, on the other hand, it was her identity in relation to the historical past of Spain that triggered her memory work. Like other Spanish novelists that portrayed the Spanish Civil war around the turn of the millennium, she grew up in a right-wing family, so whilst her efforts to preserve testimony can be seen as similar as that of children and grandchildren of Holocaust survivors faced with the realization that the older generations are dying off, which Marianne Hirsch termed the “generation of postmemory”, the familial history component that would provoke an affective transmission is not present in Chacon's case.

In his 1917 essay *Mourning and Melancholia*, Sigmund Freud described mourning as the natural process that takes place after the loss of a loved one or a loved object. Mourning is not a pathology, but a temporary process that, when completed, will allow the subject to return to their normal life. In mourning "a turning away from reality takes place and a clinging to the object through the medium of a hallucinatory wishful psychosis" (244). But with time, through reality-testing, the subject is able to check that the loved object no longer exists and finally come to accept it. On the contrary, unresolved mourning can turn into melancholia, a pathologic stage. In

Trauma and Recovery, her 1992 book relating the problems that plague trauma victims, psychologist Judith Herman contrasts the usual characteristics of mourning, including several social rituals, with the mourning which follows traumatic events, for which there is no recognized social ritual in place. According to her, the lack of a social ritual that allows for mourning makes it very likely that the unrealized mourning will become a pathological grief (69-70). In *History and Memory After Auschwitz*, historian and Holocaust studies scholar Dominick LaCapra warns: "Mourning is a social, even a ritual practice that requires the specification or naming of deserving victims. Without such specification, chances are that mourning will be arrested and one will be locked in melancholy, compulsive repetition, and acting out the past" (69). Starting from two Freudian concepts, LaCapra distinguishes between two modes of working through trauma. He defines the first one, acting-out, as "emotionally repeating a still-present past" (*Representing the Holocaust* xii). The second one, working-through, and that which he presents as the ideal option, would entail a conscious distancing from the past. As he clarifies in an interview with Professor Amos Goldberg:

In the working through, the person tries to gain critical distance on a problem, to be able to distinguish between past, present and future. For the victim, this means his ability to say to himself, "Yes, that happened to me back then. It was distressing, overwhelming, perhaps I can't entirely disengage myself from it, but I'm existing here and now, and this is different from back then" (2-3).

For LaCapra, mourning is also a form of working-through (LaCapra, *History and Memory* 138). Eunsuk, and other characters in Sonyeoni Onda, are not able to perform this work of mourning, to do the reality-testing, so their process of mourning is stuck in melancholia. Tomasa in *La voz dormida* is also a clear example of this unrealized mourning turned melancholia. In both works, the social prohibition to remember and honor victims causes bereaved

family and friends to become stuck in melancholia, unable to process their mourning, honor the dead socially and move on.

소년이 온다 (*Sonyeoni Onda*) and *La voz dormida* show their readers an example of an ethical attitude when dealing with the pain of others, and an effective way of passing on testimony of their sufferings. Both novels try to restore victims' dignity by having characters and readers come into contact with the voice of these victims and incorporate their painful stories within themselves. In other words, the victims, incapable of telling the story of their suffering, rely on those who listen to become mediators capable of transmitting their stories. These mediators are then able to incorporate the suffering of others within themselves and channel it in different ways, such as a tool for their own resistance. The story of the other becomes incorporated into the self, that is, it is now part of one's identity. Of course, this process is not always successful. This experience is also ultimately transmitted to the reader through the medium of the novel: the reader becomes the receptor of the story of the other in situations in which the chain of transmission has been broken.

In both novels, the voice of the other commands survivors to keep going in order to tell their story. Testimony takes place in a structure that includes three parts: a victim, someone (usually another victim) who is made aware of their pain, and some kind of affective link that unites them and creates a response in the second person. In *Unclaimed Experience* (1996), Cathy Caruth turns to Jacques Lacan's interpretation of a Freudian story about a burning child recounted in *The Interpretation of Dreams*. After his young son has passed away from a fever, a father goes into a different room to rest, leaving the child's body under the care of an old man. In his dreams, the father meets the child, who asks him to realize that he is burning: 'Father, don't you see I'm burning?', asks the child reproachfully. After waking up from the dream, the father sees that his child's body had indeed caught on fire. For

Freud, the purpose of this dream would be that of wish-fulfilling: the father dreams of his child in order to meet him once again. However, for Lacan, the dream is an example of the father coming in contact with the Real. Lacan wonders what exactly awakens the father. Like the delayed response present in trauma, the father has not yet really realized that his son has died, and it is through the dream that he meets this reality. According to Caruth, for Jacques Lacan it is the dream that wakes the father and makes him face the reality of the child's death, a "reality of a death from which he cannot turn away" (99). So, for Lacan, this story exemplifies the ethical dilemma of consciousness, impossible to fulfill, that arises when coming into contact with the deaths of others (Caruth 104). The dead child meets his father in the dream and compels him to survive. But from this moment, the father is not the same person he was before; now, he has become someone who has to convey the pain of his late child:

[I]t is this child who, from within the failure of the father's seeing, commands the father to awaken and to live, [...] The father, who would have stayed inside the dream to see his child alive once more, is commanded by this child to see not from the inside [...] but from the outside, to leave the child in the dream so as to awaken elsewhere. It is precisely the dead child, the child in its irreducible inaccessibility and otherness, who says to the father: wake up, leave me, survive; survive to tell the story of my burning.

To awaken is thus to bear the imperative to survive: to survive no longer simply as the father of a child, but as the one who must tell what it means not to see, which is also what it means to hear the unthinkable words of the dying child (Caruth 105).

It is not his child who has spoken, it is the dead child, that is now inside him, who has compelled him to speak. Like the burning child waking his father up from sleep, in *Sonyeoni Onda*, Dongho is the voice that compels the other

characters in the novel, the fictionalized author, and the readers to survive and tell his story. In *La voz dormida*, the testimony of numerous political prisoners reaches us through the words of other women who share a similar plight, but most of the story is centered around Hortensia, who we know is going to die from the very first line of the novel: "La mujer que iba a morir se llamaba Hortensia". Hortensia's imminent death triggers in the characters responses similar to those that arise after Dongho's death in *Sonyeoni Onda*.

What happens after the call of the other has been received? What influence can it have? I have identified three responses present in both novels, triggered by the call of the other: resistance, mourning and testimony. After the call of the other has been received, it may trigger the emotion of rage into the characters. This rage will then be channeled into a stance of resistance that helps them take on actions that they had not believed themselves capable of. It is the love they felt towards the person who died what allows them to do so. Mourning is portrayed in the novels as a form of social redress that allows survivors to honor the dead and make peace with them and with themselves. Finally, testimony can be seen as the culmination of the mourning process: narrating the trauma that they or others have endured so that the call of the other lives on and is passed to a third person. These three are not exclusionary, some of the responses are present in the same character and part of the same process. Resistance can take several forms, it can be manifested as political resistance, or as a rage that helps a survivor keep living despite their trauma. Resistance is also linked to testimony: in *La voz dormida*, characters believe they must survive in order to give account of their stories and those of others, so that they can write their own history. Mourning and testimony are also heavily intertwined: narrating is a key piece for a traumatic memory to be processed: narrating helps when working through a painful memory, leaving a pathological melancholic state behind and processing it as a healthy mourning. But the call of the other is not always answered successfully: guilt

is one of the most common responses in survivors of traumatic events. In *Sonyeoni Onda*, several characters feel the guilt of having survived, and not all are able to move forward. However, in *La voz dormida*, guilt is much more marginal: Pepita feels guilty for finding love when others suffer so much, but it is a passing feeling. The only character who is affected by guilt for a long time, Don Fernando Ortega, a republican-supporter doctor present during the Paracuellos massacre, had stopped working as a doctor before the events of the novel take place because of the trauma of witnessing the massacre. However, during the course of the novel he resumes his labor. In some cases, the call triggers multiple responses, some complementary like the ones mentioned above, but others contradictory, such as guilt and resistance. On the following pages I will analyze the three types of ethical responses to the call of the other mentioned above.

Chapter 2. Resistance as the necessary stance to be able to respond to the call of the other

2.1. Rage and resistance

In both novels, the rage felt by characters because of what has happened to them, and especially to others, is channeled into a force that helps them resist and survive. In her analysis of *Sonyeoni Onda* through affect theory, Kim Soryun considers anger to be the principal feeling in the novel, especially in characters like Dongho and Seonju. She believes that this feeling serves as a way to trace links to other cases of extreme violence across time and space. For her, the anger present in the novel becomes a driving force that leads to solidarity between the generation who has experienced Gwangju and younger

ones (김소륜 19).

Rage makes normal people who have experienced injustices or have witnessed them take on actions that they may not have believed themselves capable of. In *La voz dormida*, Doña Celia, the pension owner whose daughter was executed, takes on the role of secretly procuring little squares of cloth from the murdered prisoners' bodies, so that their families can know what has happened to them and start their mourning process. At first, she was scared of getting caught, but that sentiment soon changes to a 'bitter rage': "Ya sólo sentía una rabia amarga, que tragaba despacio con su desolación mientras se acercaba a los cadáveres con unas tijeras en la mano" (98). The rage she feels over the death of her daughter and of many others transforms her into someone who helps other victim's relatives start their own mourning process, something that she could not do herself properly, since she does not even know where her daughter is buried.

In 죄와 피 (*Soe-wa Pi*), fourth chapter of *Sonyeoni Onda*, a picture of Dongho's cruel death is found alongside Jinsu's will after he commits suicide. Jinsu was one of the young men who resisted until the last night, when the military took over the city of Gwangju, and thus was witness to Dongho's cruel, senseless murder. The guilt related to this incident has been eating Jinsu up all this time and it seems like the photograph is there as a way to explain why he killed himself. However, the same picture becomes for Seonju, one of the girls who helped take care of the victim's bodies in Gwangju alongside Dongho, a reason to live. Seonju sees the photograph after she goes to Gwangju planning to end her life, and the rage that she feels after seeing it gives her a reason to survive. For Young-Chae Seo, Seonju's reaction to Dongho's death seems different than that of other characters, since in her it summons a feeling that goes beyond guilt and self-reproach and becomes her motivation to live (서영채 428). We could suspect that Seonju might not feel as responsible as Jinsu, since Jinsu was the one who told the younger students

to turn themselves in, leave the weapons and go out with their hands up in the air (112, 116), but she does feel responsible for not forcing Dongho to go home:

내 책임이 있는 거야, 그렇지?

입술을 학문 채, 눈앞에서 일렁이는 파르스름한 어둠을 향해 당신은 묻는다.

내가 집으로 가라고 했다면, 김밥을 나눠 먹고 일어서면서 그렇게 당부했다면 너는 남지 않았을 거야. 그렇지?

그래서 나에게 오곤 하는 거야?

왜 아직 내가 살아 있는지 물으려고 (176-177).

The message that Dongho brings to Seonju is one of resistance. On the contrary, Jinsu ends up committing suicide because of the guilt that Dongho's death causes him. Both characters share a strong reaction to Dongho's cruel death and have mixed feelings about their own survival, but in Seonju's case, she manages to channel the rage and transform it into a force of resistance to keep going, whilst for Jinsu, guilt over Dongho's death is what ends up destroying him. Seonju is unable (or unwilling) to give testimony of her own trauma in the tapes that researcher Yun has asked her to fill out, but the rage triggered by Dongho's command helps her channel her pain into resistance, and the possibility of her estranged friend Seonghui's death awakens in her the desire to testify. So, it is through her connection to others that she is able to construct her story and start her healing process. The rage that she feels allows her to become someone who carries on Dongho's legacy: her response to Dongho's call is to channel the rage she felt because of his death and the torture she was subjected to into a will to survive.

But Dongho is not only a victim, he was also a survivor when we first met him. He is the only one who knows what has happened to Jeongdae, his friend and neighbor, and thus, he feels responsible because of it. Out of the

guilt this causes him, he lies to the older girls who are helping with the bodies, and even to himself, for we as readers have heard his voice for over twenty pages before we find out that he knows that his friend is dead because he himself witnessed the murder: "처음 누나들을 만났을 때 네가 한 말 중 사실이 아닌 게 있었다. [...] 마지막으로 정대를 본 건 동네 사람이 아니라 바로 너였다" (31). He decides to help with the bodies hoping he will be able to see Jeongdae's corpse, and also as a way to atone for his guilt. The guilt and the rage he feels lead him to stay and help the others. He channels this rage into a stance of resistance, joining the others and staying until the end.

We could then say that Dongho feels the late Jeongdae's voice calling to him and compelling him to do something. The title of the first chapter, the one that contains Dongho's perspective, would help to support this reading. 어린 새 (*Eorin Sae*), 'a small bird', refers to the soul of a person. Dealing with his friend's loss and constantly coming into contact with death, Dongho ponders about what happens to souls after they leave their bodies, or wonders about the location of the soul when people are still alive: "사람이 죽으면 빠져나가는 어린 새는, 살았을 땐 몸 어디에 있을까" (27). "혼은 자기 몸 곁에 얼마나 오래 머물러 있을까./ 그게 무슨 날개같이 파닥이기도 할까. 촛불의 자장자랑 흔들리게 할까" (45). Dongho hears the words of the man giving a speech right outside of Sangmugwan, where the collective memorial altar is located: "너무 많은 피를 흘리지 않았습니까. 어떻게 그 피를 그냥 덮으란 말입니까. 먼저 가신 혼들이 눈을 뜨고 우릴 지켜보고 있습니다" (22). After hearing that the souls of the dead are watching, Dongho wonders how that could be possible, since they do not have a body. "혼한테는 몸이 없는데, 어떻게 눈을 뜨고 우릴 지켜볼까" (22). When the man claims that the rain are the tears of the souls who left, "이 비는 먼저 가신 혼들이 흘리는 눈물입니다" (24), Dongho thinks that the tears of souls are cold, as he feels the rain drenching his clothes: "혼의 눈물은 차갑구나" (23-24). The

metaphors that belong to the man's persuasive rhetoric take on a literal quality for Dongho, who ponders about the existence of the soul. In the next chapter, through Jeongdae's point of view, we see that he effectively has a soul and has been thinking of going to find Dongho.

But Dongho dies without being able to give testimony of what he has witnessed, he is not able to properly give account of Jeongdae's death and mourn him. Since Jeongdae and his sister Jeongmi lived on their own, and Dongho was unable to find her as well (though he suspects that the body quickly rotting inside Sangmugwan might be hers), he feels responsible for finding Jeongdae. But who will tell Jeongdae's story after Dongho, the only witness, dies? Could we interpret that one of the reasons for Dongho to come back is to give account not only of his death but that of Jeongdae and the burning of his body? I would like to argue that the first relationship of transmission of testimony that takes place in the novel is that between Jeongdae and Dongho.

In the second chapter of the novel, Jeongdae narrates in a first-person voice, but directly addresses Dongho in the second person. Like the burning child of the story, Jeongdae's soul calls to Dongho. Besides addressing Dongho, Jeongdae also wants his voice to be heard by the ones who killed him: "그들의 얼굴을 보고 싶다, 잠든 그들의 눈꺼풀 위로 어른거리고 싶다 [...] 그들이 악몽 속에서 피 흐르는 내 눈을 볼 때까지. 내 목소리를 들을 때까지. 왜 나를 쫓지, 왜 나를 죽였지" (57-58). Like Dongho's brother after Dongho's murder, Jeongdae considers channeling his rage into revenge, seeking to avenge his death and that of his sister. Finally, before his body is destroyed by the fire and his soul is forced to go somewhere else, Jeongdae wonders where he should go. After hesitating between going to find the soul of his sister or searching for the ones who killed him, he settles for Dongho, and thinks that, after that choice, everything becomes clearer: "너에게 가자. /그러자 모든 게 분명해졌어" (63). Through his contact with

Dongho, Jeongdae would have been able to have someone that knows him give account of his cruel and violent death, as well as mourn for him. But some moments later, Dongho dies alongside thousands of others, and with the arrival of dawn, Jeongdae's soul becomes unable to move. His soul does not reach Dongho before his friend dies, but his testimony does reach the readers of the novel. Like Seonju in the fifth episode of the same novel and Tomasa in *La voz dormida*, Jeongdae gives testimony through the book. Jeongdae is also the one who lets us know that Jeongmi died, and that she did so before him: "묻고 싶었어. 왜 나를 죽였지. 왜 누나를 죽였지, 어떻게 죽였지" (52)^①. It is also through him that we as readers find out that Dongho has been killed.

Jeongdae's death causes in Dongho the rage that makes him resist until the end. In the process, Dongho has not been able to testify for Jeongdae, but he has passed on his resistance to others. In her analysis of the Freudian story, Caruth pointed out that "the words are passed on as an act that does not precisely awaken the self but, rather, passes the awakening on to others" (1996, 106-107). Here, whilst Dongho has not been able to testify for Jeongdae's death, he manages to pass on the resistance that Jeongdae's death has awakened in him to others that have met him. Through his own resistance and untimely death, he becomes a sign of resistance and a reason to resist for the characters of the novel that have known him and for the fictionalized author, who hears about him. The readers of the novel are also engaged by Dongho's call. Because the first chapter is written in the second person, and the second one addresses Dongho as you (너), readers are put in Dongho's position whilst reading the first and the second chapters, and thus being called to identify with him and his position of resistance.

① We never find out how Jeongmi died. For the characters who are still alive that knew her, like Seonju and Seonghui, she disappeared. We can imagine that the body that Dongho saw was indeed hers, but like survivors and families of victims whose bodies were never found, we do not obtain a definite answer.

Dongho and Jeongdae are close friends, and both Seonju and Jinsu personally knew Dongho and became close to him while helping take care of the bodies. However, a personal relationship is not always necessary for a transmission of testimony to take place. In *La voz dormida*, we can see an example of a transmission of testimony between Hortensia and Manolita, a woman she personally does not know but who is in a situation similar to hers. While in Las Ventas, Hortensia remembers Manolita, a woman who was tortured at the Interior Ministry whilst she was held there for thirty nine days:

En el calabozo de al lado había una presa que se pasaba las horas cantando. Manolita se llamaba, y cantaba Tomo y obligo, de Gardel. Sólo sabe que se llamaba Manolita.

—Anda, Manolita, vamos para arriba, a ver si allí nos cantas otro tango.

No supo más de ella, sólo que se llamaba Manolita. Cantaba muy bien, y un día ya no la oyó cantar más. Rabia. Rabia es lo único que ella sentía cuando le echaban vinagre en las heridas. Rabia. Sólo la rabia mantuvo sus labios apretados. Sólo la rabia los despegó para gritar el dolor en el vientre" (138).

In this fragment, repetition mimics both oral testimony and the fixation present when recalling traumatic events. Hortensia only knows the woman's name, Manolita, and she repeats it in order not to forget her and give testimony of her plight, even if only within herself. Her name is stated three times in the fragment as Hortensia's thoughts ("Manolita se llamaba", "Sólo sabe que se llamaba Manolita", "sólo sabe que se llamaba Manolita) and a fourth one in direct speech remembering the taunts of the guards. After Manolita disappears, presumably a victim of torture, Hortensia feels rage. She feels rage after Manolita is gone, and whilst she is being tortured herself. Like with Manolita's name, the word "rabia" is repeated once and once again in this small fragment. Rage is the only thing she feels when she is being tortured, and she channels

it into strength to not say anything, she does not even let out screams. She only calls out when they kick her in her belly, trying to protect her unborn baby. Manolita's singing in between torture sessions is a sign of resistance, and after her disappearance and presumable death Hortensia channels the rage she feels into resistance as well. Hortensia incorporates Manolita's death into herself and uses it as strength to fuel her resistance.

Earlier in the novel but later on chronologically, Hortensia tries to convince the other prisoners at Las Ventas that surviving, and thus resisting, should be their priority, as it is akin to winning:

—Hay que sobrevivir, camaradas. Sólo tenemos esa obligación. Sobrevivir.

—Sobrevivir, sobrevivir, ¿para qué carajo queremos sobrevivir?

—Para contar la historia, Tomasa.

—¿Y la dignidad? ¿Alguien va a contar cómo perdimos la dignidad?

—No hemos perdido la dignidad.

—No, sólo hemos perdido la guerra, ¿verdad? Eso es lo que creéis todas, que hemos perdido la guerra.

—No habremos perdido hasta que estemos muertas, pero no se lo vamos a poner tan fácil. Locuras, las precisas, ni una más. Resistir es vencer (125-126).

For these women, who are imprisoned and also trapped within a country that relegates them to a place of shame for being politically active females, resisting openly would most likely bring on torture or death. However, within this context, survival itself is a win, because when they survive, they will be able to tell their story and inscribe it into history, and thus bring social justice to themselves. Hortensia, then, channels her rage into an instinct for survival, but not any kind of survival: one that implies resisting the enemy and being able to tell their version of history. For Hortensia, the goal of survival is being

able to give testimony, "contar la historia". This is why her blue notebooks, in which she tells her story to her husband and daughter, are so important for her.

2.2. Channeling pain into political resistance

In both novels, political resistance is taken on by the victim's close relatives, whether conscientiously and willingly, or unwillingly like Pepita. Throughout the novel, Pepita helps the Communist Party in order to help her sister, but she does not take up the ideals of the party as her own. She is the only voice within the novel which disagrees with these ideals and criticizes the party (Gómez López-Quñones 209). Many others end up channeling their rage into a political fight. Doña Celia, mentioned in the section above, is an example of this. When she is first asked by her niece Isabel to help persuade the gravedigger that stays at her pension to let two women hide so that they can check who has been killed and give the news to the respective families, she is reluctant. The first time she accompanies her niece Isabel herself, she thinks that she will only do it that one time, honoring the memory of her daughter Almudena: "La primera vez que doña Celia fue al cementerio del Este, se repitió a sí misma que no volvería a hacerlo. Y fue llorando. Por Almudena lo hizo, porque doña Celia no tuvo la suerte de saber a tiempo que iban a fusilar a su hija" (99). Doña Celia started out like Pepita, who is doing what she does for her sister ("—Maldita sea. Yo lo hago por mi hermana, ¿sabe usted?, por mi hermana únicamente, que me da mucha lástima. Bien lo sabe Dios" 98) and only plans on helping out once ("Yo le llevo al médico esta noche, pero nunca más" 99). But the older woman ended up helping out the party in different ways from that point on. Thanks to her intervention, the relatives of executed prisoners will be able to mourn their dead, something that she did not have the opportunity to do. Heavily punished for embroidering a republican flag but uninvolved in politics in a meaningful way

before, Reme becomes truly politically engaged in prison, and continues her fight after she has served her sentence. Reme's purity of thought "pura inocencia" (48, 50), "tan inocente" (48-49) "la muy inocente" (51) is often remarked upon, and she recalls her perplexity when she was sent to prison for helping the rebellion, since she thought the rebels were the soldiers who had risen up: "—Yo creía que los rebeldes eran ellos. Yo no entendía nada" (54). Through the words of this innocent woman, the irony of the Francoist regime's use of language is brought to the forefront. In Reme's case, it is not the plight of a blood relative, but of her adopted prison family, especially Tomasa, which motivates her to keep fighting.

In *Sonyeoni Onda*, Dongho's mother and other mothers of victims demonstrate after Chun Doo-hwan, the dictator responsible for the massacre, visits Gwangju. The rage the mothers feel when the president visits Gwangju becomes an open, organized political resistance. The sixth chapter of the novel, 꽃 핀 쪽으로 (*Kkoch pin jjog-eu-lo*) is told from the point of view of Dongho's mother in the first person and speaking from the present. After Dongho's death, the mother had painfully kept on living, eating and working. At the funeral, Dongho's middle brother says he wants to get revenge, but the mother understands the futility of it, for there is no point in going against the country, the real culprit of her son's death: "이 원수는 내가 갚을랍니다. 그것이 뭘 소리다냐, 깜짝 놀라서 내가 그랬다이. 나라에서 죽인 동생 원수를 무슨 수로 갚는다냐. 너까장 잘못되면 나도 따라 죽을 거이다" (182). At first, she did not participate in the organization of bereaved families, but one day, she receives a call from one of the mothers in the bereaved family's association, who lets her know that the president responsible for the massacre will visit Gwangju. "그 군인 대통령이 온다고, 그 살인자가 여기로 온다고 해서..... 네 피가 아직 안 말랐는디" (188). Recalling the events, she repeats twice that the other mother told her that the president would come, mimicking the way that trauma victims fixate on traumatic events when

testifying orally. From that point on, she joins the fight of the mothers, all of them numb because of the great loss that they have experienced, but still fighting on and relying on each other: "암것도 속에 없는 허재비 같은 손을 맞잡고, 허재비 같은 등을서로 문지름스로 얼굴을 들여다봤다. 얼굴 속에도 암것도 없고, 눈 속에도 암것도 없는 우리들이 내일 보자는 인사를 했다" (188). But unlike the feelings of her middle son, the mother's rage is not a fight for vengeance, but justice.

Whilst protesting, one of the young men from the Wounded People's Association engages the mothers, asking what they have done wrong to be there. After that, Dongho's mother head goes blank, and the rage she feels at the injustice of it all makes her stand up on a table and break the photograph of the president:

엄마들, 여기서 왜 이러고 있소? 엄마들이 무슨 죄를 지었소?
그 순간 내 머릿속이 멍해졌어야, 하얗게, 온 세상이 하얗게 보였어야. 찢어진 소복 치마를 걷고 탁자 위로 올라갔다. 더듬더듬 조그만 소리로 중얼거렸어야.
맞어, 내가 무슨 죄를 지었다.
날개가 달린 것같이 형사들 책상 위를 경중경중 건너갔다, 벽에 걸린 살인자 사진을 끌어내렸다. 뽕아 부순게 발에 우리가 박혔다. 눈물이 흐르는지도 피가 튀는지도 몰랐다 (189).

She cuts her foot on the glass shards and is sent to hospital, but while she is there, she asks Dongho's father to bring her a placard to protest against the president. She cannot walk properly but she goes up to the rooftop with her husband's help and protests from there:

그날 해 질 녘에 나이 아버지 어깨를 짚고 절름절름 옥상에 올라갔다. 난간에 기대서서 현수막을 길게 내리고 소리 질렀다. 내 아들을 살려내라. 살인마 전두환을 찢어죽이자. 정수리까

지 피가 뜨거워지게 소리 질렀다이. 경찰들이 비상계단으로 올라 올 때까지, 나를 들쳐메고서 입원실 침대에 던져놓을 때까지 그렇게 소리 질렀다이 (189-190).

But this is not an isolated incident. Dongho's mother and the other mothers start protesting regularly from that point on.

다음에도, 그다음에도 그렇게 만나 싸웠다이. 헤어질 적마다 엄마 들끼리 서로 손을 잡고 어깨를 쓸고, 눈을 들여다봄스로 다시 보 자고 약속을 했다이. 없는 살림에 추렴을 해서 전세 버스를 맞추 고 서울 집회에도 올라갔다이. 한번은 모진 놈들이 우리 버스 안 에 사 과탄을 던져넣어서 한 엄마가 숨을 못 쉬고 쓰러졌어야. 모 두 다 잡혀 전경차에 실려갔을 적에, 그놈들은 한적한 국도변에 한사람 떨어뜨려놓고, 한참 가다 또 한사람 떨어뜨려놓고…… 그 령게 우리를 다 흠어놔야. 나는 지리도 모르는 갓길을 따라 걷 고 또 걸었다이. 다시 우리들이 모여서 서로 등을 문지를 때까지. 주위에 퍼레진 입술들을 들여다볼 때까지 (190).

They save money and go up to Seoul to protest, and even though they are brutally attacked by police they manage to keep their fight going because they find strength in one another. Like the prisoners in *La voz dormida* or Seonju's testimony being linked to her relationship with Seonghui, it is through other's support that the rage felt at the demise of their children can be channeled into a fight for justice.

At the beginning of the chapter, Dongho's mother sees a young boy who resembles her son, and makes an effort to follow him, even though she is old and slow: "머시매 걸음은 빠르고 나는 늙었는디, 아무리 걸어도 따라잡 을 수 있어야제. 조금만 옆으로 고개를 돌려주면 옆얼굴이 보일 것인디, 아무 데도 안 둘러보고 앞으로, 앞으로만 가야" (178). She believes the boy is Dongho who has come back to let her see him one last time, but she

loses him because she is old and cannot keep up: "네가 나한테 한번 와준 것인디, 지나가는 모습이라도 한번 보여줄라고 온 것인디, 늙은 내가 너를 놓쳐버렸어야" (179). Whether we interpret the boy as Dongho's ghost or as just a different boy, this metaphor represents the mother's attitude in life after her son's death: because she feels him calling to her, she keeps going step by step, and keeps fighting for him. Dongho's mother remembers how he used to call her to the flowery, sunny side when he was alive and how she let herself be dragged: "엄마아, 저기 밝은 데는 꽃도 많이 폼네, 왜 캄캄한 데로 가아, 저쪽으로 가, 꽃 핀 쪽으로" (192). This allows this devastating chapter to end in a hopeful, positive note. Because Dongho keeps dragging her, she is fighting to go towards the bright side.

In *La voz dormida*, Hortensia conveys her testimony through the two blue notebooks in which she records her experience in prison. One of the notebooks is dedicated to her husband, Felipe, and the other to her future child. Both notebooks will be later passed on to Tensi, Hortensia's daughter. They will allow Tensi to find out about her mother from her own voice, even though she was killed not long after Tensi was born. It is through getting to know her mother's story that Tensi can build her identity apart from her aunt Pepita, and continue the political fight that her parents sacrificed their lives for.

Y Hortensia escribe en su cuaderno azul. Escribe a Felipe. Le escribe que siente las patadas de la criatura en el vientre, y que si es niño se llamará como él. Escribe que piensa que Elvirita se muere, como se murió Amparo, y Celita, sin dejar de toser, como se murieron los hijos de Josefa y Amalia, las del pabellón de madres. Escribe que la chiquilla pelirroja tiene una calentura muy mala. Y que lo único que pueden hacer por ella es darle el zumo de las medias naranjas que les dan a cada una después del rancho. Escribe que no sacan mucho porque están muy secas (21-22).

But Hortensia not only testifies to her story, she also includes the plights of her fellow inmates. Here, she writes not only about Elvirita's illness, but about all the others who died before her, not only the prisoners, but also the children born in prison, letting the readers know of the conditions in Las Ventas at the time. Through the notebook, hi/story is passed from the late Hortensia to her daughter Tensi. Tensi would not be able to find out the truth of what happened to her mother through official sources. Instead, she receives her mother's notebook, which contains her personal story, but is at the same time a record of history, since it is the voice of a female political prisoner during the Spanish Post War period. Picornell-Belenguer puts the importance of the diary into context:

Las hijas de presas tuteladas por el estado fueron enviadas mayoritariamente a centros religiosos. Este control religioso dará lugar a situaciones dramáticas ya que numerosas niñas de las internadas en estos centros acababan renegando de sus padres y tomando los hábitos para redimir los supuestos pecados de sus progenitores (Vinyes 71 y ss). Se entiende en este contexto la insistencia de Hortensia, la presa encinta condenada a muerte de la novela de Chacón, de no permitir que lleven a su hija a algún hospicio, así como su voluntad de dejarle como testimonio un cuaderno escrito por ella donde le pide que entienda la lucha de sus padres pese a crecer en un ambiente adverso (125).

In a social situation in which children were separated from their parents and made to believe that their parents were amoral criminals, the diary allows for Tensi to keep the link that unites her to her mother, and get to know her story through her mother's own words. When going into labor, Hortensia pleads with guard Mercedes: “—Que se lo den a mi hermana, hágame usted ese favor, que no lo lleven al orfanato, que se lo den a mi hermana, por lo que más quiera usted” (211). If Pepita had not been able to take the child, Tensi may

not only have grown up in very poor conditions, but also be made to hate her roots, unable to know anything about her parents. Instead, she grows up getting to know them through her mother's written testimony and being proud of them, and when she is of age she decides to take up their cause and join the Communist Party, against her aunt Pepita's wishes. Whilst Pepita told Tensi stories of her parents, and she grew up around family members of other political prisoners, this development may not have been possible if she had not been able to read her mother's testimony from her own handwriting. The call that Tensi receives from her mother through the notebook makes her become politically minded when she reaches adulthood, turning into reality her mother's idea of the importance of survival to be able to tell their version of history. Even though Hortensia was executed, her legacy, and the memory of those she recorded on her notebooks, did survive through her words that were transmitted to her daughter.

In *Sonyeoni Onda*, there is not a clear political position spouted by the characters other than an opposition to Chun Doo-hwan and a wish for reparations, but as Gómez López-Quñones noted, *La voz dormida* takes the side of the Communist Party, criticizing the socialists in several occasions (212-213). Pepita, who believes that politics is like a black spider (Chacón 102, 344), contrasts with these ideologically driven characters. Gómez López-Quñones analyzes her character as a type who defends her sentimental project over a political one and thus stands in contrast with the heroic republican soldiers (209). However, I would argue that she has another role: that of serving as a point of identification with the reader, who, like Pepita, may not be a communist but that will end up siding with them. Within the world of the novel, the communists are clearly on the right side of history, and having Pepita, someone kind and innocent who hates politics, mediate their story, can make these strongly politically minded characters palatable to a wider audience.

Chapter 3. Mourning as a response to the call of the other

3.1. Mourning as a social practice and recording as a way of allowing for a later mourning

The motif that permeates through the third chapter of *Sonyeoni Onda*, the one from Eunsuk's point of view, is that of the impossibility of forgetting when a proper mourning has not taken place^②. After the uprising has been quelled and the protestors killed or taken away, Eunsuk is unable to accept how fast everything has gone back to normal. When she sees that water starts pouring again from the fountain in the square to which the soldiers had carried the bodies of the murdered protestors, she repeatedly calls the provincial office (도청) to ask that they stop water from coming out of the fountain, until one day an older lady tells her to forget everything and get back to studying: "다 잊고 이젠 공부를 해요" (97). Her mother also begs her to forget and live a normal life like others: "그냥 다 잊어볼고 남들같이 대학 가서 네 밥벌이 네가 하고, 좋은 사람 만나 살고....." (86). But forgetting is not an option for Eunsuk. Because she has not been able to mourn the victims in Gwangju, and especially Dongho, who she worked alongside with taking care of victim's bodies, she is stuck in melancholia. Living a normal life is not possible for her, because she has not been able to process the loss by taking part in a social ritual of mourning. The chapter starts with Eunsuk's wish to forget the seven slaps that an officer gave her for not revealing what she knew about a translator sought by the police. Throughout the chapter, she realizes

②The other motif running alongside it in the chapter is survivor's guilt.

the futility of trying to forget: "오늘은 여섯번째 따귀를 잊어야 하는 날이지만, 이미 뺨을 아물어 거의 통증이 느껴지지 않았다. 그러니 내일이 되어 일곱번째 따귀를 잊을 필요는 없었다. 일곱번째 뺨을 잊을 날은 오지 않을 것이다" (98). Here, the reason given for the forgetting of the slaps not being needed anymore is that the pain has almost disappeared. However, considering that this paragraph comes right after the fountain story, we can infer a different reason. Even though the swelling has disappeared, she will not forget the pain that the policeman has inflicted on her, the same way that she did not forget what happened in Gwangju even when everything seemed to go back to normal on the surface. Jeong Mi-Sook (정미숙 126-127) and Yeong-Chae Seo identify Eunsuk's position with that of Antigone, who contradicts the laws of men (the king) in order to follow the laws of the gods and give his brother a proper burial. Like with Antigone, Eunsuk's actions go beyond a personal sadness and should be interpreted as a matter of putting wrongs to right in society: "그것은 한 개인의 차원에 존재하는 슬픔이나 윤리의 문제가 아니라 한 공동체가 궁극적으로 지켜내야 할 정의의 문제와 연관되어 있다 [...] 제대로 치러지지 못한 동호의 장례식에 대해 은숙이 느끼는 슬픔은 바로 그런 차원에 있다" (서영채, 436). LaCapra points out that for mourning to work as a method of overcoming melancholia, it requires a supportive social context (History and Memory 184). Because mourning needs to be social, forgetting and moving on are not actions that Eunsuk can do on her own, and the historical and political time she is living through will not allow for a proper memorial. But within the chapter, literature (in the form of a censored play) will allow for a performance that can make a social mourning possible, using fiction as a tool to process reality.

The climax of the chapter is the staging of a play whose script has undergone heavy censorship, to the point that there is barely any content left. The play serves as a way to channel Eunsuk's frustrations, and a method of successful mourning. Because of the forced silence around the events of

Gwangju, and the official narrative that painted the citizens as communist rebels conniving with North Korea, Eunsuk and all the other bereaved friends and family have not been able to mourn properly. Eunsuk has been asked repeatedly to move on and forget, but she has not been allowed to process her pain. Since she could not mourn properly, she has not been able to move on from the events that took place in the spring of 1980 and her unresolved mourning has turned into melancholia, a pathological state. In the censored script of the play, which Eunsuk typed from the handwritten original, the characters of friends and family who survived the victims lament that they were not able to hold funerals and that because of that their life has become a funeral (99), and the eyes that cannot see their dead loved ones and the ears that cannot hear them have become temples (100). The actors in the play carry skeletons on their backs. Going back to Caruth's explanation of Lacan's interpretation of the burning child's story in *Unclaimed Experience* (1996), I would argue that the skeletons symbolize the dead that call to them, asking them to give testimony of their death. After all, for Caruth "the awakening represents a paradox about the necessity and impossibility of confronting death" (100). These skeletons, too, are in the back of the actors representing a death that they cannot confront but that is always right behind them. The dead remain as skeletons clinging to the back of the living, and like the burning child to his father, they remain not as the living person they once were, but as the traumatic memory of what has happened to them, and alongside it the imperative of giving testimony of their loss.

The young boy that appears in the play allows Eunsuk to pretend that she is speaking to Dongho and serves as a staging of her mourning. Because of the political repression that took place after the events at Gwangju, she, like many others, has not been able to mourn properly. "배우들을 흉내 내듯 목구멍을 쓰지 않고 부른다. 동호야" (101). Eunsuk, like the actors who cannot say the words of the play aloud because of censorship, calls to

"Dongho" without sound, just moving her lips. She becomes one more performer, calling to her dead friend and lamenting not being able to hold a funeral for him. Something that accentuates this reading is the fact that some of the actors were sitting between members of the audience at the beginning of the play. The line between the actors and the public is thus blurred from the start. Eunsuk closes her eyes to not see the actual boy's face and, imagining he is Dongho, recites a tribute for him:

내가 죽은 뒤 장례식을 치르지 못해, 내 삶이 장례식이 되었다.
내가 방수 모포에 싸여 청소차에 실려간 뒤에.
용서할 수 없는 물줄기가 번쩍이며 분수대에서 뿜어져나온 뒤에.
어디서나 사원의 불빛이 타고 있었다.
봄에 피는 꽃들 속에, 눈송이들 속에. 날마다 찾아오는 저녁들 속
에. 다 쓴 음료수 병에 네가 꽃은 양초 불꽃들이 (102-103).

Right after this, tears start streaming from her face like pus, hinting at a healing, a step towards a mourning process. After all, pus comes out of wounds when an infection is in the curing process. Eunsuk, who did not cry when she was brutally assaulted, cries twice in the chapter: the first time when she gives the censored script back to Seo, the playwright, and the second time after she manages to communicate with this version of Dongho during the play. In the first case, what led her to cry might have been the frustration of having the words of mourning that she had identified with censored. During the play, she is able to take part in a collective mourning, even if the words are not spoken aloud. This performance will allow for working-through to take place, since it serves as a collective form of mourning for the actors in the play, the audience, and the readers of the novel. They are addressing the dead who have not left their lives completely, but they do so from a present, being aware of the distance in time. In a symbolic way, they are finally able to hold a funeral, a step that could bring them closer to start healing their trauma. LaCapra characterized working-through as involving "a modified mode of

repetition offering a measure of critical purchase on problems and responsible control in action that would permit desirable change" (*History and Memory* 186). The play, too, is a modified mode of repetition, since through performance they are saying goodbye to their loved ones in a social ritual, something realized in the form of a wordless play because it cannot be done in an official way. In the prologue to María Zambrano's *La tumba de Antígona*, Marifé Santiago Bolaños defines theater as the shared expression of a human instant, capable of bringing about a delirious state in the participants that brings to light what consciousness is hiding, but within a psychological protection that allows them to enter a transformative dimension (12-13). Through the play that stages mourning, Eunsuk and other audience members can participate in a social ritual of mourning and interact with the ghosts of their loved ones in a safe and controlled way. Eunsuk can call out to the boy who resembles Dongho because she is within a performance, so the play becomes an outlet for her to voice the pain that she has been repeatedly told to suppress in order to join society as a functioning member. Because the chapter, and Eunsuk's story, ends with the play, we do not know if this controlled repetition and staging of social mourning will bring on the necessary change for Eunsuk to leave her melancholic stage, but her tears likened to pus are a good sign that some type of healing has started to take place.

Until the last quarter of the twentieth century, mourning was something you did visibly in Spanish society: people wore only black clothing for several years, in which they also had to refrain themselves from taking part in other social celebrations, including refraining from dating or getting married. There were different rules that had to be followed depending on the level of kinship with the deceased. One of the most famous Spanish works of literature of the beginning of the century, Federico García Lorca's play *La casa de Bernarda Alba* explores the oppressive world to which the daughters of Bernarda are

constricted because of her mother's severe adherence to social mourning rites. Another work that explores the consequences of this type of mourning for young, marriageable women is the Spanish black comedy movie *La niña de luto* (1964), in which a young woman who is finally planning her wedding after years of keeping mourning must postpone it after her grandfather's death. In *La voz dormida*, after she takes a liking to Paulino, Pepita wonders if it would be okay for her to start wearing some color again, a practice known as *aliviar el luto* (half-mourning), possible after some time depending on the kinship with the person mourned. Dating was also not possible within a strict mourning period, so her change does not only concern her wardrobe but her attitude: the catalyst for her decision to start half-mourning was that she was going to see Paulino soon. In a novel in which guilt is very marginal, almost exclusive to Republican war-doctor Don Fernando, Pepita feels guilty for breaking these social mores: "Y se siente culpable, por desear ver a Paulino, por presumir con el vestido de Almudena, por no estar presa como su hermana, herida como Felipe o muerta como su padre. Se siente culpable por haberse puesto aquel vestido" (102). But within this context, the relatives of those considered criminals are not able to engage in these social practices. After many of the guerrilla members are killed, pictures of their lifeless bodies are hanged at the station for everyone to see, not only as a warning not to rebel against the government, but also as a way to trap and punish their loved ones or those who helped them if they show any emotion upon seeing the pictures. In this situation, a social mourning is not possible: "En casa, a escondidas, llorarán. Rezarán por ellos a escondidas. No hay duelo si no hay difunto. No encargarán ninguna misa, ningún responso, ningún funeral para sus muertos. Sus muertos no les pertenecen. No se pondrán de luto. Y no habrá redoble de campanas" (309). They will have to cry at home, hidden, but they will not be given a body to bury, and they will not be able to offer the social send off that was accustomed. Repetition reinforces the force of this fragment: "a escondidas" (hidden from view) they will cry and pray. But there will be no

social elements. Neither a mass, a social prayer for the dead, a change of clothes to signal mourning or the toll of the bells that announces the death to the community. They cannot mourn socially because their dead are not theirs anymore ("Sus muertos no les pertenecen"). Like in *Sonyeoni Onda*, in which the military disposes of Jeongdae's and all of the other bodies by burning them, the corpses of their loved ones are the state's property.

Not being able to know for certain whether their relatives are dead makes processing mourning much harder for the characters. The novel contraposes Tomasa's case, who could hug her husband's head before she was taken away (although she is caught in a state of melancholia because she cannot accept the murder of her family as something of the past) to that of Doña Martina and her daughter Elvirita, who never received confirmation of the passing of their husband and father:

Es más fácil guardar el luto cuando se puede velar al muerto. Es más fácil si se ha tenido la posibilidad de abrazar su cabeza, como hizo Tomasa antes de vestirse de negro. Doña Martina no tuvo esa suerte. Doña Martina no pudo leer siquiera el nombre de su marido en las listas de Capitanía General. Y por eso Elvira, su hija, la más pequeña de la galería número dos, puede soñar. Aunque Paulino les contara al llevarlas a Alicante que el Batallón Alicante Rojo fue aniquilado en una carretera de Guadalajara. Nadie sobrevivió al bombardeo (44).

Even though Paulino informs his mother and sister that no one had survived, Doña Martina did not see her husband's name in an official list of fallen soldiers. The woman accepted his death after the first time she visited Capitanía General, after weeks of not receiving letters from her husband were followed by a sergeant bringing them her husband's suitcase. But Elvira still has hope, she can still dream that her father is alive: "Elvira sueña que no ha muerto. Fantasea aún con que un día volverá" (41). Even though it has been

three years, Elvira "puede soñar" (44), "aún insiste en soñar" (45). Whilst this could be interpreted as a characterization of Elvirita as someone much more hopeful and naive than the other characters because of her youth, it also shows the consequences of not having the confirmation that a loved one has died, leading her to have been living in denial for three years.

In this situation, recording takes a vital role to allow a proper mourning to take place at a later time, even if not possible at the moment. Both novels constantly reiterate the importance of recording the names of the dead and their stories and show the consequences for bereaved family members when this is not allowed. In *Sonyeoni Onda* we first meet Dongho and some of the other central characters whilst they are busy cleaning up the bodies of the victims, and helping families find their loved ones. After Jeongdae dies and he is filled with guilt, Dongho takes up the job recording the characteristics of the dead bodies: "그사이 너는 그들의 성별과 어림잡은 나이, 입은 옷과 신발의 종류를 장부에 기록하고 번호를 매겼다" (16). His actions are supposed to help bereaved families and friends identify the bodies of their lost ones. Seonju, too, works in recording after surviving Gwangju. Her job is recording testimonies related to social problems and she is praised for her ability to remember, she is once referred to jokingly as a "walking search engine" (걸어다니는 검색엔진) (149). In *La voz dormida*, Hortensia, who spends most of her time in prison writing on a blue notebook, did not know how to write at the beginning of the war. Right after learning, one of the first things she wrote was what could be considered a historical record of the war, a list of the members of the militia that were part of her battalion: "Y fue ella la que dejó constancia sobre el muro de que el batallón número cinco había llegado a la Casa Grande el día dieciocho de julio de mil novecientos treinta y siete, escribiendo en la pared el nombre de los milicianos que lo componían" (197). Both works regularly stress the importance of recording the past. This recording is linked to mourning and remembering the dead. The first scene in

Sonyeoni Onda describes a public memorial service, in which several bodies are being honored at the same time, after they have been identified by their families. Jeongdae's soul, whose body was taken by the soldiers who killed him, and dumped in a pile alongside others, feels jealous of a young man whose body was cleaned off after death:

그들 중에서 가장 특별한 존재는 환자복을 입은 젊은 남자였는데, 가마니를 가슴에 덮고 누운 그는 누구보다 청결했어. 그의 몸을 누군가가 씻어주었어. 환부를 꿰매고 약을 발라주었어. 그의 머리에 찌친 둘러진 붕대가 어둠속에 하얗게 빛났어. 똑같은 죽은 몸인데, 누군가의 손길이 남아 있는 그 몸이 한없이 고귀해 보여서 나는 이상한 슬픔과 질투를 느꼈어 (53).

Jeongdae thinks that whilst they are both corpses, the traces of somebody else's care are left on the other man's body, while his own body is bloodied and dirty. This passage underlies the importance of social mourning, that is, of having a proper send-off for the dead. The novel thus presents this issue not only from the bereaved family's perspective, but also from the point of view of those who have died. Jeongdae's voice is calling out to readers, asking to be mourned and remembered. Bodies that are cleaned and properly sent off are humanized, whilst that of Jeongdae and others are treated as less than human, being left to rot and finally burned. They will not have a final resting place and their families will not be able to know what has happened to them. This anguish is shown at first from Dongho's perspective, who is searching for his friend's body. Jeongdae and Jeongmi's father's fruitless search of his son and daughter, which ends up consuming him and leading to his death is also recounted from the perspective of Dongho's mother: "그 사람은 하던 일을 작파하고 문간채 방에서 일년을 지냄스로 미친 사람맨이로 과칭을 드나들었다이. 암매장 장소가 발견됐다고만 하면, 어디 저수지에서 시체가 떠올랐다고만 하면 새벽이고 밤이고 달려갔다이" (186). The father stops

working and stays for a year at the place where his son and daughter used to live, running to see the bodies for himself every time some new mass grave was discovered. Dongho's mother believes he did not live long, since the names of the two siblings were not included in the memorial for those who had disappeared. Trying to help prevent situations of arrested mourning in others, in *La voz dormida*, Doña Celia starts hiding in the cemetery in order to allow bereaved families the chance of a last goodbye. She cannot save anyone, but she can bring their relatives a small piece of cloth from the executed prisoners so that their relatives can have some closure, and even sometimes allow them to come in so that they can close their eyes and clean off their faces:

Por eso corre después hacia los muertos, y corta con unas tijeras un trocito de tela de sus ropas y se los muestra a las mujeres que esperan en la puerta, las que han sabido a tiempo el día de sus muertos, para que algunas de ellas los reconozcan en aquellos retales pequeños, y entren al cementerio. Y puedan cerrarles los ojos. Y les laven la cara (99).

She is doing so because she could not do so herself for her own daughter, Almudena. As Picornell-Belenguer points out: "Ni siquiera la certeza sobre la muerte de seres queridos está asegurada y obliga a vivir a sus familiares en el luto constante" (Picornell-Belenguer 133). Because they do not know whether their relatives have died, bereaved families are forced to live in a constant state of mourning, unable to process their pain and thus stuck in melancholia. Doña Celia helping others know the truth of what has happened to their relatives is a way of working through her own mourning. She is channeling her pain into a force for change in society.

In the first chapter of *Sonyeoni Onda*, the demands that the civilian army have for the government drive further the importance of clearing the names

of the dead: “저들이 먼저 우리 시민들의 시신을 돌려줘야 합니다. 끌고 간 시민 수백명도 풀어줘야 합니다. 무엇보다 여기서 일어난 일들의 진상을 전국에 밝혀서, 우리 명예를 회복시킨다는 약속을 받아내야 합니다” (21-22). Citizens want for their dead to be returned, for the prisoners to be released and for their name to be cleared of injury. For them, it is not enough that corpses are returned and those imprisoned liberated, but they also ask that their actions are acknowledged and their names cleared. And this last part is signaled as more important than the others on the discourse, since it is preceded by "무엇보다" (above all). Here, recording is not only related to listing the names of the dead so that their relatives can mourn them, but it is a problem of how their actions will be recorded in history, similar to Hortensia's efforts in writing the name of the guerrilla members, recording her prison life in her notebooks and to her attitude when trying to convince the other imprisoned women to survive in order to be able to tell their version of history, "Para contar la historia" (125). Dignity is also a key issue here, since for Tomasa this type of resistance means losing their dignity and accepting that they have lost the war, whilst Hortensia insists that they have not lost their dignity at all. Dignity in *Sonyeoni Onda* is related to restoring the good name of the dead and reclaiming the national symbols. Reclaiming the national symbols is also a way to legitimize and dignify the victims. In Soe-wa Pi, during the mass trial in which Jinsu, the narrator and countless of others are being judged, young Yeongjae starts to sing the national anthem and all of the other accused join in, a scene that symbolizes that they are not willing to accept being branded as traitors to the country. Back in 1980 Gwangju, Dongho asked Eunsuk why they covered the bodies with the national flag and sang the national anthem. Twenty years later, Seonju imagines giving him an answer: "태극기로, 고작 그걸로 감싸보려던 거야. 우린 도륙된 고깃덩어리들이 아니어야 하니까, 필사적으로 목숨을 하고 애국가를 부른 거야" (173). They used the flags to give dignity back to the bodies and not let them become a mass of meat. This effort is also the one that

the novels undertake when dealing with the stories of historical victims: both Dulce Chacón and Han Kang are writing to restore the victim's dignity.

The usage of the national flag and other national symbols differs in both novels: whilst in *Sonyeoni Onda*, reclaiming the flag is a way of reclaiming dignity even when it was the state who murdered their friends and family or imprisoned them, in *La voz dormida* the red and yellow flag represents only the Francoist regime and its oppression. During the Second Republic, a purple band was added to the Spanish flag. In the novel, the red and yellow flag was used to mock prisoners, for instance, la Zapatones, one the guards, taunts the women showing them a lemon drop in between her red rouged lips:

La Zapatones pasea por el patio envuelta en su capa azul. Se ha hecho un moño cardado y alto y lleva la boca pintada de un rojo excesivo. Se acerca a las mujeres que la están mirando.

—¿Le has visto la boca?

—Otra vez viene a enseñarnos la bandera, verás.

Cuando la guardiana llega al banco, separa los labios y deja asomar un caramelo de limón, el color amarillo destaca sujeto entre sus labios rojos. Después se da media vuelta, pasea su peinado de Arriba España y recorre el patio buscando a otras presas para mostrarles su peculiar bandera nacional. Sólo la chivata responderá a su provocación devolviendo una sonrisa” (205-206).

On the contrary, the Republican flag has a meaning of resistance. Tomasa and Reme gift fellow prisoner "la chivata" (the snitch) a jumper on the 14th of April, the anniversary of the establishment of the Republic, so that they will walk as a Republican flag together, unbeknownst to the other woman: “— Ponte este jersey rojo, yo me pongo el morado y a la chivata le prestamos el amarillo. Y salimos las tres juntas al patio./ Era el día catorce de abril, y Reme quiso festejar la proclamación de la República vistiendo su bandera” (282).

Here, the grammar is ambiguous: does the "su" mean that Reme wanted to celebrate wearing the Republic's flag or that she wanted to celebrate wearing her flag, the one that represents her? Reme was, after all, in prison for embroidering the republican flag.

3.2. The novels as places of mourning

Both works create a space of mourning in which the characters inside the novel can process their pain. Sometimes these characters are isolated, so they can only convey their testimony to the readers of the novel. The novel thus engages readers and designates them as receivers of the call of the other. For instance, Tomasa's testimony from the isolation cell can only be heard by a guard who is trying to make her quiet, so readers become the only ones capable of hearing her voice and engaging with her pain in an ethical way. In *Sonyeoni Onda*, readers are also the only ones who can listen to the words of Jeongdae's spirit. The first chapter, from Dongho's point of view, is told in the second person, engaging the reader once and once again through the use of the second-person pronoun *너*, which in Korean also denotes a very close friendly relationship in people of the same age, such as the one between Dongho and Jeongdae. Through mechanisms like this, the space of mourning within the novels is also extended to the readers, who are being asked to engage with the pain of others and react in an ethical way. In *La voz dormida* the mourning space that the novel creates also became a physical one, when book talks around the novel turned into a space for women who had been silenced during the dictatorship to tell their own story in front of people who would listen (Ferrán 129, Colmeiro 193). For Spanish political prisoners, their silence in regards to their sufferings was not motivated by trauma, but by security reasons or because of a lack of people willing to listen. Labanyi problematizes the idea of silence being motivated by trauma in the Spanish

context, since it was usually a strategy chosen by victims for diverse reasons (2009 cited in Liikanen 43).

Analyzing the conflict between forgetting and remembering when the objective is achieving societal peace, Aleida Assmann refers to the aftermath of Spain and Latin America dictatorships and explains the role of society in avoiding forgetting when family members cannot step in:

It is the responsibility of society and of family members to grant the dead this final act of recognition and respect. But if family members remain lost, if their fate remains uncertain, if the wrong that has been done to them is not recognized and if there is no memorial place for posterity, then such a forgetting preserves the trauma. Such a society has not yet attained social peace but continues to be haunted by the ghosts of the past. A readiness to welcome a joint future can hardly come about before these urgent commemoration debts to the dead have been repaid (68).

When family members are gone and there is no one who can mourn the victims, society must embrace that role so that it is able to move on healthily as a group, acknowledging other's pain instead of burying it or willingly forgetting it. Such is the objective undertaken by the authors of both novels, trying to engage their readers to take on the role of remembering victims and becoming witnesses to their pain. In these novels, both authors create a space of memory in which society and victims can engage with the past in a more ethical way:

La difusión de estos discursos de reivindicación de una versión determinada del pasado permite a los represaliados, a sus familiares y a la población en general, mirar hacia atrás y releer su historia comprendiendo mejor su bagaje pero también sus propios comportamientos presentes. La apertura y visibilización de estos

lugares de la memoria—según diría Pierre Nora para referirse a aquellos espacios físicos o figurados donde memoria e historia confluyen—contribuye a la reconstrucción del sentido de los relatos de la vida de muchos individuos cuya existencia no había sido considerada políticamente correcta durante el franquismo (Picornell-Belenguer 122).

Like Picornell-Belenguer points out, the importance of this type of discourse does not only concern the past, but also the present of the victims and their families, whose behaviors have been heavily influenced by the past. What the author describes as the benefits of discourses that reclaim a version of the past resonates with LaCapra's view of working through as an ethical process that must be situated within a social and political context to be effective (LaCapra *History and Memory* 185). Both novels engage with the past from the present in different ways. *Sonyeoni Onda* traces the consequences of the massacre on survivors and victim's families, devoting each chapter to a different character from 1980 to the present time of the novel. *La voz dormida* uses an omniscient narrator who knows what will happen to characters and situates the plight of these women within the historical context of Civil War and postwar Spain. In both works, victims and perpetrators are clearly defined, although there are also references to exceptions, such as the soldiers sent to Gwangju who did not sing the national anthem in *Sonyeoni Onda* or a character like guard Mercedes in *La voz dormida*, who is benefitting from the situation but has no ill intent towards the female prisoners.

Restoring the victims' names in a historical sense is also a common role that both novels seem to undertake. Whilst both works are fiction, *Sonyeoni Onda*'s last page cites the real sources that the author used when researching. She also introduces herself as a character to ground the work further in reality. In *La voz dormida*, the fictional novel is followed by the author's heartfelt thanks to those who have given her their stories ("Mi gratitud a todas las

personas que me han regalado su historia", 387), followed by the names of specific people she particularly thanks for sharing their testimony. This back matter serves to legitimize the novel's plot, since the story we have read so far is now presented as testimony given by real people (Gómez López-Quiñones 215). Reading this back matter, the feelings of empathy that the novel might have arisen in readers become more real, since the character's names and stories are revealed to have belonged to real people. The characters thus acquire a mimetic effect (Gómez López-Quiñones 216). Han Kang's fictionalized counterpart, too, has a mimetic effect, but whilst the back matter in *La voz dormida* legitimizes the novel because of its being based on real testimony, the last chapter of *Sonyeoni Onda* problematizes dealing with testimony and the pain of others from a novelist's perspective.

Sonyeoni Onda starts with a collective funeral, one that Dongho observes from afar, honoring those who have recently died at Gwangju, and ends with a personal one, the one the fictionalized author does in honor of Dongho. The connection between Dongho and the fictionalized Han Kang serves as an explanation for the writing of the novel and as the element that gives closure to the story. The author creates a relation between her fictionalized self and Dongho: the house where Dongho lived used to be the house in which fictionalized Han Kang and her family lived. Her fictionalized father, a teacher, had also seen Dongho around school. But Dongho, who had occupied the same spaces as her, did not survive the summer that she was living through: "내가 건너온 무더운 여름을 정말 그는 건너오지 못했나" (208). Notably, Dongho was also very skilled at writing, something mentioned in Dongho's mother's testimony and by the fictionalized father of the author, another link that unites the two of them. Another parallel is the fact that, during the uprising, Dongho volunteered by recording the characteristics of bodies who had not been claimed by their relatives. Like Han Kang's effort in writing the novel, his work of recording meant to help

give the victims their dignity back: both of them engage in necessary steps to allow for mourning. Duality is an element present in Han Kang's writing that serves to explore the psyche of her characters deeply. An example of this would be the two sisters in her 2007 novel *채식주의자* (*Chaesikjuuija*), or the husbands of these two sisters, who mirror each other. Likewise, the similarities and contrasts between Dongho and the fictionalized version of the author serve to accentuate the life that Dongho was unable to live and the senselessness of it all. When the fictionalized author finally sees a picture of Dongho she describes his face as unremarkable: "너무 평범해 누구와도 혼동될 듯한 얼굴" (202). This idea is repeated a few paragraphs later, when she goes back to the 5·18 Research Institute (5·18 연구소) and tries to find his face amongst the crowd: "그 소년 역시 너무 평범해 누구와도 혼동될 같은 얼굴을 가지고 있었다" (203). She is not sure that it is indeed the same boy: Dongho's face could be anyone's face because he represents the unreasonableness of the massacre: he was killed without reason, and thus in a sense he could have been anyone who was in the wrong place at the wrong time.

As a child, fictionalized Han Kang comes face to face with the pain of others through photography: "마지막 장까지 책장을 넘겨, 총검으로 깊게 내리그어 으깨어진 여자애의 얼굴을 마주한 순간을 기억한다. 거기 있는 지도 미처 모르고 있었던 내 안의 연한 부분이 소리 없이 깨어졌다" (199). This encounter with pain is one of the reasons that leads her to write this story, to feel the urgency to testify to the pain of others. In *Unclaimed Experience*, Caruth analyzes the story of Tancred, who unknowingly kills his lover Clorinda and only finds out when he cuts a tree, which speaks with Clorinda's voice. Caruth interprets the voice of Clorinda in the following way:

[W]e can also read the address of the voice here, not as the story of the individual in relation to the events of his own past, but as the story

of the way in which one's own trauma is tied up with the trauma of another, the way in which trauma may lead, therefore, to the encounter with another, through the very possibility and surprise of listening to another's wound (8).

This is the case for Han Kang and Gwangju. Her position as someone who left Gwangju before the massacre puts her in a place that compels her to be the voice of the other and in the process try to exorcize her own trauma. But this is also what allows her to represent this trauma in an ethical way, being keenly aware of her position and including this awareness in the novel. As the fictionalized author walks through Gwangju, she searches her memory for the city that she left when she was nine. In a sense, she is looking for the city before the massacre, but that city does not exist anymore. The fictionalized author feels guilty for not having started her memory work soon enough, before the provincial office building disappeared:

너무 늦게 시작했다고 나는 생각했다.

이곳의 바닥이 파헤쳐지기 전에 왔어야 했다. 공사 중인 도청 건물 바깥으로 가림막이 설치되기 전에 왔어야 했다. 모든 것을 지켜 본 은행나무들의 상당수가 뽑혀나가고, 백오십년 된 회화나무가 말라 죽기 전에 왔어야 했다.

그러나 이제 왔다. 어쩔 수 없다.

점퍼의 지퍼를 끝까지 올리고, 해가 질 때까지 여기 있을 것이다. 소년의 얼굴이 또렷해질 때까지. 그의 목소리가 들릴 때까지. 안보 이는 마룻장 위를 걸어가는 그의 뒷모습이 어른어른 비칠 때까지 (200).

Whilst here she is lamenting that she cannot see the building where the events of the novel start, I relate this wish of having started her Gwangju memory work before to the dreams that plague her. In one of her dreams, she is able to travel back in time to the 18th of May, 1980, but arrives in Seoul instead. I see

this as a wish to turn back time, to altogether avoid the massacre and what came afterwards. The fictionalized author, who had decided to start reading everything she could about Gwangju before writing anything, had to stop researching because of her recurring dreams. In one of the dreams, she becomes a victim murdered by a soldier. In a later dream, someone comes to her for help, telling her that dozens of people have been jailed underground for 30 years, since the 18th of May, and that they will be executed the following day. This dream seems a metaphorical representation of trauma victims' experience, who are still mentally trapped in that time because of their trauma. Through the dreams, the past is coming back to haunt the author, who feels a responsibility towards the victims that she cannot fulfill. These dreams help us see that, since the massacre, time has not behaved as it should have. There is no clear distinction between past, present and future, they are all jumbled up. Once and once again, the past intrudes into the present. She also feels a great dissonance between what happened in Gwangju and how people can still live their lives in the present. In 2013 Seoul, people are happy, celebrating a wedding, but she cannot understand how they can do so when so many people died. The deaths that took place 30 years in the past are still fresh for her, they are something of the present, not relegated to the past. This perception of time is akin to that of trauma victims, for whom time has stopped at the moment of trauma, since that occurrence comes into the present once and once again, and makes imagining a future impossible. According to Herman, after patients reclaim their own life story and start engaging with life, "[t]ime starts to move again" (195). If we apply this to the fictionalized author, she needs to write her novel and give voice to the victims in order for time to start moving correctly again^③.

^③ Whilst this is outside of this thesis' scope, this idea is present once again in the author's later novel *작별하지 않는다* (*Jakbyeolhaji Anneunda*), in which an author who has written a novel about a massacre in an unnamed city (presumably Gwangju) does not manage to move on once she has finished the novel, contrary to what she expected. It is easy to identify this

Throughout her trip, the fictionalized author is waiting for Dongho. She stops in front of what used to be hers and Dongho's house, as if she was waiting for someone she had arranged to meet with: "무엇을 나는 기대했던 것일까? 유난히 환하게 불이 밝혀진 그 가게 앞에서 나는 약속 상대를 기다리는 사람처럼 오래 서성거렸다" (201). In front of the Sangmugwan, she waits again for Dongho: "나는 기다리고 있다. 아무도 올 사람이 없지만 기다린다. 내가 이곳에 있다는 걸 아무도 알지 못하지만 기다린다" (205). Because she has been feeling Dongho's call, she goes to the places where she thinks they would be able to meet and waits there for him. The fictionalized author calls to Dongho and asks him to guide her to the bright place where the flowers are, a sentence reminiscent of the chapter from Dongho's mother's point of view. "이제 당신이 나를 이끌고 가기를 바랍니다. 당신이 나를 밝은 쪽으로, 빛이 비치는 쪽으로, 꽃이 핀 쪽으로 끌고 가기를 바랍니다" (213). Going back to Freudian theory, we could interpret that, in asking Dongho to lead her to the bright flowery side, the fictionalized author is asking Dongho to guide her outside of her state of melancholia in which she is stuck in trauma and into a healthy process of mourning. It is none other than Dongho who can guide her, for it was precisely him who, by calling out to her from the grave, asked her to give testimony of his death. She finally finds him in the cemetery, and starts following him:

목이 길고 옷이 얇은 소년이 무덤 사이 눈 덮인 길을 걷고 있다. 소년이 앞서 나아가는 대로 나는 따라 걷는다. 도심과 달리 이곳엔 아직 눈이 녹지 않았다. 얼어 있던 눈 더미가 하늘색 채육복 바지 밑단을 적시며 소년의 발목에 스민다. 그는 차가워하며 문득 고개를 돌린다. 나를 향해 눈으로 웃는다 (213).

There, she lights the candles that she brought and holds a funeral for Dongho:

author with the fictionalized writer of *Sonyeoni Onda*.

나는 가방을 열었다. 가지고 온 초들을 소년들의 무덤 앞에 차례로 놓았다. 한쪽 무릎을 세우고 쪼그려앉아 불을 붙였다. 기도하지 않았다. 눈을 감고 묵념하지도 않았다. 초들은 느리게 탔다. 소리 없이 일렁이며 주황빛 불꽃 속으로 빨려들어 차츰 우묵해졌다. 한 쪽 발목이 차가워진 것을 나는 문득 깨달았다. 그의 무덤 앞에 쌓인 눈 더미 속을 여태 디디고 있었던 것이다. 젖은 양말 속 살갗으로 눈은 천천히 스며들어왔다. 반투명한 날개처럼 파닥이는 불꽃의 가장자리를 나는 묵묵히 들여다보고 있었다 (215).

Yeong-chae Seo interprets the whole novel as the staging of a funeral for Dongho by the different characters (서영채 437). Adding this interpretation to Caruth's reading of the burning child, we could say that, throughout the novel, Dongho has been calling to the other characters, asking them to mourn him properly. Eunsuk has done so by participating in a collective make-shift funeral, the play, an example of social mourning. Seonju has turned the pain that his death caused into strength to help her survive and tell her story through the novel, channeling the call into resistance. Finally, fictionalized (and real) Han Kang has written the novel that serves as mourning for Dongho. Staging her version of a funeral for him is also a way of leaving behind the haunting that characterizes constantly acting out the past and instead working through mourning:

In acting-out [...] one reincarnates or relives the past in an unmediated transference process that subjects one to possession by haunting objects and to compulsively repeated incursions of traumatic residues (hallucinations, flashbacks, nightmares). Here the quest for full presence becomes phantasmic and entirely uncontrolled (LaCapra *History and Memory* 104).

By putting on a makeshift funeral for Dongho and writing the novel, the fictionalized author hopes to leave behind her melancholic stage and set in

motion her arrested mourning.

Marifé Santiago Bolaños relates Antigone's heroism to that of many anonymous figures, often women, that fight to maintain dignity in adverse historical circumstances. These people "maintain life amongst death" (16) [translation mine]. People like Pepita, Doña Celia or those who decided to stay until the end at Gwangju were not martyrs, but normal people put in a difficult situation in which they had to make the most ethical choice. On the chapter written from the fictional author's point of view, Han Kang writes:

어딘가 흡사한 태도가 도청에 남은 시민군들에게도 있었다. 대부분
의 사람들이 총을 박시만 했을 뿐 쏘지 못했다. 패배할 것을 알
면서 왜 남았느냐는 질문에, 살아남은 증언자들은 모두 비슷하게
대답했다. 모르겠습니다. 그냥 그래야 할 것 같았습니다.
그들이 희생자라고 생각했던 것은 내 오해였다. 그들은 희생자가
되기를 원하지 않았기 때문에 거기 남았다 (212-213).

That is, they stayed there not in order to sacrifice themselves but because they did not want to become victims. Both novels serve as an invitation for readers to take up the model of these characters and become an Antigone-like figure within their social contexts, making the ethical choice of remembering and mourning the victims of state violence.

Chapter 4. Testimony as a response to the call of the other

Receiving the call of the other triggers victims to testify of their pain and that of others. Through testimony, victims recount what has happened to them and give new meaning to their suffering. In *Trauma and Recovery*, Judith Herman cites fellow psychiatrist Richard Mollica's description of trauma

stories as new stories which, leaving behind humiliation and shame, become stories about dignity and virtue which allow patients to regain their self-concept (Herman 181). Both *Sonyeoni Onda* and *La voz dormida* use fiction as a way to let characters testify in situations that would not be possible in real life. Jeongdae's spirit thus lets readers know what has happened to him. Tomasa, too, testifies for herself and for the readers of *La voz dormida*, since she is in isolation and there is no one listening. Seonju does a similar thing: the novel is ambiguous and we cannot know for sure whether she has recorded her testimony or if she is going to turn it in, but, like Tomasa, she testifies for the readers of the novel. In both novels, testimony serves both as a response to the call of the dead and as a way of inscribing the stories of those who cannot speak anymore.

Testifying helps process traumatic memories, but the relationship with the listener is a key part: "the "action of telling a story" in the safety of a protected relationship can actually produce a change in the abnormal processing of the traumatic memory" (Herman 183). For trauma to be processed, a relationship of empathy and understanding with the listener is necessary.

4.1. The relationship with the other as a key piece that allows testifying

In *La voz dormida* we often find out about the characters' life stories through other characters. Others' stories of trauma are interwoven with thoughts about mundane occurrences or daily tasks, giving the reader the feeling of listening to a chatty friend or neighbor telling them a light story. This underlines the normalcy of these traumatic events in post-war Spain, since they can be recounted casually whilst listing the tasks for the day or explaining who someone is in an offhand manner, but also gives us a sense of

the community of affections that is built within the novel. Pepita tells the story of doña Celia, the lady she's boarding with:

Pero ella hambre no pasa. La patrona es de buena condición. La patrona te da desayuno, almuerzo y cena, y no le cobra el cuarto, que era de la hija que le fusilaron en el treinta y nueve, a poco de entrar los nacionales en Madrid, la única hija que tenía la pobre, que se llamaba Almudena. La patrona tiene preso al marido, el señor Gerardo, en el penal de Burgos. Va una vez al año a verlo, porque no tiene posibles para ir más. Y va todas las mañanas al cementerio. Y encima le deja quedarse con las migas de los manteles. Más de una se cambiaría por ella (69).

The story of the woman's daughter, who was executed in 1939, and that of her husband, who is in prison, are told alongside daily life details: in exchange for cleaning and helping around the house she lets her stay for free, gives her breakfast, lunch and dinner and lets her keep leftover crumbs from the tablecloths.

We also get snippets of the prisoner's life stories through the thoughts of other prisoners who are close to them. Reme's story is recounted to the readers through Tomasas's thoughts. Because of this, it is framed in a much more loving and tender light. We do not only read about Reme's pain, but we also hear about her character from someone who loves her and knows her very well, her cellmate Tomasa: “Dale al niño para un litro que tu mujer se va a echar un traguito. Así lo cuenta la Reme. Un litro entero dice que le metieron a embudo delante de sus hijas. Y se ríe. Se ríe siempre al contarlo la muy inocente” (51). Reme, who is sweet and innocent, laughs when she tells the story of how instead of being fed real castor oil so that she would soil herself in front of family and neighbors she was given something else, since the young man who worked at the apothecary was fond of her. Tomasa retelling

this serves a double role: it humanizes Reme's pain and helps build her character and, at the same time, it serves to establish the network of affections that unites the prisoners, women who met in extreme circumstances but who love each other and fight to help one another.

This relaying of testimony also serves as a way of processing trauma. Reme talks about her daughters with the other inmates, and they listen because they know it helps her process her pain: “Bromea Reme. Bromea, para poder seguir hablando. Porque ahora hablará de sus hijas, y a Reme le consuela contar lo que se dispone a contar. Y Elvira y Hortensia lo saben, y escuchan con atención para que Reme tenga su consuelo” (55). Elvira and Hortensia are aware that by listening to Reme they are consoling the older woman and helping her process her trauma. Reme jokes while telling her story so that she can keep telling what happened to her. However, there are things that Reme does not tell the others: “Pero no pudo evitar que las obligaran a fregar el suelo de la parroquia. Pero eso Reme no lo cuenta, porque prefiere no contarlo” (55). In her story she does not include the fact that her daughters were indeed punished, made to clean the church's floor. It is the omniscient narrator who speaks here, to let us know something from Reme's past that she is either not willing to share with her prison family or is unable to recount without breaking down.

There are several other instances where the female prisoners recount to the readers the stories of women who had been murdered. After Tomasa finds out about Hortensia's death, and ends up finally testifying and letting out her pain in order to live, she also tells the story of a woman she met in Olivenza prison, where she was destined earlier:

Sobrevivir. Contar que la llevaron a la cárcel de mujeres de Olivenza, que allí estuvo dos años con La Pepa colgándole del cuello, y que compartió celda con una mujer que había perdido a sus dos hijos en el

campo de concentración de Castuera. Los ataron el uno al otro y a culatazos los arrojaron a la mina. Sus gemidos subían desde el fondo de la tierra. Sus lamentos se oyeron durante toda una noche, hasta que otros cuerpos se rompieron contra ellos, y luego otros, y otros. Más gemidos. Y una bomba de mano que cae desde lo alto.

—En Castuera fusilaban días alternos, entre las doce y media y la una de la madrugada. Los domingos descansaban. En la boca mina los echaban a cualquier hora, y no alternaban.

Tomasa llora. Y grita que aquella madre se ahorcó una tarde de noviembre, en el retrete de la cárcel de Olivenza (222).

The woman hanged herself, unable to cope with the horrific loss of her children, but she told her story to Tomasa, who is in turn remembering it and bringing it to the readers in a cathartic way: she cries and she screams not only her testimony but also that of others who cannot do so anymore. The voice of the woman who told the story to Tomasa is included directly in the novel, as indicated by the long dash that customarily marks dialogue in Spanish texts. Tomasa becomes able to testify of this woman's plight right after she becomes able to come to terms with her own mourning.

As for Pepita, she is witness to the death of Carmina, one of the links of the Communist Party who had put her in contact with the armed resistance. Carmina is tortured to death in the Interior Ministry (gobernación), where Pepita is taken for questioning after receiving a letter from France. Through this structure of testimony recalled by others, readers get to know not only the main characters' plights, but also the stories of those victims with whom they crossed paths, however briefly. This mimics the structure of real testimony, since beyond official documents the only stories about victims that could have gotten through to present-day researchers would be snippets like this, of people who were held in the same prisons and told the story to another person.

At the beginning of the novel, Tomasa cannot accept that the war is over and they have lost it. In the following excerpt, Hortensia commands the other prisoners to survive, telling them that surviving is their only duty, but Tomasa contests this idea:

—Hay que sobrevivir, camaradas. Sólo tenemos esa obligación. Sobrevivir.

—Sobrevivir, sobrevivir, ¿para qué carajo queremos sobrevivir?

—Para contar la historia, Tomasa.

—¿Y la dignidad? ¿Alguien va a contar cómo perdimos la dignidad?

—No hemos perdido la dignidad.

—No, sólo hemos perdido la guerra, ¿verdad? Eso es lo que creéis todas, que hemos perdido la guerra.

—No habremos perdido hasta que estemos muertas, pero no se lo vamos a poner tan fácil. Locuras, las precisas, ni una más. Resistir es vencer (125-126).

Hortensia and Elvira's chosen form of resistance is trying to survive in order to tell their stories and those of the pain of others, so that their names will not be deleted from history. But Tomasa cannot accept this. For Tomasa, putting her head down and trying to survive is admitting to having lost the war, and thus turning the war into something of the past. She considers that this would be giving up her last shreds of dignity. Tomasa, as it is typical of a trauma victim, is unable to testify to her plight. Traumatic memories, unlike regular ones, are not assimilated into the linear narrative of a person's life story (Herman 37). Tomasa is unwilling to process the narrative of what has happened to her and thus inscribe it into the past. For her, testifying would be like accepting defeat, accepting that the war is over and that her pain and the death of her family will be added to capital letter History. Like for trauma victims whose suffering comes once and once again into the present, Tomasa resists testifying and making the gruesome murders of her family into a past:

Tomasa permanece junto a la cabecera de Elvira. Y tampoco va al taller. Tomasa no va por principios. Se niega a coser uniformes para el enemigo. Tomasa sostiene que la guerra no ha terminado, que la paz consentida por Negrín es una ofensa a los que continúan en la lucha. Ella se niega a aceptar que los tres años de guerra comienzan a formar parte de la Historia. No. Sus muertos no forman parte de la Historia. Ni ella ha sido condenada a muerte, ni le ha sido conmutada la pena, para la Historia. Ella no va a dar treinta años de su vida para la Historia. Ni un solo día, ni un solo muerto para la Historia. La guerra no ha acabado. Pero acabará, y pronto. Y ella no habrá cosido ni una sola puntada para redimir pena colaborando con los que ya quieren escribir la Historia. Ni una sola puntada. Y por eso mira a Reme con desdén cuando Reme se incorpora a la fila. Porque Reme ha abandonado. Se ha vuelto mansa. Reme no sabe valorar el sacrificio de los que siguen cayendo. Ella es una derrotista, que sólo sabe contar los muertos. Ella sólo sabe llorarlos. Y cuenta su historia, su pequeña historia, siempre que puede, como si su historia acabara aquí. Pero no acaba aquí. Desde luego que no, y Tomasa no piensa contar la suya hasta que todo esto haya acabado. Y será lejos de este lugar. Lejos. Observa a Reme. Y Reme se incorpora con mansedumbre a la fila ignorando su desdén (31).

Unlike Reme, who tells her story and is thus inscribing it into the past, into history, Tomasa wants to wait until she is outside of prison, until they win the war, to tell hers. She cannot accept her fate or that of her family as something of the past and is thus unwilling to testify, to tell her story to others as something that is part of capital letter History. However, finding out about Hortensia's death triggers Tomasa's wish to testify. When Tomasa is told that Hortensia will be executed while she is still in solitary confinement, unable to say her last goodbyes, the pain wakes in her the wish to testify in order to

survive. She remembers Hortensia's earlier words and turns the pain into a force of resistance:

Tomasa no pudo despedirse de Hortensia. Acurrucada en su dolor a oscuras, en su celda y en silencio, se niega a dejarse vencer. Nuestra única obligación es sobrevivir, había dicho Hortensia en la última asamblea a la que ella asistió. Sobrevivir. Tomasa no permitirá que el dolor la aplaste contra el suelo. Sobrevivir (218).

Working through the pain that Hortensia's death causes her, Tomasa finally starts telling her story in order to live: "cuenta a gritos su historia, para no morir" (218). Screaming inside her cell, with no one but guard Mercedes around, she testifies to the murder of her family and the situation that they were in before, so poor that they had occupied a landowner's property in order to survive. Tomasa's story also highlights the historical situation of many peasants in Chacón's native Extremadura, a region where most did not own the land that they worked in, and thus easily became victims of hunger.

Her love for Hortensia triggers in Tomasa the desire to tell her story, to be able to work through her pain and move forward, accepting it as part of her past but transforming the pain into a form of resistance that will allow her to survive. When her whole family was murdered right in front of her and she survived, the perpetrators told her that she would live to tell her story, making an example of her to scare other supporters of the Republic:

A ella la levantaron del suelo diciéndole que viviría para contar lo que les pasa a Las Damas de Negrín. Y se la llevaron a Olivenza, a la cárcel de mujeres. Allí pasó los años negándose a contar su historia, y sin poder llorar a sus muertos. Ahora la cuenta llorándolos. La cuenta y grita llorando porque no ha podido despedirse de Hortensia (220).

But now, Tomasa has realized that the opposite is true: she is telling her story

in order to survive. Trauma survivors can begin their recovery once what happened to them has come to light (Herman 1). Whilst Tomasa tells her story, she cries and mourns her family, something that she had not done until now, unable to process it and admit that it was something of the past. Notably, the novel refers to the moment in which two falangists take her husband's body away from her as pulling her away from her mourning: "Cuando llegaron a la margen derecha del Tajo, su marido estaba muerto. Ella abrazó su cabeza. Y le cerró los ojos, y se mantuvo abrazada a él hasta que una pareja de falangistas al mando de El Carnicero de Extremadura la arrancó de su duelo y empujó el cadáver al agua" (220). From that moment on until Hortensia's imminent death, Tomasa has not allowed herself to mourn. Incapable of leaving the moment of trauma behind and unwilling to inscribe it into history by narrating it, she has been unable to process her pain and move forward. But now, Tomasa will scream out her pain as a resistance, and this pain will give her strength to survive:

Y Tomasa no dejará de gritar su dolor. Recorrerá con su grito el tiempo de esta noche. La Dama de Negrín alzará la voz porque su obligación es sobrevivir. Vivirás para contarlo, le habían dicho los falangistas que empujaron el cadáver de su marido al agua. Vivirás para contarlo, le dijeron, ignorando que sería al contrario. Lo contaría, para sobrevivir (221).

Those who pushed her husband's body into the river, those who took her away from her mourning, told her that she would live in order to tell her story, to serve as a warning for others. So until now, this melancholic stage was also a stage of resistance against those who wanted to make an example out of her pain. But now, she realizes that the opposite is true: she will tell her story in order to survive. Telling it is what will allow her to survive. Realizing that her duty is to survive ("su obligación es sobrevivir" 221), she has taken Hortensia's message of survival ("Hay que sobrevivir, camaradas. Sólo

tenemos esa obligación. Sobrevivir" 125) into herself and accepted it as her own, in a transmission of testimony akin to the burning child that asks the father to tell his story. Thus, Tomasa, in telling her story, has taken a step to let go of her melancholic stage, which kept her stuck in a past that felt like the present to her, and started engaging in a process of mourning for her family and her dear friend Hortensia. Like the father in the story of the burning child recounted by Caruth, Hortensia's death has awakened in Tomasa the imperative to survive. She will survive taking onto herself the role of a testifier, leaving behind the state of trauma in which she did not accept the end of the war and the inscription into history of her family's gruesome death. By accepting her role as a testifier she is also taking a step towards leaving behind her melancholy stage and starting to process her mourning.

In *Sonyeoni Onda*, we can see two opposite reactions to testimony in the characters of Seonju and the narrator of 쇠와 피 (*Soe-wa Pi*). After the trauma of Gwangju, time and space become disjoined in the victim's lives. Gwangju is not a city, but the trauma that returns once and once again. It is not past, since the memories it calls up are always present and affect their daily lives. This fragmentation can also be found within the personal relationships between victims. The narrator of *Soe-wa Pi*, the fourth chapter, was kept in a prison and tortured alongside Kim Jinsu, who met Dongho when he was taking care of the bodies. Whilst both victims keep meeting throughout the years, they are unable to find comfort in each other, as the other's existence is also a reminder of the horrible ordeal that they experienced together. Both the narrator of *Soe-wa Pi* and Seonju seem to be suffering from constriction or avoidance. Herman defines constriction as a form of adaptation in which the victim, able to focus only on survival, reduces every other aspect in their lives (107). Seonju, the narrator and Jinsu are unable to maintain romantic relationships, hold stable jobs, and even have satisfactory relationships with family and friends. Like the narrator of *Soe-wa Pi*, Seonju has been contacted

by Yun, a researcher who is looking for Gwangju survivors, and asked to give testimony. It is not the first time she has been asked to do so. The first time, ten years ago, Seonghui, a close female friend three years her senior, insisted that she should testify for Yun's thesis. This ended up damaging their relationship to the point that they have not talked in a decade. Now, she is asked once again to testify and thus provide the testimony of a female victim, since there are not many victims willing to testify, and most of them are men. But during the chapter that deals with Seonju, we can see that a change has started to take place in her mindset. For Seonju, her relationship with Seonghui is intrinsically linked with having to testify: "견디기 어려운 두가지 일이 철사 매듭처럼 얹어버린 이유에 대해 지금 당신은 생각하고 있다./녹음을 하는 것과 성희 언니를 만나는 것./성희 언니를 만나기 전에 녹음을 할 것" (153). Seonju feels that she has to record the tapes before she meets Seonghui. Seonghui was, after all, the one who put Yun in contact with her, and asked her to talk about her experiences with him. What triggers her testifying this time (even if only to herself and readers) is having found out about Seonghui's cancer diagnosis. Thus, it could be said that the possibility of the death of her friend awakens in her a desire to communicate. Psychologist Judith Herman stated that "[t]raumatic events have primary effects not only on the psychological structures of the self but also on the systems of attachment and meaning that link individual and community" (51). The wish to reconnect with Seonghui and to testify, even if we do not see the reunion taking place in the novel, can be thus read as a step towards recovering her attachment to a friend and a step towards leaving isolation. Therefore, the friendship that unites her to Seonghui and the possible death of her friend drives Seonju to try to process her trauma. Before, their relationship was cut off because Seonghui could not understand Seonju's unwillingness to move on from her pain. Now, the love she feels for her friend and the possibility of her demise pull her towards telling her story, and thus a step closer to a healing process. Whilst Seonghui does not hear her testimony,

it is her relationship to Seonju that allows it to take place, in a similar way to how Hortensia's death became the trigger for Tomasa to start moving on from her melancholia and testify to the readers of the novel. Like Hortensia's call to Tomasa to survive, Seonghui wants Seonju to testify in order to help their political cause, and as a way to help her younger friend move on. In *La voz dormida*, giving testimony is presented as the right option and the one that helps the character of Tomasa start processing her mourning and engaging in a more effective resistance against authority (for instance, by joining other prisoners in making clothes for the guerrilla), but *Sonyeoni Onda* problematizes this stance. Unlike Hortensia's words, which are later on taken on by Tomasa and help the older woman keep on going, Seonghui's words create for Seonju a wound that she has not been able to patch up in ten years:

그게 그렇게 어려운 일이니,라고 묻던 성희 언니의 침착한 목소리를 당신은 기억한다. 무슨 권리로 내 이야길 사람들에게 하는 거야,라고 당신이 이를 악물며 물었을 때였다. 이어 대답하던 성희 언니의 차분한 얼굴을 당신은 지난 십년 동안 용서하지 않았다. 나라면 너처럼 숨지 않았을 거야, 그녀는 또박또박 말했다. 나 자신을 지키는 일로 남은 인생을 흘려보내진 않았을 거란 말이야 (161-162).

Seonghui, in trying to help her friend, ends up isolating her even more, since it makes Seonju realize that her friend cannot understand what she has gone through and is still going through. Seonju is acting like that in order to survive: "몸을 증오하게 되었다고, 모든 따뜻함과 지극한 사랑을 스스로 부숴뜨리며 도망쳤다고 증언할 수 있는가? 더 추운 곳, 더 안전한 곳으로, 오직 살아남기 위하여" (167). In order to survive, Seonju is isolating herself from the world, to a place without love, but that feels safe. This idea contrasts with Tomasa's realization that she will tell her story in order to survive: "Lo contaría, para sobrevivir" (221). These characters are at different points in their healing process, but this contrast also shows a key difference between

the two novels: their stance on testimony.

Yun asks survivors to give testimony for his thesis, and out of consideration he suggests that they record their account by themselves, being able to delete the parts that they wish to. In the novel, we have two narrators in the first person who Yun asks to testify, Seonju and the unnamed narrator of *Soe-wa Pi*. The narrator hates having to talk about what happened, and even remembering is hard for him: "다음의 일은 말하고 싶지 않습니다./더 기억하라고 나에게 말한 권한은 이제 누구에게도 없습니다, 선생도 마찬가지입니다" (117). He is asked to explain why Jinsu left a photograph of young kids who were murdered in Gwangju alongside his will, but the narrator resists explaining what happened right before the picture was taken, and asks Yun what right he has to ask that of him: "김진수가 어떤 이유로 이 사진을 끝까지 가지고 있었는지, 왜 유서 곁에 이 사진이 놓여 있었는지 내가 이제 추측해야 합니까?/여기 직선으로 쓰러져 죽어 있는 아이들에 대해 선생에게 말해야 합니까?/무슨 권리로 그걸 나에게 요구합니까" (132). This idea is also echoed by Seonju in her chapter, when she asks Seonghui what right she has of telling her story to others. I read this not only as general criticism towards using victims' pain for personal profit, but as self reproach of the author when writing this novel, an idea that is supported by the inclusion of the first-person epilogue that serves as justification for the writing of the novel. At the same time, what we read in *Soe-wa Pi* is precisely the unnamed narrator's testimony, addressed to Yun ("이 이야기를 듣고 있는 선생도 인간입니다" 135). Then, even though he hates doing so, he is indeed testifying. Seonju, on the other hand, does not send the tapes to Yun by the end of the episode, it is even unclear whether she has recorded them. However, it seems that in her case testimony has helped as part of a healing process, since we see an intention to communicate with Seonghui and give testimony by the end of the chapter, unlike the unnamed narrator's case. Seonju, too, struggles repeatedly with Yun's petition to give testimony: "흠칫

잠이 얹아질 때마다 윤의 메일에서 반복된 단어들이 커서처럼 눈부시게 깜박인다. 증언. 의미. 기억. 미래를 위해" (166). "기억해달라고 윤은 말했다. 직면하고 증언해달라고 말했다./그러나 그것이 어떻게 가능한가" (166). But even though she keeps wondering whether bearing witness to her torture is possible, she testifies for the readers of the novel. Like Tomasa in *La voz dormida*, she ends up testifying, but the receptor is outside of the world of the novel. On the other hand, the unnamed narrator, who does tell Yun what he knows about Jinsu and the boys in the photograph, is fighting with himself and his guilt in order to stay alive, showing that he is unable to move past his pain and accept the call of the dead to tell their story:

나는 싸우고 있습니다. 날마다 혼자서 싸웁니다. 살아남았다는, 아직도 살아 있다는 치욕과 싸웁니다. 내가 인간이라는 사실과 싸웁니다. 오직 죽음만이 그 사실로부터 앞당겨 벗어날 유일한 길이란 생각과 싸웁니다. 선생은, 나와 같은 인간인 선생은 어떤 대답을 나에게 해줄 수 있습니까? (135).

The narrator of *Soe-wa Pi* has not given up, he is still fighting, but unlike Seonju he has not been able to (re)connect with any other humans or channel his rage into actions that help him process his trauma. By contrasting these two stories, we can see that being able to give testimony does not necessarily equal a successful processing of trauma. In Seonju's case, her link to Seonghui is helping her take a step closer towards recovery, whilst the narrator of the fourth chapter is as isolated at the end of the chapter as he was at the beginning.

Fiction serves as a tool to bring to a wider public issues derived from violence inflicted onto others, the responsibilities derived from it and the traumas it causes (Pereira 149-150). In order to achieve so, *La voz dormida* places a huge emphasis on testimony. In the novel there is not a clear cut between history and fiction (Graff 175). The novel is narrated in the third person, mixing the oral-language characteristics of the voices of the victims

who testify with the historical knowledge that another voice, that of an omniscient narrator, provides.

This also aligns with the objective of this novel, to construct a story that may serve as a bridge between the Spaniards of the present and those of the past, as well as letting a wider public know of the plight of their grandparent's generation. In her 2006 paper, Mercè Picornell-Belenguer reads *La voz dormida* as a model of identification for Spanish women in the present: "la novela no es una vivencia del pasado y para el pasado sino un relato para reconstruir su sentido en una actualidad donde nos faltan referentes para construir nuestra propia experiencia como mujeres, más o menos comprometidas, más o menos disidentes, más o menos 'rojas'" (118). Thus, for many contemporary readers of the novel, belonging, like the author, to 'the granddaughters' generation', the novel would provide a different model of womanhood, opposed to the available model at the time, that of the great majority of older women who suffered the dictatorship: "la imagen prototípica de la mujer de más de setenta años es la de una esposa sin estudios, sin vinculación política alguna y sin más vocación posible que la de ser madre sumisa y devota: el único modelo de mujer que permitió el régimen franquista" (118). Whilst women were part of the public sphere during the Second Republic and gained voting rights and worked in different sectors, embroidery or sewing are crafts historically associated with the female sphere. However, in *La voz dormida* they take on a political meaning: first on the flag that Reme embroiders and that gets her sent to prison, then on the clothes that the prisoners are forced to sew for the soldiers, but that they use as an opportunity to secretly smuggle clothes for the guerrilla. With this last action, the political prisoners take advantage of the regime's ideals and of what it considered proper occupations for women and subvert them. This subversion is also present in the interactions between male and female characters in the guerrilla, specially in Elvira/Celia, who challenges Felipe/Mateo's ideas about

a wife's role: “—Si te crees que yo voy a casarme para llevar limpio a mi marido estás tú bueno. El que quiera ir de limpio que se lave su ropa. No has aprendido nada de la República, Mateo, los tiempos de los señoritos se acabaron” (269). In his analysis of the role of Paulino and his firm communist beliefs in *La voz dormida*, Antonio Gómez López-Quñones argues that the Civil War is represented as a utopian place where new identities can be formed (210). Celia's role too, is that of a new model of woman, who challenges the ideas that a woman should cook and clean for her husband. Picornell-Belenguer interprets the novel as an effort to create genealogical links to the past from a present where Spanish women are in need of a different model of women that connects them to the past (121). Since the women who could give testimony of this past of rebellion and resistance are too old, or they have passed away, Chacón's novel serves, for Picornell-Belenguer, as a way of rebuilding links between these women and Spanish women at the beginning of the 20th century (125). The novel acts as a memorial but also as a bridge between generations, designing these imprisoned women as the forerunners of modern, politically-minded Spanish women.

Both Han Kang and Dulce Chacón are asked to give testimony within the scope of the novel, the writer that represents Han Kang is asked to do so within the fiction of the novel, and Dulce Chacón mentions this petition in the back matter that follows the novel. She relates being asked to do so by a woman mentioned in the back matter of the novel: “una mujer de Gijón que me rogó que contara la verdad” (393), where she thanks the people who helped her on her research and who told their stories to her. Fictionalized Han Kang is also asked to write by Dongho's older brother. Like the real victims that gave testimony in *La voz dormida*, Dongho's brother asks the author to write well so that no one can disrespect the memory of his brother: "대신 잘 써주셔야 합니다. 제대로 써야 합니다. 아무도 내 동생을 더이상 모독할

수 없도록 써주세요" (211). However, in *Sonyeoni Onda*, more than an intention of setting the events and their repercussions as part of a country's official history, there is a clear aim of creating links of solidarity with other times and places. Whilst in *Sonyeoni Onda* testimony and the circumstances that surround victims' ability or inability to speak are dealt with, the situations are presented as part of a bigger picture, extrapolating the stories of pain and injustice to other situations, such as the 2009 Yongsan tragedy or other situations of injustice in different countries. Even though the fictionalized author tries holding a makeshift funeral for Dongho and writes the novel as a funeral for him, the novel is not made in order to help leave Gwanjgu in the past and look toward a future. Both novels create links to the present, but in different ways: in *Sonyeoni Onda* the victims call to the present of the novel as ghosts, whilst in *La voz dormida* they are forerunners, historical or quasi-historical figures.

Unlike Han Kang in *Sonyeoni Onda*, Chacón's voice does not appear as a fictionalized version of herself. Instead, the narrative voice she introduces is an omniscient one that complements the thoughts that can be attributed to the characters with historical facts, or details that the characters are not willing to reveal. In this way, she manages to go back and forth between fiction and history, not letting the readers forget that the stories told in the novel were inspired by real ones. One example of this would be the inclusion of the Trece Rosas, inscribing their story within the world of the characters, thus allowing the author to not only give testimony of a relatively unknown historical event but also to create an emotional response on the reader, since the executed prisoners are presented as friends and cellmates of the characters the reader has come to know and appreciate. In his writings, LaCapra warns about self-identification with the victims as a position to be avoided by historians, in which the person becomes a surrogate victim. However, Caruth considers that this is also the only possibility for transmission (*Introduction* 10). Even

though these are two literary works, we can still see how both authors have attempted to distance themselves from the matter whilst letting the character's voices shine through. Han Kang overcomes this using diverse narrative strategies, distancing herself through using diverse narrators, in the first, second and third person, and at the same time positions herself within the story as another character, admitting within the novel the problems of representation that she had to face. As for Chacón, she contrasts the voices of the characters with that of an omniscient narrator who has more details: sometimes, this narrator elaborates on historical facts; other times, it lets the reader know something that the characters are hiding.

Chacón uses the novel to introduce historical events to a wider audience. When Hortensia finds out about her death sentence, it triggers in her and the others memories of other young women who were unfairly sentenced and killed: "las Trece Rosas", thirteen young girls who were sentenced to death in reprisal for the murder of a right wing military commander and his daughter. These women, many of them minors, became a symbol of the cruel repression that took place after the war was over. Whilst the *Trece Rosas* are relatively known by the Spanish public nowadays, *La voz dormida* was published in 2002, before the 2006 documentary or the 2007 movie that made the story widely known to the general public. We can see this inclusion, then, as a way of testifying to the real history that inspired her fiction, letting readers know of a history that had been, until then, known almost only by other victims or within academic circles. Through Elvira's thoughts, we not only find out about Julita and the other twelve girls, but also about the young men who were killed alongside them, friends and brothers. In her real letter, which Chacón reproduces in the novel, Julita Conesa, one of the martyred women, asks that her name not be deleted from history: "Que mi nombre no se borre en la historia" (204). By including her in the novel, Chacón is attempting to fulfill this wish. Julita is also inscribed within the network of affects in the

novel: it is Elvira who remembers this and conveys it to the readers through her internal monologue. Elvira is determined to remember Julia so that her name is not deleted from history: "Elvira controla su llanto. Revuelve su maleta simulando que la ordena de espaldas a Hortensia, para recordar a Julita. Recordarla, para que no se borre su nombre./ No, el nombre de Julita Conesa no se borrará en la Historia./ No" (204). She is thus taking up a role as a testifier. She will purposefully remember Julita so that her story is not lost and can be inscribed into capital letter History later on. The fact that Elvira is concerned with this also lets us know that she is preoccupied with the future: unlike trauma victims constantly stuck in the moment of trauma, she is able to conceive of a future in which remembering the past will be necessary and fruitful. Elvira's thoughts could also be attributed to the author of the novel: after all, she is writing so that the story of many is not forgotten, even if she is fictionalizing it. But there is truth within fiction: this idea is hinted at in the novel through the letters that Paulino/Jaime sends Pepita, and through the comforting words that Pepita tells her young niece Tensi when she asks about her family, saying that some lies are truths. Analyzing the role of the found family in *La voz dormida*, Ferrán contrasts the oppositional role of these adopted families to the model of family pushed by Francoist ideology, noting that: [t]hese "mentiras que son verdades" are part of an oppositional practice that effectively turns the concept of the traditional Francoist family on its head (123). Exiled Paulino writes letters to Pepita building a new identity as Jaime in order to protect her. The same way as Chacón when writing the novel, he is building a fiction that is true. And throughout his words the truth comes out to the right reader, Pepita:

Jaime descubría a Paulino al mencionar en la carta la estación de Delicias y la iglesia de San Judas Tadeo. Se descubría, sólo para ella, después de inventar que era maquinista de tren, que le pesaban los cinco años que llevaba viajando en Francia, que el último viaje había

sido muy largo y se sentía cansado, pero se encontraba bien. Jaime inventaba su vida, para que Paulino pudiera escribirle una carta a Pepita. Y ella imaginó que aquella historia era una sucesión de mentiras que escondían una sola verdad: la amaba (172).

Like Paulino in his letters as Jaime, Chacón builds a fictional story based on the real testimony of many victims, a novel that lets the historical truths shine through it provided the right reader is found. Tomasa's testimony, too, is used to introduce the real story of José González Barrero, mayor of Chacón's native Zafra:

Tomasa llora. Y grita que aquella madre se ahorcó una tarde de noviembre, en el retrete de la cárcel de Olivenza. Antes le había contado que en Castuera fusilaron al alcalde de Zafra, don José González Barrero se llamaba. Lo fusilaron un mes después de acabar la guerra. Y lo enterraron boca abajo, para que no saliera. Contar la historia. Sobrevivir a la locura. Recordar a don José, paseando con su esposa por la calle Sevilla. Era verano. Era la caída de la tarde. Y era la República. Su nuera iba vestida de blanco, como ama de cría. En Zafra. Y era la primera vez que Tomasa y su nuera veían de cerca a un alcalde:

—Mire, señora Tomasa, el alcalde. Ése es el alcalde.

Don José. Se llamaba don José. Llevaba a su mujer del brazo, y un sombrero panamá. Atardecía. Don José iba con un traje de lino, y con su esposa del brazo. Tenían una hija que se llamaba Libertad (222).

Tomasa purposely remembers him so that his hi/story is not lost, the same way that Elvira and the others remember las Trece Rosas. This fragment also presents the Republic as a specific time: "Y era la República". It was the Republic in the same way that it was summer or evening: "Era verano. Era la caída de la tarde. Y era la República" (222). The Republic is here a time that

has been lost and is irrecoverable, in the same way that 1980's Gwangju is inaccessible for fictionalized Han Kang in *Sonyeoni Onda*. In the introduction of *History and Memory after Auschwitz*, LaCapra points out that the word "after" does not only have a chronological meaning, but that the Holocaust has reshaped the way we think about the past (6). Like such, the time of the Republic within *La voz dormida* is a time of hope which not only represents the world that was the actual Second Republic, but the imagined world that could have been modern Spain if the coup d'état, the war and the following dictatorship had not taken place. In that now nonexistent world, someone like Tomasa was able to share the same space as a mayor. It was a place of hope and freedom, the mayor's daughter's name (Libertad) and the word which ends the chapter in which Tomasa frees herself from her self-imposed silence and takes up Hortensia's call to survive by telling her hi/story. Pepita, too, wants to go back to the time before the war, a happier time: "A ella le gustaría volver atrás, estar en Córdoba. Le gustaría volver al verano del treinta y seis, al principio de aquel verano, cuando Hortensia aún no se había vestido de miliciana y Felipe la cortejaba, o al Carnaval, al baile de máscaras, cuando su padre aún podía enseñarles a reír" (102). Notably, she does not only mention the beginning of summer, before the war started, but Carnival, a festive season at the end of winter which is associated with utopian ideals. Another popular work dealing with the Civil War, *La lengua de las mariposas*, a movie based on several short stories by Manuel Rivas, also presents the Second Republic as a time of Carnival (Yim 199). Like during Carnival, where relations of hierarchy were overlooked or turned upside down (Bajtín 1995:15 cited in Yim 204), during the Second Republic Tomasa could share the same public space as the mayor. The book traces a bridge from this mythical time of the Republic to present day democratic Spain, and this bridge is built through links of affection, making the readers heirs of the female political prisoners through the link created by testimony.

This transmission of testimony actually took place outside the world of the novel, during public readings of the novel. Colmeiro recounts the place of memory that was created around *La voz dormida* after it was published:

At public readings and book presentations throughout the nation, many anonymous Spanish women who had been silent about their participation in the anti-Franco resistance throughout their lives, saw this book as a cathartic experience that allowed them to speak and share their own individual memories, thus completing the cycle of construction of collective memory (193).

Ferrán also attests to this climate of sharing testimony:

[I]n the various events in which the book was presented throughout Spain, older women in the audience would often stand up and tell their own stories of imprisonment and repression. For many, it was the first time they talked in public about their suffering. The book opened up a space for others in the public to "adopt" these stories, and for many of these women to "adopt", once again, the position of active agents who fought —and suffered—for their ideals, an agency recovered by the fact of simply being able to tell their story before an audience that was finally willing to listen (129).

This is a similar effect to that which the viewing of the movie *Shoah* had on female holocaust survivors, as recounted by Marianne Hirsch in the introduction to *The Generation of Postmemory*:

Although we had tried to engage Frieda and some of her friends on previous occasions, they had never wanted to say more than a few words about their wartime past. It turned out that they had all watched Shoah on television, but it was not the film that they wished to discuss with us; it was their own acts of survival, the deaths of their parents,

siblings, and first spouses, the pain, anger and melancholy they had suppressed for too many years. Shoah authorized their acts of witness, we quickly understood; it made them feel that they had a story to tell and listeners who might be willing to acknowledge and receive it from them (9).

Works like *Shoah* or *La voz dormida* became important not only because of the testimony they carried, but because of that which they triggered, by giving a space for victims to speak, providing them with willing listeners and giving value to what they had to say.

4.2. The problems associated to the role of testifier

Often, those able to take on the role of mediators are also victims, but ones who were able to survive and thus have the possibility and the obligation of recounting their story and that of others. The voice of the other commands survivors to keep going in order to tell the story they are not able to tell themselves. However, this request can generate many other problems, stemming from the dual role of survivors as victims and bearers of testimony.

In the introduction to *The Generation of Postmemory*, Marianne Hirsch cites two currents in regards to how best to confront memory work related to the Holocaust, one that wants to "keep the wounds open" in order to prevent forgetting what happened, and another which seeks reconciliation (19). These two opposed currents of thought were also elaborated on by Aleida Assman in *Memory and Political Change*:

The Israeli philosopher Avishai Margalit dedicated his book *The Ethics of Memory* to his parents, whom he introduced to the reader on the second page of his preface. "From early childhood," he writes, "I

witnessed an ongoing discussion between my parents about memory.” Margalit then reconstructs this parental dialogue, which started after the Second World War when it became obvious that both of their huge families in Europe had been destroyed.

This is what his mother used to say:

“The Jews were irretrievably destroyed. What is left is just a pitiful remnant of the great Jewish people (by which she meant European Jewry). The only honorable role for the Jews that remains is to form communities of memory – to serve as ‘soul candles’ like the candles that are ritually kindled in memory of the dead.”

This is what his father used to say:

“We, the remaining Jews, are people, not candles. It is a horrible prospect for anyone to live just for the sake of retaining the memory of the dead. That is what the Armenians opted to do. And they made a terrible mistake. We should avoid it at all costs. Better to create a community that thinks predominantly about the future and reacts to the present, not a community that is governed from mass graves.” (14).

On a superficial look, *Sonyeoni Onda* would follow the first current and *La voz dormida* would be closer to the second one. But *Sonyeoni Onda* does not argue that victims have to keep remembering because it is their duty, but showing that they cannot help but do so, especially because there has not been a proper social redress. As for *La voz dormida*, whilst the novel as a whole seeks to tell this story as a memorial, in order to do the correct thing in a democratic society, characters like Hortensia claim that they must survive so that they can give testimony of what has happened, to them and to others.

Dongho cannot forgive the soldiers who betrayed and murdered their own people, but more than that, he cannot forgive himself for running away from Jeongdae. And he is aware that if he were to find himself in the same situation again, he would have done the same, even if the person he had to

leave behind were his parents or his brothers. "그때 쓰러진 게 정대가 아니라 이 여자였다 해도 너는 달아났을 거다. 형들이었다 해도, 아버지였다 해도, 엄마였다 해도 달아났을 거다. [...] 용서하지 않을 거다. [...] 아무 것도 용서하지 않을 거다. 나 자신까지도" (45). In *Trauma and Recovery*, Judith Herman recounts the feelings of helplessness and anger that Nazi concentration camp survivor Elie Wiesel felt when his father was beaten up in front of his eyes. Wiesel recalls:

I had watched the whole scene without moving. I kept quiet. In fact I was thinking of how to get farther away so that I would not be hit myself. What is more, any anger I felt at that moment was directed, not at the [guard], but against my father. I was angry with him, for not knowing how to avoid Idek's outbreak. That is what concentration camp life had made of me (83-84).

As Herman acutely points out: "The sense of shame and defeat comes not merely from his failure to intercede but also from the realization that his captors have usurped his inner life" (84). Dongho, too, carries with him the guilt of survivors and the rage of knowing that he is someone capable of abandoning someone he loves, which breaks his self image, making him doubt his own humanity. He imagines the words that Jeongmi, Jeongdae's sister, would say to him after finding out what happened with her younger brother: "그리고도 네가 친구냐. 그리고도 네가 사람이야" (36). Is he a person even when he has abandoned his dying friend? His past actions and the knowledge that he would do the same again have made him despise himself, and he imagines that others will do the same. "Although the survivor may come to understand that these violations of relationship were committed under extreme circumstances, this understanding by itself does not fully resolve the profound feelings of guilt and shame" (Herman 192). For Dongho, having survived when his friend did not caused a bigger impact than having been close to death: "The crisis at the core of many traumatic narratives [...] often emerges, indeed,

as an urgent question: Is the trauma the encounter with death, or the ongoing experience of having survived it?" (Caruth 7). 쇠와 피 (*Soe-wa Pi*) contains an important question that plagues all survivors: why did I survive when he died? "하루도 빠짐없이 생각하고 또 생각했습니다. 왜 그는 죽었고, 아직 나는 살아 있는지" (108). Having survived his friend leaves the narrator in the position of being the only one who can tell Jinsu's story, but he is skeptical about that role: "지금 내 말들을 녹취함으로써 김진수가 죽어간 과정을 복원할 수 있습니까? 그와 나의 경험이 비슷했을지 모르지만, 결코 동일하지는 않았습니다. 그가 혼자서 겪은 일들을 그 자신에게서 듣지 않은 한, 어떻게 그의 죽음이 부검될 수 있습니까?" (108). Whilst they both experienced something similar, it is still not the same, so how can he tell his friend's story? Only his friend would be able to do so. Here, Primo Levi's distinction between the drowned and the saved, between those who have seen the face of the Gorgon and those who can still speak because they have not, helps us understand the psyche of the narrator of this chapter:

We survivors are not only an exiguous but also an anomalous minority: we are those who by their prevarications or abilities or good luck did not touch bottom. Those who did so, those who saw the Gorgon, have not returned to tell about it or have returned mute, but they are the "Muslims," the submerged, the complete witnesses, the ones whose deposition would have a general significance (70).

On the other hand, *La voz dormida* paints survival as an obligation for the repressed women. They have to survive in order to give testimony, in order to relate the hi/story ("contar la historia") of what has happened to them and others:

Son muchas las referencias de la novela a la capacidad redentora de la memoria y a la confianza que se le confiere a su función de reinstaurar la justic[i]a en un momento concreto de la Historia en que por todas

partes asoma la derrota. De esta manera, resulta interesante comprobar el modo en que, en la novela de Chacón, las presas de la cárcel de mujeres de Ventas necesitan compartir su experiencia, verbalizar el trauma, en tanto que son sumamente conscientes de que mientras su historia permanezca viva ellas no morirán del todo (Becerra Mayor 303).

After Hortensia finds out that she will be killed soon, she writes in her new blue notebook, the one which she dedicates to her daughter. She longs for communication, writing that she would suffer less if she were able to tell Felipe what had happened:

La mujer que va a morir ya conoce su condena. [...] Hortensia escribe en su nuevo cuaderno azul. Estrena la primera hoja con un lápiz gastado que apenas sobresale de su pulgar. El peor dolor es no poder compartir el dolor. Hortensia aprieta contra el papel la punta de su lápiz mordisqueado, y escribe que sufriría menos si pudiera hablar con Felipe, si pudiera contarle que ha sido condenada a muerte junto a sus doce compañeras de expediente (196).

She writes that "El peor dolor es no poder compartir el dolor": that is, not being able to share her pain is the worst pain. So by writing, she lets out some of the pain that not being able to communicate directly with her husband causes her. In her written testimony, there is also hope: whilst she is uncertain of her future, she is able to envision a future for her child and her husband. The figure of baby Tensi shows a key difference between the two novels: in *Sonyeoni Onda*, the characters cannot imagine a future, they are still stuck in the moment of trauma; but in *La voz dormida* there is hope in Tensi, a baby born in prison after the war, and not only for her direct relatives. It is after all Tensi's birth which inspires don Fernando, the doctor, to leave his war trauma behind and go back to practicing medicine, as well as regaining the

relationship with his wife. Whilst this is a common practice in Spain, the fact that Tensi shares her name and nickname with her mother, and later on her political fight, also points out to this continuity: the mother lives on through the daughter.

Chapter 5. Conclusions

Sonyeoni Onda recounts the story of victims during the Gwangju massacre, and follows survivors and their bereaved families to the present. The narrative voice changes in each chapter, each devoted to a different character but united by the massacre and by Dongho, a young boy who was killed on the last day of the conflict. It uses first, third and even second person narrators, a device that helps engage readers, even giving the impression of addressing them directly. *La voz dormida* focuses on the lives of political prisoners at Las Ventas after the end of the Spanish Civil War, dealing also with their families, the communist guerrilla and other resistance agents working against the Francoist regime. Its narrative voice combines a third person omniscient narrator who provides historical facts, as well as insight into the characters' private thoughts, with a voice in the third person which reproduces the voices of the characters and has characteristics of oral speech, mimicking the vocabulary and speaking patterns of real people giving testimony.

The question that plagues both works is how to behave after having received the call of the other. Inspired by Cathy Caruth's interpretation of the story of the burning child and what it means to come into contact with someone else's death and trauma, I have looked at this question through the three types of responses that encountering the pain of others produce in the different characters: resistance, mourning and testimony.

The first of these responses, resistance, is shown in both novels as a helpful way of reacting to the call of the other. As opposed to guilt, which causes characters to cut off their connection to others and thus prevents them from processing their trauma, rage-motivated resistance helps characters survive and keep going despite their circumstances or the trauma that they are enduring. For instance, Seonju in *Sonyeoni Onda* channels the pain that knowing about Dongho's death causes in her and uses it as a tool for her own resistance and survival. Hortensia uses the rage that the torture and murder of an unknown woman, Manolita, causes in her as strength to survive her own torture. In *La voz dormida*, except for Pepita, all the characters that we are supposed to root for are on the side of the Communist Party. Socialist characters appear to help some of the communist guerrilla fighters escape, but they do so only in exchange for a big sum of money. Towards the end of the novel, Tensi takes up her parents' cause and decides to join the Party. Jaime, too, keeps up his political commitment to the Party until his death. In *Sonyeoni Onda*, other than a resistance to Chun Doo-hwan and his government and a call for reparations, there is no common political cause that the characters take up. Whilst both novels seek reparations for the victims, *La voz dormida* seeks to situate these characters within the history of Spain, to serve as precursors to the modern left-leaning public, so describing their political fight is a key piece for this construction of meaning around them.

Both novels underscore the importance of social mourning in situations in which victims have not been honored properly and propose recording as a step that can help the mourning take place at a later time. The novel *Sonyeoni Onda*, which starts and ends with funerals—one literal and collective and one individual and figured—is in itself the staging of a funeral (서영채 437). For *La voz dormida*, mourning is something that could not take place because of the historical circumstances, so recording helps the family of the bereaved know what has happened to their dead. For instance, Doña Celia, whose

daughter was executed and buried somewhere unknown to her, repeatedly risks her life hiding in the cemetery so that she can give to others the opportunity to say goodbye to their murdered relatives. In *Sonyeoni Onda*, Dongho works recording the characteristics of the bodies so that families can recognize them later on. The novels, too, work as a piece of recording. *Sonyeoni Onda* gives Jeongdae, who has died, a chance to speak in his soul form, giving redress to all of those who were unfairly killed, whose record was lost and whose voices could not be heard anymore. Both works are keenly aware that mourning needs to be social so that it can be effective, and that situations in which bereaved families and friends are not allowed to grieve stunt the healing process of those who have been left behind. During the third chapter of *Sonyeoni Onda* a play helps Eunsuk to start processing the pain that she felt at the loss of Dongho so many years before. In *La voz dormida*, Tomasa starts processing her stalled grief and engaging in mourning through testimony. After her family was murdered, she did not mourn them because she did not want to accept the end of the war and have her story inscribed into history as a loser. However, the imminent death of her friend Hortensia triggers in her the desire to testify in order to survive, which ultimately helps her mourn both her family and her close friend.

For Chacón, a writer who has taken upon herself the duty to honor the memory of the war's Republican victims, giving testimony —and spreading that testimony to a wider audience— is the most ethical choice, because through these actions she amends the forced silence and lack of attention that these victims suffered for so many years. Whilst she does acknowledge the difficulty of testifying through Tomasa's plight, testifying is shown as the key piece for an improvement in the woman's psyche, and as the thing she must do to survive. However, for Han Kang, asking victims to testify is met with suspicion: both Seonju and the narrator of *Soe-wa Pi* are ambivalent about testifying, but when the latter does it, it does not seem to help him improve

his connection to the world or others. Han Kang also problematizes her own role in writing the novel by inserting a fictionalized version of herself who struggles with issues of representing the pain of others, as well as characters like Seonju and the narrator mentioned above, who question the motives of Yun, a researcher writing about Gwangju victims. In *La voz dormida*, as characteristic of Spanish novels that deal with the Civil War, testimony is not dealt with as a conflict point (Liikanen 61), since it is seen as the ethical choice, the one that helps redress the memory of the victims.

Han Kang and Dulce Chacón both attempt in their novels to relay victim's testimony in an ethical and effective way, looking to engage the reader using techniques that elicit affective responses. They are not only constructing a narrative of the past, but a narrative of the past that becomes a linking piece for communities in the present, but the novels do not have the same objectives. When it comes to *La voz dormida*, national reconciliation seems to be the goal after trauma is processed and the plight of victims has been heard. It serves as a model for younger, democratic Spaniards, so that they can feel united to the history of their nation and represented in their feminist and left-wing ideals. On the contrary, in *Sonyeoni Onda*, this intention is not so clear. Whilst the novel works as a catharsis that starts up a social and collective (and thus, effective) mourning, it also questions humanity and its capacity for goodness. Some of the characters in Han Kang's novel manage to start their process of mourning, but *Sonyeoni Onda* does not look towards the future in a clear manner, the way that *La voz dormida* does. It seems that the characters are still trapped in a present which continuously calls up the traumatic past. The main difference between these two narratives is that in Chacón's novel, the past is dealt with so that a better and fairer future can be built. Chacón's omniscient narrator writes from the present of democracy, and even though the ending shows us that Jaime endured police repression until his final days, there is no doubt that the days of democracy in

which these wrongs can be redressed will follow. In Han Kang's case, the healing effort is never shown as completed, but as a process: Dongho is guiding the characters who have taken up his call towards the flowered path, allowing for a mourning that will hopefully let them engage with others and overcome their trauma, but the ending of the novel does not give off the impression that the mourning process for Gwangju that has taken place will allow us to simply redress it, inscribe it into history and move on. On the contrary, *La voz dormida* hints at a clear future through the figure of Tensi, the daughter of an imprisoned woman and a man who was part of the guerrilla and died fighting for communism. Tensi, who carries her mother's name and nickname, chooses to take part in the political fight that her parents died for when she comes of age, inspired by the testimony in her mother's diary.

Whilst *La voz dormida* is concerned with redressing the wrongs of the recent Spanish past, *Sonyeoni Onda* presents the events at Gwangju as part of a bigger picture, relating them to other circumstances in which human beings suffered at the hands of others, and posing questions regarding humanity that go beyond a specific time and place. The links that the novels trace to the present are thus very different. *La voz dormida* seeks to set the victims to rights so that they can have a place of honor in the history of Spain that fits with a democratic country, and writing the novel is clearly a helpful step in doing so. The novel is the answer to those who have given their testimony to the author, cited in the back matter. On the other hand, the characters in *Sonyeoni Onda* continually call to the present as ghosts who ask to be remembered, bringing into view something that has not been set right and which cannot be easily fixed, and the novel is not presented to us as a completed memory work that can make Gwangju into a part of South Korea's past, but as the step into the direction of mourning and redress that was possible considering the situation.

Literature can help re-establish the memories of victims of state violence,

bringing their plight to a wider audience and encouraging the general public to engage with the issues that affect victims, survivors and bereaved families. When society has failed victims, fiction can become the seed for a new discussion of past wrongdoings, and a channel to facilitate a social redress. Like in the Spanish and South Korean context at the time of writing of these novels, literature can create a bridge of understanding between generations, opening up discussion around issues of the past that are nonetheless still relevant in the present.

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국문초록

문학은 타인의 고통을 어떻게 윤리적으로 다루어야 하는가. 이 논문에서는 국가 폭력 피해자의 이야기를 전면에 내세운 두 가지 시도를 살펴본다. 둘세 차콘(Dulce Chacón)의 「잠자는 목소리(La voz dormida)」와 한강의 「소년이 온다」가 그 주인공이다. 2002년 작 ‘잠자는 목소리’는 스페인 내전(1936~1939년) 그 이후와 프랑코 독재 초기를 배경으로 삼는다. 공화국을 지지했다는 이유로 라스 벤타스(Las Ventas)의 여성 교도소에 수감된 여러 여성과 그들의 가족 및 지인들의 고난을 다룬다. 이 소설의 삼인칭 서술자에게는 두 목소리가 있다. 하나는 인물들의 말투를 모방하는 목소리고 다른 하나는 인물의 생각에 역사적인 사실을 덧붙이는 목소리다. 서술자의 목소리는 증언자의 발화 패턴을 모방하고, 사실적 증거로 증언을 뒷받침하여 소설을 비록 허구적이나 증언에 대한 글로 완성한다. ‘소년이 온다’(2014)는 1980월 5월 대한민국 광주에서 일어난 민주화 시위에 뒤따른 잔혹한 국가 탄압으로 희생된 피해자와 유족의 이야기를 다룬다. 또한 마지막 장에 인물로서 소설의 가상 작가를 등장시켜 타인의 고통에 대한 글쓰기의 문제점을 탐구한다. ‘소년이 온다’는 각 장마다 일인칭, 삼인칭 그리고 이인칭 화자를 다양하게 활용한다. 이를 통해 소설은 이인칭으로 호명되는 독자에게 다양한 영향과 정동을 야기한다.

이 논문은 죽은 후 꿈에서 아버지를 불러 자신이 불타고 있음을 알아달라고 부탁하는 불타는 아이에 대한 프로이트의 이야기를 분석한 캐시 카루스(Cathy Caruth)의 연구에서 출발하여, 소설 속에서 타자와의 관계, 특히 더 이상 말할 수 없는 사람과의 관계가 어떻게 성립되는지에 초점을 맞춘다. 이 이야기의 아버지는 깨어나고 살아남아서 세상을 떠난 아들의 죽음을 이야기해달라는 부름을 받는다. 그 순간부터 그는 더 이상 스스로 말할 수 없는 누군가의 이야기를 전달하는 존재가 된다. 두 작품에서 생존자들은 살아남아 자신의 이야기를 전하라는 다른 피해자의 부름을 받고, 이를 통해 저항, 애도, 증언이라는 서로 다르지만, 상호보완적인 세 가지 반응을 취하게 된다.

일부 등장인물의 경우 타인의 부름이 분노를 촉발함에 따라 이를 저항의 자세로 바꾸어, 가능하다고 믿지 않았던 도전에 나설 수 있게 된다. 생존자들은 애도를 통해 친구와 가족의 충격적인 죽음을 받아들이게 된다. 하지만, 두 소설의 역사적 배경 내에서는 적절한 애도가 이루어질

수 없다. 애도가 성공을 거두려면 사회적 성격을 띠어야 하는데, 희생자를 국가의 적으로 묘사하는 독재 정권의 억압은 집단적 애도를 허용하지 않는다. 그렇기에 두 소설은 후대의 애도를 가능케 하는 기록의 역할을 강조한다. 사건 당시에는 적절한 애도가 이루어질 수 없었으므로, 두 소설은 애도의 장이 되어 가상의 희생자와 유족이 소설 속에서 발언하게 하고, 독자를 참여시켜 그들(독자)을 타자의 부름을 받아들이는 새로운 수신자로 지정한다. 증언하는 것, 즉, 일어난 일을 마침내 서술하고 죽음이나 극도의 잔인함을 직면함에 따라 생겨난 트라우마를 언어로 형상화하는 것은 자신의 고통을 기억하고 기록해 달라고 요청하는 타인의 부름에 대한 최후의 응답이다. ‘잠자는 목소리’는 증언을 최선의 선택으로 제시한다. 살아남아 역사/이야기를 전하면서 타인이 이를 대신 쓰게 두지 않는 것이 올바른 윤리적, 정치적 선택으로 묘사된다. 그러나 ‘소년이 온다’는 증언을 하기 위해 고군분투하는 인물뿐만 아니라 희생자에게 자신의 고난을 증언하라고 요구하는 사람들의 모티브에 의문을 제기함으로써 증언을 문제시한다. 타자의 부름에 성공적으로 응답하기 위해서는 수신자가 타인과의 관계를 유지하거나 재구축하여 자신의 이야기를 듣고 지지해줄 커뮤니티를 확보해야 한다. 그러나 때로는 이 청취자가 소설의 세계 바깥에 있을 수도 있다. 궁극적으로 이러한 타자의 부름은 소설을 통해 독자에게까지 전파되어 횃불을 들고 희생자와 그들의 이야기를 기억해 달라고 부탁한다. ‘잠자는 목소리’의 경우, 소설의 북토크가 독재정권 시절 투옥되거나 억압받았던 여성들이 관심을 두고 기꺼이 들어주는 사람들에게 자신의 이야기를 들려줄 수 있는 증언의 장으로 자리매김하면서 문자 그대로의 성격을 띠게 되었다. 즉, 소설은 실제 피해자들이 증언할 수 있는 새로운 공간을 창조했다. 이 두 소설은 희생자와 독자 사이의 연결고리를 구축하려고 하는 동시에 현재에서 고통스러운 과거를 바라보는 두 가지 방법을 제시한다.