

## The Existential Theme in the *Teatro mayor* of Max Aub

ELLIOT S. GLASS

Max Aub was born in Paris in 1903 of German and French parents. His first eleven years were spent in a comfortable bourgeois atmosphere "rodeado de todas las comodidades que una familia de comerciantes prósperos podía ofrecerle."<sup>1</sup> Aub's father had kept his German nationality, and when the first World War erupted, the family was forced to relocate. The choice was Valencia. From 1923 until his departure in 1939, Aub played an active role in the intellectual and cultural life of Spain. In addition to writing poetry, novels, and plays, he was a theatrical director, a film maker, and a cultural administrator. After the fall of the Republic, Aub fled to France where he was soon interned in a concentration camp. With the aid of the Resistance, he got out of the camp and on to a ship that took him to Mexico. It was during this voyage that he began to write the first of his six "dramas históricos" which make up his *Teatro mayor*.<sup>2</sup> These plays which convey the message "sálvese quien pueda"<sup>3</sup> reflect what Aub witnessed from 1939 to 1949.

Some critics claim that these plays which "gritan males y advierten"<sup>4</sup> do not possess a coherent unifying theme. Ricardo Domenech, for example, speaks about "la multiplicidad de temas";<sup>5</sup> Ramón Velarde asserts that "en el *Teatro mayor* de Aub uno ve casi tantos temas como personajes";<sup>6</sup> María Calderón remarks that "no hay tema unificador en su teatro";<sup>7</sup> and Arturo del Hoyo stresses the cohesiveness in the nature of the plays rather than in the thematic elements:

Y así, Max Aub, polarizado inicialmente en lo popular y en la vanguardia, en lo tradicional y en lo renovador, se encontró un día entregado a un teatro popular y políticamente combativo.<sup>8</sup>

A careful perusal of Aub's *Teatro mayor*, however, reveals that these didactic plays do have a well-defined theme built around a *Weltanschauung* that emerged

out of Aub's "descanso en el campo de concentración."<sup>9</sup> It was here that Aub, like Sartre, came to realize that subjectivity, not objectivity and reason, counts in an absurd, disoriented world and that concerning oneself with metaphysical, ontological, and epistemological questions only leads to a paralysis of the will—what some inmates called "barbed wire sickness." Aub also agrees with Sartre that there is no divine guidance and that man, as his own creator, is responsible for himself; man makes of himself what he can and in no way is tied to a pre-ordained "soul" or "being" that dictates his behavior or the terms of his existence. For Aub:

A pesar de su circunstancia el hombre es libre . . . es responsable de sus propios actos, cada decisión, incluso las más irrelevantes, tiene importancia, sin estar éstas en ninguna manera predeterminadas.<sup>10</sup>

It is this Sartrean concept which provides the thematic cohesion that unifies Aub's *Teatro mayor*. It is certainly not strange that Aub's "dramas históricos" are linked by an existential bond, because like his characters, Max Aub found himself in an absurd world deprived of illusions, a world in which he was in perpetual exile because he had been stripped of his memories of a homeland and lacked a deep faith in the promised land. Nevertheless, Aub is not like those existentialists who sought only to underscore some aspect of "la nada." In his theatre, existentialism becomes a philosophy of resistance and liberation. Neither Aub nor his characters lose all faith: when there is choice, there is freedom, and when there is fight left, there is hope. From *San Juan* (1942) to *No* (1949) we see a theatrical expression in which there is an attempt to reconcile man's sense of void and despair with his need to recover a justification for life and self-respect. The characters of *Teatro mayor* experience an encounter with a meaningless world, and they either succumb to it or they overcome it through a personal resolution. Those who surmount it do so by confronting their situation no matter how frustrating or desperate that situation may be.

Aub wrote a good portion of *San Juan* while en route to Mexico on "un barco francés peor que este San Juan."<sup>11</sup> The *San Juan* leaves Europe with a cargo of uprooted Jews who were fleeing from the exterminating Nazi juggernaut. When no country will offer asylum to these "stateless" souls, their escape to freedom becomes a voyage of the damned, a journey similar to that taken by Jorge Semprun in *The Long Voyage* and that described by García Lorca in his poem, "El cementerio judío."

From the children to the elderly on board there is an oppressive awareness of being imprisoned by an irrational cruel world. The children's pirate game at the beginning sets the tone. When a little girl tells her playmate that she does not want to be a prisoner, she is quickly reminded, "Eres prisionera, quieres o no" (p. 358). Nevertheless, in the first two acts, the young adults, with the exception of Carlos, are optimistic. Efraim and Raquel realize that it is useless to contemplate "una vida normal" because such a life is unattainable for them or for anyone else, but they are in love and find solace in their mutual affection. Leva, an idealistic communist, is busy planning an escape because he feels that "siempre se puede hacer algo sea donde sea" (p. 364).

By having one of the passengers ask the captain: "¿Qué peligro representamos para la humanidad? ¿Qué peligro para América? . . . ¿Es que el Brasil no es bastante grande? ¿Ya no cabe nadie en Palestina?" (pp. 372-3). Aub is able to poignantly underscore man's inhumanity toward man as well as the chilling indifference of the "democracies" to the plight of the persecuted.

Carlos is a brash, sarcastic, and arrogant youth who has a volatile personality and a passion for life. When he hears others speaking of a brighter future while at the same time passively accepting their current situation, he becomes verbally abusive. For him life is too precious to waste away praying and waiting patiently for some country to welcome a ship of pariahs. He devises a plan to escape, jumps overboard, and swims to shore. When he is caught, he denies being a Jew, but he is eventually brought back on board. Although he despairs because he knows that his fate is sealed by "la sangre que Dios nos ha dado" (p. 364), he does not lose his rebelliousness, and most of his energy is dedicated to trying to incite to action all who have lost the will to fight. For Carlos, resignation is tantamount to death, and he rails at all those who have resigned themselves:

¿Qué? ¡Ahí estáis todos, como borregos! Os vais a dejar llevar de nuevo al matadero. Porque vamos a llevar anclas con el día. Si no los sabéis, os lo digo yo. Ningún país quiere nada con nosotros. . . . Y sois los más, aquí a bordo, y harán con vosotros lo que les dé la gana. ¿No sentís vibrar vuestros puños? Estáis todos muertos, montón pestilente. Cadáveres hediondos, putrefactos. . . . ¿Hasta cuándo? ¿No hay nada en vosotros de la semilla de los hombres? ¡Judíos habíais de ser, despreciables! Preferís lamer la bota de César, creyendo que con despreciarlo y odiarlo en vuestro corazón os basta para salvaros. . . . Un solo verdugo basta para conducir os a la muerte. ¡Y vosotros satisfechos con vuestra costra de miseria, pensando que es una marca del Señor! ¿No se os suben las entrañas a la garganta? Ahora os volverán a los presidios. . . . Llorad: "¡Qué desgraciados somos! ¡Qué perseguidos!" Cuando más os insultan, más os hundís en vuestra miseria. Os encenagáis de propia compasión. ¡Puercos, alzaos! ¡Gritad, incapaces! ¡Muertos impotentes! ¿Tanto os pesa vuestro Dios que no os podéis mover? ¿No se levanta una voz? ¡Murmullas, no: una voz! ¡No os sentís capaces . . . ! (pp. 386-387).

Leva believes that "se puede hacer algo." Carlos feels that "se tiene que hacer algo." For Carlos one must rebel if for no other reason than to express one's freedom and sense of self-worth. Even though on one occasion Carlos remarks, "la casualidad me resuelve lo que no me atrevía a afrontar" (p. 403), we see in his attempt to escape, in his refusal to aid the ship's crew in a devastating storm, and finally in his attitude toward death, rebellious acts and conscious choices that indicate his awareness of a sense of freedom. As the ship is sinking and the others are either in a state of shock or abject despair, Carlos asserts his final measure of freedom—a kind of freedom inconceivable to the others. By crossing his arms and shouting, "¡Sport! ¡Sport! ¡Ra! ¡Ra! ¡Ra!" (p. 409), he seems to be telling us that death is not to be feared; it is merely the culmination of a meaningless sport-like ritual. Sartre once remarked:

Man can be tortured, but as long as he retains his consciousness and says NO, he is free; however tiny this area of action may be for him, this decision gives him dignity as a man.<sup>12</sup>

Carlos has followed this philosophy throughout the play; he has repeatedly said "no" and at the end when there is nothing more to say "no" to, he asserts his last measure of freedom by cheering on his own death.

As the final curtain falls, a Rabbi is reciting the passage from Job that emphasizes man's inability to comprehend God's ways, leaving the spectators with a Kafkaesque vision of men judged and found guilty in a kind of punishment without a crime, a vision of innocent victims of an unappealing power, a senseless outrage! We observe in the character of Carlos an absolute despair coupled with a profound desire to live, all of which leads to a state of permanent rebellion. In short, we see the same synthesis that is so often found in the works of Albert Camus.

While José Monleón's remark that *La vida conyugal* (1942) focuses on "el comportamiento de un intelectual en tiempos de dictadura"<sup>13</sup> is accurate, it is, nevertheless, incomplete since there is no mention of the crucial dialectic which Aub sets up between his two protagonists. Ignacio, the self-indulgent writer, who is unable to act, communicate, or find meaning or purpose in life, is constantly confronted by Samuel, the rebellious "man of action," who finds that in political action he achieves absolute liberty and the ability to relieve the world of its contingent absurdity. As Ignacio laments "Haga lo que haga no ha de servir para nada. . . . Hablamos en el vacío para nuestro vacío dolorido. Encajonados sin salida" (p. 335), Samuel expresses his belief that if one does not remain passive, relinquish the will to act, or give up "el deseo de ganar" (p. 335), then there is hope for a world "a la deriva." As Samuel observes Ignacio vacillating between his mistress and his wife, he advises him to break out of his state of indecision and exercise his dormant will. For Samuel one must "procurar estar encima de uno mismo, controlarse" (p. 338). When Ignacio announces that his only goal in life is to some day have his name in a history of literature, Samuel cries out: "¡Te importa el nombre, no tú mismo! ¡Una vida de papel!" (p. 337).

Like Sartre, Aub viewed literary creation as a form of "engagement." For Max Aub there was nothing worse than an uncommitted writer. Reflecting on the type of writer who only moaned as he watched the world go by, Aub states:

En nuestra época el pacifismo es el más cruel de los engaños. Si un escritor no llega a hacer hombre de su tiempo, y si no tiene lo necesario para ser un hombre de todos los tiempos, no es escritor, ni hombre.<sup>14</sup>

Aub's message is clear. In a chaotic totalitarian world, the man who abrogates his will and allows himself to become paralyzed by his circumstance is destined to become a pawn. Ignacio is the pawn of his conjugal relationship, of his dream of immortality through his self-pitying treatise, *Soledad contra soledad*, and of the blind forces operative in the police state. Through Aub's *portavoz*, Samuel, we hear more than the faint rebellious cries of Carlos and Leva. We now hear a call to social action from a character who has not lost hope.

We can see even more clearly Aub's insistence on a constructive ethic of

revolt in his third play, *El rapto de Europa o siempre se puede hacer algo* (1943). The two-part title suggests that despite the vile degradation Europe was experiencing, something could be done. The action centers on the trials and successes of Margarita Dodge, a determined American woman who risks her life daily in order to aid refugees of the Nazi holocaust.

As in his two previous plays, Aub voices a deep concern for Europe's reaction to fascism. Through one of his characters, he tells us:

Creímos que se acercaba el gran día de la libertad y he visto hacer el fascismo. ¿Qué rapto de locura sacude a Europa? ¿Qué afán de todos de ponerse en manos de otros? ¿Qué prurito de obedecer, agachar las orejas, el yugo en la cerviz? Atropellar y negar la propia voluntad (p. 434).

By revolving the action around the strong-willed Margarita with her spirited mixture of undying determination and idealism, practical ingenuity and inner strength, Aub shows us a positive alternative to what Bozzi refers to as the "anhelo de obedecer y de rebajarse a peón movido por mano ajena" (p. 434).

Because of his experience in camps and in the Resistance, Aub was familiar with the responsibility and courage necessary to be effective in such circumstances. Margarita's behavior epitomizes this kind of intrepidity. When her friend Hope tells her not to become involved in what concerns only Hope's employer, the United States Government, Margarita's answer is:

Si ustedes no se preocupan, alguien lo tiene que hacer . . . si puedo aliviar la suerte de algunos hombres, ¿por qué no he de hacerlo? (pp. 427-28).

Passive inactivity and resignation were to be avoided at all costs. For Aub, a valid basis for moral choices in a despairing world was not to be found in abstract principles nor in an unrealistic faith in history. It was to be found in revolt itself. Margarita's reply to the cry, "¿Qué hacer en medio de tanta persecución?" (p. 433), is "siempre se puede hacer algo." Not to act, not to rebel, is for her to relinquish one's freedom. Aub, like Victor Frankl, believed that man must never give up his ability to make decisions, because ultimately his personal freedom depends on that ability.<sup>15</sup> When Bozzi affirms that he feels free despite the constraints imposed upon him, Adela questions whether or not this feeling derives from his attitude that he can die "como le dé la gana"; Bozzi responds that "pues, algo es algo" (pp. 434-5). In contrast to the positive characters, Margarita and Bozzi, there are, as in all of Aub's *Teatro mayor*, a number of refugees "a la deriva" who serve to remind us of the extent to which dehumanization and oppression have succeeded in disabling man's will to act. Through Margarita, Aub indicates that the first step in regaining the will to act and in overcoming the malevolent forces of fascism is to affirm the value of life. When one refugee exclaims, "no hago más que correr de la esperanza al miedo. . . . Ya no hay tierra firme para mí. Todo se me vuelve blando, inseguro, bamboleante," Margarita answers simply, "pero vives, ¿verdad?" (p. 456).

In *El rapto de Europa* Aub's use of irony in his choice of characters' names further accentuates their contrasting natures. Margarita, who never sidesteps her responsibility to herself or to others is called Miss Dodge, and Hope is the name given to a personage who expresses a philosophy antithetical to her name.

In *Morir por cerrar los ojos* (1944), Aub does not focus on "el sufrimiento del hombre, sino el de una nación" (p. 469). The action centers on the conflict between two Spanish brothers who find themselves in a concentration camp in France in the summer of 1940. Julio, an avid francophile who feels that his internment was a mistake, is the camp *chivato*; he epitomizes the myopic apolitical "petite bourgeoisie," while Juan, the committed anti-fascist political activist, is the camp leader. Through Julio and a host of "petite bourgeoisie" characters, Aub shows us why France was conquered long before the arrival of the Nazis. With great candor Madame Couttee remarks:

¿Por qué hacemos esta guerra? Por los ingleses y los judíos. Si los alemanes quieren tener a Hitler, a nosotros, ¿qué nos va, ni nos viene? Por lo menos ha acabado con todos los que chupan la sangre al pueblo. . . . Lo que debíamos haber hecho era entendernos con Alemania y con Italia . . . (p. 491).

Luisa, another character representing the attitude of the small store keepers, declares:

¡Por vuestra culpa tenemos la guerra! ¡Toda esa hez infecta de españoles, de balcánicos, de árabes, de judíos, sucios, asesinos indecentes, ladrones asquerosos, sólo movidos por envidia de nuestra riqueza, populacho indecoroso que hiede! (p. 544).

Aub postulates that the people of France, by closing their eyes to what was really happening and to their responsibility, let their nation die. Through the voice of an officer, Aub explains that "Francia tenía un cáncer y nadie lo sabía, o mejor, nadie se quería dar cuenta" (p. 539). There were no foreign devils or traitors responsible, because the downfall of France was:

una traición sin traidores, una suma incalculable de pequeñas cobardías. Traidor es el que engaña, y aquí nadie ha intentado engañar a nadie. Todos estaban de acuerdo, desde siempre, en mendigar una tranquilidad ficticia que les dejará morir en paz y disfrutar las migajas que les dejaban (p. 539).

In *Morir por cerrar los ojos* we see the concentration camp as a school of daily heroism and comradeship as well as breeding ground for cowardice and resentment. Juan, with his indomitable rebellious spirit and his attitude that "castigos y recompensas las ganamos aquí todos los días, a todas horas en cualquier momento" (p. 496) is like Margarita. A somewhat minor character, Gerhard von Ruhr, looms large as another positive existential hero who accepts full responsibility for his acts and who is committed to an ethic of revolt. Von Ruhr, a German intellectual, despises the Nazis and vows that he will commit suicide before handing himself over to them. When Julio pleads with him to reconsider because "nada pierde por esperar," von Ruhr replies that that is not an alternative because "quedaría una duda acerca de mi actitud frente a los nazis" (p. 523). For him it was death rather than compromise. No one was able to wrest from him the all important freedom to say "no."

As in his other plays, we see characters adrift in an ominous bewildering

world. The comment of Juan's wife, Emilia, that she feels estranged, that she lacks will power, and that she remains "sin saber qué sentir sin pensamiento alguno en la cabeza, como si todo fuese vacío" (p. 515), describes the outlook of many of Aub's personages and especially that of María, Julio's wife. María maintains this attitude until she witnesses Emilia killed in a bombing raid and Juan executed while trying to escape from the camp. These experiences cause her to change from a passive spectator to an active resistant. Once again, Aub has demonstrated through his characters, this time Juan, von Ruhr, and María, that deprivation, injustice, and terror can provide the impetus for achieving freedom, self-fulfillment, and a measure of social action. Aub's posture in this respect brings to mind Sartre's declaration in *The Republic of Silence* that,

we were never more free than during the German occupation. We had lost all rights, beginning with the right to talk . . . but because an all powerful police tried to force us to hold our tongues, every word took on the value of a declaration . . . every one of our gestures had the weight of a solemn commitment . . . the choice that each of us made of his life was an authentic one because it was made face to face with death, because it could have been expressed in these terms "Rather death than. . ." And here I'm not speaking of just the Resistants, but of all Frenchmen who, at every hour of the night and day throughout the four years, answered NO.<sup>16</sup>

In 1944 Aub wrote *Cara y cruz* which brings to light the same conflict between ideals and efficacy that Camus treats in *Les Justes*. The tragic, inevitable downfall of an idealistic head of state who wants to bring about major social reform without resorting to dictatorial measures forms the basis for action in *Cara y cruz*. Molina, the militant reformer, like his counterpart Stephan in *Les Justes*, argues that any means is legitimate if it will contribute to the eventual reign of justice. He tries to make Ricardo, the president, see that "el instinto es más valioso que la razón" (p. 614) but the latter, like Kaliaev in *Les Justes*, does not want to subordinate morality to alleged efficacy. He tells Molina that he does not want to arm his supporters because "será suficiente aplicar la ley . . . el instinto sirve para destruir y nosotros queremos hacer lo contrario" (pp. 613-14). Ricardo shrugs off the comment of an astute politician, "un soñador de utopías pasadas de moda sin cabida y en la realidad" (p. 596), and ignores with disdain the warning that he must forcefully implement his reforms or he will be ousted. Instead, he chooses to believe that his "gobierno libremente escogido por el pueblo" cannot be overthrown by the petulant military. General Carrazco, whom Ricardo had pardoned earlier for an attempted coup, finally succeeds in overthrowing Ricardo's government. Carrazco moves swiftly to eliminate "la tiranía de profesores, de gentes cobardes acurrucadas tras los libros, para quienes más valen los versos o los cuadros que la Historia y las gestas del ejército" (p. 617). The trinity of the church, the army, and the wealthy emerge triumphant. As the new leader, Carrazco proclaims that "la felicidad es vivir tranquilo y para vivir tranquilo se necesita mucho orden y para mantenerlo no hay más que un medio" (p. 618). Because of his genuine commitment to reform, his revolutionary zeal, and his political sagacity, Molina is the first to be eliminated by Carrazco. But Aub reminds us through the "espectro de Molina" that no matter

what Carrasco does, those who rebel in the name of decency and justice will ultimately triumph.

Unlike the fulfillment through martyrdom achieved by Kaliaev, Ricardo is left with the sad realization that history will hold a dim view of him. He laments that "pasaré a la historia por lo que no fui. Nunca pude poner de acuerdo mis actos con mis deseos" (p. 627). While he is not the self-pitying intellectual that Ignacio is, Ricardo can hardly be called a committed reformer. Mesmerized by his own lofty ideals, spell-bound by his own noble words, he prevents himself from implementing measures that would have given his reforms a chance to reach those for whom they were intended.

In 1949 Aub wrote *No*, the last of his *Teatro mayor* plays. In this "Cold War" drama, we again see the positive ethic of revolt liberate and give a measure of freedom to those characters who have the courage necessary to confront the forces of an immoral world.

The action moves back and forth from an American processing center on one end of a railway platform to the Soviet equivalent on the other end of the station. In an atmosphere of pettiness and cruelty, the hopes and aspirations of dozens of refugees are thwarted by party hacks and narrow minded bureaucrats. Neither the Soviet nor the American side wants to accommodate these victims of circumstance and for many their hell is that endless wait for something to happen, for some sign of compassion or understanding. These displaced persons have been tossed about for years by external forces and in the process they have lost not only their will to fight back but also their identity as human beings. This loss of identity is clearly shown in a dialogue between Talcott, the American bureaucrat, and the refugee Gustavo. When the former asks Gustavo his name, the response is:

¿Yo? Nadie o ese que dicen en esos papeles. ¿No me conoce? Si no me conoce, ¿para qué quiere que le diga quién soy? ¿Qué ganará con saber que me llamo Luis, Rafael, Gedeón, Saúl o Enrique? ¿Qué gana? Nada, absolutamente nada. He dado tantos nombres por ahí, que ya no me acuerdo del que me pusieron. ¿Se da usted cuenta, mi general? Del que me pusieron. . . . No me consultaron entonces, y creo que uno no es responsable de los actos de los demás. ¿Usted quiere que yo tenga un nombre? Póngamelo. O un número, es más fácil. He tenido muchos. Hasta creo que me queda alguno tatuado en el brazo (pp. 656-7).

Like all of those who resigned themselves on the San Juan, Gustavo lacks will power and makes no attempt to determine his own destiny.

Aub's ideological posture becomes clear in *No*. The only "ism" to which he will subscribe is humanism. "No" is his answer to both communism and capitalism. Through his *portavoz*, Hermann, he states,

Creo en el hombre, el hombre de carne, hueso y libertad, soy optimista. Pasará lo que tiene que pasar, pero el mundo no se salvará por comunista o capitalista, sino por humano (p. 715).

Like Carlos in *San Juan*, Hermann decides that rebellion, not resignation, is the only acceptable alternative in his desperate situation. He will not accept "ese

fatalismo" because "la vida es más fuerte que todas las teorías y da soluciones cada día" (p. 715). When his wife is arbitrarily denied access to the West, Hermann responds by showing that he is not like "los demás." He rips up his identification papers and shouts that he feels free "por primera vez desde hace cerca de veinte años" (p. 733). With his renewed feeling of dignity, he proclaims, "¡soy hombre, no gusano!" (p. 733). Hermann's new spirit of rebellion inspires him to devise a daring escape plan for him and his wife. Before we learn the outcome of this plan, we find out that one of the refugees, who had given up hope, has committed suicide; then as the curtain falls we hear that Hermann and his wife have not been caught. Again we see how Aub, like Camus, answers "No" to the question, "Can we accept despair and do nothing about it?"<sup>17</sup> For both men, anguish and despair serve not as summits that cannot be overcome but rather as backdrops for heroic action.

In *Teatro mayor* there is a constant concern for regaining a sense of dignity and for achieving a measure of freedom, no matter how small, in a senseless world. Aub, like Camus, believed that man's greatness lies "in his decision to be stronger than his condition,"<sup>18</sup> and he brings before us an ethic of revolt in each of his plays. Carlos in *San Juan*, Samuel in *La vida conyugal*, Margarita in *El rapto de Europa*, Juan in *Morir por cerrar los ojos*, Molina in *Cara y cruz*, and finally Hermann in *No* represent different manifestations of this ethic. Each of these personages achieves a degree of freedom by confronting his/her *circunstancia* with the will and commitment necessary to overcome it. Each is free or liberated because he or she is a reflective, conscious individual of good faith who is aware of his or her personal and social responsibility. Aub contrasts these positive characters with the refugees who wander without purpose and with those individuals of bad faith like Ignacio, Julio, and Ricardo, who are half-conscious, deceptive, and live in a morass of self-delusion.

Aub's "dramas históricos" call our attention to the many who acquiesced to the forces that dehumanized, humiliated, and destroyed them and to the few who found meaning in their lives while contributing to the betterment of mankind by assuming full responsibility for their acts. Thus, *Teatro mayor*, much of which was published years before the existentialist playwrights began to write their plays, is both a condemnation of the self-defeating fatalists and a paean to those who call for action and show the way to personal liberty.

Queensborough Community College, CUNY

## Notes

1. Ignacio Soldevila Durante, "El español Max Aub," *La Torre*, Núm. 33 (1961), p. 103.
2. Personal interview with Max Aub, July, 1962.
3. Max Aub, *Teatro completo* (Mexico: Aguilar, 1968), p. 469.
4. Aub, p. 469.
5. Ricardo Domenech, "Introducción al teatro de Max Aub," *Morir por cerrar los ojos* (Barcelona: Ayma, 1967), p. 21.
6. Ramón Velarde, "El teatro de Max Aub," *Éxito* (Agosto, 1963), p. 15.
7. María Calderón, "Max Aub y su teatro," *Éxito* (Agosto, 1963), p. 38.
8. Arturo del Hoyo, "Prólogo," *Max Aub, Teatro completo* (México: Aguilar, 1968), pp. 18-19.
9. Personal interview with Max Aub, July, 1962.
10. Aub, interview.

11. *Teatro completo*. Hereafter only the page number of all quotes taken from this source will appear in the text.

12. Joseph K. Lanel, *Sartre* (New York: Danby, 1964), p. 220.

13. José Monleón, *El teatro de Max Aub* (Madrid: Taurus, 1971), p. 53.

14. José R. Marra-López, *Narrativa española fuera de España: 1939-1961* (Madrid: Ediciones Guardarrama), p. 1.

15. See Victor E. Frankl, *From Death Camp to Existentialism* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1961).

16. J. Ardereth, *Jean Paul Sartre* (New York: Grove Press, 1967), p. 131.

17. Germaine Bree, *Camus and Sartre: Crisis and Commitment* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1972), p. 138.

18. Albert Camus, *Resistance, Rebellion, and Death* (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 30.