

FRANCISCO FRANCO: AN EXPERIENCE IN VISUAL-ANALYTICAL PORTRAIT OF A DICTATOR (PART 2).

ФРАНСІСКО ФРАНКО: ДОСВІД ВІЗУАЛЬНО-АНАЛІТИЧНОГО ПОРТРЕТУВАННЯ ДИКТАТОРА (ЧАСТИНА 2).

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Abstract. *The purpose of the article is to construct a profile-typological characteristic of individual meso-identities of the Spanish dictator F. Franco, his individual bodily-morphological, psycho-behavioral, physiognomic, non-verbal-communicative, visual-symbolic features, as well as visual features of everyday life based on stories from everyday life.*

Franco's character as a recursion of a set of his identities (primarily religious and professional - military) acted simultaneously as a reflection of the habitus of the military class of Spain and a determinant of the regime he built, which combined the features of Catholicism and clerical integral nationalism. The features of the dictator's behavior presented in the photographs and videos, as well as in the descriptions of various authors (Lewis, 2002; Payne, 2011; Preston, 1994), create the necessary empirical basis for a fragmentary diagnosis of his character as an obsessive-compulsive narcissistic psychopathy with a strongly expressed narcissistic deficiency and peripheral signs of an oral-schizoid constitution.

Such a multi-base character structure corresponded, on the one hand, to Franco's Jewish (Marrano) identities, and, on the other hand, to a set of Ibero-Mediterranean ethnocultural identities expressed in the anthropological and physiognomic features of the dictator's appearance and observed behavior in different periods of his life. Franco's strategy of life activity reflected the results of the completed ethnocultural assimilation of his ethnic identities by the national-territorial (civil-state) identities of Spain, which received a specific refraction in the choice of Falangist symbols. The unconscious motivational background of her choice was determined by both a number of generalized socio-cultural factors and the psychobiographical features of Franco, oriented toward the image of the Trastamara dynasty as a referential identity, including for the restoration of the monarchy in Spain. Franco the restorer himself perceived himself as a caudillo (leader) with monarchical powers obtained not in line with traditional monarchical legitimacy, but as a result of a new type of crusade (against the communists and liberals), which implied a counter-modernization understanding of the socio-historical mission of Spain in Europe.

Key words: *Francoism, ethnic identities, professional identities, types of character organization, visual symbols, nonverbal communications.*

Анотація. *Мета статті – побудувати профільно-типологічну характеристику індивідуальних мезоідентичностей іспанського диктатора Ф. Франко, його індивідуальних*

тілесно-морфологічних, психоповедінкових, фізіогномічних, невербально-комунікативних, візуально-символічних особливостей, як а також візуальні особливості повсякденного життя на основі історій із повсякденного життя.

Характер Франко як рекурсія набору його ідентичностей (передусім релігійної та професійної – військової) виступав водночас як відображення габітусу військового класу Іспанії та детермінанта побудованого ним режиму, який поєднував риси католицизму та клерикалізму. інтегральний націоналізм. Особливості поведінки диктатора, представлені на фотографіях і відео, а також в описах різних авторів створюють необхідну емпіричну основу для фрагментарної діагностики його характеру як обсессивно-компульсивна нарцистична психопатія з різко вираженим нарцистичним дефіцитом і периферичними ознаками орально-шизоїдної конституції.

Така багатоосновна структура характеру відповідала, з одного боку, єврейській (марранській) ідентичності Франко, а з іншого — набору іберо-середземноморських етнокультурних ідентичностей, виражених в антропологічних і фізіогномічних особливостях зовнішнього вигляду диктатора та спостерігав поведінку в різні періоди свого життя. Стратегія життєдіяльності Франко відображала результати завершеної етнокультурної асиміляції його етнічних ідентичностей національно-територіальними (громадянсько-державними) ідентичностями Іспанії, що отримало своєрідне заломлення у виборі фалангістської символіки. Неусвідомлене мотиваційне підґрунтя її вибору було зумовлене як низкою узагальнених соціокультурних чинників, так і психобіографічними особливостями Франко, орієнтованими на образ династії Трастамари як референтної ідентичності, в тому числі для реставрації монархії в Іспанії. Сам Франко-реставратор сприймав себе як каудильйо (лідера) з монархічними повноваженнями, отриманими не в рамках традиційної монархічної легітимності, а в результаті нового типу хрестового походу (проти комуністів і лібералів), який передбачав контрмодернізаційне розуміння суспільно-історична місія Іспанії в Європі.

Ключові слова: франкізм, етнічні ідентичності, професійні ідентичності, типи організації характеру, візуальні символи, невербальні комунікації.

Introduction. This article reflects the results of the author's previous research (*Romanenko, 2021, 29-47; Romanenko, 2022, 1(55), 9-16; Romanenko, 2023, 1 (57), 5-14; Romanenko, 2023, 1(58), 12-27; Romanenko, 2022, 93, 38-61; Romanenko, 2022, 94, 8-30; Romanenko, Svyatnenko, 2023, 98, 40-51; Romanenko, 2023, 97, 42-56; Romanenko, 2024, 101, 40-57*) in the first part of the article, which gives the author grounds to consider it necessary to refer to already published works in order to avoid repetitions.

In the second part of the article, the author continues the fragmented visual-analytical identification of the morphotypological, psycho-behavioral, anthropological-physiognomic, visual-symbolic features of Franco's personality and visual images in the cultural and social environment-space constructed by his regime.

The purpose of the article. The purpose of the article is to construct a profile-typological characteristic of individual meso-identities of the Spanish dictator F. Franco, his individual bodily-morphological, psycho-behavioral, physiognomic, non-verbal-communicative, visual-symbolic features, as well as visual features of everyday life based on stories from everyday life.

Literature review. The works that were used as a basis for writing the article can be divided into 4 groups.

The first group presents publications previously written by the author of this article, dedicated to other dictators and despots, where the techniques of cultural and socio-systemological and visual-analytical identification of identities were used (*Romanenko, 2021, 29-47; Romanenko, 2022, 1(55), 9-16; Romanenko, 2023, 1 (57), 5-14; Romanenko, 2023, 1(58), 12-27; Romanenko, 2022, 93, 38-61; Romanenko, 2022, 94, 8-30; Romanenko, Svyatnenko, 2023, 98, 40-51; Romanenko, 2023, 97, 42-56; Romanenko, 2024, 101, 40-57*).

The second part of the works is devoted to the topic of studying Francoism as a national-integralist regime of the fascist type, which pays attention to both Franco's personality and the features of the state he built. (*Brovko, 2002; Casanova, 2010; Franco, 1981; Lewis, 2002; Moradiellos, 2022; Payne, 2011; Preston, 1994*).

The third group of works presents psychoanalytic studies and works on anthropological physiognomy, which allow us to additionally identify part of Franco's ethno-anthropological identities (*Hödl, 2004; Hödl, 1997; Lowen, 1969; Lowen, 1958; McWilliams, 1994; Ostrovsky, 2008; Presner, 2007; Szegeda, 2009*).

The fourth part of the works is represented by articles on visual anthropology and sociology of visual images, which present an analysis of the everyday life of the population of Spain during the Franco period (*Di Febo, 2011; Dunai, 2019; Goma and Tomas, 1938; Haz y Yugo; Otero-Gonzalez, 2021; Ruiz, 2022; Solé, Dra, 2017*).

A separate group of supporting works for the article are articles on social philosophy, which allow for a better understanding of the socio-cultural context of Francoism, in particular, on the Spanish version of M. Unamuno's philosophy of life, including commentary articles on the designated topic, as well as the works of Franco himself (*Franco, Francisco (Jakin Boor) (2003). Kovalchuk, Yu (2015). Ortega y Gasset, Jose (1957). Unamuno, Miguel de. 1913*).

Since this article is the second part as a logical continuation of the previously published first part, which presents a detailed review of the sources used, as well as a number of other similar publications, the author considers it unnecessary to do this again and refers interested readers to previous publications that have a common theoretical and methodological foundation.

Main results of the research. Morphotypic and psycho-behavioral features of the visual image of the dictator. The description of Franco in a significant part of the articles and monographs makes it possible to imagine the image of a schizoid body, endowed with signs of thinness, subtlety, shyness and emotional detachment / unsociability in relation to the social environment. Franco, according to the characteristics of his colleagues, was thin as a match, for which he received the corresponding nickname. To this visual image was added a short stature (164 cm), which could create some additional affective complexes.

However, the central affective complex of a schizoid personality is described in the work of A. Lowen betrayal of the body (*Lowen, 1969, 41-59*). It is worth noting that Lowen himself associates the affective complexes of the schizoid personality with the dual affect of horror before absorption/destruction and the desire for all-consuming activity. It is this all-consuming activity that schizoid personalities prefer to contacts with people, which in their psycho-behavioral characteristics is consistently associated with communicophobia and sociophobia. Maintaining a distance, avoiding emotionally charged discussions, pronounced introversion, the ability to move away from interest in personalities to the plane of the suprapersonal complement this psychological portrait.

Franco's psycho-behavioral repertoires as a representative of the military caste could not be separated from his military career. But a military career in general requires a psychopathic character organization (*McWilliams, Nancy 1994, 167*). Without psychopathic fanaticism, will to power, cold rationality, the ability to show cruelty towards enemies, an instrumental attitude towards human resources (for psychopaths, people are nothing more than a resource for profitable use), total extraction of benefits, a continuous philosophy of the rational-utilitarian with the subordination of everything ethical and aesthetic to the instrumental-rational component - in such markers, psychopathy reveals itself to the environment.

But no psychopath could have succeeded without a hero's career, since the "mission" of a psychopathic personality requires grandiose results and the accompanying glorification. Franco was no exception here. He entered the Army Academy in Toledo precisely in order, by his own admission, to become a man.

Psychopathic courage in characterology can be revealed through the confrontation of a psychopathic personality and a superior force of any origin. It is important that in this confrontation

the postulate that it is worthy to be proud of a worthy enemy, and unworthy enemies dishonor the one who opposes them, is confirmed for psychopaths.

Completing the characterological structure from schizoidism to psychopathy involves role models that become constitutive prototypes for idealizations and devaluations. In Franco's relationship, it is worth noting the split between the images of his father and mother as poles of devaluation and idealization. From a psychoanalytic point of view, the pole of devaluation can be a stronger pole than the pole of idealization, since the unwanted and externally rejected, according to the paradoxical logic of the unconscious, turns out to be stronger and more influential than the desired and deified.

Franco idealized his devout Catholic mother, the personification of piety, restraint, self-discipline and traditionalism/conservatism. Most of his own voluntarily ethical defenses and inhibitions of obsessive-compulsive origin were derived from his Catholic upbringing and the corresponding "inoculations" of the morally idealized image of a worthy son, who, due to his physical-constitutional and, in part, mental weakness, was forced to fight "on two fronts": to correspond to the ideal mother and, in parallel, in the mode of methodically overcoming the difficulties of a military career that did not suit him, neutralize the continuous devaluations of his father. He devalued him (the nonconformist father) as a troublemaker, a reveler, a womanizer, and his relationship with his father did not go well because of his lowest filial rating.

As a result, the identification program was realized on the basis of identification with the mother's behavior patterns to realize the perfect version of the father's image. Franco became the best version of his father, which represented the full realization of the revenge program, since the avenger cannot fully take revenge if he does not morally surpass the object of revenge and does not assert "higher morality" with his methods of revenge.

Franco Pilar-Jaraiz (*Franco, 1981*) described Franco's father's devaluation of him as a son. His father always devalued him, while building a chain of humiliating comparisons to Franco's disadvantage between his brother Ramon (the most talented), Nicolás (whom his father called a liar), and Poquito (a diminutive nickname for Francisco), whom his father called a fool. Franco Sr.'s attitude toward his son did not change even after Franco had won the dictator's victory and the title of caudillo. His father never missed an opportunity to ridicule him in this image, which, of course, contributed to the incitement of hostility. For Franco, his father became not just the embodiment of adultery, drunkenness, and a dissolute lifestyle. He was the first prototype of a phenomenon that was unfolding on the public plane - anarchy.

As already noted in the first part of this article, Franco's psychopathy was able to receive a value supplement/superstructure in the Latin Catholic vision of the mission of Spain by a number of Spanish philosophers and scientists, whose ideas were, as they say, well-known in the discourse of the elites and, in part, the general public. This includes, in particular, M. Menendez y Pilayo, J. Ortega y Gasset and, first of all, Miguel de Unamuno (Unamuno, 1913; Ковальчук, 2015).

Unamuno considers agony as the vital foundation of human existence, accessible, however, not to the masses, but to the elites. The struggle as the leitmotif of agonal philosophy is understandable as the unity of preserving faith in immortality with simultaneous doubt in this faith (an allusion to Tertullian's *credo quia absurdum est*) of the agonist individual. Unamuno, in the name of an ideal that seems madness to reason and common sense, in imitation of S. Kierkegaard, discredits common sense and good taste.

The philistines, who daily drink the poison of "stale common sense", are opposed by barbarians living with an agonal consciousness, Don Quixote madness. Unamuno's antagonist Millán de Astray (in the understanding of Unamuno - a barbarian) turns out to be paradoxically the most educated in his ignorance and the most learned in his barbarism. He, like a barbarian, bursts into the field of activity from another space, where other concerns, other prejudices reign - and who does not have them? - with a completely different view of the world and a different sense of life. J. Ortega y Gasset (*Ortega y Gasset, 1957*) should be considered no less significant for understanding the agonal-messianistic philosophy of the schizoid psychopath Franco, which was revealed in his

military career. It is no coincidence that P. Sainz-Rodriguez considers Franco to be obsessed with a military career.

The caste spirit of the Spanish military and its moral code contained elements of arrogance in relation to small people who preserve themselves for the sake of small joys of life. Ortega y Gasset describes the corruption of the mass man by such small joys of life in his work "The Revolt of the Masses" (*Ortega y Gasset, 1957*) which simultaneously expresses the class arrogance of a Don Quixote aristocrat and the psychopathic philosophy of a superman who follows the path of self-overcoming through agony and love for the Motherland. A psychopathic personality as a heroic personality requires initiation, either prosocial and value-ideal, or criminally base and dirty. This does not change the very need for such an instrument of "remelting and reforging" a non-man of yesterday who has already become a man today. Franco's psychopathic initiation took place in Morocco (1912-1926), where Spain was waging a colonial guerrilla war against the natives. The advance into Moroccan territory was extremely slow and difficult. In Franco's memoir "Morocco. Diary of a Flag," Franco describes it as follows:

"The military campaign in Africa is the best practical school (and perhaps the only one) for our army, it tests values and positive qualities, because the officers who fight in Africa must one day become the nerve and soul of the Iberian army. At noon I will receive permission from the general to punish those settlements that have been the source of resistance, from which the enemy attacks us. This is a difficult and pleasant task; to our right the terrain descends in the form of a ravine to the beach and at the foot is a long strip of small villages. While one unit opens fire on the houses to cover the maneuver, another cuts off the retreat by the shortest route, surrounding the settlements, and massacres all the inhabitants. Flames rise above the roofs of the houses, and the legionnaires pursue their inhabitants" (*Морадельос, 2022, 35*).

Franco's initiation ended with a bullet wound to the stomach during the battle near Ceuti, which behaviorally expresses the courage corresponding to the schizoid-psychopathic character organization. In this case, the courage itself is derived from the schizothymic temperament according to Kretschmer, whose bearer is predisposed to desensitization and significant insensitivity/insensitivity both in relation to his own body and the physical suffering of others. In the portrait of the schizoid organization of character by A. Lowen (*Lowen, 1969, 41-59; Lowen, 1958, 368-393*) in connection with Franco, it seems interesting to note the physical clumsiness/awkwardness and lack of coordination of body movements. As will become clear from the examination of the physical block, the schizoid block of the character structure manifested itself in the awkward, inappropriate gestures of the dictator.

The psychopathic component manifests itself in the predominance of the emotion of anger, sublimated and redirected for the purposes of disciplining oneself, personnel (subordinates) and the use of military terror tactics both in the colonial wars and subsequently in the civil war.

Regarding the latter, Franco's behavior displayed both psychopathic and compulsive features. The obsessive-compulsive character block was laid by maternal upbringing and demonstration of examples of restraint and piety. However, the formation of obsessive-compulsive behavioral traits is not limited to restraint and self-discipline, but also intolerance of disorder, as well as the tendency of the obsessive-compulsive personality to use time-consuming procedures for maintaining and restoring order. In the context of compulsive characterology, it becomes clear why Franco rejected the blitzkrieg strategy proposed by his German and Italian allies. The obsessive-compulsive component of character is responsible for the predominance of "cold" anger/rage over "hot".

Franco, as a compulsive psychopath, was not satisfied with quick success, since, in his words, it produced "moral liberation of the occupied territories" and the eradication of anarchism as an ideology of disorder. A quick conquest was not suitable for showing cold and slow anger towards communists and anarchists. Explaining this to the Italian ambassador R. Cantaluppo, Franco contrasted his obsessive-compulsive gradualism and the "iterative" nature of the occupation of Spanish territory ("city after city, village after village, one railroad after another...") (*Морадельос, 2022, 60*).

Physionomic features of Franco. Physiognomically, the forehead and nose dominate Franco's face (*Franco con uniforme de alférez, 1910*). The forehead is characterized by pronounced bald spots. The nose contains a clearly expressed elevation-convexity on the bridge of the nose, and has a characteristic sharpening at the tip. In general, the facial profile is anthropologically dominated by the features of the Indo-Mediterranean racial subgroup.

This racial subgroup lives, according to S. Szegeda (*Cezeda, 2009, 260*) in the Pyrenees, the Apennine Peninsula and the Balkans among the Spaniards, Portuguese, southwestern French, Italians and southern Greeks. The bearers of this racial subgroup are characterized by dark skin, dark curly hair, predominantly brown eyes (in some groups, according to the author, mixed shades are present in the amount of 10-25%), a straight narrow nose with a high bridge of the nose, average development of tertiary hair, dolicho- or mesocephalism, predominantly average height.

The fold of the upper eyelid is poorly developed, epicanthus is absent. Body proportions are often leptosomal (asthenic). In the archival photo of 1910, where Franco is captured in military uniform, the facial features are physiognomically isomorphic to the portrait sample of representatives of the Indo-Mediterranean racial subgroup, presented in the educational and scientific study of S. Szegeda. Of the anthropological features of the structure of the face and body of Franco, dolichocephaly, dark skin, dark hair, leptosomal (asthenic) features of the build are expressed (from the descriptions of the authors cited below).

The pronounced frontal bald spots of the schizoid type according to Lowen are complemented in this photo by close-set eyes with a characteristic downward bend of the outer ends and protruding ears towards the outer contour. The correlation of close-set eyes with narrowly focused visual perception and predominantly command-oriented single-tasking is confirmed by the characteristics of Franco's contemporaries, in particular, the German ambassador to Spain, General Wilhelm Faupel, and the Italian ambassador, Count Ciano (Mussolini's son-in-law).

In addition to the narrow vision of the theater of military operations, the tendency to unconditional obedience, physiognomically correlated with the lowered outer corners of the eyes, was associated with Franco's intolerance of criticism and discussions, a peremptory command and authoritarian management style, which was transferred to non-military spheres, from which the latter were specifically deformed (*Franco con uniforme de alférez, 1910*). Wilhelm Faupel privately characterized Franco, noting his advantages as courage, energy, sense of responsibility, sympathy, which he evokes with his open and honest character. At the same time, Faupel notes Franco's unsuitability for leading operations on the scale of a civil war (*Casanova, 2010*).

Count Ciano points to the same deficiency in a holistic concept of war, stating Franco's ability to conduct military operations as a good battalion commander and the capture of territory as the main goal. Ciano is surprised at Franco's lack of understanding that a war can be won by destroying the enemy, after which (destroying the enemy) "the capture of territory becomes a fairly simple task." (*Морадіельос, 2022, 60-69; Бровко, 2002*).

The protruding/pressed ears as a physiognomic dichotomy correlates with the pre-tuning of auditory perception to the current or remembered (imprinted in long-term memory) auditory experience. In general, current experience in any instrumental activity (including military) is served by empirical (technological) thinking, which is exactly what Ciano's characterization of Franco corresponds to.

Franco, as a "good battalion commander," had the necessary tactical thinking, which, however, did not prevent him from becoming the youngest general in Europe and being honored with the wedding escort of Alfonso XIII. However, Franco was all the more valuable as a general precisely because he had made his career from the lowest levels, confirming his strategic military competence with the skills of impeccable observance of orders from the high command in subordinate positions.

Some authors (of non-scientific origin) believe that Franco ethnically belonged to the Sephardim (Spanish Jews), linking his Jewish origin, including his surname (Franco), which means "honest". Thus, V. Ostrovsky in an article published in the magazine "Migdal" writes the following about Franco:

"They started talking about Francisco Franco's Jewish origins immediately after the war - and we must give credit to the Spanish ruler, who was considered a fanatical Catholic: he never stopped these conversations.

And it would be absurd to stop them: the surname Franco, a number of researchers suggest, spoke for itself and sounded to the Sephardic ear approximately the same as Fishman or Grinshpun sound to the Ashkenazi ear. In Spain, Jewish surnames derived from the names of settlements were generally widespread. By the way, not only in Spain, among the Ashkenazi Jews there were many Vilnius, Kishinevs, Varshavskis and Podolskis...

Franco is the name of a settlement in Galicia, where many Jews lived. Among the equally common Jewish surnames derived from geographical locations are Medina, Cordova, Toledano (very common among the Sephardim in Israel).

His ancestors on both his mother's and father's sides served in the navy - though mainly as administrators and quartermasters: it was believed that a Maran could not be a combat officer. Finally, one of Franco's ancestors at the end of the nineteenth century acquired a certificate of "purity of blood", and since then the men of this family have been naval officers without any quartermaster admixtures. But even the more than a century-old certificate did not save Franco from a purely Semitic appearance and, in particular, from his characteristic nose.

A gloomy and sinister figure, a tyrant, a dictator, a generalissimo-caudillo looked older than his years. "He had an unpresentable appearance - short (157 cm), short-legged, inclined to be overweight, with a thin, shrill voice and awkward gestures. His German friends looked at Franco with amazement: Semitic features were clearly visible in his face. There were enough reasons: on the Iberian Peninsula, the number of Jews in the Cordoba Caliphate reached one eighth of the population..." (*Островский, 2008*).

The generalized characteristics of the Semitic ethno-anthropological features of Franco's face are supplemented by data from other researchers, in particular K. Hödl and the authors he refers to in his works. In particular, we are talking about the shape of the head, which resembles an inverted pear and pronounced bald spots in the frontal part of the face, a hooked nose, characteristically heavy eyelids, a "goose" chin with a double fold, which is especially noticeable in photographs of the 60-70s, a reduced earlobe and a characteristic tilt of the ear (deviation from a straight line in the profile projection of the face) (*Hödl, 1997, 212-230; Hödl, 2004; Presner, 2007*).

Separate non-verbal-communicative features of Franco's behavior. According to L.-S. Fernandez, a thin and squeaky voice, which was combined with the asthenic-thin build of the "major", as his colleagues called him, thereby emphasizing the microid nature of his height and build. Such auditory features accompanied underdeveloped oratorical skills. Franco did not possess the ability to impromptu public speech like the hysterical psychopaths Hitler and Mussolini, whose speeches turned into real shows for the crowds. Fernandez notes Franco's mainly animated ability to voice the text from a piece of paper and read it without looking up from the score.

As V. Brovko notes in his essay (*Бровко, 2002*) on Franco, "circumstances that were extremely important not only for him, but for the country as a whole intervened in the fate of the future leader of Spain. We are talking about the war that broke out in 1898 between Spain and the United States of America. This war also adjusted the biography of Francisco Franco: he had to part with his dreams of a naval career." As the author further notes, the Spanish-American War nullified the potential of the Spanish fleet, at the same time, the country's economic capabilities did not allow the state to restore it. This led to structural unemployment of naval officers and a collapse of state orders, respectively, tightening the conditions for admission to the naval academy.

The severity of the admission conditions predetermined Franco's father's choice in favor of the infantry academy. The father, apparently, quite realistically assessed the psychophysical capabilities of his son (short stature, physical weakness) and did not wait for better times. Franco himself did not object to his father's will, successfully passing the entrance exams and becoming a first-year cadet of the Toledo Infantry Academy at the age of 14.

V. Brovko writes: "The first acquaintance with the harsh life of the Alcazar was quite a difficult test for Francisco. The short, delicate to the point of fragility teenager was subjected to a

lot of ridicule from his comrades - for his height, which was less than 160 cm, and for the fact that among the more than 300 first-year students at the academy, he was the youngest. To top off the troubles, the commander of the cadet company gave a humiliating order for Franco to issue him a rifle for drill exercises shortened by 15 cm, which caused a storm of ridicule from his classmates. They began to call him Franquito, or Paquito. However, for Franco this was secondary. During the late Francoism, the peculiarities of Franco's non-verbal-communicative behavior became the subject of ridicule and symbolic protest. At the same time, as G.-R. notes, Ruiz, jokes about the caudillo's physical features, which could be laughed at, such as his high voice, were not very popular..."(*Бровко, 2002*).

In Franco's characterology, obsessive-compulsive components seem much more explicable, which were accompanied by ascetic behavior both in terms of relations with women and the absence of any deviations, including, among other things, a lack of interest in art. More common, due to the high voice, were irreverent comments that questioned the dictator's biological masculinity, as well as his sexual orientation. These expressions, which tried to insult his honor as a man, mainly took the form of curses and other popular expressions.

G. Ruiz describes one such insult in February 1965, uttered by an unnamed author "by a resident of Plasencia (Cáceres) while attending a party to celebrate the inauguration of the new mayor." The heavily intoxicated participant, in the presence of local authorities, declared that "Franco has no balls."(*Ruiz, 2022, 177-179*).

Another story described by the author took place in April of the same year (1965). Its participant was already a French citizen, who, while in a bar in Figueres (Girona) in the company of other Frenchmen, made fun of a photograph of the caudillo hanging on one of the walls of the establishment. Once outside, the Frenchman repeated three times that Franco was a "faggot." Despite the fact that there were few people around when he made these statements, he was sentenced by the Court of Public Order to six years in prison..."(*Ruiz, 2022, 177-179*).

Francoism in the stylization of women's clothing. Obsessive-compulsive manifestations as a continuation of Franco's Catholic religious and military professional identity were related to the ethical concern about the indecency and immodesty of women's clothing. In general, the history of censorship of women's clothing styles in Spain began much earlier and has numerous moralizing precedents in pro-Catholic literature.

The Catholic Church constantly exaggerated the topic of decency, modesty and propriety, and this exaggeration itself resulted in the release of pastoral letters, circulars, bulls, tabooing and stigmatizing immorality in women's clothing. It is easy to guess that the topic of moral purity, decency, moral concern about nudity and exposure has an obsessive-compulsive origin. Obsessive-compulsive symptoms manifest themselves in the desire to express anger/rage, which are under control, and compete with the fear of being punished for impulsively satisfying a forbidden need, which restrains anger/rage. In the psychoanalytic understanding, the cathectic motivation of the obsessive-compulsive personality competes with a powerful counter-cathexis in the form of repression, both external and subsequently internal (censorship) origin.

The researcher of the prehistory of Catholic moralizing of the Francoists Isidro Goma y Tomás in his work *Las modas y el lujo (Fashion and Luxury) (Goma and Tomas, 1938, 43-50, 149-150)* condemns the failure to maintain modesty in the stylization of women's clothing when choosing certain "cuts, fabrics, folds and colors, which the priests of fashion do, with the aim of defiling ... bodies and turning them into bait for sin". The author moralizes that modesty must be an internal quality, because it is "not enough" for a woman to appear modest; she "must be." "Modesty," the author argues further, "as a Christian virtue, is reflected in "decency in clothing," which, according to the moralist, runs the risk of "great lawlessness" on the part of the artist or stylist." The risk is that artists and stylists, as those who dress people, possess a special "art of undressing decency."

The above quotation is a value model for reproducing Catholic discourse on the stylization of women's clothing. Incidentally, the cited work underwent a number of reprints (1926, 1938) and became paradigmatic for school literature during the Franco period. Thematically, such publications were oriented towards stating the fact of the "decline in morals" of women, accompanied by the

corrupt aesthetics of Art Nouveau, oriented towards women's emancipation in everything, including clothing, as G. Di Febo points out in his work (*Di Febo, 2011, 126-147*).

The aesthetic leadmotive of the stylization of women's clothing for the Francoist regime was the restitution of Catholic censorship and the restoration of patriarchy as a gender order, which corresponded to the gender identities of Franco and his Falangist, Carlist, and National Integralist supporters. The religious and ideological management of the stylization of women's clothing through propaganda functioned as an instrument of symbolic repression (symbolic violence), intended to achieve the Catholic-understood "humility" of women and their restoration to the image of "sacrificial mother and housewife, limited to the domestic space."

Censorship of women's appearance covered a wider range of visual images than clothing, affecting other non-verbal communications, including the use of cosmetics, the stylization of hairstyles, gestures and pantomime, as well as bodily behavior, postures and expressions and, more broadly, physical self-perception and self-awareness. U. Otero-González (*Otero-González, 2021, 582-602*) in his article cites the code of "rules of female modesty" by Primate E. Pla y Daniel (1941-1968), which, in turn, was cited by other authors.

"1. Dresses should not be so tight as to provocatively expose the shape of the body. 2. Dresses should not be so short as not to cover the best part of the legs; it is inadmissible for them to end at the knee. 3. Low necklines are contrary to modesty, and there are some that are so daring that they can be gravely sinful because of the dishonest intentions they reveal or the scandal they provoke. 4. It is illegal not to cover the arm at least to the elbow. Those who always wear long sleeves that go below the elbow and cover the entire arm are highly commendable. 5. It is illegal not to wear stockings. 6. It is also against the law to wear transparent dresses or dresses with lace in places that should be covered. 7. Girls' skirts should reach to the knee, and those over twelve years old should wear stockings. 8. Boys should not show their bare thighs. 9. When going to church, it is necessary to wear long sleeves that cover the arm and forearm, with stockings and dresses that cover most of the legs, without low necklines or transparent fabric or lace. 10. Girls' teachers - especially religious ones - should know that the Sacred Congregation of the Council ... commands that they should not admit into their schools and convents those who wear less honest clothing, and that even if those already admitted do not make amends, they are to be expelled. ... 12. It is a sin against Christian modesty and honesty for men and women to bathe together; mixing — in bathing suits — during games or entertainment or wearing indecent and revealing bathing suits that hide from view the most elementary rules of modesty."(*Otero-González, 2021, 582-602*).

Visual analysis of phalangist symbols. Phalangist symbols are represented by the coat of arms, the flag of the phalanx, uniforms and anthem. Considering the meaning of the symbols that form the basis of the visual composition of the coat of arms, it is worth noting their agrocentric and pre-modern origin. The studied sources note that the yoke and arrows refer to the first two letters of the proper names of the Spanish king Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella II of Castile (YF) (*Haz y Yugo, 1933*).

Accordingly, the etymology of the words "yoke" and "arrows" (Spanish yugo) and arrows (Spanish flechas) should directly correlate the characters of the queen and king with their symbolization in the emblems. Isabella acted as the very "yoke" for Ferdinand, which was their long-term marriage (35 years), the result of which was the unification of Spain and preparation for the reign of Charles V of Habsburg (Carlos I). The question of the symbolism of the yoke is also raised in the plane of preserving pre-modern (feudal) vestiges, in particular, despotic forms of integration of class society (*Haz y Yugo, 1933*).

For this, Ferdinand put a yoke on the free in the literal sense of the word, using an armed organization of knights, called the "holy hermandad" (brotherhood). It is the hermandad that can be considered the prototype of the phalangist paramilitary formations. Initially a voluntary association, it later became a yoke imposed on the free knights, which allowed the king to fight the feudal fronde. Ferdinand's Caesarist monoreligiosity (the transformation of Spanish society into a society of pure Catholics) was combined with political multi-vectorism and maneuvering.

The image of this multi-vectorism was presented both by Ferdinand and by Franco, who, using dictatorial methods, asserted multi-directional geopolitics and was a technocratically oriented dictator in domestic politics. Technocracy in this sense did not mean recognizing the supremacy of the class of scientific and technical intellectuals (and intellectuals in general) in politics. Technocracy as performed by Franco meant the transformation of politics into something like military disciplinary practices. It became the same as Catholicism became during Ferdinand's reign, namely, Caesarean papacy.

The symbolism of a bundle of arrows as a variety of of the ruled force, which is an expression of the culture of the potestary medieval society, expresses the counter-reformation and counter-modernization characteristic of Spain. It is also worth paying attention to the fact that the image of Ferdinand itself reflects the static-despotic self-understanding of royal masculinity, since it is represented by a yoke. The image of Isabella is visualized as masculine-phallic and is a symbolic expression of the intentional-dynamic principle of the imperial policy of Spain (*Haz y Yugo, 1933*).

The authors of the article understand the yoke going before the plough as a symbol of national agriculture, that is, “the national field that feeds national life”. The bundle of arrows is interpreted by the Falangists in a fascist or fascist way as a bundle of “hearts, brotherhood, guild, union”, pathetically describing the iron arrowheads in connection with their forging by ancient fire, a symbol of war. Further, the national-unionist fantasy symbolically connects the yoke and arrows as a cross, since they “form a cross” and historically allude to the crusaders for the Falangists, since “every great company was a cross at the crossroads of times”.

This is followed by a very transparent symbolic allusion to the stimulation of the peasantry and other social groups with violence (although the stimulus is always near the yoke. The Latin-speaking peasants stimulated their bulls – near the neck – with an arrowhead on the end of a stick.” This whole interpretation ends with the construction of a connection between the past and the future, where the yoke (horizontal) represents the past, and the arrows (vertical) the future, as well as a phallogentric-pansexual analogy between the conquest of Spain and the conquest of a woman, whom “we will have to win back our country with arrows and love. With love. Violently” (*Haz y Yugo, 1933*).

In the coat of arms of Spain during the Franco period, Falangist symbolism appears in the restoration of some elements originally used by the House of Trastámara, such as the eagle of Saint John, the yoke and the knot. This stamp depicted a tetrad in which in the 1st and 4th quadrants Castile and Leon were replaced in the 2nd and 3rd by Aragon and Navarre, Ente en Point by Granada. The coat of arms is surmounted by an open royal crown placed on an eagle depicted on a sable, surrounded by the Pillars of Hercules, the yoke and the bundle of arrows of the Catholic Monarchs.

Franco's unconscious attraction to the heraldic elements of the Trastámara dynasty seems no coincidence, both in the context of his psychobiography and his set of ethnic identities. Franco, in his unconscious self-perception, was “twice illegitimate” (Lopez, 106-121): at the level of ethnic identities – as a descendant of the Marranos, at the level of family identities – as an unloved outcast son who became the black shadow of his father, a kind of container for negative projections. The third confirmation of Franco's “quasi-bastardism” was his marriage, which was in fact a misalliance from the beginning, in which Franco's wife, the all-powerful María del Carmen Polo y Martínez Valdés, actually became a “dictator over a dictator”, part of his internalized maternal censorship and mother-mentor, a substitute for the Virgin Mary.

Franco was under the influence of her shadow management, including in the sphere of public communications, since Carmen was not just a continuation of his Catholic mother for him, she was an image of the Spain that Franco conquered during the civil war and in the post-war period. And for her sake, he was ready to endure both the initial humiliations (*Ashford, 2002, 256-257*) (with which their relationship began in the premarital period), and toxic intrigues built on the involvement of male competitors in the circle of Franco's internal communications. It is worth noting that such involvement, as well as attempts to favor the involved relatives or friends (R.-S. Sunera, K.-A. Navarro, L. Carrero Blanco) were accompanied, according to a number of authors, by humiliating

comparisons of Carmen and Franco's personality with her potential favorites. The attributive and symbolic expression of the first and second is associated with a number of facts that are represented by socio-historical parallels in the history of Spain, in particular:

- Spain, along with Portugal and the Netherlands, was one of the first colonial states that deployed multi-vector and multi-continental colonial expansion (in Latin America and Africa, including the Middle East frontier, which remained a problematic borderland until the beginning of the 19th century). Franco implemented a course of multi-vector cooperation with the countries of the fascist axis, which, however, was emphatically ethnocentric and nationalistic, as opposed to fascist (on the emblem of the phalanx, crossed arrows come out from one center).

One of Franco's supporters, Manuel Azaña, back in 1933, not accidentally noted the futility of the very emergence of a fascist regime for Spain, given the presence of many fascist parties in Spain. The statement was not accidental for a regime that positioned itself as a military dictatorship, balancing between the extremes of clerical monarchical traditionalism and fascism, which implied cultural, political, and economic modernization of society (*Морадіельос, 2022б 164*).

That is, with the multi-directionality of the Francoists on forming alliances with the fascists, they, paradoxically, sought to maintain a certain nationalistic middle ground with an attributive set of "anti". Spanish Falangist nationalism, thus, turned out to be a fragile Bonapartist balance, consisting of anti-communism, anti-liberalism, anti-Masonry and a program for the protection of pre-modern social institutions with the help of a military dictatorship.

- King Ferdinand turned the Inquisition into an institution of political police, giving it extensive powers to interfere in the private lives of subjects, putting on them, in the literal (not figurative) yoke of numerous restrictions. At the same time, Franco managed to build a maneuverable system that was symbolically multi-vector, since it allowed the party to penetrate into the organs of state administration and amalgamate with self-organized communities and institutions. In this aspect, the counter-reformation and counter-modernization of the Francoist regime was manifested, which, with its symbolic presence in various informal and self-organized communities, "weighed down" (another yoke!!!) the life of these communities with its emissariat and its ideological censorship. At the same time, - as I. Saz emphasizes, - the "yoke" of the regime was symbolically consistently manifested in the fact that the "politics of prisons, churches and barracks" expressively dominated the "politics of the squares".

In the Falangist anthem "Facing the Sun" the text is constructed as an appeal to a beloved who has prepared her beloved for the sacrifice and farewell (the symbolism of the shirt embroidered in red, which refers to the blue shirt with the Falangist emblem described above).

A Falangist stands in line with his comrades under the "unperturbed stars" (a symbol of cosmic eternity and, at the same time, a cold and indifferent universe that contemplates his and his comrades' tireless work). Such anthropomorphic symbolization of the stars, their animistic presentation to listeners cannot but reflect the image of a cold and indifferent world, hostile to Spain, in which a conspiracy of Masons, communists and liberals reigns. Such an image of the world corresponded to the worldview of J.A. Primo de Rivera, and Franco himself, who in one of his few works entitled "Freemasonry" wrote the following on this subject:

"We do not attack English Freemasonry, it would interest us little if it were limited to the natural limits of the British Empire. We are not interested in its peculiarities, but in its desire to go beyond these limits. Freemasonry is an English product, just as communism is Russian. In other countries: in the United States and especially in France, it has acquired national characteristics, like communism in Yugoslavia. But just as the communists in France and Italy do only what their masters in Moscow tell them to do, the Spanish Freemasons carry out orders from London or Paris. No one can deny that Freemasonry has carried out active subversive activities against our Empire. It has achieved the expulsion of the Jesuits, which has caused great damage to our possessions in America. It organized a revolt in our colonies and turned our nineteenth century into an endless series of revolutions and civil wars. For England it was a means of dismembering an empire that was in their way, for France it was the best way of eliminating a rival on their southern border. Neither of these two countries ever needed a strong Spain. She had to be squeezed like a lemon to

achieve their goal. If someone considers this natural and humane, then it would be more logical, natural and humane to get rid of such "generous" friends, of the plague that they send upon us under cover of friendship. Never have Franco-English maneuvers done us more harm than when they were covered by a friendly smile. In international politics, friendship and sentiment mean nothing. Never has any country worked for the sake of others against its own interests. It is the current coin, and we must pay with it. And since every country has the right to self-defense, Spain, defending its independence and its national interests, must be wary of Freemasonry" (*Franko, 2003, 2*).

Francoism in the symbols of everyday life of Spanish society. G. Rozhdestvensky notes the cognitive dissonance that arose in his mind when visiting Spain, which arose due to the discrepancy between the stereotype formed by Soviet propaganda before his visit to Spain. The communist-oriented publicist managed to comprehend two features of Francoism in everyday life: its ideological indifference with pragmatic intolerance to left-radical ideologies, on the one hand, and its civil-integralist orientation, on the other hand. As the author writes in his journalistic essay "My Spain", before his visit to the country, the idea of Franco was quite demonized. The author imagined him as a "disgusting fascist", a "bloody caudillo" who had "placed half of the population of Spain in the dungeons of the Madrid prison of Carabanchel, and deprived the other half of any freedoms" (*Островский, 2008*).

Rozhdestvensky notes elements of a peculiar cult of personality of Franco as a dictator and absolute "master" of Spain. "In every institution, every tavern, his portrait hung". The real confusion of the visitor's consciousness occurred "in a large bookstore", where the author "discovered a complete collection of Lenin's works in Russian and Spanish". The Francoist regime, therefore, did not extend censorship to the sphere of spiritual production, while at the same time demonstrating political and police intolerance towards projects for the implementation of left-radical ideas (*Островский, 2008*).

Franco tried to show solidarity with his own victims, as well as with his supporters who fought on his side. He perceived them as Spaniards, and the Valley of the Dead serves as a symbolic confirmation of this. According to the dictator's plans, the Valley of the Dead was to become a monument to Spanish nationalism (national Catholicism) and amaze the public with its gigantic size. In the imperial and statist worldview of the Francoists, Spain became a real Golgotha, which is why the center of the architectural composition is a huge cross (150 m high, visible from a distance of 40 km) (*Solé, 2017, 3-21*).

The dictator's rather peculiar patriarchal-Catholic (largely Hispanocentric) identities manifested themselves in the sector of gender biopolitics and somatopolitics, where an ideological order was created for the corresponding normative discourses in the sphere of health.

In general, the cult of a healthy body, the propagandistic idealization of the image of a warrior-athlete, capable of feats, ascetically mobilized and workaholic-charged, seemed very important for the ideology of fascist regimes, including Francoism. The Francoists did not lag behind their satellite "colleagues" (fellow party members) from Italy and Germany in this respect, popularizing sports, physical education and other practices for raising the level of physical culture of the population as part of the national-integralist doctrine.

In Spain, biopolitics and somatopolitics, however, underwent a number of modifications in accordance with the gender culture and specific gender stereotypes of Spanish society. As S. Dunay notes in her study, "Spanish medical experts and intellectuals discussed the appropriate level of health necessary for Spaniards depending on their age, gender and health status. Many doctors retained a patriarchal bias in their approach to science, believing that biological determinism shapes gender in society. Through ideology and medical discourse on nutrition, Spanish culture was oriented toward women's physical health." (*Dunai, 2019, 161-165*).

It is worth noting that the extremely strict attitude to the forms and proportions of the female body had its source in court incidents. Thus, Joana of Portugal (the second wife of Enrique IV and the daughter of Duarte I and Eleanor of Aragon, the sister of the Portuguese king Afonso V the African) became pregnant by her lover in 1468. In order to hide the fact of pregnancy from Enrique, she decided to use a metal corset. This instrument of tortural aesthetics of the female body,

consisting of steel rings connected by bolts that covered the body from the chest to the lower abdomen, and pulled together all the bulges of the figure, for a long time became part of the female body image and technologies of normalizing female corporality in Spain.

Ten years later, Queen Isabella introduced the fashion for corsets for all her maids, obliging them by a separate decree to maintain ideal waist proportions (they should be no more than 32.5 cm in circumference, which was approximately equal to the circumference of a twelve-year-old girl's arms). From everyday wearing of corsets, 10 maids died in the first months of the decree. The decree was in effect until 1908.

The Spanish Inquisition became interested in the corset within the framework of its usual ideas about female "morality" in a misinterpreted Christian ethics. With the help of corsets, women were forced to hide the "sinful charms of the body" by flattening the figure, since a lush bust was clearly related to signs of physical temptation. In addition, girls were tied lead ingots at night to slow down the growth of their breasts. The level of physical torment can be imagined by imagining 25 kg of metal (that's how much the corset weighed) on the body of an eight- or nine-year-old girl. It is no coincidence that such corsets were compared to knight's armor. Wearing corsets not only prevented the normal development of the body, but also caused various diseases, ranging from skin diseases to displacement and/or compression of the liver and stomach, deformation of the ribs, and circulatory disorders.

These echoes of the aesthetics of the Middle Ages and the Proto-Renaissance during the Franco period began to appear in public publications for Spanish city women in hybrid discourses of ideological moralizing, medical mentoring, and consumerism in connection with women's weight-loss pills. A number of researchers cited by S. Dunay note the regime's peculiar "obsession with the female body, arguing that control and regulation of the human body was a form of biopower exercised by the totalitarian regime."(*Dunay, 2019, 161-165*).

The above statement could well be supplemented by the idea that the historical roots of cultural control of the female body can hardly be considered specifically Francoist. Moreover, the transformation of female body aesthetics into the mainstream of public media pursued entirely utilitarian goals - saving food during food crises. Therefore, the reasoning of the "expert pool", revolving around the topic of women realizing their feminine purpose through suitable pills, slyly concealed entirely pragmatic motives.

According to the Francoist patriarchs, Spanish women simply had to eat less during the period of food shortages. To this end, the Francoist media doctors and newsmakers turned the obesity problem into a rationalistic, moralistic wrapper around the hunger problem, and anxiety about female obesity into anxiety about food shortages. It got to the point where a certain K.-B. Soler called obesity such a serious global problem at the time that the only solution was to reduce world food supplies. This "empirical evidence" was immediately seized upon by Francoist activists, who began to popularize the campaign to reduce food consumption among women.

As S. Dunay notes, the Francoists' inquisitorial concern was aimed at a specific demographic group, namely middle-class Spanish women. The women's magazine *Menage*, published in Barcelona in the 1940s, periodically advertised diet pills from companies such as Sabelin. Advertisements for diet pills could be heard on the radio during women's programs. She, as the author notes, appeared in the women's sections of the leading newspapers of that time, since the strictly controlled economy, in the ideas of the Francoists, should correspond to an economical and restrained (thin) body shape (*Dunay, 2019, 161-165*).

Visual Reality in Everyday Stories of Franco's Spain. Everyday stories occupy a special place in identifying the symbolism of everyday life, the presentation of which makes it possible to obtain extensive empirical material for putting forward analytical hypotheses.

Thus, a Spaniard born in 1961 (he was only 14 years old when Franco died) describes the life of the village of El Carpio in the south of Spain, where living conditions were much worse than in Madrid and on the east coast. The author of the story notes the low level of motorization in the community, in which there were "only two or three cars", while "one belonged to the mayor, another to a rich man in the city, and another belonged to a policeman"(What was it...). Thus, "in

the countryside", the narrator concludes, "a car was a luxury that almost no one could afford" (*What was it...*).

The narrator concludes that the situation with cars in large cities such as Madrid or Barcelona differed from villages in favor of cities. The above leads to an analytical hypothesis regarding the rhythm of social time. Less mobile spatial structures also correspond to temporal settings of time dilation. But when time flows more slowly, people have the opportunity to reduce social distance and look at each other (with fewer people in a village compared to any city). Cobblestone streets also correspond to time dilation, which the narrator explains by the lack of need "to pave them if only a few cars drove along them," (*What was it...*). which is quite logical.

On the other hand, the visual culture of mass consumption in Spain at that time was in its infancy, if not to say completely absent. "In my village," the narrator notes, "there were more people who had a television than people who had a car, but still not everyone had one. In fact, when there was a big football match or something like that, people would gather in houses where there were televisions."

The emphasis in the sphere of mass consumption was connected with the radio. In general, radio as part of everyday culture is an internally-oriented communication tool and predisposes to internal dialogue and thinking, unlike television, which is externally-oriented to visual perception and predisposes rather to passive-receptive processing of information. In Spain in 1975, radio was accessible and everyone had it, so people usually entertained themselves with radio (broadcasts of football matches, soap operas and music of that time were carried out in radio format) (*What was it...*).

The author of the story also notes the patriarchal nature of Spanish society during the late Franco period, associating it with both the patriarchal organization of the family ("women did not work, they were just housewives, in the last period of Franco's regime there was a certain improvement in this regard, but at least in my city I did not notice it"), and with manifestations of intolerance towards religious or gender deviations (we are talking about homosexuality or atheism, which were subject to moral condemnation and, in rare cases, criminal repression). The storyteller explains this by the fact that "...you were not put in prison, but if you were, you kept silent about it (*atheism or homosexuality – Yu.R.*), because perhaps even your own family does not support you and turns away from you." (*What was it...*).

The detail about the influence of the Catholic Church is quite expected for the storyteller, which, however, should be attributed to ritual Christianity, that is, the catechism form of education that was practiced in Spanish schools. At the same time, the narrator draws attention to the juxtaposition of Christian and Falangist symbols, since "... in the classroom on the wall next to the blackboard there was a cross, and usually to the right and left of the cross there was also a portrait of Franco and one of José Antonio Primo de Rivera." (*What was it...*). Part of the political ritualism was the performance of Face to the sun (the Falangist anthem "Face to the sun") with raised hands before classes in schools, but the narrator notes that in his case "this was not so." (*What was it...*). Face to the sun was indeed taught, and apparently memorized, including in the 60s and 70s, but he "did not encounter this (*daily performance – Yu.R.*), but remembers that the Falangist anthem was sung on "important" days, but not every day." (*What was it...*). According to the example given by the storyteller (the performance of the anthem on November 20, the anniversary of the death of José Antonio Primo de Rivera), it seems that this refers to holidays that had clerical and/or political-ideological significance for the Francoists.

The appearance of industrial infrastructure objects in rural areas (the opening of a sugar factory with an abundance of jobs and stimulation of the city's economy), individual law enforcement relics from the Middle Ages, such as the civil guard, and the passive attitude of this very civil guard to meetings of communist party cells, serve as symbols in terms of changing the spatial-visual reality for the narrator. As the storyteller concludes, "in general, it would be possible to live comfortably, If we weren't talking about politics, but perhaps my verdict is so good because I'm talking about my experience from the late 60s to the mid 70s." (*What was it...*).

One of the narrators writes about the presence of the secret police on university campuses, where the latter carried out open repressive actions aimed at intimidating potential political opposition among students. According to the narrator, the police, in order to remind people who was in charge, would burst into a student café on campus and start beating students over the head with truncheons. The storyteller points to censorship in the field of printed materials containing critical statements about the authorities, as well as the excessive police presence and the severity of punishments, which, from his point of view, were consistent with the low crime statistics.

The narrator also notes the fact that the patriarchal Francoists were intolerant of wives leaving home without good reason. Wives who left their tyrant husbands could go to prison for this crime, which in Spanish was called "abandono del hogar" (*What was it...*). The issue was "failure to comply with economic and parental obligations" and the impossibility of "automatic dissolution of the marriage bond", as well as abandonment of the child, which did not release the spouse who did so from marital or parental obligations. The consequences of leaving home for women could include not only the loss of the benefits of the marriage union and the deprivation of parental rights in the event of the birth of children, but also imprisonment.

The description also noted the symbolism of student fees, which coincided with tuition (less than 50 US dollars per year), as well as the cheapness of lunches (A lunch of paella, a small amount of fish or meat, salad, bread and diluted wine cost less than the equivalent of 1 US dollar).

Conclusions. Franco's character as a recursion of his set of identities (primarily religious and professional - military) acted simultaneously as a reflection of the habitus of the military class of Spain, and a determinant of the regime he built, which combined the features of Catholicism and clerical integral nationalism. The features of the dictator's behavior presented in photo and video materials, as well as in the descriptions of various authors, create the necessary empirical basis for a fragmentary diagnosis of his character as an obsessive-compulsive narcissistic psychopathy with a strongly expressed narcissistic deficiency and peripheral signs of an oral-schizoid constitution. Such a multi-base character structure corresponded, on the one hand, to Franco's Jewish (Marrano) identities, on the other hand - to a set of Ibero-Mediterranean ethnocultural identities, expressed in the anthropological and physiognomic features of the dictator's appearance and observed behavior in different periods of his life. Franco's strategy of life activity reflected the results of the completed ethnocultural assimilation of his ethnic identities by the national-territorial (civil-state) identities of Spain, which received a specific refraction in the choice of Falangist symbols.

The unconscious motivational background of its choice was determined both by a number of generalized socio-cultural factors and by the psychobiographical characteristics of Franco, oriented towards the image of the Trastámara dynasty as a referential identity, including for the restoration of the monarchy in Spain. Franco the restorer himself perceived himself as a caudillo (leader) with monarchical powers received not in line with traditional monarchical legitimacy, but as a result of a new type of crusade (against the communists and liberals), which implied a counter-modernization understanding of the socio-historical mission of Spain in Europe.

Early Franco with his bodily-morphological features in characterology corresponds to the oral-schizoid type, which undergoes transformations in the direction of compulsive psychopathy in the course of military-expeditionary socialization in Africa, while maintaining a pronounced narcissistic deficit. The latter was conditioned both by the complex dynamics of the relations of Franco's ethnic subgroup with Spanish society and its ethnospecific defenses, and by object relations in the family, in which the experience of Franco's personality being devalued by his father and the idealization of his mother created the prerequisites for the specific suggestibility of the dictator on the part of his wife along the line of his positive mirroring. The misalliance of Franco and his wife in family identities turned into one of the prerequisites for the cronyism and favoritism of the late Francoist regime.

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