

NOTES

INTRODUCTION EMBODYING MEMORY IN SPAIN

1. See Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), chap. 2, on individualism; see Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), on the intergenerational transmission of trauma.
2. Rafael F. Narvaez, "Embodiment, Collective Memory and Time," *Body and Society* 12, no. 3 (2006): 51–73 (here 51). My approach is distinguishable from more specifically feminist theories of embodiment; from performance practice and notions of repertoire, although these might usefully be used to inform future historical and ethnographic explorations of memory's secretion in individual and concealed collective acts and rituals during, for instance, the Franco era; and from "hard" psychological and philosophical perspectives on embodied cognition, except in so far as affect is broached in chapter 5.
3. In *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 5, Thomas Lemke defines biopolitics as "the emergence of a specific political knowledge and new disciplines such as statistics, demography, epidemiology, and biology. These disciplines make it possible to analyse processes of life on the level of populations and to 'govern' individuals and collectives by practices of correction, exclusion, normalization, disciplining, therapeutics, and optimization." Aspects of a historical biopolitics do emerge as relevant to my discussion, and a nuanced exploration of Agamben's notion of "bare life" might well prove fruitful for navigating specific historiographical discussions regarding violence and atrocities by both sides during the Civil War, and by the Franco Regime in the immediate postwar period. Nevertheless, I have not made a biopolitical perspective the structuring principle of this volume, as my aim is to trace the contours of Spain's new debates about the past within the framework of shifting horizons of collective and cultural memory, and to focus on the conjunction of new discourses of individual rights and a concern with embodied rather than emplaced memory. Indeed, the negativity of Foucault's perspective on embodiment in *Discipline and Punish* and the lack of agency implicit in Agamben's "homo sacer" are at odds with my stress in this book on agency,

- resilience, and active efforts toward the overcoming of trauma. See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin, 1991); Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998). Excellent discussions of nationalist and Francoist repression from a biopolitical perspective that also acknowledges the broader early twentieth-century European medical context can be found in Michael Richards's "Morality and Biology in the Spanish Civil War: Psychiatrists, Revolution, and Women Prisoners in Málaga," *Contemporary European History* 10, no. 3 (2001): 395–421; "Spanish Psychiatry c.1900–1945: Constitutional Theory, Eugenics, and the Nation," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 81, no. 6 (2004): 824–48.
4. Nelly Richard, *The Insubordination of Signs: Political Change, Cultural Transformation and Poetics of the Crisis*, trans. Alice A. Nelson and Siliva R. Tandeciarz (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 10. Rafael Gil's 1980 film, *Y al tercer año recusitó*, employs a comic mode to imagine the resurrection of dictator Franco, who hitchhikes from the Valle de los Caídos just one year before the attempted coup without causing much disruption to society.
 5. Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed., trans., and intro. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Jan Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125–33.
 6. Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," 129.
 7. I distill the intersections of their various theoretical frameworks into a discourse on the Spanish case in "Introduction: Cultural Memories and the Legacies of War and Dictatorship in Contemporary Portugal and Spain," in *Legacies of War and Dictatorship in Contemporary Portugal and Spain*, ed. Alison Ribeiro de Menezes and Catherine O'Leary (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2011), 1–33; for this reason, I have not rehearsed them here. See also Susannah Radstone's helpful survey of different schools of memory studies in "What Place Is This? Transcultural Memory and the Locations of Memory Studies," *Parallax* 17, no. 4 (2011): 109–23.
 8. The Civil War poetry of Rafael Alberti, César Vallejo, Pablo Neruda, and Miguel Hernández is well known, and the poet and dramatist Federico García Lorca is an iconic victim of the war. See also the work of a later generation of poets, such as José Manuel Caballero Bonald, Félix Grande, Antonio Gamoneda, and José Hierro. Marina Llorente notes that until now few critics have considered how poets have addressed the postmillennium Spanish memory boom. She discusses two younger poets, Isabel Pérez Montalbán and David González, both of whom were born in 1964 and who thus belong roughly to the generation of many of the writers and directors discussed in this book; see "La memoria histórica en la poesía de Isabel Pérez Montalbán

- and David González,” *Hispanic Review* 81, no. 2 (2013): 181–200. Of dramatists closely concerned with memory under and after the Regime, Antonio Buero Vallejo is one of the most significant and extensively studied. More recently Juan Mayorga’s *Himmelweg* (2004) raises intriguing parallels between Spain and Germany, and Laila Ripoll has adapted Armengou and Belis’s *Los niños perdidos* (2005). María Delgado is currently completing a study of memory and the Spanish stage; see also Helena Buffery, “Effigies of Return in Spanish Republican Exile Theatre,” in her edited volume, *Stages of Exile* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2011), 229–47; Lourdes Orozco, “Performing the Spanish Civil War on the Catalan Stage: *Homage to Catalonia* (2004),” in *Guerra y memoria en la España contemporánea/War and Memory in Contemporary Spain*, ed. Alison Ribeiro de Menezes, Roberta Ann Quance, and Anne L. Walsh (Madrid: Verbum, 2009), 273–85; Catherine O’Leary, “Memory and Restoration: Jerónimo López Mozo’s *El arquitecto y el relojero*,” in *Legacies of War and Dictatorship in Contemporary Portugal and Spain*, ed. Alison Ribeiro de Menezes and Catherine O’Leary (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2011), 149–67.
9. Radstone, “What Place Is This?,” 117.
 10. Lesley Lelourec and Gráinne O’Keefe-Vigneron, eds., *Ireland and Victims: Confronting the Past, Forging the Future* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2012).
 11. John Green, “Decade of Centenaries Must Respect All Factions,” *Irish Times* December 27, 2012.
 12. Kathleen Stewart, “Nostalgia: A Polemic,” *Cultural Anthropology* 3 (1988): 227–41 (here 227).
 13. Antonio Gómez López-Quiñones, “A Secret Agreement: The Historical Memory Debate and the Limits of Recognition,” *Hispanic Issues Online* 11 (2102): 88–116. http://hispanicissues.umn.edu/assets/doc/05_GOMEZ.pdf.
 14. Gómez López-Quiñones, “A Secret Agreement,” 89–90.
 15. This is explored from an ethnographic perspective by Layla Renshaw in *Exhuming Loss: Memory, Materiality and Mass Graves of the Spanish Civil War* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2011).
 16. Gómez López-Quiñones, “A Secret Agreement,” 108.
 17. Gómez López-Quiñones, “A Secret Agreement,” 109.
 18. Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).
 19. Richard, *The Insubordination of Signs*, 6, 2.

1 PATHOLOGIES OF THE PAST: SPAIN’S “BELATED”
MEMORY DEBATES

1. Aleida Assmann and Linda Shortt, eds., *Memory and Political Change* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 4.

2. Paloma Aguilar, *The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*, trans. Mark Oakley (Oxford: Bergahan Books, 2002), chap. 2.
3. Santos Juliá, "Echar al olvido: memoria y amnistía en la transición," *Claves de la razón práctica* 129 (2003): 14–24.
4. Mark Osiel, *Mass Atrocity, Collective Memory and the Law* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1997), 175.
5. Georgina Blakeley also notes this as a key factor in the current upsurge of memory in Spain: "Digging Up Spain's Past: Consequences of Truth and Reconciliation," *Democratization* 12, no. 1 (2005): 44–59 (here 45).
6. Teresa Vilarós, *El mono del desencanto: Una crítica cultural de la transición española (1973–1993)* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1998), 3.
7. José Carlos Mainer, *Tramas, libros, nombres: Para entender la literatura española* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 2005), 83.
8. Ofelia Ferrán, *Working through Memory: Writing and Remembrance in Contemporary Spanish Narrative* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2007), 26. The very title of this book posits a pathological past to be overcome in a Freudian sense.
9. Vilarós, *El mono del desencanto*, 3.
10. Madeleine Davis, "Is Spain Recovering Its Memory? Breaking the Pacto de Olvido," *Human Rights Quarterly* 27 (2005): 858–80 (here 867).
11. The legislation's official title is "Ley 52/2007 de 26 de diciembre por la que se reconocen y amplían derechos y se establecen medidas en favor de quienes padecieron persecución o violencia durante la Guerra Civil y la Dictadura." <http://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2007/12/27/pdfs/A53410-53416.pdf>.
12. Emilio Silva makes reference to these twin goals in his volume with Santiago Macías, *Las fosas de Franco: Los republicanos que el dictador dejó en las cunetas* (Madrid: Temas de hoy, 2003), 96; Macías's lengthy survey of burial sites in Spain in part two of the volume seeks to tell the stories of those who died so that they might be rescued from oblivion. Nevertheless, in an interview with Jo Labanyi, Silva stressed the extent to which, within his family circle, his father preserved his grandfather's memory and the memory of the Civil War via songs and books. Silva's comments represent one example of the intergenerational transmission of private memories that were kept separate from the public sphere. Jo Labanyi, "Entrevista con Emilio Silva," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 9, no. 2 (2008): 143–55.
13. "Introduction: Legacies of War and Dictatorship in Contemporary Portugal and Spain," in Alison Ribeiro de Menezes and Catherine O'Leary, eds., *Legacies of War and Dictatorship in Contemporary Portugal and Spain* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2011), 1–34 (here 22).
14. Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed., trans., and intro. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 23–9.

15. Enrique Gavilán offers a similar critique of the notion of a recuperation of memory in “De la imposibilidad y de la necesidad de la «memoria histórica»,” in Emilio Silva, Asunción Esteban, Javier Castán, and Pancho Salvador, eds., *La memoria de los olvidados: Un debate sobre el silencio de la represión franquista* (Valladolid: Ámbito Ediciones, 2003), 55–65.
16. Blakeley (“Digging Up Spain’s Past,” 46) notes that although the year 2000 saw the anniversary of Franco’s death and 2001 marked 20 years from the 1981 coup attempt, 2002 was a year of multiple anniversaries that could be said to have brought about an “irruption” of memory from the Transition era: January saw the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Atocha massacres of Communist lawyers, April saw the twenty-fifth anniversary of the legalisation of the Spanish Communist Party, June the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first democratic elections, and October the twentieth anniversary of the PSOE’s arrival in power. The year 2003 then heralded the twenty-fifth anniversary of the constitution. On the notion of “irruptions” of memory, see Alexander Wilde, “Irruptions of Memory: Expressive Politics in Chile’s Transition to Democracy,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 31, no. 2 (1999): 473–500.
17. Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis, *Las fosas del silencio: ¿Hay un holocausto español?*, Prologue by Santiago Carrillo (Barcelona: Mondadori, 2006), 243.
18. Silva, *Las fosas de Franco*, 122.
19. Armengou and Belis, *Las fosas del silencio*, 244, 247; Silva, *Las fosas de Franco*, 121.
20. Comprehensive accounts of the Transition, upon which I rely, are given by Paul Preston, *The Triumph of Democracy in Spain* (London: Routledge, 1986); Javier Tusell, *La transición española a la democracia* (Madrid: Historia 16, s/d [1991]); Charles Powell, *España en democracia, 1975–2000* (Barcelona: Plaza & Janés, 2001).
21. Omar G. Encarnación notes the very violent context in which democratization unfolded in Spain; see “Reconciliation After Democratization: Coping with the Past in Spain,” *Political Science Quarterly* 123, no. 3 (2008), 435–59 (here 440).
22. Preston, *The Triumph of Democracy in Spain*, 120–1.
23. Preston, *The Triumph of Democracy in Spain*, 121.
24. Juliá, “Echar al olvido,” 20.
25. José-Carlos Mainer and Santos Juliá, *El aprendizaje de la libertad 1973–1986* (Madrid: Alianza, 2000), 49.
26. Figures of the Transition era, notably Socialist leader and later prime minister, Felipe González, and founding editor of *El País*, Juan Luis Cebrián, have recently criticized the current Spanish political elite for having little sensitivity toward the benefits of consensus politics; see Vera Gutiérrez Calvo, “Felipe González: ‘Hay una crisis institucional que galopa hacia la anarquía,’” *El País*

- April 10, 2013; Eva Saiz, “La Universidad de Brown debate sobre la Transición española,” *El País* May 2, 2013.
27. Ferrán, *Working through Memory*, 25. See also Joan Ramon Resina, “The Weight of Memory and the Lightless of Oblivion: The Dead of the Spanish Civil War,” in *Unearthing Franco’s Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain*, ed. Carlos Jerez-Ferrán and Samuel Amago (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 221–42.
 28. Nicolás Sartorius and Javier Alfaya, *La memoria insumisa: Sobre la dictadura de Franco* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2002), 11.
 29. See, for instance, Vilarós’s *El mono del desencanto*. For a contrary view that stresses the achievements of the political class, see Víctor M. Pérez Díaz, *The Return of Civil Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 26.
 30. Blakeley, “Digging Up Spain’s Past,” 45.
 31. For a good outline of this, see Golob’s two articles on Chile: “‘Forced to Be Free’: Globalized Justice, Pacted Democracy and the Pinochet Case,” *Democratization* 9, no. 2 (2002): 21–42; “The Pinochet Case: ‘Forced to Be Free Abroad and at Home,’” *Democratization* 9, no. 4 (2002): 25–57.
 32. Alexandra Barahona de Brito, Carmen González Enríquez, and Paloma Aguilar, eds., *The Politics of Memory: Transitional Justice in Democratizing Societies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 22. Kathryn Sikkink’s recent analysis of what she labels the “justice cascade,” with its origins in the Portuguese and Greek Transitions to democracy of the 1970s, relies too heavily on Samuel Huntingdon’s paradigm of the third wave, ignoring the sea change in global politics brought about by the end of the Cold War. It is the differing world context that explains why the Spanish case does not seem to fit with Sikkink’s focus on the rise of human-rights prosecutions; equally, both Portugal and Greece are rather strained examples in her paradigm. See Kathryn Sikkink, *The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions Are Changing World Politics* (New York: Norton, 2011); Samuel Huntingdon, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993).
 33. Tusell also stresses the different context of the Transition era in *La transición española a la democracia* (9): “Hay que tener en cuenta [...] que la transición española se produjo en un momento en que era menos patente ese proceso de expansión de la democracia que luego los acontecimientos confirmaron.”
 34. Blakeley, “Digging Up Spain’s Past,” 45–47.
 35. Stephanie Golob, “*Volver*: The Return of/to Transitional Justice in Spain,” *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 9, no. 2 (2008), 127–41 (here 133). One might speculate that similar measures introduced in the United Kingdom, including gay marriage, citizenship education

- for new nationals, and of course the ongoing Northern Irish peace process, are a broadly comparable political project to reshape identity via greater inclusiveness. Behind both is perhaps a political will to address the rise of voter apathy that became increasingly evident in Blair-Brown's Britain and has long been suggested as a characteristic of postdictatorship Spain, but these policies also represent a response to developments in late capitalist democracy more generally.
36. Encarnación, "Reconciliation after Democratization," 455.
 37. Judith Keene, "Turning Memories into History in the Spanish Year of Historical Memory," *Journal of Contemporary History* 42, no. 4 (2007): 661–71 (here 662).
 38. Golob, "Volver," 138.
 39. Ignacio Fernández de la Mata, "From Invisibility to Power: Spanish Victims and the Manipulation of Their Symbolic Capital," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 9, no. 2 (2008): 253–64 (here 259).
 40. Encarnación, "Reconciliation after Democratization," 436–37.
 41. See Golob, "Volver," 137.
 42. The anonymous "Presentación" to Silva et al., *La memoria de los olvidados*, states that the goal of those seeking redress for the forgotten victims of Francoism is "reclamar justicia, que no venganza" (12).
 43. Samuel Amago argues that Spanish democracy was deliberately conceived without heroes; see "Speaking for the Dead: History, Narrative, and the Ghostly in Javier Cercas's War Novels," in *Unearthing Franco's Legacy*, 243–61 (here 247).
 44. Isabel Durán and Carlos Davila, *La gran revancha: La deformada memoria histórica de Zapatero*, Prologue by Stanley G. Payne (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2006), 18. A similarly personal view from the right-wing is given in, for instance, José Ataz Hernández, *¿Memoria histórica? Sí, pero para todos* (Madrid: Plataforma, 2003).
 45. Durán and Davila, *La gran revancha*, 153–54.
 46. I use the term "revisionist" here in the neutral sense of a rereading; for a distorted and politically motivated revisionism on the right, see the work by Pío Moa listed in the bibliography. For an assessment of Spanish historical revisionism, see the special edition of the *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 21, no. 3 (2008).
 47. Davis also notes this dimension; "Is Spain Recovering Its Memory?," 878.
 48. Cercas borrows the term from Hans Magnus Enzensberger, "Los heroes de la retirada," *El País* December 26, 1989; Javier Cercas, *Anatomía de un instante* (Barcelona: Mondadori, 2009), 33.
 49. Santiago Carrillo has played down his own heroism somewhat, writing in his memoirs: "Estaba claro para mí que aquello sólo podía pararlo el rey, con el peso de la autoridad que le había otorgado Franco más que con la suya propia por entonces muy en entredicho entre los

- militares. El pueblo español, traumatizado aún por la memoria de la guerra y del terror que le siguió, no estaba en condiciones de salir a la calle a hacer frente a los sublevados como ocurrió en el 36.” Santiago Carrillo, *Memorias* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1993), 714.
50. A similar view is proposed in Juan Francisco Fuentes’s recent biography, *Adolfo Suárez: Biografía política* (Barcelona: Planeta, 2011). See also the debate on Suárez’s role offered in Charles Powell and Pere Bonin, *Adolfo Suárez* (Barcelona: Cara & Cruz, 2004).
 51. Paul Preston has examined this question thoroughly in *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-century Spain* (London: Harper Press, 2012), chap. 10, and concluded that Carrillo was at least partially culpable for the events at Paracuellos.
 52. Enzensberger, “Los heroes de la retirada.”
 53. Enzensberger, “Los heroes de la retirada.”
 54. Cercas, *Anatomía de un instante*, 85.
 55. Cercas, *Anatomía de un instante*, 43 and 39, respectively.
 56. Cercas, *Anatomía de un instante*, 77.
 57. Cercas, *Anatomía de un instante*, 431–32.
 58. Cercas, *Anatomía de un instante*, 435.
 59. Cercas, *Anatomía de un instante*, 437.
 60. Shoshana Felman, *The Juridical Unconscious: Trials and Traumas in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 63.
 61. Mark Osiel, *Mass Atrocity, Collective Memory and the Law* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1997), 22.

2 EMBODIED MEMORY AND HUMAN RIGHTS: THE NEW IDIOMS OF SPAIN’S MEMORY DEBATES

1. Martin Jay, *Cultural Semantics: Keywords of Our Time* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 3.
2. Helen Graham, “The Memory of Murder: Mass Killing, Incarceration and the Making of Francoism,” in *Guerra y memoria en la España contemporánea/War and Memory in Contemporary Spain*, ed. Alison Ribeiro de Menezes, Roberta Ann Quance, and Anne L. Walsh (Madrid: Verbum, 2009), 29–49 (here 29). On Rousset’s concept, see Efraim Sicher, *The Holocaust Novel* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 2. Curiously, there has as yet been little interest in Spain in reparation for enslaved labor; only Rafael Torres has drawn attention to this point in *Los esclavos de Franco/Victimas de la victoria*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Oberon, 2002).
3. Paul Preston, *El holocausto español: Odio y exterminio en la guerra civil y después*, trans. Catalina Martínez Muñoz and Eugenia Vázquez Nacarino (Barcelona: Mondadori/Debate, 2011).
4. Peter Novick, *The Holocaust and Collective Memory: The American Experience* (London: Bloomsbury, 1999), 133.

5. James Joyce, *Ulysses*, with “Ulysses: A Short History” by Richard Ellmann (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), 182. The passenger steamer *General Slocum* caught fire and sank in New York’s East River on June 15, 1904, with an estimated loss of over a thousand lives.
6. William Faulkner, *Absalom, Absalom!* (New York: Vintage, 1990), 13. This novel appears as an intertext in Jorge Semprún’s *Veinte años y un día*, although space does not permit me to discuss that particular allusion.
7. John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 177.
8. Sebastian Balfour, *Deadly Embrace: Morocco and the Road to the Spanish Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 84. He continues, “the overblown account of the war after Annual by the correspondent of a liberal Madrid newspaper went as far as to propose that ‘to act against the Rifians as they acted against us would not be enough: it would be necessary to ruin the land, exterminate the race.’”
9. Anna-Vera Sullam Calimani, “A Name for Extermination,” *Modern Language Review* 94, no. 4 (1999): 978–97 (here 987–88). Sullam Calimani cites Elie Wiesel’s objection to this “Christological” usage on the basis of the implication of a redemptive self-sacrifice (998).
10. Aleida Assmann, “The Holocaust—A Global Memory? Extensions and Limits of a New Memory Community,” in *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*, ed. Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 97–117 (here 97).
11. Lawrence L. Langer, *Using and Abusing the Holocaust* (Bloomington, IA: Indiana University Press, 2006).
12. Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust*, xi–xii (emphasis added).
13. Francisco Espinosa Maestre also applies both “genocide” and “extermination” to the Spanish instance: see Julián Casanova, Francisco Espinosa, Conxita Mir, and Francisco Moreno Gómez, *Morir, matar, sobrevivir: La violencia en la dictadura de Franco* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2004), 51–119.
14. For a discussion of recent applications of genocide, see Julius Ruiz, “A Spanish Genocide? Reflections on the Francoist Repression after the Spanish Civil War,” *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 2 (2005): 171–91.
15. Ruiz, “A Spanish Genocide?,” 179. I return to the work of the ARMH in due course.
16. Ruiz specifically challenges this as the prevailing interpretation of Civil War violence in “Seventy Years On: Historians and Repression During and After the Spanish Civil War,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 44, no. 3 (2009), 449–72.
17. Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust*, xiii.

18. We need, with regard to the Spanish Civil War, an in-depth study of perpetrator motivation such as those that have been conducted in relation to Nazi Germany; for an outline of work on this field, see Claus-Christian W. Szejnmann, "Perpetrators of the Holocaust: A Historiography," in *Ordinary People as Mass Murderers: Perpetrators in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Olaf Jensen and Claus-Christian W. Szejnmann (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 25–54. In a discussion of the changing role of memory with regard to Irish nationalist violence, Allen Feldman observes: "Political terror is caught between a violence that redresses the past and a violence that addresses the future, and as such it is haunted by a crisis in memory, by its inability both to compensate for the past and to fashion a sustainable memory of the future it seeks to create." See Allen Feldman, "Political Terror and the Technologies of Memory: Excuse, Sacrifice, Commodification, and Actuarial Moralities," *Radical History Review* 85 (2003): 58–73 (here 66). From such a perspective, Francoist repression would seem to be at least partly the result of insecurity, chaos, and a lack of coherence, as well as of a strategically planned and implemented policy.
19. I explore this point in "War, History, and Memory in Arturo Barea's *La forja de un rebelde*," in *Memory and Trauma in the Postwar Spanish Novel: Revisiting the Past*, ed. Sarah Leggott and Ross Woods (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2014), 43–53.
20. Julius Ruiz, *El terror rojo: Madrid, 1936* (Madrid: Espasa, 2012); *Franco's Justice: Repression in Madrid After the Spanish Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
21. Ruiz, *El terror rojo*, 25.
22. Barea writes, "a la larga empiezan a sospechar de ti por defender a los otros"; *La forja de un rebelde*, intro Nigel Townson, 6th ed. (Barcelona: Mondadori, 2004), 648. Ruiz states, "realizar acciones 'humanitarias' era motivo de sospecha"; *El terror rojo*, 25.
23. Ruiz, *El terror rojo*, 28. It is, however, important that a focus on fears and hatreds does not become a means of abrogating guilt, as in the sensationalist right-wing revisionism of, for instance, Ataz Hernández's *¿Memoria histórica?*
24. Ruiz rejects the term in *Franco's Justice*, 18, 103n.
25. Fernando del Rey Reguillo, "Esterotipos, Disparates y Paradojas en la Memoria Antifranquista," in *A Formação e a Consolidação do Salazarismo e do Franquismo: As Décadas de 1930 e 1940*, ed. Fernando Martins (Lisbon: Colibri, 2012), 56–86 (here 62). Javier Rodrigo argues, from a historiographical point of view, for care in the use of certain terms; see "1936: Guerra de exterminio, genocidio, exclusión," *Historia y Política* 10, no. 2 (2003): 249–58.
26. Alejandro Baer, "The Voids of Sepharad: The Memory of the Holocaust in Spain," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 12, no. 1 (2101): 95–120 (here 108, 110).

27. Allen Feldman, *Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 1. There is a strong appreciation of this perspective in Michael Richards's recent social historical study, *After the Civil War: Making Memory and Re-making Spain Since 1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). Nevertheless, Richards's largely empirical focus does limit his sense of the performativity of victim and perpetrator roles, of the dialogic interplay of fear and revenge, and the consequential spiraling of violence in emotional and nonrational ways.
28. Feldman, *Formations of Violence*, 1.
29. Santos Juliá has protested that the war and dictatorship have been the focus of considerable historical research for decades; "Echar al olvido." Ferrán rightly counters that this does not mean that such work has a wide dissemination in Spain, nor that it significantly influenced public debate; *Working through Memory*, 39–40.
30. There are many such groups operating at regional and local levels; the ARMH and the communist-leaning Foro por la Memoria are the most important civic memory movements with national scope. They both maintain a significant internet presence: see www.memoriahistorica.org and www.foroporlamemoria.info. The most famous body in Spain's mass graves is that of the poet Federico García Lorca, whose case has been widely discussed. See, for instance, Melissa Dinverno, "Raising the Dead: García Lorca, Trauma and the Cultural Mediation of Mourning," *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies* 9 (2005): 29–52.
31. Emilio Silva, "Mi abuelo también fue un desaparecido," *Crónica de León* September 8, 2000. In *Las fosas de Franco*, Silva writes (50), "Conscientemente quise utilizar el referente de los desaparecidos argentinos o chilenos para trasladarlo al caso de los desaparecidos durante la guerra civil."
32. This derives from "pasear," to take someone for a walk, and gives rise to the noun, "paseo;" "sacas" was also used. Ruiz argues that such terror tactics in Republican Madrid owed much to American gangster movies of the period; *El terror rojo*, 21. Francisco Espinosa has discussed the vocabulary of repression, arguing against use of the term "fusilados" for those shot in such circumstances, since it conceals the illegal nature of many of the killings carried out by nationalist forces. He proposes "homicidio" as more appropriate; interview with TV Catalunya, quoted in Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis, *Las fosas del silencio*, 137. His point is a fair one, although his term has not become current in historical research. For Espinosa's study of repression at the start of the Civil War, see *La columna de la muerte: El avance del ejército franquista de Sevilla a Badajoz* (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003).

33. Armengou, Belis, and Vinyes, *Las fosas del silencio: ¿Hay un holocausto español?*
34. Armengou, Belis, and Vinyes, *Las fosas del silencio*, 23–24 and 213, respectively.
35. Giles Tremlett has examined Amnesty International’s intervention in the Spanish case; see “The Grandsons of Their Grandfathers,” in *Unearthing Franco’s Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain*, ed. Carlos Jerez-Ferrán and Samuel Amago (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 327–44.
36. Amnesty International, “España: Poner fin al silencio y la injusticia: La deuda pendiente con las víctimas de la Guerra Civil española y del Régimen franquista,” July 19, 2005. A later report is “Víctimas de la Guerra Civil y el Régimen franquista: No hay derecho,” November 30, 2006. The Equipo Nickor (which takes its name from the Hebrew “we will remember”), a human-rights NGO that focuses on Spain and Latin America, has also sought to draw parallels with Nuremberg; see, for instance, their report, “La cuestión de la impunidad en España y los crímenes franquistas,” <http://www.derechos.org/nizkor/espana/doc/impuesp.html>.
37. Emilio Silva and Santiago Macías, *Las fosas de Franco* (Madrid: Temas de hoy, 2003), 109. The ARMH appealed to resolution number 47/133 in making their case; Silva and Macías, *Las fosas de Franco*, 77.
38. Jeffrey Olick, *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 25.
39. See Layla Renshaw, *Exhuming Loss: Memory, Materiality and the Mass Graves of the Spanish Civil War* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2011), 20.
40. Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 23. Olick states (7) that collective memory “is not identical to the memories of a certain percentage of the population but constitutes a social fact in and of itself—though [...] we need to be very careful about the transcendentalism implied by this formulation.” James Young also articulates this position in *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), xi. In discussing the ARMH rather more than the Foro, I do not intend to imply personal or political preference; the ARMH simply has a higher public profile.
41. Olick, *The Politics of Regret*, 23.
42. See “Testimonies of Repression: Methodological and Political Issues,” in Jerez-Ferrán and Amago, *Unearthing Franco’s Legacy*, 192–205 (here 197).
43. Labanyi’s comment is presumably an inadvertent slip, for she notes later in her essay (199) that the creation of a culture of victimhood removes agency from individuals.
44. Renshaw’s accounts of the purpose of public humiliations such as women being forced to drink castor oil or parade round villages naked explore the dynamics of power in a small community more

- convincingly than Preston's blanket linkage of them to a Jewish-Bolshevik-Masonic conspiracy. Likewise, her subtle readings of the confiscation of victims' property and later brandishing of it in villages demonstrates the consolidation of a new social order based on fear, and her understanding of how victims' families may have found minor forms of resistance retains details and contextualization, thus avoiding any excessively optimistic suggestion that regime repression could easily be combated.
45. Renshaw, *Exhuming Loss*, 32.
 46. Assmann and Shortt talk of "a new search for justice" (1) and memory's "transformative quality" (3).
 47. On the importance of the Pinochet case for the development of universal human rights enforcement, see Blakeley, "Digging Up Spain's Past: Consequences of Truth and Reconciliation," *Democratization* 12, no. 1 (2005): 44–59; Golob, "'Forced to Be Free': Globalized Justice, Pacted Democracy and the Pinochet Case," *Democratization* 9, no. 2 (2002): 21–42; "The Pinochet Case: 'Forced to Be Free Abroad and at Home,'" *Democratization* 9, no. 4 (2002): 25–57.
 48. Available at http://elpais.com/diario/2008/10/17/espana/1224194401_850215.html#despiece1. The *auto* and its consequences for the exhumation process are discussed in Francisco Ferrándiz, "Guerras sin fin: guía para descifrar el Valle de los Caídos en la España contemporánea/Lingering Wars: Deciphering the Valley of the Fallen in Contemporary Spain," *Política y Sociedad* 48, no. 3 (2011): 481–500.
 49. The validity of the Scilingo case has been challenged: see Alicia Gil Gil, "The Flaws of the *Scilingo* Judgement," *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 3, no. 5 (2005): 1082–91.
 50. Baltasar Garzón, *La fuerza de la razón*, presented by Isabel Coixet, prologue by Manuel Rivas (Barcelona: Mondadori, 2011), 22.
 51. Recently, Santiago Carrillo declared that the prosecution of Garzón demonstrated the failings of Spain's democracy: "¿Volvemos a los tiempos del miedo?," *El País* February 20, 2012.
 52. The legislation was revoked by the Argentine Senate on August 21, 2003; on June 14, 2005, the Supreme Court confirmed this overturning of previous amnesty laws, opening the way for human-rights-based prosecutions. For an analysis of this, see Margarita K. O'Donnell, "New Dirty War Judgements in Argentina: National Courts and Domestic Prosecutions of International Human Rights Violations," *New York University Law Review* 84, no. 1 (2009): 333–74.
 53. Valme Cortés and Natalia Junquera, "Ningún juez quiere abrir la fosa de García Lorca... ni ningún otra," *El País* September 19, 2012.
 54. The matter of human rights also raises philosophical concerns regarding the relationship between universal rights, the role of the state, and citizenship. Agamben's work on "bare life" poses the problem that it is precisely the state that confirms who will benefit from the

- implementation of human rights; Spain does not escape this conundrum. On Agamben, see John Lechte and Saul Newman, "Agamben, Arendt and Human Rights: Bearing Witness to the Human," *European Journal of Social Theory* 15, no. 4 (2012): 522–36.
55. Jürgen Habermas, "Concerning the Public Use of History," *New German Critique* 44 (1988): 40–50 (originally published in *Die Zeit* November 7, 1986).
 56. Habermas, "Concerning the Public Use of History," 44 and 45, respectively. I do, however, address limitations in Habermas's notion of the public sphere in my conclusion.
 57. Francesc Torres, *Dark Is the Room Where We Sleep/Oscura es la habitación donde dormimos* (Barcelona: Actar, n.d.). Torres included some images from this, along with a narrative, in "The Images of Memory: A Civil Narration of History, A Photo Essay," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 9, no. 2 (2008): 157–75. The exhibition, "Dark Is the Room Where We Sleep," was held at the International Center of Photography, New York, September 26, 2007–January 6, 2008. I draw on both the book and article in the discussion that follows, but unfortunately was unable to see the exhibition.
 58. Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003), 6.
 59. Torres, "The Images of Memory," 157. Torres offers a more positive valuation of the contribution of photographs to memory work than does Susan Sontag in *Regarding the Pain of Others* (New York: Picador, 2003), 22–23, 88–91.
 60. Maggie Nelson, *The Art of Cruelty: A Reckoning* (New York and London: Norton, 2011), 26.
 61. Torres, *Dark Is the Room*, 15; "The Images of Memory," 161.
 62. Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, p. 20.
 63. Torres, *Dark Is the Room*, 44, 46, 81, 114. In David González's poem, "Historia de España (Nudo)," from *Anda, hombre, levántate de ti*, the focus is on an interplay between Spanish history understood as a traumatic knot that no one has bothered to unravel and the hands of exhumed Civil War victims wrung together into a knot at the moment of death. For a discussion of the poem, see Llorente, "Memoria histórica en la poesía de Isabel Pérez Montalbán and David González," *Hispanic Review* 81, no. 2 (2013): 181–200 (here 197).
 64. Torres, *Dark Is the Room*, 45.
 65. Torres, *Dark Is the Room*, 107.
 66. The inability to honor their dead in a traditional public manner is something that relatives during the postwar era felt particularly keenly; see Renshaw, *Exhuming Loss*, 30–31.
 67. Slavoj Žižek, *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections* (New York: Picador, 2008), 1.
 68. Torres, *Dark Is the Room*, 42–43, 106.
 69. Torres, "The Images of Memory," 163.

70. Capa's image is mentioned in *Dark Is the Room*, 15. There has been some dispute about its authenticity (Philip Knightley, *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004], 228–29), although this does not detract from the iconic power of the image itself.
71. Robert Hughes, *Goya* (London: Vintage, 2004), 289.
72. Hughes, *Goya*, 287.
73. Torres, *Dark Is the Room*, 85, 87.
74. Aguilar, *The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*, Translated by Mark Oakley. Oxford: Bergahan Books, 2002, chap. 2.
75. Gina Herrmann, *Written in Red: The Communist Memoir in Spain* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 198.
76. Jorge Semprún, *Autobiografía de Federico Sánchez* (Madrid: Planeta, 1977) and *Federico Sánchez se despide de Ustedes* (Barcelona: Tusquets, 2002). See also Ferrán, *Working Through Memory*, chap. 1; Daniela Omlor, “Exile and Trauma in Jorge Semprún,” *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 17, no. 1 (2011): 69–79. In particular, the challenge posed by the revelation of Stalinist “crimes” has been discussed in the context of the Communist International more generally; see Herrmann, *Written in Red*.
77. Sigrid Weigel, “‘Generation’ as Symbolic Form: On the Genealogical Discourse of Memory since 1945,” *The Germanic Review* 77, no. 4 (2002): 264–77 (here 265).
78. Weigel, “‘Generation’ as Symbolic Form,” 266.
79. Although he does allude to Ortega y Gasset’s “organic” view of generational change, Stuart Davis affirms the view of generation as rupture and renewal in *Writing and Heritage in Contemporary Spain: The Imaginary Museum of Literature* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2012), 155–59.
80. Paul Preston, “Dilemma of Credibility: The Spanish Communist Party, the Franco Regime and After,” *Government and Opposition* 11, no. 1 (1976): 65–84.
81. Preston, “Dilemma of Credibility,” 74. The standard study of the Francoist opposition in this period is José Maravall, *Dictatorship and Political Dissent: Workers and Students in Franco’s Spain* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1978). See also Carrillo, *Memorias*, 450, for the Communist leader’s retrospective interpretation of the time.
82. Preston, “Dilemma of Credibility,” 77.
83. Jorge Semprún, *Veinte años y un día*, 6th ed. (Barcelona: Tusquets, 2004), 15.
84. For an interpretation, see Jordi Gracia, *La resistencia silenciosa: Fascismo y cultura en España* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 2004); see also his *La vida rescatada de Dionisio Ridruejo* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 2008).

85. In addition to Maravall, *Dictatorship and Political Dissent*, see also Víctor M. Pérez Díaz, *The Return of Civil Society* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).
86. Herrmann, *Written in Red*, 198–99. Her comments echo those of Tony Judt in discussing the missed opportunities of French Communist intellectuals in the face of Krushev's 1956 speech, as well as the evidence of Stalinist purges and show trials. See his *Past Imperfect: French Intellectuals, 1944–1956* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), 282.
87. Semprún, *Veinte años*, 12.
88. Javier Cercas, *Soldados de Salamina* 27th ed. (Barcelona: Tusquets, 2003), 22. I discuss *La malamemoria* in "From the Recuperation of Spanish Historical Memory to a Semantic Dissection of Cultural Memory: *La malamemoria* by Isaac Rosa," *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 16, no. 1 (2010): 1–12.
89. Isaac Rosa, "La construcción de la memoria de la Guerra Civil y la dictadura en la literatura española reciente," in *Guerra y memoria en la España contemporánea/War and Memory in Contemporary Spain*, ed. Alison Ribeiro de Menezes, Roberta Ann Quance, and Anne L. Walsh (Madrid: Verbum, 2009), 209–27 (here 214). On Martín-Santos's narrative poetics, see Alfonso Rey, *Construcción y sentido de "Tiempo de silencio"* (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1977). For studies of Goytisolo's trilogy, see *inter alia*, Linda Gould Levine, *Juan Goytisolo: La destrucción creadora* (Mexico: Joaquín Mortiz, 1977); Alison Ribeiro de Menezes, *Juan Goytisolo: The Author as Dissident* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2005).
90. Goytisolo wrote, "El lenguaje creado y utilizado por el Régimen durante sus veinticinco años de gobierno no ha sido objeto, hasta ahora, de ningún análisis serio por parte de la izquierda española. La crítica y denuncia del edificio semántico en que se apoya llevaría, no obstante, consigo, la crítica y denuncia de los fundamentos mismos de su existencia. Esta verdad, descubierta por Larra hace más de un siglo, sigue siendo letra muerta para nosotros. En lugar de iniciar la crítica de los valores a partir de las palabras caemos en una retórica fácil—simétrica y complementaria de la que denunciamos. Esfuerzo inútil: tarde o temprano la experiencia nos obligará a reconocer que la negación de un sistema intelectualmente opresor comienza necesariamente con la negación de su estructura semántica." See "La actualidad de Larra," in *El furgón de cola*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1982), 19–38 (here 32, 2n).
91. Rosa, "La construcción de la memoria," 213.
92. Machado's line reads, "El vano ayer engendrará un mañana vacío y ¡por ventura! pasajero." The novels of Goytisolo's early trilogy were *El circo* (1957), *Fiestas* (1958), and *La resaca* (1958).
93. Anne Fuchs and Mary Cosgrove, "Introduction," *German Life and Letters* 59, no. 2 (2006): 163–68; Anne Fuchs, Mary Cosgrove, and Georg Grote, "Introduction: Germany's Memory Contests and the

- Management of the Past,” *German Memory Contests: The Quest for Identity in Literature, Film and Discourse Since 1990* (Rochester: Camden House, 2006), 1–21.
94. Günter Grass’s narrator in *Crabwalk* ponders how to approach writing the lives of past individuals (trans. Krishna Winston, 2nd ed. [London: Faber and Faber, 2004], 3): “Should I do as I was taught and unpack one life at a time, in order, or do I have to sneak up on time in a crabwalk, seeming to go backward but actually scuttling sideways, and thereby working my way forward fairly rapidly?”
 95. Rosa, “La construcción de la memoria,” 209–27.
 96. Rosa, “La construcción de la memoria,” 212.
 97. Nelson, *The Art of Cruelty*, 11.
 98. Rosa, “La construcción de la memoria,” 214.
 99. I am grateful to Julio Ortega for pointing out to me that Julio Dinis is an early pen name of Argentine writer, Julio Cortázar; Rosa’s lack of resolution with regard to traditional aspects of plot in *El vano ayer* would seem appropriate in the context of this homage to the author of *Rayuela*.
 100. Isaac Rosa, *El vano ayer* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 2004), 32.
 101. See chap. 4 of *Señas de identidad*, in Juan Goytisolo, *Tríptico del mal: Señas de identidad, Don Julián, Juan sin Tierra* (Barcelona: El Aleph, 2004).
 102. Catherine O’Leary, “Memory and Restoration: Jéronimo López Mozo’s *El arquitecto y el relojero*,” in *Legacies of War and Dictatorship in Contemporary Portugal and Spain*, ed. Alison Ribeiro de Menezes and Catherine O’Leary (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2011), 149–67 (here 155).
 103. Rosa’s text refers to “la fijación de aquel régimen con las ventanas como punto de cierre a las investigaciones policiales” (119).
 104. Feldman, *Formations of Violence*, 68.
 105. Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins, 2001), xi.
 106. Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 25.
 107. Nelson, *Against Cruelty*, 44.
 108. David Rieff, *Against Remembrance* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2011), viii.
 109. Assmann and Shortt, *Memory and Political Change*, 3.
 110. Fuchs, Cosgrove, and Grote, *German Memory Contests*, 6.
 111. Žižek, *Violence*, 11; Nelson, *The Art of Cruelty*, 269.

3 DISRUPTED GENEALOGIES AND GENERATIONAL CONFLICTS: POSTMEMORIAL FAMILY NARRATIVES

1. Marianne Hirsch, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Post-memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 4.
2. Hirsch, *Family Frames*, 6–8.

3. Hirsch, *Family Frames*, 13.
4. Hirsch, *Family Frames*, 23.
5. Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 74.
6. Hirsch, *Family Frames*, 22.
7. She borrows the term from W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 83.
8. Margaret Olin, "Touching Photographs: Roland Barthes's 'Mistaken' Identification," *Representations* 80, no. 1 (2002): 99–118 (here 115). Olin calls into question the very existence of the "Winter Garden" photograph of Barthes's mother upon which *Camera Lucida* relies, and argues that, rather than a theoretical text, it may be more convincingly interpreted as the staging of a performance between a narrator called "Barthes" and his mother in a winter garden.
9. Marianne Hirsch, "Projected Memory: Holocaust Photographs in Personal and Public Fantasy," in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*, ed. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), 3–23 (here 9).
10. Anne Fuchs, *Phantoms of War in Contemporary German Narrative, Films and Discourse* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 47.
11. Helen Graham, "The Memory of Murder: Mass Killing, Incarceration and the Making of Francoism," in *Guerra y memoria en la España contemporánea/War and Memory in Contemporary Spain*, ed. Alison Ribeiro de Menezes, Roberta Ann Quance, and Anne L. Walsh (Madrid: Verbum, 2009), 29–49.
12. There is considerable bibliography in this area. For representative discussions of social policy, see Mary Nash, "Pronatalismo y maternidad en la España franquista," in *Maternidad y políticas de género: La mujer en los estados de bienestar europeos, 1880–1950*, ed. Gisela Bock and Pat Thane (Madrid: Cátedra, 1996); Carme Molinero, "Mujer, represión y antifranquismo," *Historia del presente* 4 (2004): 9–12. For a ground-breaking study of women's role models in literature, see Nino Kebabze, *Romance and Exemplarity in Post-war Spanish Women's Narratives* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2009).
13. The inclusion of children illegally removed from their parents by the Regime in Judge Baltasar Garzón's case against those guilty of crimes under the dictatorship has kept the issue to the forefront of public debate. See Ángela Cenarro, *Los niños del Auxilio Social* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 2009), 18.
14. Gina Herrmann notes that Armengou and Belis do not offer any pretence to impartiality, using "the spoken word of the victim [as] the central structural and material principle, [...] whose power depends precisely on the layering of emotion, ideology and 'factual' discoveries." See "Documentary's Labours of Law: The Television

- Journalism of Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis,” *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 9, no. 2 (2008): 193–212 (here 194).
15. The scene was staged in Málaga prison; personal e-mail communication with Monste Armengou, October 15, 2012.
 16. This is the text in the documentary; in their book accompanying the film, *Los niños perdidos del franquismo* (Barcelona: Random House Mondadori, 2003), these lines read “rodeada por la terrible reja de la intransigencia” (98).
 17. Ángela Cenaarro’s work also notes the recourse to resistance as a form of building an alternative identity in spite of the “dissident” label forcibly attached by the Regime to those who opposed it, or whose relatives did so. See “Memories of Resistance: Narratives of Children Institutionalized by Auxilio Social in Postwar Spain,” *History & Memory* 20, no. 2 (2008): 39–59 (here 55).
 18. A potentially troubling aspect of the documentary is its visual suggestion of images more familiar to viewers in a Holocaust context: references to concentration camps and the herding of prisoners into cattle trucks are presumably meant to shock the viewer into a better understanding of the horror of Francoist repression, but they leave Armengou and Belis open to the charges of sensationalism and of the instrumentalization of Holocaust memory. Armengou and Belis have also made *El convoy de los 927*, a documentary about Spaniards who were sent to Mauthausen in the summer of 1941 as a result of collusion between Francoist Spain, Vichy France, and Nazi Germany.
 19. Montse Armengou Martín, “Investigative Journalism as a Tool for Recovering Historical Memory,” in *Unearthing Franco’s Legacy*, ed. Carlos Jerez-Ferrán and Samuel Amago (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 156–67 (here 159).
 20. Ernst van Alphen, “Symptoms of Discursivity: Experience, Memory, and Trauma,” in *Acts of Memory*, ed. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), 23–38. The role of testimony in Spain’s memory debates is studied by Jo Labanyi in “Historias de víctimas: la memoria histórica y el testimonio en la España contemporánea,” *Revista Iberoamericana* 24 (2006): 87–98.
 21. Richard Kearney, *On Stories* (London: Routledge, 2002), 3.
 22. Van Alphen, “Symptoms of Discursivity,” 25.
 23. I have highlighted the limitations of *La voz dormida* as a narrative of cultural memory in “Remembering the Spanish Civil War: Cinematic Motifs and the Narrative Recuperation of the Past in Dulce Chacón’s *La voz dormida*, Javier Cercas’s *Soldados de Salamina*, and Manuel Rivas’s *O lapis do carpinteiro*,” NUI Maynooth Papers in Spanish, Portuguese and Latin American Studies, no. 13 (Maynooth, Co. Kildare: Department of Spanish, 2005). For analyses of the novel, see Jose F. Colmeiro, “Re-collecting Women’s Voices from Prison: The Hybridization of Memories in Dulce Chacón’s *La voz dormida*,”

- Foro Hispánico* 31 (2008): 191–209; Ana Corbalán Vélez, “Homenaje a la mujer republicana: reescritura de la guerra civil en *La voz dormida*, de Dulce Chacón, y *Libertarias*, de Vicente Aranda,” *Crítica Hispánica* 32, no. 1 (2010): 41–64; Kathryn Everly, “Women, War and Words in *La voz dormida* by Dulce Chacón,” in *Women in the Spanish Novel Today: Essays on the Reflection of Self in the Works of Three Generations*, ed. Kyra Kietrys and Montserrat Linares (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009), 77–91; Mazal Oaknin, “La reinscripción del rol de la mujer en la Guerra Civil española: *La voz dormida*,” *Espéculo: Revista de Estudios Literarios* 43 (2009–2010). <http://www.ucm.es/info/especulo/numero43/vozdorm.html>.
24. It might even be called a “dysfunctional” detective novel. For an analysis of Chacón’s experimentation with the genre, see Shelley Godsland, “History and Memory, Detection and Nostalgia: Dulce Chacón’s *Cielos de barro*,” *Hispanic Research Journal* 6, no. 3 (2005): 253–64.
 25. This interest in petty hatreds and crimes also surfaces in Agustí Villaronga’s 2010 Catalan film, *Pa negre*, or *Pan negro*, although space precludes me discussing it here.
 26. Dulce Chacón, *Cielos de barro* (Barcelona: Planeta, 2004), 13. For a discussion on this, see Catherine O’Leary and Alison Ribeiro de Menezes, *A Companion to Carmen Martín Gaité* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2008), 118–22, 188–90. Chacón explicitly creates a female literary genealogy with these intertextual allusions.
 27. This reference to “olvido” (24) is presumably an oblique allusion to the “pacto de olvido” of the Transition, although Chacón does not spell this out in her novel.
 28. For an analysis of the novel’s depiction of the “cortijo” land-ownership structures in Extremadura, see Juana Gamero de Coca, *Nación y género en la invención de Extremadura: Soñando fronteras de cielo y barro* (Vilagarcía de Arousa, Pontevedra: Mirabel Editorial, 2005), 115–27. On the foreclosure of historical agency by *latifundista* socioeconomic structures, see Lorraine Ryan, “Terms of Empowerment: Setting, Spatiality, and Agency in Carlos Ruiz Zafón’s *La sombra del viento* and Dulce Chacón’s *Cielos de barro*,” *CLUES: A Journal of Detection* 27 (2009): 95–107.
 29. Susana Narotsky and Gavin Smith, *Immediate Struggles: People, Power and Place in Rural Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 60.
 30. This is the underlying argument of Narotsky and Smith, *Immediate Struggles*, and Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco’s Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
 31. On the novel’s structure, see Carmen de Urioste, “Memoria de la Guerra Civil y modernidad: el caso de *El corazón helado* de Almudena Grandes,” *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 63, no. 1 (2010): 69–84.

32. Almudena Grandes, *El corazón helado*, 11th ed. (Barcelona: Tusquets, 2008), 923.
33. Cited in Margot Molina, “Cuatro novelistas escriben sobre la Guerra Civil para romper el silencio,” *El País* March 30, 2007.
34. Machado’s lines, “Una de las dos Españas/ha de helarte el corazón,” taken from poem number LIII of *Proverbios y cantares*, stand as the epigraph to the novel.
35. Grandes has defended the emotive nature of her text: “Reivindico absolutamente la emoción, que me parece el territorio de la literatura; no solo escribo para emocionar, sino que leo para emocionarme, no para ser mas sabia.” See Ángel Vivas, “Almudena Grandes vuelve ‘galdosiana, y a mucha honra,’ en su nueva novela,” *El mundo* February 13, 2007.
36. Urioste, “Memoria de la Guerra Civil y modernidad,” 74.
37. *Historia de una maestra* was not, however, initially conceived as the first volume of a trilogy; for a reflection on its composition and unexpected commercial success, see Aldecoa’s autobiography, *En la distancia* (Madrid: Alfaguara, 2004), 203–5.
38. Nuala Kenny examines the tensions between Aldecoa’s chronological generational affiliation and the respects in which her treatment of women’s themes is often more characteristic of a younger writer, in *The Novels of Josefina Aldecoa: Women, Society, and Cultural Memory in Contemporary Spain* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2012).
39. *En la distancia* makes clear that Aldecoa broadly shares this political position.
40. Josefina R. Aldecoa, *Historia de una maestra*, 6th ed. (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1999), 173.
41. There was, of course, nothing peculiarly Spanish about this. As Mazower notes in *Dark Continent: Europe’s Twentieth Century* (London: Penguin, 1998), 78, “the idea that family health concerned society more generally, that the nation needed racially sound progeny, that the state should therefore intervene in private life to show people how to live—all this ran right across the political spectrum of inter-war Europe, reflecting the tensions and stresses of an insecure world in which nation-states existed in rivalry with one another, their populations decimated by one war and threatened by the prospect of another.”
42. See Raymond Carr and Juan Pablo Fusi, *Spain: Dictatorship to Democracy*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1993).
43. For an analysis of this, see Janet Pérez, “Plant Imagery, Subversion and Feminine Dependency: Josefina Aldecoa, Carmen Martín Gaité and María Antónia Oliver,” in *In the Feminine Mode: Essays on Hispanic Women Writers*, ed. Noël Valis and Carol Maier (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1990), 78–100.
44. Manuel Rivas, *Qué me quieres, amor?* (Vigo: Editorial Galaxia, 1995).

45. Benita Sampedro examines the place of Guinea Española in the Spanish cultural imaginary in “Rethinking the Archive and the Colonial Library: Equitorial Guinea,” *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 9, no. 3 (2008): 341–63.
46. Eduardo González Calleja, “The Symbolism of Violence During the Second Republic in Spain, 1931–1936,” in *The Splintering of Spain: Cultural History and the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939*, ed. Chris Ealham and Michael Richards (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 23–44.
47. I draw again on Mazower’s *Dark Continent* (101): “In an age of empire and social Darwinism, notions of racial hierarchy were ubiquitous, and few Europeans of Left or Right did not believe in ideas of racial superiority in one form or another, or accept their relevance to colonial policy.”
48. Josefina Aldecoa, *Mujeres de negro*, 7th ed. (Barcelona: Anagrama, 2000), 35.
49. Josefina Aldecoa, *La fuerza del destino*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona: Anagrama Compactos, 2002), 112.
50. See, for instance, Carmen Martín Gaité, *Retahilas* (Barcelona: Destino, 1974).

4 GHOSTLY EMBODIMENTS: ENCHANTED AND DISENCHANTED CHILDHOODS

1. See Jo Labanyi, “Introduction: Engaging with Ghosts, or Theorizing Culture in Modern Spain,” in *Constructing Identity in Contemporary Spain: Theoretical Debates and Cultural Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1–14 (here 1).
2. Jo Labanyi, “History and Hauntology; or, What Does One Do With the Ghosts of the Past? Reflections on Spanish Film and Fiction of the Post-Franco Period,” in *Disremembering the Dictatorship: The Politics of Memory in the Spanish Transition to Democracy*, ed. Joan Ramon Resina (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), 65–82 (here 68).
3. Colin Davis, *Haunted Subjects: Deconstruction, Psychoanalysis and the Return of the Dead* (Houndmills: Basingstoke, 2007), 14.
4. Sarah Wright, “Zombie-Nation: Haunting, ‘Doubling’, and the ‘Unmaking’ of Francoist Aesthetics in Albert Boadella’s *¡Buen viaje, Excelencia!*,” *Contemporary Theatre Review* 17, no. 3 (2007): 311–22 (here 314).
5. Nicholas Royle, *The Uncanny* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 277.
6. Paul Ricoeur, *History, Memory, Forgetting*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 54.
7. Discussed by Royle, *The Uncanny*, 281.
8. Joan Kirby, “‘Remembrance of the Future’: Derrida on Mourning,” *Social Semiotics* 16, no. 3 (2006): 461–72 (here 467–68).

9. Kirby, “Remembrance of the Future,” 469.
10. This has been discussed from the perspective of cultural memory in Lorraine Ryan, “The Development of Child Subjectivity in *La lengua de las mariposas*,” *Hispania* 95, no. 3 (2012): 448–60.
11. By generation I mean here chronological age, rather than cultural or literary group membership; the lack of coincidence of these two senses of the term underlines the very divergences of perspective I discuss below.
12. I allude again to Rothberg’s influential study, *Multidirectional Memory*. For del Toro’s comments on the Mexican Revolution, see Kimberly Chus, “What Is a Ghost? An Interview with Guillermo del Toro,” *Cineaste* Spring 2002, 28–31. Antonio Lázaro-Reboll notes of *Espinazo* in particular, “the Mexican origins of the project [were] recontextualized from the Mexican revolution to the Spanish Civil War”; see “The Transnational Reception of *El espinazo del diablo* (Guillermo del Toro, 2001),” *Hispanic Research Journal* 8, no. 1 (2007): 39–51 (here 42). Jane Hanly claims that the director’s exile from Mexico is a result of his father’s kidnapping; see “The Walls Fall Down: Fantasy and Power in *El laberinto del fauno*,” *Studies in Hispanic Cinemas* 4, no. 1 (2007): 35–45. It is tempting to regard Mexican history as a personal ghost of del Toro’s, but space precludes a discussion of this here.
13. Paul Julian Smith, “Ghost of the Civil Dead,” *Sight and Sound* 12 (2001): 38–39.
14. See Michael Atkinson, “Moral Horrors in Guillermo del Toro’s *Pan’s Labyrinth*—The Supernatural Realm Mirrors Man’s Inhumanity to Man,” *Film Comment* January–February 2007, 50–53; Mariana Chávez, “Guillermo del Toro y sus creaciones monstruosas,” *Señoras y Señores* October 2008, 64–69; Roger Clark and Keith McDonald, “‘A Constant Transit of Finding’: Fantasy as Realization in *Pan’s Labyrinth*,” *Children’s Literature in Education* 41, no. 1 (2010): 52–63; Ann Davies, “The Beautiful and the Monstrous Masculine: The Male Body and Horror in *El espinazo del diablo* (Guillermo del Toro, 2001),” *Studies in Hispanic Cinemas* 3, no. 3 (2006): 135–47; Hanly, “The Walls Fall Down.”
15. Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 34.
16. Surely a ghostly echo of Buñuel’s *Tristana*.
17. Labanyi, “Introduction: Engaging with Ghosts,” 1.
18. In the extras accompanying the discs.
19. McClean’s discussion of the Irish famine in the context of modernity is particularly instructive for del Toro’s ambivalent and self-conscious reinscription of enchanted realities in both films considered here; see *The Event and Its Terrors: Ireland, Famine, Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 4.

20. In *Stranded in the Present: Modern Time and the Melancholy of History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), Peter Fritzsche notes that in the early 1800s ruins “provided evidence of counter lives [. . .]. Ghosts appeared in the same way: as the residue of historical disaster” (104).
21. Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present*, 107.
22. See also Gabrielle Carty, “A Cinematic Hybrid: *El laberinto del fauno* and Film Representations of the Spanish Civil War,” in *Legacies of War and Dictatorship in Contemporary Portugal and Spain*, ed. Alison Ribeiro de Menezes and Catherine O’Leary (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2011), 229–40.
23. The shoes recall installations at various Holocaust memorials, including Auschwitz, the Yad Vashem museum, and the US Holocaust Memorial Museum; see Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 118; also Mazower, *Dark Continent*. Mazower’s application to Europe of the term, “dark continent,” generally applied to Africa, parallels Rothberg’s examination of the intersections between Holocaust remembrance and decolonization.
24. Carty also notes these cinematic overlaps, 235.
25. The allusion to the Allied landings in Normandy in June 1944, which clearly positions the film in historical terms, is also an indictment of the Allies’ lack of commitment to removing Franco from power, for which the *maquis* resistance had hoped at the time.
26. Alberto Méndez, *Los girasoles ciegos*, 17th ed. (Barcelona: Anagrama, 2007), 116. Whether the book constitutes a collection of four stories, or a narrative quadtych, is moot; the four pieces fit closely together and were clearly conceived as a whole, while retaining individual elements and a certain narrative autonomy.
27. The theme of “topos,” who lived concealed in their homes and communities, also appears in Rosa’s novel, *La malamemoria*.
28. Anne Fuchs, *Phantoms of War in Contemporary German Narrative, Films and Discourse* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 48.
29. Interestingly, Méndez employs the trope of lepers to stand for dangerous outsiders who may consume the healthy body politic, rather than the current popular-culture marshaling of cannibalistic zombies inspired by George Romero’s 1968 film, *Night of the Living Dead*; this surely reveals his generational perspective as well as his focus on domestic Spanish postwar metaphors of internal threat.
30. Méndez’s brother has, nevertheless, claimed that the ambience of “Los girasoles ciegos” is derived from the area of Madrid in which he and his brother grew up (quoted in Eva Díaz Pérez, “El Premio de la Crítica recae por primera vez en una obra postuma, *Los girasoles ciegos*,” *El Mundo* April 10, 2005).

31. Juan Goytisolo, *Libertad, libertad, libertad* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1978), 11–19; Carmen Martín Gaité, *El cuarto de atrás* (Barcelona: Destino, 1978).
32. Cited in Raquel Garzón, “Alberto Méndez recupera la posguerra en *Los girasoles ciegos*,” *El País* February 20, 2004.
33. Cited in Garzón, “Alberto Méndez recupera la posguerra.”
34. Trauma theory views history as pathological; thus, traumatic memory, according to theorists such as Cathy Caruth, is always belated. Likewise, historical truth is belated or delayed, and accessed indirectly via imaginary mediation. Méndez explores these issues more explicitly in “Los girasoles ciegos” than in the other three parts of his book, and it is for this reason that I focus on only it here. On Caruth’s view of trauma, see her edited volume, *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1995), 8; for a critique of Caruth, see Fuchs, *Phantoms of War*, 48.
35. Carlos Giménez calls Francoist ideology “el monstruo lógico que engendraba una sociedad monstruosa” in his introduction to *Todo Paracuellos*, prologue by Juan Marsé (Barcelona: Random House/Mondadori, 2007), 22. On *Paracuellos* and its place within Spanish graphic narrative, see Ana Merino and Brittany Tullis, “The Sequential Art of Memory: The Testimonial Struggle of Comics in Spain,” *Hispanic Issues Online* 11 (2012): 211–25. http://hispaniciissues.umn.edu/assets/doc/11_MERINOTULLIS.pdf.
36. Cenarro, *Los niños del Auxilio Social* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 2009), 17, 33. Auxilio Social, originally modeled on Hitler’s Winter-Hilfe, was founded by Mercedes Sanz Bachiller, widow of the Falangist Onésimo Redondo.
37. Cenarro, *Los niños del Auxilio Social*, 17.
38. See *The Guernica Children* (Eye Witness Productions, n.d.), which is mainly an indictment of the British government’s adherence to the policy of nonintervention despite popular support for initiatives such as the assistance of evacuee children. Also, *Los niños de Rusia*, dir. Jaime Camino, 2004.
39. On this, in particular, see the introduction to Richards’s *After the Civil War: Making Memory and Re-making Spain Since 1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
40. Cenarro, *Los niños del Auxilio Social*, 34.
41. Cenarro, *Los niños del Auxilio Social*, 194–96.
42. Cenarro, *Los niños del Auxilio Social*, 191, 243.
43. Cenarro, *Los niños del Auxilio Social*, 288.
44. Artist’s website, <http://www.carlosgimenez.com/vida/bio.htm>.
45. Giménez recounts his working method in his introduction to *Todo Paracuellos*, 15–23. He observes, in particular, that “detrás de cada niño dibujado con un nombre inventado se halla la historia de un niño real” (19).
46. Giménez, introduction to *Todo Paracuellos*, 1.

47. Here, I draw on Rosemary Clark's innovative reading of the importance of play in her study, *Catholic Iconography in the Novels of Juan Marsé* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2003), 7.
48. Juan Marsé, "Prólogo: Paracuellos—aventuras y testimonio," in *Todo Paracuellos*, 5–14 (here 5, 8).
49. Giménez, "¡Rezad, rezad malditos!" from *Paracuellos 2*, in *Todo Paracuellos*, 110–17 (here 111).
50. Giménez, "Piscurros," from *Paracuellos 3*, in *Todo Paracuellos*, 260–71 (here 260).
51. Giménez, "Teatro," from *Paracuellos 3*, in *Todo Paracuellos*, 236–47. Rosemary Clark, quoting Eric H. Erikson (*Catholic Iconography*, 8), refers to childhood play as "a healthy 'generativity.'"
52. Giménez, "Tebeos y queso," from *Paracuellos 3*, in *Todo Paracuellos*, 296–307 (here 298). Again, Giménez's work bears comparison with Marsé: Clark notes (15) how, in *Si te dicen que caí*, play may be seen as "a working through of experience in the relative safety of the play area, but [the boys'] enjoyment of violence testifies to early corruption."
53. Michael Richards, *A Time of Silence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 4.
54. Juan Marsé, *Rabos de lagartija*, 4th ed. (Barcelona: Lumen, 2001), 57–60.
55. This image is revealed in *Rabos* (186) to be from the Spanish edition of *Der Adler* of March 15, 1942. Unfortunately, I have been unable to access a copy of this publication or confirm its bibliographical details. In *Der Adler: The Luftwaffe Magazine*, ed. S. L. Mayer and Masami Tokoi (London: Arms and Armour Press/Bison Books, 1977), no reference is made to a Spanish edition, but a dual German–English edition was published until the United States entered the Second World War in December 1941. All editions from 1942 on were German and French. There was also a French edition available in Portugal.
56. *The Four Feathers* is a 1939 adaptation of A. E. W. Mason's 1902 book of the same name, directed by Zoltan Korda, and starring John Clements, Ralph Richardson, June Duprez, and C. Aubrey Smith. *The Real Glory* is a 1939 action film adaptation of Charles L. Clifford's 1937 eponymous novel, directed by Henry Hathaway, and starring Gary Cooper, David Niven, and Broderick Crawford. *The Thief of Baghdad* is a 1940 British fantasy film, directed by Michael Powell, Ludwig Berger, and Tim Whelan, produced by Alexander Korda, and starring the child actor Sabu alongside Conrad Veidt, John Justin, and June Duprez. *Scarface* is a 1932 American gangster film, directed by Howard Hawks, and starring Paul Muni, Ann Dvorak, Osgood Perkins, Karen Morley, George Raft, and Boris Karloff. *Charge of the Light Brigade* dates from 1936, was directed by Michael Curtiz, and starred Errol Flynn and Olivia de Havilland. *The Wolf Man* is a 1941 horror film, directed by George Waggner, and starring Lon Chanley, Claude Rains, Evelyn Ankers, Ralph

- Bellamy, Patric Knowles, Béla Lugosi, and Maria Ouspenskaya. *Jesse James* is a 1939 western, directed by Henry King, in which Tyrone Power, Henry Fonda, Nancy Kelly, and Randolph Scott starred.
57. This function of the cinema space is consistent throughout Marsé's fiction, including *Si te dicen que caí*.
 58. Later, *Rabos* makes reference to "este maloliente repliegue de la historia" (304). As I noted in chapter 2, Grass suggests in *Crabwalk* that German history is a "clogged toilet." Space precludes an analysis of Marsé's subversion of religious imagery in *Rabos*; for a discussion of the question in his fiction generally, see Clark, *Catholic Iconography*.

5 HEROISM AND AFFECT: FROM NARRATIVES OF MOURNING TO MULTIDIRECTIONAL MEMORIES

1. Thomas Carlyle, *Collected Works*, vol. 12, *Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History* (London: Chapman, 1869).
2. Friedrich Nietzsche, "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life," in *Untimely Meditations*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 57–123 (here 68).
3. Scott T. Allison and George R. Goethals, *Heroes: What They Do and Why We Need Them* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
4. The work of Robert Gerwarth on Bismark, Lucy Riall on Garibaldi, and their *Hero Cults and the Politics of the Past: Comparative European Perspectives*, a jointly edited special issue of *European History Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (2009) testifies to the vibrancy of this new body of research in the European context, although Spain is sadly absent from the volume's considerations.
5. Stefan Berger's essay, "On the Role of Myths and History in the Construction of National Identity in Modern Europe," in Gerwarth and Riall's issue of *European History Quarterly* (490–502) is a good example.
6. By affect, I mean the appearance, since the mid-1990s, of the "affective turn" in cultural theory; for an important survey, see Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth, eds., *The Affect Theory Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010).
7. Paul Connerton, *The Spirit of Mourning: History, Memory and the Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 12.
8. Connerton, *The Spirit of Mourning*, 18.
9. Connerton, *The Spirit of Mourning*, 17.
10. Max Saunders, "Life Writing, Cultural Memory and Literary Studies," in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning in collaboration with Sara B. Young (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 321–31 (325).
11. Connerton, *The Spirit of Mourning*, 22.
12. Connerton, *The Spirit of Mourning*, 37.

13. Gregg and Seigworth, *The Affect Theory Reader*, 1.
14. Gregg and Seigworth, *The Affect Theory Reader*, 1.
15. Patricia T. Clough, "The Affective Turn: Political Economy, Biomedicine, and Bodies," in *The Affect Theory Reader*, 206–26 (here 207).
16. Sara Ahmed, "Happy Objects," in Gregg and Seigworth, *The Affect Theory Reader*, 29–51 (here 30).
17. Clare Hemmings, "Invoking Affect: Cultural Theory and the Ontological Turn," *Cultural Studies* 19, no. 5 (2005): 548–567 (here 552).
18. Hemmings, paraphrasing the psychologist Silvan Tompkins, in "Invoking Affect," 552.
19. Hemmings, "Invoking Affect," 654.
20. Elspeth Probyn, "Writing Shame," in *The Affect Theory Reader*, 71–90 (here 76).
21. Probyn, "Writing Shame," 77.
22. Probyn, "Writing Shame," 86.
23. Ahmed, "Happy Objects," 50.
24. Jo Labanyi, "Doing Things: Emotion, Affect and Materiality," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 11, nos. 3–4 (2010): 223–33 (here 231–32).
25. Labanyi, "Doing Things," 230–31.
26. <http://www.rtve.es/television/amar/videosprimera/>, although María del Mar Chicharro Merayo dates episode one to September 26, 2005, in "Información, ficción, telerealidad y telenovela: algunas lecturas televisivas sobre la sociedad española y su historia," *Comunicación y Sociedad* 11 (2009): 73–98.
27. Isabel Estrada, "Cuéntame cómo pasó o la revisión televisiva de la historia española reciente," *Hispanic Review* 72, no. 4 (2004): 547–64 (here 549). The differing names may also be taken as an example of the ways in which memory debates intersect with regionalist nationalisms in Spain, an area that remains understudied. For a more nuanced evaluation of *Cuéntame*, see Paul Julian Smith's excellent analysis in *Television in Spain: From Franco to Almodovar* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2006), 11–26. *Cuéntame*, it should be noted, appealed to a younger demographic than *Amar*.
28. Jeremy G. Butler, "Notes on the Soap Opera Apparatus: Televisual Style and *The World as It Turns*," *Cinema Journal* 25, no. 3 (1986): 53–70 (here 53). Interestingly, *Amar*'s focus is on particular characters changes over the seven series, creating even greater looseness in the overarching plot lines.
29. Trisha Dunleavy argues that this is a key feature of soap operas, including the Latin American *culebrones* that are an obvious generic predecessor to *Amar*. See *Television Drama: Form, Agency, Innovation* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 104. Butler notes of soaps, "Small questions are answered while larger ones are held in abeyance. Thus the soap opera does not so much continuously withhold resolution, as it does parcel out incomplete pieces of closure. And, as we can

- see in the way dialogue is manipulated, those pieces of closure always construct the foundations of new enigmas” (65).
30. Cynthia Duncan, “Looking Like a Woman: Some Reflections on the Hispanic Soap Opera and the Pleasures of Female Spectatorship,” *Chasqui* 24, no. 2 (1995): 82–92 (here 90).
 31. Jennifer Hayward, “*Day After Tomorrow*: Audience Interaction and Soap Opera Production,” *Cultural Critique* 23 (1992–1993): 83–109 (here 97).
 32. Dunleavy, *Television Drama*, 114–15.
 33. Modelski, quoted in Dunleavy, 113. In this respect, there has been an important critical reexamination of the question of popular women’s writing’s promotion of conservative social structures within a format that permits escapist flights of fancy. See, for instance, Kebabze’s study of Francoist *novelas rosa*, the textual cousins of the soap opera: *Romance and Exemplarity in Post-war Spanish Women’s Narratives*.
 34. Ana Corbalán explores this dimension of *Cuéntame*, and the resulting affective reassessment of history, in “Reconstrucción del pasado histórico: nostalgia reflexiva en *Cuéntame cómo pasó*,” *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 10, no. 3 (2009): 341–57.
 35. María del Mar Chicharro Merayo and José Carlos Rueda Laffond, “Televisión y ficción histórica: *Amar en tiempos revueltos*,” *Comunicación y Sociedad* 21 (2008): 57–84 (here 5).
 36. The spread of Civil War thematics across televisual genres is evident in the declaration by *El País* in 2011 that “Televisión Española se atreve a parodiar la Guerra Civil y lo hace en hora de máxima audiencia,” in this instance referring to the series *Plaza de España*; *El País* July 25, 2011. Of course, as the paper indicates, the new comedy programme follows in the footsteps of Luis García Berlanga’s *La vaquilla* (1985).
 37. The series is available at <http://www.rtve.es/television/amaren-tiemposrevueltos.shtml>. The feature-length pilot episode is numbered “0” by RTVE.
 38. This hyperrealism is reminiscent of José Luis Cuerda’s film, *La lengua de las mariposas* (1999), or Emilo Martínez Lázaro’s *Las 13 rosas* (2007).
 39. Smith, *Television in Spain*, 20.
 40. “Spikey nostalgia” is Jerome de Groot’s phrase for the US TV series, *Mad Men*; “Perpetually Dividing and Suturing the Past and Present,” *Rethinking History* 15, no. 2 (2011): 269–85 (here 276, 278 respectively).
 41. See <http://www.rtve.es/television/amar/participa/> and <http://foroamar.rtve.es/>.
 42. “1a temporada online” and “Amar IT, la temporada por excelencia?”; <http://foroamar.rtve.es/viewforum.php?f=20&sid=e0aa07e68a902756a5aba189dc7aea0d>.

43. These particular emoticons are not graphic, derived from punctuation and other graphs, but small visual images of yellow faces. Emoticons have been viewed as “a surrogate for nonverbal emotional expression”; Daantje Derks, Arjan E. R. Bos, and Jasper von Grumbkow, “Emoticons in Computer-mediated Communication: Social Motives and Social Context,” *CyberPsychology and Behaviour* 11, no. 1 (2008): 99–101 (here 99). The encounter of emoticons in written texts involves identifiable neurological activity, raising the issue of the intersection between verbal communication and affect; see Masahide Yuasa, Keiichi Saito, and Naoki Mukawa, “Brain Activity When Reading Sentences and Emoticons: An fMRI Study of Verbal and Nonverbal Communication,” *Electronics and Communications in Japan* 94, no. 5 (2011): 1797–1803.
44. “TVE-1 recurre a otro culebrón para acortar distancias con las privadas,” *El País* October 10, 2005.
45. By 2011, the series had gained 21.5% of the viewing public for the “dessert slot”; “*Amar en tiempos revueltos* cumple 1.500 episodios,” *El País* November 21, 2011.
46. “Sobremesa de izquierdas,” *El País* December 21, 2005.
47. <http://www.rtve.es/television/noticiasamar.shtml>.
48. <http://www.rtve.es/television/20080919/vestuario-amar/160269.shtml> and <http://www.rtve.es/television/20100111/duelo-titanes/311377.shtml>, respectively.
49. Smith, *Television in Spain*, 2.
50. Smith, *Television in Spain*, 7.
51. Smith, *Television in Spain*, 9.
52. Alicia Satorras Pons, “Soldados de Salamina de Javier Cercas, reflexiones sobre los héroes,” *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 56, no. 1 (2003): 227–45.
53. Derek Gagen, “Heroism in Defeat: Alberti’s *Cantata de los héroes y la fraternidad de los pueblos* and Cercas’s *Soldados de Salamina*,” *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 83, no. 4 (2006): 349–66 (here 350–51).
54. Gagen, “Heroism in Defeat,” 360–61. I have commented elsewhere on the problematic nature of this view of the war, which offers a rosy bridging of the gap between good and bad and thus dangerously evokes the late Francoist notion of the war as a “collective madness.” See Alison Ribeiro de Menezes, “From the Recuperation of Spanish Historical Memory to a Semantic Dissection of Cultural Memory,” *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 16, no. 1 (2010): 1–12.
55. Gagen, “Heroism in Defeat,” 363–64.
56. See Satorras Pons; Teresa Gómez Trueba, “‘Esa bestia omnívora que es el yo’: el uso de la autoficción en la obra narrativa de Javier Cercas,” *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 86, no. 1 (2009): 67–83.

57. Mario Vargas Llosa drew attention to sentiment in the novel in his review, although with a more positive interpretation than my own; “El sueño de los héroes,” *El País* September 3, 2001.
58. Marta del Pozo Ortea, “Soldados de Salamina: ‘Terapias’ para después de una guerra,” *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 24, no. 1 (2011): 35–49 (here 48). Del Pozo’s reading of a collective unconscious into which Cercas might tap is, unfortunately, somewhat simplistic in its utopian declaration that *Soldados* provides “una curación de nuestra propia picosis” (48), but the adoption of a Jungian perspective earlier in the article is productive in terms of an examination of narrative tropes such as the quest, trials and travails, and heroic action.
59. Cercas, *Soldados de Salamina*, 27th ed. (Barcelona: Tusquets, 2003), 23; Javier Cercas, *Relatos reales* (Barcelona: El Acantilado, 2000), 153–56.
60. Sally Faulkner provides an excellent analysis of this film in “Imagining Time, Embodying Time in David Trueba’s *Soldados de Salamina*,” *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 17, no. 1 (2011): 81–94.
61. José Carlos Mainer, *Tramas, libros, nombres* (Barcelona: Anagrama, 2005), 106.
62. John Patrick Thompson, “The Civil War in Galiza, the Uncovering of the Common Graves, and Civil War Novels as Counter-discourses of Imposed Oblivion,” *Revista Iberoamericana* 6, no. 18 (2005): 75–82 (here 76). See also Álvaro Jaspe, “The Forgotten Resistance: The Galician Rearguard 1936–45 and The Example of the Neira Group,” in *Guerra y memoria en la España contemporánea/War and Memory in Contemporary Spain*, Alison Ribeiro de Menezes, Roberta Ann Quance, and Anne L. Walsh (Madrid: Verbum, 2009), 51–65.
63. *Nomes e voces* is available at: <http://www.nomesevoces.net>.
64. Thompson, “The Civil War in Galiza,” 76.
65. I raise briefly in the conclusion the question of the intersection between cultural memory and Spanish regional nationalisms; there remains considerable scope for research on divergences between Catalan, Basque, and Galician memory debates.
66. Manuel Llorente, “‘Uso harapos retales... porque la vida es mi primera materia’: Manuel Rivas ambienta en la Guerra Civil su novela *El lápiz del carpintero*,” *La Guerra Civil Española*. <http://www.gueracivil.org/Diaris/981014mundo.htm>; Elena Martini, “El lápiz de la memoria: la Guerra Civil en Manuel Rivas,” diss., University of Padua, 2011, 63. See the entry on Comesaña in the *Nomes e Voces* database: <http://victimas.nomesevoces.net/gl/buscar?buscar=Francisco+Comesaña+Rendo>; also Simon Doubleday, “Silencing Dissent in Galicia: *Nomes e Voces*,” *The Volunteer* March 15, 2013. <http://www.albavolunteer.org/2013/03/spain-dispatch-silencing-dissent-in-galicia/>.

67. Manuel Rivas, *O lapis do carpinteiro*, 12th ed. (Vigo: Xerais, 2000), 10.
68. Da Barca is actually referring to the fact that his grandchildren furnish him with alcohol, but, in the broader context of postmemorial narrative, the phrase also evokes the interest of grandchildren in the actions and fate of their grandparents.
69. Felicity Callard and Constantina Papoulias, "Affect and Embodiment," in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwartz (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 246–62 (here 247).
70. Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse," *Representations* 69 (2000): 127–150 (here 127).
71. Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse," 145.
72. Radstone, "What Place Is This?," *Parallax* 17, no. 4 (2011), 109–23 (here 120).
73. Jo Labanyi, "Memory and Modernity in Democratic Spain: The Difficulty of Coming to Terms with the Spanish Civil War," *Poetics Today* 28, no. 1 (2007): 89–116 (here 101).
74. In his essay, "Mourning and Melancholia," Freud writes, "if the love for the object—a love which cannot be given up though the object itself is given up—takes refuge in narcissistic identification, then the hate comes into operation on this substitutive object, abusing it, debasing it, making it suffer and deriving sadistic satisfaction from its suffering. The self-tormenting in melancholia, which is without doubt enjoyable, signifies, just like the corresponding phenomenon in obsessional neurosis, a satisfaction of trends of sadism and hate which relate to an object, and which have been turned round upon the subject's own self." See *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, 23 vols., trans. James Strachey in collaboration with Anna Freud, assisted by Alix Strachey and Alan Tyson (London: Hogarth, 1953), vol. 14, 243–58 (here 251).
75. Vítor Vaqueiro, *Guía da Galiza máxica, mítica e lendaria* (Vigo: Editorial Galaxia, 1998), 50–57. I am grateful to Martín Veiga for this reference. In *Lapis* Rivas associates "mal de aire" with melancholy. The classical explanation of melancholia is that it was caused by an excess of black bile, and melancholic humor was traditionally associated with the colors black and blue. Nevertheless, Shakespeare—like Rivas here—associates melancholy with green; in *Twelfth Night* he refers to "a green and yellow melancholy" (3.2.115).
76. Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, 4th ed./25th anniversary ed. (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 2012), 60, 59, respectively.
77. As Antonio Monegal notes, in *Furtivos* hunting is presented as violent and antinatural only when practiced by the governor and his friends, and not when (more in the mode of poaching) it is carried out by others; "Images of War: Hunting as Metaphor," in *Modes of*

- Representation in Spanish Cinema*, ed. Jenaro Talens and Santos Zunzunegui (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 203–15.
78. As Lee Klein puts it (“On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse,” 138), in some uncritically sacralizing views, “memory is postmodernism, the ‘symbolically excluded’, ‘the body’, ‘a healing device and a tool for redemption.’”
 79. There is a similar emphasis on crossings in Rivas’s subsequent book; see the author’s preface to *A man dos paños* (Vigo: Xerais, 2000).
 80. Javier Domínguez García has noted, in a different context, how, following the 2004 Madrid train bombings, the iconography of Santiago Matamorros became a subject of debate when the Cathedral authorities covered up the base of a statue by José Gambino showing the saint on horseback swinging his sword and trampling the heads of decapitated “infidels.” The statue’s removal to a museum was also announced but later abandoned following public outrage in the Galician press. See “St. James the Moor-slayer, a new challenge to Spanish national discourse in the twenty-first century,” *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 22, no. 1 (2009): 69–78.
 81. It should not be forgotten that the Republicans also presented the Civil War as a war against alien invaders; Xosé-Manoel Núñez Seixas, “Nations in Arms Against the Invader: On Nationalist Discourses During the Spanish Civil War,” in *The Splintering of Spain: Cultural History and the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939*, ed. Chris Ealham and Michael Richards (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 45–67 (here 45).
 82. Significantly, Herbal recounts that his parents brought him to see the little statue of the “Santo dos Croques,” and that his father was unimpressed by his son’s interest in the figure, again reinforcing the father’s connection with an authoritarian repression of superstition and Herbal’s association with it.
 83. Francisco Ferrándiz, “Cries and Whispers: Exhuming and Narrating Defeat in Spain Today,” *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 9, no. 2 (2008): 177–92 (here 177).
 84. Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 137, 150.
 85. Roberto Nóvoa Santos was a Galician intellectual and a pathologist who was elected to the Cortes in the 1931 national elections. Thomas F. Glick identifies his politics as federal Republican, and labels him a conservative Freudian and a misogynist because of his opposition to women’s suffrage; see “Sexual Reform, Psychoanalysis, and the Politics of Divorce in Spain in the 1920s and the 1930s,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12, no. 1 (2003): 68–97 (here 76, 81).
 86. I do not mean to imply that Rivas’s borrowing of Nóvoa Santos’s term is anything other than a creative appropriation for new ends. Given Rivas’s environmental concerns, Nóvoa Santos may be

- of interest for his association of melancholy “saudade” with the Galician landscape; see Salvador Lorenzana, “Teorias interpretativas da Saudade,” in *Filosofia da Saudade*, ed. Afonso Botelho and António Braz Teixeira (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1986), 643–85 (here 677).
87. Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, 151.
 88. See Layla Renshaw, *Exhuming Loss: Memory, Materiality and Mass Graves of the Spanish Civil War* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2011), 164–66.
 89. Anne Fuchs, *Phantoms of War in Contemporary German Narrative, Films and Discourse* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 49.
 90. Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (London: Routledge, 1995), 10.
 91. Fuchs, *Phantoms of War*, 50.
 92. It is also, of course, a challenge to Nationalist ideology, which held Santa Teresa in high esteem and offered her as a role model of self-sacrificing womanhood, as Carmen Martín Gaité outlines vividly in *El cuarto de atrás*.
 93. Jo Labanyi, *Myth and History in the Contemporary Spanish Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 36–7; Michael Richards, *Time of Silence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Labanyi notes the contradiction in Nationalist approaches to modernity in “Memory and Modernity in Democratic Spain.”
 94. A similar view of the importance of time and memory is evident in Isaac Rosa’s *La malamemoria*, as I argue in “From the Recuperation of Spanish Historical Memory to a Semantic Dissection of Cultural Memory: La malamemoria by Isaac Rosa,” *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 16, no. 1 (2010): 1–12.

CONCLUSION MEMORY AND THE FUTURE: BEYOND PATHOLOGY

1. An excellent summary is to be found in Jeffrey C. Alexander, “‘Globalization’ as Collective Representation: The New Dream of a Cosmopolitan Civil Sphere,” in *Globalization and Utopia: Critical Essays*, ed. Patrick Hayden and Chamsy el-Ojeili (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988). See also Enrique Dussel, *Ethics of Liberation in the Age of Globalization and Exclusion*, trans. E. Mendieta, Camilo Pérez Bustillo, Yolanda Angulo, and Nelson Maldonado-Torres (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), xx.
2. Zygmunt Bauman, *A Life in Fragments: Essays in Postmodern Morality* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 192.
3. Ulrick Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (London: Sage, 1992). Interestingly, Isaac Rosa has moved on to examine the existence of a society based on fear in *El país del miedo* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 2008).

4. Paul Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 5.
5. Ruth Levitas, "The Imaginary Reconstitution of Society, or Why Sociologists and Others Should Take Utopia More Seriously," Inaugural Lecture, University of Bristol, October 24, 2005. <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/spais/files/inaugural.pdf>.
6. Notably, in the thought of Emmanuel Lévinas, in *Totality and Infinity* and *Otherwise than Being: Or Beyond Essence*, although here I draw briefly on Ricoeur's more direct address to forgiveness.
7. Paul Ricoeur, *History, Memory, Forgetting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 487.
8. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 237.
9. Ricoeur, *History, Memory, Forgetting*, 490.
10. Ricoeur, *History, Memory, Forgetting*, 505.
11. Jo Labanyi, "The Languages of Silence: Historical Memory, Generational Transmission and Witnessing in Contemporary Spain," *Journal of Romance Studies* 9, no. 3 (2009): 23–35 (here 32). The silencing of Republican memory did not end with the Regime of course; an English-language guidebook that I purchased on visiting the *Valle* in July 1987 does not mention the war at all, leaving the structure entirely devoid of historical context. For a survey of the monument's history and a discussion of the lack of tourist explanations, see Patricia Keller, "The Valley, the Monument, and the Tomb: Notes on the Place of Historical Memory," *Hispanic Issues Online* 11 (2102): 65–86. http://hispanicissues.umn.edu/assets/doc/04_KELLER.pdf.
12. "Informe: Comisión de Expertos Para el Futuro del Valle de los Caídos," November 29, 2011, accessed by this author on January 15, 2013, at <http://www.memoriahistorica.gob.es/NR/rdonlyres/0F532FC5-FE23-4B8D-AA3A-06ED4BFAFC49/184261/InformeComisinExpertosValleCados.pdf>, but seemingly no longer at this address. At the time of writing, it is available at <http://www.todoslosnombres.org/php/verArchivo.php?id=5164>. The commission reported just days after Zapatero's electoral defeat on November 20, 2011.
13. It was controversially closed by Zapatero's administration in 2010, but has now been reopened.
14. Francisco Ferrándiz, "Guerras sin fin," *Política y Sociedad* 48, no. 3 (2011): 490; Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). I am not convinced that Ferrándiz's labeling of the *Valle* as an anachronistic monument ("Guerras sin fin," 485) is entirely helpful in appreciating its shifting position within the dynamic field of Spanish memory debates, although I appreciate his focus on the changing relationship between state patrimony and memory, as well

- as his concern for the broader global context in which Spain's efforts of exhumation are currently being conducted.
15. See Ferrándiz, "Guerras sin fin," 490. The fact that the monument is a basilica, monastery, and burial site raises the issue of legal and juridical responsibility for the complex, and the role of the Catholic Church and Benedictine Order in this regard. The Zapatero Commission argues for the Spanish State's control over all but the basilica which, as a sacred place of worship, falls under the jurisdiction of the Church; this, in turn, means that the fate of the remains of Franco and Primo de Rivera is beyond State control. Beyond that, the fate of the other remains, including the possibility of their return to those families who wish them, is complicated by the difficulty of identification.
 16. "Informe: Comisión de Expertos Para el Futuro del Valle de los Caídos," 6.
 17. "Informe: Comisión de Expertos Para el Futuro del Valle de los Caídos," 17.
 18. Keller, "The Valley, the Monument, and the Tomb," 67.
 19. The map and some information on its creation are at http://mapade fosas.mjusticia.es/exovi_externo/CargarInformacion.htm.
 20. For a discussion of these, see Michael Imort, "Stumbling Blocks: A Decentralized Memorial to Holocaust Victims," in *Memorialization in Germany since 1945*, ed. Bill Niven and Chloe Paver (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 233–42 (here 233).
 21. "Prestigiosos historiadores lanzan diccionario alternativo que pone a Franco en su sitio," *El Plural.Com* February 23, 2012. <http://www.elplural.com/2012/02/23/prestigiosos-historiadores-lanzan-un-'contradicionario'-de-la-historia/>.
 22. See <http://www.mcu.es/archivos/MC/CDMH/index.html>.
 23. Javier Tussell, "¿Dónde están los papeles de la guerra?" *El País* January 9, 2005.
 24. An attempt to ensure the return of papers to Cataluña in 2011, for instance, threatened recourse to the United Nations: "La comisión de la dignidad denunciará la retención de los 'papeles de Salamanca,'" *El País* December 14, 2011; "Cataluña irá a los tribunales si no regresan los 'papeles de Salamanca,'" *ABC* December 15, 2011.

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INDEX

- 1936 *golpe de estado*, 11, 23, 32, 69, 76, 120, 124
- 1981 *golpe de estado*, 3, 15, 20, 22–4, 25, 75, 83, 151n. 16
- 23-F. *See under* 1981 *golpe de estado*
- 25 años de paz, 44, 47, 51
- Abraham, Nicholas, 87, 88, 89
- affect, 2, 3, 4, 52, 59, 65, 72, 100, 113–37, 139, 141
- Agamben, Giorgio, 147–8n. 3, 159n. 54
- agency, 5, 6, 20, 34, 37, 65, 66, 71, 73, 76, 81–3, 84, 88, 102, 103, 114, 115, 127, 129, 142, 144, 147n. 3, 158n. 43, 166n. 28
- Aguilar, Paloma, 44, 45
- Ahmed, Sara, 116, 117
- Alberti, Rafael, 47, 123, 148n. 8
- Aldecoa, Josefina, 4, 52, 65, 66, 73, 74–85, 88, 89, 101
- Historia de una maestra*, 74, 75–9, 83, 101
- La fuerza del destino*, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82–5
- Mujeres de negro*, 74, 75, 76, 79–82
- Alfaya, Javier, 17
- Alice in Wonderland*, 94, 97
- Amar en tiempos revueltos*, 4, 115, 116, 118–23
- amnesia, 3, 11, 12–13, 14, 17, 26, 115, 119
- amnesty, 3, 12, 14, 15, 16–17, 26, 39–40
- Amnesty International, 9, 36
- Annual, Spanish defeat at, 29
- Anzaldúa, Gloria, 131
- Archivo General Militar, Ávila, 145
- Arendt, Hannah, 142
- Argentina, 2, 3, 17, 18, 35, 39
- “dirty war,” 1, 39
- Armengou, Montse, 15, 35, 62–5, 100
- ¡Devolvedme a mi hijo!*, 63
- Los niños perdidos del Franquismo*, 62–5
- Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica (ARMH), 9, 13, 15, 31, 35–8
- Assmann, Aleida, 38, 149n. 1
- Assmann, Jan, 5
- Auxilio Social, 53, 100–1, 103
- aval*, 69
- Baer, Alejandro, 33
- Balfour, Sebastian, 29, 155n. 8
- Barcelona Strike, 1951, 104, 109
- Barea, Arturo, 32
- La forja de un rebelde*, 32
- Barthes, Roland, 57, 59–62
- Camera Lucida*, 59–62
- Bauman, Zygmunt, 139
- belatedness, 2, 11–12, 16, 18, 26, 28, 33, 60, 62, 63, 66, 69, 74, 76, 80, 81, 96, 100, 127
- Belis, Ricard, 15, 35, 62–5, 100
- ¡Devolvedme a mi hijo!*, 63
- Los niños perdidos del Franquismo*, 62–5

- Benjamin, Walter, 10, 41
 biopolitics, 2, 147n. 3
 Blake, William, 111
 Blakeley, Georgina, 17, 23–4,
 151n. 16
 Borau, José Luis, 131
Furtivos, 131
 Bosnia, 35
 Buero Vallejo, Antonio, 149 n. 8
 Buñuel, Luis, 94, 169n. 16
Un chien andalou, 94
- Caballero Bonald, José Manuel,
 148n. 8
 Callard, Felicity, 129
 Capa, Robert, 42
*Loyalist Militiaman at the
 Moment of Death*, 42
 Carlyle, Thomas, 113
 Carrillo, Santiago, 3, 23–5, 25, 39,
 44–6, 153–4n. 49, 159n. 51
 Carroll, Lewis, 97
 Cebrián, Juan Luis, 151n. 26
 Cenarro, Ángela, 100–1
 Centro Documental de la Memoria
 Histórica, Salamanca, 145–6
 “Salamanca Papers,” 146
 Cercas, Javier, 3, 4, 20–6, 48, 114,
 123–7, 128, 131
Anatomía de un instante, 3,
 20–6
Soldados de Salamina, 25, 48,
 114, 123–7, 128, 131
 Chacón, Dulce, 4, 65, 66–9, 70,
 73, 74, 76
Cielos de barro, 66–9, 70
La voz dormida, 66, 67
 Chile, 2, 3, 10, 18, 35, 38
 Claudín, Fernando, 45–6
 Clough, Patricia, 117
 colonialism, 78, 140
 Comesaña Rendo, Francisco, 127–8
 Connerton, Paul, 5, 114–15
 Cosgrove, Mary, 49, 56
Cuéntame cómo pasó, 118, 119,
 121, 122
- Davila, Carlos, 21–2
 Davis, Colin, 87
 Davis, Madeleine, 13
 de Groot, Jerome, 121
 del Pozo Ortea, Marta, 124
 del Toro, Guillermo, 4, 88, 89–95,
 100, 102, 108, 129, 131,
 141
El espinazo del diablo, 88, 89–92,
 95, 108
El laberinto del fauno, 88, 89,
 92–5, 97, 108
- Deleuze, Giles, 116–17
 Demnig, Günter, 145
 Denis, Julio, 51, 56
Der Adler, 104
 Derrida, Jacques, 87, 88
 Diagonal TV, 118
 “disappeared,” the, 2, 35, 52
 División Azul, 70, 72
 Duncan Cynthia, 118
 Durán, Isabel, 21–2
- economic crisis, 2008, 8, 9–10
 Encarnación, Omar G., 18, 19
 Enzenberger, Hans Magnus, 23
 Erice, Víctor, 64
El espíritu de la colmena, 64
 Espinosa, Francisco, 157n. 32
 Estrada, Isabel, 118
 exile, 46, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79,
 80, 128
- Falange, 103, 120, 124, 143
 Faulkner, William, 29
Absalom, Absalom!, 29
 Feldman, Allen, 34, 54, 156n. 18
 Felman, Shoshana, 26
 Fernández de la Mata, Ignacio, 19
 Fernández Miranda, Torcuato, 15
 Ferrán, Ofelia, 17, 150n. 8
 Ferrándiz, Francisco, 143
FET y Jons, 23
 forgiveness, 5, 115, 141–2, 146
 Foro por la Memoria, 9, 37,
 157n. 30

- Franco Bahamonde, Francisco, 17, 21, 74, 75–6, 126, 143, 145
 centenary of birth, 12
 death of, 8, 11, 14, 73, 74, 75, 82, 99
 dictatorship, 2, 4, 6, 11, 15, 23, 26, 40, 44, 45, 48, 62, 75, 79, 88, 96, 101, 145
 dictatorship memory, 13, 15, 34, 40, 51, 57, 59, 74, 78, 83, 146
 economic policy, 69
 familial policies, 4, 62, 64
 marriage of, 75–6
 opposition to, 16, 25, 32, 40, 43, 45–8, 51–3, 55, 64
 repression during dictatorship, 4, 13, 14, 17, 27, 30–2, 38–40, 48, 49, 51, 53, 64, 97–9, 128, 144
 tomb of, 143
- Francoist medical metaphors, 91–2, 97
- Francoist medicine, 91, 92
- Freud, Sigmund, 11, 62, 81, 129–30
- Fritzsche, Peter, 93
- Fuchs, Anne, 49, 56, 62, 96
- Gagen, Derek, 123–4
- Galicia, 127–8, 130, 132
 Civil War in, 127
- Gamonedá, Antonio, 148n. 8
- García Lorca, Federico, 40, 148n. 8, 157n. 30
- Garzón, Baltasar, 38–40
- generation, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 18, 24–6, 40, 41, 43, 44–5, 46, 47, 48–9, 50, 57, 59–62, 69, 70, 72, 74, 79, 81–3, 84, 85, 88, 89, 92, 98, 99–100, 118, 119, 123, 128
- genocide, 2, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 37, 38–40
- German memory debates, 3, 5, 13, 27, 33–4, 35, 40, 49–50, 62, 145
- ghosts, 4, 59, 60, 72, 75, 78, 80, 87–91, 92, 104–5, 108, 110, 125
see also haunting, phantoms, specters
- Gilroy, Paul, 140
- Giménez, Carlos, 4, 53, 88, 89, 91, 100–3
Paracuellos, 4, 53, 88, 91, 100–3
- Girón, Manuel, 64
- globalization, 139–40
- Golob, Stephanie, 18–19
- Gómez López-Quinones, Antonio, 8–10
- González, David, 148–9n. 8, 160n. 63
- González, Felipe, 151n. 26
- Gothic horror, 89–90
- Goya y Lucientes, Francisco, 42–3, 94
Desastres de la guerra, 42–3
Duelo a garrotazos, 42
Saturno devorando a su hijo, 94
- Goytisolo, Juan, 48–9, 50, 54, 99
Don Julián, 54
 “In memoriam F.F.B.,” 99
 “Mendiola trilogy,” 48
Señas de identidad, 48, 52, 100
 social realist trilogy/“El mañana efímero,” 49
- Graham, Helen, 27
- Grande, Félix, 148n. 8
- Grandes, Almudena, 4, 65, 66, 69–74, 76, 99
El corazón helado, 69–74, 99
- Grass, Günter, 49–50, 52, 109
Crabwalk, 49–50, 52, 109
- Grimau, Julián, 54
- Grote, Georg, 49, 56
- Guardia Civil, 121
- Guatemala, 35
- Guernica, bombing of, 100
- Guevara, Che, 128
- Guinea Española, 78, 84
- Gutiérrez Mellado, Miguel, 3, 23–5

- Habermas, Jürgen, 40, 141
Halbwachs, Maurice, 5, 14, 129
Hartley, L. P., 115
haunting, 4, 87–8, 90–1, 127, 131
see also ghosts, phantoms, specters
Hemmings, Claire, 116–17, 119, 125
Hermann, Gina, 47
Hernández, Miguel, 47, 148n. 8
heroism, 113–16, 123–4, 126, 128
Hierro, José, 148n. 8
Hiroshima, 104
Hirsch, Marianne, 5, 59–62, 63, 65, 72, 76, 124, 125, 134–5
see also postmemory
history, pathological view of, 3, 11
Holocaust, 1, 4, 27–35, 37, 43, 52, 65, 72, 91, 94–5, 145
Holocaust (NBC TV series), 29
Horne, John, 28
Hughes, Robert, 43
human rights, 1, 2, 3, 8, 12, 13, 16, 17–18, 26, 27–8, 34–6, 38, 40, 57, 63, 140
Huysen, Andreas, 5, 41, 122
- Ibárruri, Dolores (*La Pasionaria*), 44–6
inquisition, 28, 31
International Brigades, 128
Irish memory debates, 8
- Jay, Martin, 27
Joyce, James, 29
Ulysses, 29
Juan Carlos, King, 15, 24, 83
Juliá, Santos, 12, 17, 157n. 29
- Keene, Judith, 18
Keller, Patricia, 144
Kirby, Joan, 88
Kosofsky Sedgwick, Eve, 116
Kramer, Alan, 28
Kruschev, Nikita, 44
- Labanyi, Jo, 37, 87, 92, 117, 119, 130, 136, 143
- LaCapra, Dominick, 5, 54–5, 90, 117
“empathic unsettlement,” 54–5, 117, 139
Laforet, Carmen, 62
Laín Entralgo, Pedro, 46
Lee Klein, Kerwin, 129, 130
Levitas, Ruth, 141
Lewis, C.S., 95
Ley de Memoria Histórica/Law of Historical Memory, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21–2, 26, 36
Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas/Law of Political Responsibilities, 17
López Mozo, Jerónimo, 53–4
El arquitecto y el relojero, 53
- Machado, Antonio, 49, 125
Macías, Santiago, 15, 35
Mainer, José-Carlos, 126
Manzanal, Julia, 63–4
Mapa de las Fosas, 144
maquis, 93, 94
Marsé, Juan, 4, 53, 88, 89, 100, 102, 103, 104–11, 113
aventis, 106
Rabos de lagartija, 53, 88, 102, 103, 104–11, 113
Si te dicen que caí, 108
Martí, José, 128
Martín Gaité, Carmen, 62, 67, 99
El cuarto de atrás, 67, 99
Retabílas, 67
Martín-Santos, Luis, 48, 49, 50, 54
Tiempo de silencio, 48, 54
Martín, Teresa, 64
mass graves, 2, 19, 31, 34–43, 57, 135
see also *Mapa de las Fosas*, Villamayor de los Montes
Massumi, Brian, 116
Matute, Ana María, 62
Mauriac, François, 29
Mayorga, Juan, 149n. 8
Mazower, Mark, 94, 167n. 41, 168n. 47

- McClellan, Stuart, 91
 melancholy, 41, 80, 81, 82, 84, 88,
 90, 92, 93–4, 108, 117, 125,
 127–31
 memory, 1–3, 77
 collected memory, 37, 42
 collective memory, 5, 14, 37, 93,
 123, 145
 communicative memory, 80
 cultural memory, 5, 8, 14, 21, 36,
 48, 60, 70, 93, 95, 114, 115,
 117, 139–41
 embodied memory, 1–3, 4, 6
 emplaced memory, 1–2, 53–4
 generational memory, 4, 5–7, 11,
 25, 45, 48–9, 57, 59–60,
 70–1, 72, 74, 81, 82, 85,
 88, 92, 99, 123
 global memory, 1, 3
 historical memory, 9, 10, 13–14,
 17–19, 20, 26, 31, 36, 38,
 41–2, 50–1, 145
 intergenerational transmission, 5,
 72, 74, 76, 77, 81, 93, 95–6,
 110
 memory contests, 4, 8, 49, 53, 141
 memory icon, 41, 59, 76, 77, 81,
 93, 129, 133–4, 135, 137
 mnemo-politics, 8–10
 multidirectional memory, 5, 89,
 94, 127, 130, 133–4, 135
 performative memory, 34
 perpetrator memory, 5, 38, 47–8,
 50, 51, 55, 72, 127, 129,
 142, 156n. 18
 Spanish regional memory, 146
 traumatic memory, 1–5, 8, 12, 44,
 51, 65, 74, 79–81, 83–5, 89,
 90–1, 97–8, 99, 108, 115,
 124, 126, 130, 133, 136, 142
 see also postmemory, trauma,
 trauma theory
 victim memory, 1, 4, 5, 8, 10, 15,
 19, 22, 29, 34, 36–9, 41–3,
 47–8, 50–2, 54–5, 64–5, 67,
 69, 72, 83, 87, 88, 91, 97,
 100, 102–3, 111, 114, 121,
 131, 135, 137, 141–2, 144–5
 Méndez, Alberto, 4, 89, 95–100, 102
 “Los girasoles ciegos,” 95–100
 Los girasoles ciegos, 95, 99
 Mexico, 74, 75, 78, 128
 Moa, Pío, 153n. 46
 Modelski, Tania, 119
 modernity, 4, 84, 89, 91–4, 108,
 129, 136, 141
 Molina Foix, Vicente, 122
 Narotsky, Susana, 69
 narrative, 20
 hyper-self-reflexivity, 48–57
 metafiction, 124
 narrative of mourning, 5, 114,
 115, 124
 representation of torture, 53–6, 57
 as thread, 67, 84
 voice, 24–5, 53, 55, 79
 Negrín, Juan, 145
 Nelson, Maggie, 41, 50–1, 56, 57
 Neruda, Pablo, 148n. 8
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, 113
Nomes e Voces project, 127
 Nora, Pierre, 1
 nostalgia, 5, 8, 22, 25, 51, 57, 66,
 77, 81, 88, 103, 114, 121–2,
 125, 127, 139
 Novick, Peter, 28–9
 Nóvoa Santos, Roberto, 133–5
 O’Leary, Catherine, 53
 Olick, Jeffery, 36–7, 42
 Olin, Margaret, 61
 Osiel, Mark, 12, 26
pacto de olvido, 3, 11, 12, 14, 53, 127
 see also amnesia
 Pale Man, 94
 see also Goya
 Papoulias, Constantina, 129
 Paracuellos de Jarama, 23, 154n. 51
 Partido Comunista Español (PCE),
 15, 17, 44–8

- Partido Popular (PP), 21
 Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), 21
 Payne, Stanley G., 21–2
 Pérez Montalbán, Isabel, 148–9n. 8
 phantoms, 3, 4, 78, 87–8, 104–11
 see also ghosts, haunting, specters
 Pinochet, Augusto, 3, 38
 dictatorship of, 3, 38
 Polo, Carmen, 75–6
 postmemorial. *See under*
 postmemory
 postmemory, 3–4, 5, 59–62, 63,
 65, 69, 70–4, 76, 79, 81–2,
 89, 93, 96, 99–100, 106,
 110, 111, 124–5, 128,
 134–5
 Preston, Paul, 16, 27–8, 30–2, 33,
 46, 145
 Primo de Rivera, José Antonio, 143
 Primo de Rivera, Miguel,
 dictatorship of, 74
 Probyn, Elizabeth, 117

 Radio Televisión Española (RTVE),
 115, 118, 121
 Radstone, Susannah, 6–7, 130
 Real Academia de la Historia, 145
 Renshaw, Layla, 37, 38, 52, 158n. 44
 Rey Reguillo, Fernando de, 33
 Richard, Nelly, 3, 10
 Richards, Michael, 103
 Ricoeur, Paul, 5, 88, 115, 142, 146
 Riduejo, Dionisio, 46
 Rieff, David, 56, 57
 Ripoll, Laila, 149n. 8
 Rivas, Manuel, 4, 5, 77, 114, 127–37
 “A lingua das bolboretas,” 77
 A man dos paños, 127
 O lapis do carpinteiro, 5, 114,
 127–37
 Os libros arden mal, 127
 Rodríguez Zapatero, José Luis, 13,
 18, 20–2, 26, 36, 143–4
 Romantic. *See under* Romanticism
 Romanticism, 92, 93, 94, 108

 Rosa, Isaac, 28, 40, 48–57, 74
 El vano ayer, 48–57
 La malamemoria, 48, 49
 ¡Otra maldita novela sobre la
 guerra civil!, 48
 Rothberg, Michael, 10, 94, 133, 134
 Rousset, David, 27
 Ruiz, Julius, 30–3
 Rwanda, 1

 Sánchez Mazas, Rafael, 123–5, 126
 Santiago (St. James the Apostle),
 132–3
 Santiago de Compostela, Cathedral,
 129, 131–3
 Sartorius, Nicolás, 17
 Saunders, Max, 114
 Saura, Carlos, 131
 La caza, 131
 Scilingo, Adolfo, 39
 Second Republic, 17, 19, 69, 74, 75,
 78–9, 92, 128, 136
 education in, 77
 Semprún, Jorge, 4, 43–8
 Veinte años y un día, 4, 43–8, 51
 Shortt, Linda, 38
 Sikkink, Kathryn, 152n. 32
 Silva, Emilio, 15, 35, 150n. 12
 Silverman, Kaja, 61
 “heteropathic identification,” 135
 Smith, Gavin, 69
 Smith, Paul Julian, 89, 121, 122–3
 soap opera, 118–19, 120–1
 South Africa, 1, 35
 Truth and Reconciliation
 Commission, 1
 Spanish Civil War, 2, 3, 11, 22, 23,
 26, 27, 29–31, 43, 44, 47,
 51, 65–6, 68–70, 72, 74–6,
 77–81, 89, 91, 96, 101, 102,
 104, 105, 114, 117, 123,
 126, 127, 128, 129, 130,
 132, 136, 143, 145
 memory of, 11–14, 17, 45, 57, 78,
 83, 87, 88, 92, 97, 99, 116,
 127, 128, 133–4, 144

- repression and terror during, 6–9,
27, 30–1, 34–5, 36–9, 131
- specters, 87–8
see also ghosts, haunting, phantoms
- Spielberg, Steven, 41
Schindler's List, 41
- Stewart, Kathleen, 8
- Suárez, Adolfo, 3, 15, 16, 23–5
- Sullam Calimani, Anna-Vera, 29
- Tejero Molina, Colonel Antonio,
15, 24
- Temps de silenci*, 118
- Tennyson, Alfred Lord, 92, 107
- testimony, 31, 41, 59, 63–5, 77–8,
91, 101, 103, 114
- Thompson, John Patrick, 127
- time, 93, 94, 136–7
- topo, 96
- Torok, Maria, 87, 88, 89
- Torres, Francesc, 4, 40–3, 94
*Dark is the Room Where We Sleep/
Oscura es la habitación donde
dormimos*, 40–3
- transition to democracy (Spanish), 3,
11–12, 14–18, 20–6, 46, 53,
73, 75, 82–3, 115, 119, 123
- transitional justice, 1, 14, 15, 18,
19, 20, 22
- trauma, 1–5, 12, 37, 60, 61, 64–5,
71, 75, 79–84, 87–9, 91, 93,
96–9, 104–11, 115, 126, 137
history as, 1, 3–5, 7–8, 51, 52,
65–6, 74–5, 88–91, 99,
100, 124, 133, 136, 139,
142, 171n. 34
- perpetrator trauma, 5, 97, 127,
129–31
see also memory
- trauma theory, 135
- Trueba, David, 125, 126
- Tussell, Javier, 145
- United Nations, Office of the High
Commissioner for Human
Rights, 36
- Urioste, Carmen de, 74
- utopia, 47, 62, 126, 129, 139, 141,
146
- Valle de los Caídos*, 122, 143–4
Zapatero Government's Report
on, 143–4
- Vallejo, César, 148n. 8
- Vallejo Nágera, Antonio, 63–4
- van Alpen, Ernst, 65
- Verdery, Katherine, 143
- Verdi, Giuseppe, 82, 84
- Vilarós, Teresa, 12
- Villamayor de los Montes, 40
- Villanueva, María, 64, 65
- Weigel, Sigrid, 45
- Wright, Sarah, 87
- Yugoslavia, the former, 1
- Žitžek, Slavoj, 42, 57