

Reimagining Spain

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REIMAGINING SPAIN

**TRANSNATIONAL ENTANGLEMENTS AND REMEMBRANCE
OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR SINCE 1989**

MARIJE HRISTOVA

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Reimagining Spain

Transnational Entanglements and Remembrance of the Spanish Civil War since 1989

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‘do I change souls when I change the places I inhabit?’

Tzveta Sofronieva (1995)

‘Boundaries don’t hold; times, places, beings bleed through one another.’

Karen Barad (2014, 179)

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Introduction



Fernando Sánchez Castillo's "Spitting Leaders" at Sonsbeek Park in Arnhem (NL).

Photo: Jasper de Boer; September 2008.

In 2008 the much-acclaimed Spanish visual artist Fernando Sánchez Castillo exhibited his installation *Spitting Leaders* in the "Sonsbeek" Park in Arnhem, the Netherlands. The work consists of the busts of four historical figures rising from the park's pond. The busts of Stalin, Franco, Louis XIV and a fourth ambiguous bust – in different sources identified as Hitler, Pinochet, Philips V and José de Sucre – spit water at each other from their mouths. The work is part of Sánchez Castillo's continuous inquiry into icons of memory and the vestiges of the Francoist dictatorship (1939-1975) in Spain.

Spitting Leaders dismantles the historical despots in several ways. In an ironical setting, they are placed in the pond, as if having a bath, while their words – once so powerful – are reduced to a meaningless stream of water. But most interesting from the

perspective of this dissertation, the leaders are displaced, located in a non-related Dutch pond and displayed in a transnational conversation with their peers. Location is important to this transnational exhibit of despotic leaders. How will the Dutch public relate to them? Which leaders will they recognize? What identities will be attributed to them? The localized perspective of the artist is of importance as well. Within the wider perspective of Sánchez Castillo's work, the transnational positioning of Franco's bust among other historical despots and dictators offers insight into the artist's reading of the Spanish dictatorial past. Sánchez Castillo significantly places the dictator, who had been ruling his country for more than half a century, in relation to others, who are probably better known to the Dutch audience. This can be understood either as a tacit call for recognition or as "testing" the historical knowledge of the visitors.

The question why seemingly unrelated transnational memories are being articulated in connection to "Spanish" memories of the civil war and Francoism lies at the core of this dissertation. Entangled with that question are issues of location and perspective, as we see in the example of *Spitting Leaders*. Who envisions these transnational constellations of memory and with what purpose? Where can we locate the transnational memory of the Spanish Civil War?

In order to answer these questions, I will analyze the transnational memories of the Spanish Civil War from a cultural historical and literary perspective. Both fictional and non-fictional narratives stand at the basis of the (re)configuration of memory discourse, and therefore, as I will argue, a close reading of how and why transnational memories are articulated in such narratives in Spain, will give new insights into the ways they relate to and produce (political) identities in Spain and beyond. The selection of post-Cold War Spanish cultural texts – narrative fiction, documentary film, photography and journalism – that I will present here in this dissertation, is framed by three emblematic "spaces of transnational memory"; spaces that have been highly influential for the way in which the civil war is being remembered in Spain. These are: the wars in former Yugoslavia; Forced Disappearance in the Southern Cone¹; and the remembrance of the Holocaust. Each of these spaces highlights a different contemporary site of agency in the production of memory, namely contemporary civil war, mass grave exhumations, and testimony. In order to analyze and complicate the role played by agency in the production of memory, I will, on a theoretical level, propose an innovative performative take

¹ Forced Disappearance in international Human Rights law refers to the secret abduction of a citizen by or with the support of a state or a political organization and qualifies as a crime against humanity. The history of the establishment and acceptance of the term in international law has an important background in the political activism in the Southern Cone – Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay – in the aftermath of these countries' military dictatorships, which had made widespread use of Forced Disappearance as a technique of repression.

on (transnational) memory studies, relating the material-discursive theory of philosopher and feminist scholar Karen Barad (Barad 2007; Barad 2010) to the current scholarship on transnational memory (Levy and Sznajder 2006; Rothberg 2009; Erll 2011b; Silverman 2013; De Cesari and Rigney 2014). As I will argue, Barad's theoretical insights are highly suitable in this context, as they help to overcome several recurring dichotomies in the field of memory studies, while simultaneously offering a frame to critically engage with the exclusions that result of the production of collective memories.

As this dissertation claims, the transnational framework of remembrance does not only "upload" the local Spanish case to a transnational Human Rights regime in order to make louder the demands for memory, truth and, justice, but, importantly, this framework serves to reimagine Spain, proposing alternative and more "inclusive" forms of national memory and identity. Transnational memories thus serve to redefine the frameworks of national memory, often in opposition to the current Spanish "constitutional patriotism" (see Núñez Seixas 2004). Therefore, I will claim that transnational memory is located within the margins of the nation-state, a space of entanglement between the national and the transnational. This kind of "in-between" space (Cf. Bhabha 1994) is "inhabited" by those who were excluded from Spanish national identity through the forging of the Spanish nation-state: the Sephardic Jews, exiles, those buried in mass graves, and, to a certain extent, peripheral national communities such as the Basques and the Catalans. In the literary works that I will be analyzing as part of this dissertation, these identities appear as characters that "embody" the transnational space through their stories of exclusion. At the same time, I will underscore the importance of the specific "transnational" and "affective" gaze that is produced by "witnesses" to these entangled spaces of transnational memory. Affect and emotion, as I will argue, inform the choice of mnemonic affiliation that these witnesses make, and, at the same time, they bridge the apparent gap between subject and object and between individual and collective. Therefore affect and emotion should be considered as important mechanisms in the production of transnational memories.

Transnational entanglements

This research has to be understood within the context of the current re-emergence of memories of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism. From 1990 onwards, the way in which Spain came to understand the traumatic past of its civil war has gradually been changing. During the political transition from Franco's dictatorship to democracy, the Spanish elites feared the consequences of reopening old wounds and agreed on a political amnesty as they searched for reconciliation between the "two Spains," the two op-

posing forces of the civil war. The official reading of the Spanish Civil War was established as a “collective insanity,” where atrocities were committed on both sides. This does not mean, however, that the memory of the victims of Franco’s Spain were completely absent, as, until the present the unrecognized victims of the civil war have been haunting Spain in the form of ghosts in literature, cinema, but also in popular beliefs (see Labanyi 2000; Colmeiro 2011). Throughout the 1990s, however, the official reading of the Spanish Civil War started to engender an increasing discontent. During that time, numerous novels, documentaries, and journalistic accounts were again bringing to the fore the untold stories about the repression of the Republican civilians during the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath. Frustration became manifest after the national elections of 1996 and the triumph of the conservative Partido Popular, founded by ex-Franco ministers. Four years later this frustration attained an effective expression in the mass grave exhumations that followed the first excavation of the anonymous grave of thirteen civilians in Priaranza del Bierzo (León, Spain) in 2000.

Emilio Silva, the founder of the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory (ARMH), was one of the journalists who were interested in stories from the Spanish Civil War both from a personal *and* from a professional point of view. When Silva started to write a book about his grandfather who was killed during the civil war, he found and finally exhumed the anonymous grave where his grandfather had been buried for all these years, alongside twelve other victims from the civil war, collectively known as the “Thirteen from Priaranza.” Silva’s association, which aims to help other families to find the graves of their relatives, provoked an immense civil response. Indeed, the activist work done by the ARMH and other grassroots organizations triggered major interest from the national and international press, and also from the world of the arts, influencing theatre, (documentary) film, photography, visual art and literature. With that, from 2000 onwards, the rewriting of the history of the Spanish Civil War has been a fact. These newly articulated memories are closely related to the inclusion of old and new memberships of Spain’s national community, as can be illustrated by the example of the Law for Historical Memory (2007), which gave back the Spanish nationality to thousands of descendants of Republican exiles of the civil war. Another example is the re-burial of the exhumed bodies in official cemeteries, marking relations of kinship between past and future generations.

This re-emergence of the memories of the Spanish Civil War occurs against a background of what anthropologist Francisco Ferrándiz calls ‘an updated transnational “mystique” of the Spanish civil war’ (Ferrándiz 2008, 191). This does not only refer to the transnational context of the historical event itself, but also to the transnational context in which recent memories are articulated. Probably the most quoted example of

such a context influencing or even triggering the remembrance of the Spanish Civil War is the 1998 detention of Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet in London by Spanish Judge Baltasar Garzón. The attempt by the Spanish court to put the former dictator on trial for war crimes marked a stark contrast with the institutionalized silence surrounding the crimes committed during the Franco-dictatorship in Spain itself. This recurring example has redirected academic research of the transnational frameworks of Spanish Civil War remembrance into the field of international justice and human rights (Elsemann 2011; Martín-Cabrera 2011; Capdepón 2011; Baer and Sznajder 2015). However, little attention has been paid to the role that such transnational frameworks have played in the reconfiguration of cultural memory narratives of the Spanish Civil War. Only recently scholars of Spanish cultural studies have started to engage with the field of transnational memory, most notably in relation to the Holocaust (Gómez López-Quñones and Zepp 2010). Besides, the Aarhus-based research group *Memoria novelada* led by Hans Lauge Hansen has opened its horizon to transnational influences in their recent publication *Memoria novela III* (Cruz Suárez, Hansen, and Sánchez Cuervo 2015). It is within the field of cultural remembrance, that this dissertation enters the academic debate.

I have selected three “spaces of transnational memory” – the wars in former Yugoslavia, the disappearance in the Southern Cone, and the Holocaust remembrance – as my field of inquiry. Each of these spaces is entangled with the Spanish memory debates in a different way. The wars in former Yugoslavia function as a contemporary example of the devastations of a civil war, the desaparecidos of the Southern Cone as a juridical framework for Forced Disappearance as a crime against humanity, and, the Holocaust as an exemplary framework for the recognition and memorialization of victims of genocide and crimes against humanity.

Together, these three cases comprise the most quoted examples given by victims’ relatives and by memory activists denouncing the absence of recognition of the victims of the Spanish Civil War. Moreover, in all these three cases, the Spanish state played an active role in the recognition of the foreign victims. From the Spanish peacekeepers in Bosnia, to Garzón’s key-role in the detention of Pinochet; from the active Spanish participation in European initiatives for Holocaust remembrance and education such as “The International Task Force on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research” (ITF), to even smaller initiatives such as the construction of a Holocaust monument in Madrid – the active role of Spain in these foreign memory frameworks has arguably only served to emphasize the neglect of its own victims.

From a cultural perspective we will see that these examples function as spaces of memory production that exceed a model of “downloading” or “loaning” a blue-print for dealing with the past (Cf. Ferrándiz 2010). The three spaces have particular historical ties with Spain through histories of exile and diaspora, forms of exclusion resulting from the forging of the Spanish nation. These histories of exile and diaspora relate to Spain’s history of intolerance in the twentieth century, as well as to the more distant history of the Inquisition and colonialism. As this dissertation will reveal, particularly in those expressions of memory that are invested with imagination, exiles are understood as “wandering people” who are ‘themselves the marks of a shifting boundary that alienates the frontiers of the modern nation’ (Bhabha 1994, 164), while they are also newly appropriated within the proposed more inclusive boundaries of national culture.

It is important to note that all of these spaces became relevant as transnational memory discourses only after the Cold War. As such, the wars in former Yugoslavia and the institutionalization of Holocaust remembrance in Europe are related to the fall of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the conception of a new united Europe. Moreover, the end of the Cold War allowed for the formalization of a Human Rights regime as a universal moral code, as the Soviets’ opposing claims of universalism were now suspended (Levy and Sznajder 2010, 83–89). The development of the Human Rights framework forms an important background to the legal recognition of Forced Disappearance as a crime against humanity.

In the case of the wars in former Yugoslavia, their geographical proximity to Europe has been one of the main reasons for its major impact on contemporary European “witnesses.” Internationally, the wars in former Yugoslavia and their aftermath make an interesting case, as they are associated with the globalization and cosmopolitization of Holocaust memory. Besides, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia attained strong symbolical power as the first international criminal tribunal since Nuremberg. The exhumation and identification of mass graves in Bosnia has had important impact on forensic anthropology worldwide. In Spain the daily news digest on the wars in former Yugoslavia provoked constant comparisons to memories of the Spanish Civil War (Alonso Carballés 1998, 187). Here the wars in the Balkans sparked a debate in which Spain’s history of civil confrontation, dictatorship and transition to democracy was compared to the ongoing drama in former Yugoslavia. At a time in which Spain celebrated itself as a mature democracy, these comparisons seemed to bring back the ghosts of the past. After 2000, when the activists for historical memory were actively searching for mass graves of the civil war, Bosnia became a returning example of transitional justice.

The Latin American experience of Forced Disappearance proves another important framework, especially when viewed through the lens of the historical relations between Spain and countries like Argentina and Chile. Not only do these countries share a language, they also share bidirectional stories of political and economic exile, which already back in 1996 inspired Garzón to take up the investigation into the disappearance of Spanish citizens during the Dirty War in Argentina. As such, the legal framework of Forced Disappearance, with its origins in memory activism in the Southern Cone, gained importance in Spain not only as a suitable framework for the Republican victims still buried in anonymous graves, but also because of the bilateral involvement in the legal recognition of this form of violence. In chapter 4, I will showcase the development of the reference to the Southern Cone through the close reading of an early work of fiction, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán's novel *Galíndez* published in 1990, next to an analysis of the more recent 2011 photo exhibition *Desaparecidos* by photojournalist Gervasio Sánchez, which denounces Forced Disappearance through the documentation of mass grave exhumations all over the globe.

Finally, the Holocaust as a global and European paradigm of memory is also frequently used as a transnational memory framework in Spain (Levy and Sznajder 2006; Rothberg 2009; A. Assmann and Conrad 2010; Silverman 2013). From the beginning of the mass grave exhumations, journalists Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis used the discursive framework of the Holocaust to talk about the crimes of Franco's dictatorship and about their encounter with hundreds of mass graves dating from the Spanish Civil War and the immediate post-war in their influential documentary and subsequent book *Les fosses del silenci* (Armengou and Belis 2003a; Armengou and Belis 2004b). Another telling example of the strength of the Holocaust as a frame for rethinking the Spanish Civil War is historian Paul Preston's best-seller *The Spanish Holocaust* (2011), in which Preston forwards an interpretation of the Spanish Civil War through the prism of Lemkin's definition of genocide (Gómez López-Quñones and Zepp 2010; Baer 2011; Baer and Sznajder 2015). From a different perspective, the distance of the Second World War and the Spanish Civil War to the present pose similar problems to today's generations. The last eyewitnesses of the events are quickly disappearing, which is spurring on memory activists to record and archive testimonies that would otherwise be lost. Moreover, scholarship based on the experience of Holocaust remembrance over different generations, such as visible in Marianne Hirsch's concept of "post-memory," has been very influential for the research work that has been done on Spanish historical memory (Hirsch 1997; Faber 2014).

Transnational memory offers insight into the production of memories beyond the frameworks of the nation-state. At the same time, it questions the ways the different scales – the local, the national, the global – are entangled and even produced through one another (Jay 2010; De Cesari and Rigney 2014; A. Assmann 2014). In this dissertation, I will conceive of the production of transnational memory as the outcome of an active choice of self-identification. That is, mnemonic identification is not necessarily informed by matters of generation and genealogy (Appadurai 1996; Erll 2014), or, in other words, we do not have to be born to a specific predefined group, such as a generation cohort or a family, to identify with and adhere to specific memory cultures. This way of understanding the transnational turns our focus to questions of agency and perspective as a variety of “options” seems available. However, at the same time, the preference of mnemonic affiliation is largely informed by historical and contemporary realities of cultural and geographical distance and proximity. Being interested in transnational memory narratives that are situated in the memory debates in Spain, a large part of my analysis seemingly focuses on transnational “imports” of mnemonic “models” related to the former Yugoslavia, the Southern Cone and the Holocaust into Spanish memory debates. Yet, transnational narratives always work in two or even multiple directions. Moreover, from a perspective of theories of agential realism, these narratives are deeply entangled. With that, the selection of transnational spaces that I will discuss in this dissertation, aims to show the deeper transnational entanglements in Spanish Civil War remembrance located in Spain. I will touch upon the influence of the Spanish Civil War in (transnational) memory narratives abroad more in depth in chapter 2.

Appreciating remembrance first and foremost as a performative practice (Tilmans, Van Vree, and Winter 2010; Plate and Smelik 2013), I will propose to understand memory as “the making and marking of (social) space and time in society” following the material-discursive philosophy of feminist theorist Karen Barad (Barad 2007; Barad 2010). This proposal partly overlaps with the view of memory as a palimpsest, which invites us to think about the overlapping, and the compression and expansion of time and space, history and geography in the twenty-first century (Huyssen 2003; Silverman 2013). However, Barad’s theoretical model proves even more productive, as it invites us to engage with the exclusions produced in the articulation of memory in particular. Here we could think of the “forgotten” victims of the Spanish Civil War, but also of modern exclusions, such as the memory of Islamic influences on the European continent. Barad shows how agency is a matter of “cutting together-apart” (Barad 2007, 179; Barad 2010, 265). That is, whereas it produces exclusions, it does not mark an absolute separation, the exclusions remain entangled within the phenomenon, which for Barad is the manifestation of multiple material-discursive practices (Barad 2007, 140). As such, it

provides a theoretical background for analyzing the intrinsic connections between hegemonic memories and counter-memories and the way they co-constitute each other.

Nowhere is the production of social exclusions as clear, as in the fabric of the modern nation-state. In Spain, the silenced memories of the Spanish Civil War have always been “haunting” the hegemonic Francoist memory narrative and the subsequent oblivious narrative of the transition that posited peace, reconciliation and political amnesty at the center of the modern Spanish democracy. In the transnational field, this dissertation engages with many forms of entangled exclusions and “Otherness,” e.g. the centralist state versus the autonomous regions; victims versus perpetrators; Republicans versus Nationalists; *desaparecidos* (disappeared) versus *subterrados* (those buried in mass graves); or more broadly, Spanish victims versus victims of state violence elsewhere. As I have pointed out previously, I will argue that these entangled exclusions lie at the core of the production of transnational memory. I will elaborate further on this theoretical proposal in chapter 1.

Archive

As literary scholar Michael Rothberg has stated on various occasions, within the field of collective memories that transcend the nation-state, ‘the comparative critic must first constitute the archive by forging links between dispersed documents’ (Rothberg 2009, 18). Rothberg locates transnational articulations of memory and cross-referencing ‘in marginalized texts or in marginal moments of well-known texts’ (Ibid.). My selection of sources outlined underneath, “my archive,” is marked by the three “spaces” of transnational memory that became important after 1989, and comprises of both journalistic and literary narrative. However, I have not only selected works related to these three spaces, but have also included works that have had a considerable impact on the scholarly and social debate on the remembrance of the Spanish Civil War. As such, together these sources form a representative selection of significant Spanish articulations of transnational memory related to the memory of the Spanish Civil War.

For the period of the 1990s my selection comprises of the works of two authors, Juan Goytisolo (1993; 1995) and Manuel Vázquez Montalbán (1990; 1997). Following Rothberg’s differentiation between an archive of militant or minority articulations and what he calls, an “archive of implication,” related to ‘bystanders, beneficiaries, latecomers of the post-memory generation and others connected “prosthetically” to pasts they did not directly experience’ (Rothberg 2013, 40), Goytisolo and Vázquez Montalbán should be considered as belonging to the militant archive of transnational memory. Born in the 1930s, both authors have been committed to the anti-Francoist struggle all their lives,

while also being actively involved in the political struggle in, respectively, the Arab world and Latin America. They represent the generation of militant authors who have been articulating memories of the civil war all through their careers. The journalistic archive for this period constitutes of a selection of newspaper articles. Particularly in the case of the Spanish reactions to the ongoing wars in former Yugoslavia, my archive consist of an extensive selection of articles from the national newspapers *El País* (on the center-left of the political spectrum) and *El Mundo* on the right, as well as from the center-left Catalan newspaper *El periódico de Catalunya* and the center-right Basque *Deia*. These newspaper discourses counter the militant voice of Juan Goytisolo.

At the turn of the century a new generation of Spanish authors, engaged in transnational frameworks, embraces the topic of civil war remembrance. They however, are more related to Rothberg's category of an "archive of implication," being mostly referred to as the "postmemory" generation in the scholarly literature (Ribeiro de Menezes 2014; Ryan 2014; Faber 2014). As such, Antonio Muñoz Molina's novel *Sefarad* (2001) has for instance become increasingly recognized as an example of transnational memory in Spain. The same goes for the celebrated documentary films of Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis or the photographic exhibition *Desaparecidos* by Gervasio Sánchez (2011). Reading these renowned examples together as an archive of transnational articulations of Spanish Civil War remembrance, as well as putting them next to somewhat lesser known works such as Javier Martínez Reverte's *La noche detenida* (2002), Adolfo García Ortega's *El comprador de aniversarios* (2002), José María Merino's *La sima* (2009) or artist Francesc Torres's *Dark is the room* (2007), allows for a complete appreciation of the transnational expressions in these works.

Reading together-apart

From the perspective of agential realism and palimpsestic memory, linear temporality and mathematical perceptions of space do not hold. Time and space compress, decompress, expand, overlap and collapse (Lefebvre 1991; Harvey 2001; Huyssen 2003; Barad 2007). At the same time, memory narratives include and exclude, while the excluded haunts and co-constitutes the hegemonic narrative, always ready to resurrect again. Memory scholars Chiara De Cesari and Ann Rigney point to the process of remembrance as a two-edged sword, as it is 'intimately bound up with community-making since narratives about events belonging to "our world" continuously reproduce, redraw or challenge the lines between "them" and "us"' (De Cesari and Rigney 2014, 9). When collective memory is defined as a constant process of the formation of a group identity, that group identity is importantly based on the definition of an (historical) "Other."

Instead of seeing memory processes as a continuous process of identification, it could be said that it is instead a continuous process of “Othering.” For Barad the ethics of remembrance – indebted to philosopher Emmanuel Levinas’ ethics of responsibility – lies precisely in the recognition of the connections and commitments to the Other. The observer includes and excludes, but the exclusions are still there. Therefore, Barad underlines that *agential cuts* ‘do not mark some absolute separation but a cutting together/apart – a ‘holding together’ of the *disparate* itself...’ (Barad 2010, 265).

Following the idea of commitment to the entangled “Other”, I will pursue a “reading together-apart.” In doing so, I aim to critically engage with the entangled exclusions that are created in the production of transnational memory at various levels. Reading together-apart is a critical exercise that wishes to deconstruct ideas of “uniqueness” that lie at the heart of a competitive understanding of cultural memory (Rothberg 2009; Silverman 2013). First of all, my own selection of works produces an archive of Spanish transnational memories, which is based, however, on unavoidable exclusions that will nevertheless permeate the boundaries of the selection. As such, the three spaces that frame the selected archive should be seen as three tempo-geographical cuts: the wars in Bosnia/Spain, the *desaparecido/subterrado* in Latin America/Spain, and Holocaust remembrance in Europe/Spain. I will analyze these three asymmetrical and heterogeneous spaces separately while also recognizing their mutual entanglements.

In their recent article ‘Ghosts of the Holocaust in Franco’s Mass Graves’ (2015), sociologists Alejandro Baer and Natan Sznaider read the spaces of the Holocaust, the Argentine disappeared and the Spanish mass graves as it were “through one another.” Their contribution shows the importance of studying these various spaces of transnational memory together. The authors exemplify how ‘the Holocaust has found its way to the mass graves of Francoism’ via Argentina (Baer and Sznaider 2015, 3). While for them this kind of transnational “traveling” of memory particularly affects memory paradigms – and not shared memory –, my close reading of Spanish cultural texts that engage with transnational memory will focus on the underlying purpose of these kinds of entanglements and will deconstruct the apparent hierarchy in the idea of a “Holocaust memory paradigm.” Transnational linkages are often used when denouncing Spain’s oblivious relation to its past, articulated in metonymic enumerations – as in Sánchez Castillo’s example – linking different spatial and temporal histories of injustice around the world. Contrariwise, when taken individually, the different transnational contexts illuminate particular facets of the memories of the civil war as well as specific transnational genealogies and overlapping histories.

The selection of these three spaces also provides a temporal cut delineating different temporal frameworks of reference. First of all Bosnia brings us to the 1990s, a temporal

space before the renewed interest in the mass graves of the Civil War. The second space relating to Latin America provides a temporal move that builds a bridge between the 1990s and the 2000s through the focus on the *desaparecido* (disappeared) and the *subterrado* – a term designating those buried in the Spanish mass graves, as suggested by anthropologist Francisco Ferrándiz (2011). Finally, the Holocaust as a European memory narrative is strongly related to the 2000s, whereas the historical referent, 1940-1945, casts a shadow over that present. But in all these tempo-geographical cuts it becomes clear that ‘boundaries don’t hold; times, places, beings bleed through one another’ (Barad 2014, 179).

As outlined previously, for the analysis of each of the three transnational “spaces,” my main focus will be on literary texts that I will read together-apart with journalistic texts, (journalistic) photography and documentary film. Importantly, I understand these texts as a shaping force in the construction of cultural memory (Ricoeur 1988; Rigney 2004; see also Slaughter 2007). As such, these narratives do not offer a *reflection* of the past, but a “diffraction,” a term that attends to its relational nature of difference and leads away from homologies and analogies (Barad 2007, 28).² As diffractions, the texts are entangled with the ongoing processes of constructing time and space. Writing, publishing and reading can then be understood as a performance of memory, a practice of making and marking space and time in society, as will be outlined more in depth in chapter 1.

The literary form offers several possibilities to explore the field of transnational memory. Literary imagination blurs the borders between imagination, memory, and history, while it also allows for an alternative construction of time and space that recognizes the palimpsestic nature of transnational memories (Silverman 2008; Rothberg 2009; Erll 2011a). Besides, literary “heteroglossia” (Bakhtin 1981) can represent varying idioms and discourses in a single text. These different voices can be related to various forms of witnessing, diverse affective relations to events from disparate times and places around the world. As such, contrasting discourses of the past are able to co-exist within the space of a literary work and create “mnemonic multiperspectivity.” Even more, literature as a long-time laboratory for the construction of the self and the Other, offers insight into the newly constructed link between memory and identity within a transnational perspective. As Astrid Erll eloquently sums up, ‘literary narratives mediate be-

² For Barad “diffraction” refers to the wavelike behavior of light and the way it bends when it passes by an edge. Barad proposes diffraction as it leads us away from thinking about homologies and analogies, and helps us to focus on specific entanglements, marking the limits of the determinacy and permanency of boundaries (Barad 2007, 28).

tween pre-existing memory culture on the one hand and its potential restructuring on the other' (Erll 2011a, 156).

As for journalism, traditional media such as television and newspapers, but also various social media outlets, have played an important role in the development of the current renewed interest in the memory of the Spanish Civil War. Media scholar Barbie Zelizer stresses the need to focus on journalism as an important actor in the construction of memory. She sees journalism as one of the most influential institutions in recording events, providing a first draft of history, but also when it comes to remembering, see for instance the stress on certain commemorations in the form of lengthy background articles (Zelizer 2008). Contemporary "real events," such as the wars in former Yugoslavia, but also the mass grave exhumations in Spain, are primarily and firstly the focus of war journalists. Furthermore, in journalism, the past is one of the biggest sources used when explaining current events, and, as such, journalism actively shapes the way we deal with and understand present events (Kitch 2008, 312). With that, the historical comparison is one of the typical forms used in journalistic narrative, and can be successfully applied to events very distant in time, space and circumstances (Edy 1999, 78). This is what makes news media an important vehicle for the articulation of transnational memory discourses.

Reading journalistic texts and narrative literature together-apart, can correct several restrictions of the latter. First of all, works related to journalism are mostly meant for broader audiences than narrative fiction, which means they can tell us something about the wider dissemination of certain transnational narratives. Secondly, as Max Weber claimed, to talk about news is to talk about politics in society (Weber 2004, 55–57; Jensen and Jankowski 1991, 80). With other words, journalism's focus on the present provides us with a clearer focus on the political debates that are happening in society. Furthermore, other than in narrative fiction, the focus on the present and on "real events" prevents these works from blurring the boundaries between memory, history and imagination. Thirdly, particularly in the case of photography and documentary film as analyzed in chapters 4 and 5, these works centralize the visual, a scope that has become of primary importance in the dissemination and understanding of memory making through the Spanish mass grave exhumations (Ferrándiz and Baer 2008).

Next to exploring the archive from the perspective of spatiotemporal cuts and reading together-apart journalistic and artistic sources, I will provide a close reading of how the authors as well as the characters in the novels perform a reading together-apart, as they include and exclude perspectives, geographies, and voices. In each chapter of this dissertation I will identify a different form of witnessing, that relates to the specific tempo-geographical "cut" that is central to that section. As such, the authors and characters

are direct witnesses to the wars in Bosnia, post-witnesses to the exhumed bodies from the mass graves (González-Ruibal 2014), and “distanced witnesses” to the horrors of the Nazi extermination camps. I will use the narratological tool of “focalization” to identify the different witnesses in the texts. Focalization proves specifically apt when analyzing the different perspectives inherent to a text in order to identify who is doing the remembering, and thus, who is including and excluding. Focalization, referring to the perspective through which the text is presented, is mainly associated with questions such as “Who sees?” and “Who perceives (Genette 1972)?” However, following Mieke Bal’s modifications, focalization could cover a much wider scope, such as, for instance affect and emotion (Bal 2004). Thus, focalization helps us to unravel the consciousness, in all its complexity, from which the (story) world is observed. What is interesting about literature is that it gives access to the focalizer’s inner world, where in real life the perceptions of others remain mostly hidden. So, the focalizer can be understood in relation to entangled agency, “making and marking” social time and space, and cutting together-apart. Indeed, as I will argue, insight in the focalizations inherent to the text will reveal much about the purpose of transnational memory constellations.

I will include the scope of emotion and affect in my archive in order to map the subjective temporal and spatial scales of proximity and distance that give rise to the transnational field.³ On a different level, affective (or literal) reading in addition to reading for meaning (or allegorical reading), allows us to see what the text does apart from what it means, as it invites an ethical response (Van Alphen 2008). Reading into the world of emotion and affect in the text marks an important difference between the possibilities of journalistic and literary narratives. It is through this perspective that I posit the central role of transnational genealogies, and of hybrid characters that embody different mnemonic affiliations, as a basis for the reimagination of Spain as an “inclusive” nation that extends to transnational entangled identities.

Outline

Reimagining Spain consists of five chapters. In chapter 1, I will expand on the theories that set the boundaries for my argument. I will forward the central role of different forms of witnessing, space and agency in the configurations of transnational memory.

³ Thinking of the configurations of transnational memory through the lens of affect and emotion, and thus relating to mechanisms of recognition, interrelation and empathy needs a note of caution. Max Silverman has warned already of what he calls a “banal culture of empathy,” in which ‘we risk clothing ourselves in other people’s trauma and victimhood’ (Silverman 2013, 174). Although without providing a guarantee of reductive and instrumentalist memories, the idea here is to go beyond binary opposites and look at interconnections and entanglements.

As such, the proposed theoretical framework responds to recent calls to locate transnational memory. But chiefly, I will propose a new approach to memory studies through the performative and material-discursive theory of “agential realism” put forward by Karen Barad (Barad 2007), by means of which I posit memory as an iterative process that marks and makes space and time in society, based on practices of including and excluding. Barad’s perspective helps to overcome, firstly, the predominant understanding of collective or cultural memory as “representations” of the past in the present and, secondly, the returning binaries between individual and group, subject and object, or, national and transnational. Barad’s “agential realism,” I argue, offers a road to understanding the importance of the mass grave in Spanish memory discourses as a material-discursive construct.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of how the Spanish Civil War has been remembered over time, a history that can be appreciated as a process of constant rescaling, of including and excluding. As such, I argue that within all the different political factions, the remembrance of the civil war has always been framed in transnational frameworks. Moreover, the Spanish Civil War was understood as a foundational myth both by the Francoist regime as well as by the Republican communities in exile. Simultaneously, the war also functioned as a transnational icon in the antifascist and in the anti-communist struggle. The re-reading of the Spanish Civil War from the victims’ perspective, which will be the main focus in this dissertation, partly deconstructs and reconfigures the myths produced over time. The new narrative is inspired by contemporary transnational frameworks and networks of remembrance, but also by the reappearance of those who had been literally and discursively excluded from the Francoist definition of Spain, interred in mass graves – *subterrados* – and living in exile – *desterrados* (Ferrándiz 2011). Accordingly, whereas the Spanish Right posits the transition to democracy as the new foundational myth of democratic Spain, the Left has taken up the historical reference of the Second Republic as a new model for identification and modernization. My reading of the three transnational spaces of memory partly investigates how the old and new “myths” are being reconfigured.

The following three chapters comprise the empirical part of the dissertation. In chapter 3, “Haunting Analogies,” Spanish journalists, peacekeepers and Conscientious Objectors are understood as witnesses to the ongoing wars in former Yugoslavia. These wars, framed as a new “civil war” on European soil, evoke comparisons to Spain’s own painful history, just when Spain was celebrating itself as a matured democracy. In the Spanish journalistic accounts of that time, many of the comparisons between Spain and former Yugoslavia perpetuate the narrative of the Spanish Civil War as a fratricidal war, in a renewed defense of the Spanish transition as foundational myth of the modern

Spanish democracy. This myth posits the transition as the moment in which the perceived oppositions between the “two Spains” were finally overcome. This narrative is apparently only challenged by the peripheral nationalist autonomies. However, through the haunting comparison between Spain and former Yugoslavia, some of the newspaper articles explore examples of deeper entanglements between the two disparate spatio-temporal spaces of the Spanish Civil War and the wars in former Yugoslavia. On the basis of a close-reading of Juan Goytisolo’s novel *El sitio de los sitios*, I will highlight the importance of transnational genealogies in the presentation of an alternative view on identity that is based on cultural and historical entanglements. The transnational sensibilities of the characters descending from such transnational genealogies, relate to the transgression of borders and the recognition of the entangled exclusions of the Spanish nation-state forgotten in the celebratory mood of the 1990s. As I argue, the transnational gaze of the characters in *El sitio* enables them to recognize the overlapping of space and time and of different histories of violence and injustice in the traces of the past.

In chapter 4, “The Entangled Kin,” which is centred around the space of the mass grave as a space for transnational memory, I will move from the 1990s to the 2000s. This time shift also marks the change from the understanding of the civil war as a haunting past to that of the image of the exhumed bones as an urgent present. Subtierro forwards the role of an affected post-witness, conditioned by a transnational disposition and an engagement with the margins. Whereas before the exhumations, the mass grave was rather articulated as a ghostly, imagined space of haunting – which Manuel Vázquez Montalbán (1990, 1997), as a politically committed author importantly relates to the framework of the Latin American disappeared – the material presence of the open mass grave returns the post-witness to the location of Spain in the present, from where he or she projects a variety of transnational links. As such, subtierro as a locus for transnational memory inspires the post-witness to reimagine an alternative form of national identity from the margins of the nation-state, that is, from its entangled exclusions. In Francesc Torres’s photo exhibition *Dark is the room* (2007) and José María Merino’s novel *La sima* (2009), the mass grave as a trace of history invites its post-witnesses to read into the overlapping histories of violence, creating in this way, a community of “feeling” beyond the framework of “lived experience.” In this chapter I will propose to see affect and emotion as important mechanisms that inform choices of mnemonic affiliation.

Finally, the fifth and last chapter “Borrowed Memory” analyzes the Spanish “distanced” witness to the Holocaust as a hegemonic European memory. The framework of Holocaust memory outlines conceptions on witnessing and testimony that prove to be central to the reconfiguration of Spanish Civil War memories. As such, the frame of

Holocaust remembrance opens up a space for dialogue about questions related to categories of victimhood and national belonging. Whereas the documentaries from Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis (2003; 2004) produce a narration that is based on the argument of similarity between Spanish victims and Holocaust victims, the novelistic accounts of Antonio Muñoz Molina (2001) and Adolfo García Ortega (2002) propose an approximation based on multiplicity, as they relate explicitly to iconic Holocaust testimony in the role of “distanced witnesses.” Holocaust memory inspires these authors to construct an alternative version of Spanish identity; one which in this case in particular expands to Europe as a new identity horizon, built on the idea of tolerance. Importantly, these imaginative accounts introduce Sepharad as a foundational myth for a new form of Spanishness in Europe; a myth that draws on the construction of Otherness and multiple mnemonic memberships. In these novels, the iconic Holocaust testimony of Primo Levi serves as a trace of the past that produces an emotional reaction in the distanced witness. Yet, being marked by hegemonic frameworks that set the possibilities and limits for approximating the Holocaust and that establish clear boundaries for a European identity, these novels, as I argue, produce a new set of very clear boundaries for transnational memory, because they ultimately fail to engage with the exclusions they have generated themselves.

Positioned as a critical summary, the conclusion articulates the relation between transnational frameworks of memory and the different Spanish proposals for a new inclusive nationalism based on the recognition over time of Otherness and multiplicity. It suggests the need to detect the hierarchies that are inherent in the “multidirectional,” “palimpsestic” or “traveling” qualities of memory within the transnational field. These hierarchies ask for further inquiry into the location of the witness, so as to understand what these transnational memory articulations really do, that is, what they include and what they exclude, or, how they cut together-apart. Moreover, it posits the ethics of remembrance in the active engagement with the entangled exclusions that are intrinsic to any articulation of memory.

1.

Transnational Witnessing: Memory, Affect, Imagination

‘Memory does not reside in the folds of individual brains; rather, memory is the enfoldings of space-time-matter written into the universe, or better, the enfolded articulations of the universe in its mattering. Memory is not a record of a fixed past that can ever be fully or simply erased, written over, or recovered (that is, taken away or taken back into one’s possession, as if it were a thing that can be owned). And remembering is not a replay of a string of moments, but an enlivening and reconfiguring of past and future that is larger than any individual. Remembering and re-cognizing do not take care of, or satisfy, or in any other way reduce one’s responsibilities; rather, like all intra-actions, they extend the entanglements and responsibilities of which one is a part. The past is never finished. It cannot be wrapped up like a package, or a scrapbook, or an acknowledgment; we never leave it and it never leaves us behind’ (Barad 2007, ix).

In March 2003, I attended “La memoria de los olvidados” [The memory of the forgotten], one of the first conferences on the mass grave exhumations and the historical memory movement in Spain, which took place in Valladolid, Spain (see also Silva et al. 2004). Organized by researchers of the University of Valladolid and the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory, this three-day conference offered a varied, and above all, intense and emotional program. The meeting was overshadowed by the invasion of Iraq on March 20, just one day earlier; an invasion in which the Spanish Government under José María Aznar actively participated, despite the massive anti-war protests in Spain in which millions of citizens had taken part. Facing the tragic prospect of future war crimes and unnecessary victims in which the Spanish state was to be involved, we were listening to historians, forensic doctors, political scientists, novelists and artists talking about the Spanish Civil War crimes and its victims. But first and

foremost, we listened to the many testimonials by eyewitnesses of the Spanish Civil War horrors. The organizers had organized a round table discussion, inviting relatives of victims to the stage, but many relatives – brothers, partners, children and grandchildren – of the victims had also come to attend the conference. For them, the conference was a space to give their testimony in front of an open and interested audience. Anger, tears, and shivers; hugs, laughs and protest cries saying “No to war.” Instead of a conference *on* memory politics in Spain, it was very much a performance *of* memory. A performance of which I was not the only foreign audience. A Dutch crew from the Dutch national television program *EénVandaag* was recording the conference and I remember Austrian filmmaker Günter Schwaiger being also among the small group of international attendants.

The 2003 conference included many aspects of the theoretical concerns that are at the core of this dissertation: A highly affective performance that included different kinds of witnesses and generations, the overlapping image of an ongoing war *and* of a war fought more than fifty years ago, the varied group of memory makers, which included artists, journalists, scholars, activists and relatives. Looking back on it now, the remarkable presence of relatives and witness testimonies at the conference is in stark contrast to the overwhelming “material” presence of the mass grave as it is 2016. Now the focus of scholars, journalists and memory activist is mainly on the material traces and the human remains that are exhumed from the graves and what they “tell” about the past. In 2003, however, the interests in testimonies still stemmed from a research focus on oral history, a field that in Spain has its origins in the period of the Transition and Ronald Fraser’s – much criticized – *Blood of Spain* (Fraser 1979; cf. Labanyi 2010b).

Drawing on the theoretical issues that were so present in the 2003 conference, in this chapter, I will sketch the different theoretical key-concepts of my performative take on (transnational) memory studies – witnesses, space, agency, and form –, inspired by the material-discursive theory of philosopher and feminist scholar Karen Barad. I will do so by relating her insights to the theoretical state of the art in current memory studies and will point out how Barad’s insights help to overcome some of its recurring oppositions. Importantly, Barad’s model offers a way to understand the role of both the “material” presence of the mass graves as well as the affective power of for instance testimonies in the production of cultural memory. And finally, influenced by Barad’s more complex understanding of agency, this dissertation’s focus on the “witness” as an active agent in the production of memory, specifically foregrounds questions about the role played by individual agency in collective memory (Crane 1997; Kansteiner 2010) and about the boundaries and locations of transcultural memory (Radstone 2011).

The title of the conference, “The memory of the forgotten,” echoes the name of one of the leading grass root organizations that advocate for recognition of the Civil War victims, The Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory [Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica], which in this context co-organized the conference. Both the title and the name suggest an understanding of memory as something that was once complete but now has to be recovered. Ann Rigney has called this understanding of memory, the “original-plenitude-and-subsequent-loss” model. A model that understands memory as ‘fully formed in the past and that is something that is subsequently a matter of preserving and keeping alive’ (Rigney 2005, 12). The eyewitness, accompanied by claims of authenticity, gains an absolute importance in this model. In Spain this way of understanding collective memory is reinforced through the literal excavation of the past and the return of the bodies of those who were disappeared or “lost.” In general, the Spanish memory associations attempt to recover memories that were once there and then had been “hidden” or “lost” as a consequence of the hegemonic and all encompassing Francoist memory discourse. In this case indeed, as Rigney suggests, this idea of memory becomes almost synonymous to that of “counter-memory.” And, as a counter-memory movement, this interpretation of memory is also closely linked to contemporary identity politics. The present Spanish Republican memory movement not only aims to recover a lost past, but also to start a political reevaluation of the transition towards democracy and with that a reevaluation of the current political situation.

Independent of the Spanish memory movement’s own definition of “memory” or in this case even of “historical memory,”⁴ when we look at the example of the 2003 conference we see that there are actually many different agencies involved in the making of memory, varying in age, nationality and scholarly or artistic discipline. It is the term “cultural memory,” coined by Jan Assmann (1995), that underscores the importance of the cultural processes involved in the production of a shared memory. These processes include different forms of communication and mediation, involving processes of selection, convergence, interpretation, modeling, translation and circulation (Rigney 2005). Following Assmann’s important reorientation of the field, over the last two decades, memory studies started to constitute a large interdisciplinary field, focusing on all processes that have to do with the constant mediation and articulation of the past in the present. With that, the term “memory” is mostly used as a metaphor that refers to the symbolic order through which social groups and societies constitute their versions of

⁴ In the Spanish press there have been discussions about the terminology of “historical memory” as well as about the viability of memory per se. One of the most critical views on the terminology and the movement as a whole is held by historian Santos Juliá (see for instance Juliá 2006; Juliá 2007; for an overview of the whole debate see Yusta Rodrigo 2011).

the past. And, notwithstanding the large variety of adjectives added to “memory,” as Astrid Erll points out, ‘there are two generally agreed-upon central characteristics of (conscious) remembering: its relationship to the present and its constructed nature’ (Erll 2011a, 8).⁵

Understanding cultural memory solely as a constructed narrative about the past in the present, however, moves us away from the motor of memory-making at a group level; which is what made the 2003 conference into a performance of memory. This is why sociologist Jeffrey Olick stresses the important difference between mnemonic *practices* (reminiscence, recall, representation, commemoration, celebration, regret, renunciation, excuse, acknowledgment) and *products* (stories, rituals, books, statues, presentations, speeches, images, pictures, records), as he proposes to understand remembering as a fluid negotiation between the desires of the present and the legacies of the past (Olick 2008). ‘We must remember that memory is a process and not a thing, a faculty rather than a place. Collective memory is something we do, not something we have’ (Olick 2008, 159). Throughout this study, I will understand memory as a performative process. In my view, memory, more than a representation of the past in the present, acts upon the present and reshapes the future.

Although my sources of analysis will constitute “representations” of the past – memory products such as journalistic articles, photographs, documentary film, and mostly narrative fiction –, my theoretical framework comprises a post-representational, performative understanding of memory, inspired by philosopher and feminist theorist Karen Barad (2007). The current Spanish memory movement is primarily spurred on by the exhumation of mass graves, and the exhumed bodies are problematically being called “representations” of the past as they literally bring the materiality of the past into the present. Yet the tears of the relatives at the conference, let alone the shadow of the then more than real Iraq War, are also arduously understood within a framework that, by focusing on representation, turns our eyes away from a more pressing political reality. The (debatable) notion of authenticity in the plenitude-and-loss model enacted by the Spanish memory movement also carries an ethical connotation: the recovery of that

⁵ For the purpose of this research it would be too much to give a detailed overview of the whole field of memory studies today. For that I would refer to the important work done by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (2008) who provide an overview of the latest developments as well as the main challenges in the different (disciplinary) subareas of memory studies. At the same time, the recently published English version of the earlier German book entitled *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen. Eine Einführung* (2005) published in English as *Memory in Culture* (2011a) gives a concise overview of the development of memory studies over the last century. Finally I would like to point to the effort by sociologists Jeffrey Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy who compiled *The Collective Memory Reader* (2011) which provides a very useful overview of past and present key contributions to memory studies.

what is “lost” is also a profoundly political position. And, although this model is easily falsified, by embracing the representational model of cultural memory we actually lose this important notion of ethics around which many acts of memory are performed.

Barad’s theoretical cadre importantly contributes to the ethical reconsideration of memory – particularly important when talking about memories of violence – and views ethics as intertwined with regimes of knowing and being, resulting in something she defines as an *ethico-onto-epistem-ology*. Her theory of agential realism, indebted with studies of quantum physics, points at the impossibility of separating the observer and the object, words and things, discourse and matter or mind and body. Instead, she proposes a process-oriented performative model where we are invited to understand discourse as entangled material-discursive phenomena. In her view, discourse is not only a linguistic thing, but also a process or materialization that reconfigures what is possible and what is impossible. The world is composed of these phenomena, which are ontologically inseparable – entangled – agencies. Agential realism, as an immanent enfolding of matter and meaning, posits the objective world as entangled with agency in a way that makes them inseparable, and with that the phenomenon becomes the basic unit of the empirically-verifiable reality. Within this perspective, Olick’s separation between practices and products does not hold, as all of them are intrinsically entangled and a part of material-discursive partices. In general, Barad’s model can be especially elucidating for thinking about memory studies beyond some of the persisting binaries in the field: personal versus collective memory, memory versus forgetting, materiality versus discourse, national versus transnational, and also for understanding the inherent implication and effects of our research in the production of memories. In what follows, I will set out the different theoretical parts of my agential realist take on (transnational) memory studies through a discussion of its key concepts: witnesses, space, agency, and form.

Witnesses

At the 2003 conference in Valladolid we were all witnesses of some sort. Some of us were eyewitnesses to the civil war. Others were secondary witnesses, having lived with the void of a missing parent throughout their lives. Some of us had been witness to the mass grave exhumation. And we were all transnational witnesses – through the media – of the commencing War in Iraq. In many ways, the witness serves as a kind of mediator between event and audience. The relation between the witness and the historical event is mostly defined in terms of distance, measured through genealogy and generation, where the relation between the witness and the audience is conceptualized in terms of

(re)mediation or representation. Based on a short overview of these concepts, I will argue, however, that the witness is not a passive mediator, but stands at the center of the production of cultural memory, making witnessing a performative act.

Testimonial practices and bearing witness lie at the heart of current politics and cultures of memory of violence and the struggle for human rights. With Holocaust testimony at the basis of the “age of the witness” (Wieviorka 2006; Felman and Laub 1992), oral witness accounts and testimonies have had an important influence on both realist and fictional arts. Therefore, Annette Wieviorka critiques the way in which individual memory accounts have overshadowed the academic historical narrative ever since its public recognition in the Eichman trials. The overwhelming importance of witness accounts in the struggles for justice and recognition of violent histories and with that in the production of a social and cultural memory narratives, has urged several scholars to identify other forms of witnessing than the traditional eyewitness account. In Holocaust literature, “secondary witnesses” (Des Pres 1976; Langer 1991) – those that did not experience a history at first hand but through close contact with the first generation – have gained in importance, and, through the global mediation of images and testimonies of war, we all have become “virtual” witnesses (Feldman 2004) to contemporary instances of violence around the world. Geoffrey Hartman suggests the term “intellectual witness” to describe a type of public witnessing, more distanced from the original event, and more related to the position of the spectator or bystander uncomfortably exposed to trauma and the anxiety of not empathizing enough (Hartman 2006). In Spain, the witness also performed a key role in the return of the (Republican) memories of the Spanish Civil War at the turn of the millennium. Indeed the witness became of primordial importance when the renewed interest in the recent past culminated in the exhumation of the mass graves of the civil war. Here, the eyewitness served as an important source of the concrete information necessary to locate the unmarked mass graves of more than half a century ago. At the same time, the exhumations have created a new sort of witnessing. Archaeologist Alfredo González-Ruibal points at the fact that those present at the exhumations also become witnesses of some sorts, when they dig up the corpses (González-Ruibal 2014). González-Ruibal has coined this form of witnessing “post-witnessing,” echoing Marianne Hirsch’s “postmemory.”

Focusing on memory products, rather than on producers, Hirsch developed the analytical category of “postmemory” to talk in particular about narratives produced by generations removed from the original event (Hirsch 1997). Hirsch’s category as such relates to a plethora of scholarly terms which have aimed to define the accounts of those who did not witness the historical event directly. However, most of these concepts, such as for instance secondary witnessing, Weissman’s “nonwitnessing,” Hartman’s “wit-

nesses by adoption,” Feldman’s “witnesses of the witnesses” or Lillian Kremer’s “witnesses through the imagination,” point at modes of witnessing that do have some form of relation to the original event, mostly through family or community ties (Weissman 2004; Hartman 2006; Felman and Laub 1992; Kremer 1989). Hirsch expresses the idea that postmemory is not necessarily restricted to biological or community ties, allowing for other forms of identification, adoption and projection, forwarding the term “affiliative postmemory” (Hirsch 2012). Yet, as Astrid Erll has pointed out, Hirsch’s analytical archive shows how the theoretical category of “postmemory” continues to combine genealogical and generational logics (Erll 2014). As such, Erll points to how, in this model, the forms of transmission are still vertically dependent upon biological ties and familial structures, while the forms of mediation are dependent upon contemporary generational frameworks.

Erll, on the other hand, argues for an understanding of “postmemory” as ‘a structure of mediation’ that is ‘potentially producible by and available to members of very different generational locations’ (Erll 2014, 400). She puts forward the idea of “generational performativity,” pointing at the possibilities of self-identification in the structures of family and generations that at first sight might seem rather fixed and top-down sociological and genetical models, using the example of migrant literature. Others, such as Alison Landsberg, Michael Rothberg or Annette Seidel Arpac, have also thought about these new examples of identification on based on the experience of migrants in the United States (Landsberg 2004) and on the relation between Holocaust memory and labor migrants in Germany (Seidel Arpac 2006; Rothberg 2014b). Based on the migrant experiences in relation to media experiences, Landsberg, within this perspective proposes the term “prosthetic memories,” underlining the degree of embodiment of these “foreign” memories, an extra limb on the body. Although interesting because of the specific focus on affect in the creation of these memories, Landsberg’s model lacks the option of transcending cultural or national boundaries: Prosthetic memories remain apart from supposedly “real” memories and within the implicit definition of these “real memories” Landsberg reproduces the cultural or national containers in which collective memories have been conceived throughout the twentieth century.

Hispanist Sebastiaan Faber has worked on a concept of “affiliative” postmemory – independently from Marianne Hirsch – which is particularly grounded in Spanish memory politics, while he questions the possibilities of adapting and translating concepts drawn from Holocaust studies to Spanish reality (Faber 2010; Faber 2014). Faber proposes an interpretation of “affiliative” postmemory that also points at intergenerational solidarity with the victim’s experience beyond any biological ties, yet, differently than Hirsch, this solidarity has an important political dimension within the Spanish

struggles for “historical memory.” Much different than the case of Holocaust victims, in Spain we are encountering victims of political acts, who until today have not attained a hegemonic status of “victim,” with the according juridical, social and cultural recognition. As such, to Faber, adopting the analytical categories produced by Holocaust studies and applying them to the Spanish reality, produces a depoliticization. Similar to Erll’s proposal of an understanding of postmemory outside the frameworks of generation and genealogy as an active choice of self-identification, Faber uses the concept of “affiliative” postmemory as a ‘conscious association, based on [sic: political] solidarity, compassion and identification,’ which brings about ‘a voluntarily assumed commitment’ (Faber 2010, 103). In his analysis Faber also returns to the producers of these affiliative postmemory accounts, as he brings to the fore several authors of Spanish contemporary memory novels. Reading and writing these novels, he states, is part of the ethical choice to participate in the act of memory and telling and reading these untold stories.

Indeed, the 2003 conference in Valladolid displayed these aspects of voluntary commitment not only to a traumatic past, but also to a political cause in the present. The political importance was voiced through the past and present political commitment that was voiced in the eyewitness accounts, the round table focusing on the unfinished affair of the Spanish transition to democracy, as well as through the special meeting of “historical memory” activists from around the country casting their views on the future. Witnesses of a kind, witnesses to exhumed bodies, witnesses to witnesses, all committed to making the voices of the Republican victims heard. However, Faber’s concerns when defining the Spanish type of intergenerational memory are mainly focused on the choice of those born after the original event, the generation of “postmemory” in terms of Hirsch, and their freedom of choice in mnemonic affiliation. Moreover, Faber’s model does not take into account the possible effect of “multiple mnemonic memberships” on his affiliative model, which therefore remains dependent on a temporal intergenerational perspective. Multiple mnemonic memberships – that is, the multiple social groups of remembrance to which an individual can belong, such as his or her religious community, professional framework, family ties, or political choices – is a concept from sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, which has inspired modern memory scholars to rethink the lines of multiplicity in memory work, particularly in the face of globalization and transnationalization (Halbwachs 1992; see also Erll 2011b). Given the freedom of choice, how do the relatives of the victims cast their mnemonic memberships? And, what exactly informs the choices that the different witnesses make with regards to their mnemonic affiliation to the Spanish Civil War? Throughout my analysis I will foreground affect and emotion as important markers of these choices.

Bearing witness is a performative and dialogical practice that involves both the (eye)witness and his audience. Notably, throughout the twentieth century witnessing has increasingly become a transnational practice. 'While they necessarily remain grounded in local and national settings, testimonial appeals are also increasingly being addressed to a global imagined community composed of diasporic cultural groups, overseas governments, NGOs, social movements, multilateral organizations, media outlets and concerned citizens around the planet' (Kurasawa 2009, 93). Especially those witness accounts that are addressed to a wider audience than the direct family network of transmission – we could think of the witnesses at the conference, but also of iconic Holocaust witnesses as for instance Primo Levi – draw their success and global dissemination from their capacity to relate the socio-historic specificity of their personal experience to a universal significance and impact. Audiences to these accounts also establish points of intersection between their own experiential and cultural frameworks and that of the witness' account. As such, the public practice of witnessing creates spaces of "in-betweenness," where different experiential, historical and socio-cultural divides meet.

Moreover, claims of authenticity and uniqueness that as epistemological categories often accompany the eyewitness accounts, become problematic when we think about the constructed nature of memory. Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney have sought to use insights from media studies to study the dynamic processes of memory more broadly, which they have come to describe in terms of remediation, a concept that points at the way different media continuously reproduce, replace or "refashion" prior media forms – a concept that was introduced by David Bolter and Richard Grusin in *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (2000). In memory studies, remediation accentuates the diachronic processes that are happening in the production of meaning: the recycling of certain symbols and narratives across different media constitutes the creation of cultural memory. At the same time, adopting Grusin's later uptake of the term "premediation" (see Grusin 2004), Erll and Rigney argue that the production of any narrative is always premediated by previous existing cultural images, narrative plots or symbols (Erll and Rigney 2009). Take for instance Blas de Otero's poetic witnessing voice of the Civil War in his poem *Me llamarán* [They will call me] (1955), present in Valladolid through the voice of his widow Sabina de la Cruz. In this poem, Blas de Otero recurs to the narrative framework of the "two Spains" symbolized through the biblical figures of Cain and Abel. That is, the biblical image of Cain and Abel serves as a premediation for understanding the Spanish Civil War as a fraternal conflict and through this image the narrative and social construct of the existence of "two Spains" has been continuously repeated and remediated in contemporary Spanish (political) culture. One could say that from the perspective of remediation, the hermeneutic categories in the making of memory –

artifacts, maker and consumer (Kansteiner 2002) – collapse. This is even more true when – following Barad – we understand “memory matter” as material-discursive phenomena in which these categories are intrinsically entangled in each other’s constitution. According to theories of agential materialism, phenomena are the result of differential patterns of mattering in which agency is located both in the subject as well as in the object. An object in reality, whether it is the Spanish mass graves, the Valley of the Fallen or a novel by Goytisolo, could be understood as one of these phenomena, in which a narrative trope such as the one of Cain and Abel, is entangled in an inseparable way.

In short, Rigney and Erll describe “memory matter” as a transmedial phenomenon that can be represented in the whole spectrum of media, from manuscripts, to paintings, novels, movies or websites. When analyzing “memory matter” such as testimonies, we should read through their pre- and remediations, mapping out the memory constellations in which they are involved. In a similar way Max Silverman, based on a careful reading of the palimpsestic nature of traumatic “memory matter,” suggests that when viewing testimony ‘not as bearing witness to the failure of language but as the belated cultural configuration of trauma’ we are obliged to see it ‘as regulated by the same aesthetic choices as other writing: (...) occupying the same intertextual space’ (Silverman 2013, 95). He uses the verb “refract” to describe the way trauma is influenced and remediated through an imagined and hybrid symbolic order.

Interestingly, in their attempt to describe the dynamic nature of memory, Ann Rigney, Astrid Erll, and Max Silverman already draw on words that are central to Karen Barad’s theoretical framework (Barad 2007). Barad analyzes the iterative (re)constitution of matter, in what she has called “spacetime mattering.” Her use of “matter” provides a materialist take on the discursive medial memory constellations that Erll and Rigney propose.⁶ Barad’s “matter” invokes entangled phenomena that are always being reconstituted. With the term “spacetime mattering,” she then refers to the making and marking of space and time. And, similar to Silverman’s use of “refraction” – referring to the change of direction of a wave –, Barad proposes to see these processes in terms of “diffraction,” which refers to the wavelike behavior of light and the way it

⁶ Moreover, Karen Barad underlines that ‘the ubiquitous pronouncements proclaiming that experience or the material world is “mediated” have offered precious little guidance about how to proceed. The notion of mediation has for too long stood in the way of a more thoroughgoing accounting of the empirical world. The reconceptualization of materiality offered here makes it possible to take the empirical world seriously once again, but this time with the understanding that the objective referent is phenomena, not the seeming “immediately givenness” of the world’ (Barad 2003, 823). Media scholars such as Sarah Kember and Joanna Zylinska, however, argue that the concept of “mediation” *can* be understood as a complex and hybrid process that is as all-encompassing and indivisible as Barad’s definition of the phenomenon (Kember and Zylinska 2012, xv).

bends when it passes an edge. Barad proposes diffraction, as it leads us away from thinking about homologies and analogies, and helps us to focus on specific entanglements, marking the limits of the determinacy and permanency of boundaries. As such, she emphasizes that ‘diffraction involves reading insights through one another in ways that help illuminate differences as they emerge: how different differences get made, what gets excluded, and how those exclusions matter’ (Barad 2007, 30).⁷

Moreover, for someone who is not a memory scholar, Barad reflects quite a lot upon the role of memory (Barad 2010; Barad 2014). Because of the constant reconstitution of phenomena, historicity, or memory, becomes important in her theoretical outline. The past and the future are enfolded in the constant process of becoming. This enfolding of the past and the future in the present is, according to Barad best captured by Derrida’s figure of ghosts from the past haunting the present (Barad 2010, 265). Derrida’s specter captures the way “time is out of joint” and points at how the past is constantly recreated (Barad 2010, 244). The ghost points at the entangled relationship between opposites such as continuity and discontinuity, disrupting the linear understanding of time and the idea of representation. That is, there is no past moment that can be represented in the present, the past can only be recreated or performed in the present. Following Barad’s view on the iterative production of space and time beyond the logics of linearity, I propose to define the practices of memory as the making and marking of (social) space and time in society. With this definition, I hope to convey that memory is not only about the retelling of the past in the present, but also about the ongoing openness of the narrative to future retellings (see also Derrida 2006).

This “disjointed” conception of time relates to the central position I reserve for the witness in my understanding of memory. The witness, as such, is not a witness to the passing of time, but related to the performative “agencies of observation” (Barad 2010, 253). Throughout this dissertation, I will argue that the witness, independent from its original relation to the past event at stake, is actively involved in the dynamic processes of the reiterative (re)configuration of memory narratives and is at the core of the production of cultural memories, indebted with the past, the present, and the future.

Space

Throughout the twentieth century, memory studies have mainly focused on the circulation and configurations of cultural or social memory within the boundaries of the nation-state. Similar to other fields of cultural inquiry, the nation-state was understood as

⁷ Barad’s use of “diffraction” is indebted to Donna Haraway, who coined the term “diffraction” in the 1990s as part of a toolbox of semiotics (Haraway 1997, 14).

the predominant if not the only framework of importance in the collective temporal constructions linking past, present and future. However, recent processes of globalization have reframed our present, and with that they have made the already existing processes of memory that transcend the national boundaries visible. Memory scholars have therefore proposed to rethink cultural memory outside or beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. The new “global” or “transnational” consciousness has brought about new insights into the ways narratives from past events “travel” around the world and can be remediated in apparently unconnected contexts (Erl1 2011b). And importantly, because of this, the epistemological link between space and memory has gained a new place on the research agenda (see for instance Schindel and Colombo 2014). These developments lie at the basis of my proposal for understanding memory as a process of making and marking space and time in society. Whereas several scholars have already suggested the importance of the relation between space and time (see Harvey 2001; Huyssen 2003), I propose to see them as intrinsically entangled in the phenomenon and produced by the “measurement” of the “agencies of observation” or of the apparatus enacting an *agential cut*. As I will outline below, my turn here to Barad is not a radical change away from the theory that has been proposed before but more a natural next step to take in the conceptualization of transnational remembrance.

Throughout the twentieth century, the relation between space and memory (time) was mainly based on the concepts put forward by sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in his ideas on “frameworks of social memory” (Halbwachs 1992). Important in Halbwachs theory is the social framework of individual memory, a framework that is transmitted through different generations and through the different social groups one belongs to. With that, social memory is an active marker of social or collective identity. His strongly hierarchical take on collective memory sets the ultimate boundary at the nation-state as the largest group identity marker. Halbwachs outlines an understanding of space through the social frameworks of groups, emerging most clearly from his comparison between the relevance of space when dreaming and when awake: ‘When we are awake, on the contrary, time, space and the order of physical and social events as they are established and recognized by the members of our group are imposed on us’ (Halbwachs 1992, 172). Marxist sociologist Henri Lefebvre develops a similar, but much more developed idea of a “socially produced space,” in his exploration of the abyss between the philosophical presupposition of a “mental space” and an “absolute” physical space (Lefebvre 1991). These two realms are connected through what Lefebvre calls “lived space,” making physical, mental and social space inseparable. Lefebvre states that ‘groups, classes or fractions of classes cannot constitute themselves, or recognize one another, as “subjects” unless they generate (or produce) a space’ (Lefebvre 1991, 416).

That is, space is a structural element in the production of group identity; society and space are intrinsically conjoined.

We can find contours of space as “lived experience” in important works that ponder on spatial reflections of group identities. For example, with the concept of “imagined communities” (Anderson 1983), Benedict Anderson points at for instance the cultural construction of the “physical space” of the nation-state. He portrays national communities as “imagined” communities, because of the fact that their members will never know most of their fellow-members. As such, their mutual connection of deep comradeship is mainly based on imagination. In this way, for Anderson, all nationalism is the result of a social production of space. Interesting within the scope of this dissertation is the important role Anderson assigns to specific sites of memory in inscribing temporality in the spatial fabric of the imagined nation. Space and time seem intrinsically related. Whereas Halbwachs, in his analysis of memory, recurs to social “spaces” and particularly the space of the nation state, Anderson, in his analysis of the national space returns to the concept of memory. My interest, however, lies however in the relation between space and time on a transnational level.

Following Benedict Anderson’s analysis of the nation as imagined community, Arjun Appadurai argues that there is a similar work of imagination to be found in the postnational political world (Appadurai 1996, 21–22). Giving a key role to different forms of media, such as visual art, literature and newspapers, Appadurai’s stress on the workings of imagination on a collective level comes also, like Anderson’s, close to the notion of collective memory. For Appadurai, imagination is a social practice, which negotiates between sites of agency and globally defined fields of possibility. Hence, he suggests to conceive the globalized world through the imagery of chaos, flow and uncertainty instead of the imagery of system, order and stability (Appadurai 1996, 47). In both Appadurai and Anderson’s work, “imagination” comes close to the idea of “collective memory” and accordingly, they importantly add the concept of time to their approach to space and the production of social space.

The production of time and (transnational) space together is probably most explicitly present in the work of David Harvey and Andreas Huyssen. David Harvey, mostly known for his analysis of the construction of space indebted to Lefebvre, points at space, like for instance cartography, as simultaneously a mental and a material construct. He understands globalization in terms of time-space compression, as he explains, ‘the world suddenly feels much smaller, and the time-horizons over which we can think about social action become much shorter’ (Harvey 2001, 123). Harvey develops his analysis of the construction of time-space within the perspective of the development of capitalism and in that sense, his conception of time mostly points to the idea of linear

passing time. Andreas Huyssen's critical inquiry, on the other hand, is more directly related to the category of memory, which he understands as 'the emergence of a new paradigm of thinking about time and space, history and geography in the twenty-first century' (Huyssen 2003, 4). Huyssen criticizes Harvey's conceptualization of time-space compression for neglecting the way in which the shrinkage of time-space is simultaneously accompanied by the expansion of time and space through imagination (Huyssen 2008, 6–7). In *Present Pasts* (2003), Huyssen employs memory against the tendency of 'the voiding of time and the collapsing of space':

'while the hypertrophy of memory can lead to self-indulgence, melancholy fixations, and a problematic privileging of the traumatic dimension of life with no exit in sight, memory discourses are absolutely essential to imagine the future and to regain a strong temporal and spatial grounding of life and the imagination in a media and consumer society that increasingly voids temporality and collapses space' (Huyssen 2003, 6).

Huyssen theorizes memory as a diachronical aspect of space by making use of the literary trope of the palimpsest that displays the temporal layers of spaces while analyzing the way memory and temporality have invaded fixed spaces such as cities, architecture and sculpture. Notwithstanding the differences between these two authors, they both underscore the entangled relation in the production of time and space beyond the nation state. This relation between time and space is also expressed in the correlation between materiality and imaginative discourse.

When memory studies took a transnational or transcultural turn, memory also starts questioning the logics of "physical" space. However, more important than the social dimensions of the capitalist city, as in Lefebvre's thought, the category of memory focuses on the imaginary and, above all, temporal dimensions of space. With that, not only the mathematical, measurable underpinning of space, but also the linearity of time is being questioned. Barad's view on the entanglement and co-constitution of time and space pushes the understanding of how time and space work together even further. In her view, it is impossible to take these concepts apart, as they do not only depend on each other, but also produce each other. She underlines how 'neither space nor time exist as determinate givens, as universals, outside of phenomena' (Barad 2010, 261). Importantly, as I explained before, the concept of "haunting" is Barad's preferred visualization for how past, present and future are dis/continuous, both continuous and discontinuous at the same time. In my reading of the various Spanish works of art that posit the memory of the Spanish Civil War in a transnational setting, Barad's idea of haunting as a representation of dis/continuity of spacetime and Huyssen's idea of the

palimpsest will become important tools to understand the logic of how disparate times and spaces are woven together in these texts.

In accordance with these new views on time and space, the recent approaches to cultural memory since the transnational turn have, next to the “palimpsest,” come to talk about time and space in terms of “multidirectionality” and “traveling” (Rothberg 2009; Erll 2011b; Silverman 2013). These valuable contributions to the understanding of memory not bound to the nation-state reject notions of purity and authenticity and draw our attention to dynamic transfers between diverse places and times during the act of remembrance. Echoing Barad’s idea of continuous becoming, but also the social construction of space, Michael Rothberg for instance writes that ‘pursuing memory’s multidirectionality encourages us to think of the public sphere as a malleable discursive space in which groups do not simply articulate established positions but *actually come into being* through their dialogical interactions with others; both the subjects and spaces of the public are open to continual reconstruction’ (Rothberg 2009, 5 italics are mine). Max Silverman prefers the metaphor of the palimpsest, as it ‘captures most completely the superimposition and productive interaction of different inscriptions and the *spatialization of time* central to the work of memory’ (Silverman 2013, 4 italics are mine). Note how the idea of a spatialization of time underlines the intrinsic relation between the two. Inspired by Derrida, just as Barad is, Silverman uses the idea of haunting as a metaphor for the way ‘memory is inhabited by and generative of multiple traces and contaminations from other places’ (Silverman 2013, 54). With the metaphor of haunting, Silverman also seems to break away from the linear notion of time. The idea of memory as a palimpsest – also when thinking of the materiality of a palimpsest – comes closest to my proposal of a material-discursive approach to memory. It lacks however a clear conceptualization of the role of agency in the production of the palimpsest. Silverman focuses on the form of palimpsestic memory, rather than on the agencies behind its production, as he describes his work as ‘an attempt to unearth an overlapping vocabulary, lexicon, imagery, aesthetic and, ultimately, history shared by representations of colonialism and the Holocaust’ (Silverman 2013, 30). This interest in the *modus operandi* of memory beyond the nation state is shared by Astrid Erll, who proposes the concept of “traveling memory,” indebted to Arjun Appadurai’s take on globalization, where he identifies media and migration as two of the major diacritics in creating a new order of instability. Like Appadurai, Erll invites us to move from a static definition of memory to a process-oriented one, as she sets her idea of *travels* of memory against the static expression of *sites* of memory (Erll 2011a, 66).

Susannah Radstone has written a timely response to these approximations that focus on the dislocation of cultural memories instead of on their possible location. She quotes

the extensive literature on migrancy and exile to point at the continuing importance of location for ‘the meaning-making and affective dimensions of life in the present’ (Radstone 2011, 109). As she writes, even if the developments in memory studies ‘encourage us to perceive of cultural memory as process, rather than site, they also direct us to attend to those processes of encountering, negotiation, reading, viewing and spectatorship through which memories are, if you like, brought down to earth’ (Radstone 2011, 111). As such, her article is an invitation to engage with the locatedness, both of the practices of memory and of the researcher, instead of with its non-location, as memory is specific to its site of production and practice. “Location” in Radstone’s invitation, as I read it, does not so much refer to a location on the map, but rather to the instance of memory production, or, within the analytical vocabulary of Karen Barad, the instance of “spacetime-mattering.” As I will explain below, it is exactly here that Barad locates her important ethical category of agency.

Homi Bhabha, in a much earlier account on the location of culture in general, which is mainly inspired by the position of the migrant, (as in the case of Radstone) has claimed the importance of the production of culture in what he calls “the margins of modernity,” which relates to the imagined boundaries of the nation-state. He defines this liminal space as an in-between space that is marked by a ‘ghostly simultaneity of a temporality of doubling’ (Bhabha 1994, 160), which works through a doubled mechanism of forgetting and remembering at the same time. Moreover, very much in line with Barad’s stress on entanglement with Otherness, Bhabha recognizes, through the analysis of minority positions how ‘the problem is not simply the “selfhood” of the nation as opposed to the otherness of other nations. We are confronted with the nation split within itself’ (Bhabha 1994, 148), which is mostly identified in terms of the collapse of historical time. How, he asks further on, ‘does one encounter the past as an anteriority that continually introduces an otherness or alterity into the present’ (Bhabha 1994, 157)? One can easily translate Bhabha’s analysis of minority discourses to discourses of counter-memories and the production of alterity in the present through past exclusions. However, Bhabha ultimately maintains the existing differences between opposites, as he underlines the importance of exploring the boundaries not for their deconstruction, but to acquire a position that allows for translation of differences and the construction of solidarity (see for instance Bhabha 1994, 170). As I will argue throughout the dissertation, the in-between space and the boundaries or margins of the nation-state will be a central “location” from which the transnationally framed Spanish Civil War memories are articulated. However, with Barad, I will recognize in-betweenness as a space of entanglement, rather than a space of difference and translation.

The conception of Bhabha's in-between space as a space of entanglement evokes historian Sebastian Conrad's concept of "entangled memories" (Conrad 2003), a term that, although having a continued echoe in academic publications, did not have such impact in memory studies as Rothberg's "multidirectional memory" or Erll's "traveling memory" did. Conrad introduced the concept of "entangled memories" to understand instances of entanglement in the production of memory (and not of history) and to 'wrestle the complex processes of remembering and forgetting from the phantasma of autonomy' (Conrad 2003, 86). However, in his analysis of the relations between Japanese and German memory paradigms, the two geographies remain rather apart while Conrad presents the two spaces in a comparative mode. With that, I would like to stress the different conceptualization of entanglement in this dissertation, which, following Barad, understands entanglement as a relation in which the two apparent entangled entities are dis/continuous or in/separable, which means that they do not only influence each other, but also (re)constitute each other.

In general I believe Radstone's important call has found a sympathetic and explicit response in the seeming preference for the term "transnational" over earlier more dislocating terms, when talking about memory in the global world. In 2014 Ann Rigney and Chiara de Cesari published an edited volume called *Transnational Memory: Circulation, Articulation, Scales* (De Cesari and Rigney 2014), the European Review published a special issue entitled "Transnational Memory in the Hispanic World" – featuring an afterword authored by Michael Rothberg, "Locating Transnational Memories," (Rothberg 2014a) in which he extensively responds to Radstone's call for locatedness –, and the network of memory studies in which some of the most renowned scholars in memory studies participate is now called "Network in Transnational Memory Studies."⁸ These transnational approaches, as the subtitle of Rigney and De Cesari's volume suggests, pay attention to various scales of locatedness, including the individual, the local, the national, the transnational and the universal. As the authors underscore in their introduction, "transnational" resumes the issue of borders, at a methodological level as well as at an empirical level.

Transnational is also my terminology of choice, as the question of scales is particularly relevant in the case of Spain, a country in which the right-wing engages with a strong nationalist patriotic discourse against the regional nationalist endeavors of the

⁸ My own scholarly efforts also draw on Radstone's call for locatedness. As such, I have organized a panel under the title of "Locating Transcultural Memory" at the symposium *Thinking Memory Through Space. Materiality, Representation & Imagination* at Goldsmiths (London), on July 11-12, 2013. Also, in our special issue "Faces and Traces of Violence: Memory Politics in Global Perspective", *Culture & History Digital Journal* 3(2), we present a series of very located case-studies that answer to Radstone's call for locatedness.

peripheral historical autonomous communities such as Catalonia and the Basque Country, but where, as we will see throughout this dissertation, transnationally oriented memory practices are also important to the recent struggles for recognition of the Republican victims of the Spanish Civil War. In Spain, it proves particularly relevant to look at ‘how nation-states seek to retain hegemony by producing purified memories of home, homeland, and *Heimat* (...) [and at] the ways that transnational and transcultural processes can “unhome” the homogeneous conceptions of local and national community that ground both nationalist ideologies and some conceptions of memory (Rothberg 2014a, 653–4),’ as Rothberg phrased in his response to Radstone.

Agency

Locatedness has a critical relation to agency. The 2003 conference in Valladolid importantly created a space of agency for the Civil War victims and their relatives; a public space to tell their story and to condemn the democratic governments that had refused or failed to do so. We can view the conference as a specific instance of memory production, concentrating and connecting various voices, producing a new space for solidarity and activism in the future. Agency can be located at different levels. We can recognize agency in the testimony accounts, but also in the camera of the Dutch television crew, in the poems of Blas de Otero or in the remote bodies exhumed from the mass grave, creating an affective space and spurring on the witnesses to act upon the present and the future. That is, agency can be located in subjects as well as in (non-human) objects, that is, in “memory matter.” Ann Rigney and Chiara de Cesari underline how we might even think about the agency of cultural remembrance itself, by means of the “prosthetically” created new mnemonic memberships through mediated acts of remembrance (De Cesari and Rigney 2014, 9). As such, remembrance itself has the power to reconfigure the borders between imagined communities. Throughout this dissertation I will consider all these different forms of agency.

Central to my focus is a reconsideration of the role of the individual in the reconfigurations of collective memory. As Wulf Kansteiner has pointed out in an editorial of the journal *Memory Studies*, there seems to be a general agreement ‘about the relative powerlessness of individuals in processes of collective memory construction’ (Kansteiner 2010, 3). Sociologist Jeffrey Olick has proposed a solution to this returning problem in collective memory studies through what he calls collected or individual memory and collective memory (Olick 1999). In the case of collected memory, the assumption is that there is no such thing as collective memory, and that in the end memories can only be articulated by means of the interpretation of an individual. In this sense, individuals

collect memories that are publicly available through monuments and other instances and “interpret” them within their own autobiographical narrative. Collective memory, on the other hand, points at those processes of socialization that cannot simply be reduced to individual psychological patterns, and with that Olick points at autonomous symbolic systems that exist within society. Collective memory thus shapes individual memory, while individual memory actualizes collective memory, much like local experiences actualize global memory narratives and vice versa.

Susan Crane has also made a case for ‘*relocating* the collective back in the individual who articulates it’ (Crane 1997, 1375 italics are mine). She identifies the relation between collective and individual memory not only as a mind/body problem, that is the relation between memory as a collective phenomenon (mind) and the location of memory in the individual (body), but also as a body/body problem: the relation between the different individuals that constitute the mnemonic collective. ‘All narratives, all sites, all texts remain objects until they are “read” or referred to by individuals thinking historically,’ and as such, for Crane, ‘the criteria of “what remains as memory” has more to do with when one is acting as a witness and when one is remembering lived experience (Crane 1997, 1381–2). With that, Crane centralizes individual human agency above all the other possible forms of agency in collective memory.

There are two main problems with a focus on this kind of individual human agency in the construction of collective memory. First of all, the special attention given to the maker of memory representations also carries within it a general neglect for the study of reception (Kansteiner 2002; Faber 2014). One way of studying the reception of memory narratives is through their remediation, their institutionalization or their becoming part of a cultural canon. However, even if we study the reception history of a cultural product, we will re-encounter the divide between the collective and the individual, as reception is also related to context, previous knowledge, political engagement etc. A second problem lies in the lack of problematization of the relation between the human and the non-human, as that what is considered “collective” is mostly materialized in the form of Olick’s practices and products.

Feminist insights related to agency and embodiment can help to overcome these recurring ontological problems in the conceptualization of collective or cultural memory. Interestingly, Crane’s definition of the relation between collective and individual memory as a mind/body and a body/body problem already seems to intuitively point in this direction, without however referring to concepts of embodiment. Feminist critique has importantly focused on deconstructing the mind/body divide existing in Western critical thought, which has traditionally located personhood (and thus agency) in the mind. Studies of emotions and affect that break down dichotomies between hu-

man and non-human have sophisticatedly re-envisioned the location of agency (Butler 1993; Haraway 1991; Ahmed 2004).

Anthropologist Paul Connerton, in his performative approach to history, memory and forgetting, pays particular attention to the role of the body in agency (Connerton 1989; Connerton 2011). Within the practices of memory, the body is an object of discourse and knowledge, but is also shaped in its practices and behavior in a cultural way. In *The Spirit of Mourning*, Connerton particularly concentrates on the affective investment in topography, the places of memory, stating that the art-of-memory tradition neglected the *affective investment in life-spaces* and the repercussions of that affectivity on cultural memory. He defines the bodily mnemonic relation to the world in three categories: empathic projection, in which humans project bodily experiences to space; mimetic projection, the projection of bodily attributes to space; and, a cosmic projection, which exhibits a animated world view (Connerton 2011, 147–169). Unfortunately, Connerton's approach remains particularly focused on human agency in the production of space and memory because, ultimately, the human body remains in the center of the affective investment in the world.

However, it is particularly the theory of affect, different than theories of emotion and empathy, that tries to go beyond a simple linguistic understanding of the world, when defining affect as the response to stimuli at a precognitive and prelinguistic level (Massumi 2002; Gregg and Seigworth 2010). In order to bridge the divide between the human and non-human agency, and between linguistic and matter-based theories, anthropologist Yael Navaro-Yashin proposes a reading of embodiment that merges theories of affect and subjectivity as well as those of language and materiality. On the basis of her ethnography of looted objects from the displaced Greek-Cypriots in Northern Cyprus, Navaro-Yashin concludes that affect or melancholy related to the past can be discharged by objects as well as by persons. Affect, according to Navaro-Yashin, is located in objects as well as in subjective minds. And, importantly, objects do not affect people whenever they can or want to. People need to have particular kinds of knowledge – in this case of Cyprus' history of conflict – for this to happen (Navaro-Yashin 2009; Navaro-Yashin 2012). These insights into affect and embodiment help to overcome the divides between memory's construction and reception and between subject and object, as it posits their inherent relations beyond the remembering faculties of the mind.

Cultural memory as such can be understood as inscribed or embodied in the fabric of the world. Or, as Barad phrases it, 'the world "holds" the memory of all traces; or rather, the world is its memory (enfolded materialisation)' (Barad 2010, 261). A powerful argument for this understanding of memory are again the bodies exhumed from the

Spanish mass graves. Far from offering a representational narrative about the Civil War, these bodies are an affective and embodied reality acting upon the present. Katherine Verdery has pioneered the scholarly understanding of dead bodies in relation to memory. She frames the dead body as a present past, as they ‘have the advantage of concreteness that nonetheless transcends time, making past immediately present. (...) [T]heir corporeality makes them important means of localizing a claim’ (Verderey 1999, 27–28). Furthermore, she points at (dead) bodies as affective symbols because of their ineluctable self-referentiality: ‘because all people have bodies, any manipulation of a corpse directly enables one’s identification with it through one’s own body, thereby tapping into one’s reservoirs of feeling. In addition (or as a result), such manipulations may mobilize preexisting affect by evoking one’s own personal losses or one’s identification (...)’ (Verderey 1999, 33).

Although Verdery understands the body as an object of cultural memory, she simultaneously recognizes the important and inherent performative and affective qualities of a body-to-body relation. In relation to the Spanish exhumations, Layla Renshaw shows that, even more than the bodies, it is the objects that emerge from the graves, a watch, a shoe, a pair of glasses, that have a particularly affective power on the witnesses, as it relates more directly to the personhood of the dead (Renshaw 2011). Rachel Ceasar, on the other hand, shows how the knowledge production at the Spanish exhumation sites draws importantly on personal and emotional aspects (Ceasar 2014). Thus, as Navaro-Yashin asserts, we have to be attentive to both the affective power of objects and people’s subjective reading into these affective spaces, as subjects and objects produce and transmit affect relationally.

Throughout the analysis of my quite textual corpus of Spanish transnational memory, I will be particularly attentive to the role of affect and emotion in the construction of transnational memory. In understanding these texts as mnemonic practices rather than as objects, I will look at the way they offer forms of embodied knowledge, but also at how affect works at both an intra-textual and extra-textual level (Labanyi 2010a). An affective reading, focusing on “how” the text obtains meaning, can display the workings of agency in the text, located in both objects and subjects, and can enhance the meaning of the text (Van Alphen 2008). Moreover, as Jonathan Flatley proposes, the texts themselves can be read as “affective maps,” ‘a carefully prepared aesthetic experience, connected up to collective, historical processes and events’ (Flatley 2008, 84), beckoning toward a potentially political effect. It is at the level of emotion and affect, that we can bridge the gap between subject (the individual) and object (the collective).

Extra-textually, the act of writing and reading these texts is part of their performative power as they are part of memory’s iterative (re)configurations. Moreover, my read-

ing into these texts, as well as my assembly of the different works into an “archive of transnational memory of the Spanish Civil War,” make them *visible* as sites of memory. Here I follow Suzanne Knittel’s definition of a site of memory – inspired by the work of Haraway and Barad on diffraction – opposed to reflexivity, as a decentered network of mutual influence and interference. As such, a site of memory is ‘the pattern of diffraction created by the very act of reading the memorial and the literature together. It does not exist as a stable, predetermined object in the world; rather, the site becomes visible as an object of study only through the process of observing it’ (Knittel 2015, 25). Similar to Knittel’s work bringing seemingly unrelated sites together, I will read three asymmetrical and heterogeneous sites together, which jointly constitute an archive for understanding the disparate vectors of transnational memories of the Spanish Civil War. Consequently, our scholarly work into cultural memory can be seen as, as Knittel asserts, ‘quite literally productive,’ as ‘it generates new patterns of diffraction that wouldn’t have been there otherwise’ (Knittel 2015, 25).⁹

This is also where we find the important ethical connotation to agency in Barad’s model of agential realism. Within Barad’s model, I propose to see memory as a phenomenon, as the manifestation of material-discursive practices, which result from entangled agencies that mutually constitute and reconfigure each other. Importantly, the observer is an entangled agent within the phenomenon and his “measures” or *agential cuts* directly reconfigure the phenomenon as a whole. Within the measurement lies the decision of what is included and what is excluded. The exclusions, however, are not outside of the phenomenon. They are entangled with that what is included. That is why, for Barad, ethics lies in this intrinsic embodiment of the excluded, of the “Other.” Furthering this idea, the agency of memory in society can be posited in the processes of continuously redefining and reconstituting the exclusions. Remembrance, instead of being a process of Othering, can be seen as a process of the recognition of the connections and commitments to the other. For Barad, “Otherness” is an ‘entangled relation of difference,’ and as such, ‘questions of space, time, and matter are intimately connected, indeed entangled, with questions of justice’ (Barad 2007, 236). Barad, again indebted to Derrida, relates justice to the principle of responsibility and one’s entangled agency in the production of time and space and thus with the enfolded exclusions. Following this idea, the role of agency in the formation of transnational memory is intrinsically related to justice.

De Cesari and Rigney ask, ‘What are the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion that govern even seemingly all-inclusive transnational memory cultures in the digital age?’

⁹ See also Michael Rothberg on the scholar’s implication in constituting the archive (Rothberg 2009, 18).

(De Cesari and Rigney 2014, 2). I would add to this question, related questions about agency and purpose. Agency, being located in persons and in objects alike, offers a way to “locate” transnational memory, and to unravel the politics behind the creation of in- and exclusions, entangled as they are with specific transnational memory constellations. Whereas I feel that the question of the mechanisms of transnational memory targets mainly questions of form, relating back to theories of *how* transnational memory works – such as the multidirectional, palimpsestic or traveling notions of memory –, questions of agency and purpose target who or what controls these mechanisms and what are the intentions.

Form

To identify De Cesari and Rigney’s mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, first and foremost we will have to consider the different forms that the transnational configurations of memory take. Many early explorations into the transnational scope of memory have adopted a hierarchical understanding of the transnational as a constant negotiation between global discourses and local practices. These top-down approaches focus on ‘global’ memory discourses, mostly disseminated through the media, and on the way they are appropriated at a local level. The use of the Holocaust as a worldwide metaphor for mass atrocities is an example of that approach. In their groundbreaking contribution *The Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age* (2006) Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider argue that at the end of the 1990s we can observe what they have called a “cosmopolitan memory” of the Holocaust as a result of its local relevance and global reference. The Holocaust becomes a symbol of human rights abuses across the globe. On the other hand, when understanding transnational memory from the perspective of an ever more globalizing world, scholars conceive transnational memory as the stretching of the “social framework” of the individual in terms of experienced space (Appadurai 1996). In that sense, they focus on how local experiences inform grand narratives within the stretched social framework. The frameworks of human rights and transitional justice are indeed based on and informed by local experiences. As such, the practice of Forced Disappearance in Argentina has changed international law and as a category it reached “legal status” since 2002. At the same time the Spanish-Argentine term *desaparecido* has been circulating around the globe as a new icon of human rights abuses and has been applied to other unrelated historical injustices, such as the thousands of undocumented killings and burials of many Spanish civilians in the rearguards during the Spanish Civil War. Lastly, these hierarchical views are corrected by the dynamic approaches defined as “multidirectional,” “palimpsestic,” or “traveling” memory, which

propose an non-hierarchical and non-competitive understanding of seemingly unconnected memories around the globe (Rothberg 2009; Silverman 2013; Erl 2011b).

These processes appear in memory narratives in the form of the three main rhetorical figures of speech: metaphor, analogy and metonymy, which will appear throughout the analysis of the works I selected. A *metaphor* identifies something as being the same as some other unrelated thing. Belonging to the register of textual analysis, the word “metaphor” or “trope” is used for ideas or concepts, while we use the word “icon” with reference to visual representations. Iconic memories have an overwhelming presence in public discourse and are somehow unchained from their specific historical meaning. The most famous example is that of the Holocaust as an icon of memory. Aleida Assmann defines several steps in the process of iconization of the Holocaust: de-contextualization, symbolic extension, emotional identification, analogy and in the end the creation of a model (A. Assmann 2010). Within media studies the term “iconic event” is frequently used for the iconization of contemporary events. Patricia Leavy’s description of an iconic event has many similarities to the steps or elements described by Assmann: The event gets endless coverage in the media and becomes “larger than life” as it acquires a turning point quality. Ultimately, the representation of the event starts to take on live a life of its own, as it constantly resurfaces within the public space, especially when people talk about other events and other social issues (Leavy 2007, 4–5). The wars in former Yugoslavia are often portrayed as a typical mediatized “iconic event.” Moreover, Balkan scholars such as Dušan Bjelić and Obrad Savić (2002) denounce the use of the Balkans in Western (media) discourses as a metaphor or a trope, which is mostly infused with the negative connotations of Balkanist discourses in Western society (Todorova 2009).

Analogy is the figure of speech used for setting comparisons. Within the space of transnational memory, Michael Rothberg portrays the axis of comparison as one that moves from equation to differentiation (Moses and Rothberg 2014, 32). Particularly on the side of equation, the analogy raises discussions about competition. In Spain, competitive memories are played out on a daily basis. Here, a battle of memory is fought over what will be the official reading of the Spanish Civil War, a battle between hegemonic memory and counter-memory. Against the claim for recognition and visibility of the Republican dead left behind in numerous unmarked graves all over the country, right-wing Spain consistently posits the memory of the illegal killings on the Republican side, featuring the thousands of murdered prisoners at Paracuellos, at the outskirts of Madrid. On a different level, Justin Crumbaugh points at the entanglements between victims of the Spanish Civil War and victims of Basque terrorism in the Spanish conservative configuration of victimhood over the past ten years (Crumbaugh 2007). Often,

comparisons with and parallels to other conflicts are made in a battle for recognition of the suffering of a specific group on an international scale. At the same time, other conflicts serve as frameworks or models that help to articulate or even understand previous or later conflicts. It is within this sphere that Michael Rothberg suggests we understand memory as multidirectional as he goes against ‘the framework that understands collective memory as competitive memory – as a zero-sum struggle over scarce resources’ (Rothberg 2009, 3).¹⁰ Multidirectional memory points at the processes of memory that involve ongoing negotiation, cross-referencing, and borrowing. Therefore, Rothberg portrays public space not as a place where established memories are articulated but as a place where, through interaction, memories come into being. Interestingly, as different scholars of journalism and memory suggest, the historical comparison is one of the classic models used in journalistic narrative in order to make sense of the present. Zelizer describes this use of the past by the media as: ‘when memory draws from the form’ (Zelizer 2008, 383).¹¹

Metonymy is Rothberg’s preferred figure of speech to describe the field of associations and displacements that are at the core of multidirectional memory (Rothberg 2009). Whereas the metaphor is a representational figure, as it transfers meaning from one object to another, metonymy is based on association in which the referent is absent. That is why historian Eelco Runia refers to metonymies as displaced words denoting presence in absence (Runia 2006). Notably, in Rothberg’s analysis this figure of speech is particularly present in the ‘metonymic identification (that) helps to capture the contingent contiguities of diasporic experience, its necessarily multiple locations and syncretic cultures’ (Rothberg 2009, 156). In his examples it is mainly travel that leads to a metonymic chain of multiple identifications that are based on ‘accidental associations of history, geography, and literary reference’ (Rothberg 2009, 157). It is therefore also here where I would locate Erll’s portrayal of “travelling memory.” Silverman, per contra, denotes the metaphor as the quintessential trope for transnational memory. However, as he carefully describes, he does not understand the metaphor as collapsing one element into another so that they become the same. To him ‘the metaphor allows a past

¹⁰ With his term “Multidirectional Memory,” Rothberg also wants to rethink the assumed continuum between memory and identity that is one of the reasons behind the instances of competitive memory he describes. As I have indicated before, in this dissertation I will think of the relation between identity and memory in terms of choice and self-identification, a position that I will research from the angle of affect and emotion.

¹¹ Moreover, media scholar Barbie Zelizer stresses the need to focus on journalism as an important actor in the construction of memory. Journalists emphasize the present rather than the past, providing a first, rather than a final draft of history (and of memory), and it is precisely this focus on the present which aligns journalism with memory when it is considered as a recollection of the past dependent on the present (Zelizer 2008, 379). For example, contemporary “real events,” such as the haunting Iraq War during the 2003 conference, are primarily and firstly relayed by war journalists.

sensation, and, as Proust says, *all its metonymic associations*, to flood into the present, creating new relationships between past and present and, hence, forcing us to rethink both (Silverman 2013, 23–24 italics are mine). It is because of the stress that Silverman puts on the metonymic associations being part of the power of the metaphor, that I see his proposal in correspondence with Rothberg's.

The narrative genre also seems to produce patterns of in- and exclusion. As such, Hayden White has already drawn our attention to the fact that 'narrative, far from being a discourse that can be filled with different contents, real or imaginary, as the case might be, already possesses a content prior to any given actualization of it in speech or writing' (White 1987, xi). Similarly, Michael Rothberg (2009, 121; 136; 275–277) argues that the travel account and the detective story are particularly suitable to connect disparate geographical spaces and histories. Indeed, we also encounter these genres in the archive of transnational memories of the Spanish Civil War: the accounts of their journey to Sarajevo by Juan Goytisolo and Javier Martínez Reverte, the motif of train travels in Antonio Muñoz Molina's *Sefarad* and car travel in Adolfo García Ortega's *El comprador de aniversarios*, and the mix of journey and detective in Manuel Vázquez Montalbán's novels featuring the theme of disappearance.

Furthermore, although it is not directly related to transnational memory, Joseph R. Slaughter has made an interesting case for relating the literary form to the paradigm of Human Rights as he relates particularly the genre of the *Bildungsroman* – a didactic coming-of-age story – to the narrative form and the construction of personhood through Human Rights. His book *Human Rights, Inc.* (2007) 'traces an ideological confluence between the technologies of the novel and the law that manifests in a common vocabulary and transitive grammar of human personality development, which are themselves related strains of a more general, hegemonic discourse of development' (Slaughter 2007, 4). Slaughter's argument is relevant to my analysis because of the entanglements it draws between Human Rights discourses, transnational memory and the rereading of the Spanish Civil War memories from the perspective of Human Rights. At the same time, his thorough analysis brings about a compelling argument for the deep imbrications of literature and the extra-literary world being an integral element of social change. The imbrication between Human Rights, the genre of the *Bildungsroman* and Spanish Civil War remembrance within a transnational frame will become a recurring theme in chapter 5.

In conclusion, the form of memory narratives is important since it allows for certain patterns of inclusion and exclusion to emerge in the transnational field of remembrance. This is partly the reason why the use of metaphor – in the sense of transferring meaning from one object to another – and analogy raise the largest amount of ethical

objections, being interpreted as discourses of competition (Judt 2005; Rothberg 2009; A. Assmann 2010; Moses and Rothberg 2014).¹² Indeed, the question why and how transnational entanglements are produced is an important one that leads us back to the role of agency and affect in the process of making and marking space and time in society.

In this chapter I have presented my performative take on (transnational) memory studies that is largely inspired by Karen Barad's theory of agential realism, which I relate to current scholarship in memory studies. Central to this proposal is the understanding of memory as an iterative process of making and marking time and space in society. Central concepts to this theoretical proposal are witnesses, space, agency, and form. As such, I claim the central role of witnesses in the production of transnational memory. Space, within this concept is entangled with time, which together are performed or produced in the continuous (re)configuration of the world, a process that Barad calls "spacetimemattering." The complex notion of agency within this model is related to "locatedness" and informed by "affect." Moreover, agency gives insight in the processes of excluding and including that are central to the production of memory. Form, the last concept in this model, is particularly related to my selection of sources, which, as I argue, entangled with agency.

The 2003 conference in Valladolid marked the end of silence, being a performative reconfiguration of the boundaries of memory practices, a reconfiguration of inclusions and exclusions. On a larger scale, the conference was haunted by the future killings in Iraq and by the past killings during the Spanish Civil War. At the same time the conference marks the beginning for this dissertation, chronicling the beginning of my scholarly endeavors into the memories of the Spanish Civil War and illustrating the tempo-geographical cuts that I have effectuated: Spanish memory politics at the turn of the twenty-first century.¹³

¹² Michael Rothberg has proposed a more nuanced approach to the ethical admissibility of transnational connections between disparate memories, namely, so as to supplement the axis of comparison, he proposes the axis of political affect – running from competition to solidarity – which maps to what ends the comparison is being made (Moses and Rothberg 2014, 33).

¹³ After attending this conference I have worked with the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory for six months, carrying out oral and archival research in order to locate the mass grave where schoolteacher Isabel Esteban Nieto was buried. It was indeed a very affective time in my scholarly endeavors. I hope that with this theoretical proposal I will do justice to Asun's words in his dedication in the book based on the conference, that is, to "the meaning and the commitment that are involved in remembering and bringing back to our lives the forgotten of the Civil War".

2.

The Spanish Civil War and the Performance of Identity

“Spain is different” is a slogan still frequently quoted, which originates from the Franco dictatorship. The slogan was meant to attract foreign tourists to the exotic features of Spain. The phrase, coined by Manuel Fraga, minister of Tourism and Information in the 1960s under Franco, evoked an orientalist vision of Spain from a European perspective. It also pointed at the “exceptional” identity of Franco’s Spain in modern Europe. Nowadays, the phrase is mostly used ironically, for instance when talking about recent political corruption scandals. In these cases, both the slogan and persistent political corruption are seen as heritage of Franco’s dictatorship. This phrase which successfully separates Spain from Europe also refers back to the Spanish Civil War as the origin of Spain’s national identity and its exceptional position with regards to the European democratic powers. With that, Spanish memory politics are also often interpreted from the differentiating perspective of Fraga’s words, understanding the discursive and political influences which have molded the Spanish memory practices, as a singular Spanish affair. The truth is, however, that the memory and imagery of the Spanish Civil War followed a remarkable transnational trajectory from the very start.

Throughout this chapter I will ask why and in what way the memory of the Spanish Civil War has been articulated and reconfigured transnationally, even if the event and its memory are strongly related to questions of national identity. Indeed the Spanish Civil War marked a radical change. However, instead of discussing Spain as an anachronism, the country’s reality should be understood as part of a series of (transnational)

entanglements. In the first place, the Right and the Left, the mythical “two Spains” are entangled entities, related through mechanisms of inclusions and exclusions, whose boundaries are always changing. But also the national boundaries of Spain as a nation-state are porous phenomena which over time have allowed different forms of inclusions and exclusions. Benedict Anderson already underlined the formal “universality” of nationalism itself in the modern world (everyone should have one), even though he defines the imagined nation as both limited and sovereign (Anderson 1983, 5–6). In the words of Barad, differentiating is not about radical separation, but about making connections and commitments (Barad 2010). Even if the Spanish Civil War became the foundational myth for Spanish intellectuals both from the Right and the Left of the political spectrum, as the war reconfigured the relations of exteriority and connectivity, the resulting exclusions have always been entangled or even embodied in the phenomenon itself.

Within this perspective one can discern the history and memory of the Spanish Civil War as deeply related to processes of “rescaling.” Spain’s national identity has been the object of debate, explorations and redefinition since 1898, when the country, once a large colonial power, lost Cuba, its last overseas colony. Facing the final loss of imperial grandeur, Spanish intellectuals and politicians of the so-called “Generation of 98” embarked on a project of “regenerating” Spanish identity.¹⁴ These debates can be seen as a process of rescaling, referring to the reimagining of geographical boundaries and historical timeframes. Based on their rather pessimistic assessment of Spain’s situation at the end of the nineteenth century, these intellectuals envisioned not only new possible identities and political links to modern Europe but also for instance to medieval Spain – resulting in Arabism and Philosephardism, the Spanish versions of orientalism – as a remedy. Politically, their approaches proposed different roads to modernity, some more authoritarian and others more democratic. Following, different approaches developed over the course of the first decennia of the twentieth century under the influence of transnational ideologies such as socialism, communism, anarchism and fascism, which came to face each other in the armed civil war, as a result of the military coup of July 18, 1936. Not only were the outside boundaries of the country reconfigured through the colonial losses, the internal boundaries were also questioned as a result of the Catalan and Basque nationalist movements which were gaining a stronger political voice at the beginning of the twentieth century. The reconfigurations of the spatial boundaries also

¹⁴ For instance, Miguel de Unamuno, Ramiro de Maeztu, Ramón María del Valle-Inclán and Antonio Machado are part of the Generation of 1898.

required recasting the links between past, present and future, imagining new historical ties based on processes of inclusion and exclusions.

To give another example of these processes of rescaling, at the turn of the twenty-first century, the newly articulated memories of the civil war can again be understood as a process of rescaling. In Spain, the advocates for “historical memory” articulated their struggle for recognition through the reencounter with two *excluded* groups of Francoist victims who had been ultimately eradicated from Spanish territory: the *desterrados* or exiles and the *subterrados*, buried in mass graves, considered here as exiles below earth or as an extreme form of interior exile (Ferrándiz 2011). The reencounter with the *subterrados* has opened up a transnational register through their appeal to the contemporary transnational frameworks of Human Rights and international justice. The *desterrados*, on the other hand, offer a counter-narrative to Spanishness in the 1990s, based on their collective memories which have been shaped in exile. On a different scale, the failure of the communist project in East Europe, processes of globalization, and the expansion of the European Union have influenced identity politics around the world. As such, we could see the call of the Historical Memory movement as one for “normalcy” within the global standards of memory and justice, against the continuous being “different” of Spain.

Within these processes of rescaling, memory practices are transformed, challenged or redefined. Sociologists Jeffrey Olick and Daniel Levy focus particularly on the temporal aspects of rescaling when they characterize memory politics as an ongoing process of negotiation. Within these processes, memory can work as a constraint in the present in various ways (Olick and Levy 1997). As such, they distinguish between constraints which ‘operate “mythically” (often associated with the power of the past over the present) and those which operate “instrumentally” (often associated with the power of the present over the past)’ (Olick and Levy 1997, 922). These constraints function mainly through processes of proscription, such as taboos and prohibitions, and through prescription, such as duties and requirements. We can think for instance of the way certain historical topics remain social taboos – this includes the colonial war crimes in many European countries – while, on the other hand, some others are part of a sociocultural requirement – as for instance Holocaust remembrance after 2000. Although Olick and Levy’s distinction seems similar to Jan and Aleida Assmann’s differentiation – following Halbwachs – between “cultural memory” for distanced events and “communicative memory” for lived experience (J. Assmann 1995), Olick and Levy notably do not consider the temporal distance of the past, but instead its impact on sociocultural and political constructions in the present. As such, in their model they include the “haunting”

force of the past which is subject to cultural taboos as well as the palimpsestic nature of memory, in which spatiotemporal relations are not necessary linear and mathematical.

The transformation and redefinition of memory practices also mean the transgression of such cultural constraints. Through the course of this chapter, I will identify how the Spanish Civil War works as a cultural and political force and how its official reading is transgressed at particular moments. Historian Michael Richards suggests that we should identify the “grand narratives” of the Civil War and their popular challenges, to be able to fully understand any contemporary representation, as he sees how ‘much of current historical debate continues to some extent to be shaped by the myths of the war’ (Richards 2010, 125). Richards identifies three myths: that of the Crusade, promoted by Franco; that of the class wars or the antifascist struggle; and that of the fratricidal war (the “two Spains”). Indeed, these have been the three most important readings of the civil war throughout the dictatorship. Yet, with the transition to democracy, we should add a fourth grand narrative of the Spanish Civil War, which is the reading of the civil war as a violation of democracy. The current “memory wars” in Spain have much to do with how these narratives, as material-discursive phenomena, are publicly criticized. Within this framework, I will argue that the Right tries to defend certain grand narratives of the past in the form of proscriptions (taboo and prohibition), while the advocates of the political Left try to transgress the taboo of the civil war, turning the memory of the war into a prescription, as they claim public recognition, remembrance and exhumation of the Republican victims as a duty of the state. Dealing with the past of the Spanish Civil War is a pending topic that constitutes a duty in the present. Moreover, the new reading of the civil war as a violation of democracy prompts the Left to reevaluate the Second Republic as the real foundation of Spanish democracy, while the Right uses this reading to highlight the transition to democracy after Franco as the new foundational myth, in which democracy resulted from political dialogue instead of armed confrontations.

The processes of spatiotemporal rescaling result in palimpsests or “knotted intersections” of memory and the nonlinear images of time (Gilroy 2001; Silverman 2013; Winter 2012). This makes it rather hard to write a linear history of memory, as every example of memory is indeed part of a memory constellation that diffracts onto different times and spaces. When considering the memory of the Spanish Civil War, the task is even more complex. The narrative of the war is mainly split between the two groups standing opposite each other during the war, including a large number of subgroups with their own memories and narratives of the war, all of them entangled with each other yet also producing their own constellations. In order to show how the memory of the civil war has been subject to important reconfigurations – always entangled with the

transnational through processes of rescaling – I have pulled out some of the dominant memory threads produced by the Francoist regime, as well as the collective counter-memories. The reality of the Spanish Civil War is much more complex than the image of an uprising nationalistic and militaristic Spain against a loyal democratic Republican Spain. However, my point in this chapter is to draw and understand the main frameworks or grand narratives, and, as a result, I unfortunately I can not go into depth to explain all the subtle differences, interest groups and, their specific readings of the past.¹⁵ The period covered runs from 1936 the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, to 2007 when the “Historical Memory Law” was passed as a first attempt to a “rational” treatment of the past. I have divided this longer period into three large subdivisions: a first period of the civil war and the immediate postwar period, a second block considering the late dictatorship and the early democracy and a last block concerning the period from the 1990s onwards.

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR AS FOUNDATIONAL MYTH

From the very first day of the military coup on July 18th 1936 the military rebels actively constructed a discourse that authorized their illegitimate coup and the consequent cruel war. Through this discourse, the Spanish Civil War has been put forward as the foundational myth of the dictatorial regime of Francisco Franco, becoming an important element in the ideology of the new regime. Right from the start, the war became more than just a specific moment in history. In Spain even these days, the Spanish Civil War constitutes an important rupture, with a before and an after. The civil war was the beginning of a new era and the origin of the new regime. Historian Zira Box, who has specialized in Francoist symbology, refers to this idea in the title of her book as *España, año cero* [Spain, year zero], which exactly captures this idea of a “new era” as part of the symbolic construction of the Francoist regime (Box 2010). The most important symbols of Franco’s “Nuevo Estado” (new state) were related to the civil war and to the Catholic Church. An example would be the day of the beginning of the civil war, July 18th, which became an important reference in the imagery of the Francoist regime. July 18th was the beginning of the resurrection, of a new dawn. For the rebels it was a watershed event in all aspects of life. What is more, already during the war a new calendar was introduced, in which the years following 1936 were referred to as the first, second or third *Año Tri-*

¹⁵For a very accurate introduction to the complexities of the Spanish Civil War in English, I refer to Helen Graham (2005) and Julián Casanova (2010).

unfal (triumphal year).¹⁶ Thus, from the very beginning war and memory collided, as the imposition of a new symbolical order – uniting a narrative of victory with Catholic symbols and references to Spain’s “glorious” past – became part of the war strategy and at the same time, the war was to be the subject of the new state memory.

The pro-Republican factions, although politically an extremely fractured group which united such extremes as revolutionary anarcho-syndicalists and moderate liberal democrats, did share certain memory constructions. Inspired by Soviet Russia and revolutionary Mexico, for the young Spanish Republic culture was an essential and necessary key to the “regeneration” of Spain (Holguín 2002). “Culture” in general had already been instrumentalized as propaganda for the Republican cause since 1931 and this strategy was continued during the war. And, as a result, literature, poetry, architecture and visual arts were at the basis of the Republican production of memories and meanings of the Spanish Civil War. For instance, during the war, the famous *Misiones Pedagógicas*, a Republican project to educate the rural population, was used as a model for the *Milicias de la Cultura*, to bring culture and education to the front.¹⁷ In the pro-Republican propaganda, the national forces were continuously depicted as “fascists” whose purpose was to keep the working class ignorant and illiterate. Importantly, many of the Spanish artists who supported the Republican cause were of international stature, such as Juan Gris, Pablo Picasso, Joan Miró, Salvador Dalí, Luis Buñuel and Antonio Machado and as such they helped in creating a public and international discourse in support of the Spanish Republic.

The “memory war” which was fought alongside the “military war” mostly took place in the rearguards.¹⁸ Both the government of the Republic and the military rebels drew on a historical and mythical repertoire of narratives to present themselves as the authentic and heroic Spaniards who would be in the end entitled to represent and defend the *patria* or Fatherland. Both sides would draw on historical events that allowed them to depict the other as a foreign invader to the *patria*. Sebastian Faber argues that in the end there was not much difference between the cultural-nationalistic rhetoric of the Republicans and their Francoist counterparts, as the intellectuals from both “camps” were directly influenced by the disenchantment caused by the loss of Spain’s last colony, and characterized by the wish to remedy Spain’s decline, which had started at the end of

¹⁶ The word “triumph” was still frequently used in the first years after the war, to remember the recent victory (Aguilar Fernández 2008, 120).

¹⁷ However, the Nationalists also took the world of culture serious, working to build an education system which fostered the ideals of patriotism based on “Hispanidad” and Catholicism (Holguín 2002, 175–181).

¹⁸ However, there were also cultural projects which focused on the military fronts. María Teresa León, for example, created the initiative *Guerrillas del Teatro*. Theater plays written by famous Republican authors like Rafael Alberti and Max Aub were performed at the frontlines.

the nineteenth century (Faber 2002). Throughout the beginning of the twentieth century, in spite of their differences, the representatives of different generations of intellectuals seemed to agree that national “regeneration” required the recovery of Spain’s “original” character. Within these nationalistic conceptions, both groups would delegitimize each other as anti-Spanish. Faber shows, however, that both groups were inspired by the same nineteenth-century romantic historiography. While the Republicans put more emphasis on heterodox figures, the Francoists idealized monarchs and religious figures. As such, Franco’s rebellious army drew on the mythical stories of the crusades and the Reconquista, while the Republican government used the destruction of Numancia as one of their cultural referents. Yet, there were also many national symbols that were claimed by both of the opposing groups, but interpreted in different ways.

The siege of Zaragoza in 1808 is an example of a historical event that was instrumentalized by both parties. And that way Goya’s emblematic painting entitled *Second of May 1808* became one of the icons of the Civil War (M. Basilio 2008). Both sides used the figure of the foreign Napoleonic invader as a metaphor to portray the opposing party as a foreign, anti-Spanish, intruder, who was part of an international ideological conspiracy. The Nationalist factions were seen as the Spanish limb of an international fascist movement that wanted to take over the world, and, contrariwise, the pro-Republican groups were portrayed as part of an international Masonic-Jewish-Bolshevik force. Apart from historical references, the opposing groups also used similar cultural references. For instance, martyrdom was used on both sides to mobilize support for their political programs, echoing the pan-European trend of the cult of the fallen soldier after the Great War. A good example is the way in which the pro-Republican narrative of martyrdom in relation to the cities which had suffered from aerial bombing was used to find international support for the Republican cause (Minchom 2015). But especially for the conservatives ‘martyrs served as a vehicle for eroding the boundaries between religion and politics’ (Bunk 2007, loc. 154).¹⁹ Martyrdom became one of the important elements of the memory politics of the Franco regime.

¹⁹ Historian Brian Bunk shows how already during the 1930s the idea of martyrdom had a particular resonance in Spain, fusing ideas of religious sacrifice with extreme nationalism which favored violence over democracy. I disagree however with Bunk’s usage of his discourse analysis to argue that the imagery produced after the 1934 revolt provided the “moment zero” and produced the mentality which eventually sparked the Civil War itself. See for a critical review Helen Graham (2009).

The Spanish Civil War in Francoist memory politics

After 1939 the nationalist side would determine how the Spanish Civil War was going to be remembered, their victory being an important part of the legitimation of the newly installed dictatorship. Their memory politics would comprise of two fundamental mechanisms of in- and exclusion: one was directed towards the citizens themselves through a harsh policy of repression, resulting in thousands being incarcerated, displaced, exiled and killed, and the other was geared towards the restructuring of the public sphere.

In the case of the Spanish Civil War the rebellious army carried out a meticulous policy of repression of their presumed adversaries, which can be understood as an instrument to realize the new regime's wish of literally eliminating and excluding the regime's enemies from Spanish soil. Historian Josefina Cuesta characterizes the Spanish Civil War and the postwar period as the Republicans experiencing a continuing series of losses: the loss of their properties, of freedom, of their family, of their ideas, of their future, of their identity, and in the worst case their lives (Cuesta Bustillo 2008, 145). The repression varied from the imposition of memory politics in the personal and private sphere, as in the prohibition of certain personal names, the abolition of civil marriages and the limitation of women's freedom in the public sphere, to the more severe form, including lifelong imprisonment, work camps and death penalties. But most importantly, those who had been pro-Republican disappeared completely from the public sphere, secluded in their houses, imprisoned in work camps, prisons, or banned in exile or "below earth."

The repression techniques used in Spain during and after the Spanish Civil War are connected to a larger international field of war techniques. Most importantly, the military rebels of 1936 were shaped within the "Africanismo:" a military culture, which was forged during the Spanish colonial experience in Morocco between 1909 and 1927.²⁰ This culture was inspired by the modern models of military techniques and tactics used by the German and French colonial armies, using chemical weapons and "total" repression of civilians and towns as their strategies. This brutal and "dehumanizing" culture was employed first in Morocco and later on the peninsula itself during the civil war (Balfour and La Porte 2000). The repression techniques used in the rearguard during the Spanish Civil War (that of killing not only prisoners, but also suspects) were directly

²⁰ While not considered as a completely united and homogeneous bloc, it was the most militaristic wing of the *Africanistas* who launched a new military style, taught at the Academia General Militar in Zaragoza (founded in 1927).

taken from the Moroccan practice.²¹ Also the Francoist system of forced incarceration and forced labor was inspired by transnational practices, with its origins in the Spanish administration in Cuba and the English camps in South Africa as a pure war and occupation practice, which was turned into a widespread system of political violence in the thirties and forties of the Twentieth Century (Rodrigo 2003, 26–27). While unique in its own nature, Javier Rodrigo argues, the camps should be understood as part of a larger war practice which in Europe was applied in several other civil wars, such as Finland, Russia or Germany, that is, if we understand the years of political persecution as civil conflict (Rodrigo 2003, 29–30). Not surprisingly, Rodrigo chooses to use the adjective “concentrationary,” introduced by David Rousset in French just after the Second World War to signify the analogies and intersections between the “new monster” produced from old ingredients (Silverman 2013, 12).

Alongside the physical repression, since the beginning of the war the new military regime had commenced a tightly controlled civic memory project, which was organized through the processes of erasing and imposing (Cuesta Bustillo 2008), or in my terminology, excluding and including. In the regions where the military had seized the power, it busied itself erasing all references to the previous political and social order. Street names, school names or any other public sites with reference to politicians or important dates related to the Second Republic were removed and erased. From 1938, within the Nationalist occupied areas even banknotes of the Republican period were withdrawn. As if the Second Republic was to be erased from history – *damnatio memoriae* – all its national symbols were replaced by new ones, presenting a mixture of monarchic, nationalist and falangist references (for a detailed account see Box 2010; Cuesta Bustillo 2008).

The erasure was followed by the imposing of a new referential framework for understanding the dictatorial present. The construction of the new symbolical framework was a complex process due to the heterogeneous make up of the groups which had supported the military uprising. In fact, all of them contributed symbols and emblems to the construction of a narrative which would legitimize a dictatorship born from such complex circumstances as a civil war (Box 2010). In the end, the Spanish Civil War itself and Franco’s victory by arms were celebrated as the fundamental event for Franco’s dictatorship and proved to be the “foundational myth” *par excellence*. As such, Franco’s victory has been overwhelmingly and obsessively present during the whole period of the dictatorship (Aguilar Fernández 2008, 99).

²¹ Tellingly, Franco made his military career in Morocco, and, in later texts, speeches and memoirs, he underscores the importance of Africa for his way of being, his career and his political choices (Balfour 2002).

Earlier I have already briefly pointed to the importance of the starting date of the Civil War, July 18, which was made a national celebration in 1937.²² July 18 became a ceremony ‘to pay public homage to those who, during the imperial awakening, had signed the virtue of the new era with their own blood.’ It became a ‘landmark in time in which Spain unanimously stood up in defense of its faith, against the communist tyranny and against the disuniting of its territory’ (Decree nr. 323, BOE 16/07/1937, quoted in Reig Tapia 2006, 237). These few lines of justification show many of the important ideological references of the Francoist regime: the Reconquista of the empire, the celebration of war, the religious component, the equation of the rebels’ army to the “real” Spain and hence the fight against everything and everybody embodying the anti-Spain, identified commonly as the Marxist horde, the Reds, Jews, masons and separatists. With that, the civil war was mostly referred to as a Crusade, a War of Liberation, or the Glorious Insurrection.

It is important to notice how the specific blend in Franco’s legitimizing discourse was inspired by the discourses and rhetoric of the Reconquista and the Inquisition, responding to the unifying historical nationalistic sentiments among all of its supporting parties. Moreover, the changes of names, the forceful adhesion to the Catholic Church and the expulsion of Republicans strongly recall of the identity politics during the Inquisition. The rhetoric that aligned the Republicans to the archetypal enemies of the “Moors” and the “Jews,” underlines this trend even more. That is why scholars like Soledad Fox and Paul Preston argue that the curious Spanish “anti-Semitism without Jews” is in the end more directly related to Spain’s archetypal “Others,” than with the Nazi-models, merging Moors, Jews and the Spanish Left into one (Fox 2010; P. Preston 2004; Rodrigo 2008). The transnational fascist discourses, that were particularly influential in the early years of the Franco-regime, were thus molded into a Spanish amalgam, referring back to the onset of Spain’s career as a large imperial power.

Within the Francoist National-Catholic discourse, this symbolical order of martyrdom became a reality, as it allowed victims of the national side to attain the real status of martyrs with the possibility of being sanctified. José Antonio Primo de Rivera, founder of the Falange and killed at the beginning of the civil war on November 20, 1936, became the martyr who symbolically embodied all other victims of the “red terror.” During the dictatorship, almost every church in each village was decorated with a commemorative plaque with the name of José Antonio Primo de Rivera at the top of a list of

²² Although July 18th always remained one of the most important references throughout the whole Francoist dictatorship – on this date all important changes, bills and acts of the Regime were announced – the new calendar was soon filled with many more new celebrations, such as the Day of the Caudillo on October 1 and the Day of the Hispanic Race on October 12.

all the fallen villagers, with the typical National-Catholic addition “por Dios y por España.” The slogan of “Caídos por Dios y por España” [Fallen for God and Spain], again shows a curious combination of the more secular nationalistic discourse and the Christian discourse of remembrance.²³ In contrast to the figure of José Antonio – commonly named only by his first name – as martyr, Francisco Franco was glorified as a living hero. After he officially became the Head of the State’s Government on October 1st, 1936, he was presented as the “Savior of Spain.” He was referred to as *El Caudillo*, a term that for some echoes the use of *Führer* or *Duce* in Germany and Italy, but that in Spanish also carries a strong Latin-American connotation, where it refers to charismatic leaders who would take the power for ambiguous reasons. Besides, adding to his title the extension “por la gracia de Dios” [by the grace of God], Franco was also directly linked the Spanish monarchs. Especially the comparison to the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand II and Isabel of Spain, was made frequently, as Franco had also achieved the Reconquista and the unification of Spain.

The balance between the different ideological components of the regime changed over time. In the early years, the Spanish Fascist Falange had more influence on the ideological blueprint of the regime. Especially in the beginning, the Fascist movement was useful to the dictatorship as a mobilizing force. However, when facing the losses of Mussolini’s Italy and Hitler’s Germany, the Spanish Falange was also tactically sidelined within the Francoist regime so as not to discredit the regime in the face of the Allied forces.²⁴ With time, Catholicism became an increasingly important benchmark of the regime. The support of the Catholic Church provided Franco with a mask that could hide the cruelty of his war, and which gave him the possibility to appear as a savior instead of a criminal (Casanova et al. 2002; Loff 2013). The myth of the “Crusade” legitimized killing in the name of God and brought about a symbiosis of the patriotic inclination of Franco, of his supporters and of religion. As such, Catholicism proved to be the indispensable uniting force within the nationalistic camp (Box 2010, 30).

However, the usage of the religious narrative template by different groups sometimes does not go further than discursive make-up. As Zira Box specifies, although the common denominator between the groups which supported the military uprising was a profound nationalism and a generic anti-communism which also disavowed democratic liberalism, socialism and anarchism, the idea of Spain was not the same for all of them.

²³ For a detailed analysis of the mystification of José Antonio Primo de Rivera see also Ian Gibson (1980), Paloma Aguilar (1993), Zira Box (Box 2010, 160–177) and María García Alonso (García Alonso 2011).

²⁴ The Iberian right-wing Catholics from both Portugal and Spain adopted a more fascist oriented politics during the 1930s, mainly inspired by Italian Fascism. According to historian Manuel Loff, it is through this combination that the Iberian Catholic factions actually attain success in their political projects (Loff 2013).

As such, the holy war and the crusade of the Catholic Carlists was not the same thing as the secular crusade that the Falange was talking about. 'What for some would result in a definition of the war in religious terms, for others just offered an efficient metaphor without Catholic charge' (Box 2010, 26). However, the celebrations of Franco's victory were successfully utilized to present the new regime as an absolute unity in front of the Spanish people.

It is important to note that the remembrance of the civil war within the Francoist camp also was a product of transnational influences. The nationalist, fascist and anti-communist discourses are related to political sentiments that exceed the Spanish nation-state. Moreover, these transnational discourses were part of a two-way road of mutual influence in which Spain did not only "import" anti-communist or fascist rethorics, but the civil war as a historical event also inspired others. A good example is the resonance of story of the defence of Toledo's Alcázar in Nazi Germany during the late thirties and early forties. As one of the most important battles in the Francoist imagery, the Alcázar's defence found an important reception in German literature of that time. In these works, the defence of the Alcázar was soon turned into a myth that answered fully to the idea of Nazi propaganda, as it exemplified heroism, willingness to sacrifice oneself, believe in "the people" and in a triumphant leader (Pichler 2005, 169). Furthermore, within these political spheres, the Spanish Civil War served as an example in the fight against world Bolshevism.

Pro-Republican counter-memories of the Civil War

The politics of exclusion and elimination of the Republicans from the public sphere or from Spanish soil did have direct implications for the construction of the memory of the civil war. To come back to the terminology suggested by Ferrándiz, while the afterlives of the *subterrados* was marked by silence and post-mortem violence, the *desterrados* actively embarked upon the construction of a counter-memory in exile. Foreigners who fought or helped the cause of the Second Republic, as well as the Spanish exiles, produced counter-memories of the war outside of Spain. From the very beginning the frameworks of the Republican memories of the war were therefore strongly marked by a transnational cadre. Whereas the Republicans within Spain were mostly silenced and their memories kept in the private sphere, the Republicans who went into exile constructed their versions of the past in relation to the narratives they found in their new homes.

Historian Alicia Altet refers to the Spanish exile of 1939 as a "plural exile" to do justice to both the plurality of social classes, political orientations and regions from

which the exiles hailed, as well as to the plurality of their destinations in Europe and in America (Alted 2005, 21). During the civil war and especially in the first months of 1939 about half a million defeated Republicans left Spain, although about 360.000 returned immediately after the war. The Republican community in exile was mainly concentrated in France and in Mexico, although many found their ways to other countries such as the United States, Argentina, Chile, Russia, Yugoslavia, or Czechoslovakia. The stories and reconstructions of Spain and of the Spanish Civil War in exile became influenced by the lived experiences in the host countries. In Europe, these influences are on the one hand the dominant visions of history in the countries of the former Eastern Bloc and on the other hand the stories of those who experienced a long history of imprisonment in the French concentration camps on the beaches in Southern France, sometimes followed by the deportation to German concentration and extermination camps. Especially the Nazi concentration camp in Mauthausen, a camp for political and ideological enemies of the Third Reich and the destination of 7.300 Republican exiles between 1940 and 1945, has become an important referent in the Spanish counter-memory narratives. A more heroic commonplace in these narratives is the story about the liberation of Paris, in which the Spanish combatants were the first ones to enter Paris in vehicles named after important battles from the Civil War: Madrid, Brunete, Guadalajara, Guernica, Ebro, Teruel, in remembrance of their battles.

The memory constructions in exile, however, should also be defined according to Alted's term of "plural exile." After the war, the Spanish Republicans in exile started to reorganize their political and cultural representations by founding organizations, foundations and associations. These were aligned with their different political convictions, resulting in multiple and plural memory constructions. The press however, was a major cohering and unifying factor, in which all different groupings could express their views about the exile condition and the political situation in Spain. Despite all the differences, the Spanish Civil War served as a unifying event and as a starting point for the construction of a collective memory in exile.

Importantly, much like in the case of Francoist Spain, the Spanish Civil War became the "foundational myth" for the Spanish exilic communities (Alted 2005, 399). Also here, the date of the beginning of the war became the main point of reference. While the more moderate socialists structured their remembrance around July 18 1936 as the date the Republican legality was violated by the rebelling generals, the more radical socialists as well as the anarchists and communists instead remembered July 19: the day on which the Republic had handed the arms to the labor unions and on which Dolores Abárruri, *la Pasionaria*, had delivered her first radio speech in which she appropriated the now

famous and worldwide quoted “No Pasarán.”²⁵ While July 18 was seen as a day of loss, July 19 was mythified as the beginning of an epic fight and of sacrifice in defense of the righteous. The anarchists saw this day as the commencement of a social revolution (Alted 2005, 401–403; Cuesta Bustillo 2008, 181). At the same time, the memory of the civil war was strongly anchored in another memory: that of the Second Republic. Thus, April 14 1931, the day of the proclamation of the Spanish Second Republic constituted an important date of remembrance, subject to a vast array of yearly festivities organized in exile. During these commemorations, important battles were remembered, such as the defense of Madrid, the battle of Guadalajara or the actions of the mythical anarchist leader Durruti.

Over time, the memories of the Spanish pro-Republican groups in exile became more and more alienated from the realities inside Spain. This contributed to the construction of a nostalgic memory anchored in the ideals of the Second Republic, in which dreams about the future were based on a romanticized image of the past. Hispanist and literary scholar Sebastiaan Faber underlines the nostalgic trend in exile communities: ‘[T]he painful absence of the nation and its people makes them welcome objects of nostalgic idealization. Moreover, exiled intellectuals, cut off as they are from the daily life and the social reality of their national community, have nothing left *but* their cultural activity: writing, studying, and publishing’ (Faber 2002, 6). Or, as Encarnación Lemus describes the exile condition: ‘In the non-time and the non-space of the exile, identity is nourished by memory and group cohesion’ (Lemus 2002, 161). Faber describes the territorial separation in exile as the “stopping of a clock,” being denied participation in the chronological whole of the history of the nation. As such, the exilic community ‘starts living in and off memory’ (Faber 2002).²⁶

“Culture” did constitute an important and all-encompassing reference not only for Spanish intellectuals in exile. Moreover, the political and the cultural were intertwined concepts for the whole of the Republican exilic community (Dreyfus-Armand 2000, 264). As such, the Spaniards in exile reaffirmed their own cultural references in opposition to Francoist Spain. Lemus describes how the exile community auto-defines itself as the “real Spain,” against the Francoist homeland (Lemus 2002, 156). There existed another Spain, outside of the borders of the state, which auto-proclaimed itself ‘the Spain of Lorca and Machado, of Unamuno and Picasso’ (Dreyfus-Armand 2000, 281). Figures like Federico García Lorca and Antonio Machado were turned into mythical references

²⁵ Note that this phrase was originally pronounced by general Pétain in defence of Verdun during World War I and as such reused by Ibárruri, relating its connotation until now with the Spanish Civil War.

²⁶ Note that the metaphor used by Faber is strikingly similar to the “year zero” metaphor suggested by Zira Box to describe the symbolic construction of Francoism.

who became objects of multiple studies and homages, as they were seen as incarnations of the popular voice and, as such, defenders of the Republican cause. Moreover, Lorca's death – he was shot at the onset of the war and buried in a mass grave – became an object of mythification and made Lorca into the metaphor of the undocumented deaths during and after the war. Besides, the pro-Republican community in exile also appropriated for themselves the representatives of the classical Hispanic culture, especially that of Cervantes and the figure of Don Quichote. According to Faber, 'the exile discourse tended to invoke romantic, essentialist notions of the nation, accompanied by sentimentalist or paternalist notions of the people of folk as both the provider of cultural "raw materials" and the receiver of the intellectuals' refined cultural product' (Faber 2002, 5). To Faber these memory constructions in exile, these dreams of national glory, compensate for the disillusion and despair of defeat. He argues that 'the idealized invocation of Hispanic or pan-Hispanic culture should in many cases be read as an indirect, ideological manifestation of the Spaniards' imperial nostalgia' (Faber 2002, 147), echoing the intellectual ideas of "regeneration."

Outside of Spain the memories of the war were not only constructed through the Spanish community in exile, but also through the accounts of the International Brigades, as well as through the voices and images of international correspondents. Susan Sontag, for instance, writes extensively about the construction of the Spanish Civil War as the first mediated icon of war in her account *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003). The war attracted writers, artists, filmmakers, and photographers from all over the world. Moreover, for some, the Spanish Civil War became a reference point, a template, to understand other wars they witnessed afterwards. As such, Dan Diner argues for instance that Spain became photographer Robert Capa's template: 'Each subsequent war he covered – China's struggle against the Japanese, the Allied crusade against Hitler, the first Arab-Israeli war of 1948 – was observed through the Spanish prism. It was as if the Spanish pattern repeated itself again and again in a choreography of struggle and an aesthetic of death with Capa as universal messenger' (Diner 2010, 33). For Diner, the Spanish Civil War actually was *the* political icon of memory of the twentieth century linked to the pan-European antifascist discourse.

In reality, however, it is difficult to define the actual status of the Spanish Civil War as an icon of the memory of antifascist struggle, as the literature exploring the memory of the civil war outside of Spain is still limited and fragmented. Eric Hobsbawm, in some ways contrary to Diner, states for instance that the Spanish Civil War has been remembered outside of Spain especially by its contemporaries: 'After its brief moment at the centre of world history, Spain returned to its position on its margin. Outside

Spain, the civil war lived on, as it still does among the rapidly diminishing number of its non-Spanish contemporaries. It became and has remained something remembered by those who were young at the time, like the heart-rending and indestructible memory of a first great and lost love' (Hobsbawm 2007). That is, for Hobsbawm the memory of the event did not outlive its generation. This might be partly related to the marginalization of many volunteers in the aftermath of the war. Although the general interpretation of the civil war fitted the dominant liberal-democratic framework, those who fought for the cause of the Republic were not automatically seen and celebrated as defenders of democracy. In some countries the veterans of the International Brigades actually lost their nationality for many decades after the war. And, most importantly, the civil war in Spain was overshadowed by the events and aftermath of the Second World War.

In the West, much had changed in the ten years since Franco's victory, as the fear of fascism had given way to fear of communism. Historian Tom Buchanan painfully exposes how British writers who had supported the Spanish Second Republic in the Thirties, such as Gerald Brenan – author of the famous *The Spanish Labyrinth* – drew a rather positive picture of Franco's Spain in their postwar writings. From the 1950s onwards however, the memory of the Spanish Civil War did serve as a template to understand following conflicts of civil war and foreign intervention. It became a somewhat elusive measure for political engagement, being used as a comparison in reaction to events such as the Suez crisis, the Hungarian Uprising, and above all during the Vietnam war (Buchanan 2007, 189–191).²⁷ On the other hand, the resurgence of anti-Franco campaigning, related to the integration of Spain into NATO, the execution of Julián Grimau²⁸ and other Human Rights violations, did not keep Western Europeans from visiting the Spanish Mediterranean coasts en masse during the 1960s and 1970s.

In the former communist countries the Spanish "fight against fascism," and the people who had volunteered and supported the Spanish case were much more celebrated. Antifascism was a central component of communist political culture, and 'talking or writing about Spain was a way of discussing antifascism and, by extension, socialism. In this sense, Spain was a point of departure, a screen onto which people could project their own agendas' (McLellan 2004, 11). The Spanish Civil War became the subject of cultural productions and commemorations and an important example used in the school system. In former Yugoslavia, for instance, the veterans of the International Brigades played an important role in the Yugoslav Partisan movement during World

²⁷ In a more recent example, we could observe the resonance of the Civil War as a template in the debates on the foreign intervention in the civil war in Libya in 2011 (Karon 2011).

²⁸ Julián Grimau was a member of the Spanish communist party sentenced to death by the Francoist regime in 1963 in spite of a fervent international campaign in support of Grimau.

War II. Under the guidance of the Spanish veterans, the Partisans 'were successfully able to transform the antifascist struggle into a communist revolution, which had been aborted in Spain because of domestic and international conditions' (Pavlaković 2010, 1176).²⁹ In the GDR, on the other hand, the veterans were at first discredited and became the object of political purges during the forties, when they were treated with suspicion because they resided in a Western country for some years (McLellan 2004). But overall, in the Eastern Bloc, the antifascist discourse limited the possibility to understand the complexity of the Civil War. It also effectively eliminated the personal experiences from public discourse, while at the same time the volunteers were cast as the archetypes of virtue and morality.

Picasso's painting *Guernica* and its symbolical and physical afterlife is undoubtedly the unrivalled protagonist in the literature on the pro-Republican memory of the war outside the Spanish borders. When it was first exhibited at the pavilion of the Spanish Republic at the Paris World's Fair of 1937, spectator and writer Max Aub already foresaw that this painting would be talked about for a long time to come. On the one hand, the afterlife of the painting suggests some analogies with that of the Spanish pro-Republican community in exile. The story of the bombing of Gernika became one of the fundamental icons of the Basques in exile, for whom Gernika also symbolizes the traditional Biscayan liberties and as such occupies a central role in Basque nationalism. The painting itself also gained momentum because of the author's personal resistance to the attempts of Franco to obtain it. Within Spain, especially during the 1960s, the painting became the object of silent resistance because it replaced the image of the last supper in many anti-Francoist households (Viejo-Rose 2011, 146).³⁰ On the other hand, much like Spain became a template for Capa's later war photography, *Guernica* became a template for thinking about contemporary devastations of war. For art historian Gijs van Hensbergen the symbolic nature of the painting exploded because of the aerial bombings during the Second World War. Especially after Pearl Harbor and later Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the images of *Guernica* seemed terribly premonitory (Van Hensbergen 2005, 21–22). Later, *Guernica* came to epitomize and accuse in a visual way the brutality and

²⁹ Yugoslavia did not restore diplomatic relations with Spain until 1977, and, according to an article in the *New York Times* of 16 November 1957, 'nowhere in Europe is the memory of the Spanish Civil War kept fresh with more official reverence than in Communist Yugoslavia' (quoted in Pavlaković 2010, 1179). Up until the Yugoslav Wars of Dissolution, the imagery of the Spanish fighters was frequently activated.

³⁰ Among important reinterpretations of the painting *Guernica*, the filmic interpretations of Alain Resnais and Robert Hessens, *Guernica* (1950), Emir Kusturica's *Guernica* (1978) based on a short novel from Antonije Iskovic and also the recent *Las variaciones de Guernica* by Guillermo G. Peydró (2012) should be mentioned.

destruction of Vietnamese communities.³¹ It could be said that ‘*Guernica* came to replace the crucifixion as a symbol of cruelty and inhumanity in our secularized era’ (Oppler 1988, 120). The presence of a tapestry reproduction of the painting at the Security Council of the UN until 2003 and the decision to cover the reproduction during the heated debate on a possible war against Iraq, can only serve as a confirmation of this statement.³²

The memory of the Spanish Civil War came to occupy an important role in the identity constructions of both the Francoist regime and the Spanish community in exile, becoming part of material-discursive constellations that rescaled the temporal and spatial boundaries of national identity. Importantly, these identities were entangled with those Spaniards who were actively excluded, the so-called “anti-Spain,” and also with the transnational frameworks which helped to foster these memory and identity constellations. These memory practices were heterogeneous from the start and developing over time. However, within this complex field, both in the pro-Francoist and in the pro-Republican memory production, the beginning of the 1960s marks an important turning point.

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR AS TABOO

The beginning of the 1960s marked a rupture in the memory discourses surrounding the Spanish Civil War. In the face of global political developments, both the Francoist regime and the opposing political parties redefined their strategies.

In Spain the dominant memory discourse of the Francoist regime was subject to a major makeover in the period running from 1959 until 1964. The inauguration of the Valley of the Fallen in 1959 was the final exaltation of the civil war as founding myth and legitimizing event for the dictatorship. 1964 marked the beginning of a new dis-

³¹ In 1945 the Basque delegation in Colombia had already published a booklet entitled *Rotterdam, Coventry, Pearl Harbour, Stalingrad, GUERNICA: Reminder of a Francoist Crime* (Viejo-Rose 2011, 143). But the image of *Guernica* has also been used in more recent war crimes: Rwanda, Sudan, Srebrenica, Kurdistan and Kosovo (Van Hensbergen 2005, 22). Yet, in these later cases no longer as a reminder of “Francoist crime” as the Basque booklet hopes to convey, but as a reminder of incivility and mass violence.

³² The tapestry, woven in 1955 by René and Jacqueline de la Baume Dürrach, is part of the private Rockefeller collection and was exhibited at the headquarters of the UN on a long loan from 1979 to 2009. A plaque next to it read “In memory of Nelson A. Rockefeller and of his faith in and support for the United Nations.” In 2009 the tapestry was removed from the UN headquarters because it was to be exhibited at the re-opening exhibition of the Whitechapel Gallery in London. In 2011 the Rockefellers hung the tapestry in their gallery in New York, and soon afterward at the San Antonio Museum of Art in Texas. In 2015 the tapestry finally returned to the UN Headquarters.

course with the celebrations of the *25 Años de Paz* (25 Years of Peace). It was one of the biggest propagandistic campaigns of the Franco regime, accompanied by a series of political measures which were aimed at opening the Spanish economy to foreign tourism and investments. The accompanying memory discourse focused on the peace provided and guaranteed by Franco and on reconciliation. The new interpretation of the war was introduced through a big marketing campaign, in which almost everything that had been associated with the “victory” discourse of 1939 was now turned into one of “peace.” Together with the idea of peace, the regime portrayed the Spanish Civil War as a “collective insanity” which should never be repeated. “Nunca más” (never again) became one of the slogans of late Francoism. At the same time, the civil war was interpreted less and less as a Crusade, while more neutral terms like “guerra de España” (Spanish war) or simply “nuestra guerra” (our war) were used more frequently. With that, the new interpretation of the war echoed something close to that of a fratricidal war (Aguilar Fernández 2008, 189–230).

From 1964 onwards the Valley of the Fallen was re-signified as a homage to “all” those who had died during the civil war. During the first years after its inauguration, the regime exhumed the bodies of the fallen Nationalist soldiers, and reburied them in the Valley of the Fallen. However, when Franco changed his war-driven rhetoric for a discourse of peace and reconciliation, the regime also started exhuming the mass graves of Republican victims and moved them to the crypts of the Valley of the Fallen. In this way they enforced the meaning of the Valley as a temple in memory of all those who had died during the war.³³

Abroad, the anti-Francoist discourse had been reactivated during the 1960s in the face of contemporary (civil) wars around the globe, but also to boycott the Spanish attempts to join NATO. At the same time, 1962 marked a new point of departure for the political organization of the different anti-Francoist movements in- and outside of Spain. Inspired by the European Economic Community, the various groups set aside their differences and came to Munich to talk about joint strategies to close the doors of Europe to Franco. In addition, the different political leaders signed a resolution in which they subscribed to the European Human Rights Convention and agreed with the basic democratic principles needed to join the EEC. As part of this convention, the

³³ These reburials are still subject of large political discussions. In 2011 a special commission of experts appointed by the then governing PSOE published a much-discussed report on the future of the Valley of the Fallen, which aims to dismantle the Francoist connotation (Comisión de Expertos para el Futuro del Valle de los Caídos 2011). One of the most delicate themes is that of the Republican remains at the Valley and the technical complexity of their exhumation and identification. For a detailed account of the findings of the commission and the story behind this fascinating monument see Francisco Ferrándiz’ chapter “Guerras sin fin” on the subject (Ferrándiz 2014a, 261–304).

Spanish anti-Francoist political leaders officially renounced the use of direct or indirect violence after or during a possible transition to democracy in Spain. Salvador de Madariaga, one of the principal organizers of the meeting, concluded the meeting in Munich by stating “now the Civil War had ended.” Although the different political parties did not take the same path after the meeting, they were able to halt their own discourse of hatred (Dreyfus-Armand 2000).

This was also the period in which the first foreign books on the Spanish Civil War became available within Spain. As such, Gerald Brenan’s *The Spanish Labyrinth* and Hugh Thomas’ *The Spanish Civil War* turned into important references for the Spanish generations that grew up in the 1960s. After 1953, censored versions of Lorca’s work became available in print and were performed on stage. The writings of Spanish novelists in exile, like for instance Max Aub, became slowly available as well. However, these changes were not supported by the most reactionary factions within the dictatorship, who would remain faithful to the initial heroic version of the civil war as a “Crusade” and a “Liberation” (Cuesta Bustillo 2008). And, despite the discursive makeover, the Francoist regime kept on sentencing political prisoners to death until the very last months of the regime. The repressive face of the dictatorship can also be exemplified by the reaction to the Munich meeting of the anti-Francoist and pro-European Spanish politicians: The assistants who attended the meeting were incarcerated, deported to the Canary Islands or forced to leave Spain into exile (Dreyfus-Armand 2000, 307).

Despite the disjunction between the discursive strategy of peace of the late Francoist state and its repressive practices, this new official interpretation of the civil war is important because it became an influential reference and marker of the official reading of the past during the transition to democracy. Political scientist Paloma Aguilar, who conducted one of the first substantial investigations into the political implications of the memory of the Spanish Civil War during the transition to democracy, shows in painstaking detail how the discourse during the transition repeated the threads set out during the commemorations of the *25 años de paz*. According to Aguilar, “never again” became one of the most important lessons during the transition (Aguilar Fernández 1996, 359).

We could argue with Olick and Levy that the memory of the Spanish Civil War, from being a prescription in Francoist Spain (with duties of remembrance through annual celebrations of the “martyrs,” victory parades etcetera) throughout the 1960s made a slow move towards being a proscription, an was turned into a taboo topic. As the graphic overview of the argument of Olick and Levy below shows, duties and taboos both belong to the mythical mode, in which the past has power over the present.

Therefore, with the move from duty to taboo in Francoist memory politics, the weight of the past over the present did not change in effect. As such, making the civil

war taboo set the terms of discourse and the boundaries of identity, just as much as the multiple active performances of memory during the first two decades of the dictatorship had done. Thus, even though throughout the 1960s the focus shifted to the more recent past of peace provided by Franco, especially during the transition to democracy, as the political lens was completely centered on the present and the future, the Spanish Civil War as a historical event still remained the origin of the current status quo. Even more, the civil war was the driving force behind the present politics, even though it was generally seen as a dangerous, morally repugnant and contagious topic. Nowadays, the treatment of the Spanish Civil War as a taboo is popularly referred to as the *pact of silence*. With this term, critics of the transition refer to the cultural and political implications of the proscriptive attitude towards the civil war during the political process of the transition, which resulted in a process in which both the Francoist prisoners and the Francoist leaders were granted ample amnesty (1977).³⁴

<div>MODE</div> <div>OPERATION</div>	Rational Calculative, interested, exogenously caused, mundane, strategic	Mythic Moral, constitutive, en- dogenous, projective, defi- nitional
Proscriptions What may not be done	(-) prohibition	(-) taboo
Prescriptions What must be done	(+) requirement	(+) duty/obligation
Contravention How the constraint is overcome	(x) refutation	(x) transgression

(Olick and Levy 1997, 925)

The lines of the discursive changes set out during the 1960s, both by the regime and by the opposition parties in Munich, were intensified during the transition into a new process of rescaling. This was the first time the different groups who staked a claim to the past faced each other on Spanish soil after almost forty years. However, the different

³⁴ Paloma Aguilar has defined the Pact of Silence as an unspoken agreement among parliamentary elites not to instrumentalize the past in a political way (Aguilar Fernández 2006, 251).

groups confronted each other from unequal positions as the transition was guided by the Franco-appointed King Juan Carlos I, and by the governments the King appointed until the first democratic elections were held in 1977.³⁵ Regardless, the process was generally celebrated as a success in which the transition into a complete democracy was realized without a new civil war.

According to Paloma Aguilar, it was exactly the fear of a new civil war which helped the opposing parties to come to important agreements. The discourse of “Never Again,” “reconciliation” and “fratricidal war,” originating from late Francoism, inspired the different political leaders to not turn the most painful episodes of the war into a political tool (Aguilar Fernández 1996; Aguilar Fernández 2008). In this discourse Spanishness is partly interpreted in relation to the inclination to barbaric fratricidal opposition, an inclination which has to be overcome and constrained. This is an interpretation that is frequently voiced in political and public debates. As such, for instance, the editorial of the center-left newspaper *El País* on the day of the first democratic elections states that the Spanish people are now “mature enough for democracy,” and that ‘the references to 1936 now sound like a past long gone. It is neither coincidence nor a trick that the leaders of the nine electoral choices (...) use a different language than that used in the pre-war period’ (*El País* 1977).³⁶ The editorial posits now the maturity of the Spanish people against the conflict-inclined people of the prewar period, subscribing to the Francoist reading in which the Spaniards were not ready for a democracy in the 1930s. Salvador Cardús describes the transition as a process of erasure of memory and reinvention of collective memory in which the media participated with enthusiasm.³⁷ Notwithstanding, ‘in the absence of a political rupture which would have firmly established who were the winners and who were the losers, the invention of a new political memory was an extraordinarily complex and fragile task’ (Cardús i Ros 2000, 25). This new political memory is, to Cardús a “memory without an adversary,” as the Francoists were part of the process; “a memory without a past,” as the past was uncomfortable; and, “an un-

³⁵ It was a process of concise steps, secret meetings and difficult negotiations where the legalization of the Spanish Communist Party was especially complex. The leader of the Communist Party, Santiago Carrillo, was directly related to the Spanish Civil War and in particular to the killings of pro-Francoist prisoners at Paracuellos during the last days of the defense of Madrid. The Transition did not happen without lethal incidents, most importantly the “Massacre of Atocha,” a neo-fascist attack, killing five lawyers specialized in workers’ law as well as members of the Workers’ Commissions trade union (Comisiones Obreras) and of the still illegal Spanish Communist Party. Another important incident, although without any casualties, was the 1981 attempted coupe d’État by Tejero and Milans del Bosch.

³⁶ No es ni una casualidad ni un ardid que los dirigentes de las nueve opciones electorales que comparecieron la noche del lunes en RTVE hablaran un lenguaje distinto al de la preguerra.

³⁷ The newly founded newspaper *El País* is known as the “paper parliament” during the process of the Transition.

comfortably autonomy-oriented memory,” failing to incorporate a pluri-cultural memory in order to adapt to the new political model.

Many of those who had been banned, literally and symbolically, from Spanish soil, the *desterrados* but also the *subterrados* would resurface in the political and cultural geography of Spain. During the years of the transition, the search for and exhumations of Republican bodies from their unmarked graves intensified. For the families the time and political freedom to offer a dignified burial to their relatives had finally come. On a national scale however, the timing did not seem right, particularly in the light of the political climate of proscription and taboo surrounding the Spanish Civil War. The exhumations had hardly any impact on the national press. Interestingly however, in these early exhumations we can already see a lot of the symbolical investment appearing after 2000. While subscribing to the politics of “Never Again,” the protagonists use symbols of the Second Republic and underscore the humanitarian motivation for the exhumations (Hristova-Dijkstra 2011). Paloma Aguilar and Francisco Ferrándiz have recently shown how the magazine *Interviú* – one of the few national media outlets which actually covered the exhumations during the transition – already established transnational connections, particularly with the Second World War, although being generally absent from the public debate at the time (Aguilar and Ferrándiz 2016, 13–15). While ignoring these claims for memory and recognition, exclusively on a symbolic level, president Adolfo Suárez’s transitional government intended to transfer and rebury the remains of the last president of the Republic, Manuel Azaña, as a symbol of reconciliation, although this task was not completed (Walter L. Bernecker and Brinkmann 2009, 223).

Also, the *desterrados* returned to Spain. However for many Spanish exiles the transition did not live up to their ideals since their representation in the actual process was marginalized, even if the agreements among the opposition made in Munich in 1962 were of major importance to the shape given to the political transition to democracy. Their silent return and marginalization in the new democratic politics was seen as a new disillusionment. As a result, many of them decided to stay in their new countries, where they strengthened their own memories of the Republican ideas which were at that moment still *non grata* in Spain (Alted 1991, 241).

The return of Picasso’s *Guernica* in 1981 from its “exile” in the MOMA in New York serves as an iconic moment of the transition to democracy and of the reencounters of the opposing cultures of forty years ago. Soon after Franco’s death, people started to voice Picasso’s wish to “return” his painting to a democratic Spain, a country where it

had actually never been exhibited.³⁸ For Íñigo Cavero, then Minister of Culture, the return of the painting represented the consolidation of the democracy and the end of the transition, now that the “last exile has returned to Spain.” *Guernica* was transformed into a symbol of reconciliation and a representation of peace. For the communist leader Dolores Ibárruri, *la Pasionaria* – who had also returned from exile – the return of the painting marked the end of the civil war itself (Van Hensbergen 2005, 323–355).

But despite the initial celebratory mood, the transition created a general feeling of disenchantment (“desencanto”). Many old Francoist leaders maintained their positions while the political culture of consensus did not generate a feeling of real political liberty. Therefore, what was expected to be a break with the past was perceived as a perpetuation of the Francoist sociopolitical model. At the same time, the economic crisis, the high unemployment rates, and the problems with terrorism created a general culture of fear. The culture of consensus and stability ensured that nothing was fundamentally revised (Morán 1991, 231). The taboo atmosphere of the transition had only permitted the slow and partial implementation of memory politics and resulted in a general culture of oblivion in which the Francoist regime remained present in the public sphere through street names, statues, monuments and public holidays. Although these monuments were no longer invested with meaning or surrounded by a discourse that would reactivate their significance, for small reactionary groups these places remained active sites of memory. According to Cardús, the political disenchantment can be seen as the frustration both with forgetting the past and with the inability to mark clear horizons for the future (Cardús i Ros 2000, 26).³⁹ However, with the installment of a democratically elected parliament in a general sociopolitical atmosphere in which an open debate about the Spanish Civil War was constrained by taboos, the memory of the war did not seem so pressing and important anymore. Strikingly however, with a transition charac-

³⁸ The negotiation for its return was not easy. In 1977 – 1978 many remained unconvinced by the democratic status of Spain and it was definitely not the ‘veritable republic’ to which Picasso would have wanted to return his painting. Besides, it was not clear where the painting should be exhibited, whether in the Prado Museum in Madrid, in the newly opened Casón del Buen Retiro in Madrid, in the Picasso Museum in Barcelona or in the town of Gernika. After a long period of negotiations, miraculously unhindered by the failed coup d’État of February 23, 1981, the *Guernica* travelled to Spain on September 9, 1981 to be exhibited in the Casón del Buen Retiro in Madrid.

³⁹ Notwithstanding the disenchantment with the Transition within the Spanish exilic communities and also more radical sectors within Spain, the Spanish Transition to democracy was celebrated as a “model” and served as example outside of Spain. The Transition was celebrated as the most desired of the different Mediterranean examples, staging a watchful but not triumphant or lame army. It served as the major inspiration for political model of the “agreed transformation” and became the main reference for the transitions to democracy in Brazil, Argentina and Chile and later on attracted renewed interest after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the implosion of the Soviet Union, especially in the cases of Hungary, former Yugoslavia and future Russia (Ruiz 2002, 192).

terized by political amnesty and social amnesia, Spain produced a new template for political action.

RE-EMERGENCE OF THE MEMORY OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

At the turn of the millennium, the movement for Historical Memory in Spain which has focused particularly on the exhumations of mass graves of the civil war has resulted in the transgression of the taboos surrounding the memory politics of the Spanish Civil War. Throughout the 1990s, the Spanish Civil War became the subject of an increasing number of cultural publications and celebrations. It was both through internal and external influences that it became possible to challenge the taboo on the subject of the war. Although often described as a sudden rupture, with the opening of the first mass grave in 2000, it was in fact a gradual process of spatiotemporal rescaling. As such, the re-emergence of the memory of the civil war coincided with a world wide trend of interest in commemoration and social memory, inspired by the fall of the iron curtain (Judt 2005). At the end of the twentieth century, the memory of the Holocaust had turned into a global paradigm, while being promoted as official European memory (see Judt 2005; Levy and Sznajder 2006; A. Assmann 2010). Moreover, through the institutionalization of a Holocaust memory culture through museums, educational programs and monuments, Spain, as a member of the European Union, also embarked on its memorialization, quite remarkable for a country that had no specific historical links to the Holocaust.

In the 1990s, we see a more general trend of interest in memory through the publication of several novels and movies on the Spanish Civil War. Movies like Ken Loach's *Land and Freedom* (1995) and the Spanish production *Libertarias* (1996) by Vicente Aranda sparked new discussions about the reality of the Spanish Civil War. At the same time, Manuel Rivas' novel entitled *El lápiz del carpintero* (1998) and the movie *La lengua de las mariposas* (1999), based on Rivas's story, make clearly use of a memory perspective. While the productions mentioned above gained much wider public attention, it is also important to notice that several authors, for instance Antonio Muñoz Molina, Juan Goytisolo, Julio Llamazares and Manuel Vázquez Montalbán had already published novels on the Spanish Civil War throughout the 1980s and even before. In general, during the 1990s the civil war became the object of explorations on how to reframe its remembrance, partly silenced, for new generations, which makes the cultural production of these years resemble Hirsch' "postmemory" quite closely.

Similar to the move from “communicative memory” to “cultural memory,” the Spanish Civil War also passed from informal and loosely shaped memories into a more established and ceremonial form (J. Assmann 1995). As the time of the civil war grew more distant, and the survivors were reaching old age, we see the rise of a cultural interest in the war. It is during this period that several anniversaries were celebrated with particular interest. 1996, for instance, was a particularly important year. The 60th anniversary of the beginning of the war coincided with the 60th years anniversary of the creation of the International Brigades and was preceded in 1995 by the 20th anniversary of Franco’s death, while 15 years had passed since the failed coup of 1981. Together with the commemorative “fever” of the 1990s we also see the foundation of several associations whose aim is the investigation, recognition and commemoration of the victims of the Spanish Civil War. The Asociación de Amigos de las Brigadas Internacionales (AA-BI), as well as the Asociación de Amigos de los Caídos por la Libertad and the Asociación Archivo y Exilio, are examples of organizations that preceded the current important organizations such as Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica created in October 2000.

Politically, the process of rescaling was marked by the 1996 victory of the right-wing Partido Popular, whose roots are to be found in the party founded by ex-Franco ministers, Alianza Popular. This was the first time the Right had been in charge since the socialist victory in 1982. Moreover, Paloma Aguilar argues that the threat of the possible victory of the PP during the 1990s inspired the opposing Socialist PSOE to intensify their campaign and to instrumentalize the past of the civil war for the first time (Aguilar Fernández 2006). Within this political shift, Carsten Humlebaek (2004) points out how the 60th anniversary of the International Brigades touched a sensitive nerve. During the ceremony in which all those who fought in the Spanish Civil War were granted Spanish nationality – a decision of the PSOE government fulfilling the promise of the Republican president Juan Negrín – neither the PP nor the King wanted to meet the veteran Brigades, as they wanted to reduce the magnitude of the commemoration. The comments in the right-wing newspaper *ABC* show the Right’s sentiments towards the Brigades: ‘Here Spaniards killed Spaniards and, as if that was not enough, foreigners came to help us killing each other. This is nothing to be proud of. It is not an occasion for a party. Neither today, nor 60 years ago’ (Carrascal 1996; quoted in Humlebaek 2004, 160–161).⁴⁰ The veterans are seen as uninvited intruders in what, according to this in-

⁴⁰ Aquí nos matamos españoles contra españoles, y, como si no tuviéramos bastante, llegaron extranjeros a ayudar a que nos matáramos. Nada para mostrarse orgulloso. ningún motivo de fiesta. Hoy como hace 60 años.

terpretation, was a fratricidal war, in line with the dominant view of late Francoism and the Transition.

Within a transnational perspective and also within the frameworks of the growing international Human Rights paradigm in the 1990s, the reading of the Spanish Civil War as a collective tragedy was effectively challenged within the public sphere primarily by artists and journalists (Ryan 2009, 125; Levy and Sznajder 2010; Baer and Sznajder 2015). Importantly, the arrest of Chilean ex-dictator Augusto Pinochet in 1998, on behalf of the Spanish judge Baltasar Garzón was a catalytic event in the re-emergence and re-assessment of Spain's own Transition process. The Spanish press not only commented on the process of indictment, it turned it into a public debate which concentrated partially on comparisons to Spain's own dictatorial past and its Transition to democracy. Spain's choice not to prosecute ex-Francoist leaders raised questions about the legitimacy of the indictment. At the same time, the Spanish interference in Latin America was seen as a form of neo-colonialism. Most interesting, however, was the psychological argument which framed the prosecution of the Chilean dictator as 'the vicarious dream of a historical impossibility, that of Franco being arrested in bed,' as Francisco Umbral phrased it in his column "El Caudillo." Significantly it was published on November 20, 1998 – the anniversary of Franco's death – in the right wing newspaper *El Mundo* (Umbral 1998).⁴¹ The debates accompanying the arrest of Pinochet forced different groups and parties to take a political stance in relation to Spain's own dictatorial past. At the same time, the Pinochet case was the very first example of the workings of international justice and the possibility to arrest someone who had violated human rights in another country, and it became the symbol of an international collective responsibility (Davis 2005, 870; Elsemann 2011, 143; see also Encarnación 2008).

The various transnational trends also served as a background to the rediscovery of the counter-memories of the Spanish past in exile. Spanish communities in exile were founding memory associations just like in Spain. In 2000, the "Pablo Iglesias" foundation organized an exhibition entitled *Exilio* in the Palacio de Cristal at the Retiro Park in Madrid, accompanied by a documentary that recovered the voices of the Spanish exile, posing the question "Why do we not talk about the exile in Spain?" Although Spanish Civil War exile had already been subject to a great number of exhibitions, conferences and publications prior to the 2000 exhibition (Altet 2005, 466–471), it was during the 1990s that the counter-narratives produced in exile became available to a larger public, as they were picked up by the different social pressure groups within Spain.

⁴¹ Notice how in this column, the use of the word "caudillo," projects the image of Pinochet upon that of Franco (Elsemann 2011, 132).

It was however the literal return of the *subterrados* which became however the focal point of the process of the “recovery of historical memory.” The direct encounter with the victims and the literal excavation of the past resonated with two important trends which were already visible in the 1990s: on the one hand, the focus on victims and on the other hand the judicial trend centered around Human Rights discourses. As such, the 2000 exhumation of the grave of the “Thirteen from Priaranza” culminated in the foundation of the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory (ARMH), whose purpose is to attend and document the cases of those who were still being buried in anonymity.

The extent of the influence of the recent cycle of exhumations is beyond discussion. Since 2000 the ARMH and other organizations which were founded following their example, have exhumed hundreds of unmarked graves. The media coverage of the exhumations has been massive. Moreover, from the very start there has been an important international interest of journalists, volunteers, researchers and artists. The exhumations have been the subject of photographic exhibitions, documentaries and theatre plays. On a different level, the exhumations have uncovered the forgotten history of previous exhumations of the *subterrados* during the Transition and even during the Francoist dictatorship (Ferrándiz 2014a).⁴² And, importantly, the associations for the recovery of the memory of the civil war managed to put serious social pressure on the Spanish Government, culminating in a series of official recognitions of the victims’ suffering, and above all, in the approval of the Law for Historical Memory (2007).⁴³

The Law for Historical Memory draws several prohibitions concerning the way the civil war should be remembered in the public sphere and sets requirements concerning the dignity of its victims. This law can be seen as a transgression of the mythical culture of taboo in which the past haunts the present, bringing about a rational prescriptive culture in terms of prohibitions and requirements. The law prohibits political events at the Valley of the Fallen and orders the removal of Francoist symbols and monuments from public spaces. Furthermore, the state provides help in exhuming the bodies from unmarked graves, and financial aid is stipulated for the victims of the civil war and their immediate families. Yet the Law has been received with a general feeling of deception. The main problem with the law is that, although it stipulates a framework, it does not

⁴² I have already mentioned the exhumations carried out by the regime in order to move Republican victims to the Valley of the Fallen. However, apart from these instances, the current cycle of exhumation led to surface evidence and stories about earlier unofficial and “illegal” exhumations of the victims of the defeated by their families. These earlier exhumations started as soon as the war ended.

⁴³ *La Ley 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* (BOE, Ley 52/2007, from December 26).

stipulate a plan of action.⁴⁴ Anthropologist Francisco Ferrándiz defines the law as a “subcontracting system,” because ‘national institutions, far from taking direct responsibility and designing an institutionally coherent architecture of repair and reconciliation, have chosen to play a “facilitating role,” largely relying on the self management of reparative initiatives by associations and civil society’ (Ferrándiz 2013, 50).

From the very beginning the ARMH has successfully sought international support for their case. Not only did they deliberately look for attention from the international press, they also organized international support through cooperation with other NGO’s such as the International Civil Service with whom they organized, for instance, an exhumation in Piedrafita de Babia in the summer of 2002, involving twelve volunteers from ten different countries (Cué 2002b; Cué 2002a). The volunteers’ views and motivations for supporting the exhumations in Spain are often quoted in the press, offering comparative frames based on their home experience (Cué 2003). ARMH takes pride in the foreign support for their cause, as it exemplifies the international humanitarian interest in the fate of the Republican “disappeared,” while at the same time presenting a contrast to the political disinterest within Spain.

The movement’s transnational implication also becomes clear through the specific transnational profiles of some of its main actors. Foremost, Emilio Silva, the founder of the ARMH, underscores his inspiration from the Southern Cone, through contacts with lawyers involved in prosecutions concerning human rights violations in Chile and Argentina, which is expressed in the applied framework of the disappeared or *desaparecidos* (Labanyi 2010b, 205). Furthermore, forensic doctor Francisco Etxeberria is a renowned professional who has worked on exhumations throughout the world. Similarly, Montse Armengou, a pioneer in the exhumation movement because of her documentary *Les fosses del silenci* (Armengou and Belis 2003a), previously worked in Guatemala and Bosnia, and later picked up themes related to the Holocaust (Armengou and Belis 2004a; Armengou and Belis 2005). And, psychologist Guillermo Fouce, of the NGO “Psychologists without Borders” (Psicólogos sin Fronteras) bases his practice of psychological assistance during the exhumation process on best practices learnt from experiences in Latin America (Elsemann 2011, 245–249).

The Pinochet case and the figure of Spanish Judge Baltasar Garzón are seen as the metaphor for the transnationalization of Spanish memory politics (Davis 2005; Encarnación 2008; Elsemann 2011; Capdepón 2011). These cases highlight the workings of transnational networks on multiple levels: the shared histories of Spain and Latin Amer-

⁴⁴ Other points of critique were the access to archives, as it restricts the access to those documents that identify victimizers; the absence of a clear condemnation of the dictatorship and the military coup; and, the absence of an invalidation of the Francoist sanctions (Martín Pallín and Escudero Alday 2008, 14–15).

ica, the new network of international jurisprudence, as well as transnational memory practices. While the detention of Pinochet through the arrest warrant by Judge Garzón first pointed at Chile as a transnational trigger in the Spanish memory boom, the Spanish movement soon relocated their focal point to Argentina, which at that time had an active and productive memory movement going on, promoted by the “Madres de la Plaza de Mayo.”⁴⁵ Moreover, before the indictment of Pinochet, Garzón had already started a legal investigation into the case of the Spanish disappeared during the Dirty War in Argentina. The guiding role of Argentina became more evident when in 2006 Garzón decided to open the first criminal investigation into Francoist repression. Garzón highlighted the systematic and preconceived logic behind the Francoist repression against political opponents, set against transitional justice norms and universal legal standards. With the case of the “stolen children” as the central axis of Garzón’s instruction (a case more apt to be recognized in current legal frameworks than the case of the anonymous graves dating from the Spanish Civil War), the links to and analogies with Argentinian human rights advocacy were reinforced (Elsemann 2011, 220).⁴⁶

Thus, the Spanish exhumation practices are part of transnational processes of rescaling inspired by the Human Rights paradigm, involving transnational networks of expertise and a public and media interest which exceeds national borders. People such as Emilio Silva, Baltasar Garzón, but also foreign volunteers and researchers perform the transnational significance of these exhumations in the present.

By transgressing the taboo on the Spanish Civil War, the debates and struggles surrounding Spanish identity started once again. This time however, rather than the Spanish Civil War, the Spanish Transition to democracy was to become the center of a heated debate around the significance of the past in the present. The associations for the recovery of the memory of the Civil War are explicitly critical of the Transition and the resulting *pact of silence*.⁴⁷ While attacking the still existing myth of the civil war as a fratricidal struggle and that of the Transition as a model for reconciliation, the memory

⁴⁵ Since 2003, this trend has received institutional support with the active pro-human rights politics under president Néstor Kirchner.

⁴⁶ This case indirectly resulted in the suspension of Judge Garzón by the Supreme Court in 2010. In Madrid, a weekly protest was organized on the central Puerta del Sol Square, copying the symbolism, strategies and format of the exemplary Argentinean Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, while victims from the Southern Cone voiced their solidarity with Garzón’s case. Finally, through the relatives of Spanish exiled victims of repression, Francoist repression is now investigated through the Argentinean court while applying global jurisdiction. For the latest updates on this case visit the website of the National Coordinator in Support of the Argentinean Complaint against Francoist Crimes: <http://www.ceaqua.org/querella-argentina/>

⁴⁷ Nowadays, the criticism goes even beyond the claims for memory, as the Transition is currently held responsible for the malfunctioning of the whole of the political system and all of its corruption scandals.

activists have recovered the memory of the Second Republic as their new model. As such, commemorations, exhibitions, demonstrations, publications and other representations of the memory organizations are mostly accompanied by the three colors of the Republican flag: red, yellow and purple. Cultural heroes of the Second Republic, such as Antonio Machado or Rafael Alberti are quoted on their banners, websites and in social media outlets. Reproductions of *Guernica* are circulating in various ways. Forgotten leaders of the Second Republic are commemorated and artists are rediscovered.⁴⁸ In a wider field of cultural production the Second Republic is being put forward as a model for memory and identity for a newly envisioned democratic Spain which had been halted by the experience of the civil war and the subsequent dictatorship (see for instance Santamaría Colmenero 2012). With that, the movement takes on many of the unifying memory narratives which were already produced as counter-memories in exile. Michael Richards notes that in the recent upsurge of collective memory, complex and multiple identities no longer play a role, and that ‘aside from Catalanism and Basqueness, the identity bound up in the “recovery of historical memory” has curiously been reduced to *Republican* identity’ (Richards 2010, 132). Richards explains this by the fact that the Republican identity can be relatively all-encompassing, neutral and democratic, while other possible categories, such as that of social class are less meaningful nowadays. More specifically, I would say, the Spanish memory movement has started using iconic references from the Spanish exile, idealizing icons from the Second Republic.

In the meantime, the Right has strengthened the reading of the Transition as the founding myth of the Spanish democracy (Edles 1998; Richards 2010). Xosé Núñez Seixas defines this trend as a modern form of Spanish constitutional patriotism, in which pride of the constitution blinds one to everything that preceded it. Within this discourse, Francoism is simply set aside as an irrelevant past which, when touched upon, would only serve to provoke resentment. Constitutional patriotism pretends to construct and expand uniting symbols of Spain.⁴⁹ Examples are the intensified celebrations of the Day of Spanishness (October 12) or the 2002 remodeling of the Plaza Colón in Madrid, as a new place of “patriotic liturgy,” with an immense Spanish flag and regular parades and tributes (Núñez Seixas 2004, 145–146). At the same time, neoconservative historians write actual bestsellers which reproduce the old narrative frameworks and stereotypes, such as that of the grandeur of imperial Spain. As Núñez Seixas phrases it, ‘the construc-

⁴⁸ See for instance the documents on the commemoration of the 75th anniversary of the Second Republic in 2006 in <http://www.nodo50.org/republica/> (visited 2015, December 25).

⁴⁹ Although in the beginning of this form of conservative neopatriotism (which starting point Núñez Seixas locates in 2002) some liberal figures from the II Republic were partly rescued, for instance Manuel Azaña. Later on, the whole period of the II Republic and the Civil War up until 1975–1978 was obscured.

tion of this seemingly renewed historical memory continues to depend on various old discursive frameworks inherited from the nationalist historiography of the nineteenth century and the traditionalist historiography of the twentieth century, including the dominant version imposed by National-Catholicism' (Núñez Seixas 2004, 150).⁵⁰

Both Carsten Humlebaek and Xosé Núñez Seixas compare the current struggles surrounding the memory of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism to the German *Historikerstreit*, a process towards the slow normalization of the past. Interestingly, in Olick and Levy's model the *Historikerstreit* also serves as an important example of transgression of a taboo as it 'involved an attempt to alter that status for the widest public' (Olick and Levy 1997, 932). The strong emotional reactions which are provoked during these public debates are symptomatic of the strength of the taboo in society. For Núñez Seixas, the Spanish version of the historians' debate would mean a public debate about the responsibilities during the civil war. However, the Spanish right embraces a Habermas-like constitutional patriotism but without a rigorous process of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (Núñez Seixas 2004). As such, the 2002 official condemnation of the Spanish Civil War by the right-wing Partido Popular marks an important moment of transgression.⁵¹ Although it is a debate among political elites, rather than a public debate among historians, the parallels are found in the fact that in both cases 'certain conservative sectors tried to solve the problems with national identity that were created by a traumatic past' (Humlebaek 2004, 167). Very strategically, the PP actively used the recognition of a divided nation to reinforce the conciliatory spirit of the Transition. At the same time, with their concession to the opposition, the PP negotiated and sought to close any possible further and future political use of the traumatic past once and for all. Sebastiaan Faber argues that within the Spanish memory debates the transnational frameworks are used to mobilize moral tropes. Whereas the Cold War has been the preferred moral trope for the Right, the Left mobilizes the Holocaust and Southern Cone as respectively a reconciliatory and a combative moralizing trope (Faber 2012, 128). Throughout this dissertation, I will elaborate on how these transnational "tropes" should be seen as the performance of new memory constellations and identity constructions based on a new transnational imagination.

⁵⁰ La reconstrucción de esa memoria histórica española aparentemente renovada sigue siendo, por lo tanto, fuertemente dependiente de varios de los viejos moldes discursivos heredados de la historiografía nacionalista del siglo XIX y de la tradicionalista del siglo XX, incluyendo la versión dominante impuesta por el nacionalcatolicismo.

⁵¹ A series of motions proposed by the opposition parties which demanded the recognition and financial help for the victims who lost the Civil War as well as support for the exhumations, resulted in a quite unexpected concession of the explicit condemnation of the Civil War and Francoism and the recognition of the victims of both periods on behalf of the governing PP.

The way in which the grand narratives of the Civil War are criticized, accompanied by large public debates, resembles the way the past can work as a cultural constraint. That is, the Right (largely represented in the conservative Partido Popular) is defending the taboo of the civil war, or negotiating its settlement into a prohibition, considering the Spanish Civil War a topic that should not be touched upon. The Left, on the other hand, is trying to move the debate about the civil war into the area of prescriptions, calling for a duty of memory or a set of requirements that outlines the way the civil war should be remembered. The mass grave exhumations as a material-discursive phenomenon have been most influential in transgressing the status quo.

Within these struggles over the past, certain myths are at stake, first of all, the myth of the Civil War itself. However, as a result of the recent deconstruction of the myth of the Civil War, other myths are being reinvented, redefined and defended. While the Right takes up the Transition to democracy as its foundational myth, the left is turning to the memory of the Second Republic as a reference for group identification and a model for the future. The Left finds its inspiration for redefining the debate on the importance of the memory of the civil war in the present in transnational frameworks and networks. On the one hand, the critique of the established memory framework was sparked by the reappearance of the *subterrados*. The *subterrados*, marked by oblivion and abandonment, directly accuse the Transition as a *pact of forgetting*, and, marked by injustice, they inspired the judicial moves for their recognition in terms of human rights. On the other hand, the rediscovery of the *desterrados* as a counter-narrative to Spanishness in the 1990s, posits the rediscovered Second Republic as a new cultural framework of identity against the foundational myths of the Spanish Civil War and the Transition.

3.

Haunting Analogies: The Wars in Former Yugoslavia as a Space for Transnational Memory

In 1992, when the wars in former Yugoslavia became a recurring topic in the Spanish media, Spain was celebrating its status as a fully developed democracy, 17 years after the death of its dictator and six years after joining the European Community. In the “*annus mirabilis*” of 1992, with the Summer Olympics taking place in Barcelona, and the Universal Exposition of Seville, ‘Spain presented itself to the world as a country that had finally arrived in the present’ (Winter 2012, 31). What is more, the Olympics also symbolized a new Europe, since they were the first ones in which a unified German team competed after 1990, while the newly independent Baltic nations and former Yugoslav nations Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia-Herzegovina had also sent their own national teams. In 1992, not only did Spain finally arrive in the present, but Europe entered a new period as well, in which it was able to shake of some phantoms of the past. Ironically, phantoms of Spain’s long-gone past were celebrated with the Expo ’92, organized to memorialize the 500th anniversary of Columbus’ “discovery” of the Americas in 1492. This celebration did not happen without severe postcolonial critique, pointing out Spain’s incapability of building a more self-critical discourse towards its colonial past and the atrocities committed in the Spanish Americas (Walther L. Bernecker 1996).

After a summer full of celebrations, in the autumn of 1992 the Spanish Armed Forces joined the UNPROFOR peacekeeping forces on former Yugoslavian soil. This event was seen as another “proof” of Spain’s final arrival in the present of a unified and democratic Europe. The Spanish army’s participation in humanitarian actions enabled the country

to change its old imagery as a repressive force to one of peace and stability (González San Ruperto 2001, 398). Among the different missions, the one in former Yugoslavia and particularly in Bosnia required a higher degree of involvement and dedication than other missions. As a result, these operations in particular influenced the image change of the Spanish army (García García 2005, 191). Moreover, it was not only soldiers who were sent to former Yugoslavia. During the same period, the *Asociación de Objetores de Conciencia* (Association of Conscientious Objectors) enabled conscientious objectors to provide aid in the refugee camps in Croatia and in Slovenia as a substitute community service. As the Spanish newspaper *El País* observed, they were the opposite of the legionnaires, ‘they hate guns, war, or marching, but from 1992 onwards they were both providing and distributing humanitarian aid in the Balkans’ (M. Martínez 1992). As a spin-off from this initiative, many associations were founded that focused on helping the Bosnian refugee community in Spain as a community service. Spain and the Spanish society were indeed able to present themselves indeed as a modern democracy which was economically and culturally ready and willing to help other countries in need.

Just like in other European countries, the geographical proximity of the war in the Balkans enabled frequent traveling for individual “adventurers” and the involvement of many journalists, photographers, researchers, writers, and, volunteers, who all reported on their war experiences to their home countries (Gow, Paterson, and Preston 1996).⁵² The volume *Bosnia by television* (1996) shows how the interpretation of the war in Bosnia was affected by how embedded the reports were within their different national political contexts and dominant historical memories. Despite the celebratory mood in Spain at the beginning of the 1990s, the war images and stories that reached the Spanish audiences, led to comparisons between the atrocities in former Yugoslavia and memories of the Spanish Civil War. Paradoxically, with the arrival of Spain “in the present,” its long repressed and ignored history started to resurface into that very present.

In this chapter, I will explore in what way national and transnational memories play a role in the analogies between Spanish memories and the Yugoslav wars of dissolution as they have appeared in Spanish texts. Who creates these comparisons? What is compared and with what purpose? And, in what ways do the analogies challenge the dominant frameworks in Spanish memory politics? As we will see, many of these comparisons

⁵² Interestingly this modern sense of war coverage actually started during the Spanish civil war, witnessed by photographers being at the warfront and in the towns under bombardment. ‘What horrified public opinion in the 1930’s was that slaughter of civilians from the air was happening in Spain; these sorts of things were not supposed to happen here. (...) [A] similar feeling drew attention to the atrocities committed by the Serbs in Bosnia in the 1990’s (...) these sorts of things are not supposed to happen here, in Europe, any more.’ (Sontag 2003, 31)

perpetuate the narrative of the Spanish Civil War as a fratricidal war and put forward the Spanish Transition as the foundation myth of the Spanish democracy, seemingly only challenged in the peripheral nationalist autonomous regions. Throughout my analysis I will claim the importance of transnational genealogies, which enable some of the comparisons in these texts. The characters belonging to a transnational genealogy, present an alternative view of identity, based on cultural and historical entanglements instead of on the logic of difference and similarities. As such, their transnational sensibilities relate to the transgression of borders and the recognition of the entangled exclusions of the nation-state which were forgotten in the celebratory mood of 1992. As I will show, the journalistic writings mostly use transnational comparisons to mark a difference. The novelized texts, on the other hand, present characters who embody various entanglements between Spain and Yugoslavia. In line with Barad's emphasis on ethics at the basis of the production of phenomena, in the novels the recognition of the entanglements between the two different times and spaces becomes a precondition for an ethical stance. As we will see, Goytisolo even understands the violent reality in Sarajevo as disentangled from the mathematical understanding of linear time and space.

In the case of Spain and former Yugoslavia, the past and the present as well as the different geographies are entangled in particular ways. As I have pointed out in the previous chapter, the veterans of the International Brigades played a crucial role in the organization and the success of the Yugoslav partisan struggle. Through them, the Spanish Civil War itself became an iconic event in the Yugoslav grand narrative of antifascist struggle. As such, the Spanish Civil War was both an important ingredient of the old antifascist Yugoslav discourse, as well as a memory directly linked to the partisan movement.⁵³ Contrariwise, in Spain the Yugoslav wars of dissolution evoked comparisons to the cruelties of the Spanish Civil War as well as discussions about the unity of the Spanish nation-state. Even historians, like Helen Graham, underline the analogies between the two conflicts and particularly with reference to the role memory plays in both cases. As she contends in the introduction to her book *The War and Its Shadow*, ' (...) a strikingly similar mechanism to that deployed by Spain's military rebels in 1936 worked equally well in the 1980s and early 1990s during the Yugoslav wars, when a new Serbian national memory and identity was forged through precisely the same sort of mythological mobilization. (...) But it is the particularity of a fearful imagery projected into war (...) which makes the Serb case analogous with Francoism' (Graham 2014, 3).

⁵³ Ironically, in 1945 Ante Pavelić, the Croatian dictator and leader of the *Ustaša*, could flee from the Allied forces with a Spanish passport and, after residing in Italy and Argentina, found his final refuge in Franco's Spain. Pavelić died and was buried in Madrid in 1959.

We could say that both wars serve as a framework in the memory constructions of the other. That is, in the first case, the past inspires the present political moment, while in the second case the present political situation arouses old memories. Here, the “direction” of memory seems indeed multidirectional, as it involves a movement both between the past and the present as well as between two different places.

The memory of the Holocaust occupied a similar double role during the wars in former Yugoslavia. The analogies between the wars in Bosnia and the Holocaust constituted the most strongly and frequently used historical analogy around the world (Bjelić and Savić 2002; MacDonald 2002; Levy and Sznajder 2006). Although it is easy to understand these mainly victim-centered discourses within the Human Rights paradigm, Daniel Levy and Natan Sznajder have argued that its use should be interpreted more specifically ‘as an example of a conflict disentangled from the frame of the nation-state’ (Levy and Sznajder 2006, 161–162). That is, the comparisons to the Holocaust are an example of transnationalization, or, in their terms, cosmopolitization of the memory of the Holocaust. Notably, the comparisons between the Holocaust and the wars in former Yugoslavia revealed a deeper intersection between both conflicts as well, as the memory of the Second World War was instrumentalized as an ideological tool to nourish the hatred between Croats and Serbs. Since the 1990s, the heroic figure of the partisan has been appropriated by Serbian propaganda and used to damage the image of the Fascist Croatian Revolutionary Movement, *Ustaša*, which had been ruling the quasi independent state of Croatia within Nazi occupied Yugoslavia between 1941 and 1945. However, it is particularly the cosmopolitan form of the Holocaust as a metaphor that we also encounter in the Spanish reports on the Yugoslav wars of dissolution.

In the Spanish press, the different historical references and analogies were clearly meant to provoke in its readers a compassionate stance towards the present wars in the distant Balkans. Yet, the comparisons that drew on those Spanish memories that were still part of a political and cultural taboo (Olick and Levy 1997), can be said to have elicited a “boomerang effect” or backlash. As a secondary effect, these comparisons provoked the haunting return of those memories which were constrained by the taboo sphere established during the Spanish Transition. Michael Rothberg understands the boomerang effect as a doubled spatio-temporal trope which is able to grasp the entanglements between different historical events and with it the return of (repressed) memory (Rothberg 2009, 66–87). As a result, a world of phantoms and shadows shows itself as ‘a layered, multidimensional world of resemblances’ (Rothberg 2009, 84). Reminiscent of Barad’s haunting presence of the excluded – which co-constitutes the hegemonic narrative – and of Silverman’s palimpsest – in which time and place are always inscribed with traces from an elsewhere – the backlash evokes the resurrection of a

silenced and excluded past. As such, the wars in former Yugoslavia evoke a scene in which – tacitly – cultural taboos are being addressed.

The historical comparison is particularly present in journalistic texts, being one of its preferred figures of speech. That is why I will specifically focus on the role of journalism in providing a first draft of memory (Edy 1999; Zelizer 2008). In this case, we could even speak of a “doubled” agenda-setting role of the media, in which the frameworks used are not only projected upon the present but also work the other way around. That is, media stories are presented through a “frame” which helps to structure the meaning of the message for the audience, which often relates to the very social cadres that Halbwachs identifies at the basis of a mnemonic community (cf. Goffman 1974; Halbwachs 1992; Scheufele 1999). As such, the frameworks of popular myths, legends, traditions, and historical events are used in communicating certain information. Framing techniques relate, moreover, to the use of narrative tropes such as metaphors, analogies and metonymia.

Besides, I will draw on the idea of “journalism of attachment” as I focus on the way the text tries to engage the reader. Journalism of attachment is a contentious notion based on BBC reporter Martin Bell’s call for journalists to involve themselves more in the wars they were reporting (Bell 1997; Ruigrok 2005; Von Oppen 2009). According to Bell, the reporter should take the stance of a “moral witness” to the conflict. The call for journalism of attachment is born out of the wars in former Yugoslavia, which makes it a useful notion to cast light on the role of the reporter as witness and on how they try to engage their readers; for instance by drawing analogies to their own past.

The scope of emotion and affect will help to specify how and with what purpose analogies are evoked (Flatley 2008; Van Alphen 2008). After analyzing the comparative modes in the Spanish national printed press, I will focus on two Spanish authors, Juan Goytisolo and Javier Martínez Reverte, who have written both journalistic and novelistic accounts of their experiences in the besieged city of Sarajevo. Goytisolo’s and Martínez Reverte’s multifaceted work on the war in Bosnia displays a direct connection between literary and extra-literary discourse. Their work also shows the different possibilities of the two genres, journalism and literature, and two “generations” in imagining and producing transnational memories while making use of the different figures of speech – metaphor, analogy and metonymy. I will present a close reading of the emotional world that affects the focalizers in these texts.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ As a reminder, focalization theory addresses the options and ranges of orientational restrictions of narrative presentation, being associated with a “focal character” and the questions “who sees?” and “who perceives?” Following Mieke Bal, who shows that focalization can cover a much wider scope than either vision or perception (Bal 2006), I will use focalization to include the scope of emotion and affect.

GHOSTS OF CIVIL WAR

"Balkan ghosts" haunt European memory

Studies on how the Yugoslav wars of dissolution and especially of the genocide in Bosnia was received in the Western media, show that the reactions in the West were directly related to the Western countries' own political and cultural contexts. Examples of recurring national frameworks that draw on collective memory and informed political reactions, are the Vietnam-syndrome in the United States, Russia's anti-Western attitude, the West's suspicion of German motives regarding former Yugoslavia, and, most strongly, that of the Holocaust. These memory frameworks were highly important, not only in press coverage but also in the decisions of policymakers (Robinson 2002). American sociologist Stjepan Meštrović defines these reactions as postemotionalism, in which the present is constantly viewed through a lens of collective memory: 'Western countries seem to act under the power of socially constructed memories' (Meštrović 1997, 5). I will argue that in the case of Spain, at the onset of the wars in former Yugoslavia, the framework of "civil war," sometimes accompanied by that of primitive Balkanism, strongly involved the lens of the Spanish Civil War. In contrast to other Western audiences, where the label "civil war" rather suggested "Stay away, it's none of your business" (Letica 1997, 143), in Spain it informed an emotionally charged reaction.⁵⁵

Throughout the whole period, "suffering" was a particularly dominant frame in Bosnia. Alison Preston argues that the 'simple imperative of personal suffering' tended to "eclipse" other narratives' (A. Preston 1996, 113). Besides, the narrative of "proximity" which accompanied humanitarian issues stood next to a narrative of "distance" which was used when relating to politics and which mostly emphasized the complexity and the difficulty of the ongoing crisis. Particularly in the case of Bosnia, the focus on individual accounts of suffering together with the narrative of political complexity resulted in a general situation of confusion around the world, in which few people could answer who started the war or who was most culpable. Moreover, the equation of victims of different sides and the labeling of the conflict as "civil war," in which word choices such as "warring groups" or "factions" put all different parties on a par, helped in creating the generalized confusion and Western paralysis.⁵⁶ Another trend in framing

⁵⁵ In Spain the "threat of civil war" in other countries was also frequently framed as the looming "ghost of civil war" or the "ghost of chaos" (editorial 1991a; C. López 1991; Juliá 1993; *Deia* 1993b).

⁵⁶ These kind of bureaucratic-military euphemisms were partly the result of the official media reports by UNPROFOR. About hundred informants were working in Bosnia-Herzegovina for UNPROFOR's public relations and in their reports they were required to maintain a unified code. Instead of talking about aggres-

the wars in former Yugoslavia was the appeal to a quasi-racist and historically deterministic Balkanist perspective, which promotes the idea that ethnic groups in the Balkans had been fighting and killing each other for centuries, condensed in the term “Balkan Ghosts” (see Todorova 2009).

In August 1992, the photographs of the Omarska concentration camp strongly promoted the comparative frame of the Holocaust, as they reminded the Western public of the horrors of practically half a century before (see Levy and Sznajder 2006, 156–190). At first sight, the Holocaust as a comparative frame seems a search for an immediate compassionate stance of “Never again.” Barbie Zelizer compares the international outcry against the war in Bosnia to the much smaller impact of the genocide in Rwanda and does find its explanation in proximity and Holocaust iconography: the fact that camps existed on European soil (Zelizer 1998). Inspired by the trend of Holocaust exclusivism, however, the comparisons to the Holocaust caused ambivalence among different academic and non-academic commentators (see MacDonald 2002). The marked difference between the Holocaust and ethnic cleansing (suggested by Elie Wiesel) also disoriented media positions.⁵⁷ The interpretations of the Holocaust as the only “true” genocide consequently made it impossible to define ethnic cleansing as genocide as well, as it would imply the equation of the Holocaust and ethnic cleansing by means of the term genocide. In this way, the discussions on the exclusiveness of the Holocaust seem to have blocked the application of genocide to the war in Bosnia (Kent 2006, 377–386).

It was only in the period after 1993 that labels such as “Serbian aggression” or “genocide” started to be used regularly, although the label of “civil war” continued being used throughout the whole period (Letica 1997, 143–145). Notably, the use of the new label of “ethnic cleansing” (an euphemism proposed by the Serbian perpetrators), ‘took a considerable time to become established and therefore had no clear meaning at the time, thus serving to obscure further what was happening’ (Cushman and Meštrović 1996, 30). The term remains contentious, ‘applying as it does the notion of removal of dirt and germs – “cleansing” – to the forced expulsion of people, the language of racial hygiene and ethnic “purity” [is] a throwback to the Nazi era’ (Kent 2006, 291).

Only in 1998 did the Holocaust become one of the most important political frames, according to Levy and Sznajder, as it was used in support of military intervention in the Kosovo crisis. Levy and Sznajder posit that ‘during Kosovo, images of a brutalizing Nazi Wehrmacht were decisively transformed into a humanitarian Bundeswehr, the military

sors and assaulted, they preferred the equalizing “warring groups” and in their reports they would systematically avoid meaning-laden terms such as “genocide” (González San Ruperto 2001, 424).

⁵⁷ Elie Wiesel defined the Holocaust as an systematic effort to eradicate a whole people from the Earth and ethnic cleansing as the effort of an ethnic group to control the territory they live in (Kent 2006, 383)

of the Federal Republic of Germany' (Levy and Sznajder 2006, 166).⁵⁸ For them, the discourses on the conflicts in former Yugoslavia in the 1990s show a departure from the Balkanist perspective, while the term "ethnic cleansing" draws symbolically powerful connections to the Holocaust and genocide (Levy and Sznajder 2006, 183). As outlined above, the question remains to what extent we can really speak of a conflation of ethnic cleansing, genocide and the Holocaust.⁵⁹

To be sure, these general narratives also played an important role in the Spanish news coverage. Most newspapers had their own journalists stationed in the war zone, and together these journalists formed an actual transnational information group right there. On the other hand, the kind of bureaucratic-military euphemisms used in the international press were partly the result of the official media reports by UNPROFOR, which maintained a unified code. But also in editorial columns, as well as in in-depth articles from the Spanish war correspondents, the internationally circulating metaphors and definitions were used. However, in those instances in which the Spanish national newspapers framed the event as a "civil war," they would return to comparisons to Spain's own collective memory.

Spanish frameworks: the haunting analogy

The Spanish press in general was mostly concerned with humanitarian issues and with the diplomatic initiative, and especially with the Spanish peacekeeping forces. These concerns seem to have had a direct effect on Spanish public opinion, which from the beginning proved to be very much in favor of the humanitarian aid provided by the Spanish military as peacekeeping forces, while strongly rejecting military actions.⁶⁰ Moreover, these stances echo the widespread pacifist stance in Spain (Prat 2006), which gained momentum during the "No to war" demonstration on February 15, 2003, against military intervention in Iraq. At the same time, they demonstrate the positive outcome of the image changing campaign of the Spanish military by means of institutionalizing

⁵⁸ Compare how the humanitarian aid by the Spanish army also served as change of its image as repressive dictatorial army to a humanitarian and democratic peacekeeping force.

⁵⁹ Levy and Sznajder's assessment of the reality of "ethnic cleansing" in the 1990s is unfortunately very reductive. Largely based on the reading of Preece (1998), they limit the meaning of "ethnic cleansing" to the massive flows of refugees as a result of majority/minority conflicts. With that, they omit to see the term as a euphemism that refuses to acknowledge mass murder and mass rape as an established practice in Bosnia. In that way, Levy and Sznajder reproduce the distinction made by Elie Wiesel.

⁶⁰ See the Barómetro del CIS, July 1991, September 1992, December 1992, May 1993, and, May 1995. http://www.cis.es/cis/opencm/ES/11_barometros/depositados.jsp (visited July 26, 2013).

the new figure of the professional soldier.⁶¹ This was especially the case for the Spanish Legion (“La Legión Española”) – a unit with a particularly bad image.

The humanitarian focus evoked in detail the horrors of a civil war fought between former neighbors and friends. These articles are haunted by the ghostly memories of the Spanish Civil War itself. Ghosts signify the return of the past, the haunting presence of the excluded, and, for the Spanish reader, the referent of the “ghost of civil war,” was first of all the Spanish Civil War itself, rather than drawing on a deterministic Balkanist perspective. Also in Spain, the perspective of “civil war” was stronger at the onset of the wars in former Yugoslavia, while afterwards that of “genocide” and “ethnic cleansing” became predominant, also on an international scale (Letica 1997).

Of course, the Spanish newspapers and television stations followed different editorial lines. For example, in the Spanish right-wing and conservative newspaper *ABC* the Serbians were referred to as “Serbian Communists,” because for them communism was basically responsible for all the wrong done in the Balkans during the 1990s. Furthermore, as a Catholic newspaper, the articles mainly identified with the Croats.⁶² *El Mundo*, another right-wing newspaper, directed their coverage more towards the personal and the sensational, following their general editorial line. The center-left newspaper *El País*, on the other hand, would assume a more sterile terminology (González San Ruperto 2001). The regional press in the autonomous regions like Catalonia (*El Periódico de Catalunya*) and Basque Country (*Deia*) was especially sensitive to claims for independence and anti-centralist politics in the region.

From the very beginning of the wars in the center-left newspaper *El País* the reflections on what was happening two thousands kilometers eastwards were framed by indirect links to Spain’s historical context. What effect would the independence claims in the Balkans have on other European countries where ‘exacerbated nationalist claims’ could be found (*El País* 1991)? Similarly, Manuel Azcárate, in his opinion article, recalled the possibly devastating results in Spain, if it had not been for Madrid’s flexibility during the Spanish Transition (Azcárate 1991). In many of these contributions the clear defense of the Spanish Transition to democracy was accompanied by the depiction of a civil war as a war based on personal resentments echoing the narrative of fratricidal war. This interpretation we read for instance in the war coverage of *El País* special corre-

⁶¹ Compare the face washing campaign of the German Bundeswehr as signaled by Levy and Sznajder with the similar Spanish strategy during the wars in Bosnia.

⁶² In her dissertation on information and propaganda during the wars in former Yugoslavia, Marta González San Ruperto also notes for instance, that *ABC* voiced their monarchic stance giving a rather far-fetched leadership to king Alexander I of Yugoslavia, while their anti-abortion stance was openly present in an interview with raped women in Bosnia who decided to give birth (González San Ruperto 2001, 443).

spondent Hermann Tertsch: ‘As in any civil war, in this conflict personal grudges and animosities sometimes play a greater role than strategic considerations and military objectives’ (Tertsch 1991).

Nonetheless, the first direct analogy between the two events was voiced in *El País* by a foreigner, François Heisbourg, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies, in the opinion article entitled “Yugoslavia, back to the future?” (1991). In this article, Heisbourg predicted a long and bloody civil war in the future, comparable to the ‘painful Spanish experience of 1936-1939,’ in which hundreds of thousands of men, women and children had died. His emphasis on the humanitarian and civilian toll of the Spanish Civil War served here as an early frame of reference for what the Spanish reader was expecting to read in relation to the wars in former Yugoslavia. While at the same time the victim-oriented approach obscured a political reading of the Spanish Civil War. On the same day, Francesc Ralea, correspondent for *El País* in Croatia, alluded to the Spanish Civil War through the testimony of a local commander of the Serbian militia in Croatian Slavonia, whose office was decorated with a large portrait of Bozidar Maslaric, Hero of Narodni during the Spanish Civil War. General and major. Mathematics teacher’ (Ralea 1991). While the quote is taken out of context and is difficult to define politically – for instance, does he agree with the depiction of the volunteers as heroes? – the allusion served to remind the readers of the connection between the Serbian historical narrative and Spanish collective memory.

The Spanish label “caudillo” was frequently used to denote the former Yugoslavian war generals. And, particularly when used together with the label of “civil war,” such cultural-specific “realia” can be argued to have provoked a linguistic cross-referencing between Franco and the war generals in former Yugoslavia.⁶³ As early as 30 September 1989, in an editorial article in *El País* on the Slovenian secession, Slobodan Milošević is identified as “the Serbian *caudillo*” (*El País* 1989 italic in original). After that, particularly *El País* journalist Hermann Tertsch, special correspondent covering the wars in former Yugoslavia, employed the term of caudillo when referring to the war generals, although others such as Mirjana Tomic also referred to the same label (Tertsch 1992a; Tertsch 1992b; Tomic 1993). It was only much later however, that Franco and Milosevic were directly compared or strung together in enumerations of twentieth century war criminals. And, I would argue that not until then can we really start to speak of a possible double referencing of the word “caudillo.” A 2001 report analyzing the role of Milošević in the wars in former Yugoslavia, repeatedly used the word “caudillo” and the

⁶³ Nina Elsemann and Madeleine Davis have argued that the word “caudillo” when applied to Pinochet projected his image upon that of Franco (Elsemann 2011, 132; Davis 2005, 868; Umbral 1998).

final lines seemed to include a lesson for Spain: ‘The mass graves, the destruction, the unfortunate situation of the Serbs who have just woken up from a nationalist nightmare (...) show that having tried to negotiate peace for ten years with a nationalist “caudillo” who drew all his power from the war, was not a good idea’ (Altares 2001).⁶⁴ Milosevic, as the article underscores, was indicted for crimes against humanity. The question that seems to haunt these last lines, which are so reminiscent of the Spanish context in 2001 is, should the same be done with all nationalist caudillos?⁶⁵

Other frequent references to the crossed stories between former Yugoslavia and Spain recur, as for instance the very special story of the “war kid” (niño de la guerra) Fernando Gómez, who had been a refugee in Yugoslavia just after the Spanish Civil War, and now returned to Sarajevo to offer his help as a doctor (L. Martínez 1994). Another particular story: that of the Sephardic David Kamhi “remembering” the 500th anniversary since the loss of his “Paradise,” while Spain was celebrating the 500th anniversary of the “discovery” of the Americas by Columbus. In this story, Sarajevo in Yugoslavia is compared to Toledo in the 1400s (Armada 1992). David Kamhi somehow becomes the opposite figure to Fernando Gómez, who, after 500 years of “exile,” returned to Spain as a Bosnian refugee (Sanchez 1993). As we will see, David Kamhi will also come to occupy an important role in Juan Goytisolo’s journalistic and fictional work on the wars in Bosnia, embodying a transnational connection between the two places through his family genealogy. These transnational lives, resulting from the multiple exiles which were a product of Spain’s history of intolerance produce a more complex image of the past. Nonetheless, here, Kamhi’s “return” to Spain and Gómez’ humanitarian aid, again underline Spain as a modern and humanitarian democracy.

The right-wing and sensationalist *El Mundo* inserts the references to the Spanish Civil War in their rather filmic way of narrating the horrors happening in former Yugoslavia. As such, correspondent Alfonso Rojo started one of his earlier articles with the words: ‘They have that grim and coarse air of the militiamen appearing in the photos of the Spanish Civil War. They are armed with old Mauser rifles, with modern Kalashnikov and hand grenades typically hang on their belts. They are called “Chetniks”’ (Rojo

⁶⁴ ‘Las fosas comunes, la destrucción, la lamentable situación en la que viven los serbios, que despiertan de la pesadilla nacionalista (...) demuestran que haber intentado negociar la paz durante diez años con un caudillo nacionalista que basó todo su poder en la guerra no fue una buena idea.’

⁶⁵ Also in 2000, just three weeks before the first exhumation in Spain of the “thirteen of Priaranza,” Tertsch writes about the nationalistic caudillo Milošević who ‘había sembrado de fosas comunes gran parte de los Balcanes’ [who had seeded a large part of the Balkans with mass graves] (Tertsch 2000). Tellingly, the right-wing newspaper *El Mundo* does not use “caudillo” when talking about Milošević or any other war generals, nor are there any articles that compare the two generals in a direct manner.

1991a).⁶⁶ In another article, the highly graphic and emotional phrase, ‘They cut the ears of the ones who were caught with me with knives’ (Fuentes 1991a), made silent reference to a widespread practice of ear cutting used during the Spanish Civil War, inspired by the bullfighting tradition. In his book *Yugoslavia. Holocausto en los Balcanes* this emotive and filmic mode comes to the fore even more (Rojo 1992).⁶⁷ Importantly, in these articles, Rojo compared the aggressors, the Serbian Chetniks, with the Spanish Republican militia. This highly emotive and political analogy was repeated later on in an ironic travel special for “exciting holidays,” in which Rojo narrates how the “Chetnik roadblock” was guarded by ‘some fanatics dressed as Spanish Civil War militiamen who mercilessly nail the tip of their kalashnikov in your belly’ (Rojo 1991b, 2).⁶⁸

In general, *El Mundo* used the explicit frameworks of proximity and suffering along with the reading of “fratricidal” war, while not taking a clear stance in the Bosnian conflict. Accordingly, Javier Ruperez explicitly called for neutrality in his opinion article “Yugoslavia and European stability:” ‘A first recommendation: avoid taking a side’. Just as in the Spanish Civil War, Ruperez argues that those who take a stance are also fighting their own battle. As such, they tend to impose simplified frameworks on the conflict, like that of democrats and fascists during the civil war of 1936-1939. The question Ruperez raised in the article is if, back then, it had been impossible to prevent the war, was that the case now as well (Ruperez 1991)? His question evokes the reading of the inevitability of the Spanish Civil War. Following this almost rhetorical question, he proposes a civil and negotiated peace, referring now to the “Never again” narrative of the Spanish Transition.

Notwithstanding their apparent neutrality, the reporters of *El Mundo* drew parallels between the Serbian Chetnik aggressors and the Spanish Republican militia as we have seen before, as well as between Croatian, Catholic, innocent victims and Spanish innocent victims. The latter equation is evident in the article “Daily life in hell,” in which the interviewees were depicted as the reporter’s countrymen: ‘I thought I was watching a Spanish rural picture; the same strict mourning, the same head scarves, the same faith of the old Christians, the same shelled rosary in between calloused hands, the same resignation’

⁶⁶ ‘Tienen ese aire torvo y montaraz con que aparecen milicianos en las fotos de la Guerra Civil española. Van armados con viejos fusiles Mauser, con modernos Kalashnikov y se suelen colgar granadas de mano en el cinturón. Les llaman “Chetniks”.’

⁶⁷ In this book on the wars in former Yugoslavia, ‘where one can find the History of our times on every streetcorner’ (Rojo 1992, 14), the Spanish Civil War and the role of the Spanish Transition are again present. Most notably, Rojo pairs the death of Franco and Tito, their deathbed and their mausoleum; however, after the death of the dictator, in Yugoslavia there persisted a severe repression of nationalism, different than in Spain (Rojo 1992, 55–56).

⁶⁸ ‘(...) unos energúmenos vestidos como los milicianos de la Guerra Civil española te clavan de forma inmisericorde el cañón del fusil kalashnikov en la barriga.’

(Fuentes 1991b).⁶⁹ Later in the text, Fuentes wrote that it is impossible not to make another analogy: “These blond kids who shiver in the shelters, dressed just like Spanish kids, listening to the same songs and admiring the same movies, could be the sons or daughters of your friends in Spain. The peasants slaughtered by the “Chetniks” are just too similar to the inhabitants of any northern Spanish village, maybe Cantabrian or Galician.”⁷⁰

The Basque centre-right newspaper *Deia* did not return as often to so-called “journalism of attachment” as we have seen in *El País* and *El Mundo*. Interestingly, as the newspaper did not count on many correspondents in the field, it included many translated articles from the American press (e.g. *New York Times* or *Newsday*) through which a transnational or multidirectional framework of civil wars around the world was evoked: the contemporary pressing conflicts in Kuwait and Somalia, but also the, for the Americans, historical and ghostly presence of Vietnam. It is only in the opinion section where parallels were drawn between Spain, the Basque Country and the ongoing wars in former Yugoslavia.

In the autumn of 1992, however, the arrival of hundreds of Bosnian families in the Basque country gave rise to a series of articles in which the proximity between them and the Basques was particularly voiced. Starting in 1992 the Basque NGO *SOS Balkanes* and the institution *Fundación Sabino Arana* organized the reception of Bosnian kids in the Basque country. From that moment on *Deia* published several articles on *SOS Balkanes* and the *Fundación Sabino Arana* in search of sponsorship and solidarity. *SOS Balkanes* organized fundraisers and solidarity marches using the slogan “for a multiethnic society,” echoing the Basque view on the Spanish reality (*Deia* 1993a). As Nekane Lauzirika summed up in her article “United against the terror of war,”

‘It was the cruel civil war – as if any war wasn’t cruel or incivil! – in former Yugoslavia which, possibly through its proximity, has raised among the citizens of the State, and specially among those of the Basque Autonomous Community (CAV), a wave of solidarity not seen in the last decades’ (Lauzirika 1992).⁷¹

⁶⁹ ‘Creía estar viendo una estampa rural española; el mismo luto riguroso, las mismas pañoletas, la misma fe de los cristianos viejos, el mismo rosario desgranado entre las manos callosas, la misma resignación.’

⁷⁰ ‘Bueno, piensas que esos niños rubios que tiritan en los refugios, vestidos como los chavales españoles, escuchando las mismas canciones o admirando las mismas películas, podrían ser los hijos de tus amigos en España. Los campesinos degollados por los “chetniks” son demasiado parecidos a los habitantes de cualquier pueblo del norte español, quizá cántabros o gallegos.’

⁷¹ ‘Ha sido la cruel guerra civil – ¡cómo si alguna no fuera cruel ni incívica! – en la Antigua Yugoslavia la que, tal vez por cercanía, ha despertado entre los ciudadanos del Estado, y muy especialmente de la Comunidad Autónoma Vasca (CAV), una oleada de solidaridad no vista en los últimos lustros (...)’

The arrival of the refugees was a recurrent topic in the “society” section of the newspaper, using a special vocabulary of proximity. This was the first time that eyewitness accounts of the horrors in former Yugoslavia were included, reminding the readers of the cruelties of a fratricidal war. Moreover, the geographical proximity was often specified: this was happening at a distance of a two-hour flight (Dávila 1992; Aldasoro 1992). Notably, in these articles the relation to the exodus of Basque children was elicited. The *Fundación Sabino Arana* contacted the Association for War Children (*Asociación de Niños de la Guerra*) in search of a network of solidarity, ‘taking into account that many Basques have been received in family homes in different countries during the Spanish Civil War’ (L. 1992).⁷² In these instances, exile evokes memories of other exiles, which, in combination with the slogan for a “multiethnic” society, referred back to the intolerance of the Francoist state.

Although the frameworks for comparison were as ample as we have seen in *El Mundo* and *El País*, in this particular newspaper we can detect a special sensitivity for the fate of minorities within the Spanish state. Not only do we find opinion pieces in defense of self-determination, while drawing parallels between the Basque Country and Bosnia (Mendizabal 1993a; Bolinaga Bengoa 1993), but interestingly, the *longue durée* of Spanish intolerance and civil wars was also evoked:

‘Also, Francis, our culture, like yours, loved, created beauty, built, thought and directed history at the time, but our culture also devoured, absorbed and expelled others. Jews and Moors first, a whole long list of dissidents later: the Carlists or liberals, absolutists or democrats, the fundamentalists or the Alfonsists, the republicans or the monarchists, ... were expelled from our country to carry on an indifferent journey for the rest of their lives or to dry out helplessly. I do not want that to happen to you as well. You are Bosnian. Without Bosnia, the world is less’ (Rodríguez de Coro 1993).⁷³

What is more, a recurring evocation was that of *limpieza de sangre* (“cleansing of blood”) after the Spanish Reconquista and during the Inquisition paralleled to the term of *limpieza étnica* (“ethnic cleansing”) when referring to Bosnia (see Mendizabal 1993b;

⁷² ‘(...) teniendo en cuenta que muchos vascos fueron en su día acogidos en hogares de distintos países durante la Guerra Civil española.’

⁷³ ‘También, Francis, nuestra cultura, como la tuya, amó, creó belleza, construyó, pensó y dirigió la Historia en su momento, pero también devoró, absorbió y expulsó. Judíos y moriscos primero, toda una larga lista de disyuntivas después: los carlistas o los liberales; los absolutistas o los demócratas; los integristas o los alfonsinos; los republicanos o los monárquicos, ... fueron expulsados de nuestro país, para llevar por su vida todo un viaje indiferente o para irse secando sin remedio. No quiero que te pase a ti lo mismo. Tú eres Bosnio. Sin Bosnia, el mundo es menos.’

Arzalluz 1993; Letamendia 1993; Uslar Pietri 1993). “Ethnic cleansing,” as I mentioned before, was a newly introduced euphemism which did not have a clear meaning right from the beginning. This lack of meaning specifically invited an analogy which infused the term with meaning derived from Spain’s own dark history.

The Catalan press, notably the centre-left *El Periódico de Catalunya*, used similar frames as the Basque *Deia* with regards to the conflicts in former Yugoslavia. Interestingly, here the framework of “civil war” is employed much less than in *El País* or *El Mundo*. Contrariwise, the newspaper included many more articles on the memory of the Spanish Civil War alone, including critiques of the ongoing beatifications of Franco’s victims by Pope John Paul II, the repatriation of Spanish refugees from exile and oral history accounts. Again, the reception of Bosnian refugees was particularly marked by a framework of proximity. For instance, the reception of 134 refugees in the Catalan town of Cornudella in 1992 was narrated through an analogy with the town’s generosity when receiving Spanish children during the Spanish Civil War, ‘therefore, repeating this gesture of generosity has not been difficult’ (*El Periódico de Catalunya* 1992b).⁷⁴ Earlier, the newspaper had already dedicated half a page to the Sephardic Bosnians who were looking for jobs in Catalonia (*El Periódico de Catalunya* 1992a).

The Catalan newspapers definitely made use of the Olympic Games in the narratives of proximity. For instance, when Barcelona responded to Sarajevo’s request for help, Antoni Ribas wrote critically,

‘The proximity of the tragedy has only come with the Games, and now Barcelona, which has been receiving solidarity in the past – do I need to remember our Civil War? – wants to give a civic and moral response to those who are suffering from aggressions because of who they are’ (Ribas 1992).⁷⁵

Besides, the possible participation of Ex Yugoslav athletes in the Olympics elicited interviews in which the athletes made political statements with regards to the Games (García 1991; *El Periódico de Catalunya* 1991a).

Surprisingly, the aid offered by conscientious objectors in refugee camps in Croatia and in Slovenia in order to comply with their substitute community service did not receive special attention in this Catalan newspaper, apart from small notifications on their upcoming service trips. This is even more surprising when considering the news

⁷⁴ ‘Cornudella también recibió a niños españoles durante la Guerra Civil y, por ello, repetir el gesto de generosidad no ha resultado nada difícil.’

⁷⁵ ‘Pero la proximidad de la tragedia nos ha venido con los Juegos, y ahora Barcelona, que antaño recibió solidaridades – ¿hay que recordar nuestra Guerra Civil? – quiere dar respuesta cívica y moral a quienes sufren agresiones por querer ser lo que son.’

on, and concerned debates about, the 21% increase of conscientious objectors in 1992 in comparison to the previous year. Only when facing another Christmas of war in the Balkans, did Julia Navarro remind readers in her column that important humanitarian aid was being offered not only by the peacekeepers, but also by the conscientious objectors (Navarro 1993).⁷⁶

Importantly, the secession of the former Yugoslav republics did provoke a debate on the national unity of Spain. Moreover, it coincided with the fall of the USSR, where between August and December 1991 ten republics declared their independence. This situation opened up new debates on the political unity of Spain, particularly in Catalonia. In the debate, the Catalan leaders generally maintained a discourse faithful to the importance of the Spanish Transition, as they underscored the relatively strong democracy in Spain and even the historical reality of Spain. At the same time, however, they strengthened their claims to a larger degree of autonomy and their call for the end of “centralism” (*El Periódico de Catalunya* 1991c; Sabrià 1991a). Although this seemed relatively peaceful, there did exist a certain tension around the topic. Not only did the Spanish centralist leaders fear secessionist claims, the Catalan socialist leader Raimon Obiols also warned of a revival of ultra-nationalism. In turn, his expressed concerns raised strong criticism – he had awakened the “ghosts” of the past or tried to initiate a “Serbian way” in Catalonia – which in themselves seemed informed by anxiety around the issue (Sabrià 1991b; editorial 1991b; *El Periódico de Catalunya* 1991d). In 1991, on the day of the National Catalan Celebration on September 11 the debate ran high. On this day particularly, but also in the months afterwards, Catalan president Jordi Pujol repeatedly emphasized his difference to the Baltic and the Slovenian secessionists, because he faced accusations of using the situation in favor of his own politics (*El Periódico de Catalunya* 1991g; *El Periódico de Catalunya* 1991f; Agencias 1991; *El Periódico de Catalunya* 1991b). The cartoon “The bad shadow of Jordi Pujol” is an example of the presumed instrumentalization of the crisis in the Balkans to strengthen the autonomous regions’ own nationalist agenda.

⁷⁶ The solidarity campaign initiated by the conscientious objectors, entitled *Catalunya x Bosnia* (Catalonia for Bosnia) resulted in an interesting publication on the experience as a whole, with the title *Refugiados en los Balcanes* (Refugees in the Balkans) (Tolrà i Mabilon and Marín Gutiérrez 2003). This publication includes short reports on the different aid missions, but more interestingly short field notes of the volunteers on their experiences in the refugee camps, mostly filled with anti-military or pacifist connotations. The book also comprises the textual transcriptions of the debates in the Catalan parliament on the initiative, and also here, frames of proximity are used to underline the importance of the campaign. Most notably, Ignasi Riera, leader of the Catalan left-wing and secessionist party “Iniciativa per Catalunya,” reminds the reader of the importance of the right to asylum, as it had been given to Catalans, victims of the Spanish Civil War, in the past (Tolrà i Mabilon and Marín Gutiérrez 2003, 254–255).



El Periódico de Catalunya, 14 July 1991, 9

Contrariwise, the secessionist Catalan Republican Left (ERC) invited delegations from Slovenia, Croatia and Lithuania to the national celebrations, in order to show an example of the way to independence as well as give moral support to Catalonia (*El Periódico de Catalunya* 1991e). To ERC, the Spanish state was at that point as “anachronistic” as the USSR or Yugoslavia had been.

Importantly, it is within the debate on Spanish unity that the hegemonic memory narrative of the Spanish Civil War and the Transition is challenged the most. As we have seen, the national newspapers *El País* and *El Mundo* tended to draw on the image of “chaos” and “fratricidal war” in their analogies to the Spanish past. Moreover, I would argue that the narrative of “fratricidal war” also includes the deterministic “Balkanist” perspective, as these articles tend to put forward the Spanish Transition as an example of how this very similar tendency had been overcome in the Spanish case. The Catalan secessionists, contrariwise, openly critique the Spanish status quo. During the Kosovo war in 1999 the analogies which are aimed at the unity of Spain seem to be even more driven by “historical memory.” Now, Jordi Pujol openly supported the UN intervention in a speech in which he compared Milošević to Franco, and the genocide in Kosovo to the cultural genocide of Catalonia during Francoism (Short 1999; see also Núñez 2010).⁷⁷ Although challenging Spanish hegemonic memory, one has to note that

⁷⁷ Currently, Kosovo again plays an important role as an example in the struggles for independence in Catalonia, inspired by the International Court of Justice’s declaration in review of Kosovo’s situation, that international law does not stipulate any prohibition to declaring independence (Rius 2013; *El Periódico de Catalunya*

the reading of the Spanish Civil War as a war between Spain and Catalonia, as put forward by Pujol, is also a very Manichaean and contentious reading, which is perpetuated in certain Catalanist sectors until today.

Throughout the 1990s, “Balcanización” was turned into a political reproach against the dismemberment of national unity. The term incorporates the deterministic “Balkanist” perspective with a backlash against the deterministic Spanish inclination towards fratricidal conflict. That is, those who are reproached for “balcanizing” have not overcome the inclination towards bloody confrontation. This (pejorative) term was accepted in 1993 as a neologism in the Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy meaning “the dismemberment of a country in confronting territories or communities,” and is mostly applied when attacking Basque and Catalan independence claims from a centralist position. With that, the term makes reference to the discourse of peace and reconciliation which was conceived by means of the Spanish Transition. A telling example would be the time when socialist ex-president Felipe González voiced his fear that “Spain would balcanize,” after the truce with ETA in 1998. In his words, ‘second transitions not always conducted towards Brussels, but towards Tirana or Sarajevo’ (Cols 1998).⁷⁸ With the words “second transition,” González clearly signals the relation between “balcanización” and a revision of the “first” Transition to democracy, which represents contrariwise the prevention of a possible civil war.

In all of these examples, the preferred figure of speech seems to be that of the analogy: Spain is compared to the situation in Yugoslavia and lessons are to be learned. With that, we see how these texts produce the logics of competition: Who is worse? Who is to be compared to whom? Who perpetuates the logics of fratricidal hatred? Within this perspective, the two historical events are set apart. Yet, from the perspective of “framing,” one can also appraise the way in which the understanding of both events is produced through one another. At the level of production of meaning, then, the two events are deeply entangled. This is even more so, when we are reminded of historical encounters such as that of general Bozidar Maslaric, remembered for his heroic participation in the Spanish Civil War.

After 2000, when the memory of the Spanish Civil War resurfaced on the Spanish political agenda, the haunting analogies to Spain’s own history and in particular to the history and memory of the Spanish Civil War became articulated more frequently. As such, the term “balcanización” was now also used in relation to the claims for historical

2013; Montes Torralba 2015). This is one of the reasons why Spain, as one of the few EU countries, still refuses to recognize Kosovo’s independence.

⁷⁸ ‘esto de las segundas transiciones a veces no va camino de Bruselas, sino de Tirana o Sarajevo’

memory, most notably by right-wing and revisionist historian Pío Moa (Moa 2006). Philosopher Fernando Savater's indirect reference to "balcanización" in relation to processes of memory in his appraisal of David Rieff's book *Against remembrance* serves also as a good example. In the article, he underscores the potential danger of "memory" in the creation of new perpetrators and concludes with a reference to Garzón and the judicial cause against the crimes of Francoism (Savater 2010). It is also after 2000 that, within the perspective of the recent exhumations in Spain, the cases of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda have become frequently quoted examples in the claims for justice in Spain. They serve as illustrations of the contemporary practices of universal law after Nuremberg (Ferández Sánchez 2008; Castresana Fernández 2005).⁷⁹ And importantly, the mass grave exhumations in Bosnia have become a crucial reference in the technical and cultural study of exhumations all over the world. Painfully however, the exhumations in Bosnia are financially supported by the Spanish government (Congram and Wolfe Steadman 2008; Álvaro 2009; Ayllón 2014).

Overall, the wars in former Yugoslavia have elicited a wide array of cultural articulations. Quite a few reporters and photographers who directly witnessed the wars in Bosnia have published their experiences in the form of a book (Rojo 1992; J. Goytisolo 1993a; Reverte 1994; Pérez-Reverte 1994; Sánchez 1994; Sánchez 1999; Balsells 2002). The work of photographer Gervasio Sánchez reappeared in many contexts. Some of his photos were included in Goytisolo's *Cuaderno de Sarajevo* which I will comment upon further on. But most importantly, some of these photographs were also inserted in his book and in the exhibition *Desaparecidos* which I will analyze in detail in the next chapter. Importantly, many war journalists reworked their experiences in the form of literary fiction. Novelist and journalist Francesc Bayarri, who had been working for *El País* during the period between 1990 and 1996, published the award-winning novel *Cita en Sarajevo* in 2006. But also Juan Goytisolo (1995), Javier Martínez Reverte (2002) and Arturo Pérez-Reverte (2006) rewrote their experiences in the form of narrative fiction. Also of interest is the theater play *La ciudad sitiada* (2003) written by Laila Ripoll, shown for the first time in 1999.⁸⁰ Spanish cineast Isabel Coixet took up the theme of the memory of the wars in former Yugoslavia in *The Secret Life of Words* (2005), receiving four Spanish "Goya" awards. And finally, academic projects, such as the ERC funded

⁷⁹ The juridical claims for justice and recognition for the victims of Franco have been more directly related to the Argentinean example. That is why conservative historian Santos Juliá has dominated this process as a process of "argentinización" (Faber 2012).

⁸⁰ After this play, Ripoll took up the theme of the exhumations in her play *Santa Perpetua* and that of the stolen children in *Los niños perdidos*

project “Bosnian Bones, Spanish Ghosts: Transitional Justice and the Legal Shaping of Memory after Two Modern Conflicts” (2009-2013, led by Sari Wastell) have taken up the evocative analogies and transnational encounters between both conflicts.⁸¹ Arguably, all of these works incorporate a Spanish framework which draws on tropes and images based on a specific Spanish memory repertoire.

That the Spanish interest in the wars in the Balkans comes from a deeper curiosity about the silenced realities of Spain’s own civil war, is directly present in the anthropological work of Isabel Núñez (2009). In her work she consciously takes up the frame of the Spanish Civil War and she confronts her interviewees directly with that comparison. In her introduction, she acknowledges that her interest in the topic stems from her aim to

‘reflect on the denial, silence, looking the other way, the burial of history and the apathy that characterize my country. (...) The conflict of the different nationalisms - not only Catalan or Basque, but also Spanish - and its various trends. Maybe what I was looking for there was also a mirror to understand what is happening here’ (Núñez 2009, 15).^{82 83}

Núñez’s self-reflexive words acknowledge that the analogies between the wars in former Yugoslavia are not only the result of the “journalism of attachment.”

Indeed, sometimes these analogies tell us more about Spanish cultural memory than about the ongoing war in former Yugoslavia. To a certain extent, in the newspaper arti-

⁸¹ Other research projects on mass grave exhumations which include both Spain and Bosnia as case-studies are the project “The Past below Earth: Exhumations and Memory Politics in Contemporary Spain in Transnational and Comparative Perspective” led by Francisco Ferrándiz and funded by the National I+D+i program and the ERC project “Corpses of Mass Violence and Genocide” led by Elisabeth Anstett. Also of interest is the course offered at Oberlin College by Hispanist Sebastiaan Faber together with Slavist Veljko Vujačić entitled “Nationalism, Culture and Politics Under and After Dictatorship: Spain and Yugoslavia in the 20th Century,” offered in 2007-2008 (HISP 340) and 2012-2013 (SOCI340) (See: catalog.oberlin.edu).

⁸² ‘reflexionar sobre la negación, el silencio, la mirada hacia otra parte, el entierro de la historia y el estupor que caracterizan mi país. (...) El conflicto de los distintos nacionalismos – no sólo catalán o vasco, sino también español – y sus distintas tendencias. Tal vez yo buscaba también allí un espejo para comprender lo de aquí.’

⁸³ The work of artist and photographer Ángel de la Rubia confirms this search for a mirror or screen in Bosnia as a memoryscape. In his early work as a photographer, he gets in touch with the topic of memory in the exhumations of the mass grave of Valdediós in Asturias, where one of his uncles was buried (De la Rubia Barbon and De la Rubia Huete 2007). De la Rubia continued on his path as a photographer exploring other topics of memory, presenting a solo exhibition on Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Media advanced Gallery in Gijón (2007), followed by more general work on memory, such as for instance the collective exhibit “The Past in the Present” for LABOral, Gijón, (2009), or the solo exhibition “Speaking of Was and When” (Het Wilde Weten, Rotterdam, March 2011), with work that explores traces of memory and forgetting in diverse spaces such as a memorial park in former East Berlin and the ruins of Pompeii (Bosch 2011; De la Rubia Barbon 2013).

cles I have discussed above, but also in later works, the wars in former Yugoslavia worked as a “screen” through which the memory of the Spanish Civil War can be approached (anew) (Rothberg 2009). Especially at the onset of the wars in former Yugoslavia, the Spanish Civil War haunted the reports of a bloody fratricidal war on European soil. However, as we have seen, many of these comparisons were ephemeral and employed an apparent depoliticizing victim-centered frame of “suffering.” What is more, they strongly perpetuated the apologetic interpretation of the Spanish Civil War as a fratricidal war. Arguably, the boomerang effect of these kind of analogies only became evident after 2000, with the worldwide interest and involvement in the trial of the Serbian perpetrators, as well as the identification of their victims marked in stark contrast to the Spanish model of “self management” in matters of mass grave exhumations and transitional justice. However, at that moment, the backlash is played out on the level of the global paradigm of Human Rights instead.

In what follows, I will more closely explore the analogies suggested in the texts of two journalists/novelists, Juan Goytisolo and Javier Martínez Reverte. Their works take up most of the discourses of comparison we have seen in the different newspapers. However, their exploration of similar memory discourses in narrative fiction allows for more freedom and with that a more extensive exploration of the frameworks of Spanish cultural memory conjured up in the comparison. Particularly in the writing of journalist and novelist Juan Goytisolo, we will see how these kinds of analogies not only answer to the top-down disseminated Human Rights paradigm, but can also be understood as part of a transnational view on history, memory and identity, particularly when performed through transnational genealogies, such as that of David Kamhi. Moreover, it is ultimately in these transnational memory constellations that the hegemonic memory narrative of the Civil War is being challenged. With that, in these novelized forms, we will see that metaphors are exchanged for metonymic entangled strings, which produce a form of transnational memory that relates to Barad’s idea of spacetime mattering: the memories of the two apparently unrelated spaces are produced through one another. As such, both spaces are the result of “patterns of diffraction” produced in the act of reading the two spaces together (cf. Knittel 2015, 25).

EXPLORING THE COMPARISON

Bosnia (1992) Spain (1936): controversial comparisons

On August 14, 1993, historian Gabriel Jackson published a column titled of “Bosnia (1992) España (1936)” in *El País*. This opinion piece was a reaction to various articles by Juan Goytisolo published earlier in the same newspaper, in which, several times, Goytisolo drew upon the comparison between Bosnian Muslims in the 1990s and the Spanish Muslims and converts in the sixteenth century (see J. Goytisolo 1992; J. Goytisolo 1993b). In his article Jackson developed another comparison, which, up until then, was less directly suggested by Goytisolo. In this case, Jackson found the parallels between the international stance in 1992 and in 1936 particularly suggestive. Both then and now, according to Jackson, ‘the international community fearfully watched the mass assassinations perpetrated by militaries and the sporadic assassinations perpetrated by anarchists and communists who had become victims of the military uprising’ (Jackson 1993a).⁸⁴ In both cases, well-armed fanatics destroyed a tolerant and pluralist society. Moreover, the international paralysis in the face of the aggression in Bosnia would encourage other contemporary fanatics in India, Pakistan, Iraq and the former Soviet republics, just as the international politics of appeasement towards Hitler in 1936-1939 stimulated Hitler to conquer the whole of Europe. Not so much Goytisolo’s initial parallels, but Jackson’s article unleashed a short dispute in *El País* on whether the events in Bosnia could be compared to any other historical event and specifically to that of the Spanish Civil War.

Novelist Francisco Ayala wrote a response on August 21, in which he refuted Jackson’s comparison with regards to the historical framework. Instead, Ayala pointed out the very different international and historical circumstances of the Bosnian conflict (Ayala 1993). A few months later, Luis Goytisolo (Juan Goytisolo’s brother) accused Jackson of drawing up a black and white account of history as a story of good against evil. Luis Goytisolo outlined the historical specificity of the situation in ex-Yugoslavia, by referring back to the Ottoman dominion and to the more recent Nazi occupation. But even more, his article was meant to discard simplistic views of history, which reduced conflict to mere metaphors. As such, he criticized the attempt to turn Sarajevo into a metaphor for Bosnia, for former Yugoslavia, and for the history of contemporary incivility as a whole (L. Goytisolo 1993). In the defense he wrote, Jackson underlined his

⁸⁴ ‘La comunidad internacional contempló con espanto los asesinatos en masa perpetrados por los militares y los asesinatos esporádicos perpetrados por anarquistas y comunistas víctimas de la rebelión militar.’

profound awareness of the multiple possible interpretations of both historical events; moreover, he reminds us that he did mention that atrocities were committed “on both sides” in his previous article. Notwithstanding, instead of a “black and white” account, according to Jackson, we were rather facing a “black and grey” situation in which we should defend the grey (Jackson 1993b).

Clearly, the direct comparison between “Bosnia (1992)” and “Spain (1936),” as Jackson underlined so clearly with the title of his initial article, proved controversial. In the debate, arguments for historical specificity refuted the political arguments for comparison. However, the debate shows some interesting voids that are perhaps more insightful than the directly opposing arguments in the debate. First of all, let me remind you that Jackson’s article was initially inspired by the suggestive parallels that Juan Goytisolo had drawn between Bosnian Muslims and Spanish Muslims during the Inquisition. It is important to notice that Goytisolo’s comparison did not provoke any debate on the possible comparability of the two events. Yet, the historical specificity of the two compared events would definitely make anybody defend their historical uniqueness rather than their similarities. A missing discussion of Goytisolo’s comparison drawing on a rather *longue durée* of Spanish history, is the first void in this short debate. Secondly, opposite to a void, the debate actually entails an extension of the comparative mode. Each article contains a short series of other geographies that are in one way or another connected to the first compared geographies of Bosnia and Spain. Jackson mentions in one phrase India, Pakistan, Iraq, the former Soviet republics, African and Eastern European countries. Ayala, although more carefully since his argument resides in historical specificity, does project links to other countries of the former Soviet “empire” and Iraq. Luis Goytisolo wonders why instead of Sarajevo, we do not make an effort to turn Moscow, Mogadishu, Khartoum or Phnom Penh into the new cultural capitals: ‘Why does nobody care about the Kurds in Turkey or in Iraq? What positive things do we see in Yeltsin that we did not see in Pinochet’ (L. Goytisolo 1993)? With all these questions, Luis Goytisolo evokes a string of parallels between the different humanitarian disasters of the late twentieth century while he diffracts the initial comparison onto those conflicts that are excluded from the enumeration.

Strikingly, while the comparison between the Spanish Civil War and the war in Bosnia is explicitly being discussed, other parallels concerning Spanish history are left out, and long strings of less developed parallels are inserted. Besides, this is the only instance in which the comparisons found throughout the wars in former Yugoslavia in the Spanish press are actually being discussed. To be sure, Goytisolo’s short articles, published together as *Cuaderno de Sarajevo* (Sarajevo Notebook) (1993a) did also re-

ceive some critical remarks within academic circles.⁸⁵ Most notably, Alison Ribeiro de Menezes has questioned Goytisolo's efforts as a committed war journalist. She warns us against the controversial nature of historical comparisons of this kind, while referring to the equating of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia with the Holocaust, and the comparison between the sieges of Sarajevo and Madrid, the latter a highly emotive assumption, especially for the Spanish reader (Ribeiro de Menezes 2005, 139; Ribeiro de Menezes 2006, 224). Ribeiro de Menezes describes Goytisolo's comparisons between Bosnia and Spain as far from satisfactory. For instance, she considers that Goytisolo's attempt 'to engage his Spanish reader emotionally' in the Sarajevo conflict by an interview by David Kamhi, a member of the Sephardic community of Sarajevo, is rather 'mischievous' and 'overdone,' since those families had been expelled from the peninsula in 1492 and had later settled in Sarajevo in 1551 (Ribeiro de Menezes 2006, 226; Ribeiro de Menezes 2005, 139). However, again, her criticism concerns mainly those comparisons between Bosnia and other traumatic events of the Twentieth century.

As we have seen in the previous section, we can distinguish certain "tropes" or narrative "frames" which link the recent wars in former Yugoslavia to the Spanish context. Most notably, Goytisolo picks up several of these "tropes" in his *Cuaderno de Sarajevo* and in his novel *El sitio de los sitios* (State of Siege) (1995), published three years later. In all of these instances, the comparison certainly serves to engage home audiences with distant events. Interestingly, when a critique is raised however, it is almost solely directed towards those comparisons that revisit events that are closest to the position of the reader, both in space and in time. Indeed, following Assmann, those experiences that are closer to the realms of "communicative memory" than "cultural memory" seem to have a stronger claim on uniqueness. It is in these cases that critics point at the existing historical differences and hence at the failing logic of the comparison. Proximity as one of the underlying reasons for the controversies, underlines the "boomerang effect" or backlash of the comparison. The main purpose of the comparison is clearly to urge a (compassionate) stance from the readers in the present, while as a secondary effect a specific narrative about Spanish national history is pushed to the fore. These two frames might not fit everyone's imagination, especially those for whom taking a side in the past of the Spanish Civil War might be more controversial than taking a side in the ongoing wars in former Yugoslavia. It is here then, that the memories of the Spanish Civil War,

⁸⁵ From August 23 to August 31, 1993, Juan Goytisolo published nine articles in *El País* on his experiences in Sarajevo in the summer of 1993 (J. Goytisolo 1993c; J. Goytisolo 1993d; J. Goytisolo 1993e; J. Goytisolo 1993f; J. Goytisolo 1993g; J. Goytisolo 1993h; J. Goytisolo 1993i; J. Goytisolo 1993j; J. Goytisolo 1993k). In December 1993, these articles were published together with an epilogue containing three additional pieces as the *Cuaderno de Sarajevo* (Sarajevo Notebook) (J. Goytisolo 1993a) The first piece of the epilogue is a reedition of 'Sarajevo 1993' (J. Goytisolo 1993b).

narrated as a fratricidal war in which everybody was equally culpable and marked by political and social taboos, seem to cause controversy.

From attachment to affect: Juan Goytisolo

Memory is not headlined as the main theme of *Cuaderno de Sarajevo*, as Goytisolo narrates the very urgent present moment of the Bosnian wars. In his other works, however, memory does feature as a very important theme, mostly related to questions of identity construction from a militant anti-Francoist position and his commitment to the Arab world.⁸⁶ But here, the narrator stumbles upon the infinite repetition of history in the present. His main goal is to analyze and meditate on the ongoing atrocities. *Cuaderno de Sarajevo* takes the form of a kind of diary; its first part presents the direct witnessing of atrocities in nine pieces – accounts which had previously appeared in the Spanish newspaper *El País*, prior to the publication of the book. The second part consists of three additional essays that compare episodes of Spanish history to the situation of the present moment in former Yugoslavia. Nonetheless, from the very beginning, Goytisolo does not choose to present himself as an objective reporter, but rather as an “attached journalist” or a “moral witness” explicitly taking a side in the conflict. As such, *Cuaderno* displays a constant meditation on proximity and distance. Who is watching? Who is experiencing? Why does this war concern us? These are the questions that Goytisolo tries to answer in his essays.

Tellingly, Goytisolo starts his opening essay with a severe critique of war tourism, when he speculates on the motives of his fellow passengers for traveling to Split, and he provides us with a list of possible horrors that could be “observed” in the Balkans, as if he was their tourist guide.⁸⁷ But even if part of his fellow travelers were tourists who were gradually returning to the beaches and hotels of the Dalmatian coast, the author asks, how they could possibly ignore what was happening just 100 kilometers away. In a note in the margin we learn that the Muslim refugees were actually expelled from the hotels of the Dalmatian coast and deported to desert islands, as their presence would keep the tourists away (J. Goytisolo 1993a, 17). Here, the first analogy is established: the narrator pictures the scene of the French ignoring the circumstances of the Spanish Republican refugees in the French concentration camp of Argelès in 1939, where living

⁸⁶ As I mentioned in the introduction, Juan Goytisolo belongs to a generation that was born in the 1930s and in his case his voice is that of a militant anti-Francoist who voluntarily chose for a life in exile (in Morocco) while Spain and the demythification of the Francoist project remains the center of his narrative exploration.

⁸⁷ Note the parallelism with Alfonso Rojo’s article ‘Vacaciones en la guerra’ (1991b), an ironic travel special for “exciting holidays,” published exactly two years earlier.

conditions were atrocious and many prisoners died of disease. As such, already in his very first essay, it is clear that Goytisolo's framework does not only include the violence of the present moment in former Yugoslavia but also references to Spain's own collective memory of war. Yet, from the perspective of the entanglement of the two different conflicts (Bosnia and the Spanish Civil War), he criticizes the position the contemporary individual adopts when faced with reality. For him, it is the emotive distance of the spectator which alienates the individual from reality (Moreiras Menor 2002, 169–170).

Notably, references to the Second World War and the Holocaust are more abundant than references to the Spanish Civil War. Words such as “extermination,” Sarajevo as a “concentration camp” with invisible barbed wire, Hitler, Goebbels, or Auschwitz comprise the frequent but also ephemeral comparisons we find throughout the pages of *Cuaderno*. Spain, however, also recurrently appears as a frame, such as for instance through the comparison between Sarajevo and the besieged Madrid, the concentration camps on the beaches of Argelès, the poetry of Antonio Machado (which Goytisolo reads during his stay in Sarajevo), the pact of non-intervention on the one hand and on the other hand the overwhelming worldwide consciousness in support of the Spanish Republic. Moreover, these comparisons, although less frequent, are more developed on several occasions. Of concern to the author is not only the depiction and the condemnation of the horrors of war, but rather the implication of the (international) witness. The big question Goytisolo posits in his closing essay is, ‘Where are Hemingway, Dos Passos, Koestler, Simone Weil, Auden, Spender, Paz, who did not hesitate to commit themselves and even fight, like Malraux and Orwell, alongside the attacked and helpless people’ (J. Goytisolo 1993a, 98).⁸⁸ On the one hand, Goytisolo positions himself critically within the paralyzing fascination of the present towards ethnic violence and, on the other hand, he relates to similar situations from other periods and places in order to defend or demand a more compassionate stance. His focus thus remains on the present whereas past events are seen through this presentist lens.

Interestingly, one of the most developed comparisons comprises a parallelism more distant in time. It appears in the fifth essay, entitled “El memoricidio” (The “Memoricide”), which describes the destruction of the main library in Sarajevo and the eradication of the collective memory of Bosnian Muslims with it. Goytisolo compares the destruction of the mainly Arab, Turkish and Persian manuscripts with the burning of Arab manuscripts at Bibarrambla gate in Granada, as ordered by cardinal Cisneros in 1492. Here he compares “ethnic cleansing” (*limpieza étnica*) with the “cleansing of

⁸⁸ ‘¿Dónde están los Hemingway, Dos Passos, Koestler, Simone Weil, Auden, Spender, Paz, que no vacilaron en comprometerse e incluso combatir, como Malraux y Orwell, al lado del pueblo agredido e inerme?’

blood” (limpieza de sangre) during the Spanish Inquisition. It is by means of an interview with David Kamhi, a member of the Sarajevo Sephardic community that these two different moments and places in history are united. Kamhi speaks perfect Spanish and ‘has the look of a real Spanish village casino customer’ (J. Goytisolo 1993a, 59).⁸⁹ Kamhi’s personal memory enables us to understand the various historical events which Goytisolo “quotes” throughout his essays as overlapping or entangled collective memories, as he identifies himself as being Bosnian, Jew and Spanish: ‘I am Bosnian, I am Jewish and I am Spanish’ (J. Goytisolo 1993a, 60).⁹⁰

Notoriously, David Kamhi proves to be an attractive character to the Spanish press. We have already heard of the violinist David Kamhi before, when interviewed by Alfonso Armada, as he was invited to attend the 500 years commemoration of 1492 (Armada 1992). He also features in Sergio Sanchez’s article, in which Kamhi returns to Spain (Sefarad) as a Sarajevo refugee on August 31 1993, just after his interview with Goytisolo (Sanchez 1993). Through the staging of Kamhi, we can appreciate how Goytisolo actually slips from an instrumental mode, using the past to evoke a stance in the present, to the mythic mode in which Kamhi is presented as a mythic and emotional figure through which Goytisolo judges Spain’s relation with its history of intolerance rather than condemning the war in Bosnia.

Kamhi is a person who embodies different stories, which are recalled when witnessing the catastrophe unfolding in Sarajevo. It is important to notice that Kamhi’s identity is truly transnational and encompasses Bosnian, Jewish and Spanish collective memories. That is, Kamhi is the embodiment of the transnational, both in his contemporary position as a refugee and through his family genealogy of exile. As such, transnational histories of intolerance are incorporated in this character. Moreover, Goytisolo underlines Kamhi’s bodily re-enactment of Spanish culture: he looks like someone from a Spanish village and he speaks perfect Spanish. Similarly, in the way Kamhi incorporates different layers of the histories of intolerance, Sarajevo is the embodiment of history itself, as history is depicted as a series of repetitions, ‘a never-ending and weary *Bolero* from Ravel’ (J. Goytisolo 1993a, 86).⁹¹

Goytisolo’s essays display a particular interest in the body inscribed with the ongoing horrors in Sarajevo. At the same time, the body is a screen for an empathic and mimetic projection on Sarajevo as a city. That is, bodily states and experiences or bodily attributes are used to understand the cityscape (see Connerton 2011). Goytisolo’s description of former Yugoslavia is filled with corpses, mass graves, rapes and slaughter,

⁸⁹ ‘tiene todo el aspecto del cliente de un casino de pueblo español’

⁹⁰ ‘Yo soy bosnio, soy judío y soy español’

⁹¹ ‘un inacabable y cansino *Bolero* de Ravel’

and echoes (in written form) Goya's *Disasters of War*, especially when concerning the opening essay. Ribeiro de Menezes already remarked that the description of the city of Sarajevo itself, 'is all too human - a wounded body, crumbling and decaying whilst the so-called civilized world looks on' (Ribeiro de Menezes 2006, 227). In his second essay, "En la ratonera" (In the mousetrap), Goytisoló depicts the city as a 'devastated area, full of wounds, mutilations, viscera, still festering sores, overwhelming scars';⁹² a city, that at first hand looks phantasmagoric, 'a disjointed skeleton or a corps without life' (J. Goytisoló 1993a, 24–25).⁹³ Arguably, the bodily connection to the memoryscape portrays Goytisoló's affective relation to the city.

The reactions to these highly emotive depictions are twofold. Cristina Moreiras, for instance, reads *Cuaderno* as a 'traumatic space, a secondary scene that enables the actualization or the resurgence of a scene that precedes it, and which return is remembered from a temporal dislocation that transforms the preceding scene in a contemporary one' (Moreiras Menor 2002, 170). Ribeiro de Menezes, on the other hand, understands these passages as a reinforcement of the purpose of the book: the *Cuaderno* 'should "wound" its readers, exploding like an incendiary device in their hearts and souls and moving them to ethical action' (Ribeiro de Menezes 2005, 137). The latter is indeed the effect upon those who visit Sarajevo, and hence the author himself. Goytisoló concludes his closing essay "Adiós a Sarajevo" (Goodbye to Sarajevo), admitting that nobody can leave the hell of Sarajevo without scars, having a direct effect on one's heart and 'probably on the whole body of those who witness [the city]' (J. Goytisoló 1993a, 106). In this description again however, we read that Goytisoló's relation to Sarajevo as a witness goes beyond the contentious parameters of attachment.

The depiction of Sarajevo as a mutilated body, enables us to understand the affect produced in the narrator as mimetic and bodily (his heart and his body are affected) in the way we understand the affective power of the mutilated body (see Verdery 1999, 33). Indeed, Goytisoló presents himself as a witness, even with a slight negative connotation: is he not one of those adventurers going to the Balkans expecting horrific scenes? Yet, his conclusion conveys that his ethical framework goes beyond culturally established "zones of moral security": the affective relation to the mutilated cityscape changed him, as it would change anybody. As such, a close reading of the *Cuaderno* does indeed show the text as a device that should "wound" its readers, as Ribeiro de Menezes has previously articulated.

⁹² 'Pero la ciudad que contemplo no es sino un espacio devastado, lleno de heridas, mutilaciones, vísceras, llagas aún supurantes, sobrecogedoras cicatrices.'

⁹³ '(...) una ciudad fantasma, esqueleto descoyuntado o cuerpo sin vida.'

All the same, Cristina Moreiras' reading is no less truthful. Being a witness to the horror in Sarajevo indeed activates, somewhat unwillingly, Goytisolo's memories of the Spanish Civil War. 'The comparison to our civil war and the siege and bombardment of Madrid is *imposed* as an unavoidable reality' (J. Goytisolo 1993a, 97 italics are mine),⁹⁴ he writes. From Goytisolo's perspective, Sarajevo is not just *like* the other scenes of war, yet Sarajevo is the repetition of these scenes, he writes for instance, 'Almost five centuries after the burning of Arab manuscripts at the Grenadine gate of Bibarrambla, ordered by cardinal Cisneros, the episode *was repeated* on a bigger scale during the commemorations of the Quincentenary'⁹⁵ (J. Goytisolo 1993a, 56 italics are mine). These phrases have an accusing tone not only in relation to the present, but also towards (the lack of) memory politics in contemporary Spain.

The comparisons Goytisolo suggests in *Cuaderno de Sarajevo* are similar to those we have found to be the subject of many other opinion articles. Yet, attached journalists, such as Alfonso Rojo from *El Mundo*, mainly draw comparisons that are based on the "likeness" of the two events. As such, militiamen are dressed up just *like* the militia from the Spanish Civil War (Rojo 1991b). For Julio Fuentes watching the Croatian countryside is *like* watching a Spanish rural picture (Fuentes 1991b). And ultimately, the camps in Omarska or Trnopolje are just like Treblinka or Auschwitz. The already known – the Spanish Civil War, the Holocaust – creates the background to understand or even picture the ongoing wars in former Yugoslavia. Collective memory is instrumentalized to understand the present. However, Goytisolo goes further. As Cristina Moreiras emphasizes, in *Cuaderno* 'Sarajevo is the return of the phantoms of the past, Sarajevo is the horror of the Inquisition and the resurrection of fascism' (Moreiras Menor 2002, 170). Goytisolo envisions history as a series of musical repetitions through a musical piece as highly affective as Ravel's *Bolero* (inspired by a Spanish dance) with its obsessive rhythmic base and its slowly growing crescendo. In this view, Sarajevo is conceived as the embodiment and culmination of other conflicts, all of them deeply entangled. Thus, rather than the complete identification between the Spanish Civil War and Sarajevo Moreiras presents, the text presents a series of metonymic associations haunted by their absent referent, the figure of speech that seems to work so well in transnational memories.

⁹⁴ 'A poco de llegar a Sarajevo, al Sarajevo asediado y convertido en un campo de concentración de invisibles alambradas, la comparación con nuestra guerra civil y el cerco y bombardeo de Madrid se impone como una realidad insoslayable.'

⁹⁵ 'Casi cinco siglos después de la quema de manuscritos árabigos en la granadina puerta de Bibarrambla decretada por el cardinal Cisneros, el episodio se repitió en mayor escala durante las conmemoraciones del Quinto Centenario.'

In my reading, Goytisolo's memory of the Spanish Civil War and the related context of cultural memory, the mostly absent referent of the metonymic associations, returns to the fore through the workings of affect. Goytisolo returns to his personal memory repertoire to make sense of the intensity of his experience in Sarajevo. Cultural memory in these cases should be understood as embodied practices or embodied knowledge, involving both mental and bodily processes, both "postmemory" and "lived memory" ingrained in the body.⁹⁶ As Evelyn Tribble and John Sutton underscore in their article on the intrinsically anachronistic nature of memory and cognition, 'remembering, imagining, feeling, and acting are not always in practice distinct: in its content and flavour, the memory of a particular experience is often laced or shot through with perspectives and emotions from other or later sources' (Tribble and Sutton 2012, 589). Goytisolo's text unfolds itself as an "affective map" for Spanish readers: 'a carefully prepared aesthetic experience, connected up to collective, historical processes and events' (Flatley 2008, 84). Rather than an attached journalist, I argue that Goytisolo presented himself as an affected journalist.

In the understanding how affect works in the text, we can also acknowledge the particular position and appeal of David Kamhi. As I have argued before, Kamhi is the personification, or embodiment of the intersecting histories that the narrator imagines, feels or remembers. Kamhi somehow "proves" through his family genealogy that these are not just imaginary, but realities in the present. Yet, again here we can appreciate the workings of the backlash, as the present pasts of Kamhi's bloodline point painfully towards the negligent way in which Spain is celebrating its "arrival in the present" with the 500th anniversary of 1492. Cristina Moreiras reads the *Cuaderno* as a text that accuses the oblivious Spanish presentist politics, in which its direct roots in the civil war and the consequent transformation of all Spaniards into "sons of Franco" are categorically denied (Moreiras Menor 2002, 167). According to her, Spanish society is built on the silences concerning the immediate past. These silences led to the "annus mirabilis" of 1992, celebrating the Spain of the Reconquista and of Columbus (a myth that was highly regarded in the Francoist nationalist ideology) whereas the history of the Spanish Civil War remains a political taboo-topic. Kamhi exemplifies this scar, these painful silences and inability to recognize the dark sides of Spanish history. The distant view of the tourist, the modern spectator that Goytisolo criticized in his first essay, is an idea that is not only applicable geographically, but, when understood as a chronological

⁹⁶ Both Paul Connerton (1989) and more recently Yael Navaro-Yashin (2009) argue that we should see embodied memory and affect not as something distinct from subjectivity and language, yet as necessarily interconnected. In the same way Karen Barad (2007) talks about material-discursive practices that involve both language and material.

separation, the modern indifferent witness to the uncomfortable histories of intolerance and hatred can be also understood from the same perspective. Goytisolo's aim, then, was not to shock the readers *out* of their indifference by showing that "one of them," a Sephardic Jew who defines himself as Spanish, was also suffering from the terrible events in Sarajevo. It was rather to accuse the readers *of* their indifference.

The relation to Bosnia is further developed in Goytisolo's later novel *El sitio de los sitios*. Not surprisingly, since the literary mode allows the development of a more complex affective and emotional map through the use of more abstract language and the development of the emotional life of the characters. The turn towards making these affective relations more explicit allows us to understand how the Spanish framing of the wars in former Yugoslavia through the prism of cultural memory actually worked as a backlash or boomerang. The explicit awareness of one's own position and with that of one's own emotional and affective involvement or attachment in the conflict, is necessary to appreciate the productive and performative qualities of these comparative trends.

In *El sitio de los sitios* (J. Goytisolo 1995) Goytisolo's comparisons to Spanish history convincingly achieve a higher purpose than the suggested "moral incendiary device," notwithstanding the significant echoes of *Cuaderno de Sarajevo's* essays. The echoes comprise the various comparisons to the Spanish Civil War, the Inquisition, the reappearance of the character of David Kamhi as "D.K.," the depiction of the cityscape as a mutilated body, but also the criticism of the politics of non-intervention and the distant tourist gaze. Yet, the complex literary form of the novel, being somewhere between a travel novel, a detective story and a memory narrative, is able to add deeper meaning to this Spanish and comparative framework.

El sitio relates the arrival and violent death in Sarajevo of "J.G.," the author of a collection of homosexual love poetry, and the later disappearance of his body. These events are investigated by a Spanish commanding officer stationed in Sarajevo as part of the Peacekeeping Forces. However, in the second part of the novel, we learn that the initials "J.G." and the collection of poetry entitled "Sotadic Zone" actually correspond to a manuscript dating back from 1936, which is being passed over to a Sarajevan Hispanist during a visit to Barcelona. We now learn that the receptionist of the hotel was involved in the disappearance of the dead body. He took the visitor, who was killed in his room just upon arrival to be Ben Sidi Abú Al Fadaíl, the reincarnation or initiatory extension of a certain Ben Sidi Abú Al Fadaíl who is a presumed saint in the esoteric doctrines of Ibn Arabi and Mawlana. These esoteric doctrines were the subject of the receptionist's doctoral studies before the siege. The receptionist wants to safeguard the manuscript

that he found in “J.G.”/Ben Sidi’s room after his death for himself, now that all other similar texts together with his own research notes have disappeared after the burning of the Sarajevan library. To do so, the receptionist buries the body secretly and leaves the 1936 Spanish manuscript signed with the initials J.G. in the room instead, together with some of the writings of his friend, the Sarajevan Hispanist. In the end, the textual and fictional labyrinth set up by the receptionist and the Hispanist causes the psychic regression of the Spanish commanding officer, who, through the reading of the poems from “J.G.” together with the contemporary tales about the siege of Sarajevo, returns to episodes of his childhood and to family scenes that he thought were buried (J. Goytisolo 1995, 167).

Yet, this explanation about the mystery surrounding the disappearance of “J.G.”/Ben Sidi Abú Al Fadaíl does not offer any answer to the question marks surrounding the authorship of the different texts involved in the labyrinth. The novel builds layer after layer of uncertainty, which, in the end is not resolved. As an appendix, we find the integral texts of the two manuscripts included in the last pages of *El sitio*: in the appendix the complete series of love poems are attributed to the commanding officer’s uncle Eusebio, who was confined in a mental institution during the Spanish Civil War, while the series of mystical poems drawing on Spanish Christian and Islamic Sufi traditions are included without any specific attribution. The narrative plot presents itself as a trap, in which the reader finds himself constantly surrounded by a new narrative circle. Goytisolo explains in an interview that, with this structure, he wanted to submit the reader to the experience of siege, of being unable to escape (Conte 2009, 135).

It is important to notice that throughout the novel different characters unfold as multiple characters. As such the, at first sight autobiographic, character of “J.G.” becomes Ben Sidi Abú Al Fadaíl in the second part of the novel and Eusebio, a poet Spanish Civil War poet, in the third part. Ben Sidi Abú Al Fadaíl himself is a “double,” possibly a reincarnation or initiatory extension of the other Ben Sidi Abú Al Fadaíl. But the cityscape, too, unfolds itself into other cityscapes. Whereas the reality of Sarajevo is presented as a repetition of the siege of Madrid, at the same time the siege is moved to the second Arrondissement of a Paris under siege, an indirect reference to the Paris Commune of 1871. As such, both the characters in the novel as well as the space of siege seem to be part of the iterative diffracted (re)configurations, all of them entangled with the past and the future (Barad 2007).

The two poems that are central to the novel are also entangled entities. The homoerotic and carnal poetry collection entitled “Sotadic Zone,” written by “J.G.”/Eusebio contains various mystic references, while the mystic “Astrolabio” literally refers back to the previous poem. As David Conte sums up, ‘each text contemplates its prolongation

and branching in the reflection of the other' (Conte 2009, 121). While the erotic and the mystical, or body and spirit, can at first glance be understood as two opposites, the intersection of both collections allows us to read the interconnection between the bodily erotic experience as a step to reach the mystical experience of a harmonious whole. Moreover, we can see this type of dialectic between unity and its unfolding in separate elements throughout the whole novel. As such, the novel presents various series of binaries, which, at the same time are presented as part of a whole: the material and the immaterial, the body and the disappeared, the library in ruins and the reappearance of questionable manuscripts, and, reality and fiction. At the same time, the logic of the detective is that of a centrifugal or spiral structure around the displaced nucleus of the poetry collections, in which a new layer is imposed over another every time, as in a palimpsest. These structures also reveal the way in which the different geographies and temporalities that constitute the transnational setting of the text are connected. That is, as I will demonstrate, the different geographies and time frames which appear in the novel, are simultaneously presented as unique in their unfolding, while they are simultaneously recognized as part of a deeply interconnected universe created by the history of hatred and violence (Silverman 2013, 179).

Conte offers three readings of the final poem "Astrolabio," of which one is based on the "poetry of ruins," inspired by the work of Walter Benjamin and the Spanish philosopher Reyes Mate's reading of Benjamin (Mate 1997). As such, Conte recognizes Goytiso's concern for oppressed and marginal territories and his search for truth in the ruins and dispossessions of history (Conte 2009, 130). According to Conte, the mysticism of "Astrolabio" lies in the promise of the ruins of history as a means of redemption and the possibility of the resurrection of the dead bodies. In what follows, I will use the "poetry of ruins" as a way to read the whole of the present novel. Following Walter Benjamin (1998), and the Benjaminian interpretation of the ruin by Yael Navaro-Yashin (2009), I will argue that the emotional and affective world surrounding the ruin is an important key to understanding the way in which past and present, distance and proximity, are tied together in the text.

Yael Navaro-Yashin eloquently describes the ruin as a space that is vertical and horizontal, rhizome and root, at the same time.

'A ruin is rhizomatic in the sense that it grows in uncontrollable and unforeseen ways. For example, a village mudhouse abandoned during the war slowly loses its painted surface over the years, through rain and wind and lack of maintenance. The objects inside the house are looted, its windows and windowsills, its doors are removed to be used elsewhere. A ruin is further ruined through time if it is

not used, assumed, or inhabited. Therefore, we could say that a ruin is rhizomatic, in some senses. But a ruin is also about roots, because it is sited as a 'trace' of a historical event, it is remembered, it is kept, lamented, and cherished in the memory of those who left it behind, it is sited and noticed by those who uncannily live in it or in its vicinity, it leaves marks in the unconscious' (Navaro-Yashin 2009, 14).

With this reading, Navaro-Yashin reads against the grain of the current "affective turn," while appreciating both the material and the discursive realities of the world. As I have mentioned before, for Navaro-Yashin affect is both located in the objects as well as in the subjective minds: the objects do not affect people whenever they can or want, people need to have particular kinds of knowledge for this to happen. Navaro-Yashin's reading emerges importantly from Benjamin's concept of the ruin as a meditation on ambivalence, placed between degradation and edification, and as an allegory for thinking itself. Simultaneously, Benjamin recognizes the shocking power of ruins, giving an insight into vanishing materiality.

In the text, we encounter various ruined spaces, both real and fictional. Importantly, Sarajevo is presented both as a ruined city and as a mutilated body. Throughout the novel, Sarajevo is superimposed on images of other ruined cities such as Madrid or Paris. Simultaneously, the bodily description of the disappeared Sarajevo as a peaceful and multicultural city allows the function of the ruined city to be enlaced by the disappearance of "J.G." / Ben Sidi Abú Al Fadaíl and the disappearance of Eusebio.

What is more, in this literary text, we can read the ruins of the Sarajevan library as a specific chronotope of transcultural memory; that is, following Bakhtin, a place in the novel that becomes a metaphor for the intrinsic connectedness of space and time (Morris 1994). As such, the burned Sarajevan library symbolizes a lost paradise where different cultures and languages were coexisting peacefully together. The community of polyglot philologist, of which the receptionist and the Hispanist are members, became a community of exiles. Moreover, after the library has burnt down, D.K. (David Kamhi) tells the receptionist: 'You know now, alas, in your own flesh, what fell to our lot to live when we took refuge here, bringing with us the *Haggadah*. Now dispossession and misfortune have made us equals' (J. Goytisolo 2002, 83).⁹⁷ The Sarajevo *Haggadah* is one of the oldest Sephardic illuminated manuscripts, which contains the text of the Passover *Haggadah* and which is believed to be taken out of Spain by the expelled Sephardic Jews.

⁹⁷ 'ya conocen, por desgracia, en su propia carne lo que nos cupo vivir cuando nos refugiamos aquí con el tesoro del *Haggadah*. Ahora somos iguales en la desposesión y desgracia' (J. Goytisolo 1995, 112).

In a way, through D.K., the lost paradise of the multicultural Sefarad is superimposed on the burned Sarajevan library.

The traces of the ruins in this narrative are specific surviving manuscripts from the past. Together, the bodies and the cityscapes function as ruined, mutilated or disappeared materialities, which have left nothing but traces of the ruin. The main characters in the novel, the Spanish commanding officer, the receptionist, the Hispanist and D.K. are the characters who live in this ruined world and who will have to make sense out of the traces. That is, the poetry collections “Sotadic Zone” and “Astrolabio,” and, in the background, the Jewish Haggadah as well, are presented as traces of a long-gone past. Ultimately then, this novel is about how to make sense out of the ruins of history and, in a more mystic sense, how to recreate a sense of unity and meaning in face of the horrors of history.

The epicenter of the narration is the death and disappearance of the presumed “J.G.” because his death and disappearance allow for the mystical manuscript to appear and to be recognized by the receptionist. As a secondary effect, his death also allows for the recirculation of “J.G.”’s 1936 love poems. Ultimately, the traces do reconstitute unity up to a certain point. The mystic manuscript gets the receptionist back in touch with his studies, after the disastrous burning of the Sarajevan library together with all his notes. The love poems by “J.G.” enable the return of the repressed childhood memories of the commanding officer and awake in him the necessity to take a stance in the ongoing siege of Sarajevo. Thus, the death and disappearance of “J.G.”/Ben Sidi enable the rediscovery of the past.

Indeed, the key to understanding the novel as a whole, and with that, its displaced transnational setting, is the texts of the poems included in the appendix of the novel as traces of history. Yet, perhaps equally important in understanding the layered structure and the transnational setting of the novel, is reading into the way in which the different characters interpret and relate to these traces left in the ruined space of the presence. These characters, rather than offering us a meaningful reading of the confusing texts, display highly emotional and sometimes bodily affective reactions to the traces of history.

The opening scene of the novel, in which the presumed “J.G.” witnesses the killing of a lady on the street by a sniper, is narrated in an extremely affective way. That is, “J.G.” experiences the death of this woman through an intense and physical identification. First, when he looks through a small peephole in the closed window, he becomes only eye, completely losing the ability to notice the separate existence of his own body. Yet, right after that, he describes the way he directly experiences the heartbeat of the woman while he is sweating immensely despite the cold Sarajevan winter. ‘How to help her from his cell, a powerless Cyclops, reduced to a single widowed eye, consumed by an-

guity' (J. Goytisolo 2002, 14)?⁹⁸ His affective reaction to her death is described as a direct bodily experience that enables him to bridge the distance between her and him. When he feels her heartbeat, their bodies are experienced as one. In a similar way, the collection of poems affect the commanding officer to such an extent that has to be taken to a mental hospital. In the five reports written by the commanding officer and his final "open letter," we read his successive emotional immersion into the manuscript left behind by the supposed "J.G.." In his fifth report he describes how the reading of the writings about the siege that make reference to a fictional commanding officer completely paralyzes him, while the reading of "Sotadic Zone" 'inflames' him and 'sets [him] afire' (J. Goytisolo 2002, 72).⁹⁹ In his open letter, the commanding officer writes down how his reading of the poems culminated in his incarceration in a psychiatric institution, and more interesting, how the reading allowed him to uncover the ruins of his country:

"The ruins of a country and a home that were victims of a bloody fratricidal war are now in full view: the eloquent, accusatory wounds, not yet healed over' (J. Goytisolo 2002, 125).¹⁰⁰

Finally, the receptionists' reaction upon the recognition of the manuscript by Ben Sidi Abú Al Fadaíl oscillates between an emotional cognitive excitement and a physical "thrill." When he first detects the name of Ben Sidi on the manuscript and recognizes the words of the poems, his hands shake and with "a lightning flash of blinding revelation,"¹⁰¹ he recognized Ben Sidi's sainthood (J. Goytisolo 2002, 86).

Although the death and disappearance of "J.G.)/Ben Sidi Abú Al Fadaíl is certainly the precondition for the narration, it is the emotional and affective world of the main characters that enable the multiple identifications and super-inscriptions that appear in the text. Interestingly, particularly the more abstract poetic language of "Sotadic Zone" and "Astrolabio" enables the affective reaction in its readers. Indeed, according to Ernst van Alphen, it is specifically the abstract language of poetry that arouses affect in the reader (Van Alphen 2008). However, their relation to the poems is also narrative and cognitive, as it enables them to finally reconstruct that what seemed lost: the "repressed" or excluded memories of the civil war and a manuscript lost in the burning of the Sara-

⁹⁸ 'Cómo auxiliarla desde su celda, ciclope inerme, viudo de un ojo, consumido de angustia' (J. Goytisolo 1995, 17)?

⁹⁹ 'Llevo horas enfrascado enfrascado en ellas: su lectura me incendia y abrasa' (J. Goytisolo 1995, 97).

¹⁰⁰ '[el comandante] h[a] vivido en un estado de regresión, de retorno seminal a episodios de la infancia y escenas de familia que creía sepultados. (...) Las ruinas de un país y un hogar víctimas de una guerra fratricida y sangrienta están ahora a la vista: heridas elocuentes, acusadoras, todavía sin cicatrizar' (J. Goytisolo 1995, 167).

¹⁰¹ The Spanish text uses the words "de un ramalazo," which can refer to a sharp and sudden pain in a part of the body (J. Goytisolo 1995, 116).

jevan library. We could say that through the reencounter with these traces unity is re-established. What is more, through the re-inscription and re-circulation of the manuscripts, the “lost” memories are inscribed in the reality of the siege of Sarajevo as a palimpsest. As Navaro-Yashin suggests, people need particular kinds of knowledge for affect to take place. Only the commanding officer and the receptionist could be affected in the way they were. In both cases, the affective reaction produces a kind of boomerang effect that returns the reader to a past that he thought was lost forever.

To make sense of this display of emotional and affective identifications, we should however identify a third “reader” in the text, next to the commanding officer and the receptionist as the principle readers of the manuscripts. D.K. appears several times in the text both as the reader of the “Three Dreams,” erroneously sent to him by post, and most importantly, as the reader of the Haggadah. As we have seen in *Cuaderno*, I argue that here again, D.K. places the narrative plot in the vast historical perspective of the diaspora of the Sephardic Jews after 1492. D.K. explains how he has a particular privileged position above everyone else:

‘While the horrors of war and ethnic cleansing had taken them by surprise, my brothers and I are experiencing once again the hardships that go back centuries: diasporas, forced conversions, autos-da-fe, stigmata of infamy, the work of a clergy hardened by the battle against the Moors and a populace of simon-pure blood whose hatred of learning and letters led it to glorify illiteracy as the supreme proof of its ancestral heritage! Our expulsion and our wandering, first through Italy and then along the Dalmatian coast, eventually came to an end in this Ottoman city, hospitable haven and fertile crucible of cultures. We arrived here with our precious Haggadah, a treasure so many times banished and hidden, the symbol of our millenary faith, of our incurable nostalgia for our lost home’ (J. Goytisolo 2002, 112).¹⁰²

This experience taught him that no civilization is durable and that any kind of peaceful coexistence can collapse at any time. During the siege of Sarajevo, the Haggadah was

¹⁰² ‘Mientras los horrores de la guerra y purificación étnica les habían pillado de sorpresa, mis hermanos y yo revivimos vicitudes que se remontan a siglos: diásporas, conversiones forzadas, autos de fe, estigmas de infamia, obra de un aguerrido clero matamoros y un populacho de sangre incontaminada cuyo odio al saber y las letras le inducía a enaltecer el analfabetismo como prueba de su herencia ancestral! Nuestra expulsión y erranza, primero por Italia y luego por la costa dalmata, debían hallar un término en esta ciudad otomana, hospitalario y feraz cressol de culturas. Aquí llegamos con nuestro precioso Haggadah, tesoro tantas veces exiliado y oculto, símbolo de la fe milenaria, de la incurable nostalgia de nuestro hogar perdido’ (J. Goytisolo 1995, 150).

again miraculously saved from the destruction of the museum. When D.K. hears the good news, he claims,

‘My joy, and that of our minuscule community, defies all written expression: we weep, we offer prayers of thanksgiving, we embrace each other, we make our way from hardness of heart and meanness of spirit to the fervor of an authentic and lasting consummation’ (J. Goytisolo 2002, 113).¹⁰³

D.K.’s relation to the sacred Haggadah exemplifies the relation between the commanding officer and the poetry collection “Sotadic Zone” and that of the receptionist with the mystical text by Ben Sidi Abú Al Fadaíl, in the sense that it shows lineage and belonging and therefore precludes an emotional and affective relation. D.K.’s emotions when reunited with his sacred text are similar to that of the commanding officer and the receptionist in the recognition of their “sacred texts”: note that D.K.’s emotion ‘defies all written expression,’ with which he lets us know that such an emotion cannot be described with linguistic or narrative tools. Besides, the Haggadah is described as the symbol of the incurable nostalgia for the Sephardi’s lost home, the trace that is left after the disappearance and ruin.

Out of these three “readers” or “interpreters” in the novel, Manuel Ruiz Lagos and Alberto Manuel Ruiz Campos see the commanding officer as the reader of “Sotadic Zone” and “Prolegomena of a Siege,” a “model reader” (Ruiz Lagos and Ruiz Campos 1996, 135). Truly, as a model reader, we learn more about the commanding officer than about any other character in the novel. The commanding officer seems to be the example of the typical Spanish soldier in the UNPROFOR mission in Bosnia. As a son of a military father stationed in Morocco the commanding officer went to the General Military Academy, after which he was stationed in various places in the Iberian Peninsula. He attended specialization courses in Texas (USA), was involved as coordinator of the allied headquarters during the Gulf War and now he has been stationed as commanding officer of the Peacekeeping Forces in Sarajevo (J. Goytisolo 1995, 172). Interestingly, one of the goals of the Spanish mission in Sarajevo, was to transform the image of the Spanish army. Goytisolo, contrariwise, reminds us of the intersecting history of violence through an institution such as the army. In addition, the commanding officer is reminded of precisely that part of his family history that was censored by his militaristic and Francoist father. As a result, the commanding officer finally gets involved in the siege ethically, yet to follow his new vision it is necessary for him to leave his position in

¹⁰³ ‘Mi alegría, y la de nuestra minúscula comunidad, desafía su expresión escrita: lloramos, rezamos, nos abrazamos, pasamos de la sequedad y angostura al ardor de la auténtica y perdurable consumación’ (J. Goytisolo 1995, 151–152).

the armed forces and instead join one of the NGOs that offer humanitarian assistance. As such, we can definitely read a model in the commanding officer: the Spanish readers should recognize in the ruins of Sarajevo their own suppressed violent past and, according to this reading, it can only be through this recognition that they can act ethically in the current ongoing conflicts in Sarejevo.

I would argue however that it is impossible to see the commanding officer as a “model reader” separate from the receptionist and specialist in the tradition of Sufi mysticism, and the Sephardic D.K. as parallel “readers” in the text. As we have seen in *Cuaderno*, again here, the character of D.K. serves as a historical model which unites different experiences of loss and recovery of memory, and literally embodies the multiple layered worldview of multiplicity in unity. In the end, the rather different levels of identifications and palimpsestic inscriptions are made possible through the explicit transnational diasporic experience of firstly D.K., embodying multiple intersecting layers of Spanish and Bosnian history and, secondly, through a similar “lived experience” of wandering by the commanding officer, tying together childhood memories of Francoist Spain and a military career that knots together dictatorial practices with contemporary military involvement in Iraq and Bosnia. Michael Rothberg understands this form of metonymic associations as ‘an alternative to notions of competitive memory: the other’s history does not screen out one’s own past, but rather serves as a screen for multidirectional projections in which solidarity and self-construction merge’ (Rothberg 2009, 156). But, to repeat once more, the transnational background of these “readers” is highly important, as only they can be affected in the way they are by the transnational interconnections of history.

On the other hand, the Sarajevan receptionist as a reader of Ben Sidi Abú Al Fadaíl invites us to understand these intersecting histories on a mystical level in which a higher unknown entity rules the world. While at first the receptionist was the one who set up the “labyrinth or garden of texts” for the Spanish commanding officer, finally he has to recognize that the whole group of distinguished philologists, who are researchers, poets and writers, are actually just characters in an imposed History. Moreover, the texts that are attributed to Ben Sidi in the novel, confess the deep imbrication of the different layers.

The poems, rather than admitting the existence of a “Unique Being,” propose a series of questions about how to understand the chaotic universe of centrifugal forces, black holes and repetitions of a perennial war (Conte 2009). However, the first part of the novel includes three dreams, attributed later to Ben Sidi Abú Al Fadaíl. These dreams explicitly refer to the apparent dichotomy between diversity or chaos and unity.

In the first dream, the narrator finds himself in a place of the past where he literally lives the folding and unfolding of time and space.

‘How is it possible for me to see myself in two different rooms at once?

You’re in all the dungeons! In the ones you saw, the one you’re seeing and the ones you’re about to see’ (J. Goytisolo 2002, 22)!¹⁰⁴

As in Barad’s concept of “spacetime mattering,” literally, time and space are contracted to a singular present. Our narrator is advised to ‘abandon once and for all those burdensome concepts of time and space!’ (J. Goytisolo 2002, 29).¹⁰⁵ In the second dream, the narrator again finds himself in a ghostly room in which he is submitted to a supposed job interview, which turns out to be a test to find his Other.

‘Our work is in the field of synesthesia, bilocalization, *unfolding*, and astrology! Every human being is born at precisely the same time as his virtual enemy’ (J. Goytisolo 2002, 41 italics is my translation).¹⁰⁶

These dreams reveal the existence of a higher being who controls the unfolding of the world in time and space. At the same time they point to the intrinsic entanglements with the “Other.”

Fiction, or rather imagination, works as the key force behind this unfolding of unity in multiplicity and vice versa. On various occasions, the author underlines the power of literature. The group of Sarajevan philologists proudly claims:

‘Victims of the cruelty of history, we took vengeance on it with our histories, woven out of ambiguities, interpolated texts, fabricated events: such is the marvelous power of literature’ (J. Goytisolo 2002, 116).¹⁰⁷

In the end, their textual and fictional labyrinth causes the psychic regression of the Spanish commanding officer. The novel concludes with a “Note from the author,” in which the author confesses that he had to revert to the language of fiction to escape, and cure himself of images that were still besieging him (J. Goytisolo 1995, 183).

Through the mix of fact and fiction, the novel takes up a particular Cervantine theme in which the truth is continuously undermined (Adriaensen 2009). Both the

¹⁰⁴ ‘Cómo es posible que me vea a la vez en dos habitaciones distintas?

Está usted en todas las ergástulas! En la que ha visto, la que ve y las que verá’ (J. Goytisolo 1995, 29).

¹⁰⁵ ‘Suelte usted de una vez los cargantes conceptos de tiempo y de espacio’ (J. Goytisolo 1995, 29)!

¹⁰⁶ ‘Nuestro campo es el de la cenestesia, bilocalización, desdoblamiento y astrología! Todo ser humano nace simultáneamente con su enemigo virtual’ (J. Goytisolo 1995, 55).

¹⁰⁷ ‘Víctimas de la brutalidad de la Historia, nos vengábamos de ella con nuestras historias, tejidas de ocultaciones, textos interpolados, lances fingidos: tal es el poder mágico de la literatura’ (J. Goytisolo 1995, 155).

commanding officer and the group of philologists recognize that through the siege and their experiences they have been turned into fictional characters (J. Goytisolo 1995, 85;162). Following the Cervantine confusion between fiction and reality, critics of *El Sitio* have oriented their analysis of this text mainly towards the problem of authorship. Yet, as I have tried to elucidate above, the question is not to unravel the knot between the real and the fictional or the material and the immaterial. In Goytisolo's view, these elements are necessarily entangled through the ruins and traces of history. Moreover, Goytisolo understands the world of violence as an intersected world in which the different stories of injustice are a product of the same higher force, disentangled from the linear concepts of time and space.

The Benjaminian notion of the ruin is a place that stands in between past and present and shows traces of degradation, while at the same time it invites for its edification. In that sense, philosopher Max Pensky notes that 'the image of the ruin [functions] as the "chronotope" in Bahktin's sense, a spatio-temporal singularity which serves as a generative point for narrative construction and for the narrative work of collective memory' (Pensky 2011, 69). In Pensky's view, the ruin's plasticity can allegorize both natural and man-made disasters. In *El Sitio* we do indeed see how the ruins of the Sarajevo library enable the allegorization of other conflicts, both historical and imaginative, and in that sense it can work as a space that attracts various discourses of destruction and violence, creating the boomerang effect in the witnesses.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, the ruin stands in between the signifier and the signified, rather creating an affective or emotional thrill which triggers the process of signification. Therefore, I would say that the ruin captures the workings of multidirectional or palimpsestic memory, in the sense that, following Yashin-Navarro, it exhibits an entangled logic of the horizontal and the rhizomatic as well as the vertical (geographical) logic of the historical root.

On the other hand, as I have noted in my reading of *El Sitio*, the ruins only affect particular witnesses. In the writings of Goytisolo these witnesses are transnational, embodying different spatio-temporal logics. Their transnational trajectory allows them to read into the intersecting modes of history through the traces in the present. The past

¹⁰⁸ Note that the poetry collections also function as part of the ruined world in the sense of Navarro-Yashin (Navarro-Yashin 2009). We should appreciate both their horizontal and rhizomatic geographical spreading. For example the "Sotadic Zone," appeared in Barcelona and was past over to a Sarajevo Hispanist. Later on, the poetry collection reappears on the black market of Sarajevo in a slight different version. Especially disentangled from an authoritative claim, we can even better appreciate the reappearance and spreading of slightly different versions of one text over the world. On the other hand, in the text as a trace we also see the vertical rooting, as we can read intertextual traces throughout time. "Astrolabio" for instance, includes both references to the Spanish Sixteenth Century comedy *La Celestina* and to "Sotadic Zone." The characters however, taking nourishment from their personal and collective memory, are the ones who make sense out of these traces.

looms over the present in this reading, in which the rather uncontrolled workings of affect propel the readers back to their past, reuniting past and present into a mystical whole without completely letting go of ambivalence. The last poems from “Astrolabio” are full of questions: ‘Raw material or signs?’ The answer is up to the reader. Goytisolo’s readers are not attached to but affected by, the ruins of Sarajevo. In that sense, the past is not instrumentalized to signify a distant and different present; moreover, the present is inserted in a worldview of cultural and historical entanglement that can only be detected by characters who personally experienced these connections through their transnational genealogies.

As such, the text overcomes the binary opposition between the two events conjured up in the novel. It is not one or the other giving meaning, but the combination of the two phenomena that produces a new interpretation, a new phenomenon with its own in- and exclusions. Different than the various comparisons I have distinguished in the press which mostly perpetuate the Spanish hegemonic narrative of memory and identity, I would argue that *El sitio* productively reconfigures the boundaries of both events in order to enable a new memory constellation in which the excluded stories of the Spanish past, the expulsion of the Sephardic Jews after 1492 and the imprisonment of Eusebio, are now recognized in a new “whole.”

TRANSNATIONAL GENEALOGIES

To conclude, I would like to comment very briefly upon two other texts which also underscore the importance of transnational genealogies as a frame for transnational memory. Journalist and novelist Javier Martínez Reverte also wrote two books on the siege of Sarajevo. In 1994 he published the journalistic report *Bienvenidos al infierno* (Welcome to Hell) (1994), a story that runs almost parallel to the story of *Cuaderno de Sarajevo*, as it narrates the journey of a Spanish journalist in Sarajevo. Again, this journalistic text does evoke a specific Spanish framing, however, without losing the focus on the present. Throughout the text the other characters remind us of the narrator’s Spanish nationality with enumerated clichés such as ‘España..., Barcelona, Olympic Games, Real Madrid..., Butragueño’ (Reverte 1994, 26). Spanish history, however, is evoked only in a few instances. Fadid Gluhovic, an old man at the market, compares Sarajevo to Toledo, to the old Toledo of Muslims, Jews and Christians. Fadid also mentions the Quixotic soul of the Sarajevans: whereas the Serbians believe in race, they believe in mankind (Reverte 1994, 63). The expulsion of the Spanish Jews is evoked when describing the Sephardic community of Sarajevo (Reverte 1994, 99). Later, when in the “Young

Bosnia” museum, the narrator remembers the murals in the rooms of the Spanish fascist labor unions. How, he wonders, despite their severe antagonism, did fascism and communism become so alike (Reverte 1994, 101)? And lastly, a French sergeant of Spanish origin reminds us of the Spanish Republicans’ exile throughout the Spanish Civil War (Reverte 1994, 109).

Notably, it is in the fictionalized form of the same story, published eight years later than *La noche detenida* (The Ceased Night) (2002), that the framework that draws on Spanish collective memory activates a boomerang-like effect.¹⁰⁹ Importantly, in the novel *La noche detenida* the narrator employs his own memory as the main literary device: ‘I take my memory back to the days of Sarajevo and think of the love I left there, I think of all the war and death, and it makes me shudder to think that it was all so real’ (Reverte 2002, 13).¹¹⁰ As in the case of Goytisolo’s two publications, the novel echoes the earlier journalistic account. The main character, Miguel Chaves, travels to Bosnia as a freelance journalist mainly for the money, while at the same time he openly criticizes the superficial approach of other war journalists, who only search for horrific scenes and dead bodies with which to provide the Spanish daily press. Nevertheless, Miguel gets involved in the city’s plight through a love affair with a Sarajevan doctor, Alma Rudjan. The love story is used as a literary device to add credibility to Miguel’s involvement in the siege through emotional attachment. Alma is at first described as a heroine, especially when contrasted with the frustrated Miguel: she labors unceasingly in the hospital taking care of war victims, while she sends her family off to safety. Love and war converge, and give Miguel the opportunity to attain a deeper and more active relation to the conflict area than that of a powerless witness. On the other hand, Alma (“soul” in Spanish) gains more victim-like qualities as the love affair develops. As such, the novel produces a topical gendered view of a victim.

Whereas the love story already introduces an affective lens on the present war in Bosnia, Miguel’s search for meaning in the siege, and thus for a coherent narrative, is satisfied through the character of Adam. Adam is a Bosnian retired philosophy teacher and seems to abbreviate time, encompassing all major European conflicts in his own life experience. He fought in the Spanish Civil War with the International Brigades, with the resistance against the Nazis, in Tito’s army and ended up as a dissident in Yugoslavia, criticizing communism. He is presented as the real “hero” of the novel.¹¹¹ He evokes Spain, “nuestra heroica España” (our heroic Spain) and the siege of Madrid.

¹⁰⁹ There are no official translations of these books.

¹¹⁰ ‘Vuelvo mi memoria hacia los días de Sarajevo y pienso en el amor que allí dejé, y pienso en la guerra y en la muerte, y me estremece que todo aquello fue tan cierto.’

¹¹¹ See Alison Ribeiro de Meneses (2014) on the recent resurgence of notions of heroism in Spanish literature.

‘Who else would have created Don Quixote? Only a country of heroes. That is why their homeland belongs to us all, it is our Spain... all owing to a book and also to a war’ (Reverte 2002, 187).¹¹²

According to Adam, the Spanish Civil War was the biggest defeat of the century: ‘We are all Spain ever since then’ (Reverte 2002, 187).¹¹³

Adam’s testimony does not directly compare the two conflicts, yet, again, his personal memory serves as a focus on the present war through the historical context of the European wars fought throughout the twentieth century. Out of all the successive wars Adam had survived, the Spanish Civil War was the only one that really made sense to him; it was a war for freedom. Later, that freedom was lost forever. When juxtaposed to the Spanish Civil War, the war in former Yugoslavia is forced into the background. The meaning of the conflict in Sarajevo, the thing Miguel had been searching for all throughout the story, is to be found in a war that belongs to his own national Spanish collective memory. Sarajevo again becomes a scene of memory.

Where the officer commander in *El sitio de los sitios* discloses his repressed memory in a psychoanalytical manner, Miguel discovers parallels with his own national collective memory through an encounter with a survivor, an eyewitness of both conflicts. This opposition can be understood in the light of the time frame in which the novels were published as well as the difference in generation: *La noche detenida* was published in 2002, when the new reading of the Spanish Civil War from the victims’ perspective had already gained extensive public interest. The reading of the past through the perspective of eyewitnesses is typical in these new accounts of the Spanish Civil War. In this respect, Adam can be viewed as a topical character within the then current literary “boom” on victims of the Spanish Civil War.

When juxtaposing both Reverte’s accounts of the siege of Sarajevo, we notice his explicit search for fictionalized characters in the second account. The references in both accounts to the character of Don Quixote explicitly draw our attention to the function of the fictional character. In the journalistic report, an old man at the market mentions the Quixotic nature of the Sarajevans. In *La noche detenida* Don Quixote is compared to the heroic nature of the Spanish and the Spanish Civil War. Don Quixote is not only the first fictional character in the modern sense an anti-hero who fought a hopeless fight, he is also somebody who cannot see reality separate from fiction. That is, Reverte explicitly recognizes the fictional quality in the reality of the war in Sarajevo. Additionally, Reverte

¹¹² ‘¿Qué otro pueblo hubiera creado a Don Quijote? Sólo un país de héroes. Por eso su patria nos pertenece a todos, es nuestra España... Por un libro, y también por una guerra.’

¹¹³ ‘Todos somos España desde entonces’

clearly answers the question why one would transform reality (*Bienvenidos al infierno*) into a novel (*La noche detenida*) in his introductory "Author's Note." We need, he writes, imaginary characters in order to explain the essence of human existence in greater depth (Reverte 2002, 11). Adam, the name of the character who encompasses all these unrelated historical events, also reflects this search for the essence of humanity: it reminds us of the biblical first man, and Adam in Hebrew can also denote "human kind."¹¹⁴

Michael Rothberg underlines the inevitable dimension of imagination involved in acts of remembrance (Rothberg 2009, 19). Reverte explicitly calls upon this type of imagination in order to reach the significant core of his comparisons. The function of the character seems to be necessary in order to access the comparisons as part of a transnational memory. That is, the novel allows for an explicit description of a character and their personal memories. The focalization on the present through these individual memories allows the author to draw a coherent picture of the transnational framework of memory. I have described two important focalization points in Javier Reverte's novel that lift the entanglement between Spain and Bosnia to a higher level. The main character, Miguel, remembers the siege of Sarajevo through his love affair with a Bosnian woman, whereas Adam helps us to understand the present siege of Sarajevo through the essence of the Spanish Civil War.

In distinction to *El Sitio*, Martínez Reverte does not reflect on the traces of history or the "poetics of the ruin." It is here, in my opinion, that *El Sitio* produces an account which comes close to what Silverman calls "palimpsestic memory," with a particular focus on the material traces in the present. In that sense, Goytisolo's account does not only evoke the transnational perspective of certain characters on the present, it also testifies to the imbrication of different histories and memories on multiple levels. Transnational memory for Goytisolo is not only a perspective or lens, but also material evidence in the real world. Besides, as Brigitte Adriaensen concludes, Goytisolo's undermining of the omniscient author encourages the emancipation of the reader. With that, the novel invites the readers to signify the traces and ruins of history themselves, avoiding the imposition of a too dominant Spanish framework (Adriaensen 2007, 297).

Goytisolo and Martínez Reverte are not the only authors who stage analogies between Spain and Bosnia through the prism of the genealogy and "lived history" of their characters. In the first part of this chapter we already observed the use of crossed stories in the newspaper coverage. While the memory of the Spanish Civil War haunted the nar-

¹¹⁴ However, the essence to be found is rather superficial. Reverte's gendered perspective of heroes and victims and his black and white account of good (Muslims) and bad (Serbians) are standard clichés.

ratives on the wars in former Yugoslavia from the beginning, finally, in the figures of the veteran fighters of the International Brigades and the Sarajevo Sephardic community the reporters found characters who could embody this imagery and display the real intersections between both countries' histories. With that, transnational mnemonic affiliation is portrayed as a matter of genealogy. At the same time, the mnemonic affiliation of characters like the commanding officer or Miguel is mainly informed by affect and emotion rather than by a presumed genealogical relation.

Notably, both Goytisolo and Martínez Reverte underscore the importance of an imaginative and affective or emotional investment in the construction of transnational memory. In the end, for Goytisolo's characters it is not important to know the exact origin of the manuscripts. What is important is the way in which these manuscripts help them to connect and reconnect the scattered memories of their lives. The characters' emotional or affective relation to the traces and ruins of history underscores the authenticity of their transnational worldview. In that sense, transnational genealogies are able to condense time and space into a credible historical narrative of real itineraries. Although we have also seen references to this kind of transnational characters in the press, it seems to be the imaginative power of fiction that offers the possibility of reading into the emotional and affective lives of the characters.

In the newspaper articles I have underlined how the transnational comparison is mostly used to mark a difference. Whereas the war in former Yugoslavia is like the Spanish Civil War, a product of a deterministic inclination to fratricidal hatred, Spain has mainly overcome this inclination. The novels, on the other hand, stage transnational genealogies that embody various entanglements between the different space-time realities of the Spanish Civil War and the Yugoslav wars of dissolution. In line with Barad's understanding of the intertwinement of ethics, knowing and being (her "ethico-onto-epistem-ology"), in the novels the recognition of these entanglements becomes a precondition for an ethical stance. In the case of Goytisolo's commanding officer, we read how he is practically unable to take a moral stance in the present conflict in Bosnia until he does not start viewing the present through his effaced family memories related to the atrocities of the Spanish Civil War. D.K. understands the present only from the Sephardic genealogy of displacement. Also in Martínez Reverte's fictional account, collective memory, represented through the character of Adam, seems a precondition for moral living.

Still, the transnational view of history that we encounter through the characters' transnational genealogies does incorporate an important national imprint. Characters such as the Sephardic David Kamhi, but also the veterans of the International Brigades and the commanding officer, produce a kind of transnational imagined community of which Spain is the epicenter. In that sense, in the case of Spain, and particularly in the

case of these novels, the imagining of the intersecting and transnational histories of violence allows for a repositioning of these characters, stories and memories that seemed forgotten in the celebratory mood of 1992. With that, these characters correspond to those who had been expelled from the national imagery, through the processes of expulsion, exile and forgetting. In these novels, the war in Bosnia serves as a transnational stage in which these expelled and forgotten characters re-emerge from the margins of the nation-state.

4.

The Entangled Kin: Subtierro as a Space for Transnational Memory

'I am the grandchild of one of those who disappeared. My grandfather was called Emilio Silva Faba. They shot him together with thirteen other persons and they left him in a ditch, just at the entrance of Priaranza del Bierzo. His entire funeral consisted of a hole in the ground, and some spades full of earth under which his remains still lie until today' (Silva 2000, 26).¹¹⁵ With these words journalist Emilio Silva started his article "Mi abuelo también fue un desaparecido" [My grandfather was also a disappeared], published on October 8, 2000, in the regional newspaper *La Crónica de León*. In his lengthy article, Silva narrates the story behind the death of his grandfather and his search for the location of the mass grave. The article also announces his goal: 'to recover the memory and give a well-deserved place in history to all those who fought for freedom and for democracy' (Silva 2000, 27).¹¹⁶

This article has become one of the most quoted articles in recent Spanish journalism. The wide interest was raised by the fact that the article announces the recent exhumation cycle in Spain, which has had such an important social, political, and judicial impact. Notably, despite the article's rather historical tone, it denounces the current

¹¹⁵ 'Soy nieto de un desaparecido. Mi abuelo se llamaba Emilio Silva Faba. Lo mataron a tiros junto a otras trece personas y lo abandonaron en una cuneta, a la entrada de Priaranza del Bierzo. Todas sus honras fúnebres consistieron en un agujero y unas palas de tierra bajo las que todavía hoy están sus restos.'

¹¹⁶ 'Recuperar la memoria y darles el sitio que se merecen en la Historia a todos aquellos que lucharon por la libertad y la democracia.'

situation in Spain through the frame of the “disappeared,” a judicial category born from the Latin American context. With that, Silva gave his story a transnational frame.

It was a remarkable choice, knowing that until now in Spain those buried in mass graves were mostly referred to as *paseados* (a euphemistic term referring to “the ones who were taken for a walk”) or *fusilados* (“the ones who were shot”). Silva used the word “disappeared” referring to the story of his grandfather’s vanishing in 1936. Moreover, *desaparecido* is used just twice, in the title and in the first sentence. However, the following story clearly exemplifies Silva’s choice for this category: his grandfather had been detained and was killed the next night. When his son went to bring him his breakfast, the guard told him at the door of the town hall that he knew nothing of his father, he had not been there and he had possibly jumped from a window. He had vanished from the earth. Silva’s grandfather was *also* a disappeared, just like those cases in the Southern Cone.

With the frame of the “disappeared,” Silva introduced the story of his grandfather in the ongoing debates in the Spanish press on the disappeared from the other side of the Atlantic (Elsemann 2011). Particularly the Argentine and Chilean disappeared had been dominating the Spanish headlines in the years before 2000, as the Spanish tribunals tried Chilean and Argentine military for genocide and other crimes. While the detention of ex-dictator Augusto Pinochet in London in 1998 is the best-known spin-off of these trials, the process started in 1996 when Judge Baltazar Garzón accepted a popular action that named a number of Argentine military as responsible for the disappearance of Spanish citizens during the Dirty War.¹¹⁷

Within this context, Silva’s frame indirectly asked for an investigation into the crimes of the Spanish Civil War as well.¹¹⁸ Notably, Silva clearly uses the frame of “dis-

¹¹⁷ In Spain, people like to phrase the multiple and multilayered interactions between Spain and the Latin American continent as stories “de ida y vuelta,” which tries to capture the different layers of reciprocal influence, based in shared experiences during the colonial period, postcolonial interferences and a shared language. During the twentieth century Latin America was the destiny of many exiles, fleeing from wars and atrocities being committed on the old continent.

¹¹⁸ The figure of the disappeared and its juridical recognition have its origin in Latin American civil society movements and NGOs denouncing the massive disappearances during the military dictatorships in the second half of the twentieth century. In 1980 the Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances was constituted, as a thematic mandate depending on the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations. This group formed the basis for the 1992 Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance by the General Assembly of the United Nations (General Assembly 1992). And finally, in 2006, the General Assembly approved the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, developed over more than 25 years (General Assembly 2010). Throughout the nineties and within the spectrum of the international juridical stabilization of the category, Forced Disappearance was reported and denounced all over the world, recording vast numbers of disappeared in countries such as Iraq, Iran, Sri Lanka, Algeria and Bosnia. One of the bodies that contributed to the judicial typing of Forced Disap-

appearance” in relation to question marks over what had happened to his grandfather. Nonetheless, when the Spanish press started covering actual mass grave exhumations, featuring photographs of bones, skulls and digging people, the word “disappeared” started to be used to signify the bones that appeared from the Spanish earth. Paradoxically, not until the disappeared were no longer disappeared, were they framed as such.

In this chapter I will explore how and with what purpose the Spanish mass graves, or “subtiero,” operate as a space for transnational memory. I will argue that the framework of the “disappeared” was particularly relevant throughout the nineties, not only as an upcoming international judicial category that was being reported and denounced all over the world, but also as a way to refer to those who had been excluded, disappeared, from the imagery of modern Spain. However, after 2000 the bodies exhumed from the Spanish mass graves, as I will put forward, project a much vaster scope of transnational memory, particularly when looking beyond the “judicial afterlife” of the bodies (Ferrerías 2011). Moreover, subtiero as a locus for transnational memory inspires the reimagining of an alternative form of national identity from the margins of the nation-state, that is, from its entangled exclusions. In my reading I will point at the different entanglements that are part of these transnational memory connections. We will see how the “disappeared” or “subterrado” is entangled with the Spanish exiles or *desterrados*, being both material-discursive exclusions produced by Franco’s dictatorship. At the same time, we will see the entanglement between subject and object, witness and space, in the production of memories.

Importantly, the exhumed body also marks a shift in “genre” or the form of representation. While the *subterrados* as “disappeared” are present in literature in their spectral or ghostly embodied forms, there seems to be a general agreement that the reality of the exhumed bones is best captured in photography or film. The visual discourse that frames the exhumed bones is presented as an “act of witnessing” and underscores the importance of the “post-witness” to these traces of the crimes of the past. The narrative discourse, on the other hand, is related much more strongly to the world of imagination. Here, the excluded return as ghostly figures, performative and embodied entities who can “do” things and act upon the present. Bones as material “things” seem indeed particularly well suited for the photographic still. The “thereness” of the body offers an affective space that is both material and immaterial and as such, it has to be situated between person and thing, subject and object, meaning and matter (Fontein 2011). The

pearance was the Human Rights Chamber for Bosnia and Herzegovina, established through the Dayton Agreement in 1995. Moreover, the International Commission of Missing Persons (ICMP) has its headquarters in Sarajevo, where it has carried out more than 10.000 DNA based identifications since 2001 (Wagner 2008).

exhumed body is both an object and a subject of memory, as it is both a symbolic vehicle able to attract a variety of discourses and contents, and, a subject that frames and marks discourses about the past with its uneasy presence. As I have mentioned before – following Navaro-Yashin – the exhumed body can be understood as an affective space that can however only be read by those who have specific knowledge. And, with Barad, it is when both meet that specific memories come to “matter” as entangled material-discursive phenomena. Through the reading of the exhumed body as object and subject, I will refer to the “subterrado” both as object and as subject. What is more, the mass grave and the bodies in the mass grave function as a space in which memories come to matter.

In exploring the transnational projection of the Spanish mass graves, it is important to note that the appropriateness of the term “disappeared” in Spain has been debated since its introduction. Its usage has especially multiplied because of its applicability in juridical frames. Critics point however to the ambiguities that are created when including the clandestine *paseados* and the documented *fusilados* in the same category, or underscoring the Argentinean *detenido-desaparecido* as the only possible example of its usage (Gatti 2011; Renshaw 2011). Ferrándiz’s proposal of the new term of *subterrado* has to be understood as a theoretical proposal for a way out of this academic discussion. On a different level, Mandolessi and Perez underscore the psychological importance of the figure of the disappeared to describe the difficulties or impossibilities of mourning for the relatives. For them, what is compared is not the repressive practice itself, but the psychological effect on the families. ‘When Emilio Silva uses the term *desaparecido*, (...) [i]t refers to his own anguish, to the psychological effect produced by disappearance on the lives of the relatives. (...) What you “download” here is not a specific concept, but a “content,” which summons a subjective experience that primarily affects the families of the victims and serves as a condensation of that experience: the silence, the uncertainty, the impunity’ (Mandolessi and Perez 2014, 606). The principle of uncertainty and the affective power of the “disappeared” will prove a productive interpretation of the term, as it offers a more social reading beyond its judicial establishments within the frameworks of Human Rights.

I propose then to approach Ferrándiz’s category “subtiero” as a space of transnational memory that has been present in Spanish cultural memory ever since the civil war. At first it was mainly present as an “imagined” or virtual space, but the exhumations have transformed them into a material space, unveiling the traces of violence in

the present.¹¹⁹ Until the present the subterrados have been haunting Spain in the form of ghosts in literature, cinema, and also in popular beliefs. The ghost, as an embodied form of those who disappeared during the civil war, became the form in which the excluded subterrados and desterrados could regain their voice. Not as a present past, but as entangled phenomena, able to reconfigure the present moment – and with that the past and the future. That is, the figure of the ghost does not only signify the collapse of time in the present, but it questions the dichotomy between continuous and discontinuous time and points at the intrinsic entanglement with the excluded (Barad 2010, 246). When the bones of the subterrados resurfaced in 2000, as human remains in the present, their reality as entangled exclusions became visible for everyone through their major impact in the press. The appearance of the remains resulted in a widespread call for regulations, laws and actions about the past violence, in the present.

The subterrado, as a haunting ghost or as a denouncing trace in the present, proves to be an affective and discursive space that produces a transnational community of empathy and affect. What is more, the subterrado itself should be posited outside the borders of the nation-state, in the form of an entangled exclusion. The mass grave and the subterrados, besides providing a space for juridical evidence and historical truth, also serve as affective spaces or “spaces of feeling.” As such, they fulfill a similar function as Sarajevo did in the prose of Juan Goytisolo. Instead of returning to the repressed memories of the civil war as a backlash of atrocities witnessed elsewhere, as we saw in the previous chapter, here “post-witnesses” explore the connections between the local and the global from the very nucleus of the material traces of the Spanish Civil War (González-Ruibal 2014).

My selection of texts presents the subterrado or disappeared both as a ghost and as a material trace in the present. Two iconic novels of Manuel Vázquez Montalbán serve to analyze transnational frameworks of the subterrados as “disappeared,” both in their ghostly form and in their particular framing as “disappeared” through the lens of the Latin American struggles for justice. Moving beyond the year 2000 I analyze the visual and transnational power of the accusing bones in the Spanish press and in the much acclaimed photographic work of Francesc Torres and Gervasio Sánchez. Finally, while in the previous chapter the memory of the Spanish Civil War came into focus through a temporal and spatial displacement, by the end of this chapter we will have returned to the here and now: Spain at the turn of the twentieth century. José María Merino’s novel

¹¹⁹ As I have mentioned in Chapter 2, exhumations have actually been carried out ever since the end of the civil war as well. The exhumation cycle starting in 2000 however marks an important shift in the social and cultural impact of these exhumations, as they are widely covered in the press, whereas the previous exhumations did not find a discursive resonance at the national level.

La Sima [The Cave] (2009) will serve as an example that brings ghostly and material traces together, in a text that maps a vast field of diachronic and synchronic overlapping histories of violence. This transnational map is imagined through post-witnessing a Spanish contemporary mass grave.

GHOSTS THAT MATTER

The ghosts of the civil war have been haunting Spain ever since 1936. The ghost, as an embodied form of those who disappeared during the civil war and were excluded from the Francoist politics of memory, became a recurrent figure through which these victims would regain their voice. Their present absence literally haunted the Spanish imagination after the Spanish Civil War and continued doing so in the years after the Transition to democracy (Labanyi 2000). Although applicable in a variety of cultural discourses, the figure of the specter has especially been used as a metaphor to analyze texts that narrate and represent violent and traumatic past events. Within the current trend of “hauntology,” several scholarly endeavors have introduced the metaphor of the specter to understand the present absence of the legacy of the Spanish Civil War in films and literary works (Labanyi 2000; Resina 2000; Labanyi 2002; Moreiras Menor 2002; Colmeiro 2011; Martín-Cabrera 2011; Boehm 2012; Ribeiro de Menezes 2014; Ribas-Casasayas and Petersen 2016). In this section I will link the metaphor of the ghost to the figure of the disappeared. Understanding them as excluded but entangled with hegemonic memory paradigms in Spain I will particularly focus on the way the ghost reconfigures present frameworks of memory and identity.

The ghost as a conceptual metaphor has become particularly present in cultural studies under influence of Derrida’s *Specters of Marx* (2006). In Derrida’s view, the ghost or specter is a reflection of how the past is both absent and present within the present moment. This “in-betweenness” of the figure of the ghost makes it particularly interesting within the scope of transnational remembrance. As a displaced figure it questions current conceptions of time and space. Moreover, the ghost is the metaphor par excellence for encounters with (disturbing) forms of Otherness. I will follow Karen Barad’s reading and further development of Derrida’s specters as **productive or performative** evocations, provocations and generative material articulations that reconfigure what is and what is possible (Barad 2010). For Barad, the ghost is a result of “diffraction” and is defined by the principle of indeterminacy – ‘a dynamic through which that which has been constitutively excluded re-turns’ (Barad 2014, 178). It is especially Bar-

ad's proposal of "diffraction"¹²⁰ as an alternative to the problem of dichotomy and difference that will help to illuminate the ways in which ghosts are enacted. Barad understands "Otherness" as entangled with or even located in the subject and as such ghosts – as an embodiment of the Other – will always haunt the subject. To talk with the ghost is to actively recognize and engage with the entangled Other, which for Barad is a matter of responsibility and ethics, linking back to Derrida's understanding of responsibility as a necessary precondition for justice. For Barad, "ghosts matter," as they form an unavoidable part of the constant constitution of our realities in time-space.

Sociologist Avery Gordon (1997) defines haunting as a social phenomenon that, similar to the conceptualization from Barad and Derrida, alters the experience of being in time and tells the stories of exclusions and invisibilities. Important here is Gordon's focus on the affective, historical and mnemonic structures of haunting, as she refers to *sense* – a structure of feeling – as 'the most appropriate description of how hauntings are transmitted and received' (Gordon 1997, 18). With that, she identifies literary fiction as a form that enables the emergence of haunting, and as such 'it teaches us, through imaginative design, what we need to know but cannot quite get access to with our given rules of method and modes of apprehension' (Gordon 1997, 25). Notably, Gordon recognizes explicitly that disappearance is a state-sponsored method for producing ghosts: 'a form of power (...) that is specifically designed to break down the distinctions between visibility and invisibility, certainty and doubt, life and death that we normally use to sustain an ongoing and more or less dependable existence' (Gordon 1997, 126). Ghosts then live in the in-between, as they trouble existing dichotomies. What is more, Ribeiro de Menezes reminds us of the ghost's engagement with the future, reminding that for Derrida it is the embodiment of a 'future-oriented mourning that resists closure' (Ribeiro de Menezes 2014, loc.1896).¹²¹ Thus the ghost haunts and questions the continuity between past, present and future.¹²²

We can find the ghostly presence of the unrecognized deaths of the Spanish Civil War as a recurrent figure in narrative and cinematic fiction. Recent examples of this trend are

¹²⁰ As a reminder: Diffraction, other than the idea of reflection or mirroring, is the way light bends when it passes by an edge or through a slit, as it shows wavelike behavior. Diffraction marks the limits of the determinacy and permanency of boundaries. Diffraction is a non-binary conception that hints at the coming together of opposite qualities within the subject; 'the here-there, and the elsewhere within here, all at once' (Barad 2014, 177).

¹²¹ With this Ribeiro de Menezes warns not to aestheticize history with the notion of the ghost, "or to imprison its agents and victims in the frame of a haunted and haunting narrative" (Ribeiro de Menezes 2014, loc.1877).

¹²² Karen Barad presents an even more radical reading of Derrida's specter that completely disrupts the presumed continuity of past, present and future, and that points instead to a continuous relocation and reiterative reconfiguration of temporalities, or *spacetime-mattering* (Barad 2010).

for instance Guillermo del Toro's movies *El espinazo del diablo* [*The Devil's Backbone*] (2001) and *El laberinto del fauno* [*Pan's Labyrinth*] (2006), the novel *El lápiz del carpintero* (1998) by Galician writer Manuel Rivas, or, the novel *Fantasmas del invierno* (2004) by Luis Mateo Díez. But also earlier novels, like for instance the famous *Luna de lobos* (1985) by Julio Llamazares or *El sur* (1983) by Adelaida García Morales introduce the ghostly to talk about the silenced victims of the Spanish Civil War. When thinking of Bryan Turner's definition of embodiment as a process (Turner 2008, 244), it is not surprising that the forgotten Republican victims of the civil war find their way into narrative fiction in the form of a ghost: an embodied actor who can "do" things. As such, the ghostly takes the form of "hearing voices," vampires, fauns, monsters, or, as in *El sur*, a pendulum that perceives the invisible. Labanyi also connects the importance of specters in Spanish contemporary literature to the returning presence of traces and ruins of the past, 'for ruins are the favorite habitat of ghosts' (Labanyi 2000, 71). As such, she points to the important role of the main characters in these novels as Benjaminian historians, as collectors or "bricoleurs," who look for meaning in the traces of the past that are normally overlooked, and reconstruct them so as to articulate the unsaid. In the post-Franco memory novels the reader is invited to connect past and present through the main character's research into objects, photographs, traces and ruins of the past.¹²³

Looking at Spanish culture through the metaphor of the specter can help us understand the ways in which the civil war victims have been present throughout the years, regardless of the so-called "pact of silence." Arguably, when the Spanish Civil War victims are linked to the Latin American "disappeared" during the nineties, their in-betweenness becomes articulated not only in temporal but also in spatial terms.

Transnational haunting of the Latin American disappeared

Novelist Manuel Vázquez Montalbán was critical of the Francoist regime, the Transition to democracy as well as of the Spanish nationalist project, throughout his whole career as a writer. Similar to Goytisolo who writes from his commitment to the Arab world, Vázquez Montalbán was primarily involved in the political struggles in Latin America. Not accidentally he was one of the first to explore the trope of the disappeared in relation to Spanish Civil War victims. In his much acclaimed novels *Galíndez* (1990) and *Quinteto de Buenos Aires* [*The Buenos Aires Quintet*] (1997), Vázquez Montalbán relates the haunting stories of the Latin American disappeared whose life-stories are

¹²³ The incorporation of reproductions of archival material in the modern memory novel signals an invitation to the reader to participate in the construction of new memory constellations through the exploration of these traces of history.

deeply entangled with the history of the Spanish Civil War and Francoist Spain. Importantly, these novels were published in the 1990s, when the juridical and political definition and acceptance of the terminology of Forced Disappearance within the framework of Human Rights violations and as promoted by Latin American civil society movements and NGOs was in full swing. In these texts, Vázquez Montalbán put forward the important figures of two Benjaminian bricoleurs – Yale PhD student Muriel and private detective Pepe Carvalho – to dig into the palimpsestic traces of the past.¹²⁴

In my reading of these two texts, I ask how and why the disappeared produce mnemonic entanglements between Spanish memory and Latin America. As we will see, whereas the texts make tacit references to the Spanish subterrados, it is rather the figure of the exile that builds a bridge between the two geographical spaces. At the same time, the juridical importance of the disappeared as well as the iconic case of Argentina became much more apparent in the 1997 novel *Quinteto de Buenos Aires*.

In *Galíndez*, Vázquez Montalbán narrates the true story of the disappearance of Jesús de Galíndez, a member of the Nationalist Basque Party (PNV) and US representative of the Basque government in exile. Galíndez, an exile from Francoist Spain, was kidnapped, tortured and murdered in the Dominican Republic in 1956 at the hands of Trujillo's secret police. The novel however is clearly set against the background of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism, being the second novel of the trilogy composed by *El Pianista* (1985) and *Autobiografía del General Franco* (1992). As one of the most successful novels of Vázquez Montalbán's vast bibliography, *Galíndez* won the Spanish National Award for Narrative Fiction and was turned into a film script for the movie *El misterio de Galíndez* (Herrero 2003) in 2003.

The novel ties together disparate times and places, while we follow the trajectory of the American doctoral student Muriel Colbert in her search for traces of Galíndez. Galíndez – a Basque nationalist, an exile from Francoist Spain and a disappeared – represents various memories that are to be rescued from the “margins” of the nation-state, as he takes the side of those harmed by Spanish nationalism. At the same time, by centering on Galíndez's lost body and memory, the novel presents a vast transnational perspective on the twentieth century history of violence. As such, Galíndez becomes a signifier of the thousands of unknown deaths on both sides of the Atlantic, as the narrative literally raises the questions: ‘But what about the deaths without burial and without

¹²⁴ Moreover, as Luis Martín-Cabrera notes, *Galíndez* is one of the first novels applying a semi-detective structure to address historical mystery, in the way we see now appearing as a recurrent strategy in novels about the Spanish Civil War and the recovering of historical memory such as Cercas' *Soldados de Salamina* and others (Martín-Cabrera 2011).

memory? What about that universal and secular mass grave that never rises against its murderers, who only pay for the dead who have a face, a name and a surname?' (Vázquez Montalbán 1991, 334; see also Martín-Cabrera 2011, 71).¹²⁵

In several instances, the novel presents the same strings of historical events we have seen in Goytisolo's texts. These strings of events serve here too serve to demonstrate a metonymic field of injustices around the world which, even if they lie beyond the novel at hand, are part of its projection. The novel extends both to the synchronic repetition of violence in the present moment, as well as to diachronic successions of brutalities over time. For instance, the novel clearly expresses the imbrication of several historical injustices in Trujillo's Dominican Republic. As such, the island of Quisqueya (Santo Domingo) is still haunted by 'the romantic specters of massacred Indians and brave settlers, of bold pirates and black skinned slaves,' while at the same time Trujillo admits that receiving those 'reds who started fighting against Franco' was a mistake, since now they are fighting against him (Vázquez Montalbán 1991, 66). The text concludes with a projection into the future as Muriel's Spanish ex-boyfriend Ricardo embarks on a search for his disappeared lover and travels to Santo Domingo. Thus, the specter of Galíndez engages with the future and in this way resists closure, following Derrida's definition of spectral performance.

The ghost of Galíndez certainly is a performative character in the novel, however, as I will argue, it is through the affective reading of Muriel that his specter transcends his significance as an 'illustrious martyr of the Basque country' (Vázquez Montalbán 1991, 10).¹²⁶ Various interpreters have identified Galíndez as a fluctuating signifier (Colmeiro 1996) or even an empty-signifier (Martín-Cabrera 2011), representing the non-place of forgetting, while underlining Vázquez Montalbán's engagement with non-nationalist spaces. In my reading however, the transnational space is constituted through Muriel's transnational and affective reading of the primarily Basque nationalist character of Galíndez. It is this relation between Basque peripheral nationalism, exile and the transnational gaze that locates the narration in Spain, while it reframes Basque national identity within the transnational.

As Joseba Gabilondo writes, '[i]f Galindez represents the highlight of nationalism in the twentieth century, with the explosion of nationalism in interwar Europe and the postcolonial world following World War II, the narrator Muriel Colbert and the author

¹²⁵ 'Pero, ¿y los muertos sin sepultura y sin memoria? ¿Esa fosa común universal y secular que jamás se alza contra los asesinos, que solo pagan por los muertos con rostro, nombre y apellido?.'

¹²⁶ 'Precisamente hace escasos meses fue inaugurado un monolito dedicado a la memoria del ilustre mártir de la patria vasca y esperamos que pueda comprobar directamente el respeto y la memoria que nuestro pueblo sigue dedicando a uno de sus hijos más ilustres y sacrificados.'

Vázquez Montalbán write about Galíndez from a period of globalization in which the “national” enters in crisis’ (Gabilondo 2007, 167). In the novel the figure of Galíndez is related to traditional and essentialist notions of national identity, based on the idea of a shared language, geography, and history. In addition, the text to a certain extent confirms the legendary linkage between Basque characteristics and geography.¹²⁷ At the same time, nationalism is primarily explored through the eyes of the outsider. Muriel is criticized for snooping around in the memories of others (Vázquez Montalbán 1991, 12; 234), while set against, for instance, the example of nationalist solidarities among Basques and Catalans in the Spanish exile (Vázquez Montalbán 1991, 142).¹²⁸ Moreover, throughout the novel, the investigator never belongs to the same history as the victim (Martín-Cabrera 2011, 74). Notably, Muriel proves more of a transnational wanderer than Galíndez.¹²⁹ Whereas Galíndez dreams of a (utopian) home in the Basque valley of Amurrio, Muriel does not have a home anymore: ‘But he carried the Basque country in his head and you do not even wear the skin of your last lover, Ricardo (...)’ (Vázquez Montalbán 1991, 238).¹³⁰ We could say that, without this nostalgic idea of belonging, Muriel truly embodies the cosmopolitan transnational, in contrast with the melancholic exile of Galíndez.

In the exploration into the tension between nationalism, both Basque and Spanish, and the transnational trajectory of Galíndez as a *desterrado* and finally as a disappeared, it is Muriel’s “affective gaze” that orients the reader towards a transnational map of solidarities. There are many instances that articulate the affectionate relation between Muriel and the memory of Galíndez. Muriel’s eyes are filled with tears when she faces Galíndez’s memorial in the Basque country (Vázquez Montalbán 1991, 10); she cries when she listens to a popular song by Mikel Laboa, a Basque singer-songwriter (Vázquez Montalbán 1991, 27).¹³¹ The image of Humphrey Bogart overlaps that of

¹²⁷ Despite these “confirmations” of essential nationalism in the novel, Martín-Márquez notes how Vázquez Montalbán introduces the constructed nature of nationalism, along the lines of Anderson’s “imagined community” (Martín-Márquez 1996, 126), presenting Galíndez as a ‘... soldado de una patria, soñada o imaginada’ [soldier of a dreamed and imagined homeland] (Vázquez Montalbán 1991, 13).

¹²⁸ The question of how to think about remembrance of events that are not “once’s own,” is one of the key questions in Rothberg’s *Multidirectional Memory* (2009).

¹²⁹ Contrariwise Joseba Gabilondo argues that Muriel can also be seen as the negative image from Galíndez. As a daughter of American Mormons, excluded from her family and condemned by the Mormon Church because of her adulterous sexual affair with a professor, Muriel mirrors Galíndez in her origins in a “defensive” minority. The Basque and the Mormon are both represented as communities defined by respectively, the racial and religious “purity” (Gabilondo 2007, 168). However, I argue that Muriel is ultimately different from Galíndez as she has ultimately does not have a “home” anymore.

¹³⁰ ‘Pero él llevaba el País Vasco en el cerebro y tú ni siquiera llevas la piel de tú último amante, Ricardo (...)’

¹³¹ Music is a privileged vehicle of affect in literary fiction. We already have seen the affective quality of rhythmic, repetitive music in Goytisolo’s narrative.

Galíndez (Vázquez Montalbán 1991, 238); Galíndez is like the teddy bear, a bedfellow she can hug when dreams or nightmares appear (Vázquez Montalbán 1991, 239). It is however in the use of the pronoun “you” and the second person singular in present tense, where we can read the embodied and affective relation between Muriel and Galíndez. It is in these instances that Galíndez’s ghost acts upon Muriel.

Throughout the novel it is hard to distinguish between Muriel and Galíndez, as the interior voice of both characters is pronounced through the autobiographical unfolding or differentiating use of “you”. As such, “you” is positioned between the subject and the object, while at the same time it directs itself towards the reader who becomes part of a triangle in which he or she is compelled to see the world through the Otherness of Galíndez and Muriel (see also Pittarello 2000). As such, the ghost of Galíndez resides in and performs from both within the present moment of Muriel in 1988, as well as from within the present moment of the reader. The identification between Muriel and Galíndez comes to the point that, where at the end of her search for Galíndez, Muriel somehow becomes Galíndez when she faces the same fate. From her arrival in Santo Domingo onwards, Muriel goes through the same bodily experience as Galíndez. While in the beginning the novel articulates the position of Galíndez as ‘this strange cystic partner that has already been living inside you for years’ (Vázquez Montalbán 1991, 9),¹³² at the end of the novel, Galíndez not only lives inside her, but *is* part of her, when we read: ‘You close your eyes, you try to connect with the part of you that already is Jesús Galíndez’ (Vázquez Montalbán 1991, 277).¹³³ Therefore, Muriel is not only the reflection of Galíndez, she *becomes* Galíndez.

Galíndez proves to be a performative text in which the specter of Galíndez acts upon and is embodied in Muriel, and finally in Ricardo and in the reader. This way the novel performs a memory of Galíndez that demands an ethical stance in the present. Karen Barad explores exactly this kind of ethical and performative embodiment. She invites us to think of the world in terms of entanglements and diffraction in which subjects and objects are never radically separated, but instead they co-constitute and reconfigure each other. As such, Barad rereads Levinas’ “being in one’s skin” as “having-the-other-in-one’s-skin” (Barad 2007, 391). As such, she writes, ‘not only subjects but also objects are permeated through and through with their entangled kin; the other is not just in one’s skin, but in one’s bones, in one’s belly, in one’s heart, in one’s nucleus, in one’s past and future’ (Barad 2007, 392). Her description comes close to the way Galíndez’s spectral memory is

¹³² ‘(...) ese extraño compañero enquistado que desde hace años llevas dentro de ti.’

¹³³ ‘Cierras los ojos, intentas conectar con la parte de ti misma que ya es Jesús Galíndez.’

connected to Muriel as a subject. Otherness becomes part of her and reconstitutes her as a subject and, through her, it acts upon the present moment and upon the future.

In *Galíndez* transnational memory can only exist through Muriel's affective and transnational gaze. As such, Muriel resembles the "model reader" in Goytisolo's *El sitio de los sitios*. There, I have argued following Yael Navaro-Yashin that affect is located both in the objects as well as in the subjective minds. As such, the traces and ghosts of history can only affect people with a particular kind of knowledge (Navaro-Yashin 2009). However, in the present novel, the affective relation between subject and object goes further. Here, transnational memory does not only lie in the eyes of the beholder, but is in one's skin, one's nucleus, in one's past and future.

Within my transnational reading of the text I would argue that the version of transnational memory presented in the novel is symbolized through the Gernika-tree. At the beginning of the novel, Galíndez is pictured as 'something like the tree of Guernika. *Eman eta zabal zazu* [give and spread]' (Vázquez Montalbán 1991, 14).¹³⁴ This image ties together several seeming oppositions in the novel. The Gernika oak tree symbolizes the traditional freedoms of the whole of the Basque country and is an important symbol of Basque nationalism, so much so that the Basque *lehendakari* swears his charge there since it is an unofficial site of memory of Basque sovereignty. It is however also a symbol of transnationalism and Basque exile. "Descendants" of the Gernika tree are planted all over the world as part of the Basque cultural centers (Euskal Etxeak) that were created during the Basque diaspora and by exiles of the wars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Today, Gernika has become both the symbol of Human Rights injustices, and at the same time of peace and solidarity. The tree of Gernika is both a transnational symbol and a material reality, and, a national Basque symbol. This image engages with seeing the local, regional, national, and global as topological matters (Barad 2007). What Barad proposes is to understand the transnational not as being about 'the dissolution of the traversed boundaries, but about an ongoing reconfiguration of boundaries' (Barad 2007, 245). To understand the transnational, we need not to understand the similarities between one place or event and another, but to understand how those places or events are made through one another. Nationalism is not an opposite of transnationalism, rather the one is constituted through the other.

In the Basque valley of the Migueloa family Muriel finally finds her own home, which for her is a modified reality, corrected, and definitely humanized. Just before her death, Muriel regresses not towards the instances of Galíndez's memory, but to her own memory of the valley of the Migueloa family and the song of Laboa: 'You don't dare to

¹³⁴ 'Galíndez es algo así como el árbol de Guernika. *Eman eta zabal zazu* [Da y extiéndelo].'

sing the broken stanzas of his [Galíndez] patriotic and nostalgic songs, but you do sing in a soft voice which is not a voice, which is writing on a secret paper that they can't find, nor break, Laboa's song (...)’ (Vázquez Montalbán 1991, 346).¹³⁵ The ghost of Galíndez – like a tree of Gernika – is not directly reflected in this new reality, but entangled with it, in terms of Barad. The Migueloa forest is constituted through the symbol of the Gernika tree. In the novel *Galíndez*, but also in the texts we have explored in the previous chapter, the transnational is part of a transnational imagined community: it is projected as an entanglement with Otherness which is however centered in one's (imagined) “home.” As such it presents a map of new solidarities that does not however erode the space of the national. Interestingly, whereas the novel's logic of entanglement is primarily between different forms of Otherness on the margin of the Spanish nation-state (Basque nationalism, postcolonial identity in the Dominican Republic, *desterrados* and finally the transnational “disappeared”), in the end, Ricardo, representing the forgetful centralist Spain of the late 1980's, gets involved in this new configuration of solidarities, reconfiguring his notions of solidarity and Spanishness. That is how the ghost of Galíndez “matters” as a space for transnational memory.¹³⁶

Quinteto de Buenos Aires (1997) is a narration quite different from *Galíndez*. This novel presents a more traditional detective story, featuring Vázquez Montalbán's famous detective Pepe Carvalho, giving the novel a specific focus on the past, as it tries to unravel unknown threads in the past. This time, Pepe has a mission in Buenos Aires, where he has to find his cousin Raúl Tourón on behalf of Raúl's uncle in Spain. Raúl lived in exile in Spain after his wife was killed and his daughter disappeared during the Argentine dictatorship. Now he is back in Buenos Aires in search of his daughter. The detective provides a metonymical field of associations while uncovering the mystery behind the disappearance of Raúl and his daughter Eva María. At the same time Carvalho's inquiry into this complex story exposes Carvalho's personal history and connection to the anti-Francoist struggle. For Carvalho, ‘the Dirty War recalls the Franco era; his family was part of the Republican opposition’ (Kaminsky 2008, 180). Moreover, the father of one of the Argentine policemen assigned to find Raúl was also an active anti-fascist; of whom his son comments that: ‘now he doesn't want to leave the house. He is

¹³⁵ ‘No te atreves a cantar las estrofas rotas de sus [Galíndez] canciones de patria y nostalgia, pero sí cantas en voz tan baja que no es voz, que es escritura en un papel secreto que ellos no pueden descubrir, ni romperte, la canción de Laboa, (...)’

¹³⁶ Karen Barad uses the concept of *mattering* or *spacetime mattering* as the ongoing materialization of reality in time and space.

afraid of the return of Franco, Perón, Videla' (Vázquez Montalbán 1997, 89).¹³⁷ Clearly, the novel stages Forced Disappearance in a Spanish-Argentine setting, in which the Argentine disappeared silently point back to the victims of Francoism. With a touch of irony Carvalho tells one of the Argentine policemen, '[w]e are among losers. I have lost the Spanish war, when I was a child. Alma lost the Dirty War and you the Falklands War. Why not form an organization of veterans' (Vázquez Montalbán 1997, 77)?¹³⁸ However, despite these haunting analogies to the Spanish victims of the civil war, the link between the two countries is mainly imagined through the exile communities on both sides.

Importantly, the constructed spatiotemporal field is directly related to the extra-literary reality of the end of the 1990s when the Spanish Judge Garzón tried the Argentine military for the disappearance of Spanish citizens during the Dirty War. As such, José Colmeiro puts forward that the novel can be seen as an anticipation of the transnational movement for historical memory (Colmeiro 2013). In the novel, it is through the voice of the Argentine Secretary of Development Güelmes, when Carvalho asks him about Raúl, that this context is explicitly commented upon:

'- Has Raúl Tourón been here?

- No. Is he in Argentina? I assumed he was in Spain. I have been exiled in Spain, after that in Germany, the United States, a long way round. Many Argentines, Chileans, Uruguayans went to Spain hoping that they would receive us well in the Motherland. But you are more prepared for exile than for giving shelter to others.

- An old historical tendency.

- Little Raúl is another case. In reality he has never lost his Spanish nationality. Now there is a fool, a Spanish judge called Garzón, who wants to try the military because they made some Spaniards disappear.' (Vázquez Montalbán 1997, 80–81)?¹³⁹

¹³⁷ 'ahora no quiere salir de casa. Tiene miedo de que vuelvan Franco, Perón, Videla.'

¹³⁸ 'Estamos entre perdedores. Yo perdí la guerra de España, cuando era niño. Alma perdió la guerra sucia y usted la de las Malvinas. ¿Por qué no formamos una asociación de ex combatientes?'

¹³⁹ '- ¿Raúl Tourón ha pasado por aquí?

- No. ¿Está en Argentina? Suponía que estaba en España. Yo estuve algún tiempo exiliado en España, después de Alemania, Estados Unidos, un largo camino de ida y vuelta. Muchos argentinos, chilenos, uruguayos nos fuimos a España esperando que nos recibieran bien en la Madre Patria. Pero ustedes están más preparados para exiliarse que para acoger a los demás.

- Es una vieja tendencia histórica.

This lengthy quote summarizes the various transnational connections between Spain and Argentina: colonization, exile in two directions and finally judicial inquiry. Notably Garzón is called a fool, which Güelmes later specifies:

‘Isn’t the Spanish judge who wants to incarcerate the whole Military Junta from “the Process” called Garzón? And what about our sovereignty? We are the owners of our torturers and we have decided to forgive them. Otherwise, what is the use of national sovereignty, in these times of globalized economy and politics’ (Vázquez Montalbán 1997, 120)?¹⁴⁰

As if a mirror is held in front of the Spanish detective, the Argentine Amnesty and impunity is defended as a case of national sovereignty. The defense of national sovereignty should be understood as part of the novel’s exploration of the topic of national identity.

As we have seen in the case of *Galíndez*, Vázquez Montalbán takes up nationalism as a subject of critical investigation. At the same time, national identity is continuously framed through a stereotyping gaze, which is set from the onset, on Carvalho’s flight to Buenos Aires. From that moment on Argentina is defined through the three clichés ‘Maradona, desaparecidos, tango’ (Vázquez Montalbán 1997, 18–20). Maradona will remain just a cliché throughout the novel, but the disappeared are its central theme, whereas tango becomes a returning motif and the marker of affect. At this level of the narration, the national identities of Spain and Argentina are understood as given realities, and it is only through the encounter of the Spanish Carvalho with the Argentine disappeared that connections between the two countries are suggested. Contrary however to these returning clichés, the narrative can also be read as a very informed analysis of Argentina at the turn of the millennium. The novel portrays a striking lexical and stylistic richness, but also a unique record of literary and musical culture, as well as historical knowledge (Masoliver Ródenas 1997; Urien Berri 1997).

Almost at the end of the novel and near to solving the mystery behind the different disappeared, at a dinner with high representatives of the Argentine military, Carvalho voices his view on national identity when as foreigner he is asked his opinion about Argentina :

- Raulito era un caso aparte. En realidad él nunca perdió la nacionalidad española. Ahora hay un insensato, un juez español que se llama Garzón, que quiere procesar a los militares porque hicieron desaparecer a españoles.’

¹⁴⁰ ‘¿No se llama Garzón ese juez español que quiere encarcelar a toda la Junta Militar del Proceso? Y nuestra soberanía? Somos los dueños de nuestros torturadores y hemos decidido perdonarlos. Para qué sirve la soberanía nacional si no, en estos tiempos de economía, política globalizadas?’

‘ I don’t think it exists. (...) I’d say that Spain doesn’t exist either, or Europe, though San Marino probably does. Complex realities don’t allow for metaphysical abstractions. (...) There are many possible and at the same time real Spains – Carvalho goes on –, just as there are many possible and real Argentinas. Who can describe such complex phenomena.

- But choose a feature. Something that has struck you more than everything else – the Captain urged him. (...)

- The gaps left by thirty thousand human beings, the gaps left by the so-called “disappeared” (Vázquez Montalbán 1997, 466–467).¹⁴¹

While the national is presented as a complex reality that defies definition, Carvalho also recognizes how the expelled are intrinsically entangled with that reality. This stance is confirmed in Carvalho’s references to Spain, which are framed from the position of the periphery, being a Galician in Catalonia. Moreover, at the time of narration, Carvalho is running from the post-Olympic Barcelona, which is at the same time an object of constant nostalgia when in Buenos Aires. It is within this admission of complexity that the novel opens up to a much larger metonymic field of transnational identities and Otherness.

The connections that unfold are not only those between Spain and Argentina, but also the power relations between Spain and the United States and the whole of colonial Latin America. And, similar to what we have appreciated in Goytisolo’s *El sitio*, many of the characters are presented as binary couples: Berta becomes Alma; her daughter Eva María becomes Muriel; other characters are described with a double identity in their queer Other, or, entangled with an invented fictional character, such as the supposedly legitimate son of Borges, and Robinson Crusoe. Thus, in the novel, the Other is entangled with and constitutes the identity of the characters. The Other in the novel, is not just the disappeared but also the excluded in general. All of these characters play an important role in unraveling the mystery surrounding Raúl, as they produce a new spatiotemporal framework focused on exclusion. Arguably, through the literal embodiment of the Other in some of the characters, the ethics produced by the novel go beyond the denunciation of dictatorial practices of Forced Disappearance. Rather, the novel

¹⁴¹ ‘- No creo que exista.(....) Tampoco existe España, ni Europa, San Marino probablemente sí. Pero las realidades complejas no admiten abstracciones metafísicas. (...) Hay muchas posibles y a la vez reales Españas - continúa Carvalho -, como hay muchas posibles y reales Argentinas. Quién puede hablar en nombre de esas totalidades tan complejas?

- Pero escoja un rasgo. Algo que lo impresione por encima de cualquier otra cosa - le pide el Capitán. (...)

- Los vacíos que han dejado treinta mil seres humanos, los vacíos que han dejado los llamadas “desaparecidos.”

narrates the importance of recognizing multiplicity in unity, similar to what we have seen in *Galíndez* and in Goytisolo's *El sitio de los sitios*.

Although this novel also deals with a series of unfolding Others and those excluded from history in general, it is important to notice that, as Joseba Gabilondo asserts in his lucid article on Vázquez Montalbán, the anti-utopian and nihilistic figure of Pepe Carvalho represents an increasingly narcissistic inability to relate to the Other. Contrariwise, the female protagonist in *Galíndez* shows a clear attempt to write from the position of the Other and to communicate with the Other (Gabilondo 2007, 162–166).

The motif of tango, however, produces a more complex affective map of the novel. It is by means of music that Carvalho establishes an emotional relation of complicity with Alma (Pardo 2013). Tango is also an important nexus between the ex-Montonero group surrounding Raúl. At the same time the extensive quotes of lyrics lead Carvalho back to his own past. Here the first lengthy quoted tango is exemplary. The lyrics narrate the arrival of a foreigner who searches in the traces left by a painful city 'the shadows of a memory, the footprints in old blood' (Vázquez Montalbán 1997, 124).¹⁴² The song ends with another allusion to memory and past times, in which, among the ruins, the face of the foreigner is identified as the face of a past that is dead and gone. Through the perspective of the Spanish Carvalho (the foreigner), who identifies himself as a victim of the Spanish Civil War, these poetic instances connect the Argentine disappeared to the Spanish deaths in a suggestive, haunting way, as he searches in the traces of this foreign city the memories of his own violent past.

Quinteto seems to produce a seemingly classic closure, or happy ending, with the reappearance of the disappeared Raúl and his daughter. However, I would argue that the closure of the novel is only illusory. Whereas Raúl and his daughter return, the end of the novel is deals with a new type of forgetting. The culprit has vanished and of the three repeated Argentine clichés the Catalan young couple that sits next to Carvalho on his return flight only knows Maradona, but nothing of tango or of the disappeared. Furthermore, the tango that marks the last chapter repeats the words 'Recall that nothingness and its world, the four horizons of your protection: you should not, know not, cannot, and will not return' (Vázquez Montalbán 1997, 510).¹⁴³ As Carvalho returns to Spain, he seems to travel back to the frames of forgetting, the post-Olympic city of Barcelona in which 'the airplanes of political correctness circle the city, spraying it to kill off its bacteria, its historic viruses, its social struggles, its *lumpen*, a city without armpits, robbed of its armpits, a city turned into a theatre in which to stage the farce of moderni-

¹⁴² 'Buscás / las sombras de un recuerdo, / pisadas en la sangre / antigua omo el sol.'

¹⁴³ 'Recuerda la nada y su paisaje, / tus cuatro horizontes protegidos; / no se debe, no se sabe, no se puede, no se vuelve.'

ty' (Vázquez Montalbán 1997, 16–17).¹⁴⁴ With that, *Quinteto*'s seemingly happy end is overshadowed by a depressing veil of forgetting. Whereas the earlier novel *Galíndez* ends with the idea of hope as embodied by the character of Ricardo, symbol of the forgetful and centralist Spain, when he gets involved in the disappearance of his girlfriend Muriel, here Carvalho is left with only a gift from Alma that reminds him of his stay in Buenos Aires.

By way of conclusion I will briefly reiterate the important lines in my reading of these two central Spanish works of narrative fiction which directly evoke the figure of the Latin American disappeared. Notably, in both narratives, the figure of the disappeared only points back to the Spanish subterrados in a suggestive, haunting way, whereas exile produces the active links between the two geographies. What is more, while the work of Garzón is directly commented upon in *Quinteto* it does not produce a critical approach of the Spanish “disappeared” of the Francoist regime. As I suggest, in both novels disappearance leads to the exploration of a larger map of exclusion, envisioned from the point of “entangled” identities, whereas affect enables transnational mnemonic constellations which, particularly in the case of Muriel, go beyond the logic of genealogy and generation. With that, the theme of Forced Disappearance is explored both at the level of personal identity as well as at the level of national identity. And it is within the realm of the latter that I propose to read these texts as an example of how the “diffracted” memory of the Latin American disappeared unveils the different forms of Otherness that are located within the limits of the Spanish nation-state – destierro, subterro, peripheral nationalism and (post)colonial entanglements.

IMAG(EN)ING SUBTIERRO

Three years after the publication of *Quinteto*, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán was one of the first to take over the framework of the “disappeared” to talk about the mass graves in Spain, pointing again to the need for the younger generations' commitment to the memory of the Spanish Civil War: ‘Perhaps the census of “disappeared” and the discovery of these mass graves will persuade young people, militants in their historical ignorance (...)’ (Vázquez Montalbán 2000).¹⁴⁵ In what follows, I will explore how the material presence of the subterrados has indeed reconfigured Spanish memory discourses.

¹⁴⁴ ‘(...) las avionetas de lo políticamente correcto sobrevolando la ciudad, fumigándola para matar sus bacterias, sus virus históricos, las luchas sociales, el lumpen, ciudad sin ingles ya, ciudad de ingles extirpadas, convertida en un teatro polifacético para interpretar la farsa de la modernidad.’

¹⁴⁵ ‘Tal vez el censo de desaparecidos y el descubrimiento de estas fosas comunes convenza a los jóvenes militantes en su ignorancia histórica (...)’

As the exhumed grave was predominated particularly in visual media, I will analyze how the photograph of the open grave relates to the transnational rescaling of Spanish “historical memory.”

Several ethnographic studies have investigated to what extent dead bodies and mass graves as objects, positioned between material and discursive realities, constrain memory discourses and with that human rights discourses (Verdery 1999; Ferrándiz 2006; Krm-potich, Fontein, and Harries 2010).¹⁴⁶ Here I propose to understand the sites of exhumation as “spaces of feelings”¹⁴⁷; not only are they important because of their contribution to juridical evidence of Civil War violence, they also reveal complex emotional processes of relating to the past. They serve both as an object of memory and as a performative agent in the present. Anthropologist John Harries underscores the importance of “feeling” in the relation to objects from the past, as they offer the possibility to “experience” the past, beyond all words and representations. In the “thingness” of bone experience,’ he finds ‘the uncanny closeness and the melancholic distance of the past’ (Harries 2010, 414). In their ethnographies both Joost Fontein and John Harries also point to the enchanted nature of the mass grave and the imagery of a ghostly presence at these sites. The bones resurfacing from unrecognized and illegal graves point to excluded and silenced histories. That is, the mass graves can be understood as fossilized sites that mark the fragility of power and that are able to condense the alternative senses of history. In that way the bones allude to a rhizomatic transnational map of violence. However the body is also a trace of a human being, a root, showing ancestry and kinship, and as such it can be enacted to tell an alternative story of national and local identities.

Anthropologists who researched the mass grave exhumations in Spain underline the importance of the grave as a site of intimate recollection. With that, they indicate the intimate character of the exhumations in Spain and the close collaboration of families and the local community in all aspects of the exhumation work, in contrast to the exhumation practices in for instance Bosnia or Argentina (Aragüete 2013; Renshaw 2011; Ferrándiz 2013). The site is described as a highly emotive place, where the bodies actually make people tell and feel things (Aragüete 2013, 9). The exhumed bodily remains can be seen as a trigger and as a framework for alternative histories and untold stories. Beyond the claim for the recognition of human rights abuses, these spaces serve, in a much broader sense of memory politics, to rewrite local and national histories and build

¹⁴⁶ See Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider (2010) for the imbrications between memory and human rights.

¹⁴⁷ The idea of “spaces of feeling” is inspired by the way in which Jo Labanyi uses the idea of a “politics of feeling” when analyzing the role of the Civil War testimonies in Spanish society. As she argues, “the complex structures of present-day feelings” about the history these testimonies reveal are as important as their evidence attributing role (Labanyi 2010b, 204).

bridges to transnational histories of violence (Bevernage and Colaert 2014; Rubin 2014). In Spain, not only the living animate the stories about the dead, but the dead also (re)animate memories of the forgotten living. The stories of the subterrados, appearing from the limits of the nation-state (they are there, but excluded, hidden under the ground), should be seen in relation to other stories of the living who had been banned from the official state narrative, such as for example the *desterrados* or the colonial Other. Moreover, the exhumed body has been a direct part of a transnational imaginary, based on shared histories and networks and on advances in international justice and human rights advocacy (related to exhumation practices worldwide).¹⁴⁸ These frameworks have, among others, produced the imaginary of the “disappeared” body in Spain as a juridical and emotional subject.

The exhumations of the civil war mass graves have propelled multiple meanings and “afterlives” (Ferrándiz 2011; Renshaw 2011; Ferrándiz 2014a). These are first generated within the social and activist groups who carry out the exhumations, and then circulated in the media and adopted in artistic, academic, and juridical accounts on the significance of the bones for contemporary Spain. Notably, the preference for depicting and imagining the bones of the Republican victims appears to be that of visual realism over other possible narrative and imaginative forms.

The often-quoted article by Emilio Silva entitled “My grandfather was also disappeared” was the first attempt of signification of the mass grave as it framed the attributed meanings in a transnational setting. This first article also portrays some of the visual trends that would dominate the media. Ferrándiz and Baer see the iconic power of the mass grave exhumations in three “genres:” pictures of the open grave, portraits of the disappeared and video-testimony (Ferrándiz and Baer 2008). Silva’s article was published too soon to feature a picture of the opened grave, but it does include portraits of the disappeared and a picture of one of the relatives holding the portrait. Soon however, visual media came to dominate the representations of the exhumed bodies of the Spanish Civil War.

At this point, there is an overwhelming attention for bones in (amateur) audiovisual material circulating on the internet, in the press and photo journalism (Ferrándiz and

¹⁴⁸ For instance, the transnational trajectory of the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (Equipo Forense de Antropología Forense, EAAF) illustrates the global interest in exhuming mass graves of violent pasts. Moreover, international research projects, such as the ERC funded “Corpses of Mass Violence and Genocide” (PI Elisabeth Anstett) or the I+D+i funded “The Past Below Earth” (PI Francisco Ferrándiz), show the current need to understand this global interest in exhuming the victims of past crimes. On the other hand, one has to place this apparently global culture and the importance of the dead body for mourning and justice within a Western and above all Catholic-Christian framework, in which the treatment of the dead body (think of relics) is radically different than for instance Jewish culture or Asiatic cultures.

Baer 2008). There are several explanations for the predominance of the visual over the textual in case of the subterrados. Ferrándiz and Baer (2008) have been the first ones in mapping and providing some hypotheses on the importance of visual media in the representation of the exhumations. They hint at the importance of the “audiovisual generation” in command of the recovery of these unmarked graves. Furthermore, the re-picturing of relatives with the pictures of the disappeared ‘coalesces generational gaps and kinship links in a fresh digital image,’ while the photograph provides the sense of eternity to the rather transitory and ephemeral nature of exhumations. Ofelia Ferrán notes how the pictures of the Spanish graves, that is of dead bodies, are haunted by a future anterior of life, inverting Barthes’ analysis of the haunted photograph, immortalizing the living as they are marked by their future death (Ferrán 2013). Additionally, Ulrich Winter notices a more general shift from narrative logic to the logic of the image, as ‘the temporality of linearity collapses; past and present are no longer held together by a narrative logic; the organizing principle of narrativity is increasingly replaced by that of the image’ (Winter 2012, 18). According to Winter, the collapse of the linearity of time is a direct result of the cosmopolitanization of memory through the distancing of the past of the civil war.

But most importantly, the pictures of open graves portray the wish to reverse the politics of invisibilization. Ironically, “directly” witnessing the reality of the open mass grave, with the help of photography, is understood to be the best remedy for countering the “pact of silence.” The image breaks the narrative silence. The photograph’s realistic representation of the mass grave is understood as an irrefutable proof that counters the uncertainty and the impunity generated by the repressive practices in Francoist Spain.¹⁴⁹ Whereas in reality the photograph is the result of many subjective choices that reproduce a specific cultural repertoire, picture taking still seems to be given an ‘authority greater than any verbal account in conveying the horror of mass-produced death’ (Sontag 2003, 22). What is more, the picture of the open grave still seems to answer to the idea of “proof,” even if, since the development of digital photography, the notion of photography as unequivocal evidence has completely lost its case (Pinney 1998; Winston 1998). Notably, Ferrándiz and Baer understand these pictures as part of a transnational repertoire. They point to the fact that ‘we come across these images very often: Cambodia, Argentina, Guatemala, Bosnia, Iraq,’ as they raise questions with regards to the ethicality of the appropriation and the introduction of these pictures into ‘a global pool of images of horror and violence’ (Ferrándiz and Baer 2008, 4;13).

¹⁴⁹ Note that this accounts for a very positivistic take on photography, which in reality is the result of many subjective choices reproducing a specific cultural repertoire.

The production and exhibition of an enormous banner depicting the real-size open mass grave of La Andaya by Aranzadi Society of Sciences is probably the most distinguished example of the focus on the stress of visually witnessing the mass grave, even if it is at a distance. The banner is part of the exhibition “Exhumando fosas, recuperando dignidades” [Exhuming mass graves, recuperating dignities] commissioned by Aranzadi, coordinated by Pilar Cobo Quintana and including the photographs of thirty-one photographers. The exhibition has been traveling to different places in Spain, as well as to Brussels.¹⁵⁰ The banner, outside of the context of the exhibition, has been used by the ARMH in various demonstrations during the juridical process against Baltazar Garzón for his inquiry into alleged crimes against humanity by Franco’s government. This real-size image of a mass grave is exemplary of the understanding of the open mass grave photo as a visual proof, becoming a secular icon of Human Rights violations. When used in the context of political demonstrations, as in the case of the trial against Garzón, or, as in the picture below, during the visit of chancellor Merkel to Santiago de Compostela, the photo of the open mass grave also redirects us to the question of the perpetrators behind these crimes. In these “performances” the banner is overlaid with different slogans that are clearly directed towards an international public. During the trials against Garzón at the beginning of 2012 the question was “Is there no justice for these crimes?” displayed in both English and Spanish. During Merkel’s visit to Spain, the slogan “Mrs. Merkel, Germany was here,” printed in English, Spanish and German, pointed clearly to the German involvement in the Spanish Civil War, while it also seemed to ask for a larger European recognition of the crimes.

If we look at the Spanish press, we can see how the image has occupied an important space in the reports on the exhumations, especially since 2002, when the exhumations gained definite interest in the national and international press. In 2000 the glossy magazine *Interviú*, ironically a magazine that features pornographic nudes on its cover but also the only national magazine that dedicated space to the exhumations during the Spanish Transition, was the first national written media outlet to write about the mass graves in Spain. With the telling title “Más fosas comunes que en Yugoslavia” [More mass graves than in Yugoslavia], *Interviú* had already published on the exhumations in October 2000 (Rendueles 2000), although back then they use of the textual transnational frame of Yugoslavia. Two months later, Vázquez Montalbán wrote a column in *Interviú* in which he framed the victims as “desaparecidos,” according to his own commitment

¹⁵⁰ The ARMH attempted to exhibit the project in the building of the European Parliament in February 2013, however this initiative was finally vetoed (see Del Campo 2013). Instead, the exhibition was installed in the Halles Saint-Géry in Brussels from May 7 to June 21, 2013.

to the Latin American context and following Silva's earlier article in *La crónica de León* (Vázquez Montalbán 2000).¹⁵¹



The banner exposed at a demonstration during chancellor Angela Merkel's visit to Santiago de Compostela. Photo: ARMH, August 25, 2014.

Regardless of these first stand-alone articles, the Spanish national and the international press started covering the mass grave exhumations with regularity from 2002 onwards, and it was also then that the visual image became predominant in the signification of the mass grave.¹⁵² *El País* started covering the exhumations more extensively throughout the exhumation in Piedrafita de Babia in the summer of 2002, which was organized together with the International Civil Service. Arguably, this mass grave became the first visual media icon of the exhumations as the images circulated in the press many months after the exhumation. Tellingly, the first “article” in *El País* was actually just a picture

¹⁵¹ In this article, Vázquez Montalbán identifies Franco as the spiritual father of Pinochet.

¹⁵² In 2001 *El País* already published an article on the exhumation in Fresnedo (Serrano 2001). However, it was not until 2002 that the exhumations started to be regularly covered in different national media platforms.

with a short explanatory text. The picture showed a skull with the excavating volunteers in the background (*El País* 2002).



REUTERS

Los restos de los milicianos de Piedrafita regresan del olvido

Voluntarios de diez países han comenzado a desenterrar algunos de los cadáveres de 37 soldados republicanos que supuestamente fueron inhumados en una fosa común tras ser fusilados al final de la Guerra Civil, en Piedrafita de Babia (León). Los primeros restos humanos han sido hallados justo

donde los localizó Asunción Álvarez, hermana de dos de los milicianos asesinados, en un mapa que realizó para evitar que se perdiera la memoria de la fosa si ella moría. La Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica promueve la excavación de esa trágica cuneta.

One month later, this first photograph was followed by a much larger article, covering about half a page, written by journalist Carlos Cué who would be assigned to cover the theme of “historical memory” from that year on until Natalia Junquera took over in 2006. The title of Cué’s article “Los desaparecidos españoles” echoed the term coined by Emilio Silva two years earlier, but in this particular case it was used to narrate the ARMH’s claim presented at the United Nations to recognize the Spanish victims within the framework of the 1992 UN “Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance.” Interestingly, Cué consciously introduced the frame of disappearance in combination with other words better known to the Spanish public, ‘the Republicans who were disappeared, shot or assassinated’ (Cué 2002c). Notably, Cué’s text was again accompanied by a large photograph featuring a skull with, in the back-

ground, the team of forensics, archaeologists and volunteers working on the exhumation (Cué 2002c).

The impact of these kind of photographs was soon put into words by poet and novelist Benjamin Prado, who pointed out in his article entitled “There is a dead person in the garden,” how ‘we all saw the photos of the opened mass grave in Piedrafita de Babia’ as he described the impact it had on the public, how they felt “relieved” as well as feeling “rage” towards the situation (Prado 2002). With that Prado emphasized the iconic power of the photograph and how it was the photo in particular that triggered these feelings, rather than the textual report. In the newspapers, the pictures of the Spanish mass graves were presented next to pictures of exhumations in Libanon, Iraq, Bosnia and Sudan, accompanied with articles on the struggles for the recognition of these victims all over the world. This synchronicity with exhumation practices around the world, inspired comparative thought, in which the subterrados slowly became part of a transnational community of “disappeared,” or – more precisely – “exhumed.” Arguably, the recognition of these other international cases of Human Rights violations in the Spanish photo of the mass grave partly produced the affective power these images had on the Spanish public. That is, the Spanish pictures of the open grave were framed through a transnational context of Human Rights violations.

In 2008 the largest number of articles related to the exhumations was published, a second momentum in the media that followed the renewed interest in the topic, influenced by the discussions surrounding the Law for Historical Memory and especially by the initiative of media judge Baltasar Garzón to investigate the Francoist crimes. That year we saw many pictures being recycled, as well as being reprinted in special photographic publications, such as *La memoria de la tierra* (2008) by Eloy Alonso and Clemente Bernad, two of the most renowned photographers of the exhumations of civil war mass graves. In 2008 the impact of the image of the opened mass grave was so strong, that even the far right newspaper *La Razón* published several photographs of the exhumed graves.

In 2010, *El País Semanal*, *El País*’s glossy weekly magazine, published a lengthy article with large printed full color photographs (Huete Machado and Moro 2010). Ten years on from the first exhumation in Priaranza, this glossy publication marked an important moment in the development of the movement for “historical memory.” Importantly, the framework of the Latin American disappeared was now present through the normalized use of the word “desaparecidos” for the Spanish victims. At the same time, the mass graves were accompanied by a larger framework of Human Rights violations, which no longer referred to specific cases, but to a global arena of “intolerance” and “inhumanity.” With that, although images of the open mass grave were still present, this publication also sought to connect to other iconic and transnational images of “in-

tolerance.” Tellingly, the article started with a two-page color image of a pair of boots dug up from a mass grave, which arguably made silent reference to the image of the worn-out shoes that had become symbolic of the Holocaust through their exhibition in Auschwitz-Birkenau and in the US Holocaust Memorial Museum.



*Photo: Sofía Moro. Published in El País Semanal
(Huete Machado and Moro 2010, 62–63)*

Over the years, the exhumed bones became the object of artworks, photographic publications and exhibitions, and theater.¹⁵³ Moreover, through the use of amateur cameras, modern digital media and online networks, the availability of the pictures on the web has grown exponentially (Ferrándiz and Baer 2008).¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ See for instance the photographic approximations in *La fosa de Valdediós* by Ángel de la Rubia (2007), *Dark is the room where we sleep* by Francesc Torres (2007), *La memoria de la tierra* by Eloy Alonso and Clemente Bernad (2008), *Desvelados* from Clemente Bernad (2011a), *Desaparecidos* by Gervasio Sánchez (2011a), the theater play *Santa Perpetua* by Laila Ripoll (2011), the video “flip book” by Sarah Vanagt, *The Wave* (2012). There are also numerous video documentaries about different exhumations, such as Armengou and Belis’ *Las fosas del silencio* (2003a), *Las fosas del olvido* from produced by the Spanish national television (*Las Fosas Del Olvido* 2004) or the independent documentaries Aitor Fernández’s *Huesos* (2008), Clemente Bernad’s *Morir de sueños* (2011b) or Jorge Moreno’s *La cuchara* (2012).

¹⁵⁴ Besides the photographic iconic images of the open grave, the vignettes by illustrators El Roto and particularly Eneko became iconic images that circulated in various media. The Eneko vignettes which we now see on banners, pamphlets, or the cover of books, show a cross-section of the Spanish earth, showing both the space

In order to zoom in on the particular transnational significance of the image of the exhumed mass grave, in what follows I will look more closely at the work of two photographers, Francesc Torres and Gervasio Sánchez, whose work on the Spanish mass grave exhumations has received widespread public interest. I will read into their work from the perspective of the grave as a “space of feeling.” While for the works of Goytisolo and Vázquez Montalbán I have mainly focused on the “model” readers or Benjaminian “bricoleurs” within the novels, here I will explore the photographer’s transnational gaze as a post-witness of the exhumations (González-Ruibal 2014).

Dark is the room where we sleep (2007)

New York-based Catalan artist Francesc Torres’s much acclaimed work entitled *Dark is the room where we sleep* is a photographic approach to the exhumation of the mass grave in Villamayor de los Montes carried out by the ARMH in July 2004. The Spanish Civil War and Francoism are returning topics in Torres’s mixed-media installations. As such, in 1988 he presented an installation entitled *Belchite/South Bronx: A Transcultural and Trans-historical Landscape*, in which the Belchite ruins of the civil war serve as a background to exploring the destruction of the New York Bronx after the Second World War. This work underlines both his interest in the ruin as a historical trace as well as his transnational gaze. In *Dark is the room*, Torres explores the intimate space of the mass grave as such a trace. This time however, the transnational framework is rooted in the historical iconography of the Spanish Civil War, with indirect references to the work of Gerda Taro, Robert Capa and Goya. It is the work’s transnational circulation as well as its iconic and emotional framing that invite the creation of a transnational space.

The author clearly states that this project is a result of his impulse to make these exhumations publicly visible, making it more of a social project than an artistic one. With that, Torres’s project stands somewhere between a work of art and a work of documentation, creating a visual archive of the exhumation in Villamayor. The book’s cover in uncolored rough cardboard as if it was a file taken from an archive, adds to the “documental” quality of the work. The work was first exhibited in the International Center of Photography in New York. It included 29 pictures with, in the center of the room, a pocket watch that had been retrieved from the grave in Villamayor. Miriam Basilio argues that the exhibition was turned into a space of public commemoration, as the public ‘moved through a spatial, emotional, and visual trajectory, in which they viewed the dig’s process, the horror of the remains exposed, interviews with witnesses

above the ground and below the ground, unveiling the mass graves underground, in the form of a teardrop, a question mark or a text box.

and family members, and finally the open grave itself' (M. M. Basilio 2013, 235). Both the exhibition and the book do indeed depict the linear process of structure, which moves from the identification of the grave to the color photographs of the reburial two years later.¹⁵⁵ In spite of this, as I will show in the following, the workings of affect and non-linear time in the work enhance the implicit transnational setting.

The inclusion of the pocket watch as a real object from the past into the exhibition – a picture by forensic biologist Luis Ríos is printed on the backside of the book – points to two important lines in the work. Firstly, the watch underlines Torres's specific focus on objects from the grave as metonymies of the disappeared that are able to tell the story of their personhood. As such, both Renshaw and Harries stress the importance of stories and other objects such as photographs, clothes, and handwriting, which are more clearly identifiable, to animate the dead body, while they point to the limitations of the affective power of skeletons (Harries 2010; Renshaw 2010). Ofelia Ferrán points out how Torres's photograph of a wedding ring on the hand of one of the exhumed bodies addresses questions of personhood and possible futures and how, as an affective vehicle, it also symbolizes the "marriage" between the past and the present. 'Any person viewing Torres's photograph, be it in the book or in the museum installation, is brought into the fold of that promise, and the "activation in the future" of the "dormant potentiality" of the past, functions in a sense as that anterior future of life, not death, that the photograph helps put into play' (Ferrán 2013, 126). Torres's focus on objects from the grave – we see a wedding ring, shoes, pieces of cloth – can be seen as an attempt to enhance the affective power of his visual story. The exhibition of the real watch displays a wish for his photographs to go beyond representation, reiterating its archival function.

Secondly, the pocket watch represents time in a metaphorical sense. The watch can be seen as a metaphor for the "stopping of time," referring to the moment of the murder of these individuals, but also to the moment of exhumation as a stopping of the time of silence and ignorance about their deaths (Torres 2007, 111). Also, the watch as a referent to time, as well as an object, should be seen as the condensation or even collapse of linear time, like a metaphor of the present past (Huyssen 2003; Winter 2012). Even if the photographs in the exhibition as well as in the book are presented in a very linear way, the project as a whole reveals the understanding of the exhumation of a literal return of the past in the present. In the exhibition the inclusion of the pocket watch as an object, reveals the present pastness of the grave, or more precisely, the dis/continuity of time.

¹⁵⁵ For Ribeiro de Menezes, these color prints are reminiscent of the final scenes of Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* and therefore they imply the achievement of "closure" (Ribeiro de Menezes 2014, loc.938).



Detail from the exhibition “Dark is the room where we sleep” at ARTIUM, Basque Museum-Center of Contemporary Art in Vitoria-Gasteiz in 2009.

Photo: gg-art.com; May 10, 2009.

The texts that are included in Torres’s book also allude to time as a subjective and malleable concept. For instance, the book opens with a quote from Sebald’s *Austerlitz*, referring to the condensation of time in space, ‘as if all the moments of our life occupy the same space’ (Sebald, quoted in Torres 2007, 13). After that Torres begins his opening essay on his foolish insistence ‘on winning the Spanish Civil War’ (Torres 2007, 14). That is, the civil war is projected as an ongoing battle in the present. At the same time Franco’s victory is pictured as, ‘five hundred years of historical film projected in reverse’ (Idem.). Also, a recurrent theme in the book is that of the children being older than their parents at the moment that the past unfolds in the present through the exhumation. Another example of the dis/continuity of time are the dates of the inscription on the tombstone of the new burial site, 1936-2006. Ferrán points out how they refer not to the victim’s lives but to their collective life after death as ghosts, until they were properly

buried (Ferrán 2013, 118–119). The exhumation, and with that the photographic documentation of the exhumation, marks the end of haunting.

Presenting his work as visual evidence, rather than art, Torres conscientiously takes the position of a post-witness, underscoring his testimonial role and inviting the public to accompany him in that role. The life-size or even larger photographs give the viewer the feeling of participating in the exhumation.¹⁵⁶ The installation's resistance to "aestheticization,"¹⁵⁷ the display of a real object of the grave, and the didactic cadre¹⁵⁸ together form a framework in which the New York public is invited not only to testify, but also to learn about this particular event in history. As such the photographs create a transnational community of witnesses based on the recognition of their victimhood. The exhibition and the book create a transnational community of witnesses who enter in an imagined civil contract, engendered in the act of viewing the photos and recognizing that 'these dead are *our* dead, too' (Ferrán 2013, 122). Torres himself phrases this idea as the wish of creating a "visual conscience:" 'I thought then and I think now that it is important that these images, mine and others', become part of the visual conscience of Spanish citizens and the citizens of any other country, all countries, that have experienced or could experience circumstances similar to ours' (Torres 2007, 21).

The work's intertextual references, such as iconic and powerful allusions to the work of Robert Capa, Gerda Taro and Goya – global references for indignation and protests against injustice and violence – further enhance the idea of a transnational community of witnesses. Torres highlights the relation with war photographers such as Capa and Taro, using black and white deliberately because 'these pictures should be considered as war photography, taken almost seventy years after the fact' ((Francesc Torres, public lecture on December 6, 2007, quoted in M. M. Basilio 2013, 238; Torres 2007, 15). Torres also opts for the incorporation of two reproductions of Goya's *Desastres de la Guerra* and *Pinturas negras*; one of them, a detail depicting three murdered bodies of Goya's *Enterrar y callar* [To bury and to shut up], being printed on semi transparent paper and overlaying the photograph of three uncovered skulls of the grave in Villamayor (Torres 2007, 85;87). Linking his photography of the mass grave exhumation to

¹⁵⁶ Note how the life-size banner of an exhumation used by the ARMH seeks the same effect.

¹⁵⁷ The resistance to aestheticization is stressed by Miriam Balisio on the basis of the display strategies of the author and curator Kristen Lubben (M. M. Basilio 2013, 235). Alison Ribeiro de Menezes mentions however, that Torres "does not self-reflexively stress the fact that, like Goya, his own image of war's aftermath are in the end aesthetic" (Ribeiro de Menezes 2014, loc.972).

¹⁵⁸ This can be related to the way the ARMH uses the open mass grave as "mobile seminars" that function to teach the local witnesses of the exhumation about its history and meaning (Bevernage and Colaert 2014, 449–450).

these transnational icons of war, Torres underscores his photography as a work of documentation for a global public.

From the confined and particular history of the mass grave of Villamayor de los Montes, Torres calls for solidarity with the fate of the victims in the as yet uncovered mass graves in Spain and around the world. The author himself underlines that '[t]he 46 victims, three of whom remain unidentified, stand in for the estimated 50.000 victims still in mass graves' (Francesc Torres, public lecture on December 6 2007, quoted in M. M. Basilio 2013, 237). That this projection not only extends to other graves but also to the aftermath and remembrance of violent conflicts around the world stems from the fact that the installation was exhibited in New York before being presented anywhere in Spain – a statement, according to Torres (Torres 2008, 165).

All the texts included in the book are clearly marked with brief fleeting transnational analogies, all part of the wide transnational imagery into which the case of Spain should be inserted. Sebald's quote stands in strong relation to European memory paradigms of the Holocaust; and Torres particularly mentions 'Argentina, Chile, and Spain' as a unity when talking about the children who are older than their parents when the digging is done. It is however professor Joanne Bourke's essay included at the end of Torres' book, which reflects on the politics of forgetting and remembering worldwide, that makes the final case for the transnational scope of the project. Her text projects a large canvas of conflicts around the world and the countries' troubles with coming to terms with the past, traveling through the examples of Great Britain, Korea, Turkey, Rwanda, East-Germany, Italy, Finland, France, Greece, Russia, Chile, Salvador and South Africa (Bourke 2007). Bourke concludes, '[t]he choice between forgetfulness and remembrance is ours' (Bourke 2007, 166), echoing the dedication of the book "To all of us," making Torres's multidirectional approach an inclusive one.

Bourke's essay marks the end of the exhumation photos. After reading her text we view the colorful pictures of the reburial in 2006. The photo of a Chinese girl hanging over the tomb underlines the inclusive transnationalism that Torres proclaims. He writes, '[a] little Chinese girl ran around among the people. Many of us thought that perhaps in her we could see the future of a new country – inclusive, comfortable with the most absolute diversity, immune to dogmas, unaffected by fear, free' (Torres 2007, 170).

Torres deliberately seems to evade the trope of the "disappeared." He does not tell a story of uncertainty, silence and psychological anguish, instead he tells a story of affective evidence from the traces of history. Instead of staying a haunting ghost from the past, the bones in the mass grave of Villamayor claim to take a stance against the enduring injustice in Spain and all over the world. Torres envisions memory and forgetting as

a beam of light that ‘produces a shadow that hides the other side of what is lit up’ (Torres 2007, 16). However, his own work shows how the light of his camera produces light in the shadows, like the diffracted light in a Goya chiaroscuro it bends over the edges. Torres’s photos mark the porosity of the local boundaries of the mass grave of Villamayor de los Montes and, as the ghosts of Villamayor are interred, the ghosts of other places and other times are invoked. Torres consciously marks his work as a transnational example of injustice around the world, as he relates to the paradigms of evidence and affect. His work anticipates a spatiotemporal constellation in which the Spanish excluded from the past are re-introduced into a transnational community of victims in the present and gives rise to a future Spain as an inclusive country, comfortable with the most absolute diversity.

Desaparecidos (2011)

Gervasio Sánchez’s exhibition and publication *Desaparecidos* (2011) moves in the opposite direction of Torres’s intimate story of the mass grave in Villamayor. Before depicting mass grave exhumations in Spain, Sánchez had already spent many years photographing the complex and violent history of Forced Disappearance around the world. Moreover, when Sánchez recounts his journey as a photojournalist he does so in a spatial and non-linear way: he started studying the theme of Forced Disappearance in Latin America and he returned home through former Yugoslavia, “the backyard of Europe.”¹⁵⁹ The photographer himself explains that from 2008 onwards he felt the moral obligation to turn his gaze to his own country and to include it in the work he had been creating for decades (Sánchez 2011a, 18–21).

Whereas Torres presented his work firstly in New York far away from Spain, Sánchez’s exhibition opened in three locations in Spain simultaneously: at the Museo de Arte Contemporáneo in León, at the Casa Encendida in Madrid and at the Centre de Cultura Contemporània in Barcelona. Sánchez does not tell a linear story of an exhumation, but delivers a thematically and synchronic narration of various instances of violence around the world, including geographies as diverse as Argentina, Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador, Peru, Iraq, Cambodia, Bosnia and Spain – as a coda – all categorized under the label of Forced Disappearance. The themes – detention centers, memory, belongings, search, exhumation, cellars, identification, burial, Spain – that organize Sánchez’s photographic exploration, not only cover the process of search and identification, as we have seen in Torres’s work, but firstly discern their existing traces in the

¹⁵⁹ What is more Sánchez’s photos from Bosnia illustrate Goytisolo’s *Cuaderno de Sarajevo*.

present which emphasize the “disappearance” of the victims: we see photos of detention centers, memorials and family pictures with objects that once belonged to their loved ones. But the exhibition mainly displays serialized pictures of bodies, corpses and portraits, within the technical categories that relate to the exhumation practices. Most of the captions do not identify the names of the corpses or disappeared, instead they are identified by place, country and year. Also the exhumed remains are kept at a distance from the viewer, mostly marked by technical frameworks, the presence of the forensic doctors, his hands or his tools.



Detail of the exhibition “Desaparecidos” at the Centre de Cultura Contemporània in Barcelona. Personal objects of the disappeared. Photo: Marije Hristova; March 5, 2011.

Interestingly, Sánchez chose to present his photos on the Spanish exhumations as a coda or epilogue. In this last section we do witness a linear process, starting with the already opened grave and ending with a closed niche in the cemetery. However, still here, the photos of two different exhumations – in La Puebla de Cazalla (June 2009) and in Cetina (March 2010) – are blended into a single linear story. The exhibition and the publication clearly envisioned a Spanish public. The coda centered on the Spanish case, demands for justice and action, when viewed through the prism of Iraqi, Bosnian or Guatemalan exhumations. One could say that with the Spanish coda Sánchez both compares

the Spanish case to the others and sets it aside as “unique.” The photographer dedicates a large part of his introduction “What matters is dignity,” to the question of the necessity of exhuming the Republican mass graves, regardless of the economic crisis: “Why are Guatemalans and Iraqis and Bosnians more courageous than us Spaniards? Their wars were just as brutal as ours, their transitions equally complex, their politicians are marred by forgetting and self-interest as our own. And yet, they have made progress and we are still bogged down. And most serious of all, we allow ourselves to use the drama of others as a weapon” (Sánchez 2011a, 21). Here, Sánchez sets the Spanish case against the others, where apparently justice has been achieved.

On the one hand we can read Sánchez’s implication in the Spanish case as a “boom-rang effect.” The recognition of injustices elsewhere made him notice the injustices done in his own country. As such, in his work the Spanish “disappeared” really become part of a transnational community. That is what makes sociologist Gabriel Gatti identify this work as an example of what he calls ‘the colonizing force of the transnational disappeared.’ With that, Gatti points at a worrying form of colonization that is ‘aesthetical, historical and social, and that overrides differences and encloses the subject in the signifier “disappeared” (...) lacking any form of nuance and variety, not only with regards to the cause of disappearance, but also to the expressions of pain or resistance which befall Forced Disappearance itself’ (Gatti 2011, 533). Yet, on the other hand, the Spanish coda emphasizes a distance to the serialized and decontextualized Other, which makes us wonder if Spain is really part of the transnational community of “disappeared.”

It is only in the series of portraits of the families of the disappeared, published as a separate volume entitled *Forgotten victims* (Sánchez 2011b), that we can really read the Spanish victims as part of a transnational community. These series, organized by country and identifying both the names of the relatives and the victims in the accompanying captions, are less distancing than the exhumation series. However, they play with the metaphoric mode of transnational memory, as they are built on the already iconic and denouncing image related to the condition of Forced Disappearance: that of the relative being photographed holding a portrait of the disappeared person. According to Ariel Dorfman this image is ‘a widespread, almost epidemic, image of tragedy and defiance’ which is as much part of our planetary imagination as the logos of McDonalds or Coca-Cola (Dorfman 2006; Dorfman 2007). This is one of the “genres” that also features in the visual repertoire of the Spanish exhumations and has its origin, according to Dorfman, in a group of Chilean women claiming their missing relatives in 1977, while ‘making present and material and lifelike what had been phantasmagorically removed from their hands’ (Dorfman 2007). At the same time we could say that these are the photos that stage Mandolessi and Perez’s definition of the transnational disappeared, referring

to the psychological effect on the lives of the relatives rather than the repressive practice itself (Mandolessi and Perez 2014). These photos emphasize the traumatic and haunting aspects of the photo, doubling Barthes future anterior of death while at the same time collapsing time as they refer to the genre of the family portrait, as if the disappeared person was still there.



Detail of the exhibition “Desaparecidos” at the Centre de Cultura Contemporània in Barcelona. Left portraits of relatives and disappeared, right the ruins of the Sarajevo library. Photo: Marije Hristova; March 5, 2011.

The serialized exhibition by Gervasio Sánchez brings to the fore a more frequently debated form of transnational memory, returning to the modes of metaphor and analogy. The victims themselves are made invisible and the serialized presentation of the objects and remains fails to reconstitute their personhood. Different than in Torres’s work the exhumed victims are not identified and the book closes with a nameless, blank niche in the wall of a cemetery. This distanced and serialized narration does indeed signal an appropriation and flattening of the term “disappeared,” as signaled by Gabriel Gatti, losing the context and specific stories of their suffering. Benjamin’s “aura” of authenticity is lost through the re-produced images.

Yet, although presenting itself as authentic archival evidence, the layered version of transnational memory in Torres's work is also mediated, in this case through the iconic work of Capa and Goya. Whereas Torres's work is more celebrated than Sánchez's proposal both photographers blur the distinction between local and global, singularity and generality as they stage, in the words of Max Silverman, 'an ambivalent space of "relationality" between sameness and difference' (Silverman 2013, 176). For Walter Benjamin the loss of the "aura" is not necessarily bad, as it holds the possibility to open up the politicization of art. That is also what Silverman, as well as Rothberg, suggest when they invite us to rethink "uniqueness" and with that the politics of interconnections and differences (Rothberg 2009; Silverman 2013). Barad goes even further as she proposes to explore how phenomena are constituted through one another, as she explores the evasiveness and porosity of boundaries (Barad 2007).

In the case of Gervasio Sánchez, the Spanish subterrado is revealed through the rhizomatic notion of Forced Disappearance around the world and, in the case of Francesc Torres, through the long shadow of violence in Spanish history, which then opens up to a global scope of silenced memories of violent events. Both cases – the Spanish exhumations in general, or the exhumation in Villamayor de los Montes in particular – become the focal point from which the transnational is projected. In the work of Sánchez, the framework of the "desaparecido" projects a transnational imagined community of relatives. However, the mostly unidentified and highly serialized victims obstruct the viewer's access into the imagined civil contract, as the identity of the lives lost remains vague. Torres's more material approach to the "subterrado," on the other hand, includes past, present and future in a transnational community of "witnesses," stretching out to an inclusive future for the most absolute diversity. Finally, in both cases, we are drawn to imagine this transnational community from the space-time coordinates of Spain in the present moment. With that, the Spanish subterrado is not a ghost anymore, haunting the present from the past. The ghosts are laid to rest, remembered on the tombstone, 1936-2006. The "thereness" of their bodies and objects in the present, posits claims of memory, of truth, and of justice.

THE SUBTERRADO AND THE IMAGINATION OF ALTERITY

José María Merino's novel *La Sima* [The Cave] (2009) ties together several of the lines I have so far set out. *La Sima* is one of the few literary works in contemporary Spain that has taken up the exhumation of mass graves as a literary space and as such the novel exemplifies the affective power of the exhumed body and its narrative (im)possibilities. In my reading of the novel the shift of the victims of the civil war from a haunting presence to

the reality of the exhumed body also results in a shift from the ghost as agent to the agency of the affected post-witness. Also, parting from the space of a mass grave, the novel allows us to explore the relation between the subterrado as a national entangled “Other,” and the constitution of a transnational framework, as Merino’s narrative displays a particular fascination with Spanish Cainism, or fratricidal war. With that, the text explores one of the still actual (and maybe haunting) metaphors that portrays Spain as a divided nation between Left and Right, between Catholicism and anticlericalism; a metaphor that has its origin in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Juliá 2004); a metaphor of “Othering” that is. As I will argue, at the end of the novel, the main character Fidel is able to draw from his personal experience as an “expelled” – exiled and almost killed – and thus his engagement with alterity, to solve his paralyzing incarnated dualism rooted in the fascination with Spanish Cainism. As such, I will elucidate on how the end of the novel gives voice to the new inclusive nationalism based on a transnational imagination.

Merino explores the space of the mass grave through the eyes of the 34-year-old Fidel, a doctoral student in history, who has come to the Leonese village where he grew up to attend the exhumation of the grave located in the pit cave – *la sima de Montiecho* – near the village. His grandfather and a group of people from outside the village, are said to be the murderers of more than thirty Republicans, now buried in the mass grave. From the moment this rumor was revealed to Fidel in his infancy, the ghosts of the mass grave have been haunting him. Like Torres’s *Dark is the room*, the story is narrated from a restricted framework of time and space: a short period of ten days from the desk of a solitary hotel room in a village in the area of Leon. However, the novel interlaces different times and places as it mixes Fidel’s first-person diary writings with memories from Fidel’s sessions with his psychologist, conversations with his thesis director, professor Verástegui, and with his high school teacher and friends, Don Cándido, Nacho and Marcos.

When Fidel visits the village he is recovering from a deep depression, which is the cause of his large narrative digressions, moving from psychological to historical insights and memories from his childhood. The early death of his communist parents in a car accident placed Fidel under the wings of his conservative Francoist grandparents and uncles. In this restrictive environment Fidel grows into a complex and hybrid character whose internal quest is to overcome the enduring binary oppositions in Spanish political culture. These oppositions are driven to violent extremes by means of his sexual relationship with his cousin Puri and hence the expulsion from his uncle’s house and the violent confrontation with his cousin José Antonio. The pit cave, and more precisely the exhumation of the corpses that had been disposed of there, represents to Fidel the

final evidence and the unveiling of the family secrets as well as the promise that he may overcome his bifurcated identity.

The text features both ghosts and corpses arising from the mass grave, filtered through Fidel's highly affective experience of the cave and projected onto vast spatio-temporal constellations of memory and history. In Fidel we can see Benjamin's bricoleur as a doctoral student – like Muriel – who tries to unravel secrets from the past. But Fidel is also Gervasio Sánchez or Francesc Torres who, triggered by the current exhumation cycle in Spain, witnesses the graves and claims memory, truth, and justice in the present. With that, the novel goes back and forth between the haunting of the past and the pressing responsibilities in the present.

In the novel we read repeatedly how, when he heard the howling wind from the mountains, the victims haunted Fidel in his dreams.

'I was still very young and upon hearing them I felt much anxiety, as if those branches of sound, growing so fast and unrestricted, were able to penetrate into my room through the walls of the house and spread around my bed, and would threaten to implant their sharp howls in my body (...) released by wild imaginary jaws (...) of the wild landscapes in trance, complaining about something undoubtedly related to gigantic pain' (Merino 2009, 32).¹⁶⁰

It is a girl from the village, Petri, who confesses to Fidel that these are the voices of the dead in the pit cave. Moreover, from the moment Fidel hears the rumor of his grandfather being the murderer of these victims, besides the haunting evocations of the badly buried bodies from the mass grave in the pit cave, the novel includes an almost literal embodiment and enactment of the mass grave in Fidel.

On several occasions, Fidel describes his depression as like being thrown into a pit cave. What is more, from the very beginning of the novel Fidel describes a direct corporal identification with the pit cave, inspired by the geologic descriptions of his friend Marcos:

'and that invisible cave on the ridge of the huge mountain that neither of us can see suggests pictures of my own body to me. I think of my chasms, of my precipi-

¹⁶⁰ 'Yo era todavía muy pequeño y sentía al escucharlo mucho desasosiego, como si esas ramificaciones sonoras creciendo tan rápida como libremente tuviesen la posibilidad de llegar a mi cuarto a través de los muros de la casa y extenderse alrededor de mi cama, y amenazasen con incrustar en mi cuerpo lo que tenían de aullidos puntiagudos (...) emitidos por unas imaginarias fauces salvajes (...) de los parajes silvestres en trance de quejarse de algo sin dudo propio de dolores gigantescos.'

tations, of my rocky areas, like old signals of losses, leading to a dissolution' (Merino 2009, 20).¹⁶¹

A few pages later, Fidel confesses that the pit cave 'has always remained inside me demanding my attention, or I remained inside of the cave trying to get out, although sometimes I thought I'd forgotten' (Merino 2009, 24).¹⁶² The space of the pit cave enacts upon Fidel in such a way that it becomes the origin of Fidel's divided identity and his multiple familial "exiles," as well as of the depression that led to his attempted suicide. In *La Sima*, the "thereness" of the space of the mass grave, subtierro, is embodied in the main character.

The promise of the exhumation of the mass grave does indeed not "return" the ghosts of the past, moreover, they are "there" as bodies waiting to be exhumed. With that, Fidel compares his diary writing with the work of exhumation in which he is 'various doubles, my father and my grandfather on the one hand, the murderer and the victim on the other, the undertaker who inhumed them and the one who is digging to bring their bodies to the surface' (Merino 2009, 180).¹⁶³ In the exploration of his childhood memories, his historical research and his attendance at the mass grave exhumation, Fidel takes the position of an affected witness who is there to unravel the truth and set things straight.

Fidel's strong affective link to the mass grave, however, does not come from a family relationship with one of the victims interred in the cave, but from the knowledge that his grandfather was guilty of the crime. As he witnesses the mass grave exhumation in Fiedrafita, Fidel feels the moral obligation of being present during the exhumation of the pit cave of Montiecho, to counter the aggressive acts of some of his family members. Throughout his life the pit cave had become the inspiration for Fidel's research into the history and political inclinations of his family – his deceased parents were communists, his great-uncle on his father's side killed a Cardinal, while Fidel was educated by his ultra conservative uncles and grandparents on his mother's side. This contradiction produces a dichotomization in Fidel's own identity, as he confesses that the large presence that 'these conflicting and imaginary characters of my grandfather with his blue shirt and a pistol in his belt, and my father with his militia bonnet and his rifle in the

¹⁶¹ 'y esa sima invisible en la cresta de la enorme montaña que tampoco se ve me sugiere imágenes de mi propio cuerpo. Pienso en mis simas, en mis precipitaciones, en mis zonas rocosas, como señales añejas de pérdidas que van conduciendo a la disolución.'

¹⁶² 'ha permanecido siempre dentro de mí reclamando mi atención, o yo dentro de él intentando salir, aunque a veces creyese haberlo olvidado.'

¹⁶³ '[Y]o soy varios dobles, mi padre y mi abuelo, por un lado, por el otro, el asesino y la víctima, el enterrador que los inhumó y el que cava para sacarlos a la luz.'

sling occupied a large space inside me, like a split which sometimes would cause me nightmares' (Merino 2009, 85).¹⁶⁴ The possible exhumation of the pit cave of Montiecho becomes then a possibility of reuniting his doubled self: 'At that moment I realized that I had to be present at this exhumation, bringing with me my grandfather, my uncles and my father, as a counterweight to this cousin of mine who didn't want the past to be brought to light' (Merino 2009, 204–205).¹⁶⁵ Fidel's actual quest is to overcome his depression, which has its origin in Fidel's troubled identification with the mass grave and his split identity:

'Now I do not know if this conflict was born precisely then, that summer, when the village children led me to the edge of the pit cave of Montiecho and Fausti told me what I assumed was more of a statement than an insult, or when afterwards I talked to my grandfather while he smoked the cigar resting on the rock as he used the French, the Romans, the Moors, and the Carlists, as a curious release of guilt; but that feeling of being double, or at least, of not constituting one piece, had started to form an intimate part of me, in a knot of times and spaces threaded like heterogeneous prayer beads that only memory, perhaps through writing, can untie completely' (Merino 2009, 67).¹⁶⁶

The pit cave is also the reason for Fidel's insistence on the existence of an almost biological inclination for fratricidal war in Spain. Throughout the novel Fidel reveals fragments of his diary and his collected thesis materials to prove the doubled identity of the Spanish nation as a mirror of the doubled identity that he finds embodied in him. Fidel positions himself both as the perpetrator and as the victim, a position he is only able to overcome at the very end of the novel.

We can also appreciate how the space of the pit cave in a way copies the logic of the image, that, as argued by Ulrich Winter, collapse the linearity of time. For Winter, time is no longer understood as a logical narrative sequence that separates past, present and

¹⁶⁴ 'esas figuras contrapuestas e imaginarias de mi abuelo con la camisa azul y la pistola al cinto, y de mi padre con la gorilla miliciana y el fusil en bandolera, ocupaban mucho espacio dentro de mí, en un desdoblamiento que a veces me producía pesadillas.'

¹⁶⁵ 'En ese momento comprendí que yo tenía que estar presente en esa exhumación, llevando conmigo a mi abuelo, a mis tíos abuelos y a mi padre, como contrapeso de ese primo mío que no quería que el pasado saliese a la luz.'

¹⁶⁶ 'Ahora no sé si ese conflicto nació precisamente entonces, aquel verano, cuando los niños del pueblo me llevaron hasta el borde de la sima de Montiecho y Fausti contó aquello que asumí más como una sentencia que como un insulto, o cuando luego hablé con mi abuelo mientras él fumaba el purito apoyado en la peña y utilizaba a los franceses, y a los romanos, y a los moros, y a los carlistas, como un curioso descargo de culpabilidad, pero ese sentimiento de ser doble, por lo menos, de no constituir una sola pieza, ha formado parte íntima de mí, en una atadura de tiempos y de espacios enhebrada como un rosario de cuentas heterogéneas que solo la memoria, acaso a través de la escritura, puede ir desanudando del todo.'

future. The logic of the image is rather that of simultaneity and synchronicity. With that, we could read time in the way Barad describes memory: as being inscribed in the fabric of the world, in which the world “holds” all the traces. And, through the prism of the entanglement of space and time, the collapse of time is necessarily accompanied by the reconfiguration of space. As such, the pit cave becomes a space of transnational memory, representing ‘the here-there, and the elsewhere within here, all at once’ (Barad 2014, 177). For Lorraine Ryan, both the pit cave and the bifurcated identity of Fidel give place to an “in-between” space that, following the definition of Homi Bhabha, provides a terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood that initiate new signs of identity (Ryan 2014, 186). Ryan asserts how Fidel’s obsessive interest in the pit cave is due to its promise ‘to grant him the spatial autonomy to assert his incommpliant subjectivity, and to conceive and enact new ways of being, thereby blurring the boundaries between rigidly defined binaries of good and evil’ (Ibid.). Moreover, the pit cave as an in-between space obliges Fidel to engage with alterity. Alterity is both represented in a “trans-temporal” Other as well as in a transnational Other, all collapsed into the image of the pit cave as an in-between space.

Alterity, and the excluding force of nationalism, is not only embodied in Fidel, but also mirrored in the dualities Fidel records throughout history. Insisting on proving that Cainism is a core characteristic of Spanish identity, Fidel keeps a vast record of what he understands to be fratricidal wars. These include the Roman civil wars on the Iberian Peninsula, the Arab dynasties in Granada, the wars between the Almagristas and the Pizarristas in the conquest of Peru in the sixteenth century, the Spanish Reconquista, the conflict between the supporters of Isabella I of Castile and Joanna “la Beltraneja,” the Carlist wars during the nineteenth century, the Spanish Civil War, but also contemporary political struggles such as ETA’s terrorist actions, the Catalan struggle for further independence and the harsh political opposition between the PSOE and the PP under José María Aznar. Likewise, Fidel brings up other examples of pit caves – Atapuerca, los Cristinos, Igúzquiza and Ecala – into which the bodies of adversaries had been thrown throughout history (Merino 2009, 25–26).

While these digressions in the novel explore the still existing effects of these widespread and repetitive definitions of Spanish identity as “two Spains” (Gingerich 2014), they also open up a transnational field of memory. Fidel’s deviations are constantly opposed both by his thesis director Verástegui and his best friend Marcos. They criticize Fidel for presenting a Manichaeian version of history, a hallucination, and a whim. Through them, the “trans-temporal” field of memory is extended to a far-reaching transnational field of violent memories, as they divert Fidel’s argument towards a transnational Human Rights discourse, which is critical of the Spanish Transition to democ-

racy. Marcos puts forward the example of Chile and Argentina as ‘elements of terrible civil confrontations, the disappeared, the tortured, the people thrown from airplanes, the stolen children, as paradigms of behavior that could also be named Cainistic’ (Merino 2009, 139–140).¹⁶⁷ In other instances Marcos’ spectrum extends beyond the exemplary cases of Chile and Argentina:

‘The hatred towards the gringo, hatred towards the Jew, hatred towards the Huguenot, hatred towards Catholic, hatred towards the capitalist, the hatred towards the Bolshevik, hatred towards the bourgeoisie, hatred towards the Moor, hatred towards the faggot, hatred of the Muslim towards the unfaithful. Have you not heard of African hatred? The hatred of the Roman towards the Punic and the Punic towards the Roman, the Balkan hatred, hatred between Shiites and Sunnis. What the fuck are you talking about’ (Merino 2009, 77)?¹⁶⁸

I would add that even Fidel is less stereotypical as an archetype of the “two Spains” than it might seem. For instance, Fidel frequently slips into similar multidirectional comparisons as his opponents as he witnesses contemporary conflicts through the news. In these instances, we read how in Fidel’s imagination his grandfather attains similarities to the picture of Pinochet that was published in the newspaper (Merino 2009, 147), and his cousin José Antonio is compared to Milosevic, Karadzic, Bush junior as well as Sila, Hitler, Stalin, Franco, Yagüe and institutions such as the Gestapo, the CIA, and the Holy Inquisition (Merino 2009, 311). Moreover, although Fidel describes his double identity as representing both his father and his grandfather, Fidel’s approach towards those who, according to him, incarnate the Spanish inclination for hatred is rather distancing. From the guerrilla fighters of the Shining Path to the Catalan defenders of the new Catalan Statute and even those carrying the Republican flag in the demonstrations against the Spanish support of the new war in Iraq, all these characters resemble Fidel’s cousin José Antonio in their fanatic struggle for singularity.

Fidel’s engagement with alterity becomes most evident in his self-definition as “expelled,” exiled and almost killed. At first, through the premature death of his parents, Fidel becomes an outsider in the house of his uncles; then, because of the discovery of

¹⁶⁷ ‘Marcos pone el ejemplo chileno, el ejemplo argentino, como elementos de terrible confrontación civil, los desaparecidos, los torturados, la gente arrojada desde los aviones, los niños robados, como paradigmas de conductas que también pudieran denominarse cainitas.’

¹⁶⁸ ‘El odio al gringo, el odio al judío, el odio al hugonote, el odio al católico, el odio al capitalista, el odio al bolchevique, el odio al burgués, el odio al moro, el odio al maricón, el odio del musulmán hacia el infiel. ¿No has oído hablar del odio africano? El odio de lo romano hacia lo púnico y de lo púnico hacia lo romano, los odios balcánicos, el odio entre chiitas y sunitas. ¿De qué carajo estás hablando?’

his incestuous relationship with his cousin, he is expelled from his family; and, finally, Fidel is disinherited by his grandfather when he is a student, again because of his relationship with Puri. On the other hand, he escapes death three times: once he is saved by his books from the gunshots fired by his cousin José Antonio, the second time he is miraculously saved by the Peruvian army when about to be shot by members of the Shining Path and finally he is saved from an attempted suicide by his friend Marcos. At the end of the novel, drawing from his personal experience as an “expelled” Fidel is finally able to solve his paralyzing incarnated dualism. That is, although Fidel is presented as the embodiment of the “two Spains,” identifying in himself both his Falangist grandfather and his Communist father, his life-story rather identifies him as a loser, a misfit, or someone expelled.

The end of the novel, as I argue, is key to understanding the role of the mass grave in reconstituting Fidel’s complex and bifurcated identity and with that – since his character functions partly as a personification of Spain – “national” identity in Spain. Importantly the novel does not end with the exhumation of the corpses in the pit cave of Montiecho. The exhumation has been put to a halt because Fidel’s cousin José Antonio blasted the entrance of the pit cave, which made the descent into the cave impossible. Arguably because of it now having become impossible for Fidel to prove his grandfather’s killings in a scientific and objective manner, what Ryan calls “true memory” (Ryan 2014, 179), Fidel was able to connect to imaginative fiction as an alternative paradigm of knowing and time that is based on empathy, complexity and psychological insight.

Throughout the novel Fidel notably distinguishes between two paradigms of time. Non time – a concept derived from Marcos’ explanations about the geological origin of the earth – is to Fidel the almost non-evolving and abstract space of nature and with that of the mountains, the pit cave, and, the Peruvian Quechua isle of the Titicaca Lake, almost untouched by modern civilization. Non time is also the space inhabited by Fidel’s two big love stories, the incestuous relationship with his cousin Puri and the adulterous relationship with the French girl Marisa in Peru. This is the distant space related to Fidel’s depression, from where he observes the vast spatiotemporal map that he draws of history. History or human time, on the other hand, is the space related to scientific knowledge based on data and sources and concerned with objectivity. For Fidel, only humans suffer the conditions of time, whereas the earth is exempt from the conditions of time (Merino 2009, 22). Non time is then a space of peace and harmony, while time is a space of war and hatred. Fidel feels vertigo when he thinks of the passing of time (Merino 2009, 313), while at the same time he identifies himself as connected to both spheres of time and non time (Merino 2009, 349). Thus, non time and human time

again signify a duality embodied in the character of Fidel. At the same time, the synchronicity of different paradigms of time, of which one is explicitly “produced” by humans, relates to Barad’s conceptualization of the entanglement of space and time and their mutual (re)configuration in the materialization of the world’s phenomena.

Interestingly, in the last part of the novel fictional imagination becomes a new paradigm of knowledge I would like to call “micro time.” Micro time is the space of “lived memory,” imagination and with that it is related to empathy, affect and emotion. Earlier on we have already seen how Fidel underscores that only memory can unravel the knotted times and spaces in him, yet here Fidel returns purposely to the faculty of imagination. The importance of the novel as a distinct form of knowledge is a recurrent idea in Merino’s writings and in *La Sima* this idea is defended by the French Marisa, who points to the importance of intuition for understanding people and the world at large (Merino 2009, 228). Whereas the paradigms of non time and human time distance Fidel from the subjects he studies, through imagination or micro time he is finally able to understand his stereotyping and to empathize with the Other. Arguably, it is also micro time that envisions the body as a space of resistance; in this case, Fidel’s body and through his affective identification, the bodies of the subterrados. Thus, away from the grand narratives and the paralyzing and Foucauldian forms of subjectivation through the nation state, Fidel is in the end able to connect to his body as a space of resistance (Butler 1993).

At the end of the novel, as a sudden illumination or a flash of mental lightning it occurs to Fidel to use fictional writing – as opposed to his earlier endeavors into history and diary writing – in order to describe what had happened to him earlier that day (Merino 2009, 384–386). In this fictional narration, Fidel and Puri are discovered by the armed José Antonio. José Antonio takes Fidel on a *paseo*¹⁶⁹ while he engages in typical civil war discourse and terminology. Anchoring his imagined narration in his readings about the civil war, his experience as a hostage of the Shining Path and his closeness to the characters, Fidel’s fictional narration ends with the appearance of Puri who shoots her own brother while Fidel gives him the *coup de grace*. Fidel and Puri throw the dead body of José Antonio in the pit cave, imagining that his ghost will join the laments of the others. Whereas Fidel imaginatively kills the haunting Other of José Antonio – the one he has always feared – he simultaneously realizes how he has stereotyped his cousin, as well as the improbability of his narration. And more important, through his imaginative act of killing, Fidel connects to the feelings of hatred he so far had described so far in such a distant manner, from the space of non time (Merino 2009, 398–399).

¹⁶⁹ *Paseo* is the euphemism used for the extrajudicial executions during the civil war.

With that, Fidel finally destabilizes the dualistic oppositions that paralyze him, and consequently, Spanish memory debates and politics and dualistic struggles in the world at large. Rather than recuperating Republican memory, the novel forges a new idea of inclusive identification on the basis of the agential and affective potential of the violated or “expelled” body to provoke an empathic stance. The empathy that the novel pleads for originates in the local space of the mass grave and is primarily projected upon Spain in order to destabilize the idea of Cainism and propose a more inclusive and pluralistic model that connects to a wide horizon of transnational links that extends to the history of violence, from the colonial period to the twentieth century. However, the idea of a Spanish nation itself is not deconstructed in the way we have seen in the writing of Vázquez Montalbán, as the novel explicitly argues for a union, although pluralistic, of the Spanish state. On the other hand, in the novel Spain is situated in a transnational field of memory, political engagement and justice.

Fidel’s recognition of his dehumanization of José Antonio also does not lead to the conservative constitutional patriotism of the PP. In several instances Merino almost literally copies the humanistic discourse of organizations like the ARMH and the need to recognize the incomparability of the crimes committed on both sides during the Spanish Civil War as well as the need to show respect to the unrecognized dead and the importance of condemning these acts of violence (Merino 2009, 203–204). Those who work on the exhumations embrace these ideals, as Fidel is surprised to learn several times when discovering the absence of hostility towards him as the grandson of the culprit (Merino 2009, 291). In the same way that Fidel has overcome the oppositions inside him through his approach to the mass grave in the pit cave, the exhumations in Spain should serve as a way to overcome ongoing plays of hatred and clashes in Spanish politics and media, symbolized through the appropriation of the Spanish constitutional flag by the PP and the renewed symbolical power of the Republican flag (Merino 2009, 405–408). That is, the important and recurrent transnational examples and comparisons throughout the novel lead to a meditation on a new reconciliation between those two imagined opposites in Spanish political culture by way of mutual respect and recognition. With that, we could say that the novel partly embraces the hegemonic memory discourse of “Never again.” However, here, the mass grave exhumations are presented as the precondition for such reconciliation as it is envisioned by the affected post-witness.

Both Ryan and Gingerich point to how Merino underscores the constructedness of national and personal identity. Moreover, Ryan points to how ‘the intertwinement of his corporeality with physical materiality implies the inextricability of individual, familial, and socio-spatial memories, thus reinforcing Merino’s conceptualization of memory

as a composite of different mnemonic strata' (Ryan 2014, 178–179). I argue that these different mnemonic strata are symbolized by the three paradigms of knowledge and time, in which what I have called “micro time” stands for the possibility of destabilizing narratives of Othering through forms of human empathy. Fidel discovers these forms of human empathy as a witness of the contemporary mass grave exhumations. Thus, the encounter with the mass grave does not result in a literary examination of the materiality of memory as Ryan suggests, but rather an exploration into the entanglement between space and time in the production of phenomena. Moreover, in the bifurcated Fidel we can read Barad's suggestion to understand the Other as permeated with their entangled kin, being located in one's nucleus, in one's past and future. As such, as I have demonstrated, Fidel speaks from a position in the margins, being presented both as “exiled” and “subterrado.” On the other hand, he also connects to the culprit as an Other. In Merino's novel it is not the conversation with the ghosts of the past, but the engagement with the in-between space of the mass grave that engenders a space of responsibility and ethics. The encounter with the multiple Others serves for a renewed exploration of Spanishness and kinship. With that, the novel can be understood as a *Bildungsroman*, the coming of age of Fidel through the confrontation with the ghosts of the past generates a call for the coming of age of the Spanish democracy through the conscious confrontation of the past and the overcoming of the enduring myth of the “two Spains.”

The “transnational” resumes the issue of borders, and with that, it invites us to explore the national as much as the global, the local, or the cosmopolitan. As we have seen, in the case of Spain, the very concept of the “national” is complex and mostly directly related to the conservative and nationalistic policy of Francoism and, after the Transition, to the neo-patriotic project of the right-wing Partido Popular. The resurgence of the memories of the Spanish Civil War from a victims' perspective particularly explores the boundaries and margins of what constitutes this current conservative constitutional-patriotic project (Núñez Seixas 2004). From the perspective of centralist Spanish nationalism, the margins or limits of the nation-state are constituted by the Otherness of the non-state national identities of the Galicians, the Catalans and the Basques, by the Colonial and “Inquisitional” Other, and by the Otherness of the “expelled” from the civil war, now mainly reconstituted under the Republican flag. The transnational framework in which the memories of the civil war are brought about is inspired and inhabited by these marginalized identities. In *Galíndez* we have already seen how the transnational is constituted through non-state Basque nationalism. In Goytisolo's work we have seen the importance of the Sephardic diaspora as an inspiration for imagining

other forms of solidarity. In Merino, the Other strongly related to the idea of Cainism, an entangled duality that is played out on the level of the main character Fidel.

I have, however, also shown that transnational identification forms the basis of new forms of solidarities that do not erase the borders of the national, yet reconstitute them. That is why Alison Ribeiro de Menezes understands multidirectional memory in the Spanish modern memory novel mostly as a way of overcoming binaries still existing in the Spanish political and cultural landscape (Ribeiro de Menezes 2014). Moreover, in her conclusion she notes how cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism have become suspect, while ‘the boundaries of the nation-state are reasserted, at least in economic terms, as the sovereign unit to which debt must be attached, particularly within the Eurozone, and as countries strengthen the borders that had previously been rendered more porous in order to control flows of migrants or conduct’ (Ribeiro de Menezes 2014, loc.2964). Anthropologist Rachel Ceasar points at the limits of solidarity within the current exhumation cycle upon the occasional encounter of the graves of Moroccan soldiers who fought on Franco’s side (Ceasar 2012).

Throughout this chapter I have emphasized the movement from the ghostly form of the subterrado to the reality of the exhumed mass grave in the present. This temporal movement proves to also be a spatial movement, in which we move from foreign cadres that evoke the ghosts of the civil war to locating the transnational imaginary at the very concrete site of the mass grave. The haunting past is replaced by an urgent present. However, the position of the affected witness, conditioned by a transnational disposition and an engagement with the margins, remains the same on both occasions. The transnational is then both located in the margins of the nation-state, inhabited by liminal figures and in-between spaces, as well as in the eyes of the beholder. One could say that the affective space of the subterrado, both in its ghostly form as well as in the form of a material trace, ‘conjoins past and present, here and there, today’s observers and former actors, in such a way as to preclude voyeuristic distance’ (Silverman 2013, 164). As I have pointed out, the presented texts go even further and posit such dichotomies as dis/continuous entanglements that are produced through one another. Subtierro, depicted as bones and ghosts, serves as a space of feeling, functioning in a similar way as the ruins of Sarajevo which provoked the interpretation of the city as a transnational scene of memory. The body itself as a trace of history invites its witnesses to read into the overlapping histories of violence, producing in this way, a community of “feeling” beyond the framework of “lived experience” and national belonging defying as such the linear logic of spacetime.

5.

Borrowed Memory: The Holocaust as a Space of Transnational Memory

In November 2014 the author Javier Cercas published his third novel on Spanish “historical memory.” In *El impostor* (The Impostor) Cercas reconstructs the biography of Enric Marco, who lied about having been deported to the Nazi concentration camps and even became president of the Spanish Association *Amical de Mauthausen*, one of the oldest Spanish victims’ organizations, founded in 1962. It was not until 2005 that Marco was unmasked by historian Benito Bermejo. In his novelized reconstruction of the case, Cercas expresses a strong critique towards the sacralization of the witness (and the witness’ relatives) and with that towards the – in his view – “uncritical” and “sentimental” approach to the past. With the case of Enric Marco, Cercas warns his readers against the “industry” of historical memory in Spain.

Cercas has received strong criticism to his novel from various voices in the historical memory movement in Spain (Aragoneses 2014; Cadenas Cañón 2014; Faber 2015).¹⁷⁰ While the activists for historical memory have been struggling for recognition of the civil war victims, recording large databases of testimonies and unearthing hundreds of mass graves with hardly any state support, Cercas calls their endeavor an “industry” based on the example of an impostor who invented his victim status long before the renewed interest in the memory of the Spanish Civil War. The negative appraisals point

¹⁷⁰ Interesting are also the comments on social platforms such as Facebook and Twitter. Emilio Silva, for instance, goes into counterattack, posting a comment on Facebook on November 14, 2014, stating that not historical memory, but historical forgetting, that is, the Spanish Transition, has been the big business.

to how popular authors like Cercas are the ones who actually may have benefited from the interest in historical memory by the Spanish cultural industry (Cadenas Cañón 2014). It is important to notice how Cercas comes back to a returning impasse that places history as a regime of truth in opposition to memory as a regime of fiction and invention. Cercas does not only criticize the historical memory movement as a whole, he undermines one of the most important sources for historical “truth:” testimony.

In Cercas’s critique of the sacralized character of the witness, he sees Germany as the only successful, and ideal model of memory politics (Cercas 2014). This is rather remarkable, when looking at the key role of the witness in the construction of a memory narrative of the Second World War and the Holocaust, due to the destruction of most of the archival and material evidence. A large body of work in the field of Holocaust studies is dedicated to witnessing, testimony and trauma, and their role in the transmission of memory. Moreover, the case of Marco reminds us of another impostor, Benjamin Wilkomirski – a case omitted in Cercas’s analysis –, whose autobiography *Fragments: Memories of a Wartime Childhood* (1996) turned out to be fictive and therefore lost its literary value according to many critics. The debate related to the work of Wilkomirski compared testimony as an authentic voice to fictional literature as a truthful voice. Whereas testimony gives access to knowledge about the past, literature does not. Cercas, however, uses the example of Marco’s invented life story to discard memory in favor of history. I would say that Marco’s invented life rather evokes questions about the influence of Holocaust memory paradigms in Spain. On the one hand, one can ask why it took about three decades until the impostor was unmasked. On the other hand Marco’s adoption of victimhood shows the important impact of such victim narratives in Spain. Moreover, one can ask why Marco identified with the camp survivors and felt it was his task to fight for their recognition. As such his deceitful identification as a Mauthausen survivor marks the limits of “borrowed” memory, that is, the appropriation of (partly) unfamiliar memory narratives.

With that, Cercas’s novel, being itself the most vivid example of the “memory industry” in Spain, emphasizes the importance of the Spanish survivors of the Nazi concentration camps in Spanish memory discourses, as well as the primordial importance of testimony in the dissemination of memory. Unfortunately Cercas’s novel does not reflect further on different forms of witnessing (where, for instance, does he stand himself in relation to the witness when it comes to knowledge about what happened in the Nazi camps?), or on the influence of the “successful” German memory politics on the Spanish “memory industry.” Notwithstanding the rightful critique to this rather black and white analysis, Cercas’s return to the important character of the witness might help us to reframe the Spanish memory debate.

Contemporary Spanish memory politics is mostly focused on the mass grave exhumations. Within this forensic and material turn, we easily forget the importance of testimony both as a trigger for the exhumation and as triggered by the exhumation. However, testimony stands at the very beginning of the memory boom in Spain. Before the current exhumation cycle, Spanish journalism and literature had already turned their interest to the survivors and testimonies of the Spanish Civil War. Similar to the revived interest in Second World War testimony when the last generation was slowly passing away, in Spain the disappearance of the last direct witnesses of the Spanish Civil War spurred novelists, journalists and families to record their stories. Moreover, the recent exhumations have produced innumerable audiovisual testimonies of relatives, eyewitnesses and neighbors of the exhumed graves. They are recorded “a pie de fosa” – next to the exhumation site – or at people’s homes. They are filed at the institutional archives of the exhuming associations, sent to the Salamanca civil war archives or kept in private collections. The University of California in San Diego even ran a special initiative in collaboration with several Spanish civic associations to construct an audiovisual archive of the Francoist repression, which now contains hundreds of recorded testimonies available online and archived in San Diego.¹⁷¹ This initiative shows many similarities to the numerous audiovisual archives of Holocaust testimony existing throughout the United States, and, as an international initiative it adds to the transnational circulation of these narratives.

Whereas the mass grave and the subterráneos provide a space which connects Spanish memory politics and discourses to related geographies such as Latin America and Bosnia, the testimony and the urge of recollecting testimonies of witnesses at old age opens a space which entangles the Spanish memory efforts with the cadres of Second World War and Holocaust memory. Enric Marco, in that sense, is an example of the enormous emotional impact Holocaust testimonies can have on external and non-related “distanced” witnesses.

In this chapter, I will analyze the relation between the hegemonic, strongly institutionalized and frequently top-down disseminated memory narratives of the Holocaust and the marginal memories of Spain’s history of intolerance. The questions which will lead the analysis in this chapter are directed towards the intersections between Holocaust and Spanish Civil War memories. How is the hegemonic Holocaust memory paradigm articulated in relation to the memories of the Spanish Civil War and why? Who has the authority to narrate the Holocaust from a Spanish perspective? These questions are

¹⁷¹ See: <http://libraries.ucsd.edu/speccoll/scwmemory/about-eng.html>. Last visited: November 7, 2015

naturally intertwined with questions on the representation of the Holocaust and the relatively late arrival in Spain of Holocaust memory as a separate and transnational narrative of a particular suffering. Seventy years removed from the end of the Second World War, we are necessarily confronted with approaches voiced and framed by a distant form of witnessing, influenced by public opinion and media discourse. In addition, I will especially look at the role of (Holocaust) testimony in these constructions of transnational memory as the voice of the survivor is importantly related to the paradigms of Holocaust memory, both from a theoretical and a normative perspective. I will argue that through the focus on the Holocaust the authors demand an official and active memory politics with regards to the Spanish Civil War or at least they open a space for a dialogue on questions related to categories of victimhood and national belonging. The Holocaust as a space of transnational memory relates to the subterrados, as we will see in the documentary *Les fosses del silenci*, and even more strongly to the desterrados and Spanish exiles who were deported to the Nazi camps. And, finally we will see how the diaspora of the Sephardic Jews becomes an important unifying reference in the Spanish novels on the Holocaust.

Distanced witnessing

In the previous two chapters I have elucidated on how transnational witnesses in the present produce transnational memory frameworks of the Spanish Civil War through their affective reading into traces of the past. The purpose of these transnational memories is to reconstitute an alternative and inclusive version of national memory which rescues the memories of those excluded from, but also deeply entangled with, the nation-state. The new inclusive version of national memory is based on Spain's dark history of expulsion and the transnational wanderings as a result of the Spanish Civil War. Thus, the contemporary transnational awareness allows for recognition of the transnational reality of the past, produced through the formation of an exclusive modern nation-state. The journalist in Sarajevo is a direct witness to contemporary war crimes. In Spain relatives, activists and archaeologists become witnesses of a kind, when they dig up the corpses of the victims; as post-witnesses they attest to the resurgence of the past in the present. On a different level, even direct witnesses to the horrors of the Spanish Civil War, now of old age, relate what they saw then in comparison to war atrocities and experiences of suffering around the world which they have seen more recently through news media (see Alonso Carballés 1998).

However, when taking into account the distance between the Spanish historical experience and the Holocaust, Spanish contemporary "witnesses" are both removed in

time and in space. I will call this form of witnessing, “distanced witnessing.”¹⁷² Different from prosthetic memory – experiencing “deeply felt memory” of a past one did not live through technologies of mass culture (Landsberg 2004) –, the distanced witness does not only experience “deeply felt memory” passively, but he or she actively performs new articulations based on that what is witnessed. Being an active and performative process, distanced witnessing is not necessarily related to the working of mass media. Indeed, the idea comes closer to the more producer oriented understanding of Hirsch’s “postmemory.” The distanced witness, however, is a concept that I posit outside of genealogical and generational logics, as it can be an active choice of self-identification (see Erll 2014).

The testimonies of the survivors connect us to the Holocaust at an intimate level. Holocaust testimony has attained the function of carrier of history and at the same time it has become a model for testimonies by other victims (Wieviorka 2006). Based on memoirs, testimony archives and history accounts, the distanced witness reconstructs – or rather reconfigures – the already available memories into a new form in which distant voices are diffracted into the present. Answering to the idea that ‘witnessing is like treading water, it must keep on keeping on’ (Douglass and Vogler 2003, 44), the distanced witness feels a duty to bear witness to the witness, reconstituting the words which would otherwise be lost in archives, libraries and in the grave. A witness to testimony, that is. The form of distanced witnessing that we find in countries like Spain, where Holocaust memories are only disseminated recently, is – similar to Hartman’s “intellectual witness” (Hartman 2006) – a type of public witnessing, more distant from the original event, and related to the position of the spectator or bystander, uncomfortably exposed to trauma and the anxiety of not empathizing enough. When it comes to the memory of the Shoah, the distanced witness maintains an – almost imperative – emotional distance. However, at least in literature, this emotional or affective distance is bridged through the staging of characters who embody the relation between the experience of the Holocaust and Spain’s history of intolerance. These are the Spanish Republican exiles who were deported to the Nazi concentration camps and the more remote figure of the Sephardic Jew. That is, the distanced testimonial encounter ultimately takes place in a field of cultural production which informs these new articulations of memory (see Torchin 2012). Again here, the transnationally aware distanced witness searches for an emotional space that allows him or her to construct a new narrative while responding to the epistemological categories of affect and authenticity.

¹⁷² As Esther Jilovsky rightfully phrases, ‘the range of terms for this phenomenon demonstrates a lack of coherence in existing research, showing that although the concept of witnessing by non-survivors is well acknowledged, there is a lack of widely accepted terminology to describe it’ (Jilovsky 2015, 12).

Now, in the example of Enric Marco distanced witnessing has resulted in the fraudulent appropriation of the memory of an event not lived, the creation of a false memory, whether in order to gain a “hero” status within the “industry” of historical memory, as Cercas suggests, or caused by the affective power of the highly traumatic witness accounts. However, there are other instances of modern productions of Holocaust memories located in the grey areas between (mimetic) approximation and appropriation, that is, between a conscious process which ‘always couples closeness and distance, similitude and difference’ (Huyssen 2003, 133) and a process of its integration into one’s own horizon, or narrative (Heckner 2008). Following Gary Weissman, I will look into the way distanced witnesses, ‘having no direct experience of the Holocaust, conceive of that event through the identifications they, as readers of Holocaust memoirs, form with chosen survivors’ (Weissman 2004, 30). Chosen survivors is the key word in this quote, as the choice of testimony, from the thousands of memoirs available, seems relevant to the different sorts of identification. Astrid Erll, while proposing an alternative to understanding cultures of memory along the lines of genealogy and generationality, underlines the power that literature has to ‘carve out alternative spaces for imagining generation, showing that apart from being identified as this or that by sociology or genetics, there is also the option of self-identification in the fields of generationality and genealogy’ (Erll 2014). That is, mnemonic affiliation is not always predetermined; it is also a matter of choice.

In this chapter I will look at the cultural productions by distanced witnesses to the Holocaust and simultaneously secondary or post-witnesses to the Spanish Civil War.¹⁷³ I will place my analysis of Spanish literary narrative on the Holocaust next to that of documentary films. Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis’s documentary *Les fosses del silenci* [The Graves of Silence] has been one of the first documentaries on the mass grave exhumations as well as one of the most quoted examples of framing the current Spanish struggles for memory within the paradigm of Holocaust memory. At the same time, the form of documentary is one of the most powerful ways for the (re)production of audiovisual testimonies, producing a collage which allows the audience to empathize with the

¹⁷³ Michael Rothberg refers to these kinds of productions of multidirectional memory as an archive of implication. Different from the archive of transnational militant and minority articulations of the past (here we could place the work by Juan Goytisolo and Manuel Vázquez Montalbán) - the deliberately open-ended term “implication” ‘encompasses bystanders, beneficiaries, latecomers of post-memory generation and others connected “prosthetically” to pasts they did not directly experience. These subject positions move us away from overt questions of guilt and innocence and leave us on a more complex and uncertain moral and ethical terrain - a terrain in which many of us live most of the time’ (Rothberg 2013, 40). The authors that I will discuss in this chapter can be understood within the archive of implication.

eye witness' testimony through the lens of the camera. As Janet Walker asserts, documentary filmmaking has followed the testimonial compulsion (Walker 2007; Sarkar and Walker 2009). The documentary films *Les fosses del silenci* (Armengou and Belis 2003a) and *El comboi dels 927* [The Transport of the 927] (Armengou and Belis 2004a) which I will analyze here, comprise several Spanish eyewitness accounts of the Spanish Civil War, exile and German deportation to Mauthausen which are deliberately placed in a transnational setting. The documentary makers occupy both the position of a related post-witness and that of a distanced witness, while testimony, particularly in *El comboi* is being framed as Holocaust survivor testimony.

Notwithstanding the current predominance of the camera in recording and producing testimonies, written testimonies, in the form of diaries, memoirs, and other textual forms, are still important in memory transmission. Iconic testimonies of Holocaust survivors such as Levi and Wiesel, but also of Spanish survivors of the German camps, as for example Jorge Semprún, Amadeo Sinca Vendrell, Joaquim Amat-Piniella, served as models of how to narrate the experience of the camps. In Spain, the exhumations have not only produced testimonies "a pie de fosa," but also the recovery of materials such as diaries, photo albums and written testimonies from personal archives.¹⁷⁴ In the second part of this chapter, I will consequently look at the Spanish novels *Sefarad* [Sepharad] (2001) by Antonio Muñoz Molina and *El comprador de aniversarios* [The Birthday Buyer] (2002) by Adolfo García Ortega which produce a "Spanish" account of the Holocaust and the Second World War particularly on the basis of the iconic eyewitness account of Primo Levi.¹⁷⁵ In these cases, the author's narrating voice takes the place of the "distanced" witness who finds access to the Holocaust through other testimonies.

¹⁷⁴ What is more, the exhumations incite many relatives to write fictionalized accounts of their experiences, producing an archive of amateur fiction, mostly published on personal account, written by post-witnesses. An archive which definitely deserves more attention in scholarly research and writing.

¹⁷⁵ Primo Levi's *Si questo è un uomo* was translated and published in Spain for the first time in 1987; the other two novels of Levi's trilogy, *La tregua* and *I sommersi e i salvati* a year later. 1987 coincides with the death of Primo Levi and with the rise of interest in his work in the Western world. Notwithstanding, Francesco Ardolino voices his concerns regarding the reception of Levi's work in Spain lacking basically any serious academic work on Levi outside the scope of the Italian philology (with exceptions such as the novel *Sefarad* proving the rule). Ardolino relates the absence of serious studies about this classic with the general lack of interest by the Spanish in concentration camps and even more, with the resistance of the Spanish Right to condemning Francoism as well as the lack of social pressure for such a political gesture (Ardolino 2008, 186–187).

However, in the literary field there are some important intertextual articulations of Levi's work. Besides *Sefarad* and *El comprador de aniversarios*, editor Mario Muchnik recalls Primo Levi in his memoirs *A propósito: del recuerdo a la memoria (1931-2005)* (2005) and editor César Antonio Molina remembers Primo Levi's analysis of the Nazi camps in some passages of his voluminous *Esperando a los años que no vuelven. Memorias de ficción* (2007). Together, these examples suggest, regardless of the serious academic work on the legacy of Primo Levi, a certain interest in his testimony.

HOLOCAUST MEMORIES IN SPAIN

Holocaust memory in Spain is closely related to the memory of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism. Although Spain remained “neutral” during the Second World War and its territory was never officially involved in any way in the conflict, there are many instances of connection between the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath and the developments in the rest of Europe.

Firstly, already during the civil war, Hitler’s Germany and Mussolini’s Italy rendered logistic and military assistance to the rebellious army led by Franco. What is more, the Axis powers also inspired Franco ideologically. As Danielle Rozenberg asserts, ‘the period of the world conflict, and especially the years 1939-1942, corresponds to the most Germanophile phase in the construction of the Francoist regime’ (Rozenberg 2010a, 56). With the initial success of the Axis during the war, Franco changed his initial position of neutrality to one of non-belligerence.¹⁷⁶ As such, Spain helped Germany with the export of Spanish tungsten and in 1941 Spain sent about 18.000 Falangist volunteers for the Blue Division to aid Germany on the Eastern Front in the – in Francoist discourse – “struggle against communism.” However, when the Axis started losing, Franco conveniently reduced the facilities provided to the Axis while at the same time providing help to the Allies, such as enabling both refugees of Nazism and the liberating forces to pass through Spanish territory (Rozenberg 2010b, 215).

Secondly, many of the Spanish Republicans who had gone into exile were held in French concentration camps. From there, some were able to join French resistance groups, but being trapped in the collaborating France of Vichy, many were directly deported from the French concentration camps to the German camps. In her book *Espanoles en la Segunda Guerra Mundial* [Spaniards in the Second World War] (2005), historian Ángeles Egido León offers an overview of the variety of experiences of the Spanish exiles in the French and German camps, as well as in the French resistance and the French Legion.

A third narrative of Spanish involvement in the Second World War is related to the fate of the Sephardic Jews. The success story of Ángel Sanz Briz, a diplomat at the Spanish embassy in Budapest, who in 1944 saved thousands of Jews of Sephardic origin helping them to obtain Spanish nationality, has been largely instrumentalized by the Francoist regime since 1949 in order to improve their image abroad. A story which reminds us of *Schindler’s List*: the goodness of an individual against the cruelty of history. The

¹⁷⁶ Officially, Franco would defend the theory of the “three wars” and of Spain’s different role in each of them: neutral in the conflict between the Allies and the Axis, favoring the Allies in the war against Japan, and, siding with Germany and the Axis in the war against the Soviets.

reception of thousands of Jewish refugees without racial discrimination, forged 'the image of a Philo-Semitic Franco' (Rozenberg 2010b, 213), allowing the dictatorial regime to regain prestige during and after the Second World War. The narrative was strategically utilized when trying to prove worthy of joining the United Nations and in gaining official recognition from the World Jewish Congress. It was a myth so well established that it lasts until today (Rother 2010).

In reality, Spain has a long history of anti-Semitism, from the prohibition of Judaism in 1492 and the following Inquisition until the Francoist epoch and beyond. Although the Franco regime had never been anti-Semitic in its actions, its discourse during the civil war and the aftermath was clearly anti-Semitic, their enemies being Jews, Freemasons and Communists. It was a peculiar anti-Semitism, however, due to the lack of physical presence of Jews on the peninsula. Furthermore, although the Spanish aid to the Sephardic Jews is a fact, it is also true that the Spanish bureaucratic procedures reduced the number of Jews who could opt for repatriation. The whole process passed through a political filter and, even more, the Spanish government systematically denied granting collective visas. The Jews who did come to Spain had to rely upon the help of humanitarian organizations. In short, the fate of the Sephardic Jews depended more upon the personal commitment of some of the Spanish diplomats in Europe and, according to sociologist Danielle Rozenberg, by 'depriving thousands of Sephardic Jews of the Spanish nationality they were entitled to and deliberately delaying the repatriation of certain groups, (...) Spain was responsible for having abandoned many Spanish Jews who could have been saved to a tragic fate' (Rozenberg 2010b, 248).

This long history of Spanish anti-Semitism, however, stands in an ambivalent relation to the recovery of the Jewish past in Spain at the beginning of the twentieth century. Philosephardism was a position related to Spanish orientalism and attracted intellectuals from the whole political spectrum (Rohr 2005; Flesler, Linhard, and Pérez Melgosa 2011; M. R. Friedman 2012; Linhard 2014). Crucial in the recovery of Spain's Jewish past was the work of historian and literary scholar José Amador de los Ríos, who wrote the first modern history of the Spanish Jews (1848) and added to the incorporation of the Jewish past in Spain's official historical narrative. As Michal Friedman demonstrates, 'Sepharad played a central role in the efforts made by Spain's political and intellectual vanguard (...) to elaborate a vision of a New Spain and Hispanic identity in the wake of the loss of Empire in 1898 and shortly before the outbreak of Spain's civil war in 1936' (M. Friedman 2011, 36). Moreover, she demonstrates the coexistence of apparently contradictory positions of anti-Semitism and what she calls Sephardism in the intellectual productions of one of the pioneers of Spanish Fascism, Ernesto Giménez Caballero.

Even if the memory of the “Spanish” Jews was instrumentalized to improve Spain’s international image, the memory of the victims of the Second World War and the Holocaust in general was silenced during the whole of the dictatorship. Those who had died on the Eastern Front fighting for the Blue Division were commemorated together with all of the “Caídos por la Patria,” that is, those fallen during the Spanish Civil War. The memory of the Republicans in the French and German camps was silenced altogether. The Francoist narrative about the Holocaust was constructed based on the experiences of the soldiers enlisted in the Blue Division, whose memories however changed over time. As historian Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas shows, the Blue Division soldiers’ letters and memoirs portray a vision of the Jewish people fully compliant with Nazi ideology. However, in their autobiographies after 1946, the Jewish question was usually omitted. And, as from the fifties onwards, there arose the myth of the Spanish Blue Division soldier who knew nothing of the death camps and, even more, who demonstrated public compassion towards the mistreated Jews (Núñez Seixas 2010, 79–81). Thus, during the Franco regime, the history of the extermination of the Jews was replaced with a history of the Spanish philanthropist, who helped Jews both while fighting in the Eastern Front and at home, offering them passports and visas and enabling them to cross the Atlantic.

Globalization and institutionalization

After the dictatorship, the memory of the Second World War and the Holocaust, for Spain deeply connected with the memory of the *desterrados*, followed more or less the same trajectory as what we have seen for Republican memory. That is, until the 1990s Republican memories were avoided when possible, being subject of a political and social taboo masked by a discourse of peace and fraternity, initiated by Franco during the commemorations of the *25 años de paz* and maintained throughout the Transition to democracy. While the Second World War and the Spanish experiences during the war itself were the topics of some historical studies, they did not become part of a wider memory culture through memorials and museums until the end of the 1990s.

Even at the beginning of the 21st century, philosopher Reyes Mate continues criticizing the lack of Holocaust memory in Spain (Mate 2008, 142–143). Moreover, sociologist Alejandro Baer points to a persistent anti-Semitism, as many Spaniards seem unable to remember and mention the destruction of the Jews in Nazi death camps, without resorting to fierce criticism towards contemporary Israeli policy and the situation in Palestine (Baer 2006, 241). Other thinkers, such as historian Pedro Ruiz Torres, explain the absence of Holocaust memory in Spain by pointing to the difference between antifascist

memory and Holocaust memory (Ruiz Torres 2007). The seeming lack of interest in Spain in Claude Lanzmann's documentary *Shoah* (1985) is illustrative. Already in 1988 the author himself wondered whether there was 'some "mysterious reason" why *Shoah* had not been screened in more commercial cinemas or on television in Spain, having already been shown throughout the whole world and having received enthusiastic reviews in prestigious media' (Rubio 1988). In 1988 the by then already classic documentary film was presented in Madrid in a single cinema, *Torre de Madrid*, with French subtitles. It was not until 1998 that the film was released with Spanish subtitles in Mexico (Gandler 2009, 164).

Alejandro Baer (2011) points to the media interest in the case of Violeta Friedman as one of the first instances of Holocaust awareness in Spanish public discourse. Friedman, a survivor of Auschwitz who lived in Madrid, sued Leon Degrelle, who by then lived in Spain, and had been leader of the Walloon collaborationist Rex movement during the German occupation of Belgium and mouthpiece of postwar neo-Nazism, for his public anti-Semitism. Her case was presented at the Spanish Constitutional Court in 1991, which considered that Degrelle had attacked the honor of Violeta Friedman and the victims of the Nazi camps. This case also opened a debate on the presence of Nazi criminals in Spain. On the other hand, the European institutional dissemination of Holocaust memory in the 1990s also had an important role in the growing relevance of Holocaust memory in Spain.

Throughout the process of institutionalization and universalization of the memory of the Holocaust, the memory discourse transcended its particularities and characteristics of a group memory of the Jewish people, to become a universal memory, a model which would operate at an ideological level as a benchmark of what constitutes persecution and extermination (Levy and Sznajder 2006; Baer 2006; A. Assmann 2010). In Europe, this process was accompanied by institutional efforts to disseminate Holocaust memory throughout the European Union through education, the establishment of a European day of commemoration, and the installation of new Holocaust memorials. Echoing the ideas of Tony Judt, the recognition of the Holocaust and the participation in the recovery of its memory became, largely, an entry ticket to the European Union (Judt 2005, 803). In Spain, this process of institutionalization, globalization and universalization of Holocaust memory coincided with the resurgence of the memories of the Spanish Civil War from the victims' perspective.

Spain, as a member of the European Union, also participates in the European Holocaust commemorations. From 2006 presidents and ministers give speeches on the International Holocaust Remembrance Day, January 27; the Holocaust has become part of the school curriculum; and, in addition, museums have introduced the Holocaust as

part of their narrative. For instance, the Museum *Espai Memorial Democràtic* in Barcelona emphasized the connection between the memory of the Spanish Civil War and the Holocaust through the explicit introduction of Catalan places of memory in the chronology of European history of the twentieth century.¹⁷⁷ In this way, the Spanish Civil War, World War II and the wars in former Yugoslavia have turned into elements of a common history. The institutionalization of Holocaust memory also goes hand in hand with the distribution of cultural icons, such as the translations of the memoirs of Primo Levi, Jean Améry and Elie Wiesel, and the appearance of cinematographic blockbusters such as Spielberg's *Schindler's List* or Roman Polanski's *The Pianist*.

The Holocaust increasingly appears as a metaphor to describe the ferocious repression during the civil war, and appears similar to the way the Holocaust was used in the journalist coverage of the wars in Bosnia. Sebastiaan Faber argues that where the Cold War has been the preferred moral trope for the Spanish Right, it is the Holocaust which gave the Left a moral-historical trope which they use both for conciliatory and more combative narratives (Faber 2012, 128). In 2003, renowned journalists Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis pose the question "Is there a Spanish Holocaust?" in the book and documentary, both titled *Les fosses del silenci* [The Graves of Silence] (Armengou and Belis 2003a; Armengou and Belis 2004b). The book does not speak of the Shoah, but tries to apply the definition of the Holocaust to the crimes of the Spanish Civil War, similar to Paul Preston's book *The Spanish Holocaust* (P. Preston 2011).

These are exactly the kind of publications and analytical efforts which can be characterized as examples of the universalization or globalization of Holocaust memory, as the Holocaust becomes a metaphor for drawing attention to other traumatic atrocities and is the basis for judicial claims in the present. Moreover, Isabel Estrada points out in her article "To Mauthausen and Back" (2010b), the way studies about the memory of the civil war do indeed appropriate the vocabulary originating in Holocaust studies, resulting in a loss of singularity in both cases. Her concerns underscore the current debate on the global dissemination of Holocaust memory: On the one hand, Holocaust memories and the recognition of the crimes to humanity may raise awareness about other crimes that still did not receive public recognition, similar to the boomerang effect we have identified in the case of the wars in Bosnia. On the other hand, the European imperative for Holocaust remembrance and recognition can overshadow other crimes, such as those committed during the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath. This is a concern that

¹⁷⁷ The *Espai Memorial Democràtic* was situated at Via Laietana 69 in Barcelona from 2010 to 2011. Through this link, one can get an impression of what the permanent exhibition looked like: <http://wasabiproduccions.com/#/?project=espai-memorial-democratic> (accessed December 5, 2015).

also relates to the worries voiced against the adoption of the term of the disappeared, erasing the historical specificities of the *paseados* and *fusilados*.

In their recent article on the Holocaust memory frameworks in Spain, Alejandro Baer and Natan Sznaider underline that the Holocaust paradigm might offer a framework related to family and kinship concerns and the search for therapeutic closure, but that it is far from being a shared memory (Baer and Sznaider 2015, 12). In other words, everybody tells a different story within a single genre. For sure, the institutionalization and globalization of Holocaust memory makes us look at transnational memory constructions from a different angle. Inequality and difference in hierarchy between the different mnemonic cultures raises concerns about its effect and representational ethics. The relation of the Spanish distanced witness to the Holocaust lies impossibly between the event's irrepresentability and its memory as a moral requirement to join the European mnemonic community; A conflicting position of distance and proximity of a past which simultaneously does and does not pertain to the distanced witness.

Although there is not one single reason for the late introduction of Holocaust memory in Spain, the truth is that the memory of the Jewish genocide only attained considerable interest in Spain when it reached a more institutionalized form in the rest of Europe. A broader narrative was established to continue telling the horrors of the "final solution" when the last witnesses were dying. However, in Spain there never were Jewish witnesses of the extermination camps. In that sense, there exists a constant and unresolved tension between Republican experiences in Mauthausen and Buchenwald and Jewish experiences in death camps like Auschwitz and Birkenau (Diner 2010, 33). The question is, how the memory of the Spanish *desterrados* in the German camps and the re-emergence of Republican memory in Spain – both traditionally associated with frames of the antifascist memory – relates to the hegemonic framework of Holocaust memory. Rozenberg asserts that for Spain, 'rejoindre la mémoire traumatique de l'Europe s'avère le plus court chemin vers un avenir commun' (Rozenberg 2007, 64). Yet, as we will see in this chapter, the traumatic memory of Europe is constantly and closely linked to that of the Spanish Civil War and of the Spanish history of intolerance at large. Beyond the discursive moral-historical trope and the reality of a shared history, Holocaust memory, and particularly Holocaust testimony, inspires the construction of imagined solidarities beyond the borders of the nation-state.

Spanish authors narrate the Holocaust

Roughly the Spanish "Holocaust" narrative can be distributed into two groups. The first group covers the memoirs written by Spanish survivors of the camps and early accounts

of the Holocaust mostly by exiled writers. The second group encompasses the novels of writers totally unrelated to the war and to the experience of the camps, that is, writers as distanced witnesses.

The first is a somewhat heterogeneous group of everything “Spanish” written before the 1990s and it is debatable whether to call these works “Holocaust” narratives. In general, one should separate the memoirs of the Spanish survivors of the Nazi camps from Holocaust survivor narratives, as the first deal primarily with the deportation and the lives of antifascists in the concentration camps and not with the extermination of the European Jewry. Notably, Ulrich Winter stresses that early Spanish accounts of Mauthausen camp survivors, particularly those of Amadeo Sinca Vendrell and Joaquim Amat-Piniella, are rather hero narratives instead of victim narratives.¹⁷⁸ What is more, these early texts did not contribute to a Spanish Holocaust discourse, yet offered a basis for literary and cinematographic representations of the Spanish Civil War and the self-image of the Spanish left (Winter 2010, 113). These are the first testimonials of the Spanish experiences in Mauthausen, heading a long list to which new accounts are still being added.

Among the survivor narratives the work of internationally renowned novelist Jorge Semprún clearly stands out, as his writings have been related to other Holocaust testimonies such as Primo Levi or Elie Wiesel.¹⁷⁹ However, Semprún’s works on his experiences in the camps, most importantly *Le grand voyage* (1963), *Quel beau dimanche!* (1980) and *L’écriture ou la vie* (1994), were written and published much later than other iconic camp memoirs such as Levi’s and Wiesel’s and his testimony displays a much criticized mixture of fact and fiction.¹⁸⁰ Semprún was an exile in France since the outbreak of the Civil War and was deported to Buchenwald for being part of the French *Résistance*. Being a survivor of Buchenwald, Semprún stands out from the group of Spanish camp survivors, since Mauthausen is the iconic *lieu de mémoire* for the deported Spanish Republicans. Semprún’s memoirs come to terms not only with the fact of having survived the German death camps, but also with political life as a member of the Communist Party. And in Spain, it was initially mostly his Communist dissidence

¹⁷⁸ Amadeo Sinca Vendrell, *Lo que Dante no pudo imaginar: Mauthausen-Gusen 1940-1945* (1980) and Joaquim Amat-Piniella, *K.L. Reich* (1963). The original typescript of both texts dates from 1946.

¹⁷⁹ Semprún mostly wrote in French and lived in Paris since 1945. Although difficult to classify as “Spanish” or as part of one specific national literary canon, Semprún counts as the most renowned the Spanish writer-survivor of the Nazi camps.

¹⁸⁰ Greg Herman shows how Semprún’s memoir is actually deeply indebted to Levi’s earlier work (Herman 2012).

which sparked a heated debate on the legacy and legitimacy of the Spanish Communist Party during the Spanish Transition to democracy (Ferrán 2000).¹⁸¹

Besides the collection of camp survivor eyewitness narratives Sultana Wahnón points to a selection of mostly unnoticed early Spanish poetry on the Holocaust, written by exiled poets such as Max Aub, León Felipe, and Rafael Alberti, but also by non-exiled writers as Dámaso Alonso and the less known Miguel Fernández. According to Wahnón, the poetry of the latter questions ‘the notion of Spanish culture in the Forties under Franco as completely cut off from the Holocaust experience’ (Wahnón 2010, 203). Although heterogeneous, one should ask if these accounts really differ that much from the early narratives on the Holocaust outside of Spain, which throughout a large part of Europe, as Tony Judt (2005) has exemplified, were inserted into national memory frameworks of suffering and resistance.

The narratives produced by the second group are the subject of this chapter as they display an exploration of Holocaust memories from an explicit Spanish and contemporary perspective, which allows for understanding the connection between Holocaust remembrance and the Spanish Civil War remembrance within a transnational setting. These are stories about the Holocaust by contemporary Spanish writers totally alien to the experience of the camps. Unlike most contemporary authors who have narrated the Holocaust, these Spanish novelists do not have particular genealogical or historical ties with the Second World War and the Holocaust. They know about the existence and particularities of the Nazi camps only through history books, memoirs, novels and cinematic representations. Notwithstanding, roughly at the end of the 1990s, several Spanish authors endeavored into representing the Holocaust from their distanced position. To be more precise, according to Dutch Hispanist Maarten Steenmeijer, ‘Spanish novels that are structured around Nazism and the Holocaust are published on a regular basis from 1997 onwards’ (Steenmeijer 2009, 203). The list of narratives produced within this group seems to indicate a new trend in Spanish narrative, especially when compared to the complete absence of these topics in the previous periods. Moreover, freeing ourselves from the limited perspective of the sole genre of narrative literature, we should

¹⁸¹ The camp memoir *Le grand voyage* was first translated by Nuria Petit and published in Spanish in La Habana in 1970 under the title *El largo viaje*, followed in 1976 by a new translation under the same title by Jacqueline and Rafael Conte published by Spanish editorial house Seix Barral in Barcelona. One year later, in 1977, the political memoir *Autobiografía de Federico Sánchez* (original in Spanish), proved much more successful, winning the Spanish literary prize “Planeta” of that same year and selling almost 400.000 copies within twelve months (Leuzinger and López de Abiada 2012).

extend Steenmeijer's list with other contemporary accounts such as documentaries, historical accounts, museum exhibitions and graphic novels.¹⁸²

Mauthausen, naturally, is of special interest and the history of the Spanish prisoners is subject to many contemporary cultural productions. Catalan photographer Francesc Boix, who managed to duplicate and retrieve a large number of photographs taken by the SS from the camp, is one of the key figures in these recent publications, for instance in the case of the theatre play *El triángulo azul* [The Blue Triangle] (2014) by Laila Ripoll and Mariano Llorente, winner of the 2015 National Literature Award in the section Drama. Boix is also the inspiration for the graphic novel *Le Photographe de Mauthausen* (expected 2016) by Salva Rubio and Pedro J. Colombo, subject of the documentary film *Francisco Boix, un fotógrafo en el infierno* [Francisco Boix, A Photographer in Hell] by Lorenzo Soler (2000) and of the historical investigation *El fotógrafo del horror* [The Photographer of Horror] by Benito Bermejo, published in 2002 and reedited in 2015, now with a foreword by Javier Cercas – the author of *The Impostor* –, a timely and successful commercial decision by the editor.¹⁸³ Another recurring character is that of the Sephardic Jew, which we will see too in the novels I will analyze in this chapter.

In his illuminating essay, Maarten Steenmeijer intends to understand this new trend in the Spanish narrative as an evasive strategy he calls “catastrophe,” following Jacques Derrida and Heinrich Lausberg, and referring to ‘the intricate interest in the catastrophe of Others’ (Steenmeijer 2009, 207). According to him, the sudden interest in the Holocaust is closely linked to the impossibility of an official and collective commemoration of the national trauma of the Spanish Civil War. Contrariwise, Dagmar Schmelzer, in her study of *Esperando a los años que no vuelven* (2007) by Cesar Antonio

¹⁸² The Catalan novel *El violí d'Auschwitz* [The Violin Of Auschwitz] by Maria Àngels Anglada, published in 1994 in Catalan and in Spanish translation in 1997 is the first example of this new genre in Spanish art and literature. The rest of the novels are all published around or after 2000: *Cita en Varsovia* [Meeting in Warsaw] (1999) by Hermann Tertsch, *El niño de los coroneles* [The Child of the Colonels] (2001) by Fernando Marías, *Sefarad* [Sepharad] (2001) by Antonio Muñoz Molina, *Velódromo de invierno* [Winter Velodrome] (2001) by Juana Salabert, *El comprador de aniversarios* [The Birthday Buyer] (2002) by Adolfo García Ortega, *La habitación de cristal* [The Crystal Room] (2003) by Luis Manuel Ruiz, *El invierno de las almas desterradas* [The Winter of Exiled Souls] (2004) by Abel Caballero, *Esperando a los años que no vuelven* [Waiting For The Years That Don't Return] (2007) by César Antonio Molina, *El séptimo velo* [The Seventh Veil] (2007) by Juan Manuel de Prada, and, the graphic novel *Prisionero en Mauthausen. Un análisis de la culpa personal y colectiva* [Prisoner in Mauthausen. An Analysis of Personal and Collective Guilt] (2011) by Toni Carbos and Javier Cosnava. Lastly, we should add to this list the aforementioned documentary production by Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis. Besides *Les fosses del silenci* and *El comboi dels 927*, Armengou and Belis also produced *Ravensbrück, l'infern de les dones* [Ravensbrück, Women's Hell] (2005) within the trend of Holocaust related narratives.

¹⁸³ Interestingly, supporting Bermejo's work on the photographer Boix, Cercas does not only validate the voice of the historian against the witnesses memory, he also somehow juxtaposes the visual regime of the photographs from the camp with the narrative regime of testimony.

Molina and *El séptimo velo* (2007) by Juan Manuel de Prada, concludes that the links between the Spanish perspective and a wider European context lead to the relativization of one's own past, displaying the Holocaust as a cosmopolitan memory which transcends national boundaries. For Schmelzer, the search for other topics than that of the Spanish Civil War marks the end of the literary boom (Schmelzer 2010, 241). In my analysis of a sample of works which represent this group, on the basis of how the way the Holocaust is narrated and by whom, I will show that the focus on the Holocaust does exactly the opposite, as the authors demand active memory politics towards the victims of the Spanish Civil War and ask questions related to categories of victimhood and national belonging.

The growing interest in the Holocaust in the 1990s has also had its impact in the academic field. In this relation the CSIC based research group led by philosopher Reyes Mate, *Filosofía después del Holocausto* [Philosophy after the Holocaust] starting in 1999, should be mentioned. Their main line of research is to use insights into the Holocaust to understand the logic behind more contemporary problems.¹⁸⁴ Mate's research group has also worked hard on initiating a debate on the Holocaust outside of academia. As such, Mate has published extensively in newspapers and won the National Essay Prize in 2009 for his book *La herencia del olvido* [The Heritage of Oblivion] (Mate 2008). As he summarizes in a recent interview in the Spanish critical left-wing newspaper *El Diario*, 'with "Philosophy after the Holocaust" we wanted to say that [the Holocaust] should not only be of interest to the experts, but also to the public opinion, because this historical experience affected the conditions of politics, morality and contemporary aesthetics' (*El Diario* 2015). With that, Mate recognizes that certain categories which have been developed through the experience of the Holocaust and its commemoration, have now fertilized Spanish debates and have been projected onto other topics such as the memory of the Spanish Civil War. Another academic project of interest is the Granada based research group "Discrimination, Genocide and Cultural Extermination: A Study on the Literature of the Holocaust and the Recovery of Memory" (DiGEC) founded in 2009. This group has as one of its goals to create a Spanish network of researchers to promote research and translation of Holocaust literature in Spain.¹⁸⁵

In summary, although there are examples of approximations or articulations of Holocaust memory in Spain throughout the whole period since 1945, the history and

¹⁸⁴ You can find the description, publications and other research activity of this group on their website <http://www.proyectos.cchs.csic.es/fdh/>, visited January 3, 2016.

¹⁸⁵ DiGEC: *Discriminación, Genocidio y Exterminio Cultural: un Estudio sobre la Literatura del Holocausto y la Recuperación de la Memoria*, For more information: <http://digec.ugr.es/pages/informacion-sobre-el-proyecto-digec.html>, visited January 3, 2016.

memory of the German extermination camps gained a definite interest throughout the Nineties, when Holocaust commemoration was already well established and in full process of institutionalization in the rest of Europe. This interest is expressed in the field of history, fiction, translation and the re-edition of classics and in the academic study of Holocaust memory in Spain. In my close reading of the selected documentary films and novelistic accounts, I will show how these narrations vacillate between the articulation of the Holocaust as global and as European memory – closely linked to the Spanish experience during the twentieth century –; between “catapostrophe” and cosmopolitan memory; and finally, between transnational memory and, what I have called, inclusive nationalism based on transnational imaginations.

AUDIOVISUAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF VICTIMHOOD

“Is there a Spanish Holocaust?” is the subtitle given to the book based on the much commented-on 2003 documentary by Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis *Les fosses del silenci* [The Graves of Silence]. The documentary is considered part of a trilogy composed by *Els nens perduts del franquisme* [The Lost Children of Francoism] (2002) and *El comboi dels 927* [The Transport of the 927] (2004). These three documentaries talk about the victims of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism. The first, *Els nens*, focuses on the stolen children, a topic clearly echoing the Argentine case of the “stolen children.” The second, *Les fosses*, narrates the Spanish mass grave exhumations, set within the discursive paradigm of the Holocaust. And finally, the third documentary, *El comboi*, focuses specifically on the Spanish deportation to Mauthausen.¹⁸⁶ Here, I will look more closely at the production of a narrative horizon in which the experience of the Spanish Civil War and the Holocaust are intertwined in *Les fosses* and in *El comboi*.

The documentaries produced by the Catalan National Television (TVC) can be regarded as important memory products. As Isabel Estrada asserts, since the turn of the twenty-first century, the documentary film has seen unprecedented popularity, and, some of them have ‘participated in meaningful ways in the so-called “recovery of memory.” (...) The attempt to recuperate recent history finds in public television a highly effective medium that allows the voices of the victims to be heard in the intimacy

¹⁸⁶ It is interesting to notice that in her earlier career Armengou has also produced work in Bosnia. In 1993 she was the producer of the documentary *Periodistes per Bosnia* (Televisió de Catalunya, director Lluís Ibarz). An experience on which she published the article ‘Cómo se construye una guerra’ (Armengou 1994). With that, she has been working within all the three major frameworks which produce a transnational cadre for understanding and mediating contemporary memory “products” on the experience of the Spanish Civil War.

of the Spanish households' (Estrada 2010a, 191–192). The work of Armengou and Belis has been broadcast on numerous occasions on Catalan and Spanish television as well as in special sessions in cultural venues. And, being one of the first documentaries in the genre of the “historical memory” they have been a reference for the works produced after and have been a source of analysis in various scholarly publications (see Sánchez-Biosca 2005; Herrmann 2008; Estrada 2010a; Faber 2011; Coronado Ruiz and Martín Sánchez 2012; Estrada 2013; Espinós Felipe 2014; Ribeiro de Menezes 2014; Castelló 2014). Whereas the Spanish National Television mostly produced romanticized and depoliticized versions of the recent past,¹⁸⁷ avoiding a more critical research based account, it was the local television stations in the peripheral autonomous regions like Catalonia or Basque Country who were eager to produce a more critical account (Estrada 2010a; Castelló 2014).

From the early 1990s, the Catalan TVC starts producing television documentaries which ‘screened topics that were familiar to academics and historians but which had not been popularized as “media discourse” referring to the recent history of Catalonia and Spain. (...) The combination of a victim-oriented perspective, a complex dialogue structure, the historical framing and the linkage with the ongoing political context produced a new way of reporting on the recent traumatic past’ (Castelló 2014, 228). The work of Montserrat Armengou and Ricard Belis should be understood against this background. In the two documentaries I will analyze here, we listen to testimonies on episodes of the civil war, Spanish exile and the Second World War, which are framed within the transnational frameworks of Holocaust memory as they are reinserted into a trial-like “postmemory” narrative. The documentaries – based on several instances and expressions of transnational experiences – produce a universalized account of the memory of suffering set against a localized claim for justice in modern Spanish democracy, similar to the genre of Human Rights documentary (see McLagan 2003).

Both *Les fosses* and *El comboi* produce narratives of committed documentary journalism which, according to Gina Herrmann (2008), advocate themselves as juridical supplements. As she writes, ‘documentary and law (...) share a variety of methods and procedures, including the reliance on eyewitness and expert testimonies, corroborating forensic evidence, the presentation of official forms of documentation, narratives about plausible chains of events, all woven together in an audiovisual language of persuasion. In its paralleling of legal processes, social television documentary casts the filmmaker as detective and prosecutor, and spectators as would-be jurors’ (Herrmann 2008, 195).

¹⁸⁷ The popular series *Cuéntame cómo pasó* can be seen as a more contemporary example of a trend that already started in the 1980s (F. López 2009).

Indeed, Armengou and Belis' documentaries all present legalistic sequences in which the documentary makers actively search and present a culprit for the wrongdoings in the past. In *Les fosses* the sequence involves the confrontation between the relative of a subterrado and the alleged offender; in *El comboi* the narrative motor of the documentary is the denouncement of Franco's minister Ramón Serrano Suñer as he is seen as the reason why the Spanish Republicans were left behind in Hitler's camps. And, in both documentaries the overall juridical arch is presented through the argument that democracy did not do anything to dignify the lives of those buried in mass graves or those who perished in Nazi camps, an argument repeatedly framed through the prism of the Holocaust as a counter example of an event that has been judged by history.¹⁸⁸

Another important feature of Armengou and Belis' work is the emphasis on testimony. In part, the documentary film is presented as a stage, to give the victims a voice. At the end of *El comboi* the importance of testimony to break the silence is even voiced literally by interviewee Manuel Huerta, when he concludes 'If there is a silence, it is because nobody talks. That is why I came. That is why I came to see you. To participate' (Armengou and Belis 2004a, 01:03:30).¹⁸⁹ The stories of the witnesses are mostly presented thematically and are scattered through the appearances of experts. The voice-over guides us through the "facts," as retrieved from archival material such as photographs and official documents. The interviewers remain unseen and mostly unheard. Dramatic details of the witness accounts are underscored and accompanied by emotional music and with even more dramatic pictures to arouse the viewer's feelings, searching for a melodramatic effect within the frames of investigative journalism. Even if other voices are allowed, the documentaries leave no chance for rooting for or even sympathizing with the "wrong" person. Framed by a voice-over which reconstructs historical truth based on archival material, the testimonies are rendered mainly as an emotional truth.

In the case of *Les fosses*, the eyewitnesses are interviewed in their homes or at the crime scenes; in *El comboi*, the testimonies are all filmed against the same background which echoes the yellowish color of the historical documents of the documentary. This contrast marks a main difference between the two documentaries: *Les fosses* is a political documentary, clearly focused on demanding a civic response in the present; *El comboi*,

¹⁸⁸ The prism of the Holocaust gains definite presence in the book publication a year after the documentary *Les fosses*, and when adding the subtitle 'Is There a Spanish Holocaust?'. The book defends the argument, put forward by the expert Paul Preston that the judicial lema of holocaust or genocide, such as defined by lawyer Raphael Lemkin, is perfectly applicable to the case of Spain. Moreover, the very first paragraph of the publication denounces the exclusivist usage of the term holocaust for the Nazi holocaust.

¹⁸⁹ 'Cuando hay un silencio es que nadie habla. Por eso he venido. Por eso he venido a verla. Para participar.'

on the other hand, rather constructs the victim status of Spanish people in a transnational arena. That is, whereas “evidence” is more important in *Les fosses*, “bearing witness” is the most important feature of the witness’ voice in *El comboi*. Overall, the dual role of testimony as bringing narrative “evidence” like in a juridical trial (as in the Latin-American genre of *testimonio*) and at the same time fulfilling the role of “bearing witness” (here the correspondent genre would be that of *life story*) to the past events, adds to the tension between “local” and “universal.”

In both documentaries, the Holocaust is used as a paradigmatic framework. While *Les fosses* puts forward several comparisons to the Holocaust, Nazism, and German memory politics, *El comboi* produces a (debatable) narrative in which the Spanish Republicans deported to Mauthausen in the train from Angoulême on August 20, 1940, are presented as the very first deportees to be deported in freight wagons to a German extermination camp, a ‘forgotten episode in the immensity of the Nazi Holocaust,’ as the voice-over reminds us (Armengou and Belis 2004a). According to Enric Castelló, this kind of framing is part of the makers’ discursive strategy to internationalize the narratives of the civil war, mostly to achieve some impact in international media (Castelló 2014, 232). However, considering that these documentaries are mainly produced for a national public, the trope of the Holocaust is also a powerful aid to produce the sought after complicity of the viewer (similar to the attached journalism during the wars in Bosnia). Besides, the Holocaust as a framework for these documentaries also produces an interpretive cadre for the testimonies related to the schemata of trauma and victimhood, especially for those produced by eyewitnesses.

Les fosses, screened in two episodes, traces the remains of Francoist repression in present Spanish society. The first part talks about the civil war repression, particularly in the province of Extremadura. We mostly hear the voices of the children of those who were killed during the war. Whereas the witnesses provide us with details of what they know about the detention and killing of their elders, the voice-over stipulates the historical facts about the military coup and the subsequent civil war, making frequent use of quotes from historical documents. These accounts are explained by historians, such as Julián Casanova, Francisco Espinosa and José María Lama and even countered by Francoist historian Ricardo de la Cierva. The second part focuses more specifically on the current search for mass graves, in this case in north Catalonia and in the province of León, namely the already mentioned iconographic mass grave of Piedrafita de Babia. In this part, the Francoist version of the past is voiced through the ex-Falangist Landera and relatives of Blue Division combatants. Throughout the film, besides the call for justice in the present, the documentary makers also argue that the repression and the thousands of Republican deaths are the result of a clearly designed plan.

In the documentary, the Holocaust is a clearly sought framework, which, however, remains limited to the focalization of various witness accounts, which compare the current Spanish memory politics to the history and the memory of the Holocaust and the Second World War. Partly, the Holocaust functions as a historical event which is used to compare and prove the Spanish “designed” and systematic form of repression. As such, eye-witness and son of a *subterrado*, Joaquim Barbal, keeps on repeating the word “holocaust” when talking about the repression in the Catalan Rialp; “Holocaust” is the word which to him summarizes what happened and how the viewer should understand it. Another example is that of the Polish volunteer Katarzyna Linda, who explains her engagement with the Spanish exhumations through the prism of her family’s experience during the Second World War, when she says, ‘during the Second World War there were many concentration camps in Poland. I have relatives who were killed and I don’t know where they are. They must be in some mass grave, but I don’t know where. That is why I can understand the people who have relatives here’ (Armengou and Belis 2003b, 22:11).¹⁹⁰ Interestingly, Linda’s comment diffracts onto a comparison that includes both past and future entanglements. Whereas Holocaust memory paradigms informed the Spanish reality in 2002 with categories on trauma, victimhood, and commemoration, Polish exhumation practices which uncovered a wide spectrum of different victims from the period 1939-1945 in Poland started in the late 1990s and are still in full swing. Apart from these instances of direct reference to the Holocaust and the Second World War, the documentary makes frequent use of a vocabulary clearly related to the experience of the Holocaust, such as the word “extermination,” or “exterminate,” when referring to the civil war crimes.

The documentary also includes several allusions in which the Holocaust is used as an example of how past crimes should be remembered in the present, criticizing the lack of active memory politics in Spain towards the Republican victims of the Spanish Civil War. In the first part of the documentary, a young adult in Zafra exclaims, after learning about the origin of a monument in his town dedicated to Francoist commander Castejón, ‘it is like having a monument of Hitler in his town!’ In the second part, Clara González, relative of several *subterrados*, asserts, ‘I don’t hear anyone say that we have to forget the Holocaust, nor the death train to Auschwitz, nor the ones that Pinochet eliminated in one way or another’ (Armengou and Belis 2003b, 35:35),¹⁹¹ why then, as

¹⁹⁰ ‘Durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial estaban muchos campos de concentración en Polonia. Tengo mis semejantes que fueron asesinados y no sé donde están. Están en algunas fosas, pero no sé dónde. Y entonces puedo entender que siente la gente que tiene semejantes aquí.’

¹⁹¹ ‘Yo no oigo a nadie decir que se olviden del Holocausto, que se olviden del tren de la muerte que iba camino a Auschwitz, ni que se olviden de los que Pinochet de una manera u otra eliminó.’

she continues, does everything in Spain have to be silenced? In the latter example we can appreciate how the Holocaust is actually part of a larger transnational field of Human Rights abuses – here the Holocaust is related to the dictatorship of Pinochet in Chile – leveling the specificity of each of these historical experiences. In both examples the comparison to the Holocaust and the Second World War serves to denounce the shortcomings of the Spanish democratic governments in dealing with the memory of the civil war. The Holocaust as a twofold framework for comparison, in some way mirrors the dual function of testimony in the documentary, that of providing “evidence” and that of “bearing witness,” a comparison to enhance the idea of designed and systematic “extermination,” and, a comparison to acknowledge the lack of memory politics in Spain.

The double function of testimony is problematic in several ways. To begin with, the viewer of the documentary is faced with a scattered account of the stories of the interviewees, arranged chronologically and thematically in the documentary’s narrative. With the voice of the interviewer being cut out, the viewer is denied a clear framework in which to locate and interpret these accounts. The testimony is reduced to fragments of highly emotional or traumatic memories. The viewer, however, is denied access to the interviewee’s narrative “working through” these past, sometimes traumatic, events (Felman and Laub 1992; LaCapra 1994; Jelin 2003).¹⁹²

What is more, the journalistic approach to these kinds of emotional accounts – often told to the public for the first time – should be understood as disruptive in the first place. The witness is not offered the opportunity to place the events in his or her own narrative logic, but is prompted to unveil only those details and snippets which will best illustrate the narrative of the documentary maker, who clearly guides the witness with questions to obtain pieces of “evidence.” And still, even their *testimonio* (testimony-as-evidence) is not respected. Archival documents, presented via the voice-over, and, the reading of the historians diminish the power of the witness’ voice, as they continuously correct and structure the witness’ narrative. The witness account, then, is reduced to its emotionally charged essence, which may urge us to take a stance in the presence. This is indeed the role Jo Labanyi reserves for testimony in Spain, when she argues ‘for a view of *testimonio* not so much as “politics of truth,” but rather as a “politics of feeling”’ (Labanyi 2010b, 204; see also Felman and Laub 1992, 59–63).

¹⁹² The extent to which the testimonies of the Spanish Civil War repression should be understood within the frameworks of trauma theory is subject of dispute. Jo Labanyi (2010b) understands the accounts of the Spanish eyewitnesses are surrounded by silence because of the lack of interlocutors and a public sphere to express them, rather than a form of “blocked” memory of trauma. In the particular case of the documentary *Les fosses*, Isabel Estrada does recognize instances of traumatic discourse, such as the assertions of incomprehensibility in the account of Aurora Navas (Estrada 2010a, 197).

However, in the case of these documentaries, I would argue that the reduction of the testimonies to ‘the emotional attitudes toward the past’ encourages the ‘view of Republican supporters as “helpless” objects of historical events beyond their control,’ which is exactly what Labanyi warns us about (Labanyi 2010b, 199). As we see in the culminating sequence of the documentary, where José Antonio Landera, cousin of a *subterrado*, confronts ex-Falangist Ricandro Álvarez on his involvement in the killing of Periquete, the witness account proves powerless. ‘Everyone can say what they want’ (Armengou and Belis 2003b, 47:35),¹⁹³ Álvarez responds to Landera, while seemingly laughing to his friend about the apparent inaccuracy of the facts. ‘Look, don’t come to me with just tales’ (Armengou and Belis 2003b, 47:59).¹⁹⁴ Although Landera asks him if he is not afraid to face his victims in heaven, Álvarez does not appear disturbed by the accusations because he is neither faced with probing facts, nor confronted with the traumatic accounts of the witnesses and relatives. The witness accounts are reduced to tales.

Perhaps this kind of use of witness accounts has paved the way for critiques, like Cercas’, on the sacralization of the witness and the “uncritical” and “sentimental” approach to the past. However, instead of disregarding the witness account on the basis of this critique, I would rather argue that there is a lack of critical approach to the witness account and the related cultural production. In the wake of the new interest in “historical memory,” the impressive collection of documentary film and other collections of testimony, the Republican testimony has been reduced to an emotionally charged victim account, helplessly illustrating the newly produced accounts of Spanish history. As Labanyi again contends, ‘we also need to show that those who were reduced to the status of victim by extreme repression were nevertheless, in other aspects of their lives, individuals with agency’ (Labanyi 2010b, 199).

Although creating a stage for the testimony is a step towards recognition, most slices of testimonial accounts presented in *Les fosses* lack the possibility of a critical exploration of the eyewitnesses’ feelings in the present. The only instance in which their agency is returned is perhaps through the present active search for those buried in mass graves. Arguably, this victim-centered framing is influenced by the dissemination of the Holocaust as a schema for universalized suffering. Stripped of any possible political connotation of the Spanish Civil War, the Spanish victim stands on a par with the transnational victims of past crimes, entering the arena of the global and victim-centered Human Rights paradigm (Levy and Sznajder 2010; Sznajder 2012). What is more, the univocal focus on victimhood also invites to comparisons to Francoist stories of victimhood,

¹⁹³ ‘Cada uno puede decir lo que quiera.’

¹⁹⁴ ‘Mira, con cuentos no me vengán.’

such as the one presented by historian Ricardo de la Cierva (see also Crumbaugh 2007; Gatti 2014). The fact that in the documentary the Holocaust is a framework which appears through the prism of the testimonies, underscores on the one hand the level of dissemination of such a global victim-oriented memory culture and on the other hand shows the lack of power felt by the testimony; as if his or her words are not enough to claim recognition in the present, the witness feels the need to allude to the powerful and iconic imagery of the Holocaust.

In *El comboi dels 927* the Holocaust becomes an omnipresent scheme. The documentary narrates the fate of the 927 Republican exiles who were deported on August 20, 1940 from the French Angoulême to Mauthausen in Austria. The documentary is presented as the story of the *first* train loaded with entire families bound for a concentration camp. It again follows the genre of investigative journalism, using the structuring voice-over and archival photo and video footage to complement the survivors' accounts. In this case, however, testimony mainly serves the purpose of narrating the experiences during the transport and the life in the camp. The documents, interpreted by the voice-over, serve to prove who is to blame for the fate of the Spanish Republicans in the Nazi camps: ex Franco minister Ramón Serrano Suñer, who died approximately six months before *El comboi* was first broadcast on March 7, 2004. The first part of the documentary is almost entirely dedicated to the deportation and camp experiences of the 927 deportees. In the second part we are introduced to the archival investigation. Here, no historian backs the journalists' interpretation and the archival material is accompanied by lengthy voice-over narrations explaining the implication of Serrano Suñer. The last ten minutes are dedicated to the role of the Spanish commando in the Nuremberg trials, who, organized by Francesc Boix, smuggled photographic evidence of the Holocaust out of the camp. The voice-over leaves no doubt about the importance of these Spanish inmates in the history of the camps: 'The Spanish were among the first to arrive and among the last to leave the camp. (...) [After liberation] once more, the Spanish Republicans play a decisive role in showing the world the machinery of extermination' (Armengou and Belis 2004a, 54:09).¹⁹⁵

In *El comboi* the testimony of the deported Spanish Republican exiles is entirely framed through the prism of Holocaust victims. Interviewed against the same background, the victims' narratives are alternated with archival footage of deportees in freight cars and endless train tracks, sometimes with overlapping extracts of archival documents. The documentary highlights the most quoted and recurrent Holocaust

¹⁹⁵ 'Els Espanyols havien estat dels primers d'arribar, i dels últims de marxar del camp. (...) Una vegada més, els Republicans espanyols tindran un paper decisiu en mostrar al món aquella maquinària d'extermini.'

narrative topics, such as the loss of one's personhood, being assigned a number, the chimneys of the crematorium as the only way out of the camps, specific cruel episodes of the camp life, and the camps as something unimaginable. The fact that the documentary makers specifically looked for violent and traumatic details is evident from the short episode in which Concepción Gutiérrez talks about the later deportations of Jews from Angoulême and we hear the voice from Montse Armengou, asking for further details. '[C.G.:] They boarded them in trucks, mistreated and all. [M.A.:] The children as well? [C.G.:] Yes, the children as well. [M.A.:] Did they beat them? [C.G.:] Ah... with the shotgun... they would push them...' (Armengou and Belis 2004a, 28:53).¹⁹⁶ Apart from searching for traumatic or cruel details, the questions of Armengou are the kind of juridical investigative questions searching for details to prove someone's guilt.

Throughout almost the entire documentary, the story is narrated from the past, making no reference to the present time. Only during the last three minutes, when the survivors give their view on justice, their voices are alternated with full-color shots of Mauthausen in the present. Yet unmistakably, their role in the documentary is to bear witness to the horrific experiences of the camp, and, if they are to prove something, it is the fact that there were also Spanish victims of the Holocaust. Most interestingly, the political orientation and the political life of the Spanish deportees in the camp is hardly mentioned by the survivors, while being an important topic in the scholarly literature on the Spanish experiences in the camps (Winter 2010). It was specifically the Spanish inmates' political organization and solidarity in the camps that gave them the mental strength needed for survival. Yet, we only learn about their political convictions and the hidden photographic material through the narration of the voice-over.

The purpose of this third documentary in the series, following shortly after *Les fosses*, seems to further the authors' thesis on the overlap between the Spanish Civil War and the ideological structure of the Francoist dictatorship, and, Nazism and the Holocaust. A thesis which is tentatively presented in *Les fosses*, then further developed in the book following the documentary, and, finally fully exploited through the presentation of this unique and 'forgotten tragedy in the immensity of the Nazi Holocaust' (Armengou and Belis 2004a, 03:08).¹⁹⁷ In the documentary, the Spanish exiles are presented as subjects to one of the first German experiments with mass deportation, 'they were the first ones on the death transports, which, two years later, would become infamous through the deportation of the Jews' (Armengou and Belis 2004a, 03:25).¹⁹⁸ With the emphasis

¹⁹⁶ 'Había que los subían en camiones, maltratados y todo. ¿A los niños también? A los niños también, sí. ¿Les pegaban? Ah... con la escopeta... los empujaban...'

¹⁹⁷ 'Una tragèdia poc coneguda i oblidada en la immensitat de l'Holocaust.'

¹⁹⁸ 'Ells inauguren aquells transports de la mort, que dos anys després els jueus farien tristament famosos.'

on the Spanish as the *first* deportees, one could argue that Armengou en Belis follow and even further develop the thesis of the Spanish Civil War as a “dress rehearsal” for the Second World War. But most importantly, the Spanish victims are constructed as Holocaust victims, framed through recognizable narrative plot lines of suffering, and disconnected from the stories about their political activities before and during their imprisonment.

Interestingly, in *El comboi* we also encounter comparisons between the Spanish postwar situation and the experiences of the deportees. The women and small children of the transport were sent back to Spain. The witness accounts of those who were returned to Francoist Spain compare their return to dictatorial Spain with their previous experiences. ‘If I would tell you the second part, of what happened here in Spain ...’, says Joaquim Valcells (Armengou and Belis 2004a, 34:54).¹⁹⁹ He does not finish his sentence, but leaves no doubt for interpretation: it was even worse. Jesús Ramos claims that in Spain the “red” were targeted just like the yellow Star of David did for the Jews in occupied Europe. Their accounts are illustrated with archival footage of an arrival parade of Franco in which the camera especially takes notice of the crowd giving the fascist salute. These comparisons seem to come from those who had experienced both the Holocaust and repressive Spain, however, we have to remember that these interviewees are not camp survivors, but the children who had been deported but then immediately returned. They had never entered the camps.

The victim oriented focus of the documentary becomes very clear in the version aired by TVE – La 2 – in the program *Documentos TV* on February 6, 2005, about a year after its initial broadcasting in Catalonia. The Spanish version by *Documentos TV* features a shortened version. Tellingly, TVE edited the most controversial parts of the documentary out: those that provide the details about Serrano Suñer’s connection to the fate of the Spanish deportees and to Nazi Germany, but also the Spanish role in the Nuremberg trials and the snippets of information on the deportees’ political life in the camps. Editing out only about eleven minutes of voice-over narration, TVE could easily reframe the documentary as a completely depoliticized account of Spanish “Holocaust” testimonies, with some minor historical excursions into the implication of Franco’s Spain. Of course this example is significant in illustrating the different political orientation between TVE and TVC, as I have pointed out at the start of this section, but it also shows the fundamentally depoliticized framework which is applied to the testimony accounts.

¹⁹⁹ ‘Si jo et contés la segona part, la d’aquí d’Espanya...’

The comparisons with the Holocaust and the overall Spanish framing of the Holocaust turn *El comboi* into an interesting – though questionable – narration of the past. Testimony is reduced to victimhood, which not only helps to compare the Spanish gentile experience to that of the Jews, but is also used to place the Spanish experience at the forefront of the Holocaust as a historical event. The documentary introduces a kind of unproductive zero-sum logic of competitive victimhood, favoring the dialectics of equation and competition over differentiation and solidarity (see Rothberg 2009; Moses and Rothberg 2014).

‘The emergence of the witness as a prominent figure in the public sphere has perhaps been the most remarkable feature of Spain’s changing relationship with its past since the late 1990s,’ contends Sebastiaan Faber (Faber 2011, 13). Documentaries like those by Armengou and Belis have importantly added to construct a stage for these voices, mostly within a quasi-judicial framework. Through my analysis of the documentaries *Les fosses* and *El comboi*, with a particular focus on the construction and presentation of testimony within the framework of the Holocaust, I have demonstrated the underlying victim-oriented framing of the Spanish testimony, which is used to enforce a comparison to the Holocaust victim. One can even ask to what extent the initial emergence of the witness as a prominent figure in the Spanish public sphere is influenced by the dissemination of Holocaust memory. Instead of connecting overlapping forms of violence and memory, the documentary connects the universal with the local in the same way that the universalized Human Rights discourse challenges local sovereignties (see Levy and Sznajder 2010). With that, the documentaries, following global trends of increasing emotional effect through the use of traumatic witness instances, answer to the transnational genre of what Meg McLagan has called “Human Rights documentary film” (McLagan 2003). With that, the Holocaust paradigm does not only appear in these documentaries as a trope or comparative memory, it also influences on the construction of the Spanish testimony. Contrary to the hero narrative in the earlier written accounts of Spanish survivors of Mauthausen such as Amadeo Sinca Vendrell and Joaquim Amat-Piniella, focusing on the political clandestine activities of the inmates, these documentaries put forward a victim narrative of suffering.

Certainly, the documentaries have had a great impact in raising awareness and mobilizing citizens for the cause of “historical memory.” Notwithstanding, the quasi-judicial framework together with the Holocaust references and its construction of testimony within a depoliticized Human Rights paradigm is open to criticism. In these two documentaries, Armengou and Belis universalize the Holocaust in all the four ways that Natan Sznajder has distinguished: the victims with regard to the past (not only Jews

suffered the Holocaust), the victims with regard to the future (Never Again), concerning the perpetrators (comparison of evil), and, concerning the subjects in the present (who remembers and who is the audience) (Sznaider 2012, 245). These mechanisms of universalization have an important influence on the role of testimony and the audience. In order to universalize their account, testimony is reduced to a univocal message, fit into a chronological script, assembled with overlapping soundtracks and archival footage. This framing leaves little room for potential critical explorations of the constructed nature of the victim's narrative, his or her political agency, and processes of mourning, while shutting off the possibilities for affective engagement. In other words, we have no access to the realm of what Labanyi calls "politics of feeling."²⁰⁰ In this case, only the voice-over holds the power over the narrative and its interpretation. He disposes of the diffracting power of the transnational as a metonymical field, to replace it with an imposing relation between universal standards and local – read Spanish – particularities.

BORROWED MEMORY AND DISTANCED WITNESSING

Testimony, Holocaust and the Spanish Civil War are also the ingredients of a number of novels that have been published since the mid 1990s. Perhaps the most quoted and debated example is that of Antonio Muñoz Molina's *Sefarad* (Muñoz Molina 2001; Muñoz Molina 2003).²⁰¹ The novel is composed of seventeen intertwined stories, which all bear relation to the novel's main themes of "memory" and "displacement." *Sefarad* is based on oral history, letters, and iconic reference works such as the autobiographical writing of Margarete Buber-Neumann, Evgenia Ginzburg, Jean Améry and Primo Levi, but it is also indebted to the historical interpretations of Tzvetan Todorov, Stephan Koch or François Furet. With that, instead of opposing memory to history as Cercas does, Muñoz Molina opposes the authenticity of testimony to literary imagination or invention.

Memory and displacement, as the main themes of the novel, are tied together through the question of identity, an important third narrative line. Identity is problematized throughout the novel in face of the exile condition, subject to processes of Othering and identity dissociation (Adema and Hristova 2010). In the novel, the different

²⁰⁰ Ironically, this critique is partly based on the scholarship on testimony born out of the experience of the Holocaust (cf. Felman and Laub 1992; Wieviorka 2006; Hirsch and Spitzer 2009). This only underlines the importance of thinking through the different layers of transnational memory, including our own scholarly endeavor into the (de)construction of transnational memory structures.

²⁰¹ English quotations are taken from the English translation, the Spanish quotations from the 2009 Seix Barral/Booket edition.

themes are woven together through the motif of the train and the stories people tell each other during these long train journeys. The train also serves as a symbol on various levels. The idea of train travel is related to the formal structure of the novel, in which many different stories and narrators are inserted. But perhaps more importantly, the train can also be understood as a symbol of the Jewish deportation to the camps. Lastly, we can relate the train to Bakhtin's chronotope of the road, metaphor for the path of life and "Bildung," and therefore strongly related to question of identity.

In the last five years there have been several explicit scholarly efforts to identify *Sefarad* as an example of transnational or multidirectional memory (Hristova-Dijkstra 2011; Valdivia 2013; Omlor 2013; Hristova 2013; Vandebosch 2014; Blancke 2014; Paulsen 2015). While at first the novel had been primarily identified as a Spanish novel on the Holocaust, the new transnational or multidirectional turn has helped to identify the full scope of memories represented in the novel, ranging from Spanish exile memories, the memories of a Blue Division soldier, the testimonies of iconic personages such as Jean Améry or Margarete Buber-Neumann, and the *longue durée* of the Sephardic diaspora. These stories are interlaced with occasional references to other injustices around the world, such as for instance the war crimes in Bosnia and Rwanda, the Argentinian death flights, or, the boat refugees on the Mediterranean. Overall, the non-linear narrative which moves from one decade to another and from one country to the next, results in a large map of "possible exiles and displacements."

Notwithstanding the new transnational framing, some of these new interpretations still give rise to criticism towards the debatable production of Holocaust memories in the novel. These debates make the novel particularly interesting as to decipher the limits of transnational memory constructions. The critique against the novel was firstly voiced by Spain-based Austrian novelist Erich Hackl in the cultural review *Lateral* (Hackl 2001). Based on the identification of, according to Hackl, important historical errors – Muñoz Molina miscalculated the age of Viktor Klemperer, misspells the name of Bergen-Belsen, and the description of Jean Améry contains several inconsistencies –, the novel is disdained for completely betraying the memory of the Holocaust. As Sebastiaan Faber notes, Hackl's critique resonates a certain Central-European territorialism: 'how dare a Spaniard write about the Holocaust' (Faber 2012, 131). Because of the explicit use and borrowing from iconic works in Holocaust literature, literary scholar Antonio Gómez López-Quñones argues that the novel becomes somewhat of a "who is who" in the corpus of Holocaust literature. According to him, the explicit use of iconic names and texts in *Sefarad* in the end does not help the reader to get in touch with the past. As he says, 'between the reader and the Holocaust there are only texts' (Gómez López-Quñones 2004).

For those who attempt to place the text within the scope of transnational memory, understanding the work as an effort of memory, the historical details are of less importance. Their judgment is related to the limitations of identification. As such, contrary to Gómez López-Quñones, Danielle Omlor argues that the novel includes many instances of over-identification with Holocaust testimony (Omlor 2013). According to Dagmar Vandebosch, the transnationalization of memory in the novel is restrained on the one hand by the strong Spanish contextualization, and, on the other hand by universalization and victimization of the experiences, ultimately stripping them of their original political agency (Vandebosch 2014, 616).

What all these critics have in common is that they condemn the text for having crossed certain borders; between truth and fiction, between what is considered one's own memory and other people's memory, and, between the specific and the universal. Furthermore, all the critiques point in one way or another to the specific Spanish articulations in what appears to be a narration of totalitarian experiences in the twentieth century. It seems that everyone, including myself, has his or her own personal threshold as to what is acceptable and what is not when it comes to transnational or transcultural identifications, especially with regard to the Holocaust. My questions on the transnational framing of Spanish Civil War memories however, are more related to the purpose (*why*) of these transnational imaginaries, trying to overcome these kinds of normative debates and, in return, attempting to "locate" the slippery field of the transnational.

In my reading, with the use of what I have called "borrowed memory" (Hristova-Dijkstra 2011; Hristova 2012), I will focus on the mechanisms of focalization and affect in the creation of the textual transnational stage and the role of the "distanced" witness. Key to my analysis is the way the testimony of Primo Levi is incorporated in the text. I will argue that *Sefarad* constructs and imagines a transnational space which portrays a form of inclusive nationalism similar to what we have seen in the previous chapter. Here however, Sepharad serves as a foundational myth in this new form of inclusive nationalism which comes to stand in direct relation to European identity. With that, the motifs of the train and of traveling give rise to a *Bildungsroman* of a kind; a formative novel for the whole of Spain.

The "borrowed" testimony of Primo Levi

Although the European continent is the focal point in *Sefarad*, not discounting the excursions to the African and the American continents, the stories are addressed primarily recurring to a focalization through Spanish experiences. With that, the Spanish framing is indeed ubiquitous in the novel. The main characters of the different inserted

stories are almost always Spanish, or have an identity connection with Spain, such as for instance a Sephardic background.²⁰² On the whole, the Spanish focalization on the experiences in Europe during the 1940s is intrinsically linked to the history and the memory of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism. The novel includes all major aspects of the history and memory of the Second World War in Spain, varying from the aid to the Sephardic Jews by Sanz Briz to the experiences of a Blue Division soldier. Moreover, Spanish exile emerges as an important reference. Here, the novel presents a cartography of the Republican exile: Russia in “Sheherazade,” France in “Cerbère,” Mexico through an exhibition in the Crystal Palace in Madrid, and the United States in “America” and “Sepharad”. Likewise, the diaspora of the Sephardic Jews is frequently highlighted through the characters: Camille Pederson-Safra, Isaac Salama, the red-haired woman in “Narva,” Emile Roman, and the iconic Primo Levi. However, an important reference which Muñoz Molina notably omitted in this wide array of Spanish experiences, is that of the Spanish deportees in Mauthausen as well as the testimony of Jorge Semprún. With that, the author seemingly tries to circumvent possible direct comparisons between Spanish victims and the Jews in the death camps. It is here, that the “iconic” Holocaust testimonies become important.

Almost all of the characters who give the novel a Spanish dimension, are fictional or fictionalized characters, although some, such as Isaac Salama and the Blue Division soldier, are presented as testimonies gathered by the “basic narrator.” Moreover, many of them take the position of narrator in the novel. In the “Author’s Note” at the end of the novel, Muñoz Molina mentions that all of the characters are based on oral or written testimony, yet most of the Spanish characters are not identified by their real names throughout the novel. Yet, when approximating the memory of the Holocaust, the author opts for inserting references to canonical testimonies. Of these testimonies, Jean Améry and Primo Levi are most directly related to the memory of the Holocaust, being both Jewish survivors of the extermination camp of Auschwitz and belonging to the canon of world literature testimony of the Shoah.²⁰³

²⁰² Sacristán, Mateo, Godino, the visitor in the story “Cerbère,” the Blue Division soldier in “Silencing everything” and in “Narva” are all Spanish. The narrators Isaac Salama, Emile Roman and Camille Pederson-Safra are of Sephardic origin. Willi Münzenberg is perhaps one of the characters who is most distanced from this predominantly Spanish focalization. However, his story starts in 1936 and is framed by his organization of an international campaign to aid the Spanish Republic. The chapter “Those who wait” also moves away from the Spanish framing, as it recounts Nazi and Stalinist terror through the perspective of several historical figures. Nevertheless, among them, we encounter the story of Rafael Alberti and María Teresa de León and their interview with Stalin on Soviet aid to the Spanish Republic.

²⁰³ Margarete Buber-Neumann survived both the Stalinist concentration camp Karganda and the Nazi camp of Ravensbrück. In the novel, however, her legacy is rather inserted to focus on her dissident communist past, her deportation to Ravensbrück being based on her political affiliation.

Importantly only Jean Améry and Primo Levi are not developed as characters in the novel, even if they appear in various paragraphs and chapters. What is more, the novel never directly describes the horrors of the death camps. We only get to know about the camps in loose sentences which are abruptly inserted into the rest of the prose. Nevertheless, in the “Author’s Note,” Muñoz Molina reveals Améry and Levi as ‘the most decisive writers in my education during recent years,’ without whom ‘it is questionable whether this book would have occurred to me and that I would have found the state of mind necessary to write it’ (Muñoz Molina 2003, 384).²⁰⁴ The way the text includes and “borrows” the testimony of these two authors is crucial to understanding how Muñoz Molina approaches the theme of the Holocaust. Levi, being explicitly identified as of Sephardic origin, is of particular interest.²⁰⁵

The instances through which the reader gets to know something about the extermination camps are all narrated from a distanced position. The narrator explicitly refers to someone else’s testimony, who, in most cases, is not a direct witness of the camps either. We read about the friendship between Margarete Buber-Neumann and Milena Jesenska in Ravensbrück through a distanced focalization of the “basic narrator,” omitting any detailed description of the camp. Moreover, the testimony of Buber-Neumann is rather used to, through her eyes, compare the Gulag to Ravensbrück. Mateo Zapatón recounts his “prosthetic” memories of the Holocaust, of which he learned through a newsreel, and projects this memory on his childhood memories of the Spanish Civil War, where he had seen a lot of dead people’s shoes, referring to the civil war executions. The Blue Division soldier leaves testimony of seeing hundreds of Jewish prisoners being deported in Estonia, thin, pale faces, dragging their feet, shoulders hunched and staring at the ground (Muñoz Molina 2001, 429; Muñoz Molina 2003, 306). A memory he could only imbue with meaning afterwards, because at the time, as the soldier recalls, his understanding was shielded by his fanatical belief in everything he had been told. In “Tell me your name,” Adriana Seligmann, widow of an Argentine disappeared, tells the narrator about her grandfather, Saul Seligmann, and his nightmares in which he used to scream and speak German. Told from her perspective, a line extends from the dead dumped in the *Río de la Plata* and the survivor of the Nazi camps. All of these testimonies include a transnational link to other injustices, the Argentine disappeared, Francoism and the Spanish Civil War and the Gulag. And, more importantly, we read about the Holocaust

²⁰⁴ ‘Pero casi se me olvida de citar a dos de los escritores más decisivos en mi educación de los últimos años, sin los cuales es muy probable que ni este libro se me hubiera ocurrido ni yo habría encontrado el estado de espíritu necesario para escribirlo’ (Muñoz Molina 2001, 538).

²⁰⁵ For a deeper analysis of the references to Jean Améry I refer to the doctoral thesis of José Antonio Martín Galván (2006, 147–202), to which I will also sometimes refer to contrast the references to Primo Levi.

through the distanced focalization of Adriana Seligmann, granddaughter; the soldier, a secondary witness; Mateo's prosthetic memory; and Margarete Buber-Neumann, known to the narrator through a literary reference.

Although avoiding a direct narration of the experience in the Nazi extermination camps, the author does display a specific discernment of everything Jewish in the novel: a position indebted to the common places of the Spanish memory narrative concerning Jewish history. As such, Muñoz Molina combines the Francoist myth of the Blue Division soldier as someone who knew nothing of the concentration camps and who manifests compassion with the Jews (Núñez Seixas 2010, 79–81) with the Philosephardism exhibited by Spanish intellectuals of the whole political spectrum at the beginning of the twentieth century who saw 'the exiled Sephardim as the bearers and transmitters of Spain's cultural legacy, and as witnesses and advocates of a greater Spanish patria beyond Spain's national borders' (M. Friedman 2014, 60). An idea very similar to the portrayal of the Sephardic Jews in Goytisolo's writings on Bosnia, and, distinctly present in Muñoz Molina's *Sefarad*.

The references to the testimony of Primo Levi are presented in an elusive and fleeting way. Short references, sometimes only in the form of one single phrase, are inserted abruptly in several places in the novel. When we analyze in detail how these imbedded phrases connect with the different chapters, and, on a microscopic level with the seemingly unrelated preceding and subsequent sentences, a pattern appears. The ensemble of all the references to Primo Levi forms a narrative plot which starts with the story of his deportation, then reflects upon Levi's hybrid identity as Italian and Jew, underlining his Sephardic roots, and, ends with a metonymic identification between Primo Levi and other deportees. This structure stresses the argumentative scheme of the novel, which starts with a reflection upon the theme of exile through the motive of trains and traveling, but which throughout the text becomes problematized through the references to the Holocaust and the exodus of the Sephardic Jews.

Although the evocations of the Holocaust are few, through these scarce references *Sefarad* wants to build a bridge of memory and identity between the Holocaust and Spanish memory from a Spanish perspective. Primo Levi, as an icon, becomes the embodiment of the relation between the Sephardic exodus and the Holocaust. On a micro level, the connection between the loose sentences and the rest of the narrative shows how the inserted references to Primo Levi directly relate his testimony to other experiences during the Second World War and even to a larger map of the history of intolerance. The almost unrelated preceding and following sentences refer for example to the history of colonialism through a reference to Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, the

deportation of Margarete Buber-Neumann to Siberia, or, as in the following example to the experience of the Spanish soldiers of the Blue Division.

‘As I watched those faces and listened, their words dissolved into sleep, and I felt myself on one of the trains they were telling about, past trains of defeated soldiers or deportees who traveled without ever reaching their destination, stopped for whole nights beside darkened platforms. Shortly before he died, Primo Levi said that he was still frightened by the sealed freight cars he occasionally saw on the side-tracks. “I served in Russia,” the man said, “in the Blue Division”’ (Muñoz Molina 2003, 28).²⁰⁶

The use of pronouns in all these references is indicative of the way the Holocaust is inserted in the novel. Here, the sentences that precede and immediately follow the reference to Primo Levi are articulated in the first person “I,” allowing for an intimate identification between the reader and in the first case the “basic narrator” and in the second case the Blue Division soldier. The experience of Primo Levi however, is narrated in a more distant third person singular, keeping his testimony at arm’s length. In addition, the two first person narrators encompass the Spanish perspective, while Primo Levi cannot be identified as such. Lastly, one should note that the passages on Levi’s deportation to Auschwitz that are included in “Copenhagen” are almost literally quoted from Levi’s *Si questo è un uomo*, aligning with Muñoz Molina’s desire to stay faithful to the sources.

This game of identification and the use of pronouns is played to its limits in the chapter “You are.” Here, the different historical characters are evoked one after the other, through the pronoun “you,” producing an analogous and highly affective identification between the reader and the characters, as well as between the different characters. The pronoun “you” lacks a real referent, and, in theory anyone can occupy the locus of the victim in these instances (Martín Galván 2006, 168). In these instances, “you” is placed in between the “I” and the “Other” and directly relates to and problematizes identity constructions in the novel. It is here that Muñoz Molina finally suspends the boundaries between the reader and the anonymous victim of the Holocaust in a very complex paragraph:

²⁰⁶ ‘Era, viendo esas caras y escuchando esas palabras desleídas en el sueño, como si yo no viajara en el tren donde ahora íbamos, sino en cualquiera de los trenes de los que ellos hablaban, trenes de soldados vencidos o de deportados que viajaban eternamente sin llegar a su destino y se quedaban parados durante noches enteras en andenes sin luces. Decía Primo Levi, poco antes de morir, que seguían dándole terror los vagones de carga sellados que veía a veces a las vías muertas de las estaciones. Yo serví en Rusia, dijo el hombre, en la División Azul’ (Muñoz Molina 2001, 44).

'You are Jean Améry viewing a landscape of meadows and trees through the window of the car in which you are being taken to the barracks of the Gestapo. You are Eugenia Ginzburg listening for the last time to the sound her door makes as it closes, the house she will never return to. You are Margarete Buber-Neumann who sees the illuminated sphere of a clock in the early dawn of Moscow (...). You are Franz Kafka discovering with amazement the warm liquid you are vomiting. *You are the one who sees her lost normality from the other side of the window which separates you from her, who between the cracks of the panels of a freight car with deportees sees the last houses of the city he thought his and where he'll never return*' (Muñoz Molina 2003, 299 the last phrase is omitted in the translation).²⁰⁷

Still, the direct identification with Primo Levi is avoided, replacing a previously evoked image of Primo Levi looking through the slits of the wagon by an anonymous victim who is never to return.²⁰⁸

The aura of sacralization which surrounds the Holocaust and its representation keeps the author away from inventing a Spanish (or Sephardic) character (resembling Levi) who survives the camps. Instead, the author chooses to surround the testimony of Primo Levi with a spiral of stories. Every one of these stories adds to trespassing the "identity horizons" existing between the experience of Primo Levi and the Spanish collective. Muñoz Molina carefully crosses these borders through the mixed use of pronouns, the motive of the train and the stories one hears and tells on a train. Most importantly, the spiral is constructed through the use of hybrid characters with multiple entangled mnemonic affiliations.

Probably the most important influence of the testimony of Primo Levi on the narrative in *Sefarad* is the constant reflection on identity. Primo Levi's voice is mostly characterized as hybrid, referring to multiple identities: scientist and writer, witness and novelist, Jew and Italian. Moreover, Levi has always resisted the label of Jewish writer (Chey-

²⁰⁷ 'Eres Jean Améry viendo un paisaje de prados y árboles por la ventanilla del coche en el que lo llevan preso al cuartel de la Gestapo, eres Evgenia Ginzburg escuchando por última vez el ruido peculiar con que se cierra la puerta de su casa, adonde nunca va a volver, eres Margarete Buber-Neumann que ve la esfera iluminada de un reloj en la madrugada de Moscú, (...), eres Franz Kafka (...). Eres quien mira su normalidad perdida desde el otro lado del cristal que te separa de ella, quien entre las rendijas de las tablas de un vagón de deportados mira las últimas casas de la ciudad que creyó suya y a la que nunca volverá' (Muñoz Molina 2001, 419).

²⁰⁸ Although Jean Améry is also included in this enumeration at the end of "You are," note that his testimony is also kept at a distance. As noted by Martín Galván, the author acknowledges in the "Author's Note" that he has only found Jean Améry's testimony by chance in a bookstore in Paris. While he could have chosen to 'appropriate the voice of Améry directly through the form of direct speech, he prefers to give this privilege to Emile Roman' (Martín Galván 2006, 154).

ette 2007, 67). What we see in *Sefarad* is a continuous problematization of categorization, that is, the labels imposed by others. We have seen this through the mixed use of pronouns. But it becomes even clearer through Muñoz Molina's explicit focus on characters who embody different nationalities and memory collectives, echoing the multiple mnemonic memberships in Halbwachs's social frameworks (Halbwachs 1992; Erll 2011b).

As such, in "Copenhagen," we meet Camille Pederson-Safra, of French and Sephardic origin. For the narrator, the woman's name was itself an enigma and a promise, as he admits, 'I can't resist the attraction of names. She told me she'd be born in France, into a Jewish family of Spanish decent. Pedersen was her married name' (Muñoz Molina 2003, 38).²⁰⁹ Her name includes various identity frameworks – French, Danish, Jewish and Spanish – in which she acquired a membership through her condition of exile.²¹⁰ In the story "Scheherazade," the woman who after the Spanish Civil War was exiled with her parents to Russia and returned to Madrid to collect a better pension, has become a fully in-between character who does not speak either of the two languages well, and feels an outsider both in Madrid and in Moscow. The Blue Division soldier describes his successive identities as divided by time and experience; the boy passionate about philosophy and literature, the young man who did not fight in the Spanish Civil War, the soldier on the Eastern Front and finally an old man who has nothing left but his memories. Most notable is the story of the Hungarian Sephardic Jew Isaac Salama, a story which can be considered the central spill of the complex novel. Salama is at the same time a Hungarian, Sephardic Jew, Spaniard in Morocco and on top of that he is crippled, a condition which is represented as an imposed identity that he compares with the wearing of the yellow star of David during the Second World War. And finally, Primo Levi is identified as Italian and a Sephardic Jew.

From all of these different identities, the one of the Holocaust survivor is kept at the biggest emotional distance. While most of the characters are presented as strictly based on real testimonies, the Holocaust victim is – different than other historical characters in the novel – even carefully kept away from the locus of the more proximate "I." The "basic narrator" reiterates throughout the novel the importance of testimonies and repeatedly expresses his wish to refrain from the unethical act of inventing fictional

²⁰⁹ 'no puedo resistirme al imán de los nombres: la mujer me dijo que había nacido en Francia, en una familia judía de origen español. Pedersen era su apellido de casada' (Muñoz Molina 2001, 56)

²¹⁰ Note that in Antonio Muñoz Molina's earlier novel *Carlota Fainberg* (1999), the name of Carlota Fainberg signifies hybridity in a similar way. It is a mysterious and thrilling name which reflects the main character's fascination with Argentine as 'a land of exotically mixed races, in which he clearly includes Jews and Christians' (Kaminsky 2008, 126).

stories. There is no need for invention, according to Muñoz Molina, as the different testimonies fit together through multiple links.

‘ (...) not needing to invent a story to fit them together like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. Each became a mystery, illuminating the others, creating multiple links that I could break or modify at my whim, patterns in which no image nullified the others or gained precedence or lost its uniqueness within the whole’ (Muñoz Molina 2003, 140).²¹¹

With that, Muñoz Molina underlines his own interpretation of his memory work: a form of multidirectional memory in which no memory overshadows another (Rothberg 2009). At the same time, he recognizes his agential power in cutting together-apart (‘to break or modify at my whim’) the different memories.

However, despite the explicit exercise of “borrowing” and the repeated negation of the need for invention, *Sefarad* remains a fictional novel. The text is not only a collage of different testimonies. As a whole, the text creates an imaginative space which becomes the stage for the characters of the novel who are emerging from the collage. These are the hybrid characters through whom the mathematical linearity of time and space is shattered, as they embody the different spaces and histories presented in the novel. And it is also here, where the novel’s title *Sefarad* becomes significant. Because, from all of these hybrid characters the figure of the Sephardic Jew is the most striking and produces the most affective identification.

Notwithstanding the many connecting and shared histories of Spaniards within the larger European map of the history of the Second World War, the Spanish perspective remains primarily one of antifascist struggle. This forms a dilemma for the author when wanting to approach the memory of the Holocaust from a Spanish perspective. Exile is not the same as extermination and, ultimately, Mauthausen is not Auschwitz (Diner 2010). In the end, in the textual collage, these two different universes tend to remain separate. That is why, to be able to approach the memory of Auschwitz, Antonio Muñoz Molina as a “distanced witness” explicitly draws on the iconic literary testimonies and recurs particularly to “borrowed” memory. But in the end, the figure of the Sephardic Jew, in his literary appearance, ultimately embodies the relation between the Holocaust and the *longue durée* of the history of Spanish intolerance, particularly the Inquisition.

²¹¹ ‘ (...) y no me hacía falta suponer o inventar una historia que los unificara a todos y los hiciera encajar como un rompecabezas. Cada uno cobraba una valiosa cualidad de misterio, se yuxtaponía sin orden a los otros, se iluminaban entre sí en conexiones plurales e instantáneas, que yo podía deshacer o modificar a mi antojo, y en las que ninguna imagen anulaba a las otras o alcanzaba una primacía segura sobre ellas, o perdía en beneficio del conjunto su singularidad irreductible’ (Muñoz Molina 2001, 192–193).

It is here as well that the author openly acknowledges his wish to “invent,” regardless of the fact that he repeatedly mentions his faithfulness to the sources. As I have mentioned above, the name of the Danish woman Camille Pederson-Safra is already an enigma for the narrator, an encrypted promise. But even more, when the “basic narrator” tells the story of the Blue Division soldier and his encounter with a red haired Jewish woman, he admits, for the first time in the novel, that

‘I would invent her, say that she was Sephardic by birth and spoke a few words to him in Ladino, establishing with him, in that remote city of Estonia and in the midst of all those German officers, the melancholy complicity of a secretly shared fatherland.’

Although he hastily adds,

‘But it isn’t necessary to invent or add a thing for that woman to materialize, to appear to me in the restaurant where my friend and I were talking (...)’ (Muñoz Molina 2003, 312).²¹²

“The melancholy complicity of a secretly shared fatherland,” in my opinion, summarizes the affective attitude towards Sepharad in Muñoz Molina’s approach. This is the complicity evoked through the Sephardic background of Camille Pederson-Safra, of Primo Levi, or, while seeing the Sephardic graveyard in New York. A melancholy complicity that Tabea Alexa Linhard (2014) defines as nostalgic through the analysis of the chapter on Isaac Salama and that I, together with Janneke Adema (2010), called mythical.

Linhard underlines how Sepharad attains a spectral quality in the novel, linking the Holocaust to the debates on the recovery of Spanish historical memory, but also haunting the characters in the novel with the fantasy of a possible return (Linhard 2014, 63–64). Yet, I argue that Sepharad as a myth stands for a lost and bygone era and place. Or as Muñoz Molina puts it,

‘Spain is so remote that it is nearly nonexistent, an inaccessible, unknown thankless country they called Sepharad, longing for it with a melancholy without base or excuse’ (Muñoz Molina 2003, 111).²¹³

²¹² ‘me gustaría inventar que la mujer pelirroja era de origen sefardí, y que le dijo algunas palabras en ladino, estableciendo con él, en aquella ciudad remota de Estonia, en medio de tantos oficiales alemanes, la melancólica complicitad de una patria en secreto común. Pero no es preciso inventar nada, ni añadir nada, para que esa mujer, su presencia y su voz, surja entre nosotros, se aparezca a mí en el restaurante donde mi amigo y yo conversamos (...)’ (Muñoz Molina 2001, 438).’

²¹³ España es un sitio casi inexistente de tan remoto, un país inaccesible, desconocido, ingrato, llamado Sefarad, añorado con una melancolía sin fundamento ni disculpa (Muñoz Molina 2001, 154).’

Moreover, Sepharad is both a myth and a specific aspect of history. After the expulsion from Spain, the Sephardic Jews gained a new identity as a diasporic community. The old “Spanish” identity was both lost forever and at the same time constitutive of the new identity (see also Adema and Hristova 2010). Muñoz Molina takes the diasporic condition of the Sephardic Jewry out of its specific context, and uses it as a metaphor for the exile condition of all the characters in the novel, sharing, in his imagination, a secretly shared fatherland. In *Sefarad*, the fatherland is not the object of a nostalgic wish to return, a dream of wholeness, but the basis of the acknowledgment of the inherent composite or hybrid nature of any identity, a foundational myth for the new form of inclusive Spanish (and European) identity. It is this stress on the shared fatherland and the imaginative and affective appropriation of the Sephardic identity which posits the position of Muñoz Molina close to the cultural movement of Sephardism. The new inclusive Spanish nationalism, with Sepharad as foundational myth, however, does not only encompass those expelled after 1492, but also more recent forms of social and political exclusions.

The last words of the novel resonate strongly with “the melancholy complicity of a secretly shared fatherland.” The “basic narrator” in the last chapter called “Sepharad” describes his visit to the Hispanic Society in New York and the affective power of the portrait of a young unknown girl painted by Velázquez exhibited in the museum. ‘Who knows whether right now, when it is 2:40 p.m. in New York and here near nightfall at the end of a December day, someone is looking at that girl’s face, someone who notices or recognizes in her dark eyes the melancholy of a long exile’ (Muñoz Molina 2003, 381)?²¹⁴ In the resonance of these last words of the earlier “the melancholy complicity of a secretly shared fatherland,” fatherland and exile appear almost synonymous. Instead of being a story of coming home, *Sefarad* is a story of coming of age, finding a newly discovered identity in multiplicity.

To come back then to my initial questions on the relation between the Holocaust and Spanish memory and the role of the “distanced witness,” I reiterate the importance of the “borrowed” testimony of Primo Levi in the novel, in order to approximate the experience of the camps. While Primo Levi’s testimony of Auschwitz is the heart of the identity spiral in the novel, it is kept at an almost imperative emotional distance by the author as a “distanced witness.” Isaac Salama, a fictionalized character, becomes the affective double of Primo Levi, necessary for the author to create an emotional frame for his jigsaw puzzle of testimonies. Salama is more distinctly Sephardic and more distantly

²¹⁴ ‘Quién sabe si ahora mismo, cuando en Nueva York son las dos y cuarto de la tarde y aquí empieza un anochecer de diciembre, habrá alguien mirando la cara de esa niña, alguien que advierta o reconozca en sus ojos oscuros la melancolía de un largo destierro’ (Muñoz Molina 2001, 535).

related to the camps, being not a survivor but a relative to Holocaust victims. With that, he relates more to a mythical past, than to the traumatic reality of the twentieth century, giving further possibilities for deliberate and imaginative appropriation. Lastly, it is also the composite and at the same time universalizing voice of Primo Levi, which gives rise to these kinds of transnational and trans-temporal figurations of memory. As Bryan Cheyette underlines, Primo Levi

‘wished to situate the Holocaust in the context of global injustice – Algeria, Vietnam, the Soviet Union, Chile, Argentina, Cambodia, and South Africa – which displaces the desire for revenge onto the demand for justice. (...) In stark contrast with [Jean] Améry, who remained trapped within the violence of the camps, Levi negotiated continually between the death camps and the values of the world at large’ (Cheyette 2007, 69–70).

The choice to recur to Levi’s voice as the central spill of the novel, then, seems a very conscious one, as he embodies both the desire to project the experience of the Holocaust onto contemporary violences around the world and an identity link to Spain as a Sephardic Jew.

The role of literary imagination

Before concluding, I would like to briefly contrast my claims regarding the role of the “distanced witness” in the production of transnational memory in *Sefarad* to the novel *El comprador de aniversarios* [The Birthday Buyer] by Adolfo García Ortega published only a year later. The narration is entangled with *Sefarad* as it again centralizes the testimony of Primo Levi. In this case, the novel is based entirely on a character extracted from Levi’s *La tregua*. The novel is exemplary of the relation between “borrowed memory” and imagination.

El comprador narrates the story of a Spaniard who travels to Auschwitz by car and after having suffered a car accident, the narrator continues his journey to the camp through his imagination. The starting point of his imaginary journey is the well known character of Hurbinek, the little crippled boy described by Primo Levi, who did not talk and died in the camp just after liberation. Hurbinek embodies for many, as Ruth Franklin points out, ‘a classic survivor’s nightmare: to speak but not to be heard’ (Franklin 2011, 46). In *El comprador*, the narrator’s aim is to create a possible past and future for Hurbinek, with the use of fiction. The invention of Hurbinek’s possible pasts and futures creates space for the insertion of a wide array of characters, some fictional and others loaned from Levi’s testimony. Chapter by chapter, the novel takes one more step

into the imagination of the narrator, while the death of the boy becomes some kind of “point zero,” a moment in history that marks a before and after. The narrator literally “buys anniversaries” for Hurbinek when he invents multiple futures for him: characters from different nationalities who have in common that they are all crippled without knowing the reason for it. The narrative also presents the “multiple mothers” of Hurbinek, and with that, a scope of possible pasts. Finally, the connection of the multiple identities to the voiceless Hurbinek evokes something like “we are all Hurbinek,” as he is framed more as a “universal victim,” than specifically as a Jewish victim.

El comprador is not so much a novel about the Holocaust, as it is a novel about the imagination of Auschwitz seventy years after its existence. The narrator defines himself as a pilgrim, underlining the importance of imagining the past through the exercise of remembrance. But, in the end, we do not get to know anything more about Hurbinek than we already knew from Primo Levi. There are two important things to notice in this text. First of all, the Spanish setting of what after all is a narrative exclusively about the Holocaust, and, secondly, the multiplicity of the invented identity of Hurbinek.

The Spanish setting is created not only through the perspective of the Spanish narrator, but also through the Spanish or Sephardic identity of some of the “invented” mothers and future identities of Hurbinek. Moreover, all together the presented characters again encompass the most important links between Spain and the Second World War: the alliance with the Third Reich, the Republican exile, the Spanish soldiers from the Blue Division, and more generally the Spanish origin of the Sephardic Jews, evoked through three key characters. Moreover, the fictional inventions of the before and after-lives of Hurbinek are somehow put in between brackets of Spanish identity. The invention of Hurbinek’s identity opens and closes with the evocation of Ángela Pérez León, a Sephardic Jew, evoked firstly as his mother and who, at the end, we find, was but one of the women who took care of Hurbinek in the camp (Hristova-Dijkstra 2011).

Different from *Sefarad*, the main narrator strictly controls the borders between fiction and reality. The Spanish man in the German hospital closely mediates between Hurbinek and the reader. The journey gives the novel the form of a *Bildungsroman*, but at the same time the motive of traveling allows the narrator (like in *Sefarad*) to include multiple times, spaces and personages in his story. Here too one can find multidirectional ties, not only between Franco and Hitler, but also with other war criminals, such as Eichmann, Barbie, Pinochet, Karadzic, or Mladic. Primo Levi’s concern for a larger map of injustices resonates in these novels, as well as the concern for the hybrid and multiple quality of identity. This composite aspect serves here to universalize the silent boy Hurbinek, being turned into a symbol of injustice, but not to underline the impossibility of knowing the past.

Maybe even clearer than in the complex example of *Sefarad*, here Holocaust testimony functions as a space of transnational memory. A space which allows the Spanish “distanced witness” to get closer to the event, to create an affective link through the capacity of imagining, and, which in turn is transformed and articulated in a new text, designated to the Spanish reader. In these reconfigurations we can see an explicit problematization of the relation between fact and fiction, documentation and imagination. Whereas Muñoz Molina underlines time and again his resignation of invention, García Ortega explicitly recurs to the faculty of imagination to get closer to Auschwitz. With that, García Ortega posits himself in a delicate position towards the existing ethical objections regarding the possible representation of the Holocaust, especially by fictionalizing the character of the boy who has come to embody the impossibility of narrating the catastrophe. As such, for Francesco Ardolino the fictionalization results in ‘la banalisation du personnage d’Hubernik, devenu le protagoniste d’un très mauvais roman populo-lacrymal’ (Ardolino 2008, 186). Indeed, the narrator’s fascination with the Holocaust is presented in a – debatable – fashion of appropriation, underlining the need for historical truth:

‘I wanted to know the details. I read eyewitness accounts, I sought out eyewitnesses, I visited some of the scenes. I felt I was Jewish, Russian or any of the victims of persecution, humiliation and elimination, human beings crushed and erased simply because they existed. Murdered because they existed. I felt like a victim, any one of those victims. And of those victims, Hurbinek perhaps was most victim of all’ (García Ortega 2013, 15).²¹⁵

Striking in this quote is the desire of the narrator to literally occupy the locus of the victim and the universalization of Hurbinek. However, Hayden Carrón in discussion with Jacob Paul rightfully admits that, regardless of this fetishistic declaration of the narrator, ultimately it remains unclear why he has this obsession with the Holocaust (Paul 2015).

What is more, contrary to historical truth and details, as reflected above, the novel proposes imagination as the antidote to forgetting, and more particularly, to the amnesiac gaze of the ordinary “tourist.” The narrator was actually on a trip to Auschwitz, when he suffers his accident. He then realizes that his visit to the camp would not have

²¹⁵ ‘He querido saber *los detalles*. He leído testimonios, he buscado testigos, he estado en algunos escenarios de los hechos. Me he sentido judío, ruso o cualquiera de las víctimas perseguidas, humilladas, borradas, eliminadas como seres humanos, trituradas sin más motivo que su existencia. Asesinados por existir. Me he sentido víctima, una cualquiera de esas víctimas. Y una cualquiera de esas víctimas, quizá la mayor de todas, era Hurbinek’ (García Ortega 2002, 15).

brought him closer to understanding the Holocaust. Even more, he describes the camp in detailed fashion, even without having been there, surely based on the multiple visual representations of the camp. ‘That is what I shall see the day I go to Auschwitz’ (García Ortega 2013, 161)²¹⁶, the narrator asserts. But at the same time, he realizes that, ‘everything in Auschwitz is a gaping hole in something else that no longer exists’ (García Ortega 2013, 160).²¹⁷ That is why the narrator repeats on several occasions, and even concludes his narration with, the phrase, ‘I was going to Auschwitz, but not anymore.’²¹⁸ In this way, the story turns into a passionate defense of fiction and memory, the latter being intrinsically related to storytelling and imagination.

Because imagination is the basis of this narration, the single narrating voice has to control the borders between reality and fiction, keeping the “borrowed” testimony intact. The imagination occurs from an explicit Spanish focalization of the Spanish narrator. As the opening sentence of the novel states ‘Auschwitz is too close’ (García Ortega 2013, 9), not only in its temporal dimension, but also in its cultural dimension. And, although the narrator stresses that he only wants to talk about Hurbinek, underlining his singularity, the temporal and geographical distance of the narrator ultimately universalizes Hurbinek, as can also be deduced from the description of Hurbinek as the “most victim of all.” One could argue however that the explicit focus on multiplicity avoids that the single narrating voice completely appropriates the destiny of Hurbinek. Notwithstanding, similar to *Sefarad*, although less straightforward, this multiplicity is framed by the Spanish experience and to a certain extent exemplified through the diasporic condition of the Sephardic Jew, enclosing multiple mnemonic memberships.

The narrator’s obsession and desire to occupy the locus of the victim, brings us back to the example of the Spanish impostor Enric Marco and the question of the limits between one’s own memory and “borrowed” memory. Both *Sefarad* and *El comprador* explore the borders between reality and imagination in their approximations of the Holocaust as “distanced witnesses.” In these cases, the authority to narrate the Holocaust resides in the voice of the iconic testimonies of survivors. With the impossibility of occupying their locus as Holocaust victims, these testimonies come to occupy the core of a transnational memory which is created through imagined and hybrid voices which embody several mnemonic memberships. However, these accounts also show the primordial importance of testimony for the distanced witness to relate to the distant past.

²¹⁶ ‘Cuando un día vaya a Auschwitz, veré todo esto’ (García Ortega 2002, 153).

²¹⁷ ‘Todo en Auschwitz es un hueco de otra cosa que ya no está’ (García Ortega 2002, 152).

²¹⁸ ‘Yo iba a Auschwitz, pero ya no’

Written testimonies such as Primo Levi's have become, in a way, "traces" which produce affect in the distanced witness. As such, the function of the distanced witness becomes similar to that of the "model readers" we have appreciated in Goytisolo's *El sitio* and to the bricoleur who uncovers the traces of the past, as in Vázquez Montalbán's *Galíndez* and Merino's *La Sima*. In all these accounts, traces, testimony and the stories told by eyewitnesses are the motor of the approach to the past. However, in the previous chapters the past to be uncovered and unveiled was a hidden or silenced past, excluded from the present reality. Here, the authors deal with an event in history which throughout the last decades has become omnipresent in European cultural, political and academic discourses. Instead of unveiling the exclusions of history, they actively diffract Holocaust testimony into hybrid identities which enable mnemonic entanglements between Spain and the Holocaust. Exile, *destierro*, is the main reason for the construction of these hybrid identities. The hybrid identities, as the space of the mass grave in Merino's *La Sima*, in the novel serve as an in-between space as they also provide a terrain 'for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity' (Bhabha 1994, 2). Whereas Bhabha writes about 'the nation split within itself, articulating the heterogeneity of its population' (Bhabha 1994, 148), here we encounter personhood split within itself. Indeed, in terms of Barad, the Other is located within the subject.

The distant past of the Holocaust becomes relevant to Spanish memory both as a universal framework and as a specific European memory. Undoubtedly, the dissemination and institutionalization of Holocaust memory has been one of the conditions for these accounts to be imagined, constructed and voiced, giving shape to different forms on the axis of comparison and of political affect (Moses and Rothberg 2014). In the case of *El comprador*, the institutionalization of Holocaust memory is probably the only imaginable answer to the question of why the narrator feels so affected by the history of the camps. In all of the cases, the Spanish focalization results in a strongly Spanish framing of the Holocaust; the question is, however, to what extent this national framing restrains a transnational reading as Vandebosch asserts (Vandebosch 2014).

Whereas Armengou and Belis produce a narration which is based on the argument of similarity, the novelistic accounts propose an approximation based on multiplicity. The approximation of multiplicity is most clearly present in *Sefarad* through the ever shifting focalizing and narrating positions. The portrayal of transnational memory through multiple mnemonic memberships gives rise to the inclusive nationalism which rescues the entangled identities of those who were forgotten in the margins or limits of the nation-state; identities which are highlighted in the historical overlapping between Spain and the Holocaust. That is, Holocaust memory inspired to construct of an alter-

native version of Spanish identity; one that in this case particularly expands to Europe as a new identity horizon, built on the idea of tolerance. With that, Holocaust memory as an institutionalized framework produces a new cutting together-apart in narratives of Spanish memory, casting light on the memories previously excluded (Cf. Barad 2007). Yet different than for instance the writing of the politically committed Goytisolo or Vázquez Montalbán, the novels that are analyzed here fail to critically explore the new exclusions produced within this hegemonic European memory project, which at the moment of writing have become clearly visible through the “refugees crisis.”

Both novels can be understood within the genre of the modern *Bildungsroman* or “novel of formation” in which traveling is presented as a way to come to terms with Spain’s and Europe’s dark history. However, it is a formation novel of sorts, since the narrators are already mature, yet the young democracy – Spain – they belong to still has to mature into a full-blown democracy through the active recognition of its past crimes. With that, the novels answer to the reading of the *Bildungsroman* as entangled with notions of nationalism as well as with the Human Rights paradigm (Japtok 2005; Slaughter 2007; Boes 2012).

Most striking in these literary proposals is the recurrent and imagined character of the Sephardic Jew, embodying this new form of inclusive nationalism in a similar way to how the early twentieth century Spanish intellectuals imagined them as witnesses of a Spanish “patria” beyond Spain’s national borders. In that sense, the fictional representation of the Sephardic Jew both blurs and stretches the borders of a Spanish “fatherland.” Nicola Gilmour (2011) proposes to understand *Sefarad* as an exercise of imaginative empathy, a literary journey bridging the distance between self and the Other, and which is related to viewing oneself as a witness. Specific to the position of the “distanced witness” to the memory of the Holocaust however, is the almost obligatory emotional distance. Primo Levi is carefully kept at this distance. Contrariwise, Sepharad, as I argue, as imagined “shared fatherland” is presented as an affective space. Its mythical presence invites us to blur the boundaries between reality and imagination. This imaginative investment underlines the importance of Sepharad as a foundational myth for a new form of Spanishness in Europe; a myth which draws on the construction of Otherness and multiple mnemonic memberships. To a certain extent, one could argue that the “distanced witness” transcends the idea of memory as defined by genealogy or generation and proposes the idea of memory as cultural performance (Erll 2014). The overlapping of different mnemonic memberships constructs a palimpsestic, non-foundational interconnection of memory (Silverman 2013), which finally finds its metaphor and foundation in the mythical space of Sepharad, both existent and non-existent. With that, Sepharad itself becomes a manifestation of material-discursive practices, a phe-

nomenon in terms of Karen Barad, or a dis/continuous spacetime manifold resulting from entangled agencies. Sepharad holds within itself the exclusions that Muñoz Molina and García Ortega fail to explore.

Conclusion

Spain has experienced an important revival of Spanish Civil War remembrance over the last three decades. Fuelled by the slow disappearance of eyewitnesses, a series of historical “anniversaries,” and a shift from the Left to the Right in the political spectrum, the excavation of the anonymous graves that started in 2000 has brought about a booming interest in rewriting the history of the civil war from the victims’ perspective. The new articulations of Spanish Civil War memories directly oppose the current hegemonic reading of the Spanish Civil War as a fratricidal war, and with that it also opposes to the interpretation of the period of Transition as a successful transformation towards democracy. Of special interest to this dissertation is that the re-emergence of the memories of the Spanish Civil War clearly occurred within an international context, related to the remembrance of the Holocaust and the Argentine disappeared, but also against the background of contemporary wars such as the wars in former Yugoslavia.

Until this moment, academic scholarship concerning the global context of the re-emerging memories of the Spanish Civil War has mainly focused on the field of international justice and Human Rights that backs the claim of the memory activists for the political and judicial recognition of the subterrados (Encarnación 2008; Golob 2008; Elsemann 2011; Capdepón 2011). Little attention has been paid however to the impact of these transnational frameworks on the reconfiguration of cultural memory narratives of the Spanish Civil War. This dissertation has sought to fill this gap.

In my dissertation I have made a number of claims regarding the mechanisms and purpose of transnational frameworks in Spanish Civil War remembrance in Spain after the end of the Cold War. On a theoretical level, combining current scholarship on transnational or transcultural remembrance with the insights of feminist theorist Karen Barad, I propose to understand memory as a performative process of making and marking space and time in society. I argue that Barad’s more complex understanding of agency offers a theoretical framework that invites us to engage with the exclusions that are the inevitable result of the production of collective memories. Barad’s theory also offers new insights into the production of spacetime, while defying a common linear conception of time and space. This allows for a closer understanding of the entanglements of disparate frames of time and space in transnational remembrance.

On a methodological level, I consequently propose a reading together-apart of dispersed geographies, different journalistic and artistic texts, and different forms of witnessing through space and time so as to attend to the entanglements between them and to deconstruct underlying claims of “uniqueness” in competitive forms of collective memory. Besides, I claim that reading into the way affect and emotion work in the texts helps to unravel the purpose of transnational memory connections. Affect and emotion too offer important insights into the choice of the transnational mnemonic affiliations in the texts.

On an empirical level, on the basis of a close reading of an archive of journalistic, artistic, and literary sources of transnational memory produced in Spain after 1989, I claim that the transnational frameworks of remembrance in these texts serve to reimagine Spain. I maintain that transnational remembrance blurs and questions the imagined temporal and spatial boundaries of Spain as a nation-state. And, within the perspective of time, the memories of other injustices, such as the Holocaust, the Forced Disappearances in Latin America and the wars in former Yugoslavia are in a way diffracted onto the Spanish history of intolerance, similar to the way in which waves combine when they overlap (Barad 2007, 28). It is precisely within these patterns of diffraction or interference, that we can see how the transnational framing of the memories of the Spanish Civil War in Spain results in the rediscovery of the identities that were excluded throughout Spain’s long history, leading up to the current conservative national discourse that can be defined as constitutional patriotism (see Núñez Seixas 2004).

Relating to recent calls for “locating” transnational memory (cf. Kansteiner 2010; Radstone 2011), I propose to locate transnational remembrance within the margins of the nation-state, which I conceive as an “in-between” space inhabited by those who were excluded from the definition of Spanishness through the forging of modern Spain as a nation-state – Sephardic Jews, Republican exiles, subterrados, peripheral national identities, etc. With regards to the Sephardic Jew, in chapter 5 I have shown how this character emerges from the interferences between the remembrance of the Holocaust and the civil war. The peripheral autonomous communities such as Catalonia and the Basque Country are clearly present in the diffractive pattern of the Gernika tree in Vázquez Montalbán’s *Galindez* that I analyzed in chapter 4. The two emblematic excluded groups resulting from the Spanish Civil War – the *desterrados* and the *subterrados* – which during the last three decades have played such an important role in the re-emergence of civil war remembrance, emerge within the margins of the nation-state as well.

The mass graves in Spain should be seen as an in-between space that forms the basis of the imagination for new forms of identity as shown in Merino’s *La Sima*. And from 2000 onwards, the *subterrados*, marked as they are by injustice and abandonment, have

inspired the judicial moves for their recognition in terms of human rights. Arguably, these judicial claims result from the interference of these dead bodies with transnational examples, as we have seen in the case of Gervasio Sánchez's *Desaparecidos* or Armengou and Belis's documentary films. The *desterrados* relate more directly to the production of counter-narratives of Spanishness. Marked by their exile experience – producing certain “in-betweenness” as well –, the Spanish Second Republic proves an important marker of their identity in exile. And, during the last two decades, the different associations for historical memory have adopted this narrative of counter-memory. But most distinctly, the exiles embody the relation between the different geographical spaces. We have seen this most clearly in the narrative of Vázquez Montalbán and Antonio Muñoz Molina, which turn exile into one of the main themes.

Through their liminal position, these excluded identities come to embody the transnational, being themselves related and imprinted by the history of “rescaling,” that is, redefining the borders of the nation-state. The “in-betweenness” of these identities is related to a kind of indeterminacy that questions both dichotomies and uniqueness, and, it is here that the patterns of diffraction are most clear. Crucial in my understanding of what I call “the margins of the nation-state” and in my interpretation of “in-betweenness” (cf. Bhabha 1994) is that this is not a space relating to differences, but a space of entanglements resulting from processes of diffraction.

Furthermore, I posit the contemporary witness to the past and to foreign conflicts at the core of the dynamic processes of transnational (re)configurations of memory narratives. With that, the contemporary witness produces new boundaries of (trans)national belonging and identification through the memories of the civil war. It is these witnesses' specific “transnational” and “affective” gaze, which makes them able to read the maps of diffraction that appear within the margins. As such, these exclusions constitute an open space for agency to be performed (Barad 2007, 179).

The three (dis)jointed spaces of memory: the wars in former Yugoslavia, the disappeared in Latin America, and, Holocaust memory in Europe, all develop their own logic in relation to the memories of the civil war. Whereas the wars in former Yugoslavia bring about discussions on the idea of “civil war” and national unity, the space of the Latin American disappeared connect to the Spanish *subterrado*, and, the Holocaust highlights the role of oral testimony and the Spanish memories of exile and diaspora. However, when, in this dissertation, I progress slowly from journalistic and artistic texts from the 1990s to those produced after 2000, I detect several general shifts in the transnational articulation of Spanish Civil War memories as a whole. Especially in chapter 4, I observe a shift from ghosts to bones, from text to image, and from the periphery to the

center of Spain. In these shifts, one can observe the importance of the exhumations of mass graves in Spain as a material-discursive phenomenon; indeed we could say that the dig generates an agential cut that has produced a new reality. The mass graves, providing material and visual evidence of Franco's crimes, bring about a new type of witness: The "post-witness" asks for an active memory politics, that will bring these victims justice and recognition in the present (see González-Ruibal 2014, 370).

The instances of transnational memory in the 1990s – the reactions to the wars in former Yugoslavia and the reactions to the Spanish involvement in the juridical recognition of the Latin American disappeared – caused a renewed discussion about the legacy of the Spanish Civil War. These instances, which I have called "spaces of transnational memory," function to denounce the Spanish oblivious gaze on the present, and to tacitly question the validity of the Spanish modern democracy built on the premises of forgetting the injustices of the past (see Aguilar Fernández 2008). Interestingly, these voices are heard most strongly from people in the Spanish geographical periphery, as it is there, from a spatial perspective of scaling, that the modern form of the Spanish nation-state was most openly criticized. This has for instance become clear in relation to the word "balkanization" that has been accepted as a neologism in the Spanish dictionary in the 1990s. Mostly applied to Catalan and Basque claims for greater independence, the term relates their claims to an inferred deterministic inclination to fratricidal war (as presumably still present in "the Balkans") and frames the Basque and Catalan claims as a direct attack on the Transition as a precondition for peace and reconciliation. In his novel *Galíndez*, Vázquez Montalbán projects the relation between the Americas and the Spanish periphery through the tree of Gernika. The Gernika tree, as a material trace of Basqueness planted all over the world by Basque communities in exile, relates to Basque nationalism as well as to transnationalism. Following Barad, when we understand the Gernika tree as a diffraction, we can observe how it engages with seeing the local, regional, national, and global as topological matters that are made through one another. Also diffracted into this symbols is Picasso's painting, *Gernika/Guernica* having become a symbol for Human Rights and the denouncement of injustices around the world.

The articulations of transnational memory of the Spanish Civil War in the 1990s deconstruct the modern Spanish nation-state, while denouncing its ignorance towards the past. Most clearly, in *Quinteto de Buenos Aires*, Vázquez Montalbán's detective Pepe Carvalho presents the nation-state as a complex reality that defies definition, or does not even exist. His only way to define Argentina is through its entangled exclusions: the gap left by the disappeared (cf. Barad 2007). However, whereas transnational entanglements serve to deconstruct the present Spanish reality, these texts do not offer an alternative besides that of the need to go back and reconnect with the traces of the past.

Juan Goytisolo's *El sitio de los sitios* offers a mystical recreation of a sense of unity and meaning in the face of the horrors of history at large, through the main character's affective relation to the material and textual traces of the past. In the novel, the ruins of present and past violences only affect particular witnesses (see Navaro-Yashin 2009), who embody different spatio-temporal logics. Their international trajectory allows them to read into the intersecting modes of history through the traces in the present. Here, the transnational gaze of the different witnesses to the sieged Sarajevo produces a palimpsestic world in which the entanglements between different times and spaces conjure a new reality, without completely letting go of ambivalence.

Despite the fact that these novels display a specific Spanish focalization, as scholars of Spanish studies such as Cristina Moreiras, Alison Ribeiro de Menezes, or Joseba Gabilondo have already shown (Moreiras Menor 2002; Ribeiro de Menezes 2006; Gabilondo 2007), which actively engages with genealogies of exclusion through diaspora, exile and disappearance, these genealogies do not produce a new definition of "Spanishness." The transnational entanglements rather generate a form of haunting presence of the past that does not seem to materialize into a concrete project of meaning in the present. However, the working of affect in these novels produces an engagement with exclusions, that only after 2000 seems to materialize into a more concrete formula for an alternative proposal for identity politics in Spain.

The exhumation of mass graves of the Spanish Civil War from 2000 onwards, and the reappearance of the material traces of the victims reconfigures the working of these already existing transnational projections. Instead of international examples of war, victimhood and injustice being propelled back to the "forgotten" victims of the Spanish Civil War like a "boomerang effect" (cf. Rothberg 2014b, 106), from 2000 onwards, the material reality of the open mass graves serves to project entanglements with other injustices around the world from the location of the grave. Moreover, the exhumation site can be seen as a space in which time and space collapse, reproducing as such the logics of the image, rather than the linearity of narrative (see Winter 2012). Particularly within the journalistic genre, these transnational examples are projected as metonymic enumerations in order to engage the listener, the viewer or the reader with the struggles for justice and recognition of the Spanish victims in the present. This comes to the fore in the photographic work of Gervasio Sánchez, but also in the documentaries of Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis. Indeed, Bosnia, Argentina and the Holocaust serve as strongly affective metaphors which are at the core of the advancement of transitional justice and global Human Rights, as claimed by sociologists Daniel Levy, Natan Sznaider and Alejandro Baer (Levy and Sznaider 2006; Levy and Sznaider 2010; Baer and Sznaider 2015). However, these examples are also articulated from the perspective of

entangled histories which project a version of memory that goes beyond the metaphor as an empty-signifier (cf. A. Assmann 2010).

The works that are more explicitly invested with imagination provide a space in which these palimpsestic entanglements are developed into a constructive project of reimagining Spain from the perspective of a form of inclusive nationalism. The haunting ghosts of the past, entangled with transnational genealogies of injustice and exclusion, are finally uncovered. Their material traces now form the basis of an actively imagined inclusive national project that effectively engages with the exclusions of Spain's history of intolerance. With that, we could say that haunting as a figure of collapsing or disrupting linear time, as put forward by Karen Barad (2010), is replaced by the ruin, the material trace of the past in the present, as a new image of "timespacemattering."

In these works, *subterro* and *destierro* produce in-between spaces that reconfigure the frameworks of national identity. Within the perspective of the activists fighting for the recovery of historical memory, the Spanish Second Republic has become an omnipresent framework of an alternative identity to the current constitutional patriotism and a reference guide for recuperating the modernization of Spain that was aborted because of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism (see Graham 2004; Faber 2004; Santamaría Colmenero 2012; Ferrándiz 2014). In Merino's *La Sima* the mass grave produces an affective community, represented through Fidel and the memory activists from the ARMH, that engages with imagined alterity throughout Spanish history and throughout the world. In Muñoz Molina's *Sefarad* and García Ortega's *El comprador de aniversarios* hybrid identities caused by a history of diaspora and exile serve as an affective space to conceive an inclusive imagined fatherland based on the premise of tolerance and empathy. Importantly, these later novels can be read as narratives of *Bildung* (Slaughter 2007), as they propose the engagement with the dark past as a road to maturity for the young Spanish democracy. As I have argued, in both novels fictional imagination is at the basis of the production of a new conceptualization of Spanish identity, indeed, of reimagining Spain. As such, in *La Sima* it is not the affective impact of the mass grave on the main character Fidel, as already underlined by Lorraine Ryan (2014), but Fidel's discovery of fictional writing to overcome the dichotomies in Spanish identity that ultimately produces the construction of inclusive nationalism. In *Sefarad* imagination, which the narrator claims to keep at arm's length, creeps in when imagining Sephardic identity as the basis for an "imagined and shared fatherland." Affect and imagination go hand in hand in these attempts to (re)configure Spanish identity.

By explicitly introducing these hybrid and transnational links, these novels propose an alternative to the Republican version of national discourse that is promoted by a large part of the historical memory associations as well as in other Spanish novels of the

same period. Whereas the main character in *La Sima* explicitly rebels against those carrying the Republican flag as a new sign of exclusive identity, *Sefarad* and *El comprador de aniversarios* put forward the historical referent of Sepharad as a foundational myth for the new inclusive version of Spanishness in Europe; a myth that draws on the construction of Otherness and multiple mnemonic memberships. Francesc Torres's photographic work ends with imagining a new inclusive country that is comfortable with the most absolute diversity through his picture of a small Chinese girl leaning on the tomb of the exhumed victims of the civil war.

The constructions of new forms of inclusive nationalism produced after 2000 lack the explicit engagement with the peripheral identities in Spain that we have appreciated in, for instance, in the work of Vázquez Montalbán. With that, the mass grave opens up a space to engage with alterity in the central part of Spain, a space that before was only an explicit reality in the periphery. The relation between alterity and alternatives to Spanish constitutional patriotism opens up further lines of future inquiry into the cultural texts that relate to the space of the mass grave from a position in the periphery of the Spanish nation-state.

Articulations of transnational memory are not just "multidirectional," "palimpsestic" or produced by "traveling" memories around the globe (cf. Rothberg 2009; Erll 2011b; Silverman 2013). Transnational memory productions are the result of existing hierarchies of memories and victimhood and the specific location on the globe of the "witnesses" to these memories that, following Barad's complex understanding of agency, should be understood as entangled "agencies of observation." In the case of Spain, on the one hand, transnational memory is a discursive strategy to claim recognition for crimes in the past. As such, it naturally relates to globally hegemonic paradigms of victimhood to effectuate a broader recognition of the Spanish victims. On the other hand, transnational memory frameworks inspire the authors of the analyzed texts to explore alternative versions of identity from the margins of the nation-state. On this level however, despite the active engagement with Otherness, exclusions and multiplicity, all of these alternative and inclusive versions of Spanish nationalisms ultimately create their own boundaries as well. All new phenomena inevitably produce new entangled exclusions and ghosts within the margins and, following Barad, the ethics of remembrance is located precisely in the commitment to the entangled Other which is co-constitutive to the phenomenon, in this case, to the new inclusive nationalism that is projected through the transnational engagement with alterity and hybridity. With that, I wish to end my conclusion with a call for a (future) politics of remembrance that actively engages with the entangled exclusions that are unavoidably part of any articulation of memory as the making and marking of time and space.

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Samenvatting

SPANJE OPNIEUW VERBEELD. TRANSNATIONALE VERSTRENGELINGEN EN HERINNERINGEN AAN DE SPAANSE BURGEROORLOG NA 1989

Sinds de jaren 1990 zijn er in Spanje nieuwe stemmen opgegaan voor het herwaarderen van het verleden van de Spaanse Burgeroorlog. Tijdens de overgang naar democratie (1975-1982) en de periode daarna voerden de Spaanse regeringen geen actieve herinneringspolitiek wat betreft de slachtoffers en (publieke) sporen van de burgeroorlog en de dictatoriale periode. In de jaren '90 zorgde de combinatie van het langzame verdwijnen van de laatste ooggetuigen, een aantal emblematische historische verjaardagen en een verschuiving in het politieke klimaat voor een nieuwe kijk op het verleden. Daarna hebben sinds 2000 vooral de opgravingen van massagraven uit de burgeroorlog in Spanje een enorme impact gehad.

In dit proefschrift kijk ik naar de manier waarop deze herwaardering van de burgeroorlog is beïnvloed door grensoverschrijdende, *transnationale* herinneringsverhalen, waarin voornamelijk slachtoffers en oorlogstrauma centraal staan. Ik kijk daarbij naar drie emblematische 'transnationale herinneringsruimtes': ruimtes die van grote invloed zijn geweest op de wijze waarop de burgeroorlog in Spanje wordt herinnerd. Dit zijn: de oorlogen in het voormalige Joegoslavië, de gedwongen verdwijningen in Argentinië en Chili en de herinnering aan de Holocaust. Deze gebeurtenissen hebben globaal veel invloed gehad in de ontwikkeling van internationaal recht en kaders voor de bescherming van de mensenrechten (Levy en Sznajder 2006). Op basis hiervan worden de referenties aan deze gebeurtenissen in het Spaanse herinneringslandschap vaak gezien als een manier om ook de Spaanse slachtoffers van de burgeroorlog te erkennen als slachtoffers van mensenrechtenschendingen. Zo wordt het werk van de Spaanse rechter Baltasar Garzón vaak aangehaald als een duidelijk voorbeeld van de relatie tussen Zuid-Amerika en Spanje op het gebied van herinneringspolitiek. Transnationale herinneringskaders zouden zo voornamelijk invloed hebben op een juridisch-politiek vlak (zie Elsemann 2011; Martín-Cabrera 2011; Capdepón 2011; Baer en Sznajder 2015).

In mijn onderzoek kijk ik daarentegen naar de culturele invloed van deze zogenaamde transnationale herinneringsdiscoursen in Spanje, met de vraag wie deze grensoverschrijdende herinneringsverbanden verwoorden en met welk doel. Ik onderzoek de transnationale herinneringen aan de Spaanse Burgeroorlog vanuit cultuurhistorisch en literair perspectief, waarvoor ik verschillende Spaanse ‘culturele’ bronnen – romans, documentaires, foto’s en krantenartikelen – uit de periode na het einde van de Koude Oorlog onderzoek.

In termen van wetenschappelijk disciplines is dit proefschrift soms lastig te categoriseren. Het is interdisciplinair – zowel cultuurhistorisch als literair – en richt zich op één specifieke regio: Spanje. Specifieker gebruik ik in mijn onderzoek inzichten uit de ‘memory studies’, een relatief nieuw wetenschappelijk discipline dat onderzoekt hoe collectieve herinneringen worden gevormd. Daarbij roepen collectieve herinneringen die de grenzen van de natiestaat voorbij gaan nieuwe vragen op, omdat zij niet meer direct gerelateerd lijken te zijn aan de vorming van nationale identiteit, een relatie die tot in de jaren 1990 werd verondersteld in bijna alle studies op het gebied van collectieve herinnering. Inmiddels zijn er verschillende theoretische voorstellen gedaan over hoe zulke grensoverschrijdende vormen van herinnering moeten worden begrepen, waarbij voornamelijk is gekeken naar de manier waarop verschillende herinneringen aan elkaar worden verbonden (Levy en Sznajder 2006, Rothberg 2009, Erll 2011, Silverman 2013, De Cesari en Rigney 2014). Bijna al deze studies kijken naar de manier waarop de herinnering aan de Holocaust wordt gelinkt aan de herdenking van andere traumatische gebeurtenissen in het verleden. Daarmee lijken transnationale herinneringen vooral ten grondslag te liggen aan de vorming van grensoverschrijdende verhalen over slachtofferchap, oorlog en marginalisering, waarbij sommige onderzoekers wijzen op mogelijke ‘competitie’ tussen die verschillende verhalen.

In mijn onderzoek combineer ik deze inzichten met de performatieve theorie van de feministische filosofe Karen Barad (2007). Barads theorie geeft inzicht in de complexe vormen van *agency* die inherent zijn aan de vorming van herinneringsverhalen. Daarmee komt de nadruk meer te liggen bij de degenen die de verhalen tot stand brengen en waarom, dan bij de vraag welke vorm deze verhalen precies aannemen. Geïnspireerd door inzichten uit de kwantumtheorie, stelt Barad bestaande objecten en concepten voor als een resultaat van in- en uitsluitingsmechanismen. Bijvoorbeeld, in mijn dissertatie heb ik gekozen voor een aantal bronnen en een aantal methodes en theorieën, terwijl ik andere heb uitgesloten. Het resultaat daarvan is precies dit verhaal en niet een ander. Echter, volgens Barad zijn die in- en uitsluitingen onlosmakelijk met elkaar verstrengeld, omdat zij ten grondslag liggen aan elkaars totstandbrenging; ze zijn als het ware onderhavig aan eenzelfde logica. Barads theorie, die zij ‘agentieel’ realisme (*agenti-*

al realism) noemt, biedt zo een kader om kritisch te kijken naar de uitsluitingen (*exclusions*) die onvermijdelijk het gevolg zijn van de productie van de collectieve herinneringen, die altijd gebaseerd zijn op een selectie van gebeurtenissen in het verleden. Met andere woorden, herinneringen en ‘tegen-herinneringen’ zijn altijd intrinsiek met elkaar verbonden en worden zelfs door elkaar tot stand gebracht. Daarbij is de moderne natiestaat één van de meest vooraanstaande voorbeelden van de productie van sociale uitsluitingen in de vorm van anders-zijn of alteriteit. Barads theorie biedt ook een oplossing voor de terugkerende tegenstrijdigheden in herinneringsstudies, zoals de vraag of herinneringen nu gelokaliseerd moeten worden in een object (een monument, een plaats, een massagraf) of in een subject (een persoon), of de vraag of herinneringen nu individueel zijn of ook het product kunnen zijn van een groep. Het antwoord van Barad zou zijn: die tegenstellingen zijn met elkaar verstrengeld en onderhevig aan dezelfde logica. Zij noemt die een materieel-discursieve praktijk.

Geïnspireerd door deze theoretische insteek kijk ik in mijn bronnen naar de in- en uitsluitingsmechanismen in de creatie van collectieve herinneringen. Op basis daarvan betoog ik dat de transnationale herinneringen eigenlijk nog steeds direct gerelateerd zijn aan de verbeelding van een nationale identiteit. In het geval van Spanje gaat het om het verbeelden van een alternatieve, ‘inclusieve’ vorm van nationale identiteit. De transnationale kaders dragen er aan bij om de bestaande kaders van nationale herinneringen te herdefiniëren, wat vaak in tegenstelling gebeurt tot het huidige Spaanse ‘constitutioneel patriottisme’ (zie Núñez Seixas 2004).

Om nog preciezer te zijn: transnationale herinnering, zo concludeer ik, kan gelokaliseerd worden in de figuurlijke grenzen van de natiestaat, waar nationale en transnationale herinneringen zich met elkaar verstrengelen. Deze figuurlijke grenzen zie ik als een soort tussenruimte, of *in-between space* (Bhabha 1994), die als het ware bewoond wordt door degenen die in het wordingsproces van de Spaanse natiestaat en de Spaanse nationale identiteit werden uitgesloten. Dit betreft bijvoorbeeld de Sefardische joden, ballingen uit de burgeroorlog, de perifere nationale gemeenschappen zoals de Basken en de Catalanen, maar ook, tot op zekere hoogte, de slachtoffers in de massagraven. Voornamelijk in de literaire werken die ik in dit proefschrift analyseer, worden deze marginale identiteiten beschreven als personages die de transnationale ruimte ‘belichamen’ via hun geschiedenis van uitsluiting. Tegelijkertijd onderstreep ik het belang van de ‘transnationale’ en ‘affectieve’ blik van de getuigen van dit soort tussenruimten waar verschillende herinneringen zich verstrengelen. *Affect* en emotie, zo betoog ik, blijken een belangrijk mechanisme te zijn in de productie van grensoverschrijdende herinneringen. De expliciete betrokkenheid in deze literaire bronnen met deze uitgesloten groeperingen zorgt er eigenlijk voor dat zij weer worden ingesloten in een ‘inclusieve’ voorstelling

van de Spaanse nationale identiteit. Zo wordt Spanje, op basis van transnationale verstrengelingen in de herinneringen aan de Spaanse Burgeroorlog, opnieuw verbeeld.

Spanje opnieuw verbeeld bestaat uit vijf hoofdstukken. In hoofdstuk 1 besteed ik aandacht aan de hierboven kort uiteengezette theorie die ten grondslag ligt aan dit onderzoek. Hoofdstuk 2 geeft een overzicht van de manier waarop de Spaanse Burgeroorlog tot nu toe is herinnerd. Ik beschrijf deze geschiedenis als een voortdurend proces van in- en uitsluiten. In dit overzicht laat ik zien dat de herinnering aan de burgeroorlog altijd beïnvloed is geweest door transnationale kaders en hoe rond de Spaanse Burgeroorlog allerlei mythen werden gecreëerd. Zo werd de Spaanse Burgeroorlog opgevat als een legitimerende gebeurtenis voor Franco's dictatuur, maar gold hij ook als verenigende identiteitsfactor van de pro-Republikeinse gemeenschap in ballingschap. Tegelijkertijd fungeerde de oorlog als een transnationaal symbool van anticommunisme en van antifascisme. De herinterpretatie van de Spaanse Burgeroorlog vanuit een slachtofferperspectief heeft onder andere gezorgd voor een deconstructie en herdefiniëring van deze mythen, een proces dat weer beïnvloed is door transnationale herinneringsdiscourseen. De nieuwe interpretaties van de burgeroorlog erkennen niet alleen de Republikeinse slachtoffers, maar verzetten zich ook actief tegen het legitimeringsdiscours van hedendaagse Spaanse rechtse partijen, die de Spaanse overgang naar democratie mystificeren als de basis van de huidige vrede en vooruitgang. Linkse groeperingen en herinneringsactivisten bekritiseren juist de tekortkomingen van de transitie, zoals bijvoorbeeld het gebrek aan een actieve erkenning van de Republikeinse slachtoffers. Zij refereren aan de Spaanse Tweede Republiek (1931-1939) als een nieuw model voor nationale identiteit en modernisering. In mijn onderzoek kijk ik elke keer kritisch naar de manier waarop de bronnen zich verhouden tot deze oude en nieuwe mythen die ten grondslag liggen aan de Spaanse identiteit.

Hoofdstukken 3 tot en met 5 bevatten het empirische deel van het proefschrift, waarin elk hoofdstuk een van de drie 'transnationale herinneringsruimtes' centraal stelt. In hoofdstuk 3, 'Haunting Analogies' (Spokende vergelijkingen), zijn Spaanse journalisten, vredeshandhavers en gewetensbezwaarden getuige van de oorlogen in voormalig Joegoslavië. Gekarakteriseerd als een nieuwe 'burgeroorlog' op Europese bodem, roept dit drama vergelijkingen op met Spanje's eigen verleden, juist op een moment waarin Spanje zichzelf trots als voltooide moderne democratie presenteert door middel van de Olympische Spelen in Barcelona en de wereldtentoonstelling in Sevilla. Veel van de journalistieke werken uit die tijd gebruiken de vergelijkingen met het eigen verleden als een argument ter verdediging van de succesvolle Spaanse transitie waarmee de zogenaamde Spaanse neiging tot broedermoord voorgoed was overwonnen. Echter, de ver-

gelijking tussen Spanje en het voormalige Joegoslavië zorgt ook voor de terugkeer van sommige ‘spoken’ uit het verleden. Om deze spookbeelden beter te begrijpen, onderzoeken sommige journalisten juist diepere verbanden tussen de twee ogenschijnlijk niet-gerelateerde gebeurtenissen in tijd en ruimte. In dit verband laat ik door middel van Juan Goytisolo’s roman *El sitio de los sitios* (1995) zien hoe transnationale genealogische relaties invloed hebben op de verbeelding van een alternatieve Spaanse identiteit die gebaseerd is op culturele en historische vervlechtingen. Juist via de belevenis van de oorlog in voormalig Joegoslavië, engageren deze personages zich met de uitgesloten van de Spaanse natiestaat, die waren vergeten in de bijna feestelijke sfeer van de jaren 1990. Ik betoog dat de transnationale blik de personages in staat stelt om de raakvlakken tussen verschillende momenten in ruimte en tijd te herkennen in de sporen van het verleden. Daarmee zijn juist zij in staat om uitdrukking te geven aan de relaties tussen gebeurtenissen die plaats hebben gevonden in uiteenlopende momenten en op verschillende plaatsen in het verleden.

In hoofdstuk 4, ‘The Entangled Kin’ (Vervlochten verwantschap) spelen zowel de Argentijnse verdwijningen en de Spaanse *subterrados* – de slachtoffers in massagraven (Ferrándiz 2011) – een centrale rol als transnationale herinneringsruimtes. In dit hoofdstuk verschuif ik langzaam van de jaren 1990 naar de jaren 2000, toen de opgravingen van de Spaanse massagraven het ‘spokende’ verleden blootlegden als indringende materiële sporen uit het verleden in het heden. Voordat de recente opgravingen begonnen, werden de slachtoffers in de massagraven in culturele teksten overwegend voorgesteld als spookachtige krachten die een belangrijke invloed uitoefenden op de hoofdpersonages in de teksten. Ook in een transnationale context zien we hoe de herinneringsverhalen van elders als het ware worden overschaduwd door een spookachtige aanwezigheid van het Spaanse onverwerkte verleden. In het geval van de romans *Galíndez* (1990) en *Quinteto de Buenos Aires* (1997) van de geëngageerde auteur Manuel Vázquez Montalbán is het Spaanse onverwerkte verleden steeds op de achtergrond aanwezig in zijn openbare aanklacht van de Zuid-Amerikaanse *desaparecidos* (verdwenenen). Zo kan de lezer zich afvragen of Vázquez Montalbán niet eigenlijk een aanklacht doet tegen het voortdurende onrecht in zijn eigen land, in plaats van in Zuid-Amerika.

Na 2000 geeft de materiële blootstelling van de slachtoffers door de opgravingen van massagraven een complete draai aan dit soort vergelijkingen. Vanuit de locatie van het massagraf komt het Spaanse verleden nu centraal te staan in de voorstelling van een uiteenlopende verscheidenheid aan transnationale verbindingen met het Spaanse verleden. Het massagraf, dat ‘ondergronds’ (*subtierro*) als het ware ook in de grenzen van de natiestaat ligt, lokt een emotionele reactie uit, die de basis vormt voor een actief engagement met de verstotenen in de marges van de natiestaat. Zo komt in dit hoofdstuk de

emotioneel getroffen ‘post-getuige’ centraal te staan (González-Ruibal 2014), die via het aanschouwen van de slachtoffers in de massagraven indirect een soort getuige is van de burgeroorlog zelf. In het tweede deel van hoofdstuk 4 kijk ik naar het fotografische werk *Dark is the room* (2007) van Francesc Torres en *Desaparecidos* (2011) van Gervasio Sánchez en sluit ik af met een *close-reading* van José María Merino’s roman *La Sima* (2009). Voornamelijk in het werk van Torres en van Merino wordt het massagraf voorgesteld als een tastbaar spoor uit het verleden waarin de post-getuigen de onderling overlappende gebeurtenissen uit het verleden herkennen. Het massagraf zorgt in deze bronnen voor een alternatieve interpretatie van ruimte en tijd, die niet voldoet aan de conventionele lineaire opvattingen maar juist vergelijkbaar is met Karen Barads voorstelling van tijd en ruimte als twee verstrengelde concepten. Daarnaast komen emotie en *affect* in de hoofdstuk naar voren als belangrijke mechanismen in de creatie van een herinneringsgemeenschap.

In het vijfde en laatste hoofdstuk, ‘Borrowed Memory’ (Geleend geheugen), analyseer ik de relatie tussen de Spaanse getuige ‘op afstand’ en de Holocaust als hegemonisch Europees herinneringskader. De theoretische en praktische kaders van herdenking van de Holocaust brengen opvattingen over de rol van getuigen en getuigenissen naar voren die ook centraal staan in de herdefiniëring van herinneringen aan de burgeroorlog in Spanje. Hier onderzoek ik de documentaires *Les fosses del silenci* (2003) en *El comboi dels 927* (2004) gemaakt door Montse Armengou en Ricard Belis voor de Catalaanse zender TV3, die voornamelijk een verhaal vertellen waarin de Spaanse slachtoffers worden vergeleken met die van de Holocaust. Antonio Muñoz Molina’s *Sefarad* (2001) en Adolfo García Ortega’s *El comprador de aniversarios* (2002) daarentegen benaderen de Holocaust op basis van het idee van verschil. In beide romans wordt de Holocaust benaderd vanuit emotionele interpretaties van de getuigenissen van Primo Levi. Op deze manier plaatsen de vertellende instanties in deze roman zich als emotioneel betrokken getuigen ‘op afstand’. Ook hier wordt het kader van de Holocaustherinnering gebruikt voor het construeren van een alternatieve versie van de Spaanse nationale identiteit. In dit geval wordt deze nieuwe identiteit voornamelijk gekenmerkt door Europa als nieuwe identiteitshorizon met ‘tolerantie’ als een van zijn belangrijkste bouwstenen. *Sefarad*, de Hebreeuwse benaming voor Spanje en daarmee een verwijzing naar het Spanje van voor de Inquisitie, wordt in deze romans voorgesteld als een soort legitimerende mythe voor de nieuwe vorm van Spaanse identiteit in Europa, die beschreven wordt als tolerant en multicultureel. Desalniettemin, zo betoog ik, stellen deze teksten ook nieuwe grenzen aan de kaders van transnationale herinnering en slagen ze er niet in om de uitsluitingen die zij zelf produceren – denk bijvoorbeeld aan kwesties zoals het koloniale verleden of de hedendaagse immigratie – kritisch te beschouwen.

De conclusie van mijn proefschrift bevat een kritische beschouwing van de verschillende voorstellen voor nieuwe, alternatieve vormen van ‘inclusief’ nationalisme gebaseerd op de erkenning van anders-zijn en verscheidenheid in een veld van transnationale herinnering. Hierin onderstreep ik de behoefte aan meer aandacht voor deze in- en uitsluitingsmechanismen in de productie van herinneringen en de manier waarop zij onderling zijn verstrengeld. De ethiek van de herinnering, zo besluit ik mijn betoog, ligt in een actieve betrokkenheid bij de uitsluitingen die een inherent onderdeel zijn van elke vorm van collectieve of culturele herinnering.

Valorization Addendum

‘When we ask what the value of humanities research is we go consciously or unconsciously to the humanities themselves, to subjects like philosophy, history and the arts. But this role of the humanities as a crucible wherein we test and judge values is part of their value, or perhaps more accurately, ‘meta’-value (in the sense of the value of value)’ (Bate 2011, 290).

The book *The Work of Memory: New Directions in the Study of German Society and Culture* (2002) by historians Alon Confino and Peter Fritzsche, starts with the following words:

‘The current interest in memory, among both scholars and laypersons, has become almost an obsession. A term that ten years ago had little public resonance has entered household vocabularies and everyday speech, buttressing the claims of individuals, victims and social groups for various forms of recognition, compensation, and entitlement’ (Confino and Fritzsche 2002, 1).

I feel that this tremendous interest in memory has in no way decreased. As such, the now more established academic field of “memory studies” has found support in the world outside academia as well. Memory studies are closely related to current social and political debates, as they focus on the way the past is perceived, represented and performed in the present. These memory practices and discourses are, for instance, closely related to identity formation, which is a topic on the forefront of current political agendas, especially when we think of political debates and topics like the expansion of the European Union or (im)migration policies. With that, research outcomes in the field of memory studies offer new insights and practical tools to activists, policy makers, teachers and the cultural sector.

Within the field of memory studies, this dissertation focuses on the memory debates in contemporary Spain, and, it specifically looks into how and why these debates are connected to other instances of remembrance around the world. With that, the out-

comes of this dissertation will contribute specifically to the Spanish debate on how to deal with the legacies of the Spanish Civil War, a debate that has cultural, juridical and political aspects. The insights gained from this study, however, can also be applied to other national geographies, as well as on a transnational scale, as it specifically looks at why and how memory discourses are entangled across the world.

Public debate

First of all, this dissertation offers new insights, which can be used in the public debate on the role of transnationalization and globalization in the formation and reconfiguration of national identities. Especially the insights into how European memory discourses and Human Rights discourses influence a local context such as that of Spain, can help to understand the impact of such discourses on the production of new (national) identities. As such, this study claims a close relation between transnational memory discourses and attempts at redefining contemporary national identities in Spain. Analyzing these topics from the perspective of cultural and literary studies offers fertile ground for debates on the dynamic relationship between memory culture and democracy as well as for thinking constructively about identity, memory and sense of belonging, which seem ever more relevant and urgent today. Artistic expressions are a laboratory for the construction of identity, and the works that I have analyzed throughout the dissertation offer insight into how discourses of transnational entanglement lie at the basis of the construction of a new inclusive Spanish identity; an identity that seems to have increasing political effect through newly founded political parties such as *Podemos*, *Ahora Madrid* or *Barcelona en Comú*, which all have a very active agenda when it comes to memory politics.

The findings of this study are also important to European policies on the production and cultivation of common identities and shared values. Within this perspective, this study's theoretical approach, which allows for understanding more complex forms of agency as well as the intrinsic entanglements of different memory discourses, may add to ways of dealing with "conflicts" of memory or instances of "competitive" victimhood that are played out on national and transnational scales. In Spain, political debates on the recognition of civil war victims too often fail when they an impasse is reached, in which the victims of the two warring factions are compared to each other as well as to contemporary victims of terrorism. In Europe, victims of Stalinist violence are set against the victims of the Holocaust. This dissertation, on the basis of its findings, concludes with an ethical proposal for a politics of memory that actively engage with the

unavoidable exclusions produced in the articulation of memories, as a way of overcoming these kind of competitive oppositions.

This dissertation also feeds into the debates on exhumation practices in Spain, which remain a highly unsettling subject that deeply divides the Spanish public opinion. As such, my analysis of the cultural impact of these exhumations will be of use to activists and policy makers alike. My findings can be highly relevant, as they show how the exhumation work effects a much broader cultural field than just the victims' relatives and the activists directly involved. Beyond direct memory activism, these cultural narratives offer different proposals on how to overcome recurring contradictions in the public debate on Spain's dictatorial past.

Moreover, the exhumations in Spain are directly related to a worldwide trend that is geared towards the material exploration of the past, in which digging up the victims of past crimes is at the center of the reinterpretation of the nature of these crimes and of the recognition of their victims. The recent exhumation attempts in former German concentration camps are a striking example of the renewed interest in the material traces of human rights violations. Within this perspective, my findings will be useful with regards to accommodating and understanding these renewed interests in material traces and use these insights to explore alternative ways of disseminating knowledge about the past. In particular, my findings have fed into the research project *The Underground Past: Exhumations and Memory Politics in Contemporary Spain in Transnational and Comparative Perspective* (PI: Francisco Ferrándiz), which investigates the social and cultural impact of mass grave exhumations in a comparative perspective and is closely linked to the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory (ARMH), which focuses on exhuming mass graves of the civil war. The impact of this project as a whole on Spanish and international media outlets and public debates can be seen in the newspaper articles which appear almost every week, inviting the different researchers to translate and voice their findings to the general public.²¹⁹

The topic is also of interest to the Dutch media, as shown by the occasions I have been invited as an expert, to help out Dutch media outlets which wanted to inform Dutch audiences about the problems that Spain is facing in coming to terms with their dictatorial past (Groen 2008; Rietman 2014). Also, at the moment I am collaborating with the Amsterdam City Archives on a project that seeks to highlight some of the archival documents that relate to the Dutch volunteers in the Spanish Civil War, in order to commemorate the 80th anniversary of the beginning of the Spanish Civil War and to

²¹⁹ See the English and Spanish news section at www.politicasdelamemoria.org (last visited March 17, 2016).

underline its relevancy in relation to contemporary issues of civil conflicts and international participation.

Engaging with academia's exclusions

Throughout my PhD I have worked with different collectives on the production of narratives, publications and exhibitions that translate the critical findings of memory studies to broader audiences. More particular, together with the Spanish association *Memorias en Red* I have worked in an interdisciplinary and international team that translates research findings into formats suitable for audiences outside academia. A constant challenge in all of these projects is the effective translation of the critical and process-oriented approach specific to memory studies – as well as the field's engagement with alterity – into an “attractive” and “readable” product. This challenge has led us to invent formats that are aimed at encouraging a continuous debate about the past. To that end we have created open-ended and multifaceted narratives, which focus on raising questions instead of giving answers, thereby, we hope, contributing to the dissolution of strong identity boundaries instead of to their construction. I think that, as a scholar, it is important to be actively involved in these kinds of projects, so that, as researchers, we can experiment with, and test, the implications of our scholarly concepts on practical applications.

In one of these projects, *Memoriadero*²²⁰ (January 2014 – March 2015), which was commissioned as a project on the cultural memory of the Madrid municipal abattoir, now a center for contemporary art, we translated these underlying premises into an exhibition, a colloquium including artistic performances and an online research blog, all concerned with questions and unknowns rather than with answers. At the same time, the project addressed the limited public access to knowledge in institutions such as archives and academia, while mapping sources for further inquiry.

A second project, *MemorÁgora*²²¹ (March 2015 – ongoing), seeks to create alternative spaces of debate, where academic and non-academic audiences can interact about topics related to memory politics in Spain. On the one hand, this project is aimed at breaking the boundaries between academia and society at large. On the other hand, it is conceived as an alternative means for disseminating academic knowledge relating to ongoing political debates, much faster than the current publication practices in academic circles. One of our outputs has been an online forum, in the form of a “blog,” in which we invite the interested public to debate important topics, in this case the future

²²⁰ See <http://memoriasenred.es/memoriadero/> (last visited March 17, 2016).

²²¹ See <http://memoriasenred.es/memoragora/> (last visited March 17, 2016).

of the remaining vestiges of Francoism, and to react to the proposals of expert scholars we invited.

A third project of interest, which is still in the making, is the collaboration of *Memo-ri-ias en Red* with the newly created *Born. Center for Contemporary Memory in Barcelona*; a public center that aims to translate academic insights into exhibitions, public lectures and other cultural events, while at the same time consciously distancing itself from the debatable and Manichaean memory discourses promoting a Catalan nationalist narrative which the “museum” has exhibited until today. The center also hopes to bring academic research and other audiences together, and to discuss issues of memory that go beyond the matters of national identities.


From translation to access

I would like to end this valorization addendum with a critical reflection on the relation between academia and the public sphere in general. Apart from the production of specific output intended for non-academic audiences, an important goal of the valorization of academic research, in my opinion, should be producing qualitative academic publications in formats that are accessible to readers outside academia, allowing for a more fluent interaction between academic, “para” academic and non-academic debates and audiences. The current situation, in which much of the publicly paid academic research disappears behind the pay walls of publishing houses, contributes to a further distancing between academic and non-academic discourses. With that, an active engagement with the proposals for open access is of importance to the public valorization of any scholarly endeavor. An example of this kind of ethics of open access is the monthly research seminar *Faces and traces of violence*, which I have co-organized at the Spanish National Research Council from 2011 onwards. The seminars feature internationally renowned scholars in the field of memory studies, and we have actively sought to invite fellow scholars, students and memory activists alike, which has resulted in interesting and productive debates combining different types of knowledge. Based on these seminars, we have published a large part of the papers that were presented in an open access digital journal called *Culture & History* (Hristova et al. 2014).²²² Thus, instead of “translating” research outcomes for a non-academic audience, public valorization can also be located in actively giving non-academic audiences the opportunity to engage with academic discourses. Just like in the case of transnational memory discourses, it is always a two-way street.

²²² See <http://cultureandhistory.revistas.csic.es/index.php/cultureandhistory/issue/view/6> (last visited March 17, 2016).

Curriculum Vitae

Marije Hristova-Dijkstra (Leeuwarden, 1978) holds a *doctoraal* degree in History from the University of Groningen (1999-2007) and a *doctoraal* degree in Spanish Language and Culture from the University of Amsterdam (2010-2011, University of Groningen 2000-2006). She was a teaching assistant at the department of Romance Languages and Cultures of the University of Groningen (2002-2006) and a visiting student cooperating with the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory at the University of Valladolid, Spain (2003-2004). She has written her Ph.D. dissertation, titled *Reimagining Spain: Transnational Entanglements and Remembrance of the Spanish Civil War since 1989* at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Maastricht University (2009-2016). During this period she has been a Marie Curie predoctoral fellow in the ITN program *Sustainable Peace Building* at the Institute for Language, Literature and Anthropology of the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) (2011-2013). In Madrid she is one of the initiators and coordinators of the young scholars association *Memorias en Red* (2011-). Currently, she works as a lecturer of Dutch literature and culture at the University of Veliko Tarnovo in Bulgaria and she is a research fellow in the research project *Below Ground: Mass Grave Exhumations and Human Rights in Historical, Transnational and Comparative Perspective* (PI: Francisco Ferrándiz) funded by the Spanish national research plan I+D+i.



Since 1989, Spain has gone through a process of re-emergence of the memories of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and Francoism (1939-1975). These newly produced memories challenge the official reading of the civil war, as established during the transition to democracy, as a “collective insanity.” As part of this process, the last three decades have produced numerous novels, documentaries, and journalistic accounts that have brought to the fore the untold stories of the repression during the civil war and its aftermath.

This dissertation offers an analysis of the influence of transnational frameworks on the reconfiguration of the cultural memory narratives of the Spanish Civil War. The selection of post-Cold War Spanish cultural texts – narrative fiction, documentary film, photography and journalism – being analyzed in this dissertation, is framed by three emblematic “spaces of transnational memory.” These are: the wars in former Yugoslavia; Forced Disappearance in the Southern Cone; and the remembrance of the Holocaust. Each of these spaces highlights a different contemporary site of agency in the production of memory, namely contemporary civil war, mass grave exhumations, and testimony. In addition, this dissertation posits affect and emotion as important mechanisms in the production of transnational memories.

This research argues that these transnational contexts of remembrance serve to reimagine Spain, proposing alternative and more “inclusive” forms of national memory and identity, often in opposition to the current Spanish “constitutional patriotism.” Transnational memory is located within the margins of the nation-state, a space of entanglement between the national and the transnational, and inhabited by those who were excluded from Spanish national identity through the forging of the Spanish nation-state.

Marije Hristova was a Ph.D. candidate at the History Department of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Maastricht University and a Marie Curie predoctoral fellow at the Institute for Language, Literature and Anthropology of the Spanish National Research Council. Currently, she works as a lecturer of Dutch Studies at the University of Veliko Tarnovo and is a research fellow in the project “Below Ground,” led by Francisco Ferrándiz.