Title

Mass Graves and Remembering through Ritual: Historical Memory in Contemporary Peninsular Literature, Documentary Film, and Digital Culture

Permalink

https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8db1z4th

Author

Kurtz, Wendy Perla

Publication Date

2017

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Mass Graves and Remembering through Ritual:

Historical Memory in Contemporary Peninsular Literature,

Documentary Film, and Digital Culture

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Hispanic Languages and Literatures

by

Wendy Perla Kurtz

2017

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Mass Graves and Remembering through Ritual:

Historical Memory in Contemporary Peninsular Literature,

Documentary Film, and Digital Culture

by

Wendy Perla Kurtz

Doctor of Philosophy in Hispanic Languages and Literatures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2017

Professor María Teresa de Zubiaurre, Chair

In my dissertation I reflect on the ritualistic aspects of mourning practices that

accompany the current disinterment and reburial of Francoist victims from mass graves on the

Iberian Peninsula. I use critical theories of performance—among them the contributions of Diana

Taylor, Richard Schechner, and Paul Connerton—to argue the necessity to actualize funeral rites

before a community of witnesses in order to disseminate memory and enact closure. My

overarching argument is that the disinterment and reburial rituals act as essential catalysts for the

rebuilding of suppressed or unexplored sentiments silenced by a dictatorial regime and, later,

through the transition to a democratic government. I include an analysis of novels [*Las trece

rosas* ("The Thirteen Roses") (2003) by Jesús Ferrero, *El vano ayer* ("Yesterday's False Hope")

by Isaac Rosa (2003), and *Ayer no más* ("Only Yesterday") (2012) by Andrés Trapiello] and

documentary films [*Las fosas del olvido* ("The Graves of Oblivion") (2004) by filmmakers Alfonso Domingo and Itiziar Bernaola, *Les fosses del silenci* ("The Graves of Silence") (2003) by Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis, *Death in El Valle* (2009) by C.M. Hardt, *Olvidados* ("The Forgotten") (2004) by Jesús Zamora and Gustavo Castrillejo, and *Santa Cruz, por ejemplo* ("Santa Cruz, for example") (2005) by Günter Schwaiger], but also consider a variety of digital media, such as weblogs, *YouTube* short films, and social media content from *Facebook* and *Twitter* groups. Studying the intersection of novels and documentaries with digital cultural materials demonstrates how the rituals of reburial assist in the healing of collective trauma. The analysis of documentaries, novels, and digital media shows how multigenerational communities undergo the rituals of reburial together to form a collective historiography.

The digital companion to my dissertation is a digital "thick" map of mass grave locations on the Peninsula. I have built a digital map called "Virtual Cartographies" that combines data acquired from the Spanish Ministry of Justice—which identifies over 2,600 mass graves located throughout Spain, northern Africa, and the Balearic and Canary Islands—with a collection of digital materials directly linked to specific gravesites. "Virtual Cartographies" is a thick map that combines a variety of digital cultural materials, such as testimonies, novels, videos including feature length documentaries and YouTube short films, narratives from weblogs, archeological reports, newspaper articles, radio programs, and social network sites, to give depth to spaces of mourning and share the various ritualistic practices. By embedding materials that show the exhumation, inhumation, and commemoration processes, "Virtual Cartographies" highlights the ritualistic practices occurring around the Peninsula and ties those directly to the location of specific mass graves sites.

The dissertation of Wendy Perla Kurtz is approved.

Barbara Fuchs

Roberta L. Johnson

Jesús Torrecilla

Willemina Z. Wendrich

María Teresa de Zubiaurre, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2017

To my family:

Thank you for your unwavering belief, support, and encouragement.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

<u>EDUCATION:</u>
University of California, Los Angeles
M.A., Hispanic Language and Literatures, 2011

Claremont McKenna College
B.A., Spanish Literature & Psychology, 2002
- <u>Thesis</u>: "La lucha por la independencia: El nacionalismo y regionalismo español" ("*The Struggle for Independence: Regionalism and Nationalism in Spain*")
- Thesis advisors: Marina Pérez de Mendiola and Roberta Johnson

Hamilton College Academic Year in Spain, Madrid, Spain, Spring 2001

<u>RESEARCH APPOINTMENTS:</u>
Center for Digital Humanities, University of California, Los Angeles
- Senior Research and Instructional Technology Consultant, Fall 2015 – present
- Research and Instructional Technology Consultant, Fall 2013 – Spring 2015

Center for Digital Humanities, University of California, Los Angeles
- CDH Ambassador to Visiting Scholars, Fall 2014 – Spring 2016

The Getty Summer Institute: Beyond the Digitized Slide – A Digital Art History Institute at UCLA supported by the Getty Foundation
- Graduate Student Researcher for Professors Johanna Drucker, Todd Presner, and Miriam Posner, July 2014 and July 2015

Graduate Student Researcher for Professor Maite Zubiaurre
- Span M201A Literary Theory and Criticism: Landscapes of Waste – Theories and Representations of the Discarded in Contemporary Urban Culture, Fall 2014.

<u>CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS:</u>
"Virtual Cartographies: Mapping Historical Memory from the Spanish Civil War and Postwar Period."
- Spatial Humanities. University of Lancaster, England. September 15, 2016.

"A Sense of Place: Mapping Fictional Space in Literary Narratives. The Case of Bernardo Atxaga."
- Digital Humanities 2014. Université de Lausanne & Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne. Lausanne, Switzerland. Coauthors: John Lynch & Michael Rocchio. July 11, 2014.

"Life Seen Through Rose-Colored Glasses: The Impact of the '*Novela Rosa*' in *El cuarto de atrás* by Carmen Martín Gaite."
- Graduate Student Colloquium: Dimensions of the Text: Matter and Meaning in the Luso-Hispanic World. University of California, Berkeley. April 14, 2012.

BOOK:
- Retana, Álvaro. *Cuentos de Álvaro Retana*. Madrid: Stockcero. April 2013. Co-editor.

JOURNAL:
- *Mester*
  "Voices in the US: Spanish and Portuguese." 40.1 (2011). Editor.
- *Mester*
  "Focus: Andean Studies." 39.1 (2010). Contributing Editor.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:
University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Spanish & Portuguese

Sole Instructor
- SPAN 1: Elementary Spanish 1 (fall 2009, summer 2013)
- SPAN 2: Elementary Spanish 2 (winter 2010, summer 2015)
- SPAN 3: Elementary Spanish 3 (spring 2010)
- SPAN 4: Intermediate Spanish 1 (fall 2010)
- SPAN 5: Intermediate Spanish 2 (winter 2011)
- SPAN 25: Advanced Spanish and Composition (fall 2012)

Teaching Associate
- SPAN 42: Civilization of Spain and Portugal (spring 2011, winter 2013)
- SPAN 170: Topics in Media, Interdisciplinary, and Transhistorical Studies: Colonial Literature in Cinema: Adaptation, Representation and History (spring 2013)
- SPAN 495: Teaching Spanish at a College Level (fall 2011)

Teaching Abroad
- Mérida, México, Teaching Associate, 2012
  - Spanish 150 / 170: Topic in Mexican Literature, Culture and Identity
  Guest lecturer for the following subjects:
  - Juan Diego and the Virgin of Guadalupe
  - Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: "Respuesta de la poetisa a la muy ilustre Sor Filotea de la Cruz" & *Yo, la peor de todas*
  - Octavio Paz "Los hijos de la Malinche"
  - Subcomandante Marcos and the Zapatistas *La historia de los colores*

- Granada, Spain, 2010
  - Sole Instructor, Intensive Spanish 2/3

University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Spanish & Portuguese
Teaching Assistant Consultant, 2011 – 2012

Claremont Colleges, Language Department
Teaching Assistant, Introductory Spanish 1 & 2, Spring 2001

Introduction

The current upsurge in the recovery of bodies from mass graves (2000-present) dating

back to the dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1939-1975) has unearthed forcibly repressed

memories from one of Spain's most violent and oppressive periods. With the enactment of the

Historical Memory Law by Parliament on October 31, 2007, the Spanish public now has a legal

channel through which they can exhume mass graves from the War and subsequent dictatorship,

but the task of locating and recovering bodies of victims continues to fall on autonomous

communities and private entities, such as the "Association for the Recuperation of Historical

Memory" (ARHM). The lack of a state-sponsored exhumation of mass graves after the

dictatorship has created a void in collective memory. The disinterment process acts as a catalyst

for the rebuilding of suppressed or unexplored sentiments silenced by a fascist dictatorship and,

later, through the transition to a democratic government. This dissertation explores the ritualistic

aspects of the recovery of cadavers from mass graves found throughout Spanish territories using

theories of performance informed by Richard Schechner, Paul Connerton, and Diana Taylor, to

examine the necessity for the physical performance of funeral rites in order to disseminate

memory and enact closure.

I include an analysis of "traditional texts," such as novels [*Las trece rosas* ("The Thirteen

Roses") (2003) by Jesús Ferrero, *El vano ayer* ("Yesterday's False Hope") by Isaac Rosa (2003),

and *Ayer no más* ("Only Yesterday") (2012) by Andrés Trapiello] and documentary films [*Las

fosas del olvido* ("The Graves of Oblivion") (2004) by filmmakers Alfonso Domingo and Itiziar

Bernaola, *Les fosses del silenci* ("The Graves of Silence") (2003) by Montse Armengou and

Ricard Belis, *Death in El Valle* (2009) by C.M. Hardt, *Olvidados* ("The Forgotten") (2004) by

Jesús Zamora and Gustavo Castrillejo, and *Santa Cruz, por ejemplo* ("Santa Cruz, for example")

(2005) by Günter Schwaiger], but also consider a variety of digital media such as: weblogs, *YouTube* short films, photographs on *Flickr*, radio programs distributed on the Web, and social network content from *Facebook* and *Twitter* groups. The study of novels and documentaries in conjunction with digital media elements permits for a more comprehensive examination of the methods employed by contemporary Spanish society to recuperate memory from the War and dictatorship. As Francisco Ferrándiz explains in "The Intimacy of Defeat: Exhumations in Contemporary Spain" the analysis of a combination of diverse media elements (television, radio, Internet, film, fictional writings, etc.) allows for new interpretations of historical memory recuperation: "Media reprocessing of the diverse components of the memories of defeat—as expressed in exhumations, narratives, personal objects, bodily effects, art exhibitions, commemorations, academic acts, and so on—reframe and resignify them through different media formats and through the consolidation of a horizon of consumers of social suffering associated with the War" (312). By reading memory recuperation efforts through a diverse body of texts, I explore the essential ways that digital culture materials relating to historical memory (via social media, weblogs, *YouTube*, etc.) intersect with high cultural productions (such as novels and film) generated by contemporary Spanish society.

The current disinterment efforts are not occurring in a vacuum, but rather are the most current episode in successive waves of disinterment and reburial (Ferrándiz "Cries and Whispers" 178, "From Tear to Pixel" 2). Postwar exhumations began directly after the War, "as part of the mourning for the losses on the winning side, the reconstruction of the country, and the organization of the new dictatorial state. This happened within a pervasive official narrative of military victory anchored in the concepts of religious crusade, heroism, and martyrdom—known in Spanish political history as National Catholicism (Aguilar; Box)" ("From Tear to Pixel" 2).

2

The exhumations of the victorious Nationalists served to honor and mourn the loss of their heroes, while the bodies of the defeated remained buried in unmarked graves. Whereas the remains of the Nationalists were laid in view for honoring by the entire Spanish nation, families of the defeated did not have a site from which to mourn their losses and feared retribution from the Regime if they publicly expressed grief. The second wave of exhumations came in the late 1950s, when over 30,000 bodies—both nationalist and republican— were recovered and transferred to the Valley of the Fallen.

The most recent wave of disinterments—and those studied in this dissertation—focuses on the recovery of the remains of Francoist victims. The current exhumations began with the disinterments in Priaranza del Bierzo in 2000 by the ARMH. The Association formed in 2000 and organized around the first exhumation led by a team of scientists that sought to catalogue and identify the remains of a mass grave through forensic measures in the Leonese municipality of Priaranza del Bierzo. Sociologist and journalist Emilio Silva, grandson of one of the thirteen victims recovered from Priaranza del Bierzo, founded the organization alongside Santiago Macías and a team of archeologists, forensic scientists, and community volunteers. The exhumation at Priaranza del Bierzo represents the first exhumation where a team of scientists documented, analyzed and shared its findings from the excavation of the site. The ARMH represents a strong force in the recovery of mass graves: "la ARMH ha exhumado desde el año 2000 más de 150 fosas por todo el país rescatando más de 1.400 víctimas de la dictadura franquista, dándoles identidad, devolviéndoselas a sus familiares y promoviendo el homenaje institucional que estas personas se merecían y que durante tantos años les fue negado" (ARMH - "¿Quiénes Somos?"). A core part of the ARMH's goal is to identify and return the remains of victims to the families and encourage institutional commemoration.

An outline of trauma studies illustrates why communities undergo collective performances of the reburials as healing rituals. Significant scholarship exists in relation to collective trauma in the social sciences (Georges Bataille, Kai Erikson), clinical studies (Sigmund Freud, Judith Herman, Pierre Janet, Bessel A. van der Kolk and Onno van der Hart) and the humanities (Cathy Caruth, Kevin Newmark, Marita Sturken, Anne Whitehead). Collective trauma and its emergence from Francoism have also been studied in depth (Jo Labanyi, "History and Hauntology," Cristina Moreiras-Menor, Petar Ramadanovic, Teresa M. Vilarós). Drawing from studies of trauma suffered at the community level—or what has been termed "collective trauma"—to support theories of performances will facilitate the exploration of the documentaries, novels and social networks as platforms through which to undergo rituals of searching and reburial.

Kai Erikson has published several important works on collective trauma. His contribution to the collection of essays *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* titled "Notes on Trauma and Community" provides a succinct definition of trauma: "To describe people as traumatized is to say that they have withdrawn into a kind of protective envelope, a place of mute, aching loneliness, in which the traumatic experience is treated as a solitary burden that needs to be expounded by acts of denial and resistance" (186). In another essay, Erikson draws a distinction between traumas experienced at the individual level and trauma felt at the community level:

> By collective trauma . . . I mean a blow to the basic tissues of
> social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and
> impairs the prevailing sense of communality. The collective
> trauma works its way slowly and even insidiously into the
> awareness of those who suffer from it, so it does not have the

4

quality of suddenness normally associated with 'trauma.' But it is a

form of shock all the same, a gradual realization that the

community no longer exists as an effective source of support and

that an important part of the self has disappeared. (*Everything in Its*

Path, 154)

In the Spanish case, collective trauma fomented during the decades-long dictatorship that

followed the Civil War. With the opening of mass graves, the socially and culturally prescribed

grieving process can begin as the community of individuals performs the requisite repertoire of

the burial. In order to counteract the collective trauma described by Erikson, where the

breakdown of community bonds hinders a sense of communality, the rituals performed and

distributed via cultural productions before a witnessing audience assist in reconstructing the

defunct support system lost to the collective trauma experienced under Franco.

    As reflected in the documentaries, novels and digital cultural materials studied

throughout, the collective memory recovered through these texts relates not only to those who

lived through the War and dictatorship, but also to their decedents—the generations born after

the death of Franco. In her work on Holocaust survivors, Marianne Hirsch describes postmemory

as "the response of the second generation to the trauma of the first" (8). The experiences of those

who lived the War and dictatorship are handed down to subsequent generations and the

postmemories of second and third generations are derived from their elders. Hirsch explains how

collective trauma is diffused from the group that experience the trauma to future generations:

Postmemory most specifically describes the relationship of

children of survivors of cultural or collective trauma to the

experiences of their parents, experiences that they

'remember' only as the narratives and images with which

they grew up, but that are so powerful, so monumental, as to

constitute memories in their own right. Still, this form of

remembrance need not be restricted to the family, or even to

a group that shares an ethnic or national identity marking:

through particular forms of identification, adoption, and

projection, it can be more broadly available. (9-10)

For Hirsch, collective trauma is transmitted to the children and grandchildren of the first

generation through stories, narratives and images, but the transmission is not limited to the

family unit. Association with community and political groups also encourages the spread of

collective trauma through postmemories. In Spain, these histories are only now being jointly

revealed, and the recuperation of mass graves becomes a catalyst for the transmission of

collective memory and the formation of postmemory.

When discussing the recovery of collective memory as it pertains to community healing

within the context of mass grave recuperation, I am referring to the memory of the defeated

Republican faction, rather than the victorious Nationalists. The Nationalist victors extricated

their dead from mass graves during the postwar, undergoing the cathartic experience of honoring

and remembering their familial and affiliative relations, but the repressive Regime forced the

vanquished Republicans who remained on the Peninsula to live in silence about the atrocities

committed during the postwar. Because of the singular position of Republicans and their

sympathizers who lived under fascist rule, when I refer to collective memory throughout this

dissertation, I am referring to the collective memories (and postmemories) of this group

specifically. The historiography written by the Regime reflects Nationalist ideology, while the

experiences of the Republicans were suppressed from official record. The collective memory to which I refer herein focuses on those of the subjugated because their (hi)stories were obfuscated for decades during the dictatorship, and then again through the transition to democracy. While exiled writers—like Ramón J. Sender (*Crónica del alba*), Arturo Barea (*La forja de un rebelde*), and Manuel Chaves Nogales (*A sangre y fuego. Héroes, bestias y mártires de España*), to name a few,—rallied against the repressive Regime that overthrew the democratically elected government of the Second Republic in their writings, those materials were not readily accessible on the Peninsula and did not fuse into collective imaginaries. The following chapters show that in order to begin healing from the collective trauma experienced as a result of the dictatorship many familial and affiliative relations undergo the recuperation efforts collectively.

The first chapter, "Documentaries as Acts of Transfer: Recording the Performance," explores the performative aspects of the recovery of cadavers from mass graves found throughout Spain using theories of performance informed by Richard Schechner, Paul Connerton, and especially Diana Taylor, to examine the necessity for the physical performance of the rituals of mourning. Via documentary films [*Las fosas del olvido* ("The Graves of Oblivion") (2004) by filmmakers Alfonso Domingo and Itiziar Bernaola, *Les fosses del silenci* ("The Graves of Silence") (2003) by Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis, *Death in El Valle* (2009) by C.M. Hardt, *Olvidados* ("The Forgotten") (2004) by Jesús Zamora and Gustavo Castrillejo, and *Santa Cruz, por ejemplo* ("Santa Cruz, for example") (2005) by Günter Schwaiger], I explore how these texts use collective rituals as a way to reconcile and recuperate historical memory due to the lack of state-sponsored exhumations of mass graves after the Franco dictatorship. The theoretical groundwork laid out in this chapter informs the following chapters that focus on fictional narratives and digital media. The search by survivors—as seen in

documentaries, contemporary fiction, and Internet media—assists in the recuperation of historical memory as much as the reburial process and is a ritual undertaken by successive generations.

The postmodern novels of memory analyzed in Chapter 2, titled "Recovering Historical Memory through the Collective Voice: The Polyphonic Narrative in Twenty-First Century Spanish Fiction," echo the themes of searching and recovery of bodies from mass graves. The three novels considered [*Las trece rosas* ("The Thirteen Roses") (2003) by Jesús Ferrero, *El vano ayer* ("Yesterday's False Hope") by Isaac Rosa (2003), and *Ayer no más* ("Only Yesterday") (2012) by Andrés Trapiello] highlight a polyphonic search for victims in order to commemorate their deaths as observed by the reader. The search for the missing is undertaken by familial and affiliative relations that span three generations and all age groups, constructing a vertical and horizontal structure in a performance that is inherited through the ritualistic nature of searching for the bodies. By generating a multiperspectivist view, rather than an individualistic stance through which to advance the narrative, authors contribute to the construction of an equitable historiography using the rituals of mourning as a catalyst through which to recover historical memory. Literary portrayals rooted in the Franco dictatorship universalize the search for the disappeared and invite the reader to assist in assembling a new Spanish historiography by bearing witness to the rituals of mourning.

The following two chapters shift the critical lens to the digital realm. Chapter 3— "Mediating Memory: The Performative Platform of Digital Media"—begins with an extensive section that discusses virtual culture and digital media in the area of Spanish historical memory, since contextualizing social media within the historical memory context is in its infancy. Scholars of Spanish culture have studied the recuperation of historical memory through the

mediums of mass communication like newsprint and television (Barbosa; González; Mateu and Piquer; Sampedro and Baer). The focus on Internet and social media sites and the exploration of cultural materials from the World Wide Web concerning the Spanish Civil War, Francoism, and the recuperation of historical memory has begun to take shape with critical attention focusing on these sites of memory (L.B. Sánchez; Eiroa; Eiroa, et al.; Ferrándiz "Tear to Pixel"). However, social and digital media pertaining to mass grave recovery has been largely overlooked. Other than Francisco Ferrándiz's brilliant chapter "Tear to Pixel: Political Correctness and Digital Emotions in the Exhumation of Mass Graves from the Civil War" the conversation among scholars has revolved around representation of historical memory, in general, rather than representations of mass-grave recovery online.

Following that discussion is an analysis of digital platforms (*YouTube*, *Flickr*, *Facebook*, *Twitter*, Weblogs) as a means of recuperating historical memory, centered on the discussion of mass grave recuperation. Like the novels and documentaries analyzed in the first two chapters, blogging and website creation become a performative platform, making the search for and recuperation of victims from the postwar period public. The social media studied fashions virtual communities through which local and regional physical community networks recover collective memory. Through personal and communal blogs, contemporary Spaniards document their search for and reburial of family members lost during the War and postwar periods. Fundamental to the recovery of memory is the public recognition of actions perpetrated during the postwar. The public witness of the performance of the search for and burial of the disappeared legitimizes the loss and pain of the defeated Republicans. The existence of these blogs exhibits the need for Spaniards to publicly present their recuperation efforts and through the documented online

performance they assist in the recovering historical memory. The Internet acts as a unique platform for the performance of recuperation of victims located in mass graves.

The abundance of Internet and social media dedicated to the Spanish Civil War on the Web emanates mainly from the Republican position. One reason why much of the media pertains to Republicans' reinterpretation of history relates to the collective trauma overcome through the creation of these sites of memory. There is, however, a small offering of neofrancoist weblogs and *YouTube* videos (such as the series, "Mitos al descubierto"). Communication scholar Matilde Eiroa aptly describes the ultraconservative online phenomena: "La divulgación de contenidos neofranquistas se realiza a través de los formatos on line . . . pero su orientación nada tiene que ver con la función informativa y formativa de los medios de comunicación, sino mas bien con la propaganda, la opinión mal documentada y la cohesión de un colectivo que intenta mantener en el tiempo las versiones franquistas de la Historia" (364). Because of the propagandistic nature of the sites relating to the far right and historical memory, but more importantly because this dissertation focuses on the rituals of reburial and mourning, I have not included an analysis of those sites within these pages.

The final chapter, "'Virtual Cartographies': Thick Mapping and the Visualization of Mass Grave Recovery," focuses on the intensive topographical exploration of space and the conceptualization of place facilitated by the use of "thick mapping." Thick mapping, or the layering of multimedia elements within a digital cartographic interface, uses digital mapping technologies to inscribe a geographic *space* with meaning, thereby converting topography into a *place* saturated with historical, cultural and political significance. "Virtual Cartographies" is a digital "thick" map I have constructed that layers data acquired from the Spanish Ministry of Justice alongside a corpus of digital cultural materials. After a discussion on the current mapping

projects underway by the national government, local, regional and private entities, this chapter explains why a thick map of mass grave recovery benefits the recuperation of collective memory. By inscribing gravesite locations with digital cultural materials about the disinterments, "Virtual Cartographies" contributes a thick map that gives depth to spaces of remembrance. By layering the materials onto a cartographic interface, users of the map can view what resources are associated with specific places and draw comparisons about the recovery efforts across different spaces, while exploring detailed information about the recuperations for given areas. Navigating through the strata of materials relating to the exhumations assists users in the recuperation of collective memory in that they can freely travel through layers of memory and explore places of remembrance as contextualized by space. The combination of digital cultural materials embedded within a digital "thick" map helps visualize the polyphonic voice of mass grave recuperation in productions about the recuperations.

Chapter One. Documentaries as Acts of Transfer: Recording the Ritual

The emergence of the new millennium marked a turning point for historical memory

recuperation in Spain. The passing of the Historical memory law by the Spanish Parliament in

2007 and the founding of the *Asociación para la recuperación de la memoria histórica* (ARMH)

in 2000—the association largely responsible for the disinterment of mass graves occurring

throughout Spain—heralded massive social and cultural changes with regard to previously taboo

subjects relating to the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975).

The first decade of the 21st century also saw the rise in popularity and production of documentary

films. In her introduction to *El documental cinematográfico y televisivo contemporáneo*, Isabel

M. Estrada describes that during the 2000s it is an "hecho indiscutible que el género documental

se encuentra en un momento de gran pujanza tanto en el mercado global como en el ámbito

español" (1) citing internationally and nationally produced documentaries that enjoyed

commercial and popular success.[1] All produced in the 2000s, the films Estrada cites in her

introduction revolve around the recuperation of historical memory by exposing the repression of

the Francoist regime. In addition to the large production numbers of documentary films,

filmmakers, universities and various cities have organized documentary festivals dedicated to the

---

[1] Estrada cites Al Gore's *An Inconvenient Truth* and the box office successes of Michael Moore's

films. In Spain she cites both documentary films [*En construcción* (dir. José Luis Guerín 2001),

Rejas en la memoria (dir. Manuel Palacios 2004), *La pelota vasca* (dir. Julio Medem 2003)] and

popular television documentary series [*Memoria de España* (dir. Fernando García de Cortázar

2004), *El laberinto español* (dir. Jorge Martínez Reverte 2006), and reporting series produced by

Televisió de Catalunya and directed by Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis: *Els nens perduts del*

franquisme (2003)*, Les fosses del silenci* (2003) and *El convoy del 927* (2004).

theme and documentary series toured Spain, the U.S. and Latin America. One such series, called *Imágenes contra el olvido* ("Images Against Oblivion")—founded by Günter Schwaiger, Montse Armengou, José Manuel Martín y Javier Corcuera—took place throughout 2005 and 2006 and consisted of thirteen documentaries and involved nineteen filmmakers in total.[2] The popularity of documentary films and the inundation of historical memory documentaries demonstrates the importance of these films for memory studies. The documentary genre provides unique insight into why survivors feel urged to seek the ritual of reburial of family members interred in mass graves. This chapter dialogues with the several documentaries produced during the most recent *entresiècle* [*Las fosas del olvido* ("The Graves of Oblivion") (2004) by filmmakers Alfonso Domingo and Itiziar Bernaola, *Les fosses del silenci* ("The Graves of Silence") (2003) by Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis, *Death in El Valle* (2009) by C.M. Hardt, *Olvidados* ("The

---

[2] The 13 documentaries that formed the series of *Imágenes contra el olvido* are: *El convoy de los 927* (Montse Armengou y Ricard Belis)*, España, última esperanza. Apuntes de una odisea* (Karim Helml, Hermann Peseckas, Austria, 2006), *La columna de los ocho mil* (Ángel Hernández García, Antonio Navarro, Fernando Ramos y Francisco Freire, España, 2005), *La guerrilla de la memoria* (Javier Corcuera, España, 2001), *La mala muerte* (Fidel Cordero y José Manuel Martín, España, 2004)*, La memoria es vaga* (Katie Halper, España, 2004), *Los alzados de La Palma* (David Baute y Cirilo Leal, España, 2006), *Los héroes nunca mueren* (Jan Arnold, España/Suiza/Francia, 2004), *Los niños perdidos del franquismo* (Montse Armengou y Ricard Belis, España, 2002), *Death in El Valle* (Christina Hardt, EEUU/GB, 1996), *Presos del silencio* (Mariano Aguado y Eduardo Montero, España, 2004), *Santa Cruz, por ejemplo* (Günter Schwaiger y Hermann Peseckas, España/Austria, 2005) and *Una inmensa prisión* (Carlos Ceacero y Guillermo Carnero Rossell, España, 2005).

Forgotten") (2004) by Jesús Zamora and Gustavo Castrillejo, and *Santa Cruz, por ejemplo* ("Santa Cruz, for example") (2005) by Günter Schwaiger] and shows how they act as performative platforms from which family members gain closure while disseminating historical memory.

The documentaries described above illuminate why the polemical topic of mass grave recuperation continues to haunt the Spanish nation and why heated debate continues to revolve around their disinterment. The topic of recuperation of historical memory relating to the process of exhumations of mass graves has merited the attention of contemporary peninsular and memory studies scholars in a book entitled *Unearthing Franco's Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain,* edited by Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago. Published in 2010, the collection of essays demonstrates the need for a conversation about how the Spanish public still lives under the shadow of Franco, even 40 years after his death. *Unearthing Franco's Legacy* amasses the central arguments in the polemical debate surrounding the uncovering of graves, where some voices demand the exhumation of graves as an important step in recuperating memory, while others disagree with the disinterment process, cautioning against the commodification of nostalgia surrounding the Civil War and mass graves. Dissenting voices stress the need to look towards the future rather than to the past in order to function as a democratic country participating in the European and global community.

A Chronology of Mass Graves Recovery

The overwhelming number of gravesites resulting from a range of repressive campaigns carried out by the Francoist regime has left a footprint of the dictatorship imprinted on Spain and its territories. As of December 18, 2015, the Spanish Ministry of Justice had identified over 2,600 mass graves with mostly republican victims located throughout Spain, northern Africa and

the Balearic and Canary Islands.[3] The contemporary exhumations are in large number related to the violence against civilians behind the front lines (Ferrándiz "Tear" 243). Francisco Ferrándiz describes the civilian deaths on both sides of the political divide in "Tear to Pixel: Political Correctness and Digital Emotions in the Exhumations of Mass Graves from the Civil War":

> Regarding the execution of civilians, contemporary historiography
>
> places the numbers at around fifty-five thousand executed in the
>
> Republican zone, and as many as 150,000 in the rebel Nationalist
>
> zone during the war and in the Francoist repression of the early
>
> postwar years (Rodrigo; Ferrándiz, "Exhuming"). (243)

Paul Preston estimates an additional 20,000 executions occurred under the dictatorship, not including those who died in jails and concentration camps (17). While these numbers are the current estimates by historians (Ferrándiz 243), nearly three times the amount of republicans versus nationalists were killed during the war, with another twenty thousand executed by the Regime in the postwar.

 After the War, the Regime targeted Republican collaborators, removing them from their homes to transport them to concentration camps or detention centers, subjecting them to torture and deplorable conditions. Tactics—such as large-scale massacres and the *paseos* ("strolls") or *sacas*—were regularly practiced and served to imprint terror on Francoist dissenters. In "Digital memory. The Visual Recording of Mass Grave Exhumations in Contemporary Spain," Francisco Ferrándiz describes the horrific practice of these "strolls" as: "a generalized terror and death

---

[3] The Ministry of Justice publishes a biannual report on the mass grave recovery effort ("Fosas o lugares de enterramiento en el territorio español - Catálago de Datos."). As of December 18, 2015, they identified 2,642 mass graves.

technique where prisoners, drawn from jails and concentration camps, or citizens, deemed

collaborators of the defeated Republican government, and therefore included in execution lists

drawn up by local Franco agents, were driven in trucks at dawn and shot in isolated places,

abandoned on the spot or dumped into ditches" (1). Family members of prisoners *sacados* or

"removed" from their communities were left to wait, many times never discovering the fate of

their loved ones. The names of the missing were added to the figurative list of *desaparecidos* or

"the disappeared" whose whereabouts might never be discovered. Only a small percentage of

mass graves have been disinterred: "As of July 2014, 357 mass graves, containing 6,288 bodies,

have been opened since 2000-a tiny fraction of the mass graves containing Republican victims

largely left abandoned to their fate since the war, both executed civilians (almost 90 percent of

the total) and prisoners who died while in jails and concentration camps (10 percent)" (Ferrándiz

"Tear" 244).

The current swell of exhumations confronts concessions made by political parties after

Franco's death to ensure a smooth Transition from dictatorship to democracy and join a

contemporary Europe. The Amnesty Law of 1977—informally called the Pact of Silence—

explicitly forbade legal prosecutions against perpetrators of human rights violations that occurred

during the War or the subsequent dictatorship and did not allow family members to seek out the

burial sites of relatives secretly discarded in mass graves. After difficult negotiations spanning

twenty years, the Historical Memory Law was enacted by Parliament on October 31, 2007,

which recognized the victims of the Civil War and the dictatorship.[4] Michael Richards describes

---

[4] See *Culpables por la literatura. Imaginación política y contracultura en la transición española*

(1968-1984) by Germán Labrador Méndez, *El mono del desencanto* by Teresa Vilarós and

the effect the Pact of Silence had on social and historical forces in his article "Grand Narratives, Collective Memory, and Social History" saying: "[p]eople were reluctant to ask difficult questions about the recent past for fear of jeopardizing the restoration of liberal-democracy. Political and social explanation was eliminated from public debate. No particular social or political group was to carry the moral responsibility for the War or the postwar repression" (135). The Pact left a void in historical memory, particularly on the part of the defeated republicans, and the exhumations confront the silence imposed on the survivors. In his article "The Weight of Memory and the Lightness of Oblivion: The Dead of the Spanish Civil War," Joan Ramon Resina explains why the recent exhumations challenge the picture of a smooth transition: "the reemergence of the 'secret' dead annihilates at once the meticulous work of mandated amnesia. But it is not only the so-called peace of Francoism that crumbles with the return of the repressed. Those frail vestiges of past violence foul a quarter of a century of cynical democracy" (224). The recuperation of bodies from hidden graves questions the inauthentic transition to democracy, while at the same time filling the void in historical memory. The exhumations—government sanctioned since 2007, occurring throughout Spain and publicized on national and local television—force the recuperation of a collective memory through the assemblage of testimonies and oral histories produced from the search for bodies in mass graves.

The Polemics Behind Disinterment Efforts

Many of the scholars who contribute to the collection of essays in *Unearthing Franco's Legacy* concur with the importance of exhuming the graves of Francoist victims. Some critics staunchly call for the disinterment process because not only are many of these gravesites

Cultura herida: Literatura y cine en la España democrática by Cristina Moreiras Menor for a detailed analysis of the disappointment in the transition to democracy.

disappearing under urban developments and freeways, along with the traces of the massacres, but because of the great disparity of memorialization between the nationalists and republicans after the War. In "The Intimacy of Defeat: Exhumations in Contemporary Spain" Francisco Ferrándiz fervently explains the need to recover and memorialize the hidden victims of the Civil War:

> A good deal of the numerous War victims on the winning side, the *caídos por España* (fallen for Spain) . . . were for the most part named, located, exhumed and commemorated in due course during the first years of Franco's dictatorial rule . . .. Meanwhile, the corpses of many of the defeated still remain in unmarked graves by roadsides, cemeteries, shooting walls—often right outside of the cemetery's perimeter—mining galleries, sunken submarines or battlefields, transforming many of them into "disappeared," who in complex ways still disturb the country's social, political, and symbolic foundation. (307)

The disparity in recognition or in the ability to properly mourn the dead after the War and in the postwar period created a shadow that presided over Spain during the dictatorship. Many scholars write about the specter haunting Spain (Joan Ramon Resina, Samuel Amago "Speaking,) Antonio Gómez López-Quiñones ("Toward"), for example), but Ferrándiz attributes this haunting to the fact that the defeated party lacked the opportunity to commemorate their dead. Now, however, the unearthing of graves gives voice to a public silenced for decades: "Stories that were voiced rarely if at all, and then mostly in whispers, hints or passing references—in family settings and civil society alike—suddenly found in the exhumations and the disturbing caches of bones the resonance they had lacked during more than six decades" (Ferrándiz 313).

For strong proponents of the disinterment of mass graves, the recovery process provides closure

to a long memory recovery process that allows each family member to mourn in their own way.

Other scholars, while supporters of the recuperation efforts, warn about the need to

contextualize the disinterment of bodies. In "Toward a Pragmatic Version of Memory: What

Could the Spanish Civil War Mean to Contemporary Spain?," Antonio Gómez López-Quiñones

begins his article by explaining how attempts to create closure by imposing an official post-

democratic, restrictive version of the Civil War are being destabilized by political and

performative mobilization of memory (209)—specifically, the mass grave recovery efforts and

testimonial collections. While this necessary disruption will hopefully lead to new debates in the

public sphere about the Civil War's memory, López-Quiñones warns of the potential damage

that unearthing these graves could cause to the families of the victims, describing the need of an

appropriate social, political, and cultural atmosphere to receive the corpses:

> Unearthing skeletons and buried voices is a task long overdue for
>
> which there is no longer any justified delay. Yet this urgency should
>
> not make us forget what kind of society is going to receive and
>
> assimilate these corpses and voices, a society galvanized by
>
> material modernization, consumerism, mass-media advertising,
>
> cultural performances, and a radical integration of intellectual
>
> activities into market laws. ("Toward" 214)

López-Quiñones cautions: "demands that overemphasize the importance of recuperating

testimonies or exhuming cadavers without paying close attention to the context that is to receive

them will run the risk of ignoring certain key issues" (215). Great sensitivity, critical analysis

and historical context must accompany the disinterment or corpses recovered will be susceptible to manipulation.

Jo Labanyi sees similar dangers in some of the testimonies found in books and documentaries collected from Civil War survivors. In "Testimonies of Repression: Methodological and Political Issues," Labanyi acknowledges the need to collect testimonies, but calls for "first-person memory narratives backed by historical evidence" (195) while admonishing against edited collections of testimonies that lack analysis. Labanyi questions whether the books and documentaries presented to the Spanish public between 2000 and 2003 "encourage contemporary Spanish readers to think about the War in helpful ways" and argues that, instead, they "help to construct a form of collective memory that obscures the key political issues about the past and how we deal with it in the present" (193). Labanyi worries that testimonies that lack historical evidence or are edited collections of testimonies disembody the survivor from their own story, converting them into tragic figures, rather than narrators who represent themselves as subject instead of victims. Both Labanyi and López-Quiñones signal the danger of nostalgia towards the exhumations becoming a commodity. López-Quiñones explains that "[we] should also take into consideration the fact that in a market society where nostalgia inspires a great variety of products and has even become a product itself, the Civil War is always on the verge of being commodified and/or becoming a source of profitable commodities" ("Toward" 215). The idea that the pain, suffering, torture, and silence imposed on victims of the War could be commodified, in Marxist terminology, invites dissenting opinions of the recovery process.

López-Quiñones uses the search for Federico García Lorca's grave as an example of the reticence on the part of some families to recover their lost family members. On August 18 or 19,

1936, five miles from Granada on the outskirts of the village of Alfacar, the then 38-year-old

Spanish poet was taken from his jail cell and murdered alongside two bullfighters and a

schoolteacher. García Lorca's republican ties and homosexuality were sufficient cause for the

Nationalist firing squad to execute him. García Lorca's grave, by the side of a road at the edge of

a nearby village, has remained unmarked since his death—he and the bullfighters and the

schoolteacher were hastily buried there together. In 1966, Ian Gibson, an Irish-born historian and

acclaimed Lorca's biographer, identified the probable site, but the bodies remained where their

killers dumped them (Anderson 3). The García Lorca family remains staunch in their efforts to

stop the exhumation of the poet's remains. Laura García Lorca, the poet's niece and head of the

Federico García Lorca Foundation, explains why the family opposes the exhumation of the

poet's grave:

> There is a prurient interest in this search for Federico García Lorca.
> And it is logical; he was a symbol. But we want him to be
> respected. For us, the prospect of exposing further the degrading
> circumstances in which he was murdered is very disagreeable. To
> violate him further would be, for some—very unpleasant. We don't
> want this to become a spectacle. But it is very difficult to imagine
> that the bones and skull of Federico García Lorca will not end up on
> YouTube. (Anderson 13)

The salaciousness Laura García Lorca identifies in the interest of recovering her uncle's body

parallels the concerns cited by Labanyi and López-Quiñones regarding the exhumation process

in general. Laura fears the commodification of her uncle, especially because of the symbolic

nature of the poet's life and death for the Spanish public. López-Quiñones further explains how

the absence of Federico García Lorca's body produces a stronger political statement then locating and exhuming the poet's remains:

> the absence of a tomb or funeral monument perpetuates Lorca as the uncomfortable personification of the guilty conscience of a city, a social class, and a political movement. Lorca's unbodied status represents a critical exteriority: the impossibility of completely assimilating Lorca, of erasing the political implications of his death, and of paying off a debt that cannot be paid with marble and heartwarming speeches. ("Toward" 215)

García Lorca's family, like others who have voiced opposition to removing the cadavers of their families from mass graves, fear an opportunistic and political misappropriation of the bodies—whether symbolic or monetary—will occur.

Yet the exhumations play a fundamental role in recuperating historical memory and lifting the veil of silence imposed by the Amnesty Law of 1977. But, as López-Quiñones warns, contextualization and discussion must accompany the exhumation of mass graves. He writes: "If remembering the Spanish Civil War does not mobilize our political energies, opening new scope for debate and action, this past will be condemned to play a disgraceful role, becoming an eclectic, semi-empty, manipulable rubric with which to peddle a broad array of products (testimonies, films, novels, excavations, corpses, or objects) for the growing nostalgia market" ("Toward" 219). López-Quiñones summarizes Resina's argument saying: Resina disregards well-intended humanists or conciliatory positions about the politics of memory in Spain and demands a type of remembrance with clear, transformative intention.

Moreover, and as this chapter will show, the performative aspect of the recovery of human remains is a crucial component of the clear transformative intention of remembrance stressed by Resina:

> Rituals of remembrance facilitate the disentangling of the living
>
> from the departed. Such rituals are at the foundation of culture and
>
> at the origin of sedentary society—in other words, of the state. To
>
> lie in state is to be placed in public view for honors accorded prior
>
> to burial. Public honoring of the deceased sustains the
>
> transcendence that the state claims with respect to each subject,
>
> lifting bereavement from the private to the social sphere. (229-30)

Fundamental to the recovery of memory is the official recognition of actions perpetrated during the postwar period. The public witness of the performance of the burial legitimizes the loss and pain of the defeated. Until 2007, the task of recuperating the disappeared had fallen almost exclusively on family members or local municipalities, yet, as Resina explains in the quote above, it is fundamental that the process of recovery and reburial be witnessed by the entire Spanish nation, not only the family members immediately affected by the loss. Theories of performance help elucidate the necessity for family members to undergo the performance of a proper burial before a witnessing audience. Richard Schechner describes the relationship between rituals and performance in his book *Performance Studies: An Introduction*, when he recalls sociologist Émile Durkheim's theories on how performing rituals create and sustain social solidarity: "He insisted that although rituals may communicate or express religious ideas, rituals were not ideas or abstractions, but performances enacting known patterns of behavior and texts. Rituals don't so much express ideas as embody them" (57). The embodiment of the performance

makes the ritual of burial and the search for the missing a fundamental process in the recuperation of historical memory. The performance or the enactment of a ritual creates social solidarity, inscribes cultural behavior, and sediments collective memory, while at the same time legitimizing the suffering sustained by the vanquished, held silent for decades.

Acts of Transfer: Performance of Rituals

Like Schechner, Diana Taylor describes inherited behavior as "acts of transfer" instilled through performative rituals, such as funerals. In *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*, Taylor categorizes performance as the "many practices and events—dance, theatre, ritual, political rallies, funerals—that involve theatrical, rehearsed, or conventional/event appropriate behaviors" (3), and she describes the important role these acts of performance play in society: "[p]erformances function as vital acts of transfer, transmitting social knowledge, memory, and a sense of identity" (2). Without these performances, social knowledge and memory stagnate. In his book *How Societies Remember*, sociologist and anthropologist Paul Connerton explains why performance plays a crucial role in acts of transfer: "to study the social formation of memory is to study those acts of transfer that make remembering in common possible" (39). The "acts of transfer" Connerton singles out as having crucial importance to the formation of social memories are commemorative ceremonies (i.e., funerals) and bodily practices because only those (more or less ritualistic) performances can show the images and recollected knowledge of the past (40). Richard Schechner calls these acts of transfer "twice-behaved behavior" (36) in his book *Between Theater and Anthropology*. The performative aspect of the funeral and burial of bodies serves as a way for families to transmit appropriate behaviors and memories to future generations. In Spain, the silence surrounding

24

mass graves and the desire to keep the secrets buried have not permitted families to grieve in the socially prescribed fashion, thereby implanting a fissure in historical memory.

In Taylor's study, she suggests that writing has come to stand in for and against embodiment (or physical performances) because Western epistemologies value the transcendence of the written word over the impermanence of performance rituals. For Taylor, modern culture places more significance on the written word over embodied performance, but she explains that "embodied expression has participated and will probably continue to participate in the transmission of social knowledge, memory, and identity pre- and postwriting" (16). In the case of post-Francoist society, a clear issue arises because of the numerous false documents and testimonies about the disappeared in newspapers, public reports, and official government documents produced during the postwar years (Isaac Rosa refers to these falsifications of documents and testimonies in his novel *El vano ayer*, as discussed in Chapter Two). The embodied expression—or physical performance—of burial for the missing was restricted by the dictatorship, leaving only falsely written testimonies to recount events in its stead. Taylor examines how writing equals power (18) and how writing creates a strained relationship between written and spoken words, as oral testimony is subsumed by written histories. Again, we can draw a line from this theory of power that extends to the government that falsified documents and restricted the performance of the burial. Novelists Ferrero, Rosa, and Trapiello, and the documentary filmmakers Montse Armengou & Ricard Belis, Alfonso Domingo & Itiziar Bernaola, Schwaiger, and Jesús Zamora & Gustavo Castrillejo seek to recover memories of surviving family members by illustrating the performance of recuperating bodies from mass graves in order to disseminate memory and enact closure. By using the performance of the search for the missing as their basis of study, these writers and documentarians establish their projects

on the enduring physicality of bones. In order to legitimize their final product they create texts (i.e., their novels and documentaries) founded on the union of the performance with their materiality of the archive (i.e., physical remains of victims).

The alliance of the performance with the text is fundamental for Taylor, who explains the interaction of the embodied performance and the written word: "The rift . . . does not lie between the written and spoken word, but between the *archive* of supposedly enduring material (i.e., texts, documents, buildings, <u>bones</u>) and the so-called ephemeral *repertoire* of embodied practice/knowledge (i.e., spoken language, dance, sports, <u>ritual</u>)" (19) (underlined emphasis added). Taylor explains the difference of the archive and repertoire as follows: "'Archival' memory exists as documents, maps, literary texts, letters, archeological remains, bones, videos, films, CDs, all those items supposedly resistant to change" (19),[5] whereas "[t]he repertoire . . . enacts embodied memory: performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing—in short, all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral, nonreproducible knowledge. . . . The repertoire requires presence: people participate in the production and reproduction of knowledge by 'being there,' being part of the transmission" (20). Taylor gives an example of how the archive and the repertoire work in tandem: "Innumerable practices in the most literate societies require both an archival and an embodied dimension: weddings need both the performative utterances of 'I do' and the signed contract; the legality of a court decision lies in the combination of the live trial and the recorded outcome; the performance of a claim contributes to its legality" (21). In order to be recognized and validated, both the archive and repertoire fuse to legitimize the actions and

---

[5] A note on the "literary texts" referenced in this quote. I do not encapsulate the novels in Chapter 2 into this definition of the archive because they were not written during the Civil War or postwar years.

only by working together can the performance occur. If we carry this idea to death (rather than the uniting force of a wedding) we see how the bones of the individuals (as well as oral and written testimonies) comprise the archive and the funeral/burial rite embodies the repertoire. Without the bodies from the mass graves (the archival unit), family members cannot enact the repertoire (the burial). Without the two forces working in conjunction, the prescribed social transmission of memory and knowledge breaks down.

Both the archive and repertoire are important and have a necessary bond: "There is an advantage to thinking about a repertoire performed through dance, theatre, song, ritual, witnessing, healing practices, memory paths, and the many other forms of repeatable behaviors as something that cannot be housed or contained in an archive" (Taylor 37). Considering mass graves and the disappeared from the Spanish Civil War, we can see how without the archive of the physical bones, the surviving family members did not have the means to perform the necessary repertoire and could not adequately mourn their loss; they could not bury their dead and only now with the recovery of the archive, can the actual repertoire occur. With the opening of these graves, the grieving process can begin as the community of individuals performs the repertoire of the burial.

In the case of the Spanish exhumations, performative action does not limit itself to the funerary act: the performance extends to the search for the missing as well. Prior to the formation of the ARMH in 2000, family members had little means and no funding to search for family members whose remains resided in mass graves. Their recovery efforts remained within their local social sphere and lacked the necessary witnesses to create the embodied repertoire. With the enactment of the Historical Memory Law in October 2007, the disinterment of graves became a public enterprise facilitated by the government, thereby giving communities a witness

to the rituals of reburial. Recognition by the State and Spanish public of the search for missing family members, gives survivors an opportunity to express suppressed experiences from the postwar period that in turn allows them to heal from the years of repressed memories. The quest to locate the bodies of familial and affiliative relations becomes a ritual passed down through the generations. The recuperation process, and interviews and testimonies that often accompany them also serve the purpose of recuperating historical memory by recording experiences obscured by the Franco dictatorship. While the ultimate goal of the search for victims of the Franco regime is locating missing family members from mass graves in an attempt to give them proper recognition and a place for survivors to mourn, the acknowledgment by the Spanish public of the efforts behind the search transforms their pursuit into a performance that recuperates memories as much as the burial act. When considering the documentaries (and novels in the following chapter), the theories of performance described above will assist in illustrating the driving need for family members to find and rebury their dead.

Recording the Ritual

Les fosses del silenci and Las fosas del Olvido

Gina Herrmann's article "Mass Graves on Spanish TV: A Tale of Two Documentaries," gives a concrete example of the exhumation debate by comparing two documentaries on the subject: *Les fosses del silenci* (*Silenci*), by filmmakers Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis, and *Las fosas del olvido* (*Olvido*), by Alfonso Domingo and Itiziar Bernaola. *Silenci* aired on Catalan television in a two part series on March 2 and 9, 2003. A companion book entitled *Las fosas del silencio: ¿Hay un Holocausto español?* accompanied this film series and contains interviews, copies of archival documents and photographs that were used in creation of the documentary.

Olvido aired nearly one year later, on January 28, 2004, on the TVE national TV network series *Documentos.*

Herrmann compares the two films and comments on her experience while watching the "two counterposed documentaries: one, *Silenci*, that couches the stories of Republican dead within concrete historic-political contexts, and the other, *Olvido*, that turns on a fetishization of dead bodies at a troubling historical remove from the political circumstances that occasioned extrajudicial assassinations" (171). As Hermann notes, the focus and scope of the documentaries are vastly different: "[*Silenci*] "examines the social, political, and military contexts of three regions in Spain in which mass executions of Republicans were carried out by Nationalists, Falangists, and the civil guard" (169). But *Olvido* does not trace the trajectory of the War or examine the social and political contexts after the defeat of the Republican government; instead it explores the current political climate of a Spain that is confronting the Pact of Silence instituted after the death of Franco to ensure a smooth transition to democracy. Herrmann describes the ethically troubling ways *Olvido* "evades discourse of recrimination and guilt" (176), noting that the greatest oversight or indignity "is the lack of political, vocational, communal, socioeconomic, or ideological context in the presentation of the lives of the now unburied Republican dead. The audience never discovers *why* these people were targeted for elimination by the Nationalists" (176-7). However, the purpose of *Olvido* is not to explore the context of the War and postwar periods. This one-hour documentary focuses on the discovery process of mass graves from the Spanish Civil War, as well as archeological, anthropological and scientific process of unearthing these unmarked burial sites in an effort to give them a "dignified ritual of reburial [to] activate a cathartic response to what seemed to be a limitless temporal and affective expanse of uncertainty, shame, grief, rage" (Herrmann 173).

Suspicions of decontextualized exhumations are valid concerns (as Labanyi "Testimonies," López-Quiñones and Resina discuss in their articles cited above) and the scope of a project like *Silenci* exemplifies how testimonies and historical memory should be recorded: it includes a two-hour, two-part documentary and an accompanying hardcover book with details omitted from the film, providing a more precise, clear picture of the dictatorship. But *Olvido*'s purpose is to spotlight the need to uncover mass graves by focusing on the search for the missing by family members, not give a recapitulation of the circumstances leading to the excavation of the mass graves. I contend that these documentaries should be analyzed for the performative value of their content. The importance of properly documenting the locations and objects found in mass graves is of principal importance for memorializing the historical facts that led to the creation of the gravesite and providing the families with accurate accounts of the events surrounding the disappearance of their family members.

Herrmann explains that "people in the historical memory community have constructed . . . two rival documentaries: the acclaimed Catalan *Silenci* and the more criticized *Olvido*" (171-2); her article pits the two films against each other. She notes the similarities of the films— "[t]hrough the traditional codes and material processes of the interviews, archival footage, and representation of archival documents as the fundamental epistemological sources of the past, the filmmakers in both cases create the perception of a dialogic approach to their subject" (172)—as well as the differences: "Whereas *Silenci* highlights the testimonies of respected Spanish historians of differing ideological persuasions, in *Olvido* the work of summarizing the historical record is left, oddly to a group of well-known Spanish novelists . . . who have recently published fiction in the vein of "historical memory," focusing on the Spanish Civil War and the Franco dictatorship" (172). Herrmann fails to mention that *Olvido* includes historical and academic

authorities, incorporating historian Javier Cervera and attorney Carlos Castresana, who has

worked on behalf of several groups striving to recover the *desaparecidos* as the commissioner

for the Comisión Internacional contra la Impunidad en Guatemala (CICIG). The difference in the

length of the two documentaries could account for the smaller amount of expert testimony in

Olvido than in *Silenci*. The filmmakers of *Olvido* put forth an effort to explain that, after the War,

the dead from of nationalist troops were sought out in their mass graves and given a proper burial

while this right was forbidden to the republicans. In *Olvido*, Emilio Silva—the founder of the

Asociación para la recuperación de la memoria histórica (ARMH), the association largely

responsible for the disinterment of mass graves occurring throughout Spain since 2000—

explains that Franco put out a call to recover the bodies of the fallen Nationalists after the War.

These bodies were given a proper burial, families compensated, and the fallen given the status of

heroes. Silva argues for these actions to be taken on behalf of fallen Republican fighters, who

had never received these honors. The fact that those who lost the War could not dignify their

dead with a proper burial is the reason that *Olvido* focuses primarily on the process of recovery.

Herrmann analyzes the two documentaries through three interrelated themes, and while

not all the negative connotations that Herrmann attributes to *Olvido* are valid, including the

omissions named above (such as the lack of expert testimony), the purpose of this chapter is not

to debate Herrmann's assessment.[6] Her third point is of particular interest to the aims of this

---

[6] Another point of contention is the second concern she examines, regarding "how the films cast

younger people as the recipients of a complex and traumatic history and how, in turn, the

spectator is interpolated in this dynamic of historical reception" (173). While there are references

and diatribes from the current generation of Spaniards and their attempts to reconcile the past—

such as the encounter with the young, guitar-wielding Spaniard, Manuel Ortega—but a majority

chapter. She questions "the epistemological status of the bones . . . what are the bones meant to mean in each documentary? How might we conceive of an endpoint for these bones on their symbolic and physical journey from their original improper burial site to the new consecrated space that may inhabit with equal unquiet?" (173). From the beginning of the film, *Olvido* focuses exclusively on the mass graves, the disinterment of bodies, and the cadavers. Herrmann considers this a fetishization of the bodies rather than a factual recording of the exhumation process. I argue that the filmmakers aim to represent the disinterment process in order to help the families ultimately gain the right to perform a reburial for family members whose deaths were silenced. Herrmann explains why the exhumations are fundamental: "When excavations of mass gravesites incorporate systems of narrative support for the family members, including the collection of testimonies, acknowledgment of the victims' political activities, discussion about the period of repression, among other methods, the funerary rites and performances that surround death become part of a larger process of potential closure" (173).

Let us consider the exhumation of the bones in *Silenci* and *Olvido* in light of the theories of performance previously described. The first part of *Silenci*'s two-part series focuses on the effects of the War and postwar on Zafra, Extremadura, specifically how present-day citizens continue confronting the silenced history of the disappeared from the War and postwar periods in their town. The second part of the documentary moves the action to Catalonia and concentrates on the search for mass graves in order to recuperate the bodies of the family members who are the focus of the documentary. Through the oral testimony of survivors and archival documentation, the filmmakers follow families as they investigate the circumstances of the

---

of the witnesses that they interview in both documentaries are the children and/or wives of those lost in the War. They are of the previous, not the current, generation.

murder of their family members. The documentary culminates with the search for a missing

miner activist, Jose Landera Cachon, known as *Periquete*.

Silenci shows the search for the bodies of the missing, while focusing on specific cases,

Olvido closely follows the work of the scientific teams at the forefront of excavation occurring

throughout Spain. The filmmakers document the exhumation, as well as the families' testimonies

and reactions to the search for and recuperation of bones from the various mass graves. *Olvido*

stresses the role of survivors in the recuperation efforts and the fundamental part they play in

identifying the remains of victims. *Silenci* methodically interviews family members who lost

loved ones during the War and postwar periods. In part one, titled "La limpieza," the

documentarians follow survivors around present-day Zafra as they relate their memories about

the loss of relatives or murders witnessed in or around the town. As the title of the documentary

suggests, the silence accompanying the terror of violence under the Franco regime tortured the

defeated. The driving need to find their missing family members in order to give them a proper

burial connects the testimonies together. Part one of the documentary illustrates the ritualistic

aspect of the search for missing family members. The fact that family members disappeared

without relatives knowing their destiny, or knowing where their graves were located, continues

to weigh heavily on their minds. The documentary shows how survivors join together to compile

facts about family members who disappeared from the same place. In part one of the

documentary, Aurora Navas recalls the day her mother, Matilde, disappeared. A neighbor

denounced her mother because she was married to a socialist organizer and she was taken away

with twelve other people in the middle of the night. As the eldest of three sisters, Navas hid the

truth of the disappearance of her mother from her younger sisters, but says that not knowing how

her mother died continues to haunt her. She only imagines the horrors that could befall her

mother that resulted in her death. The hunt for the body of her mother remains at the forefront of Navas' mind even decades after her death.

Part two of the documentary, named "Las listas," focuses on the mass graves dotting the Catalan countryside and on why family members feel the need to find their lost family members so they can finally heal from the pains of the War. Jaume Freixa illustrates the need for the ritualistic elements of the burial and mourning process. The segment opens at the site where he believes his mother's body rests. Freixa reminisces about his mother's disappearance as he lays flowers on her supposed burial site. She was assassinated alongside eight other civilian women, elderly and young. As tears well in his eyes, he says: "No hay ser vivo que no sienta algo por sus padres, hermanos y familiares y es muy doloroso que por todos los Santos no pueda llevar un ramo de flores a un lugar concreto. Que no pueda llevar un ramo de flores a mi madre. Eso es muy grave porque todo el mundo lo lleva [*sic*]" (9:32-9:55). The desire for a concrete space to mourn in the socially prescribed way will help allay some of Freixa's pain.

Sisters Asunción Alvarez and Isabel Gonzalez exemplify how two people with differing ideological principles have the same desire to give the bones of their relatives a proper burial. The sisters lost their two brothers in 1937 just after the War broke out near the town of León, close to Asturias. Both brothers remain interred in a mass grave outside the city and the sisters arrive to witness the unearthing of the mass grave in the hopes of recovering their bodies. As the sisters walk along the pasture where they believe their brothers' remains lie, the narrator notes the disparity in the belief system of the two sisters, describing Asunción as a devout Catholic and saying that Isabel is a self-proclaimed non-believer, active in the syndicalist movement during the War (17:42). Ideologically, the sisters could not find themselves further apart on the spectrum, but when it comes to the topic of finding the bodies of their family members, they both

agree. Asunción says "Yo soy cristiana, católica, apostólica. Quiero llevarlos al cementerio porque creo que Dios quiere que yo viniera aquí a verlos – porque quiero abrazar los huesos. Por deber, por obligación y por mis padres. Porque mi madre y mi padre descansaran tranquilos sabiendo que sus hijos están allí con ellos [*sic*]" (18:50-19:29). Isabel does not link the search for her brothers to a religious end. Instead, she points to the societal norms expected for the dead to be laid to rest in a cemetery. She says: "Yo, a pesar de no ser creyente en eso de la iglesia y eso todo, yo comprendo que los cementerios se han hecho para llevar ahí los seres muertos queridos y sin querer. O sea que, ¿los cementerios para que están hechos? Para enterar a los muertos [*sic*]" (19:30-19:47). Both sisters—while self-professed as ideologically contrary—describe the desire to undergo the ritualistic performance of a funeral, where they bury their loved ones in a space suitable for proper mourning.

As Asunción and Isabel bring flowers to the gravesite, another survivor, Ricardo Suárez, joins them. He and others have known the location of the mass grave, but could never reclaim the bodies because of the dictatorship (20:00). Not until present-day have they been able to uncover the graves. The survivors are joined by a group of volunteer archeologists to unearth the grave known as the *fosa de Piedrafita*. When the archeologists begin to remove the dirt, sisters Asunción and Isabel express their excitement for finally reaching this point in their journey, but they remain apprehensive because the remains of their brothers could be absent. Archeologists unearthed seven cadavers, but it takes forensic scientists and anthropologists months of testing to try and identify the remains while the families continue waiting.

Another survivor, Isidra Gonzales, describes the anguish of being unable to properly mourn disappeared family members: "No podían ponerse de luto por ellos. Todo el mundo se ponía de luto. Ahora ya no existe y está muy bien, pero no podían poner una bata negra ellos, no

podían llevarles flores porque no lo sabían a ciencia cierto. Se lo decían pero nunca han tenido una partida de defunción, ni un dato que justificaran que los mataban allí [*sic*]" (36:30-36:53). Not having the ability to undergo the performative function of mourning the dead through funerary rituals deeply affected survivors and only through the current search and reburial can these wounds begin healing. Testimonies about the need to find family members in order to give them a proper burial, like the examples above, populate *Silenci*. Clearly the need to heal and receive recognition for the pain caused by the silenced mass graves remains palpable in the survivors.

The survivors who relay their testimonies in *Olvido* echo similar sentiments towards the importance of the burial process. *Olvido* centers on the memories of survivors from throughout Spain: Recas (Toledo), Olmedillo de Roa (Burgos), Paracuellos (Madrid). From the beginning of the documentary, family members reiterate their desire to have a location where they could mourn the disappeared. Walking through the cemetery of Lanjarón in Granada, Manuel Ortega explains how his great grandfather's remains from a mass grave were relocated to another unmarked mass grave to make room for the expansion of the town cemetery. Instead of properly reburying his remains, the city officials simply transported the remains from one mass grave to another. Ortega comments: "Yo me preguntaba por qué a mi familiar no puedo hacer lo mismo que hace cualquiera familiares que tiene su seres queridos enterrados aquí—que es visitarlos y llevarles flores [*sic*]" (30:15-30:26). Ortega's inability to perform the quotidian acts of a family member mourning the death of their loved ones—the act of visiting their grave and bringing them flowers—weighs heavily on the Spanish youth.

The filmmakers dedicate the last ten minutes of the fifty-five minute documentary to watching the performance of the rituals of reburial. After the disinterment of the bodies in Recas,

Toledo where the documentary began, the archeologists have discovered and identified the remains of seven victims. The family members decide to bury the seven bodies together again so as to not erase the memory of how the victims were murdered, but this time they bury them together with dignity in the town's cemetery. A priest blesses the remains as family members look on together as a community of witnesses. Family members then place the remains together in a coffin and pallbearers carry the casket through the town to the cemetery and its final resting place. Families read dedications and toss flowers onto the tomb of the loved ones they lost. Juana Bargueño echoes the sentiments expressed by other survivors: "Antes de venir aquí lo pasamos muy mal. Y al llegar y ver que ya lo estabais abriendo y eso. Pero a la vez, yo personalmente sentí mucha satisfacción porque veo que vamos a ser mayores y que estos restos iba a andar por aquí [*sic*]" (48:10-48:25).

These documentaries point to the importance of the performative rituals throughout the different stages of the recovery process. *Silenci* and, even more so, *Olvido* documents the entire process of exhumation; from the role of the archeologists who painstakingly looks for the physical burial sites based on 60-year old memories, to the anthropologists who reconfigure the bones now intertwined after years of decomposition, leading finally to the forensic scientists that perform DNA and mitochondrial DNA sequencing using the blood of familial survivors. The process of identification relies completely on the community of witnesses and family members. What makes the recovery process even more personal for family members is the need to provide blood or tissue samples to match bones to names. The years dedicated to searching for disappeared family members serve the ritualistic function of recuperating historical memory by documenting memories of survivors through interviews and film.

Santa Cruz, por ejemplo

Santa Cruz, por ejemplo directed by Günter Schwaiger, best illustrates the confluence of a community of healing through performance while recuperating historical memory. The documentary revolves around the town of Santa Cruz de la Salceda in the province of Burgos and, specifically, the unearthing of a local mass grave. Through the disinterment process, family members and neighbors recount their War and postwar memories. Half way between Madrid and the city of Burgos, Santa Cruz de la Salceda fell to the rebel invaders in the early days of the Civil War. The opening text of the film summarizes the premise of the documentary: a few weeks after the fall of Burgos in late July 1936, nine residents of the village were shot and buried in a mass grave. Between October 2003 and the summer of 2004, residents collaborated with the ARMH to exhume the bodies from the grave and rebury them in the town's cemetery. The documentary is comprised of images of the exhumations, as well as interviews of survivors searching for remains, and rightwing sympathizers and government officials that continue to live in Santa Cruz de la Salceda. In a small town with scarcely one hundred inhabitants, the conflict over recovering memories from the War remains palpable throughout the film.

The reburial in the local cemetery of the recovered bodies bookends the documentary. The opening scene of the documentary is the peak of the film, where the audience observes a procession of family members and villagers walking down the main road, accompanying the remains to the cemetery (00:01:11-00:03:03). Once the processional arrives at its destination, a priest presides over the rites of committal. Family members not only stand alongside the newly dug gravesite openly mourning the loss of their loved ones, but help dig the new grave and place the remains within the site. All pick up shovels to reinter their loved ones. They too decide to bury the remains from the mass grave in the same cemetery plot. The men remain together in

their new resting place at the hands of friends and neighbors. In the final scene of the documentary, the camera pans to a panoramic shot of the village with the town's cemetery in the distance (01:03:31-01:04:50). The camera draws close to a solitary man: Florencio Martín, whose father was assassinated and buried in the mass grave, as he begins the process of digging the new resting place in the cemetery for the recovered bodies. Then the scene changes back to the opening view of the processional walking down the street, carrying the remains to the cemetery. The filmmaker signals the importance of the ritual as an act of closure by using the processional and funeral scene as the opening and closing images for the documentary.

The mass grave in Santa Cruz loomed over the inhabitants of the town for decades. While no one spoke publicly (or even privately) about the mass grave, they knew of its existence only 50 kilometers away from the town. Elisa Ramiro states that she accompanied her aunt Paula to Vadocondes, to the rumored location of the mass grave, two days after they assassinated six men from the village. The two women followed a set of tire tracks from *La Matona* or "The Killer"— the name given to the military truck used to transport prisoners—and soon came upon a newly dug grave.[7] On the floor, they found several scattered documents. They picked up one of the documents and found an electricity bill belonging to Santiago Miguel. The two women suspected that guards searched the prisoners prior to executing them and left everything strewn around. Another (unnamed) survivor backs up her claim that the townspeople knew the location of the mass grave: "A bit of the shoe was visible, because a dog had been digging, not because it hadn't been covered" (12:39-12:56). He says that the land upon which the grave had been dug belonged

---

[7] The involvement of *La Matona* recurs throughout the film. Brother Mariano and Aurelio Gomez recall how their father was taken: "They put them in a truck. They called it *La Matona*, the 'Killer car.' They said it whistled and anybody fearful would hide" (8:30-8:43).

to him. Schwaiger asks Carlos "Was it known at the time that…[the grave was there]?" and Carlos replies: "Yes, yes, yes, two days later the whole village knew. (12:56-13:06). Living with the knowledge that the bones of their family members, friends and neighbors resided in an unmarked mass grave minutes from their homes weighs heavily on the survivors. In *Santa Cruz*, the villagers reclaim their family members from the mass grave that haunted them for decades; the site acts as the performative platform from which to express the loss they experienced in a public forum, surrounded by survivors who suffered similar circumstances.

The gravesite itself acts as a catalyst for the recuperation and sharing of memories. Family members participate in the recuperation process as much as the archeological team excavating the site. They unearth the trench with shovels (5:11-5:18), sift through materials found in the dirt recovering relics such as bullets (13:17-13:32), and work together to reinter the remains in the town cemetery (2:28-3:00). The survivors assemble around the mass grave with photographs of their lost ones, so as to make visible the connection that continues between themselves and the dead (7:07-7:40). Family members congregate around the grave as a community to recount the similar ways in which the Falange or the civil guards confiscated their loves ones. The filmmakers intercut the testimony of several of the survivors (see Trinidad Miguel and Concha Arroyo Miguel 4:15-7:05) regarding how they witnessed their father and grandfather (respectively) being carried away, never to return. Stories from other survivors are added to the chorus of narratives that describe the detention of family members (8:15-8:30; 8:30-8:45). The collage of stories formed by the memories of family members generates commonality between survivors, while also lending credibility and recognition of their persecution. Jesús Zamora, the director of *Olvidados*, also uses the tactic of layering stories to effect the same results, as will be discussed in the following section.

40

Schwaiger interviews some of the local townspeople to gain insight into their feelings about the recuperation efforts near their homes. Most residents interviewed understood that the desire to locate the bodies was natural and necessary (52:59-53:59). One interviewee says "I think it's good. Don't you think so? To put the bones in their box, one for each of them, I think that's good." (53:10-53:23). Schwaiger approaches a group of seven women standing in the town center to discuss the issue—an action that would have been unthinkable a decade before the film. All agree that the disinterment should have occurred long ago. One of the ladies, while covering her face, agrees with recuperation efforts, but also laments the delay: "That's what I say, why so long? That's a long time without a proper burial" (53:45-53:59). But not all the residents of Santa Cruz de la Salceda agree with the disinterment of the local area graves. Two examples in the film demonstrate the palpable sense of discomfort surrounding the exhumation process that still permeates the country. Schwaiger then attempts to interview a group of four men sitting on a park bench, much like the group of women he speaks with in the town square. The four men refuse to speak with him or look at the camera, until one stands up and walks away (55:00-56:00). The small encounter with this group of men exemplifies the polemic nature of the conversation about the recovery efforts.

Schwaiger also has a lengthy conversation with Mercedes Perdiguero, mayor of Santa Cruz de la Salceda from 1991-2003 and a member of the conservative Partido Popular (PP), who believes exhuming the bodies is inappropriate because of the sanctity of a buried corpse. She conveniently eschews the fact that the cadavers never received a proper burial, which many consider sacrilegious. Perdiguero states that she actively worked with the local corporative to halt proposals from the public to exhume the graves because "we didn't think it was appropriate to stir up the past" (50:39-51:12). She continues, saying: "I think it's good for them to rest, and

not go back over events of forty years ago. I don't really see the sense. If you know where they're buried, you can deal with it privately and say, 'I'm going to get an excavator, but on my own account because I know they're here.' . . . No, it's a private matter. I don't look back, I don't know about it" (51:13-52:00). The bodies have been resting in an unmarked grave for over forty years, but the family members remain restless in their search for them. As the mayor, Perdiguero actively fought against the will of the majority of residents of the town to unearth the grave. When the current mayor, Juan Manuel Gil, took office after Perdiguero, he approved the exhumations in 2003 saying: "These were the residents of the town, and it had to be approved. It is not very expensive for the council, and I don't think this will rake over history" (52:05-52:20). While Gil also represents the PP, he recognized the need for his constituents to find and rebury their dead.

Dr. Francisco Etxeberria, professor of medical forensics who collaborates with ARMH, explains the important undertaking of the exhumations from a scientific and historical perspective: "To open these graves as they did at the beginning of Spanish Democracy when some families took the remains without any advice to the cemeteries might be a problem, because there is no testimony, no photographic or video record, no technical reports to prove that this was true. " (29:46-30:04). Dr. Etxeberria describes the multifaceted investigation team of twenty that he leads in the Basque country—comprised of historians, archeologists, doctors, anthropologists—in order to direct a proper and complete exhumation. Determining how events occurred through the excavation process and keeping accurate records of exhumations are important facets for the recuperation of historical memory.

Regardless of one's stance on the exhumations, in the film the families are compelled to publicly recover the bodies of their missing family members. After the archeological team

uncovered the bones and before removing them from the mass grave, archeologist Lourdes

Herrasti analyzes the team's findings for the camera. Family members gather around the exposed

remains while Herrasti describes in detail how the bodies lay upon their death (31:20-31:44). The

families raptly listen to Herrasti's report and afterwards Schwaiger asks, "What does all this

mean to you?" He presents a montage of responses from the family members surrounding the

mass grave. Concha Arroyo Miguel explains that "[t]his means everything. Everything. Because

so much happened. I was six. Now, this means a great deal. When I heard on the radio that they

were doing this in other towns but nothing had been said here, I immediately went to work"

(32:47-33:18). Carlos Miguel explains: "[a]t least I know where they are and where they're

going. I didn't know that until now" (33:19-33:28). One unnamed family member breaks into

tears and only says: "Extremely glad" (33:29-33:42). Luis Mariano Gómez, grandson of one of

the recovered bodies (Demetrio Gómez García), describes the generational differences:

> Maybe this means more to my father who was here yesterday,
>
> ending a phase of asking: where's his father, how did his father
>
> disappear? For me it means also something very important. I knew
>
> my grandfather was somewhere here, but we were always denied
>
> information . . . so it's important to understand why your
>
> grandfather was shot, why your father had to live through those
>
> difficult times as a nine-year-old child: the shame, the vengeance,
>
> the insults. (33:43-34:46)

Seeing the physical bones of their relatives validates memories from childhood and authenticates

stories to post-Franco generations. Finding the bullets used by the perpetrators of the

assassinations personifies the imagined fates of family members, but it also allows survivors to close a painful chapter in their family's history.

Olvidados

Like the films discussed thus far, the two documentaries that I analyze below (*Olvidados* and *Death in El Valle*) highlight the recuperation efforts of family members, but both films struggle to varying degrees with contextualizing the exhumations. *Olvidados* (Jesús Zamora and Gustavo Castrillejo, 2004) focuses on one specific town—Villamayor de los Montes, Burgos— and the disinterment of a local mass grave titled the *Fosa del Monte* where the Falange buried nine villagers towards the beginning of the war in August of 1936. The events in *Olvidados* occurred less than an hour's drive from the events that occurred in *Santa Cruz, por ejemplo*. The 41-minute documentary mimics the format of *Olvido* and *Silenci* in the presentation of a collage of testimonies from survivors (both witnesses of the events and family from the next generation), newspaper clippings about Burgos during the beginnings of the war, archival photographs, interviews with a representative from the ARMH, views of the local cemetery, and bulldozers exposing the *Fosa del Monte*. The documentary attempts to describe the effects of the war on families by reconstructing memories in three stages: 1) describing how family members were taken from their homes, 2) the role religious and political affiliation played in the disappearances, and 3) the search for bodies of the missing in an attempt to rebury the remains. Filmmakers achieve the division of the three stages by echoing the testimonies of survivors on the same topic. Since their disappearance during the early days of the war, it was rumored that several villagers were buried in a mass grave on the outskirts of town. The opening credits of the film feature a view of the disinterment process, as a bulldozer unearths the gravesite (*Olvidados, pt. 1 of 3,* 1:00-1:15). By starting the film with the disinterment of the grave, the filmmakers

signal the axis upon which the documentary revolves. The central concept of the mass grave recovery allows family members to delve into the three themes named above and demonstrates the importance of the search for relatives lost during the War as told through their words.

The testimonies begin with descriptions by witnesses of how Francoist troops removed family members from their homes. These accounts echo the memories recounted in *Santa Cruz, por ejemplo.* Survivors describe parallel stories of how their fathers, grandfathers, brothers, and uncles were detained in front of their families, never to be seen again. Paulino Lozano, nephew of Vicente Díez—one of the nine suspected to be in the mass grave—, aptly sums up the situation in which many families found themselves after the disappearance of their relatives: "Mi tía sufrió mucho. Más que él porque a él le mataron como a cualquier persona y ya se acabó, como dicen todos. Pero ella llevó un calvario muy grande que, eso a mí, yo lo llevo muy dentro del corazón" (*Olvidados, pt. 1 of 3,* 4:00-4:22). The family whose loved ones disappeared suffered most, as their loss was never properly resolved or mourned. For many of the family members interviewed in *Olvidados*, the resolution of this loss comes through locating the remains of their dead and reburying them.

In the third stage of the film—the documentation of the recovery from mass graves—the film captures the process of recovery by a community of witnesses. Family members gather to watch as the bulldozers remove the earth from the grave, and as the archeological team methodically cleans and catalogues the recouped bodies. Interspersed between shots of the excavation are testimonies from survivors explaining what they knew about the grave during the War and dictatorship (*Olvidados, pt. 3 of 3,* 00:25-2:53; 4:56-5:50). After watching the recovery process, the last three minutes are dedicated to the importance of finding and reburying the recovered bodies. The camera scene alternates between the mass grave and the local cemetery.

45

Zacarías Díez, grandson of the assassinated Zacarías Díez, verbalizes the importance of the reburial: "En vez de estar en la cuneta, igual que los perros, que vayan al cementerio, precisamente los que construyeron el cementerio de Villa de los Montes. Si se consiguen llevarles ahí, pues habremos satisfecho la voluntad que tenía mi tío, que los restos de su padre descansaran en el cementerio" (*Olvidados, pt. 3 of 3,* 8:00-8:23). The use of the verb *descansar* (meaning *to rest*) by Díez serves to highlight the physical and emotional relief that families experience once they relocate the bodies of their loved ones to a dignified location.

The film acts as a performative platform for family members, but falls short in some notable areas. Several melodramatic moments detract from the seriousness of the subject matter. One example appears when discussing some common ways that Francoist troops assassinated prisoners, such as the *paseos* or *sacas* previous described. After the ARMH representative, José Ignacio Casado, describes the tactics, the director pans to a full moon in the sky. The audience then hears the rumblings of a truck engine approach. The engine stops and all the audience hears are dozens of gunshots, followed by crickets (*Olvidados, pt. 1 of 3,* 08:23-08:46). The melodramatic style of certain scenes in the film does not undermine the importance of its work or its function as a cathartic experience for survivors recovering their family members, but does signal other issues with the film. Aside from the melodramatic moments, the filmmakers fail to explain the role of the historical photographs they intermingle with testimonies. The audience is left to imagine the relationship of the speaker with the images that appear and disappear at random. Victims and family members are not clearly identified. Again, the lack of identification is problematic, but does not discredit the film as a successful vehicle for the recuperation of historical memory; it does, however, point to the most glaring misstep of the film.

The documentary fails to draw a clear connection between the nine victims recovered from the mass grave and the family members of the survivors in the film. Despite spending one third of the documentary observing the specific disinterment process in search of the missing nine, the film never states if the bodies found in the mass grave belong to the nine men. The film ends with a dedication to those assassinated by Franco's regime in Villamayor de los Montes including a list of the nine men from the mass grave, but the audience never learns if the families interviewed reached a resolution to their search.[8] The constant camera flashing to the local cemetery and the statements from family who wish to rebury the remains in a dignified place signals the ultimate resting place for the bodies recovered in Villamayor de los Montes. The audience knows that family will rebury the remains in the cemetery. In reviewing the documentation with data relating to the gravesites published quarterly by the Spanish Ministry of Justice, it indicates that the grave in Villamayor de los Montes contained 46 bodies, not only the nine from the town which is the focus of the film.

Death in El Valle

The documentaries analyzed above recuperate memory through the search for and reburial of lost family members by including a community of witnesses in the recuperation efforts, but in *Death in El Valle* filmmaker C.M. Hardt undergoes a solitary journey to discover the whereabouts of her grandfather. The lack of community and familial support throughout the documentary creates a chasm between the filmmaker, her family and the residents of El Valle

---

[8] The nine men assassinated in Villamayor de los Montes were: "Manuel Julián (Alcalde, labrador), Antonio Lara (Consejal, labrador), Félix Azofra (Concejal, jornalero), Vicente Díez (Consejal, jornalero), Avelino Gil (Concejal, labrador), Romulado Domingo (sillero), Zacarías Díez (pastor), Gregorio Usón (jornalero)". (*Olvidados, pt. 3 of 3,* 09:28)

leading to a profound unease on behalf of survivors being forced to give testimony in the film. *Death in El Valle* revolves around the family history of the film's documentarian— a journalist and photographer. Born and raised in New York, Hardt documents the vanishing way of life in El Valle, León from behind her camera. At the beginning of the documentary, a voiceover by Hardt explains that her grandfather, Francisco Redondo, was killed during the postwar period, betrayed by someone in the village. Growing up surrounded by an outspoken family, including her uncle and mother who emigrated from Spain to the US, and cousins born in the States, Hardt describes the shock she feels because no one speaks about what happened to her grandfather and so she sets out on a journey to uncover the truth. Hardt's opening monologue ends with her synthesis of the film's object: "no one ever talked about this. Until now" (00:27-00:30). *Death in El Valle* differs from the other documentaries herein because rather than a community of witnesses recuperating their loved ones, the focus is on an individual seeking to expose the truth about the parties responsible for the death of her grandfather. Unlike the villagers in *Santa Cruz, por ejemplo*, both Hardt's family and the townspeople of El Valle discourage her search for her grandfather.

In the only scholarly article written on the film, "La fuerza del testimonio o el testimonio forzado. Construcción de la memoria de la Guerra Civil española en *Muerte en El Valle*, de Christina Hardt," Mariela Sánchez immediately signals the main flaw with Hardt's project: her solitary, unsupported journey for answers. Using theories on testimony, Sánchez exposes how Hardt—a foreigner, born and raised abroad—appropriates the words of witnesses using varying techniques. Sánchez points to the pushback from not only the townspeople of El Valle, but also family members, intimately familiar with the circumstances surrounding the death of her grandfather. According to Sánchez, the community's lack of desire to participate in the search

for her grandfather and his killers compels the protagonist/filmmaker to appropriate their words by filling in silences with leading questions and assumptions. Hardt's appropriation leads to an asymmetry of testimony (Sánchez 120), which produces tense situations, sometimes laced with hostility. *Death in El Valle* confusingly blurs the distinction between director, protagonist, and surviving family member, as Hart is a lifelong New Yorker of Spanish descent who films her individual descent into the history of a specific town. *Death in El Valle* stands in contrast to the documentaries previously discussed. While also filmed by people of varied backgrounds (both Spanish and Austrian), they observe the search for and reburial of victims, keeping a neutral perspective and allowing survivors to freely give testimony, rather than guiding their responses.

Just as survivors require a community of witnesses to validate the performance of the rituals of remembrance before the state, these rituals are often enacted within a community of witnesses; whether that community is comprised of other family members, neighbors or organizations. Theories on collective memory point to the significance of recalling the past within the current social and political climate. In his seminal work, *On Collective Memory*, Maurice Halbwachs explains how mental images from the present assist in the reconstruction of our past and that collective memory is essentially a reconstruction of the past in light of the present:

> What makes recent memories hang together is not that they are
> contiguous in time: it is rather that they are part of a totality of
> thoughts common to a group, the group of people with whom we
> have a relation at this moment, or with whom we have had a
> relation on the preceding day or days. To recall them it is hence
> sufficient that we place ourselves in the perspective of this group,

that we adopt its interest and follow the slant of its reflections.

Exactly the same process occurs when we attempt to localize older

memories. We have to place them within a totality of memories

common to other groups, groups that are narrower and more lasting,

such as our family. (52)

As seen in the documentaries studied in this chapter, survivors and their descendants surround

themselves during the disinterment process with family and neighbors who endured the Franco

era. The performance of the search and reburial of the archive does not occur unaided and

without support, but instead surrounded by those who underwent similar experiences. As

described in the documentaries, survivors often undertake a multigenerational approach to the

recuperations, surrounded by community members and family alike. This allows for the

formation of a historical memory rooted in the present, as described by Halbwachs' social

framework of memory.

The popularity and range of documentaries dedicated to historical memory recuperation,

including the unearthing of mass graves of Francoist victims, exposes the desire by the Spanish

public to witness the performance of the search and burial by family members. Still a polemical

topic for Spaniards, both socially and politically, on either side of the political spectrum, the

disinterments continue and the manner in which they are represented through cultural

productions—such as the documentaries discussed here—becomes fundamental for the

recuperation of collective historical memory. The performance of the ritual creates social unity,

inscribes behavior, and sediments memory, while at the same time legitimizing the suffering

sustained by the defeated. Traditionally performed with and for a community, the funerary rites

for the victims of Francoism are performed within and for the Spanish public in order to disseminate historical memory and enact closure.

Chapter Two. Recovering Historical Memory through the Collective Voice: The Polyphonic Narrative in 21st Century Spanish Fiction

Literary productions of the 21st century relating to the Spanish Civil War and dictatorship have experienced tremendous success with contemporary audiences, scholars, and literary circles alike. The popularity and widespread readership of the postmodern historical novel of memory not only helps recover collective memory, but assists in the construction of a new historiography of the War, the dictatorship, and the Transition after the death of Franco, to present-day Spain. As many contemporary literary critics (Kathryn Everly, Jean Franco [*Nation*], Gonzalo Sobejano [*Testimonial*], David Herzberger [*Narrating*]), writers of fiction (Jesús Ferrero, Isaac Rosa), and theorists of new historicism agree (Stephen Greenblatt, Hayden White, H. Aram Veeser), the consideration of literature alongside historical accounts generates a new register (Robert Spires [*Post-Totalitarian*])—or lens—through which to read contemporary culture. The performance of the search for and reburial of bodies as seen in narratives of the 21st century serve as fertile ground through which to recuperate memories and rewrite a Spanish historiography previously dictated by the Regime. Similar to the documentaries analyzed in Chapter 1, the historical narratives in this chapter stress the need for communities to jointly recover memory in order to contextualize recuperation efforts. This chapter analyzes *Las trece rosas* ("The Thirteen Roses") (2003) by Jesús Ferrero, *El vano ayer* ("Yesterday's False Hope") by Isaac Rosa (2003), and *Ayer no más* ("Only Yesterday") (2012) by Andrés Trapiello in order to show how, through the search for the missing, community rituals of mourning are fostered and assist in the recuperation of historical memory. I argue that the three novels highlight a polyphonic search for the victims in order to commemorate their deaths as observed by the witnessing reader. Rather than a singular voice that advances the plot or story, authors construct

their storylines by knitting together a confluence of individual voices that unite the narrative threads. The performance of the search for the missing is recounted from and performed by all familial and affiliative perspectives: by sisters, brothers, parents, children, lovers and friends. Searches that span across three generations and through all age groups show a vertical and horizontal structure in a performance that becomes inherited through the ritualistic nature of searching. Through the community of voices, authors construct an equitable historiography of remembrance. The literary portrayals of historical and fictional accounts analyzed herein help universalize the search for the disappeared—by using a polyphonic voice—and invite the reader to help build a new Spanish historiography by bearing witness to the rituals of mourning. The historical narratives analyzed in this chapter show a progression from the War through the Transition, in order to cope with the question of how to confront the past while considering the current sociopolitical climate. Tracing the search through generations over time gives the opportunity for the public recognition of the performance of searching and reburial.

Contextualizing the Postmodern Novel of Memory

Spanish literature in the 21st century plays an essential role in recuperating suppressed memories from the dictatorship. Contemporary literary and cultural scholars cannot ignore the novel of memory—with its roots planted in the Spanish Civil War or dictatorship—not only because of the sheer volume of novels written about these time periods, but because of the overwhelming popularity and success of these novels with audiences (Amago "Speaking" 243; Dorca 14; Lopez-Quiñones "Towards" 112). In his essay titled "Speaking for the Dead: History, Narrative, and the Ghostly in Javier Cerca's War Novels," Samuel Amago describes the considerable number of novels and film narratives that have recently appeared that deal with the

Spanish Civil War and its aftermath (243).[9] He explains that "a generation of Spanish authors has revisited Spain's traumatic national history and explored through literature the recovery and reconstruction of historical memory" (243) and how "even two generations after the end of the Civil War and a generation after the death of Franco, this conflicted period of history appears repeatedly in popular modes of cultural production" (244). The disinterment of bodies from mass graves becomes an important channel for the literary, filmic and historical memory recuperation process.

The mass production, market success, and` popularity of historical novels has led to apprehension amongst peninsular scholars as they question the quality and veracity of the large number of texts produced. The anxiety surrounding the "cultural capital" (Everly vii) of popular historical novels recalls the fears of commodificiation discussed in Chapter 1 (Labanyi

---

[9] As examples Amago names the following novels: *El corazón helado* (2007) by Almudena Grande, *Mala gente que camina* (2006) by Benjamín Prado, *Los libros arden mal* (2006) by Manuel Rivas, *La voz dormida* (2002) by Dulce Chacón, *Tu rostro mañana: Fiebre y lanza* (2002) by Javier Marías, *Una historia de Maquis* (2001) by Andres Trapiello. Amago uses the following film narratives as examples: *Libertarias* (1996) by Vicente Aranda, *La hora de los valientes* (1998) by Antonio Mercero, *La lengua de las mariposas* (1999) by José Luis Cuerda, *El espinazo del diablo* (2001) by Guillermo del Toro, *Los niños de Rusia* (2001) by Jaime Camino, and the filmic adaptations of Cerca's novel, also titled *Soldados de Salamina* (David Trueba, 2003).

Antonio López -Quiñones also names the literary success of Javier Cercas, Rosa Montero, Javier Marías and Almudena Grandes in "La misma guerra para un nuevo siglo: textos y contextos de la novela sobre la Guerra Civil" (112).

"Testimonies" and López-Quiñones "Towards"). In "La misma guerra para un nuevo siglo: textos y contextos de la novela sobre la Guerra Civil," Antonio Gómez López-Quiñones clarifies that the Civil War as a motor for industrial capital in the democratic era does not diminish the demands of victims and their families, but rather, should be considered when analyzing the function of these novels (112). The danger of historical novels of memory for Lopez-Quiñones is that: "narrativas que, en principio, pretenden acercar o presentizar el recuerdo de una guerra, terminan sin embargo por alejarlo al ubicarlo en un no-tiempo de virtudes ahistóricas" (117). The consumption of the historical narrative, and the quantity of production of these novels which use the recuperation efforts of families as a backdrop, shows the desire of the Spanish public to immerse itself in the recovery process. Yet, the cultural capital imbued in the novels of memory has caused critics to question the ethics surrounding these novels because the nostalgic effect can misrepresent historiography. In *The Ethics of Memory*, Avishai Margalit concludes that: "the trouble with sentimentality in certain situations is that it distorts reality in a particular way that has moral consequences. Nostalgia distorts the past by idealizing it. People, events, and objects from the past are presented as endowed" (62). The romanticized view of the idealized republican and Second Republic causes an ethical dilemma because it can over simplify complex subjects.

Despite the fears of converting memory into nostalgic cultural capital, contemporary scholars of Spanish literature and culture [Herzberger *Narrating the Past* 2; Everly *History* 27] point to the importance of the novel working in tandem with historical readings of the past. Combining historiographical interpretations of the past with the historical novel of memory forges a powerful vehicle through which to recover collective memory and understand contemporary culture. In *History, Violence, and the Hyperreal: Representing Culture in the Contemporary Spanish Novel*, Kathryn Everly explains the relationship between historians and

the literary writer and critic: "trained historians defend the need to unearth facts that establish concrete truths about past events, while writers and critics in the literary field play precociously with the existence of absolute truth and give precedence to the imaginary as a perfectly legitimate way to understand the world in which we live" (Everly 27). Rather than "give precedence" to the imaginary, writers and critics look to the interplay between the novel and history to offer insight into the past, and as a way to challenge the authoritative discourse of the Franco regime. Historians (Hayden White, H. Aram Veeser) and literary scholars (Kathryn Everly, Jean Franco [*Nation*], Stephen Greenblatt, Gonzalo Sobejano, David Herzberger [*Narrating*]) urge the use of new historicism to study the past, recognizing the necessary interchange between literature and history.[10] David Herzberger describes how fictional narratives can positively impact the writing of history in *Narrating the Past: Fiction and Historiography in Postwar Spain*: "it's a way to write and act against the grain, as well as a means to develop narrations that allow (and even compel) the opening of history to divergence" (2). The act of narrating about historical periods can open new avenues of investigation while inviting the reader to experience the past through nuance inherent in novels.

The postmodern novel of memory becomes particularly essential as a way of combatting the historiography established by the dictatorship and the silencing through censorship of alternative renditions to those inscribed by the Regime. Because censorship reigned over

---

[10] For a detailed discussion of the theories of New Historicism see Stephen Greenblatt's originating work on the subject, "The Power of Forms in the English Renaissance"; Hayden White's "Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe"; A collection of essays edited by H. Aram Veeser titled "The New Historicism", especially his introduction to the collection and Jean Franco's chapter "The Nation as Imagined Identity."

published content during the Franco dictatorship, a new historiography is fundamental to the recovery of collective memory in the Spanish context. The postmodern historical novel offers alternative views through which to revisit the past. The authors of the historical novels of memory I analyze in this chapter—like the novels Everly studies in her book—"do not set out to correct historical misconceptions. Rather the historical revelations in the novels provide insight into alternate or marginalized views of History in a way that suggests the existence of unlimited versions of histories, known and silenced, that make up our contemporary sense of the historical" (Everly 27). The plots in the narratives that comprise this chapter stem from both historical and fictional events during the War and dictatorship, and through their fictional retelling, they give voice to suppressed histories.

The historiography built by the collaboration between historical events and literature forms the new "register" that Robert Spires suggests in his book, *Post-Totalitarian Spanish Fiction*. The historiography that emerges from the consideration of literature alongside historical facts creates a new register through which to understand not only the past, but also the present. Spires writes: "a specific work or body of fiction serves as yet another register—no more or less significant than the other disciplines mentioned—of how reality is conceived at a given moment in time" (6). The literary register works in tandem with historical and sociopolitical registers to provide a richer understanding of the Spanish past and present. Rather than simply reflecting the time period in which the novels take place, Spires explains that "the world of fiction serves as a register of the nonfictional world" (1) and "how reading a work of literature helps bring into focus and contextualize the forces linking literature and mathematics, the natural sciences, the social sciences, the other humanities, and of course the nonacademic world of the political revolutions and civic revolutions" (8). The contemporary historical novel assists in the recovery

of collective memory by exploring previously silenced histories while simultaneously making a commentary on contemporary society. The abundant production of historical novels about the War and postwar signals the desire to return to the past in order to explore it, and the literary register provides a unique lens through which to contemplate the past and present.

While censorship was officially abolished by the 1978 Constitution, the move from repression to democracy began to take root as early as the 1960s (Gies 3; Tsuchiya 215). Gonzalo Sobejano describes the evolution in the Spanish novel from the early years of the dictatorship through the Transition in his essay "The Testimonial Novel and The Novel of Memory." Sobejano describes the transition from the novel of testimony to the novel of memory:

> From the 1940s to the 1960s the Spanish novel tended to bear
> witness to identifiable, contemporary realities; these realities called
> for close observation and criticism, hence the term *novela*
> *testimonial*. After a brief hiatus (1970-5), which featured a kind of
> exaggerated experimentalism, the novel recovered, in part, the
> "realist" accent of the testimonial novel. The aim of this new novel,
> however, was not to raise the reader's consciousness of life under a
> now defunct dictatorship but to revisit and reassess one's experience
> during that difficult time. (184-5)

The new novel that Sobejano describes as emerging after 1975 is the novel of memory. The aesthetics of the testimonial novel of the 1940s and 1950s exposes uncertainty towards the future, resulting in novels that reflect the oppressive sociopolitical environment by focusing on

the individual and/or their immediate family as an isolated unit (Sobejano 176).[11] The novel of

memory spans from Franco's death to roughly the general election of 1982 (although Sobejano

includes works through 1988)—when Felipe González's *Partido Socialista Obrero Español*

(Spanish Socialist Workers' Party) (PSOE) won by an absolute majority, taking nearly half of all

votes.

Sobejano explains how the Transition opened new avenues for the narrative art, and how

the testimonial novel made way for the novel of memory (184). The novel of memory produced

during the Transition shows the individual recounting of experiences lived during the Franco

years: "The desire to recount one's life in relation to the death of Franco, which marked the end

of an era, compels this retrospective mode of storytelling" (185). Sobejano names the work of

Carmen Martín Gaite, and specifically *El cuarto de atrás* (*The Backroom* 1978) as an exemplary

novel of memory, differentiating the "novels of memory," from "memoirs," while praising

Martín Gaite's ingenious mixture of memory, metafiction and fantasy (189). Instead of applying

---

[11] Sobejano exemplifies the novel of testimony with the following works: *Nada* (1945)

('Nothing') by Carmen Laforet, *La sombra del ciprés es alargada* ('Long is the Cypress's

Shadow', 1948) by Miguel Delibes, José Suárez Carreño's *Las últimas horas* (The Final Hours,

1950); Cela's *La colmena* (1951), Ignacio Aldecoa's *El fulgor y la sangre* ('Lightning and Blood',

1954), *Los bravos* ('The Untamed', 1954) by Jesús Fernández Santos, *El Jarama* (1956) by

Rafael Sánchez Ferlosio, *Nuevas amistades* ('New Friendships', 1959) by Juan García Hortelano,

Central eléctrica ('Power Plant', 1958) by Jesús López Pacheco, *La piqueta* ('The Pickaxe', 1959)

by Antonio Ferres, Armando López Salinas' *La mina* ('The Mine', 1960), and *La zanja* ('The

Trench', 1961) by Alfonso Grosso. Sobejano describes how these novels demonstrated a

renaissance in the Spanish "realist" novel (2).

an edifying approach to exposing silenced histories, the novels of memory that developed during the Transition served to reflect upon the personal experience of living under the dictatorship. As opposed to the novel of testimony, which focused on an isolated family unit, the novel of memory echoed the individual's personal history and a life lived under the dictatorship.[12]

While Franco's death did not spark the radical change in literature and the arts that many critics expected, it did mark a conceptual change in how Spain viewed itself and how the world viewed Spain (Geis 1). The postmodern novel then, becomes a tool with which to examine the introspective and externalized view of Spain. In "The Novel Beyond Modernity," Teresa M. Vilarós explains how the novel acts as a vessel of mediation for postmodern Spanish culture:

> After 1975, Spain became part of a new post-modern arena that
>
> renounced the old differentiation between the cultural, the economic,
>
> and the political. The novel offered itself as a smooth cultural artifact
>
> of mediation: one that could work as an interface between the
>
> symbolic and the economic, between the local and the global,

---

[12] Sobejano points to the following novels as examples of the autobiographical novel of memory: *Diálogos del anochecer* (*Dialogues at Twilight*, 1972) by José-María Vaz de Soto, *Retahílas* (*Endless Recitations*, 1974) by Carmen Martín Gaite, *Las guerras de nuestros antepasados* (*The Wars of Our Ancestors*, 1975) by Miguel Delibes, *Luz de la memoria* (*Light of Memory*, 1976) by Lourdes Ortiz, *Fabián* (*Fabian*, 1977) by Vaz de Soto, *La muchacha de las bragas de oro* (*The Girl in Golden Panties*, 1978) by Juan Marsé, and *El cuarto de atrás* (*The Back Room* 1978) by Martín Gaite, the impressionistic books like those of Francisco Umbral, and *Autobiografía de Federico Sánchez* (*The Autobiography of Federico Sánchez*, 1977) by Jorge Semprún.

between past and present; and, at the end, between the modern and

the post-modern. (253)

In the terms described by Vilarós, the postmodern novel is a more capable mediator for the consideration of the past than the recounting of purely historical events. The postmodern novel becomes an effective tool through which to contemplate the complex nuances of history and memory, and transforms into a medium that contemporary Spanish society uses to negotiate the transition to a democratic, globalized country.

Literary critics continue to grapple with categorizing the postmodern Spanish novel.[13] Everly notes that critics have had a difficult time neatly encapsulating the novels of the most recent fin de siècle: "the presentation of the Spanish social consciousness and national identity in novels of the past twenty years has been varied and at times even contradictory. Ranging from works rooted in the historical to works that defy and challenge traditional narrative and literary language, contemporary novel production in Spain is anything but one-dimensional" (1). This chapter does not attempt to define the generation of writers from the 21st century who lived through years of Francoism—the generation that matured under the dictatorship and reached adulthood during the Transition, thus living the aftereffects of the War, postwar and policies of the Franco Regime.[14] Neither will I discuss other variants of the Spanish novel, such as the

---

[13] Jordi Garcia describes the instability of the literary canon from the postwar through 2000 in the introduction to narrative prose in *Historia y crítica de la literatura española: Vol. 9, Tomo 2: Los nuevos nombres: 1975-2000: primer suplemento*. (208).

[14] The dates of birth for the authors are as follows: Jesús Ferrero: December 30, 1952, Zamora, Spain; Andrés Trapiello: June 10, 1953, Torío, Leon; Isaac Rosa: 1974, Seville, Spain.

works produced during *La Movida*.[15] The narratives studied in this chapter all undertake a

variety of writing techniques—specifically the use of collective narration and metafiction—to

discuss memory recuperation within the context of rituals of remembrance, searching and

reburial. The narratives in this chapter demonstrate how contemporary writers explore the

interplay between fiction, history and historical memory using the performative aspect of the

ritual of searching and reburial as a catalyst for their investigations.

While the novel of memory has been attributed to the decade following the death of

Franco (Sobejano), the new novel of memory is currently undergoing a resurgence in relation to

collective memory, in general, and mass grave recovery, specifically. Herzberger provides a

succinct definition of the postmodern novel of memory:

> By novels of memory I mean, in the largest sense, those fictions in
>
> which past time is evoked through subjective remembering, most
>
> often by means of first-person narration but not held exclusively to
>
> that perspective. The past that is explored in each case (the external
>
> referent of the text) is the past largely eschewed or appropriated by
>
> historiography under Franco, the lived past of the Civil War and the
>
> strains of dissent that anticipate the conflict and persist in its
>
> aftermath. (66)

Since the enactment of the historical memory law and the contemporary search for and recovery

of bodies, writers have taken up the cue to use the new novel of memory to explore these themes.

But unlike the novel of memory from the 1970s and early 1980s that reflect upon a recently

closed past of the Franco dictatorship (Sobejano), the novels of memory from the 21st century

---

[15] For a discussion on *La Movida*, see Jo Labanyi "Narrative in Culture, 1975-1996.

struggle with the ever-present remnants from the dictatorship, particularly the disinterment of mass graves.

Rather than the isolated families Sobejano describes in the novel of testimony from the 1940s and 1950s, or the individual novels of memory in the 1960s through the Transition, the authors of historical narratives studied in this chapter write their novels through a community of voices to construct a new historiography. The use of metafiction by the authors in all the novels studied here—through the juxtaposition of historically factual events with fictional retellings— makes evident the conscious composition of a new historiography through a confluence of perspectives. Like many of the documentaries discussed in Chapter 1, the new novel of memory uses a kaleidoscope of viewpoints to recover collective memory, focused around the subject of the recuperation of the missing. Similar to the survivors seen in the documentaries in the first chapter, the characters in the new novel of memory repeatedly undergo the search for their familial and affiliative relations in order to perform the ritual of reburial. Like the ideologically discordant sisters from *Silenci*—Asunción Alvarez and Isabel Gonzalez—who ritualistically hunt for the remains of their brothers in order to perform the function of bringing flowers to the site of their remains, or Jaume Freixa, who repeatedly searches for a place to mourn his mother, the authors of the new novel of memory use the metafictional mode in the new novel of memory to craft a chorus of voices relating the search for the missing in order to write a new historiography.

In the novels that comprise this chapter, the narration is driven by family members trying to locate familial victims to perform a reburial. The authors of these historical narratives emulate the creation of a community by uniting the multigenerational voices to transmit the necessity of the search for and reburial of the missing. Sebastian Faber writes about the new novel of memory pertaining to the Civil War in his essay "La literature como acto afiliativo: La nueva novela de la

Guerra Civil (2000-2007)." Faber's primary interest in the new novel about the Civil War coincides with the need identified in this chapter for the generational imperative to investigate the past: "Lo que me interesa sobre todo en estas obras es, en primer lugar, su insistencia en la idea de que las generaciones presentes tienen una *obligación moral*—además de una necesidad psicológica—de investigar el pasado y asumir su legado; y, en segundo lugar, su tendencia a desentrañar y afrontar los *dilemas e imperativos éticos* que surgen cuando se asume ese legado" (102). Despite differences in background and form of the novels he references in his chapter, Faber argues that the novel of the Spanish Civil War from the turn of the 21st century has a new attitude towards the past: "consideran sus dimensiones éticas desde un punto de vista individual, como un problema que afecta a las relaciones personales entre las generaciones presentes y pasadas, y como un desafío que exige un esfuerzo de voluntad por parte de aquéllas" (102). But rather than a personal challenge that divides generations, which Faber sees in the new historical novel about the Civil War, I argue that the generational search and the performative function of the pursuit of the missing bonds the familial into the larger collective structure (i.e., the surrounding community) and acts to unite not only the characters within the novels, but the reader as well.

Despite the inevitable clashing of the intergeneration pursuit, as we see in some of the documentaries from Chapter 1 (especially *Death in El Valle*) and the novels within, the chorus of voices united by the authors construct a collective historiography. The writers in this chapter display rituals of searching and commemoration around the dead as a way to reconstruct historical memory. Reading (and writing) the new novel of memory (and viewing the documentaries about the disinterment process) creates an affiliative bond between the reader/viewer/creator and the characters of the novels (and documentaries). By participating in

the construction of these narratives, the reader becomes a part of the familial pact and a witness in the performative ritual of searching and reburial.

The Thirteen Roses

In *Las trece rosas* (*The Thirteen Roses*) (2003) Jesús Ferrero delivers a fictionalized retelling of the story of the so-named *Trece Rosas* ("Thirteen Roses")—the title given to the group of thirteen young women detained in Ventas prison and executed by firing squad just after the conclusion of the Civil War on August 5, 1939.[16] By using a confluence of first-hand testimony, correspondence with family members, and historical research, Ferrero offers a fictionalized vision of the story of the Thirteen Roses, from the days prior to their arrest to the aftermath of their deaths. The novel experienced tremendous success and was subsequently converted to a feature film. *Las 13 Rosas* ("13 Roses"), directed by Emilio Martínez Lázaro and released in 2007.

The legend of the Thirteen Roses arose from the execution by firing squad of thirteen mostly underage women—between the ages of 18 and 29—shortly after the end of the War on the morning of August 5, 1939. Before the court martial (*Consejo de Guerra*) condemned the thirteen women to death under the criminal accusation of supporting the democratically elected Republic against Nationalist forces, they were detained by police forces and tortured in attempts to obtain information about their fellow comrades in the clandestine reorganization of the

---

[16] The thirteen victims are as follows: Carmen Barrero Aguado (age 24), Martina Barroso García (age 22), Blanca Brissac Vázquez (age 29), Pilar Bueno Ibáñez (age 27), Julia Conesa Conesa (age 19), Adelina García Casillas (age 19), Elena Gil Olaya (age 20), Virtudes González García (age 18), Ana López Gallego (age 21), Joaquina López Laffite (age 23), Dionisia Manzanero Salas (age 20), Victoria Muñoz García (age 19), and Luisa Rodríguez de la Fuente (age 18).

Unified Socialist Youth (*Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas*) ("JSU"). A youth organization

formed in the spring of 1936 under the leadership of José Pena Brea, the JSU amalgamated the

Spanish Socialist Workers' Party ("*Partido Socialista Obrero Español*") (PSOE) with the

Communist Party of Spain ("*Partido Comunista de España*") (PCE) youth groups. Caught by

Francoist forces on May 11, 1939 and subjected to torture, Pena divulged a list of names of his

compatriots. The involvement of the thirteen women within the JSU varied and only half of them

claimed membership. After their questioning under torture, the thirteen were imprisoned in the

central penitentiary for women in Madrid, Ventas, where they waited for months in deplorable,

overcrowded, and undignified conditions.

The assassination of Isaac Gabaldón, commander of the Civil Guard, his 17-year-old

daughter, Pilar, and their 23-year-old chauffeur (D. José Luis Díez Madrigal), at the hands of

three members of the JSU on July 29, 1939 acts as the catalyst of the mass sentencing of all the

JSU members previously detained by the Civil Guard; among them 43 men and 15 women—

only two of whom avoided sentencing due to administrative issues. The three individuals who

carried out the assassination of the Gabaldón group were called *Los Audaces* ("The Daring") and

included Francisco Rivades Cosials, Damián García Mayoral, and Saturnino Santamaría

Linacero. Gabaldón's party was assasinated while all 56 prisoners (the 43 men and 15 women)

were detained in jail. 48 hours after the sentencing, the remaining thirteen women were

transferred a short 500 meters from the prison to their executions against the wall of the

Almudena cemetery.

Journalist Carlos Fonseca published a thorough study of the background of the Thirteen

Roses called *Trece rosas rojas* in 2004. In his article, "Las Trece Rosas de la Guerra Civil Vistas

por el Novelista Jesús Ferrero y el periodista Carlos Fonseca," Jaime Céspedes Gallego draws

comparisons between Ferrero's fictionalization of the historical account of the Thirteen Roses with that of the journalistic representation with which Fonseca approaches the topic. Gallego concludes that, despite certain important differences, Ferrero's fictional account of the history: "recurre a ciertas licencias desde el punto de vista histórico, modificando lo realmente acaecido pero sin albergar una intención realmente deformadora de la significación de los hechos reales, sino intentando que la esencia de la historia sea percibida de manera más íntima y a la vez más sólida que a través de un relato más histórico lleno de información y detalles" (1). Rather than focus on the historical, political or ideological causes that led to the detention of the thirteen women, Gallego contends that Ferrero fictionalizes their detention in order to characterize them implicitly as heroines, accepting their deaths so that others would not die in their stead, a fact that concurs with messages the women sent from jail to their family members (Gallego 5-6).

Ferrero also excludes surnames when referring to the women in order to underline their symbolic value; Gallego attributes the generalization of names to Ferrero's attempts to mythologize the group (Gallego 6). In this way, Ferrero lends his historical fiction a tragic tone, in the vein of Greek tragedies where protagonists are often aware of their inevitable fates. Conversely, Fonseca strives to establish a literary rendition of what occurred to the victims, while painstakingly providing details from archival documentation as to the chain of whistle blowers, detentions, incarcerations, sentencing and executions. For Gallego, the artistic license Ferrero takes with the details of the novel leads to a more efficacious telling of the story.

The artistic license Ferrero takes with the historical details worries some literary scholars. In "History, Memory, Fiction: *Las trece rosas* and Discourses of Recovery in Contemporary Spain," M. Cinta Ramblando Minero explains how the combination of historical events with fictional representations creates a number of risks regarding the representation of real people.

Minero considers the works of Ferrero and Fonseca, as well as the documentary about the Roses *Que mi nombre no se borre de la historia* and the feature film, *Las trece rosas*, in her analysis of the representations of the Thirteen. For Minero, the lack of details regarding the political role of the Thirteen in Ferrero's narrative leads to a lack of female agency dominated by the male view of the omniscient narrator: "[t]he depoliticisation of the women's experiences in later cultural representations of their story is illustrated by the emphasis given to traditional notions of femininity at the expense of their political agency and individuality" (121). In order to transcend the patriarchal femininity ascribed to the Thirteen, Minero traces the political involvement of the thirteen women during the War in her article and compares Dulce Chacón's *La voz dormida* (2002) to Ferrero's narrative. In "El cuerpo como mazmorra: Una lectura femenina de *La voz dormida* y *Las trece rosas,*" Mary Ann Dellinger explains that the political agenda of the Thirteen is more of a leitmotiv in the background of Ferrero's narrative in order to justify their imprisonment and that "el autor se interesa más en lo sórdido de la situación en la que viven sus protagonistas, no sólo como mujeres encarceladas, sino como bellos y jóvenes cuerpos encadenados" (365). The sexualization of the women is seen by Dellinger as a marketing ploy designed to sell a novel about a women's prison (366). The focus on sexuality and especially the lesbian encounters turns the audience into voyeurs, observing the female subject as object. For Minero, the depoliticized, collective view of the thirteen women allows for the male gaze to define them as young, innocent and beautiful victims, and Minero warns caution when describing these texts as forms of historical memory recuperation. Ferrero's novel is a purely literary pursuit, which universalizes figures of historical significances in order to draw in the reader as witness. Despite the artistic liberties Ferrero takes with the historical details of the

thirteen women, his poetic narrative serves as an important literary work of memory

recuperation.

In addition to the over-sexualization of the Thirteen Roses, Ferrero depoliticizes and

truncates their individuality at the expense of "the perpetuation of the myth by means of the

reassertion of a group identity overshadows their individuality and plurality, and an uneven focus

on the characters leads to the underestimation of their political agency" (Minero 132). But

Ferrero's novel does not claim historical validity; it is a literary narrative that makes use of a

legend that affected the lives of political prisoners and exiles. In an interview for *El País*, Ferrero

himself confirms this creation of a legend based on historical events: "Sí, pero las trece rosas se

convirtieron en un mito muy pronto. La historia las trataba de una manera neutra y la leyenda las

mitificaba. Partí de esas dos fuentes consciente de que en una novela hay que usar las dos" (2).

The interviewer, Winston Manrique Sabogal, specifically asks if it was the story of the Thirteen

attracted him, or an attempt to vindicate the role of women in the war. He assures Sabogal that

his interests were strictly literary, rather than to recuperate a lost history: "No me acerqué a ellas

porque quisiera recuperar presuntamente una memoria perdida. El interés era totalmente literario.

Me enamoré del concepto 'trece rosas' en cuanto lo vi. Tuve la impresión de que ahí me podía

reencontrar con la tragedia griega sin necesidad de irme a Grecia" (3). Elements of Greek

tragedy permeate Ferrero's novel (the titles of the chapters, such as "Antigona," and the chorus

formed by Suso and Tino), helping to universalize the experience of the Thirteen, as well as the

tragic ending of the story. For Ferrero, the Thirteen have a representative quality: "Por lo que

ellas tienen de rotundo y de trágico y definitivo pueden representar a esas miles de personas que

vivieron lo mismo. Justamente por eso, porque podían representar más de lo que eran, también el

novelista estaba obligado a intervenir con su inventiva y no a intentar describirlas sino en cierto

modo resucitarlas" (3). The subject of collective identity that is the focus of this chapter resides in the surviving family members searching for the remains of their departed family member, rather than in the thirteen women themselves.

While *Las trece rosas* experienced popularity with the public and reached bestseller status, Ferrero's narrative version of the legend has received little attention from literary scholars, with the exception of the three articles that I have referenced above, all of which compare the novel to other texts about the Roses; never making Ferrero's novel the central piece of investigation. Ferrero divides his eponymously titled novel into five sections, which he further splits into twenty-six chapters, with a prologue and acknowledgment section flanking the narrative. My analysis does not focus on the thirteen women themselves, but rather begins after their executions and focuses on the collective voice created through the ritual of searching. While it is important historiographical work to compile a thorough history of the Thirteen Roses, as Ferrero explains, that was not his goal. The first three sections of the narrative tend to fall into the trappings described by Minero in her article regarding the depoliticisation and sexualization of the Thirteen, but Minero and Dellinger ignore the fourth and fifth sections of the novel. Because Minero and Dellinger focus on representations of the experiences of the thirteen women exclusively, they exclude the last third of the novel. In the last two sections, Ferrero shifts his attention to the surviving family members and to how they cope with the deaths of the women by focusing on the search for and reburial of the bodies.

The final two parts of the novel provide insight into the generational and affiliative need for a burial ritual. Ferrero mimics the format of the chapters in the first two sections (where each chapter is dedicated to one of the thirteen women), but rather than focus each chapter on the Roses, Ferrero derives the chapter titles from the individuals affected by the deaths of the

women. [17] All but two of the six chapters discloses the perspective of a family member or loved one looking to memorialize their dead. [18] Although keenly aware of the executions of the thirteen women, family members flock to the site of the executions to try and locate the bodies of the dead as the need to honor the final resting place of their family members takes precedence any possible negative consequence. The polyphonic echoes of searching reinforce the themes of the recuperation of historical memory. By focusing the last third of the novel on how the individuals affected by the death of the Thirteen Roses search for the bodies of the women in order to find and memorialize their deaths and find closure, Ferrero signals the importance of rituals of remembrance. "María Anselma," the first chapter of the fourth section, derives its title from one of the militant nuns who presided over the female prisoners in Ventas. She accompanies the thirteen women from the prison to the firing-squad wall, where she witnesses their death. The first item the nun sees upon disembarking the truck and entering the cemetery is a wagon full of caskets waiting to remove the fifty-six bodies marked for execution. The subsequent chapters

---

[17] Ferrero dedicates each chapter from the first two sections to one of the thirteen women, with the final chapter focusing on the catalyst for their executions—the murder of the commander by "El Ruso" ("The Russian"): Part 1 title "La ronda nocturna": Avelina, Joaquina, Pilar, Blanca, Ana, Julia, Virtudes; Part 2 titled "La casa del sol naciente": Elena, Victoria, Dionisia, Luisa, Carmen, Martina, El ruso.

[18] The chapters in the fourth section are told from the perspective of the following individuals: 21) "María Anselma (a nun and jailer in Ventas)," 22) "María" (Dionisia's sister), 23) El Pálido (civil guard), 24) Juan y Quique (Juan is Ana's younger brother, and Quique is Blanca's son), 25) Extraña flor (refers to Virtudes' and Ana's mothers), and 26) Benjamín (Avelina's boyfriend).

show how the families cope with the deaths by locating, commemorating and reburying their sisters (chapter twenty two and twenty-three), mothers (chapter twenty-three), daughters (chapter twenty-four), and girlfriends (chapter twenty-five).

Important for the study of the generational search is the recognition that genetic ties are as strong as affiliative bonds. Faber explains the importance of both types of relationships: "las relaciones entre los españoles nacidos entre 1950 y 1980 con los que vivieron y lucharon en la guerra—vivos o muertos—se postulan no sólo como *filiativas*—constituidas por la sangre, el parentesco, el destino—sino sobre todo como *afiliativas*—esto es, sujetas a un acto de asociación consciente, basadas menos en la genética que en la solidaridad, la compasión y la identificación" (102-103). Relationships outside of the family become bonds that rival genetic connection. The compatriots of the War make a deliberate choice as to the bonds they craft, many times with life-altering consequences. As we see in the novels analyzed here, familial and affiliative bonds prove equally powerful and require the same performative rituals of searching and reburial.

In chapter twenty-two (titled "María," after Dionisia's sister) the reader enters the circle of the family members as they learn the fate of the women. While informed of the judgment of death handed down to the group, the households of the women were unaware the execution had occurred. At the outset of the chapter, the filial groups congregate at the prison in an attempt to plead for a postponement of the sentence "[p]ero en la cárcel les dijeron que ya estaban muertas y tomaron la carretera del cementerio con la esperanza de poder ver los cadáveres" (201). The immediate instinct, after they discover the fate of the women, is to run to the cemetery with the hopes of locating the bodies of the dead. After finding their initial entry to the cemetery unobstructed, the family members make their way through the grounds. Eventually they find all the women, lying in open caskets in a silo:

Era la del depósito. La empujaron y se toparon de frente con las

cajas abiertas, mostrando los cadáveres. Unos empezaron a sollozar,

otros a gemir, otros a temblar, otros a vomitar. María sentía que se le

nublaba el mundo. No sabía cuántas muertas había. Le parecían

muchas y todas iguales.

Se veían los impactos en los pechos y en las sienes, se veían

los ojos abismados, y se veían las bocas, crispadas, detenidas en un

ultimo movimiento de interrogación sin respuesta. (201)

Upon finding the bodies, the family members have primal reactions to viewing the unimaginable

number of dead, young women. While they have a stunted opportunity to view the bodies in the

silo, they are only able to mourn for a short time "Hasta que llegó don Valeriano y les obligó a

salir a gritos" (202). Rather than allowing the families to mourn their dead, as prescribed by

social norms, the priest, don Valeriano, of all figures, chases them out as they contemplate the

bodies of their executed loved ones. During this first attempt to locate the dead, family members

could begin the public mourning of the bodies, but not memorialize them through the

performance of a burial. From this initial collective attempt to locate and remove the bodies of

the victims, the subsequent chapters create a chorus of individual voices of searching.

Chapter twenty-three shows the perspective of two children independently looking for

their immediate family members. The chapter is titled after the two boys: "Juan y Quique." The

first boy, Juan, —"que aún estaba en edad de jugar" (213)—insists on locating the body of his

older sister, Ana. The day after the execution, Juan visits the cemetery with a neighbor and

approaches the wall against which the firing squad shot the thirteen women. In the mud next to

the wall, Juan thinks he sees the footprints of the thirteen victims and notices especially the

outline of his sister's finely stylized heels. He follows the prints until they cease and when they do, he runs around in the mud in hysterics, anxiously looking for where the prints continue. Juan runs desperately through the mud, slipping between gravestones, scrambling to find Ana's cadaver, convinced that the footprints would lead him to his sister's body. He finally approaches two guards and inquires about the location of his sister's remains. After they inform him as to her whereabouts, the immediate action he takes is the memorialization her tomb: "Juan cogió una madera que encontró en el suelo y escribió: Aquí yace ANA, muerta el 5 agosto de 1939, viva en nuestro recuerdo. Luego clavó la madera en tierra y permaneció un rato ante la tumba, hasta que le ordenaron marcharse" (213-14). Juan's story ends with the act of memorialization. He performs the only burial rite at his disposal by fashioning a tombstone as a physical representation of remembrance. Rather than have her lie in an anonymous tomb, Juan performs one of the most fundamental rituals of the burial ceremony by marking his sister's resting place.

In this same chapter, Quique looks for the remains of his parents. Quique's mother, Blanca (a pianist), and his father, Enrique (a violinist), met as they provided the musical backdrop for silent films in the theater in Alcalá. Blanca and Enrique soon married and she became pregnant and miscarried at the age of seventeen. After the miscarriage, Blanca and Enrique hold a funeral for the child and Blanca cannot fathom the burial of her daughter and feels as though she has buried a part of herself. Her thoughts on the role of the dead in the lives of the survivors proves poignant for what her young son, Quique, will soon emulate in the search for their bodies. Blanca thinks: "Un simple cuerpo muerto basta para que la vida se abra como un abismo del que no podemos ver las paredes y cuya boca es tan grande como el cielo que abarca nuestra mirada al elevarse" (56). The same emotions Blanca experiences when she buries her daughter parallel the despair Quique experiences when searching for the bodies of his parents.

The civil guards arrest Blanca and Enrique and execute them for the same crime, on the same day merely hours apart, against the same firing squad wall. Quique's surviving family members wanted to spare him the information about the death of his parents, yet he felt a premonition about their fates. As he walks San Andrés street, Quique hears a melody emanating from a piano. Thinking the pianist would be his mother, he scales the building to locate the source of the music only to face a stranger. The jarring encounter sends Quique on a frantic and dizzying journey around Madrid that begins at the women's prison where the guards inform him of his parents' execution and culminates at the doors of the cemetery. Like the footprints that guide Juan to his sister's body, the music Quique heard acts as an imprinted memory of his mother and becomes the spark that inspires his search. On his erratic journey, Quique loses all sense of time and space, completely absorbed by the consuming need to find his parents. Night falls as he searches for the graves of his parents, and he is ultimately unsuccessful in locating them. As he leaves the cemetery, Suso and Tino—two neighborhood boys who serve as a modified Greek chorus in the novel—greet Quique. Tino and Suso, both around the age of thirteen, work for a haberdashery in the neighborhood of Cuatro Caminos. They are welcomed into the homes of neighbors to sell their notions. Because of their close contact with the neighbors, they have a unique observation point from which to comment on the happenings in Madrid. They are acutely aware of the execution of the thirteen women, as they watched it occur through the cemetery gate. They also know that Quique's parents fell victim to the executions. While Quique does not share his recent loss with the boys, they understand his melancholy and serve as a processional to the mourning of their friend: "Suso y Tino se acoplaron a los pasos de Quique y, callados y cabizbajos, reanudaron el camino hacia casa . . ." (216). Suso and Tino

assist Quique in mourning the loss of his parents by participating in his march from the cemetery, imitating the processional.

The last chapter of the fourth section, "Benjamín," focuses on Avelina's boyfriend, six years after the death of the Thirteen Roses in 1945. At the beginning of the novel, and following a short prelude, the reader first meets the two nineteen-year-olds when the narrative opens with an idyllic scene shared between the two where they enjoy the unnamed countryside. On their walk Avelina and Benjamín stroll through the "garden of rocks" (22) they have created over their many visits where they name each rock they encounter, while surrounded by blooming flowers, flowing streams and abundant foliage. The ensuing trouble is foreshadowed by the vultures circling overhead and devouring the carcass of a decaying bull, an obvious symbol for the Spanish nation. Avelina shares with Benjamín that her father, Tomás, a civil guard, had convinced her to surrender herself to the authorities for her involvement during the War with the *Socorro Rojo*, or the International Red Aid—an international organization of social service meant to mimic the Red Cross established by the Communist International. Thinking that authorities would treat Avelina more fairly for being his daughter and for voluntarily relinquishing herself, Tomás accompanies her to the police station. The authorities never release Avelina, and her father, Tomás, serves on the firing squad that executes the thirteen women (197).

The final chapter opens in 1945, and the reader learns that Benjamín has remained in the same small town from which Avelina left for Madrid, strolling though the same "rock garden" they invented before her departure. For Benjamín, though, the rocks have lost their meaning, "como las tumbas sin nombre" (223). Immediately after pondering the extinguished garden of rocks, the narrator explains that Benjamín learned that Avelina rests in a mass grave: "Benjamín

se ha enterado de que Avelina reposa en la fosa común, al menos hasta nueva orden, y le parece una ironía. Ella hubiera deseado menos anonimato, al igual que sus compañeras de aquella mañana" (223). Throughout the narrative, the imprisoned women express their fears of being forgotten; they dread their sacrifice will go unnoticed, leaving no lasting legacy. As Benjamín reminiscences about Avelina, he knows she would have desired a proper resting place, instead of an anonymous mass grave. Benjamín equates the mass grave to the loss of meaning in the rock garden; the rocks lose their meaning without a name, just as a grave has no significance without a proper tombstone.

The fifth and final section serves as an epilogue and closes out the narrative. In "En una estación del metro" the voice of the omniscient narrator describes the reburial efforts undertaken by the families throughout the years following the execution of the thirteen:

> En el año 1949, cuando las trece ya llevaban una década bajo tierra,
>
> las familias fueron invitadas a hacerse cargo de los cadáveres para
>
> que reposasen en tumbas con nombre. Algunas lo consiguieron. Ana,
>
> por ejemplo, y Dionisia, que fue reconocida por sus familiares
>
> gracias a las mariposas de sus zapatillas. También Avelina tuvo el
>
> privilegio de descansar junto a sus muertos. Benjamín asistió a la
>
> exhumación de su cadáver y fue entonces cuando constató que la
>
> belleza de las personas residía en sus huesos y besó ardientemente su
>
> hermosa calavera, ante el asombro de los que junto a él presenciaban
>
> la ceremonia. (229)

In this final section, the surviving family members have the opportunity to bury and even hold their dead after disinterment. Only ten years later, and because of the circumstances surrounding

the mass sentencing and execution of the 56 prisoners for the assassination of Isaac Gabaldón, the families of the Thirteen Roses were permitted to seek out their daughters in order to give them a dignified tomb with proper insignia. In 1949, relatives could not take advantage of the DNA process to identify each woman. They only had visual cues with which to identify the remains. Resting with one's family is a privilege not afforded to all the dead, but is the goal for which the families strive. Benjamín's visceral reaction to viewing Avelina's remains provokes a life-altering decision and he resolves to move to Madrid in order to learn more about the lives and acts of Thirteen Roses, as the prisoners and exiles had already named them.

Throughout nearly half the novel, Ferrero creates a polyphonic narrative by following the filial and affiliative relations as they undertake the search for the women. Despite knowing their fates and the location of execution, the survivors are compelled to locate the materiality of the bodies to dignify their existence with a proper burial. Only locating the bodies and signaling their location with a symbolic tombstone, as in the case of Juan, could quench the anxieties felt when learning of the deaths of the women. By reiterating the search and need for location and reburial through a chorus of individual and collective voices, Ferrero builds a new historiography around the thirteen women. In some ways, the survivors in Ferrero's narrative gain more agency than the memory of the thirteen victims. While Dellinger and Minero criticize the over-sexualized and depoliticized representation of the women in Ferrero's narrative, the familial and affiliative relationships reach certain closure through their search and memorialization of the women. Ferrero's literary interpretation of the legend moves beyond sensational descriptions of torture and rancid prison conditions, to recover a historiography that demonstrates the recuperation and reburial of victims from mass graves to help close a door in a painful history. The diffusion of

the ritual of searching over time and through familial and affiliative relationships demonstrates the importance of the performance of the reburials.

From the (Meta)Historical to the (Meta)Fictional

Ayer no más and *El vano ayer* differ from *Las trece rosas* in regards to the performance of rituals of recuperation and reburial. The major difference between the narratives is that the legend of the Thirteen Roses is based on historical events and actual people. The characters and plots in Rosa's and Trapiello's narratives are completely fictitious, although through the use of metafiction the authors attempt to obfuscate that fact to the audience. In the narrative about the Thirteen Roses, the execution and deaths of the women are public record; a court martial handed down the sentences, and the bodies were somewhat visible after their deaths. Family members knew where the bodies were moved after the execution, even if they could not access them for proper burial. In the two novels I treat here, the characters create a unique ritual of the search for the bodies. The authors of *El vano ayer* and *Ayer no más* convert the decades-long hunt for physical remains into a generational ritual, handed down from one person to the next. While none of the affiliative and familial relations in the following novels end their quests with the satisfaction of locating their disappeared family members, the performance of the search itself becomes a familial ritual that helps solidify collective memory.

In addition to the performative aspects of the recuperation efforts, one of the strongest traits that unites the three novels in this chapter is the use of metafiction in the narratives. The combination of the fictional narrative with historical accounts found in the 21st-century novel naturally lends itself to the metafictional technique. The literary device has been widely applied by post-Franco authors, but the use of metafiction in Spanish narrative predates the novel of the Transition. Robert Spires traces the metafictional mode from Cervantes to the 1970s in his 1984

monograph, *Beyond the Metafictional Mode*. Francisco G. Oreja's seminal work on the topic, *La metaficción en la novela española contemporánea*, traces the origins of literary metafiction, and specifically metafiction in Spain, laying out some of its characteristics: "la <<novela de la novela>>, la novela desdoblada en ejercicio de critica literaria, el relato que se autoanaliza o que incluye dentro de sí otros relatos, el texto narrativo de acusada hipertexutualidad o que reflexiona sobre las relaciones entre realidad o ficción, las reiteradas intromisiones autoriales…" (22). In his monograph about the metafictional mode in contemporary Spanish literature, *True Lies*, Samuel Amago explains that "metafiction draws our attention to the relationship between the narrator, his or her role in the construction of the narrative, and the role of the reader in the process of making meaning" (18). For the purposes of the current discussion, metafiction is a literary device by which the author consciously draws attention to the work itself as object.

In *Las trece rosas*, the narrator's *Agradecimientos* or "Appreciation" at the end of the novel demarcate the metafictionality of the narrative. The narrator's acknowledgments begin as follows: "En esta novela el narrador se hace eco de las siguientes voces (por orden de aparición)" (233). Ferrero chooses to give the final thanks in the voice of the narrator, rather than from his own authorial perspective. Ferrero opts to adopt the narrator's perspective when acknowledging the sources that influenced his narrative, insisting on the narrator's recognition of factual and fictional sources as the inspiration for the novel. As discussed below, in *El vano ayer* and *Ayer no más* both authors make conscious references to their novels—what Ortejas terms as *la novela de la novela* or "the novel of the novel"—where the book you are reading is ultimately the book the narrator crafts throughout the narrative.

The Investigative Mode in *El vano ayer* and *Ayer no más*

Literary scholars have paid little to no attention to *El vano ayer* and *Ayer no más*. Other than an insightful blog post by literary critic José Luis García Martín, no academic articles have been published about *Ayer no más*. Germán Labrador Méndez provides one of the few analyses of *El vano ayer* in his article, "Historia y decoro. Ética de la forma en las narrativas de memoria histórica." Fortunately, the authors of both novels have given several interviews about their work, which allow for additional insights about the narratives.

One of the literary devices used by both writers is the investigation. The investigation as the premise for a novel of the postdictatorship has become a classic form in which to dialogue with the polemics surrounding the memorialization of the Civil War. The investigation driving the plot of the detective novel (*novela negra* or *novela policíaca*) mimics the aim of the documentarian to uncover truths and memories about the dictatorship. Jochen Mecke outlines some of the characteristics of the postdictatorial novel in Spain through the writings of Isaac Rosa, explaining why postwar authors adopt the form of the investigation as the impetus for their plotlines: "se trata de una estructura muy apropiada para representar no solo un pasado, sino también la investigación presente en los acontecimientos olvidados o reprimidos de éste" (125). [19] [20] Both *El vano ayer* and *Ayer no más* employ the trope of the investigation to reconstruct the

---

[19] The most widely read writers of the post-Franco detective novel are Manuel Vázquez Montalbán and Eduardo Mendoza. For a detailed study of the post-dictatorship detective novel, see the following sources: *Post-totalitarian Spanish Fiction* by Robert C. Spires; "Narrating the past: History and the Novel of Memory in Postwar Spain" by David K. Herzberger; *The Spanish Sleuth: The Detective in Spanish Fiction* by Patricia Hart; "La novela negra en la transición española como fenómeno cultural: una interpretación" by Mari Paz Balibrea; and "The Spanish

past in order to extrapolate its relationship to the current social and political climate—with the

search for the body of missing family members serving as the catalyst. The investigations

undertaken by family members in these novels to find the remains of their missing relatives

mimic the searches undertaken in the documentaries I analyze in Chapter 1—the ultimate goal of

which is the performative rituals of the funeral rites.

El vano ayer

In *El vano ayer*, Rosa recreates the events surrounding the disappearance of Professor

Denis from Madrid in 1965. The fate of the young communist organizer, André(s) Sánchez, is

entangled with the abrupt and mysterious departure of Denis. Sánchez's missing body spurs the

retelling of the search for his bones by three different parties—his family, his friend, and his

lover, in that order. The reiteration by three of the characters of the search for the bones not only

proves the representative importance of the bones, but the significance of the pursuit itself. The

search provides characters the platform through which they can rebuild their memories of the

postwar period. The use of metafiction, the omission of an omniscient narrator, and the lack of

truth in a recorded history, allows the author to mold the characters in his own fashion while

forcing the reader into assisting him in the creation of all aspects of Denis's and Sánchez's

---

Connection: Detective Fiction after Franco" by José F. Colmeiro, and Silvia Cárcamo's "The

Spanish Connection: Detective Fiction after Franco."

[20] Mecke briefly delineates other characteristics of the postdictatorial novel in the conclusion to

his chapter, such as the docufiction (in *Muertes paralelas* by Sánchez Dragó 2006), the "relato

real" from *Soldados de Salamina* (Cercas 2001), metafiction in *El vano ayer* (Rosa 2004) or the

fictional autobiography, such as the *Autobiografía de Franco* written by Manuel Vázquez

Montalbán (2003) (Mecke 133).

identity.[21] The central premise of the novel is the recreation of events surrounding the disappearance of both characters, but the lack of a body or a corpse for either allows Rosa to explore of memories of the War. Rosa demonstrates how identity and memory are not fixed, but with the recovery of the bones, we can reconstruct (at least a partial truth of) the events surrounding the heinous actions perpetrated in the War. Alternately, the lack of the physical remains permits Rosa to manipulate the texts and confront the reader with differing historical accounts.

The civil guards view André as a communist miscreant student. When the narrator/historian begins to investigate his disappearance into the *Dirección General de Seguridad*, in Madrid's central square, *La Puerta del Sol*, the civil guard thinks: "Se ve que Sánchez no tenía familia que le reclamase y pasó el tiempo sin saberse nada de él" (41). The falsehood in the statement by the guard is evidenced as the reader follows through three different accounts of the search for André's body. In the quote above, the need for someone to remember Sánchez is imperative because without someone to reclaim and remember him, he has essentially disappeared. And while initially Rosa imbues Sánchez's disappearance into the underbelly of *La Puerta del Sol*—where torture regularly occurs in the novel beneath Madrid's city center—with

---

[21] See "Contra los mitos del regimen: *El Vano Ayer* por Isaac Rosa" by Vita Lirola. "En busca de una estética postdictatorial: Guerra Civil y dictadura en las novelas de Isaac Rosa" Jochen Mecke. "Performatividad y deconstrucción de la novela de la memoria: sobre *El Vano Ayer* (2004) y *¡Otra Maldita Novela Sobre La Guerra Civil!* (2007) de Isaac Rosa" by Mario Martín Gijón. "Historia y decoro: Éticas de la forma en la narrativas de memoria histórica" by Germán Labrador Méndez.

an air of mystery, he leads readers to believe that Sánchez has perished under the strain of torture.

According to Rosa's narrator, remembering and memory are of the utmost importance when confronting the dead. He notes that the worst thing that can happen to the dead is forgetting and silence: "El olvido impuesto sobre los muertos puede en efecto, convertirse en una segunda muerte, un ensañamiento postrero sobre el que fue fusilado, torturado . . . y que desde su insignificancia en la memoria se convierte en un despreciado cadáver que cada día vuelve a ser fusilado, torturado, defenestrado o baleado . . ." (63). In the absence of a body, memory—as flawed and deficient as it may be—becomes the only way to rescue the dead. Yet without the physical body to prove the cessation of life, even the death of the person can be questioned. Rosa continues: "Yo no estaría tan seguro de la muerte de André Sánchez. ¿Ha encontrado alguna evidencia, más allá de testimonios personales basados en el recuerdo aguado de cuarenta años atrás? No aparece en ninguna crónica de la época, ni en los libros de historia, ni en los registros civiles. Nada ha quedado de aquello, un silencio absoluto" (64-5). Sánchez's cadaver must confirm his death brought at the hands of his torturers. Without the evidence of his bones to act as an archive of his death, we have no tangible evidence of the events surrounding his demise or confirmation that it even occurred. Consequently, we are forced to rely on the "recuerdo aguado" of events that took place over forty years ago (63).

The expedition to hunt down the truth of what happened to Sánchez was carried out over the span of twenty years by three different familial and affiliative relations and representatives of the community. Sánchez's grandmother brings about the initial pursuit shortly after his disappearance in 1965. Rosa describes the painstaking efforts of André's grandmother in the search for her grandson—her weekly trips to the *Dirección General de Seguridad*; the letters she

wrote to various embassies, the church and even Franco himself; her repeated requests for interviews with "todos los directores generales, secretarios de Estado o hasta ministros, se plantaba en un despacho y no se movía de la puerta, hasta que alguien la recibía" (93)—that only led her to half-truths and lies about her grandson. Without his body, without proof of his death, Sánchez is only alive in her memory—a memory that is prone to senility and contradictions. She must recuperate his cadaver as proof of his life and death: "Desaparecida su familia entera, no soportaba que su nieto corriera la misma suerte que su hija, ambos borrados de la vida, sin una fecha, sin una lápida donde llevar flores los domingos, vivos tan solo en el recuerdo: en el suyo alterado por la edad y pronto a extinguirse con su muerte" (101). One needs proof for closure or one remains in a state of continual search, as we later see in Marta's quest. Evidently, as Taylor's theories suggest, the ritual of visiting the tombstone of her daughter, son-in-law, and grandson would make the pain of losing her entire family more bearable for André's grandmother. Without that bond, they only exist in her memory. She needs the closure of a funeral in order to legitimize her pain and loss.

Sánchez's grandmother then solicits the help of André's friend. André and this unnamed friend met during their stay in the orphanage of the *Auxilio Social*, where the thousands of children orphaned by the War were essentially held prisoner by the Francoist regime. This unidentified friend first assists his grandmother from Sánchez's disappearance in 1965 until 1968 when he leaves Spain. He undertakes the project again in 1984 when "creyendo que habían cambiado suficientemente las cosas, intenté algunas gestiones para averiguar qué pasó con André" (94), but he failes because "la consigna de la desmemoria llevaba ya casi dos lustros arrasando con cualquier intento serio de recuperación, mejor era no remover viejas historias, me decían en todos sitios" (94). With the passage of nearly twenty years, this friend hopes that the

climate has changed in Spain enough for him to find the answers he sought during his initial

search for André's in the 1960s. However, because of the Amnesty Law of 1977 (informally

called the Pact of Silence) initiated ten years prior to his search in 1984, he is met with resistance

on all points.

The last effort to find Sánchez's body comes in 1983 from his "compañera sentimental,"

Marta. Marta and her father flee Spain after she is detained in *Sol* and undergoes torture at the

hands of the police force. After spending over twenty years in Toulouse, she returns to Spain,

much like André's friend does, in hopes that the political situation has advanced enough for her

to collect proof of André's final days (152). The scene of Marta's return shows a woman

prematurely aged because of the torture she experienced during her time in the galleys of *Sol*, as

well as the loss of her lover. The reader observes the difference between a photo of Sánchez that

she retained and the living Marta: "[U]na mujer madura mientras su amante perdido seguía

joven, se dedicó desde el primer día a recuperar a André, a buscarlo, como si todavía pudiera

encontrarlo, como si todo hubiera sido una gran macana del estudiante, que siguiera oculto bajo

la manta en un calabozo de Sol" (153). But Marta admits that all she really wanted is proof of his

death: "aunque en el fondo Marta solo buscaba su *cuerpo*, su *cadáver* joven, *sus huesos*

calcinados en un claro de bosque, su carne descompuesta en el lecho de un pantano, y buscaba

también a los autores de aquella chiquillada, creyó que las cosas habían cambiado" (153

emphasis added). But in reality nothing had changed and she never uncovers the tangibility of his

body. The smirks and laughs of those responsible, those who brought about the transition to a

democratic Spain, are as false as the smiles of the police that tortured her and her compatriots

throughout the majority of the narrative. Ultimately Marta leaves Spain, because "se sentía

extranjera . . . que bastante tenía con regodearse en su memoria como para compartir aquel

carnaval que parecía no tener fin" (154). Memories, retelling, and testimonies are not fixed, but

Marta must begrudgingly return to France with the mystery of the fate of her lover intact.

Without the answers she hopes to find in Sánchez's cadaver, she only has her memories of him

in which to delight. As Sánchez's grandmother affirms, they must locate his bones for the truth.

Without the proof of his death, Marta returns to her father's restaurant, La Vieille

Espagne, in Toulouse. And it is through Marta's miserable tale that Rosa ends his novel, as he

dedicates the last chapter to her unhappy fate. We no longer have the picture of a carefree,

mischievous and politically active student that we find at the beginning of the novel; instead,

Rosa delivers an account from a seemingly distant stranger that the reader assumes to be

Professor Denis. He states: "Yo la conocí desde que era una muchacha de apenas veinte años,

cuando llegaron a Toulouse huyendo del régimen franquista, y fui testigo de su proceso de

deterioro: fue disipando su encanto original hasta convertirse en un hermoso cuerpo malgastado

por un interior que no quería salvación" (303). Through Marta we see the deterioration of an

individual because of the lack of a proper repertoire. The reader cannot help but imagine that if

Marta had received the answers she sought in Spain during her return in 1983—instead of the

fixed carnivalesque smile and hypocrisy that greeted her on the mouths of those that perpetrated

the torture and then the transition to democracy—she might have remained in her homeland,

instead of returning to a country and city she disdained. She never liked France and "decía que

no soportaba una ciudad que significa *perder*, haciendo un chiste fácil con la pronunciación de

Toulouse llevada al inglés, *to lose*" (303), but she preferred to return to that city and, later,

disappears in the same way all the central characters of the novel do.

Interestingly, we never witness the violence that leads to André's death in any of the

torture scenes. After their capture, Rosa exposes the torture of André's comrades using varying

techniques and gruesome detail, but we only have a short description of Sánchez's pain during the torture scene of his comrade (128-30). The physical damage that leads to André's death is not narrated, and the cause of his death remains a mystery to his family and the reader. And just when the reader has resigned himself/herself to the fate of never knowing the "truth" surrounding Sánchez's disappearance, Rosa finally provides us with the definitive proof everyone has striven to find throughout the novel: André Sánchez's body. Rosa asserts that he did indeed die and states: "[l]o suyo fue una muerte sin adornos, una muerte sin certificados ni documentos probatorios, pero podemos imaginar el proceso, es de sobra conocido" (242). To give final proof—the tangible archive—of the torture and pain experienced by Sánchez, Rosa gives the reader a careful dissection and description of his cadaver. We follow the trajectory of André's body from the final blow that causes his death (242) to the decomposition of his skeleton four or five years later (243). This autopsy is one of the only "truths" that Rosa reveals in the novel. While all the other details are left up to the reader (what happened to Denis after he went to France, where Marta ended up after leaving Toulouse, etc.), Rosa converts the reader into a witness of André's death. Unfortunately, the three individuals looking for Sánchez's corpse never discover the truths Rosa reveals to the reader and therefore never undertake the necessary repertoire (i.e., enact embodied memory through performance) that would allow them to heal.

El vano ayer and *Ayer no más* have several noteworthy parallels in structure and theme: the use of metafiction, the creation of identity through changing names, and the employment of a historian to drive an investigation into the search for missing family members.[22] In addition to

_____

[22] Because of its recent publication date, *Ayer no más* has yet to receive scholarly attention. There have been several newspaper articles, interviews, and blog posts by academics, but no articles have been published in peer-reviewed journals. See García Martín, as well as an

their focus on the search for a victim from the Francoist regime, the use of metafiction immediately links the two novels. As previously mentioned, what critical attention has been paid thus far to *El vano ayer* focuses on Rosa's writing style and his use of metafiction. Rosa uses the role of a historian to drive the story of Denis and Sánchez, under the guise of writing another book about the Spanish Civil War. The book that the audience reads, *El vano ayer*, is the book that the historian has produced through the reconstruction of the events that occurred during the Francoist rule. Trapiello also turns to metafiction in *Ayer no más*. Trapiello's protagonist, José Pentane, works as a university history professor and through his exploration into his nationalist family's past he compiles the book that the audience reads. Rather than guide their readers through a series of events, both authors make the reader a collaborator in the construction of the novel they consume. Like the documentarian who guides the audience through a collection of testimonies and documentation to piece together a coherent message, the historian in the two novels guides the reader into rebuilding memory. Using a professional historian and university professor with a doctoral degree as conductors to the past also lends credibility to the narratives. Rosa and Trapiello lean on the authority associated with these professions on the subject matter of their novels to draw readers into their narratives. Yet, as Rosa shows through his multiple reconstructions of the same characters in *El vano ayer*, the historian can also manipulate facts, making not only his profession, but also History itself an unreliable memory recovery method.

Ayer no más

As a sixty-two year-old history professor who specializes in the Spanish Civil War, José Pestaña, referred to as Pepe, returns to his native city near León after years of estrangement from

interview with Trapiello on *Encuentros Digitales* on the website for the Spanish newspaper, *El Mundo*.

his family and a recent divorce, to spend time with his aging parents and take a position at the University. Like Rosa, Trapiello elects a non-omniscient narrator. Trapiello writes each chapter in the first-person from the viewpoint of the various characters that populate the novel, with Pestaña as the unifying thread. Through a confluence of voices, the author weaves together a kaleidoscopic vision of the events that occurred on both the Republican and Nationalist sides during the Civil War. Like Ferrero's choice to focus each chapter from the point of view of one of the characters in *Las trece rosas*, Trapiello writes each chapter from the point of view of one of the protagonists of the novel. But rather than immediately signal which voice moves the narrative forward with a chapter title, as Ferrero does, Trapiello writes from the first person perspective but withholds chapter titles. The reader is then forced into the role of omniscient narrator, as he/she constructs the narrative by glimpsing into the mind of each character. Without chapter titles or any indication of who narrates, the author forces the reader to reconstruct a specific event of the War and discover those events along with the main character.

The role of the historian acts as the catalyst initiating the action in both novels. In *El vano ayer*, the historian writing the novel the audience reads leads the reader through the story of the disappearance of André and the search for his body by his family member. In the same way, Pepe's father's actions during the Spanish Civil War lead us through the pursuit to find the body of Ángel Custodio Reguera. Pepe and his family have been at odds because his political affiliations directly contradict those of his family's. As a staunch communist in his youth, and a liberal historian who publishes books on the Civil War criticizing the actions of the government and the church, Pepe and his nationalist family, particularly his parents, have a strained relationship. Yet, as a historian and fictional founding member of the Association for the Recuperation of Historical Memory (*Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica*

or the "ARMH") (Trapiello 53), Pepe feels compelled to uncover the truths held silent by his

family for sixty-nine years when a man named Graciano Custodio Álvarez confronts him and his

father on the streets of León, implicating the latter for a murder that occurred during the War.

The incident he references occurred on August 15, 1936 in Carrocera, while Graciano—

at the age of nine— accompanied his father on his way to Asturias. While Graciano's father,

Ángel Custodio, was a-political, his brother, Lázaro was known as the *Lenin de la Ribera*. Shorty

after the nationalist troops took León, Lázaro joined with the miner's unions and fought the

rebels. When the republican troops fell, Lázaro escaped, but the Falange believed his brother,

Ángel, was hiding him. Fearing for Ángel's life, his wife, Honorinia, urges him to go into hiding.

Father and son made their way to Asturias by foot, but encountered a temporary station of ten or

twelve Falange soldiers. As soon as the rebels recognized the relationship of Lázaro to his

brother, one of the Falange shoots him in the head in front of Graciano. Pepe's father, Germán

Canseco, fought in the War on the side of the nationalists from the onset of the War and in their

initial encounter, Graciano accuses Germán as the assassin of his father.

The polyphonic search for the remains of the disappeared by affiliative and familial

relations is a striking similarity between the narratives. While in Rosa's novel, the death of

André remains unclear until the end of the book, in *Ayer no más* the characters in the novel and

the reader already know that Ángel Custodio was murdered at the hands of the Falange, although

the details as to who perpetrated the crime remain unclear until the end of the novel. Even though

Graciano and his family are aware of the death of the patriarch, the yearning to recover his bones

remains as fresh in 2005 as it did hours after his death in 1936. While in *El vano ayer*, the need is

to recover André's cadaver in order to undergo the performative ritual of properly burying the

dead, in *Ayer no más*, the need to find the body of the murdered family member is essential to closing the wounds caused by the War.

Throughout the novel, the need for the Custodios to find Ángel's body, even though Graciano witnessed the assassination, is repeatedly stated and performed by four generations of family members as they undergo their own searches: from Graciano's grandfather, to his mother, to Graciano and his sisters, and finally to Jessica—Graciano's niece. The search for his father's body begins immediately after the young boy arrives home from witnessing the tragedy:

> Le dejaron dormir dos o tres horas y, antes de que saliera el sol, él y
>
> su abuelo salieron hacia Carrocera . . . en lo alto del puerto no
>
> encontraron a nadie. La posición se había movido y los falangistas
>
> habían desaparecido. Quedaban rastros de sangre, casquillos de
>
> pistola, vainas de fusil, colillas, trozos grasientos de periódicos,
>
> latas de sardinas vacías, pero del cuerpo de su padre ni trazas.
>
> Cuando se persuadieron de que no lo habían enterrado en aquel
>
> lugar, pedregoso y duro, bajaron a Carrocera. (61-62)

After entering the town, Graciano and his grandfather arrive at a cantina, telling everyone in the bar the incident the child had witnessed, asking because "quería llevarse su cuerpo para enterrarlo en Robledo" (62). They were unaware that the cantina had become the headquarters for the Falange of Carrocera and hear only lies from the soldiers who state that they had not killed anyone. Graciano's relatives, although concerned for their own safety, insist on tracing Ángel and Graciano's steps before and after the murder in an attempt to locate the body. Graciano retains Ángel's watch and delivers it to his mother as proof of his father's death, but

this article of remembrance is insufficient. The family feels obligated to find the remains of their loved one.

Unsuccessful at locating the body during the War and postwar years, Graciano continues the hunt into adulthood and old age. From the first time Graciano approaches Germán and accuses him of his father's murder his focus remains on locating his father's body in order to give him a proper burial. As a peasant who grew up in the same town as his father's killer and the falangist witnesses to his murder for sixty-nine years, Graciano spent a lifetime summoning the courage to openly challenge one of them. Yet, after the initial encounter between Germán and Graciano, where Germán stutters out an apology, Graciano runs away and calls his wife. Graciano does not demand vengeance on Germán for the death of his father during his phone call, instead, his thoughts revert immediately to the desire of finding his father's body: "No quiero hacerle mal, pero va a tener que decirnos dónde lo enterraron . . ." (48). And, near the end of the novel, when Graciano discovers that Germán is Pepe's father and that Pepe had been deceiving him, Graciano focuses still on his ultimate mission of finding the body of his father: "El sabe que nosotros no queremos publicidad ni escándalos, sino que nos diga dónde pusieron a padre, traerlo a enterrar al pueblo, y se acabó, ya está. Mi madre ya no podrá conocerlo, pero lo que me quede de vida, la viviré tranquilo, será para mí una satisfacción. Soy una persona honrada, y no le quiero mal a nadie. Aquello pasó, y pasado está, si nos dice dónde lo pusieron" (256). Graciano cannot comprehend why Pepe misled him about the connection between him and his father. As he had been saying throughout the novel, his interests do not lay in retribution, but in a dignified burial for his father's remains. Even after the insistence of the ARMH members that Graciano denounce Germán for his part in the incident, he refuses: "Yo no quiero fotos ni leches, sino acabar cuanto antes. Nadie sabe lo que hemos sufrido durante tantos años. Yo sólo

93

espero que nos digan dónde está enterrado mi padre, y después morir en paz" (242-3). As a terminally ill seventy-six year-old man, Graciano hopes to find his father in order to bring peace to him and his family members. Unfortunately, the Custodios never find the peace they desire and so the next generation, through Graciano's niece, Jessica, will continue the search.

For the generations of Custodios looking for the remains of their relatives, the need to bury their loved-one has remained palpable for decades. Pepe decides to climb the mountain to find the location where Graciano says the incident occurred. As he climbed "[i]ba pensando en aquel niño que tuvo que subir ese mismo gólgota dos veces en menos de veinticuatro horas hace setenta años, y que allí quedó crucificado él mismo todo este tiempo, clavado a su recuerdo. Sólo pide la verdad, que alguien lo resarza moralmente de aquel gran atropello, y conocer la paz en esta vida antes de una muerte que siente cerca" (221). As Pepe follows the steps of Graciano up the hill, he recognizes the pain the child must have experienced when making the journey many years previously. Pepe acknowledges that along with losing his father on that hilltop, Graciano also lost part of himself; a part that he has spent that last sixty-nine years trying to recuperate.

When Pepe reaches the pinnacle, he sees the landscape of León spread out before his eyes. He also notices that someone has nailed a large, timeworn cross to a cement block. On the base of the cross he sees "cuatro azulejos, formando friso con una orla de la bandera republicana, y unas letras feas, de ceramista inexperto: 'En este lugar fue asesinado Ángel Custodio Reguera el 15 de agosto de 1936 por defender la democracia y la libertad'" (222). While someone erected a shrine on the site where Ángel's murder occurred, a plaque and cross insufficiently memorialize the events that occurred there. To recall Taylor's theories on performance from Chapter 1, without the tangibility of Ángel's body, his family is unable to properly bury him and a commemorative monument inadequately represents their pain. Erecting a memorial, without

the ceremony that accompanies a funeral, falls short of a traditional burial. The ritual of the funeral, or the necessary audience (i.e., repertoire) that complements the conventional interment process, requires the presence of community members. It requires the formal recognition of state institutions; including death certificates, or a funerary mass by the church. As repeated throughout the novel, the recognition of the wrongs perpetrated against his father, as well as the burial of his body compel the characters to investigate, but the memorial erected for Ángel disappoints.

Trapiello also presents the reader with the opposing side of the political divide through the voices of Germán, his priest and his comrade from the Falange during the War. Through the mosaic of voices from the nationalist victors, the reader understands the imperative nature of Graciano's mission. In Pepe's estimation, official institutions, such as "La Patria, la Familia, Dios," (220) question the verifiability of Graciano's accusation. Since no one recovered a body, Germán and his priest question the veracity of Graciano's story and whether it even occurred in León: "Incluso lleva aún más lejos sus alusiones insidiosas, y asegura que sólo su buena fe da por buenas las cosas que cuenta Graciano, que bien pudieron ser diferentes a como las cuenta, o estar él confundido, y haber sucedido aquello en otro lugar, como prueba el hecho de que jamás se haya encontrado ningún cadáver allí" (220). As we find in Rosa's *Ayer no más*, the lack of the physical remains allows the perpetrators of the crime to continue denying their part in the incident. Without any written, official documentation of the death and where it occurred, the parties responsible for the death continue to evade questioning.

After his first encounter with Graciano, Germán immediately visits his priest to confess. He admits to being present during the incident, but vehemently denies shooting Ángel. The priest, Don Mamés, counsels Germán to never speak with Graciano again, saying "Caridad

cristiana, sí, pero a más no estamos obligados, y que para estar muertos, lo mismo da una cuneta que el cementerio, porque la Resurrección será para todos la misma y las trompetas las vamos a oír igual y que a Dios lo mismo le supone que lleguemos de una cuneta que de un mausoleo marmóreo" (66). While God may not care where one's remains lay, the family left behind by the departed does, as evidenced by the lifelong search undertaken by Graciano. Don Mamés orders Germán not to speak about the situation with his son, noting that should Germán know the location of Ángel's body, he should not disclose it. The reader soon learns that, while Germán does not personally know the location of the body, he knows the murderer. Eligio, Germán's comrade from the Falange, buried Ángel because he assassinated him. In a secret meeting between Germán and Eligio, Germán encourages Eligio to disclose the location of the body: "Orencio te ordenó enterrarlo, por haberlo matado tú. Di dónde lo enterraste, y se habrá acabado este engorro" (205). To which Eligio responds "Yo tenía dieciocho años y me hervía la sangre por lo de Prados. Fue un calentón. No pienso reconocer nada. Y si tú te vas de la lengua, lo negaré. España no está para abrir esas heridas" (205) The responsible party refuses to divulge the location of the body. Even after nearly seventy years and the knowledge that the family does not want to pursue legal action against them, they decline to admit the whereabouts.

The desire to locate his father's involvement and seek to correct the ills committed by him and his comrades compels Pepe to investigate the incident with Ángel Custodio throughout the novel, yet Trapiello constantly warns against overzealousness. While a founding member of the ARMH, since his return to León, Pepe has distanced himself from the group because of their fanaticism. For example, Graciano admits that Germán was not the soldier that shot his father; rather, Germán helped reorient Graciano after the tragedy: "Graciano empezó a bajar hacia Carrocera. Entonces oyó que lo llamaba alguien. Se había dejado olvidado el hatillo con la ropa.

96

Se lo entregó junto con el reloj de su padre, le habló en voz baja para que no le oyeran los otros: 'no llores, lávate en el río, no puedes andar así por ahí, y come algo, toma', y le entregó un bocadillo" (60). While present during the incident, Germán is innocent of immediate wrongdoing; instead he attempts to help the young boy. But this does not dissuade Pepe's colleagues, especially Mariví, from the university and the ARMH from attempting to persuade Graciano to denounce Germán to the authorities: "Pero Mariví dice que es importante denunciar a ese hombre, que se lo debemos a mi padre. Yo les he dicho que él no fue el que lo mató, pero dicen que eso da igual, *y que a saber, que yo puedo estar confundido*, que él estaba allí y que eso le convierte en cómplice de asesinato y el no querer confesar dónde está el cuerpo es suficiente motivo para condenarlo por encubrimiento" (243 emphasis added). The words of Mariví are eerily reminiscent of the doubts as to the veracity of Graciano's story on behalf of the official institutions previously referenced.

In her aspirations to disinter all the mass graves in León, Mariví changes Graciano's story in order to enact punishment on the wrong man. Her fanaticism allows her to disregard her professional code as a historian to record factual events, as she attempts to coax Graciano into condemning Germán. Like Jessica, Graciano's niece and a 20-year-old law student, Mariví: "Cree saberlo todo, si no de la guerra, sí de sus consecuencias, y tener las ideas claras al respecto, sin la menor vacilación: buenos, malos... Se ha tomado la tarea de encontrar la tumba de su bisabuelo casi de forma deportiva, como quien conquista un everest" (88). Mariví, like Jessica, searches for a prize, rather than for the truth. Mariví is not interested in helping Graciano, because he only seeks to recover of his father's remains, Mariví wants professional recognition and to punish the nationalists without bothering to faithfully record the truth.

Characters such as Trapiello's Mariví exemplify the concerns of memory scholars (as discussed in Chapter 1—Labanyi "Testimonies" and López-Quiñones "Towards") and family members towards recuperation efforts. In order to publish and sell books, Mariví bypasses ethical codes and ignores Graciano's concerns about locating the culpable party for his father's assassination. The juxtaposition of Mariví and Eligio establishes Trapiello's argument in *Ayer no más*: "no hubo dos Españas, una democrática y liberal y otra fascista que se enfrentaron en la guerra civil, sino tres, y la democracia y el liberalismo estaban en esa tercera España . . . que tuvo que exiliarse porque no encontraba sitio en ninguno de los bandos totalitarios en lucha, ambos igualmente responsables de crímenes atroces" (García Martín 1). Mariví exemplifies the radical, liberal faction, while Eligio (and Germán) exemplify the fascist rightwing party. Characters such as Graciano and Pepe illustrate the third Spain: the democratic and liberal Spain that eschews the dogmatic recuperation efforts of associations such as the ARMH and other associations that recover memory.

Despite Trapiello's criticism of the dogmatism of the ARMH (and other similar associations), the need to search for and rebury the bones of the missing remains. Through overwhelming obstacles, Graciano persists in searching for the remains of his father. The drive over a sixty-nine year lifespan to find his father's bones in order to perform a dignified burial never resolves itself: Graciano perishes prior to achieving his goal and Trapiello never resolves the main plotline. Four generations of Custodios continually searched for Ángel's body— knowing that he was murdered as witnessed by his son was insufficient closure without the proper performance of a burial. Yet through the searching process, historical memory seeps through the generational folds. Jessica, the youngest in the Custodio family represents the current

generation of college-age Spaniards. Her passion for historical accounts and her family ancestry stems from witnessing generations of her family members searching for her great grandfather.

Through considerable danger, the Custodios performed the search with Jessica acting as witness (or fulfilling the role of repertoire). In the two novels, the search for the missing bones to carry out the needed performance is never satiated: Andrés grandmother, his friend and his lover never recover his body, as the Custodios never recover the body of the family patriarch. The characters continually search for the remains of the victims throughout the story. The performance of the burial never occurs, but the need for it remains tangible: they require the act of a funeral in order to heal from the tragedy of their loss. All the characters that undertake the search for the bones of their missing family members remain ignorant and ultimately despondent about their inability to perform the necessary burial.

Within the novels, the searches are frequently undertaken alone and are often unsatisfying in their resolution. Unlike the family and affiliative relations seen in *Las trece rosas*, who are able to find the bodies, the Custodios in *Ayer no más* and Andres' family in *El vano ayer* never reach a resolution. Whereas most of the families of the women observed the physical wounds or the materiality of the remains, the other two narratives show how through the repeated generational search a ritual of mourning has developed. Some characters construct temporary or permanent memorials despite never recovering the bodies, such as the children in *Las trece rosas* and the family in *Ayer no más*. At times, the recovery efforts are undertaken as a community, as in Ferrero's novel when the families of the thirteen women flock from jailhouse to cemetery and search through the cadavers of their daughters, or as passed down from first, to second, to third generation, as seen with the Custodios. In certain instances, authors (Ferrero and Trapiello) develop both the collective and individual voice of searching in the same novel.

99

By representing the individual and collective investigations to locate the corpses of the disappeared, fictional writers capture the same essence illustrated by documentarians: they provide recognition of the imposed silence and painstaking searches of survivors looking for the graves of their missing relatives. The universalized ritual of searching, as represented by generations of Spaniards, and the individual and collective performance of the pursuit illustrates how, through the recovery of bodies, new personified historiographies are being written about the Civil War and dictatorship. The techniques used by the writers in this chapter personalize the narratives, converting the wide readership into a witnessing audience. The horizontal and vertical search as portrayed in the new historiographic light of the postmodern novel of memory demonstrates how the ritual of searching has been imparted from generation to generation—spanning across the decades and up through the roots of the family tree. Like the documentary filmmakers from Chapter 1, novelists Ferrero, Rosa and Trapiello seek to recover memories through the composition of the search for bodies from mass graves to recuperate collective memory and enact closure.

Chapter Three. Mediating Memory: Digital Culture and Mass Grave Recovery

The wave of media focusing on the recovery of the dead from mass graves inundating the Spanish public does not limit itself to documentaries or fictional narratives. The large corpus of digital and social media on the Web pertaining to the recuperation of historical memory demonstrates how present-day Spaniards continue to grapple with events stemming from the Francoist dictatorship. The Internet serves as a unique platform for publishing rituals of searching and recuperation. Novels and documentaries studied in the two previous chapters represent snapshots of the recuperation process at a specific time (the time of the filming or novel), often focused on a defined location (specific mass gravesites). Digital media and its various modes of dissemination encourage the constant updating of information and gives producers of digital materials and users of social networking sites the means to constantly renew the conversations about the recuperation efforts. Blogging, producing websites, and participating in social media circles generates local and regional online communities. Chapters 1 and 2 have shown that community-driven recovery efforts permeate the novels and documentaries—digital and social media designed for the Web reflect the same dynamic. By continually publishing digital texts online showing the rituals and commemoration of reburials, contemporary Spaniards keep the physical sites of memory alive, broadcasting the repeated rituals of inhumation as the identification of remains continues. This chapter studies the types of media being produced regarding the recuperation of mass graves (images, videos, social network site data), how that media is disseminated to contemporary audiences through weblogs ("Crónicas a pie de fosas," "Exhumación de Valdenoceda: Buscamos familias. Cerramos heridas," and "Las Merindades en la Memoria") and social networking sites (*Facebook*, *Twitter*, *YouTube* and *Flickr*), and analyzes the performative rituals of searching and reburial, as represented in these digital texts.

The array of multimedia elements containing rituals of reburial and commemorations disseminated through weblogs and social media networks gives a polyphonic voice to the recuperation efforts. Exhumation sites and commemoration rituals as recorded and distributed online help construct a new historiography, as discussed in Chapter 2, by presenting alternate, collective histories about the postwar and dictatorship through the "register" of digital media. Virtual communities contribute to the creation of digital cultural materials by presenting alternate microhistories to combat the established historiography of the Regime. Social media sites and weblogs become archives of the digital texts in the absence of a repository for the preservation and dissemination of the ever-evolving catalog of reburials. The yearly commemorations and ceremonies transferring the remains back to families and communities help generate collective knowledge and fight against the stagnation of memory. Chapter 1 described Diana Taylor's theories on performance as the practices and events—"ritual, political rallies, funerals" (3)—that involve conventional or event-appropriate behaviors and play an important role as vital acts of transfer that transmit social knowledge, memory, and a sense of communal identity. The repeated cycle of searching, exhumation, and reburial as represented through digital materials help to instill a ritualistic practice surrounding the paradigmatic shift in the reburials that started in 2000. Rather than commodifying the nostalgia of families performing the reburials, social networks and weblogs include the commemoration and rituals surrounding the disinterments in a contextualized loop that repeats throughout the Peninsula as mass graves are continually disinterred and reinhumed.

Blogs, videos and social media sites act as a stage for families and communities of survivors to make public the process of locating and commemorating or mourning their familial and affiliative relations. Social media and weblogs enhance the conversation revolving around

rituals of remembrance because this production and dissemination comes directly from the hands

of descendants, and are not mediated through the lens of film directors and novelists. And while

documentaries and novels provide a less fluid or malleable insight into the reburial process,

digital cultural materials made and distributed through Internet platforms show how the rituals of

mourning transform mass graves into living sites of memory. Bound by a defined space and

time, documentaries and novels will remain unchanged. Digital media added daily to the web

becomes a part of the daily social lives of the public. According to the Global World Index

quarterly report on the latest trends in social networking for 2016, over 95% of Internet-using

Spaniards between the ages of 16 and 64 have engaged with *Facebook* Services.[23] The news and

digital media circulating through social networking sites focusing on mass grave recovery is

difficult to avoid. The continual process of the identification of remains and return of the bodies

to family members add profundity to the commemorations in that new bodies are added yearly to

pantheons already containing the remains of victims that emerged from the same gravesite.

Commemorative rituals centered on significant dates—such as the dates of execution—unite

communities of survivors and invite the virtual audience to participate in the remembrance.

　　　While social networking sites can be difficult to categorize and define, the following

definition encompasses the wide variety of platforms on the Web and the different interactions

inherent in each system:

>　　Social media is defined as internet based platforms and technologies
>
>　　that permit users' interaction and/or facilitate the creation and

---

[23] 95% "represents the number of users who have an account on *Facebook, Facebook*

Messenger, WhatsApp or Instagram" (Global World Index np.)

exchange of user generated content. Whilst the scope is evolving,

currently the most frequently used examples include:

- Online forums/discussions, communities, blogs, social

  networks (e.g. *Facebook*)

- Video/photo sharing (e.g. *YouTube*)

- Multi-person/group communication and/or collaboration

  platforms (e.g. *Twitter*).

Social media data refers to the information (photos, comments, etc.)

that users generate or share while engaged in or with social media.

(European Society for Opinion and Marketing Research, np)

The definition differentiates between the various social networking sites and draws distinctions

between online social networks (*Facebook*, *Twitter*)/weblogs/online communities, from

video/photo sharing platforms (*YouTube*, *Flickr*) and multi-person communications (*Twitter*).

Twitter and *Facebook* encourage users build their own personal network of *friends* (on

Facebook) or *followers* (on *Twitter*), but users can also reach out to local and regional political

and social entities through the *groups* functionality or their individual pages. Whereas the goal of

platforms such as *Facebook* and *Twitter* is the interaction of a network of people, sites such as

YouTube and *Flickr* act as media aggregators. While users can also *like*, *share*, and *comment* on

content, the primary function of *YouTube* and *Flickr* is the hosting of media.

For the purposes of this discussion, digital technology refers to any technology used to

create or distribute texts created digitally, including digital still and video cameras, smartphones,

and social network platforms, such as *Facebook*, *Twitter*, *YouTube*, *Vimeo*, *Instagram*, *Flickr*,

etc. used for distribution. The digital media created and distributed through these tools of

104

technological mediation incorporate a wide variety of mediums, including online news articles, video recordings, audio recordings, photographs, tweets, hashtags, and *Facebook* posts and shares. As the term "social media" suggests, social media platforms create social networks of people through an online space that promotes connections, while generating the necessary audience to witness the rituals of mourning. To recall Joan Ramón Resina's theories on rituals of remembrance from Chapter 1, the public honoring of the dead lifts bereavement from the private to the social (229-30): the witnessing citizenry legitimizes the recovery and reburial of the disinterred and enacts closure.

Self-Representation in Digital Media

Digital technologies allow for unprecedented self-representation in the retelling of memories via the recuperation of mass graves. Francisco Ferrándiz notes the powerful features of technology in relation to mass grave exhumations in his chapter, "Tear to Pixel: Political Correctness and Digital Emotions in the Exhumations of Mass Graves from the Civil War":

> as digital devices and social networking services proliferate, the
> new equipment and platforms are constructing new avenues for the
> production, circulation, and consumption of historical memory, as
> well as, more generally, new genres, iconographies, and styles of
> imaging, imagining, and recycling the past. The potentially instant
> accessibility of content and images in real time afforded by digital
> cultures also creates new forms of witnessing, new subjectivities,
> new political identities, and new sites for configuring
> multidimensional memories. (253)

Technological advances have given the average person unprecedented access to recording and sharing their experiences online. In the case of the exhumations, familial and affiliative relations transmit the processes of mourning and create virtual communities through which to recuperate collective memory.

The proliferation of digital technologies imparts the distinctive power of turning the everyday person into a producer of media, as Mark Poster explains:

> … networked computing places in the hands of the general
>
> population information machines that are linked to their existences
>
> in fundamental ways . . . [T]he assemblage of human and
>
> information machine must be accounted for as a phenomenon
>
> unprecedented in the array of media technologies, an innovation
>
> that is drastically changing the character of culture. For the
>
> human/information machine link introduces new configurations of
>
> the binaries of space and time, body and mind, subject and object,
>
> producer and consumer, indeed all the constituents that form
>
> cultures. ("Global Media and Culture" 689)

The media, recorded and distributed by everyday people, by communities of survivors and their descendants, ultimately contributes to the creation of culture around the rituals of recuperation and reburial. Through personal and communal blogs that document their search for and reburial of disappeared family members, contemporary Spaniards add cultural productions to the historiography produced about the Civil War and Francoism. The cultural productions generated through digital technologies, and the dissemination of those digital texts on blogs and social media—keeps a public digital record of the exhumations and the rituals surrounding them.

106

Currently, no state-sanctioned repository exists for the retention of archival materials that center on the rituals of inhumation. Weblogs and social networks become the archive for materials on rituals of searching, remembrance, and commemoration.

David Gauntlett explains how new digital technologies break down the traditional relationship of consumer and creator: "A corresponding recognition that the separate categories of 'producer' and 'audience' are collapsing, as a growing number of people become creators, arrangers and remixers of digital media" (3). As opposed to other curated forms of cultural production, such as novels and documentaries, social media and media hosting platforms become outlets for the public to record and present their vision of the reburials. Whereas the museum space is curated, and mass communication produced by newspapers and public broadcasting systems have a guiding hand, media produced by "ordinary people" distill into new forms of cultural productions where the public become the writers, photographers, and documentarians that represent their visions of memorialization. The blurring of the line between creator and audience makes media associated with the recuperation of mass graves a significant cultural form.

Nancy Thumim's *Self-representation as Digital Culture* describes the diverse body of work that has emerged regarding new media within the social framework (Mark Deuze; David Silver). Thumim provides a definition for "digital culture" and differentiates it from other terms used to describe what some have labeled "internet studies": "Even more than 'cyberculture', 'information society' or 'new media', the term 'digital culture' indicates a focus on culture at the broadest level; this term implies that the affordances and the constraints resulting from digital technologies shape everyday life across its multiple facets, for everyone, just as electricity and print were seen as doing in previous eras" (10). Technology, then, acts as a mediator for digital

107

texts, and these digital texts become cultural representations and productions. Along with the novels, feature films, and documentaries about the Civil War and Franco dictatorship, digital cultural artifacts become meaningful productions for historical, pedagogical and investigative purposes.

A discussion of media and performance would be remiss without mentioning that while new digital technologies allow individuals to publish their stories and content on social networks and the worldwide web, even self-representation in contemporary media practices cannot yield unmediated results. Digital technologies become mediators between the producer of media and their audience. The term mediation refers to the role of technology in meaning-making within society (Thumim; Thompson; Lievrouw). Thumin writes about the mediation of technology and representations of the self:

> . . . unmediated self-representation is, if not actually possible, at least a commonly held idea, that is that it should be possible to 'speak for oneself' without being mediated by media producers, museum curators, academic research or other professionals. Indeed the idea that unmediated self-representation is conceivable also implies that technology and form do not play too important a role in shaping the meaning of a representation. Finally the ideal of unmediated self-representation downplays the ways in which people inevitably mediate their own representation by bringing to bear certain assumptions, attitudes and understanding of what a self-representation addressed to an audience should entail. (50)

While readily available technologies and virtually free modes of distribution are democratizing

forces that allow everyday people to express themselves, layers of mediation negotiate how the

creator communicates with the audience. For example the *Facebook* groups and tweets

emanating from *Twitter* are remediated by profiles, or virtual representations of actual people.

La Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica ("The Association for the

Recuperation of Historical Memory") (ARMH) Online

One significant mediating factor between the survivors and the distribution of digital

cultural maters on exhumations is the ARMH. Due to their position as the first official entity to

organize around the recuperation of mass graves at Priaranza del Bierzo in 2000, and their

extensive involvement in the exhumations throughout the Peninsula, the ARMH's digital

footprint extends over all social media platforms. As part of the website, the ARMH publishes

archeological reports on the exhumations they spearhead ("ARMH"—"Exhumaciones").The

digital texts created by the ARMH support the exhumation of the sites focusing more on the

prospecting and exhumation, rather than memorializing the rituals of reburial. The digital texts

focused on the exhumations result as a consequence of particular exhumations. Along with the

written archeological reports, they include links to other pertinent information, such as links to

Flickr photo albums or *YouTube* videos regarding the exhumation referred to in the report. For

some exhumations, the ARMH provides a link for the download to a *libro de visitantes* or a

visitors' book. The visitors' book is held throughout the exhumation period and visitors to the

exhumation site write comments and words of encouragement in it. The ARMH then digitizes

the books, and transcribes the written comments into typeface. The handwritten comments are

preserved next to the transcribed version of the comment (see Figure 1). The collection of

remarks in the visitors' books memorializes and preserves the respects paid to at the site of

exhumation. Like the analogue condolences or guestbook at many funerals, these digitized and transcribed books provide a physical space of remembrance that can be reproduced, searched and distributed to all the familial and affiliative relations. The recovery of the bones from gravesites brings forth the written manifestations of mourning.

De vez en cuando la vida te sorprende agradablemente y de la mano de los trabajos que realizáis podremos poner fin a un período tenebroso y de recuerdos que han marcado a toda mi familia muy profundamente durante los casi setenta años transcurridos.
Os agradezco en nombre de tantos familiares, de los cuales la mayor parte ya no están entre nosotros, la profesionalidad y la iniciativa que mostráis, además de la delicadeza con la que nos ayudáis a cerrar este capítulo de nuestras vidas.
José María Viñas Mosquera,
Sobrino nieto de Manuela Teiga.
24 de Octubre de 2016.

Os agradezco mucho lo que hacéis al desenterrar a un familiar mío, saber lo que pasó y recordar a los que ya no están entre nosotros y saber lo mal que lo tuvieron que pasar.
Alejandro Viñas Romar.
Sobrino bisnieto de Manuela Teiga
26/10/16.

Figure 1: Sample page from the ARMH's "Libro de Visitantes." October 2016.
Exhumation in Igrexa Paramos (A Coruña).

The ARMH's website makes evident the reach the Association has across social media sites. The ARMH uses *YouTube* (for videos) and *Flickr* (for images) to share the digital media they produce of the disinterment processes. They use these social networking sites as digital archives for the photographs and videos from the exhumations and reburials. In addition to embedding the relevant links to videos, photographs, and visitor log books alongside the archeological reports, the ARMH has a "Gallery" section on their website where they have a page for images and a page for videos. On both of the image and video pages, users can scroll through the images and videos chronologically, with the most recent item appearing first.

Scrolling through the galleries on the page in this manner, however, makes contextualization of the images and videos difficult. Because there is no differentiation between albums on the ARMH website, photos of exhumations appear next to photos of exhibitions and commemorations. The random collage of images makes it difficult to decipher the location and date in which the digital media was created. To combat the purely chronological organizational structure of the digital materials on their website, the ARMH provides direct links to their image and video repositories hosted through *YouTube* and *Flickr*. At the top of the "Images" page, the ARMH provides a link to their *Flickr* album: "Si quieres ver más fotografías del trabajo de la Asociación haz click aquí." A similar message is found at the top of the "Videos" gallery redirecting the user to the ARMH's *YouTube* channel.

Flickr

The ARMH's [*Flickr*](#) account has an impressive collection of 111 albums and 1,640 total photos that they began adding in 2014. *Flickr* provides a way to move digital content (mainly photos, but also video) from any device (phone, computer, photo editing software) and give users an easy way to "push" or share that information to the Web. *Flickr* also has a social networking component where users can comment on and *like* the images and videos, similar to *YouTube*. Whereas Instagram is meant to share photos of everyday activities taken from your mobile device—with different filters built into the upload process to manipulate the aesthetics of the image—and does not allow for the bulk upload of images, *Flickr* is considered a platform for photo sharing and organization.

Through their *Flickr* account, the ARMH shares images from disinterments, but more importantly, they document the process of the exhumations: from exploratory drilling to locate the gravesites, to the exhumation, to rituals of reburial and commemoration. They have created

separate albums for each exhumation site. Most of the albums are labeled with the type of activity found within ("homenaje"; "exhumación"; "prospección") making the current state of disinterment easily discernible. Through their digital representations, the ARMH upholds their mission statement of not only focusing on the exhumations, but also the reburial and commemorations associated with them.[24] The photos found in the ARMH's albums pertaining to the commemorations begin to reveal commonalities among rituals of reburials ("Homenaje en Arbo" and "Calañas (Huelva)"). Combinations of the following traits are common among the rituals seen across social media platforms: 1) the decoration of memorial plaques or mass gravesites with flowers, flags (regional and republican), at times, photographs of the victims; 2) speeches describing the events that took place at the gravesite and a reading of the names of the identified victims; 3) an artistic tribute—musical (often with a guitar or wind instruments) and/or poetry readings; 4) the *entrega* or delivery of the remains to the families or community members (generally in the form of an ossuary or urn); and 5) the reburial in a communal pantheon or grave. The commonalities amongst the rituals permeate Spanish territories. The cyclical repetition of these rituals of reburial—from the colors that permeate the landscapes, to the music and poetry, culminating in the return of the bodies and reburial—allow the communities to undergo the therapeutic performance of the reburial every year as additional bodies are identified and reburied. Digital representations of these rituals allow absent family and community

---

[24] Other community members have uploaded their albums and images to *Flickr* to share, but the materials generally relate to the exhumations themselves, rather than the inhumations. For example, user "Hedy760 Recuperando Memoria" joined *Flickr* in 2017 and has added photographs of exhumations (from 2014-2017), as well as documentation of exhibitions and conferences about exhumations.

members to participate in the rituals virtually, while creating an archive of the digital cultural texts surrounding the reburials.

One of the ARMH albums that guides users through the ceremonies surrounding the inhumations is titled "Calañas (Huelva)" from 2009. The ARMH describes the scene in the description of the album: "Exhumación de 11 personas asesinadas el 13 de noviembre de 1937. Eran José Gil Romero, Agustín González Vázquez, Martín González Volante, Fernando Márquez Leandro, Manuel Patricio Valle, Alfonso Pavón Sánchez, José Pavón Sanchez, José Rodríguez Dominguez, Diego Sánchez Delgado, Luis Serrano Delgado y Juan Trigo Campillo." The album begins with photographs of the exhumations, displaying the remains of the victims in the graves as they are exhumed, accompanied by family members at the foot of the gravesite. Then the photographs change to show the inhumation process. First there are images of the families and community members gathering around the decorated memorial and giving speeches before the gathering. Then a photograph shows the return of the remains to the families—the *entrega*—and interment into the final resting place (see Figure 2).

The process of physically holding an ossuary with the remains sought after for generations, as seen in Figure 2, followed by the placing of those remains in a dignified memorial before a witnessing audience (both actual and virtual), combats decades of silence surrounding the mass grave through the exposition of the reburial. The final photo in the series shows the plaque on the tombstone where all of the families inhumed the victims together. The connection between familial and affiliative relations solidifies by entombing the bodies together after the exhumation, rather than in individual graves. While the physical tombstone remains immobile, the dissemination of the rituals shares the mourning process and fosters recognition of the reburial through the virtual community online. The sequence of rituals shown through the

113

progression of photographs in the ARMH album illustrates common trends found in commemorations happening around the Peninsula. The digital representations assist in the healing process of the collective trauma experienced during the War and dictatorship because the images do not remain in a physical photo album. Instead, these images are shared virtually with other familial and affiliative relations that have undergone the same traumatic experiences of loss.

Figure 2: Return of the Remains in Ossuaries

Performing a keyword search within *Flickr* of "fosa común" and "España" produces another 945 images, apart from those of the ARMH. When searched using keywords, Flicker shows a collage of images compiled using "tags" attributed to the photos in order to aggregate them. While some of the search results yield the expected images of cemeteries and exposed gravesites in the midst of exhumation, other photos make the user stop and consider if the photograph was mistagged. For example, see the black and white photo of a gas station titled "Petrol Station" (Figure 3). Upon closer inspection, the hammer and sickle spray-painted on the walls of the station signal an alternate history. Though it is seemingly out of place with the rest of the images of exhumations, clicking on the image reveals that the site where the gas station

stands was a mass grave now covered by the crumbling edifice. The photographer, Jon

Cazenave, from San Sebastian describes the photo as a "communist petrol station," but the tags

he uses on the photo disclose a deeper layer of information about the space. Cazenave assigned

the following tags to situate the photograph: "civil, war, spain, zamora, disappeared, memory,

denied, history, common, grave, fosa, common, españa, franco, esqueleto, muerte." From the

tags, the user deciphers that the photo depicts the site of a mass grave in Zamora, Spain, now

erased by the presence of a desolate gas station. The black and white exposure the photographer

deliberately selected gives the image additional profundity by recalling the connection of this

contemporary site to the past. The written descriptions that accompany the image, the

composition in black and white, and the selected tags tell the story behind the photo and invite

the users on *Flickr* to question the photograph.

Figure 3: Jon Cazenave. "Petrol Station." *Flickr***.**

YouTube

Like the ARMH's album that documents the memorial process, many of the videos

posted on *YouTube* reflect the same ritualistic process. As opposed to images, videos capture

both audio and visual elements of the inhumations. Eiroa and her team of communications

scholars recognize the merit of *YouTube* as a pedagogical resource for the recuperation of

historical memory: "En el entorno audiovisual, la reproducción de videos y documentales a través de *YouTube* constituye un recurso de gran valor pedagógico. Son incontables los videos que reproducen imágenes de la época, fotografías, documentos sonoros, e incluso conferencias de especialistas sobre el tema" (Eiroa, et al. "Guerra" 363). *YouTube* channels dedicated not only to the Spanish Civil War, but also to the collection of testimonies from numerous individuals centered on the exhumation of mass graves, populate the video-sharing platform.

The ARMH has a collection of 104 videos on their [*YouTube* channel](#) from various disinterments, but most of the videos are either testimonies from survivors, videos of news broadcasts regarding the ARMH or their activities, commemorations of anniversaries (like the [*Día Internacional del Desaparecido*](#)) of judicial or political events, or of conferences. Despite the albums in *Flickr* dedicated to the rituals of reburial, only a minority of the videos shows the exhumations and commemorations. Instead, much of the video content regarding commemorations comes from individuals, community entities, and local historical memory associations. The scarcity of videos from the ARMH pertaining to the reburials could be due to the fact that the Association leads the charge in locating, prospecting, and exhuming the remains, but not in organizing the ceremonies. The community members, on the other hand, arrange the commemoration events and establish the protocol for memorialization. Additionally, since some of the rituals extend beyond the inauguration of the memorial site with the initial entombment, and include annual memorials where the ARMH is absent, community members would lead the charge in digitally memorializing the rituals of reburial.

"[Foro por la memoria: Campo de Gibraltar](#)," has a *YouTube* channel where they publish the exhumations, reburials and commemorations from a mass grave located at a former farmhouse in El Marrufo near La Sauceda in the Andalusian province of Málaga in southern

Spain. In one series of five videos, the recordings follow the reburial of 28 identified victims from the mass grave at El Marrufo. The series begins with the unveiling of the plaque honoring the site of the grave ("Acto-homenaje a los fusilados en el Marrufo,") is followed by the reading of a poem in honor of the reburial ("Cantante y poesía para el recuerdo,") leading to the literal unveiling of the 28 ossuaries ("Las 28 víctimas de las Fosas del Marrufo,") and ends with the delivery of the remains to community members and the inhumation of the 28 bodies together ("Traslado de las víctimas al Panteón de la Dignidad"). The videos take the viewer through the process of commemoration as the families complete the ritual of reburial in the "Pantheon of Dignity" (see Figure 4). The video camera provides audio, which allows the audience to hear the words of remembrance and listen to the musical tributes, an effect that could not be accomplished through photography. The sound that accompanies the videos helps contextualize the reburial process. The families undergo the cathartic experience of breaking the silence surrounding the mass grave by sharing their memories with a physical and virtual audience. The audience learns about the history of the gravesite and the victims through the commemorative speeches.

Figure 4: Placement of ossuaries in the "Pantheon of Dignity"

User "Calamar2producciones" shares a short video (67 seconds) of the reburial of 129 victims in Aranda de Duero, Burgos. Pedro Armestre & Susana Hidalgo, a photo and video journalism team, uploaded a video titled "Entierro de 129 víctimas de la guerra civil española en Aranda de Duero, Burgos." The clip shows the community and family members joining together in a chain to effectuate the ritual of reburial (see Figure 5). The 129 ossuaries are passed from person to person as each one makes its way down the line of people until reaching the tomb and final resting place. The video begins with a man standing in the tomb, receiving ossuary after ossuary from an unseen set of hands. As the camera pans out, the line of community members slowly reveals itself to the audience. Rather than each person placing the remains of their kin into the tomb for inhumation, each ossuary passes through the chain of community members, solidifying the connection between the families. Each community member held the bones of the companions that will continue to lie next to their relatives forming a bond amongst the families and assisting in the healing of collective trauma. Each community member had a hand in helping to lay to rest every set of bones from the original gravesite.

Figure 5: Screenshot of Ossuaries passing through the hands of each community member

Javier de la Puerta shares three videos of the reburial of the remains of 28 people in "Calera y Chozas. Fosas comunes, llegada restos asesinados republicanos al cementerio" "Calera

y Chozas: Fosas. Inhumación en panteón republicanos asesinados por el franquismo" and "Calera y Chozas: Republicanos asesinados. Final inhumación en el panteón." Similar to the video of the inhumation in Aranda de Duero in Burgos by Calamar2productions, the video series focuses first on the procession with the ossuaries to the pantheon, then the reburial as each family or affiliative relation carries the ossuary with the remains up to the pantheon for interment. With a kiss, an affectionate pat or a tear, the family members say goodbye to the remains as they pass them into the pantheon to rest with the other victims that were identified and inhumed once again.

The photographs and videos hosted on *YouTube* and *Flickr* demonstrate a repetition of similar rituals of reburial throughout Spanish territories. The celebration of life and mourning shown through the decoration of monuments with flowers, flags and images, the artistic representations through music and poetry, culminating in the return of the bodies for reburial allow the communities to undergo the prescribed healing rituals of the reburial alongside other survivors. The digital representation of rituals allows absent family and community members to participate in the rituals virtually, while creating an archive of the digital cultural texts surrounding the reburials. *Flickr* and *YouTube* function mainly as repositories for digital cultural materials concerning rituals of commemoration. The platforms act as free digital archives for images and videos, which can then be incorporated into more comprehensive blog posts, websites, and social networking platforms. Little interaction transpires among users of *Flickr* and *YouTube* about the materials on the reinterments, but the social cascades that dominate *Twitter*, and especially *Facebook,* allow for a broader discussion of the images and videos.

Historical Memory on the World Wide Web

In "La Guerra Civil Española en la actualidad cibermediática" by Matilde Eiroa, et al.,

the communications scholar and her research team explore (web)sites of memory and the varying

modalities of weblogs and divide them into three distinct categories: biographic blogs, didactic

blogs, and cultural blogs. Eiora, et al. define the biographic blog as one that "proporciona una

información original e inédita muy reveladora para la microhistoria y la historia social.

Normalmente está hecho por familiares que han querido sacar a la luz las actuaciones de sus

antepasados, generalmente olvidadas o poco tratadas, y reivindicar su memoria" (362). These

"blogs de servicio" (362) offer information and help for those searching for family members.

The second type of weblog identified is didactic in nature and dedicated a "la divulgación de

materiales, enlaces y recursos audiovisuales para el aprendizaje y la investigación de la Guerra

Civil. Especialmente interesante resulta el de Arqueología de la Guerra Civil Española por la

continua actualización y la información que ofrece sobre los hallazgos realizados en los distintos

escenarios bélicos" (362). The third group of sites are "los blogs culturales y de ocio, es decir,

aquellos que recogen información sobre libros, exposiciones, cine, fotografía o aspectos curiosos

de la Guerra Civil. A veces son obra de medios de comunicación o instituciones culturales y en

otras ocasiones los autores son aficionados que han decidido volcar en la Web sus colecciones o

sus conocimientos eruditos" (362). While the definitions provided by Eiroa, et al. regard

historical memory websites, in general, these delineations prove useful when discussing mass

grave recovery, as they follow similar organizational patterns.

Many of the websites on historical memory look back to the past in an attempt to

accurately document the atrocities masked for decades by the Franco regime, and later by the

democratic government. Using government documents, logs, photographs or testimonies, these

websites attempt to recompile a history ("Memorias de la Guerra Civil Española – Republica;" "Todos los nombres" [microhistories]; "Memòria Repressió Franquista"; "Estación Malagueña"; "Estación Atlántica"; "Fuentes para la Historia de la 2ª República, la Guerra Civil y el Franquismo"). Other sites are dedicated to memorialize or locate missing victims ("Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica"; "Asociación por la Recuperación de los Desaparecidos en el Franquismo"; "Guerra Civil Española y sus víctimas"; "Fosa Común"; "Manuel Barreiro Rey: Resistente con causa"). Still other sites are devoted to specific events or sites from the War or postwar ("Las Merindades en la memoria"; "Primer Ejército de Maniobra - Batalla de Brunete"; "Guerra Civil en Melilla: 1936-1939"; "Web de la fosa común de Oviedo"). Blog posts about the recuperation of mass graves complement these types of general websites on historical memory recuperation.

The multiplication of these blogs and social media networks exhibit the need for Spaniards to publicly present and discuss recuperation efforts within an online community. Moreover, digital memory differs from traditional modes of collective memory recuperation. Lucía Berruga Sánchez describes the crucial difference between digital memory artifacts and traditional, autobiographical oral testimony:

> Dentro de la memoria digital se encuentra una separación en el
>
> relato que se construye a partir de ella y el relato tradicional, ambos
>
> siguen siendo personales pero con grandes diferencias: el
>
> tradicional es el testimonio oral autobiográfico y el de la memoria
>
> digital es un testimonio mediado por una página virtual que se
>
> convierte en un testimonio compartido en la red desde el momento
>
> en que es publicado. (406)

The concept of a shared memory created through online social media sites and weblog signals an important element for the recuperation of the collective, historical memory. Once the creators of the blog posts, websites, videos, and photographs publish their media online, they become shared or collective memory through the Web. By documenting rituals online, social networks assist in recovering and defusing historical memory materials.

Social Media and the Exhumations

Different forms of technological mediation allow users to connect with different online communities. *Facebook*, *YouTube*, *Twitter*, and *Flickr* are all social media platforms, but the aims of each and the user audiences are markedly different. *Twitter* leans to the more political, *Facebook* is for social networking, and *YouTube*, and *Flickr* function as media sharing sites. Social scientists and Information Studies have forged the way in social media research. Humanists are now beginning to approach the study of cultural materials distributed through social media. Social media fosters online communities through which to recuperate collective memory about the War and Francoism. As the definition of social media from the beginning of this Chapter intimates, the missions of the companies that launched these platforms differ, they have specific audiences, and are wielded by users for different reasons: "Social media data are not homogenous; each platform has its own socio-technical structure, which facilitates distinct types of content. These differences result in the creation of platform-specific capabilities, limitations, practices and norms. Each platform also has its own distinct audiences and users with their own unique expectations and forms of interaction" (Small, et al. 175). Users of social media platforms and other digital technologies are aware of the differing aims between platforms, the distinctive audiences they reach, and mediate the content they share accordingly.

Marwick and Boyd discuss the importance of the imagined audience on social media because of the intimate interaction level and exchanges that occur through the platforms: "Participants have a sense of audience in every mediated conversation, whether on instant messenger or through blog comments. This audience is often imagined and constructed by an individual in order to present themselves [*sic*] appropriately, based on technological affordances and immediate social context" (Marwick and Boyd 115). The sense of the audience becomes critical when determining the social media platform upon which to open a discussion, share an image along with a comment, or confront an established entity through public messaging. Looking to *Twitter* and the representations of exhumations on the microblogging platform, the imagined audience becomes important when users confront political parties and officials through the use of hashtags and direct messages to their handles (using the @ sign + their user name).[25] The ability to directly address entities (such as the ARMH) and political parties (like the Partido Popular @PPopular and the Partidos Socialist Obrero Español @PSOE) by *tweeting* to their handle makes *Twitter* a powerful tool for reaching a variety of different audiences.

---

[25] As of June 30, 2016, *Twitter* had 313 million monthly active users, with 79% of their accounts generated from outside the U.S. *Twitter* has become an important social movement tool as seen during the Arab Spring uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa in 2010 and the Black Lives Matter movement: "Used 12,000,000 times, the hashtag [#blacklivesmatter] has quite literally transformed from an online-community unifier to a political movement and tangible organization" (Sichynsky np). For more information on the Black Lives matter movement's development through *Twitter*, see "How Black Lives Matter moved from a hashtag to a real political force" by Janell Ross.

Launched as a micro-blogging platform in 2006, *Twitter* was: "designed to let people post short, 140-character text updates or 'tweets' to a network of others" (Marwick and Boyd 116). In their study on *Twitter*, Small, et al. define the basic its functionality:

> The functionality and structure of *Twitter* revolves around
>
> illustrating connections. *Twitter* enables users to view content by,
>
> and connect to, people and organizations of interest that they
>
> "follow". Users are able to view who follows whom in the
>
> *Twitterverse*, or *Twitter* user community, and read public
>
> discussions around specific topics designated by a "hashtag" (e.g.
>
> #idcc11). Hashtags function as a folksonomic keyword system for
>
> organizing topic-based posts. The networked structure of *Twitter*
>
> allows users to view the content in different ways by clicking on the
>
> hashtag, author, time or follower. (176).

While users build a social network through *followers*, and follow other people and entities on *Twitter*, the ability to directly address or post on the feed for an entity, outside of a user's groups of followers, opens up the audience for *tweets*. Users can take links (videos, images, mass media elements) shared with them through their network of *followers* and address them directly to political parties and other historical memory association. For example, adoyma @adoyma retweets a newspaper article to the conservative, Partido Popular ("PP") by using their *Twitter* handle @PPopular in his tweet: "De verdad @PPopular que os pasáis #MemoriaHistorica por el forro. Habeis convertido fosa republicana en vertedero http://www.interviu.es/reportajes/articulos/de-tumba-republicana-a-vertedero-de-escombros

…"[26] The tweet appears on @ado yam's *Twitter* feed, but since he addresses the Popular Party by using their handle, the *tweet* also aggregates on the feed for the PP. Since the tweet is added to the PP's feed, not only does the Party receive the tweet, but all of their followers also see it in their own feeds.

The imagined audience through the *Twitterverse* expands beyond a users' personal social network of followers. The moment a user includes a hashtag or addresses an entity by using their handle, suddenly a tweet extends beyond the personal network and is included within a wider net of conversations happening about specific topics. The ability to share images, news stories, and other media about the exhumations (or lack thereof, as is the case with @aroma's tweet), with a larger network that is not consistent with one's own personal social network changes the imagined audience from that of the local and personal, to an audience with disparate opinions. While @ado yam does not follow the PP on *Twitter*, @ado yam can reach out to them and their followers, an imagined audience quite different from his own group social network. By tagging the PP through their handle, proponents of the disinterments reach not only the Party's account, but also a network of conservatives that may have differing perspectives on the exhumations.

The imagined audience causes users to believe they exercise influence over official entities online. The example above shows how a user reaches out to the conservative party and its followers—as an attempt to demand accountability—but users do not limit their tweets to opposing parties. The ARMH's *Twitter* account has an extensive network with 11.8k followers. On January 23, 2017 at 6:01 AM, the ARMH tweeted: "El @PSOE presenta una ILP que dice que a los desaparecidos del franquismo los sigan buscando voluntarios. ¡QUEREMOS

---

[26] The *tweet* by @adoyma from 9 Jan 2017, 6:52 PM, garnered one comment in solidarity with, seven retweets, and three likes.

DERECHOS!". ILP stands for *Iniciativa legislativa popular* ("popular legislative initiative").

The ARMH's tweet refers to leftwing PSOE's—the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party's—

introduction of legislation that encourages the continued use of volunteers to search for the

disappeared, further reducing the already minimal financial assistance for the exhumations.[27]

Without linking to any documentation about the proposed legislation, the ARMH's tweet was

shared over 130 times, and each of the retweets aggregates under the original post by the ARMH.

Many of the retweets also tag the @PSOE's *Twitter* account. For each retweet that includes the

PSOE handle, the comment will aggregate and appear on their newsfeed and in the feed of all of

their followers. The ability to reach not only their local network of followers, but to

communicate with incongruent groups gives a certain amount of influence to the *Twitter*verse, as

users can address their own or opposing political parties to comment on pertinent news items and

attempt to hold entities accountable through public, online criticism.

The ARMH's tweet above garnered 130 shares, each of which went not only to the user's

social network, but also to the PSOE's newsfeed. The example of the ARMH on *Twitter*

demonstrates how the dissemination of information on social networks through sharing and the

use of hashtags exemplifies the idea of *social cascades* (Cha, et al.; Mislove, et al.; Yu and Fei).

Cha, et al. define social cascades or *social networks* in their study "Characterizing Social

Cascades in *Flickr*":

> One of the distinguishing features of online social networks is
>
> information dissemination along social links. Content in the form of

---

[27] For information regarding the funds provided by the government for the exhumations, see the

chart created by the ARMH on their website "Financiación de las actividades de la ARMH"

under ["¿Qué es la asociación para la recuperación de la memoria histórica (ARMH)?"](#)

ideas, products, and messages spreads across social connections like

a virus: one person discovers new content and shares it with a few

of their friends, who share it with a few of their friends, and so on.

We call this spreading of a piece of content along links in a social

network a social cascade. (13)

The flow of information from one user to another makes social networks an effective tool for

circulating materials about the recuperation of mass graves, while, in the case of *Twitter*,

wielding influence over the imagined audience.

The posts on *Twitter* skew towards the political—where users address political parties

and other entities (like the ARMH)—while *Facebook* offers a more integrated social cascade for

the commenting, sharing, archiving, and cross-referencing of materials about the disinterments

within the social network. *Facebook* thrives on the social cascading of information that spreads

across user networks and groups. Founded in 2004, *Facebook* quickly became the most popular

social networking site. It boasts 1.86 billion monthly active users as of December 31, 2016, with

approximately 85.2% of daily active users located outside the U.S. and Canada. The social

networks that connect friends and family make *Facebook* a complex grid of social cascades:

"*Facebook*'s power derives from . . . the 'social graph'—the sum of the wildly various

connections between the site's users and their friends; between people and events; between

events and photos; between photos and people; and between a huge number of discrete objects

linked by metadata describing them and their connections" (Zeichick np). At the most basic

level, users must create a *profile* as a means of identification and interaction, but the *social

network of friends* selected by the user forms the network of connections that populates content

into a *newsfeed*.

Important for the discussion on mass grave recuperation on social media sites are the *groups* and *pages* functions within *Facebook*: "there are *groups* to which one belongs, either public or private, and which create a more coherent space for collective interaction, compared with the individuated network behaviour more generally presented in a newsfeed" (Allen 215). The *groups* and *pages* become virtual arenas for the exchange of digital cultural materials. Comments shared with *friends* through their *newsfeed* are only visible to a user's network, unless a user decides to leave his *Facebook* account completely open to the public. While all of the social media networks discussed encourage the sharing of open information among members, users have the option of setting different privacy levels on their accounts, on posts/tweets/videos, or on groups they administrate. Due to the private nature of the content added to a *Facebook* account, many users limit their profile privacy setting to allow *friends* or *friends of friends* to view the content they post. Others keep their profiles, *Facebook* wall, and content uploaded open for public view. The privacy settings on individual accounts inhibit the open exchange of information, therefore much of the interaction that revolves around mass grave recovery on *Facebook* happens within *groups* and on *pages* for community entities.

The *groups* and *pages* on *Facebook* generate virtual communities that jointly participate in the recovery of historical memory. While the managers of groups and pages can make their sites private, all of the sites for the recuperation of mass graves are open to the public. This means that a user does not need a *Facebook* account to view the materials on the page or in the group, but does need an account in order to participate within the group. The openness encouraged by public groups facilitates the sharing of materials and discussions on the recuperation efforts. The layering of multimedia texts about recovery of specific sites, pertaining to commemorations, and rituals of reburial, produces a rich mosaic of digital cultural materials

128

that facilitates the recuperation of collective memory while providing a space for community mourning.

The *Facebook* page run by "Crónicas a pie de fosa" demonstrates how social cascading leads to the layering of digital materials regarding the rituals of reburial. "Crónicas a pie de fosa" is a weblog authored by husband and wife pair Jesús Pablo Domínguez Varona and Aiyoa Arroita Lafuente who focus predominantly on mass grave recovery in Burgos. In addition to their website, the couple manages a *Facebook* page to share recent blog posts from their weblog, link to relevant news articles, and they interact with other individuals and entities interested in the exhumation process. The "Crónicas" *Facebook* page posted and shared a series of digital materials regarding the annual commemoration at the mass grave located next to the former prison in Valdenoceda. The mass graves at Valdenoceda are located at a prison used by Franco from 1938-1942 in Valdenoceda in northern Burgos. In 2007, the *Asociación de Familias de Represaliados en Valdenoceda (Burgos)* ("Association of Families of Victims of Reprisal in Valdenoceda"), with the help of the Sociedad de Ciencias Aranzadi and the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, disinterred the remains of 114 people held prisoner by the Regime. After a long process due to lack of funds, the remains recovered in 2007 have slowly been identified through DNA testing.

"Crónicas" shares the digital materials they created during the commemoration and combines that with additional digital materials found in their friends' networks to display the commemorative rituals. The shared materials reflect the patterns outlined through the different *YouTube* and *Flickr* imagery. The "Crónicas" page uploaded an image of the tomb decorated with flowers, flags (regional and republican) (see Figure 6), as well as a photo album with images of the musical tributes and speeches (see Figure 7). One of the founders of "Crónicas"

(Triskel Jesús Pablo Domínguez Varona) posted a video to his private *Facebook* wall, but then

shared the *Facebook* video with the group page (see Figure 8).

Figure 6: Decorated tomb and monument

Figure 7: Uploaded photo album with tributes

Figure 8: Video shared from private network to the "Crónicas" page

"Crónicas" supplements the digital materials they upload with other representations of the

commemorations to complement and complete the rituals represented. They share photos of the congregation and the musical tribute from the Exhumación de Valdenoceda's Facebook page (see Figure 9) and speeches describing the events that took place and the individuals affected (see Figure 10).

Figure 9: Shared image from "Exhumación de Valdenoceda's" *Facebook* page

Figure 10: Shared image from Jokin Garmilla's personal page

For the commemorations in 2017, there were no remains to inter as seen in the annual memorials at Valdenocea in 2014-2016 ("Crónicas" blog post titled "Valdenoceda, prisión del horror, cementerio y homenajes" in the weblogs section below) because the identification process of the remains has stalled due to lack of funding. The commemorations continued undeterred, as Jokin Garmilla's *Facebook* post explains (April 22, 1:49pm): "Aunque no había entrega de restos identificados las emociones han sido las mismas. Palabras, música, recuerdos y banderas. Nombres y más nombres, nombres del penal, de Valdivielso, de la Mazorra," The

collage of memories compiled from personal digital materials created, together with digital texts found through the social cascade fuse together to present a collective view of the rituals of mourning.

Eiroa, et al. summarize activity in *Facebook* groups that focus on historical memory: "Por su parte, *Facebook* permite compartir recursos textuales y audiovisuales con otras personas de opiniones similares. Incluso parece haber adquirido un papel de ocio y entretenimiento para los aficionados a los recuerdos materiales de la Guerra" (Eiroa, et al. 368). *Facebook* allows for the sharing of textual resources and audiovisual materials with people of similar opinions. These groups are comprised of members that choose to join or follow the group and these are generally people with similar ideological orientations. With over 30,000 members across several different active *Facebook* groups dedicated to historical memory, the scope of these groups is varied, but each provides a community space—mediated through a user profile—to discuss the recuperation of historical memory and the exhumation of familial and affiliative relations.[28]

Facebook maintains the highest level of activity and interaction on the web relating to historical memory. In 2013 Eiroa and her team found and analyzed 10 *Facebook* groups with 2,195 total members (Eiroa, et al. 364). Only four years later in 2017, that number has grown to almost 30,000 members spread over several of the larger groups. Sánchez explains why *Facebook* serves as a better organizational tool than *Twitter* for the digital culture uploaded to

---

[28] The following active *Facebook* groups dedicate their content to historical memory (as of March 2017): "Guerra Civil Española (Espanhola)" currently with 26,790 members, "Plataforma Memoria Histórica - Guerra Civil Española" with 9,571 members, "Memoria Histórica de España" with 1,011 members, "La Guerra Civil Española" with 3,558 members, "Restos materiales guerra civil española" with 937 members.

the platform: "se puede establecer un orden, pues cuando se crea un grupo, de forma particular en *Facebook*, aparte de los testimonios y comentarios escritos, así como fotografías, subidas al grupo hay otros tres apartados que permiten gestionar la información que se vaya subiendo al medio digital separándola en miembros, eventos, fotos y archivos . . ." (Mariela Sánchez 408). The framework of *Facebook* allows for an organizational structure unavailable in *Twitter*. *Twitter* essentially becomes a news aggregator for mass grave recuperation where users post links to articles, *YouTube* videos, or other social media content, about exhumations, but upload little original content. The digital materials shared within the tweet are usually not original, but are compiled from other media platforms and retweeted to followers or other institutions or personalities on *Twitter*, usually with a short reflections on the linked content.[29] *Twitter* functions as a link-sharing site where the social cascade propagates the spread of information. As a microblogging platform that uses hashtags to organize content, *Twitter* is not the ideal application for the complex sharing of ideas and digital cultural materials regarding mass grave rituals. The 140-character limit to all Tweets severely impinges on the ability to make detailed commentary about mass grave recuperation and historical memory.

The anniversary of the proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic on April 14, 1931, is a widely celebrated date around Spain and rituals of remembrance are often performed at sites

---

[29] Tweets with original content, such as the photos uploaded by Fernando Marín @docfmarin of the homage paid to the victims during the exhumations in Guadalajara, are rare. Users do occasionally upload images (mainly) of solitary times spent at the gravesites. Images uploaded by users (see G0y0 de C0scurrəra @coscurrera; Carmen @KarmenMlg; and Óscar Pardo dl Salud @PardoSalud) and shared publicly give an intimate view into the mourning process that continues at the gravesite outside of official commemorations.

of reburial of the victims of Francoism. Using *Facebook Live*, users broadcast, in real time, the commemoration rituals from around the country. *Facebook Live* launched on April 6, 2016, and enables users to post live videos from their mobile devices to their *Facebook* pages. Rather than record a video of an event and upload it to *Facebook* after the event concludes, *Facebook* Live allows users to stream events as they occur. Users' comments are time stamped, and as the video plays after the event concludes, the comments appear at the time they were posted during the live feed. As founder of *Facebook*, Mark Zuckerberg, explains through a post on his *Facebook* page: "Live is like having a TV camera in your pocket. Anyone with a phone now has the power to broadcast to anyone in the world. When you interact live, you feel connected in a more personal way. This is a big shift in how we communicate, and it's going to create new opportunities for people to come together" (np).

An example of the *Día de la República* commemoration comes from a *Facebook* Live [video](#) filmed by "Junkar Galba." Galba's *Facebook* page is open to the public and his live video was shared on various historical memory sites; therefore any user with an account can comment on his video in real-time. This real-time experience allows for transactive recuperation of historical memory, where online community members can comment on and interact with each other while watching a live video. Junkar Galba streams a live-feed video from a commemoration at the cemetery in Ciriego, Santander, Spain. The only text accompanying the video reads: "Ciriego 14 Abril 2017." Ciriego is the site of a large mass grave where approximately 850 to 1,300 bodies reside. While family members have erected memorial plaques in the cemetery, they seek the recovery of the bodies from the grave. In December 2015, the organization *Ganemos Santander* brought a motion before the local government office, the Ayuntamiento de Santander, to hold them accountable for bringing to fruition the exhumations,

134

citing the Law of Historical Memory as their support. In Galba's video, a commemoration in remembrance of those lost their lives at the hands of the Regime, occurs at the site of the grave, in front of the decorated plaques with the names of the victims from the town.

The video contains several speeches, and near the end they take a minute of silence to honor the victims: "Vamos a guardar un minuto de silencio por las vítimas de la represión franquista en Cantabria que yacen, un numero importante de ellos, bajo nuestros pies" (16:08-17:45.) The moment of remembrance is observed both in-person and virtually. Despite the ability to post live comments during the live video stream, users watching the broadcast online emulate the actions of the physical participants. The virtual community reflects the actions of the physical community as they observe the moment of silence by eliminating their discussion on the live feed. The video stream lasts 21:08, was shared over 46 times, and had 1,500 views and 50 comments within 3 days of the event. The *Facebook* page for the "Crónicas" weblog shared the video. The 46 shares to individual walls and other historical memory *Facebook* groups generate conversations on those walls, propagating other discussion on the grave and the rituals of commemoration.

Galba's video also signals the importance of these sites of remembrance. They provide a physical and virtual community space for mourning. As the top comment on the video notes: "Me falló la persona que me iba a llevar pues está enferma lo siento un montón." While the individual could not physically attend the commemoration, he or she was able to watch the proceedings in real-time, surrounded by other *Facebook* users, actively commenting on the event. The virtual sites of remembrance are places for communities to gather beyond the exhumation and inhumation and pay homage to their family members. The virtual communities fostered online extend the reaches of the local neighborhood and also help extend the recovery of

135

memories through the first, second, and third generations after the Civil War. The digital

memories fostered through social media sites often pertain to the younger generations, the

postmemories formed and contributed by the children and grandchildren of those that lived

during the War and postwar. Videos such as the ones on *Facebook*, which are shared from wall

to wall, viewed, and commented on, foster the recuperation efforts through local and virtual

communities. Social networking creates an ever-evolving landscape of commemorations,

remembrance and rituals that extend beyond the reburial of bodies by allowing the continued

discussion and dissemination of digital cultural materials. The digital media documenting rituals

of reburial and commemoration show the cyclical nature of the exhumation process that

culminates in the return of remains to the community. Rituals of reburial and commemorations

honoring those who laid hidden for decades in their burial sites are morphing into physical sites

of remembrance that are a living space for the recuperation of collective memory.

An Introduction to Weblogs

Social network sites facilitate virtual communities to share, discuss, and view rituals of

remembrance, but weblogs offer a platform for individuals and communities to develop and

publish long-form narratives showcasing recuperation efforts. The published content often takes

the form of a weblog. Jorn Barger coined the term "blog," derived from the word "weblog" in

December 1997 and Tim Berners-Lee built the first weblog at CERN (Singh and Shahid 1). Jim

Walker defines a weblog in his entry for the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory*: "A

weblog, or blog, is a frequently updated website consisting of dated entries arranged in reverse

chronological order so the most recent post appears first . . . Typically, weblogs are published by

individuals and their style is personal and informal" (np). The aims and backgrounds of entities

that produce weblogs may differ widely, but they share general characteristics with each other:

Blogs are sites that capture particular views, ideas, or opinions over

time. It is a web application which contains periodic posts on a

common web page. These posts are often but not necessarily in

reverse chronological order. Each blog tells a story, be it about a

person, an organization, an event, or any other subject such as the

environment, healthcare, disasters, language, literature, etc. . . Blogs

run from individual diaries to aims of political campaigns, media

programmes and corporations, and from one occasional author to

large communities of writers. (Singh and Shahid 1)

The advent of the Content Management System ("CMS") in the early 1990s gave the general

public a tool with which to a build personal website without being a computer programmer. With

the advent of CMSs, the general public, historical memory associations, and autonomous

communities gained the ability to publish content to the Web. "Weblogs first appeared in the

mid-1990s, becoming popular as simple and free publishing tools became available towards the

turn of the century" (Walker np).[30] The tool Walker describes is the widespread adoption of

CMSs. A CMS is a package of software designed to facilitate publication to the web by offering

---

[30] Some website applications, like *Wordpress* and *Squarespace*, for example, provide free

hosting space for their webpages, so users do not have to pay a fee for the hosting and

maintenance of their websites. Of course, nothing is free. In order to receive no-charge hosting

space, users agree to display *Wordpress* or *Squarespace* branding on their websites as

recompense for server space.

tools like a back-end user interface with buttons and text editors.[31] CMSs make the integration of multimedia elements with written text a relatively simple task. The power of CMSs coupled with the availability of free or low-cost website hosting solutions gives individuals and communities the ability to self-represent and create an online space through which to collaborate on their communications to the public about mass grave recovery.

Weblogs as Virtual Communities

Weblogs grappling with the recuperation of mass graves often emerge from familial groups or local community members as a space to upload and share commemorative rituals, but also to include long-form narrative descriptions and discussion on the rituals of reburial. Many of the weblogs about the recuperation efforts explicitly state that the sites are designed from within a community network, rather than through an individualized effort. Hotspots of community activity on the web based on the exhumations in the municipalities and autonomous communities around the Peninsula emulate the *blogger communal spaces* described by Efimova, Hendrick and, Anjewierden in their article "Finding 'the life between buildings': An approach for defining a weblog community": "*blogger communal spaces* are not evenly distributed: some neighborhoods are full of social activities and conversations, while others look like a random collocation of houses where inhabitants have nothing in common" (3). The weblogs selected for the analysis below—"Crónicas a pie de fosa," "Exhumación de Valdenoceda: Buscamos

---

[31] CMSs provide an alternative to building websites from scratch, which requires in-depth knowledge of programing languages such as HTML and/or CSS, Python, Java or JavaScript. The architectural framework of CMSs allows users to format and reformat their websites because "content"—the text, images, and other media you upload—is stored in a database, separate from instructions for styling (appearance) and displaying the site.

familias. Cerramos heridas," and "Las Merindades en la Memoria"—focus on the same geographic area surrounding the city of Burgos. The autonomous community of Castile and León, where Burgos is located, has the distinctive position of containing the site of the first exhumation led by the ARMH at Priaranza del Bierzo.

The community of familial and affiliative relations has rallied behind the efforts and participates in the rituals of reburial physically, but also share the experiences through collective weblogs. The three weblogs analyzed serve as a case study of the *blogger communal space* and the community efforts involved in creating online content for the Web. On the "About" pages for the weblogs discussed below, the creators specifically state their purpose as a community space of remembrance and maintain that the weblog is constructed by community members. Blogger communal spaces are not limited to Burgos, but are found throughout the Peninsula. The weblogs concerning the exhumations around Burgos extend beyond the three sites analyzed below and other communal websites about the exhumations in the area exist, but the three weblogs were chosen because they represents the views of familial and affiliative relations (as opposed to investigative teams or service blogs, for example).[32]

---

[32] Two other communal sites that focus on the exhumations in Estépar are "Exhumación Estépar" and "El blog de los fusilados en el monte de Estépar (Burgos)." "El blog de los fusilados en el monte de Estépar (Burgos)," does not generate original content, but instead aggregates news articles, archaeological reports, and communications from the investigative team at the site, including photographic updates. The weblog "Exhumación Estépar" lends another community voice to the exhumations occurring around Burgos. Maintained by the team leading the exhumation, a detailed account of the two localizations and exhumations (June 2014 & April 2015) is the main function of the site. But the investigative team does not limit its descriptions to

"Crónicas a pie de fosa. Localización, excavación y exhumación. (…y algo de la guerra civil

por ser el origen)"

Authored by husband and wife pair Jesús Pablo Domínguez Varona and Aiyoa Arroita Lafuente, the weblog focuses on mass grave recovery in Estépar, on the Peninsula, and also historical memory in general. Numerous mass graves cluster together in the mountains of Estépar in Burgos with an estimated 300-400 bodies located in them. Exploratory drilling and exhumations in June 2014 and April 2015 led to the recovery of 96 victims ("Exhumaciones Estépar"). The couple started the blog and became involved in the exhumations around Burgos because of their daughter:

> Nuestra primera toma de contacto con el mundo de las
>
> exhumaciones y la memoria histórica fue por 'interés de nuestra
>
> hija.' Nuestro motivo es más bien paternal . . . Pero qué se hace si
>
> tu hija con 12 años tiene por fan al forense Francisco Etxeberria y
>
> a la antropóloga forense de la sexta Bonnes…, pues eso, buscar un
>
> lugar donde se realice una exhumación y coincida que su 'ídolo'
>
> este allí haciendo su trabajo." (np)

Pictured below the comments is a photo of their daughter, Arane, with Paco Etxeberría—a founding member and President of the ARMH, initiator of the exhumations around the country when he exhumed the body of his grandfather from the mass grave in Priaranza del Bierzo (León) (see Figure 11). Because of Arane's interest, the family has volunteered at the exhumations of the grave in Estépar and from there volunteered at sites in Larrabetzu (Bizkaia),

---

scientific accounts of the exhumations; they also include photographs and descriptions of the rituals and commemorations occurring around the disinterments.

Ibero (Nafarroa), Dicastillo (Nafarroa) and more, as reflected in their blog posts about the experiences. With 98,413 total hits and 45,159 visits from within Spain in 2016, the weblog has enjoyed moderate readership since its initiation in 2015.
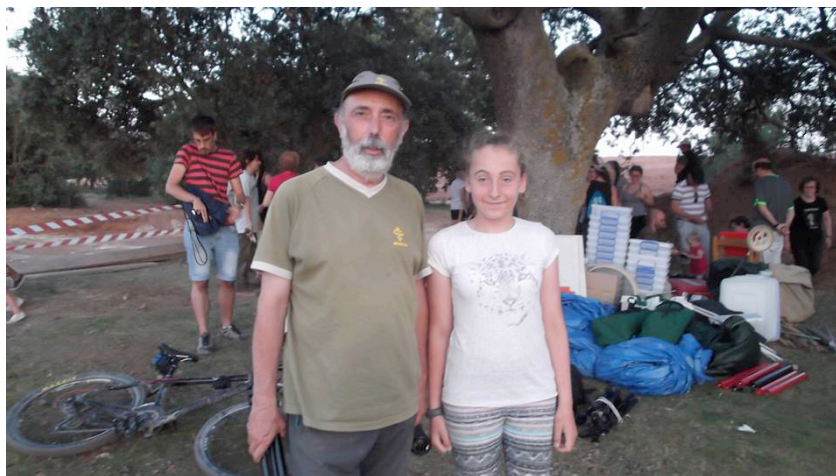
Figure 11: "Nuestra hija Arane, responsable de la entrada en este mundo de las exhumaciones, con su ídolo el antropólogo forense Paco Etxeberría en Estepar (Burgos)"

Varona and Lafuente state their purpose on their site's main page: "Somos personas comprometidas con la memoria histórica y contra la represión franquista, pero sobre todo somos 'voluntarios' que acuden siempre que pueden a cualquier excavación o exhumación relacionada con la guerra civil y las fosas comunes, sin dejar por supuesto de ir a cuanto homenaje se realiza en memoria de nuestros muertos y desaparecidos" (np). The couple also provides a description of the content a user can expect to find on their site: "Creamos nuestras propias noticias. Hacemos de corresponsales de cuantos actos, exposiciones, conferencias, homenajes y congresos se realizan, a los cuales acudimos siempre que nuestro trabajo nos lo permite." As part of their blog posts and aggregation of new articles, the couple attends commemorative events for local gravesites.

One of their blog posts titled "Exhumando Fosas, Recuperando Dignidades" from November 15, 2015, illustrates the cycle of an exhumation and the identification process. The

couple describes their experience at an exhibition held in León and coordinated by the ARMH and the Sociedad de Ciencias Aranzadi. Part of the conference was the exposition of a life-size photographic replica of a mass grave, alongside large panels hanging on the wall that explain the exhumation process (see Figure 12). As part of their post, Varona and Lafuente summarize the different sections of the exposition: "Las personas," "La fosa," "La excavación," "Exposición de los restos," "Extracción," "El laboratorio," "El Homenaje," "La Divulgación." The honoring, commemoration, and rituals are identified as a necessary part of the recuperation cycle. The investigative team includes images and descriptions of commemorations on the panel (such as the decoration of the memorial tomb with flowers and flags, and the inhumation of the ossuaries with the identified remains) (see Figure 13). The exhibit lists rituals of reburial in their cycle of historical memory recuperation and mass grave recovery. Varona and Lafuente write: "El homenaje es sin duda uno de los procesos más emotivos que se desarrollan en torno a la exhumación. A veces puede llevar varios años el realizarlo desde que se practica. Es en ese momento cuando nos damos cuenta de la labor que llevamos a cabo los profesionales y voluntarios con nuestro trabajo" (np). The final step in the exhumation cycle is the diffusion of information through news agencies and online sources. The weblog "Crónica" serves as a diffusion method and throughout subsequent posts, the couple focuses specifically on the commemorations surrounding the reburials.

Figure 12: "Exhumando Fosas. Recuperando Dignidades."

Figure 13: Descriptive Panel for "El homenaje"

Varona and Lafuente dedicate several blog posts specifically to the homages and commemorations they attend, not just in Estépar, but also in the vicinity of their home in Bilbao in the Basque country ["Fosas de la Pedraja. Homenajes y Vandalismo;" "Los Asesinados de la Fosa de la Tejera, (Ribera Alta-Alava);" "La fosa de Parasimon (Pajares)"]. In a post from September 5, 2016 titled "Los Asesinados de la Fosa de la Tejera, (Ribera Alta-Alava)," the couple juxtaposes a narrative description of the exhumation and commemoration process of the mass grave at La Tejera with corresponding images. The couple gives a detailed historical contextualization of the grave, they situate it within the Basque country on an aerial map, then add a short biography of the three people exhumed and identified from the grave in 2010 (Fernández de Labastida, Florentino García y Mónica Barrón), followed by the localization and exhumation of the bodies.

They end their post with a description of the yearly commemoration held by neighbors and family members at the site of the grave and the erected memorial. The first commemoration,

held in September 2010, after identifying the remains of the victims, initiated a yearly gathering

to honor the fallen and their families. The images on the blog post show a diverse age group

gathered around to remember: from the survivors that lived through the War, to their children,

and their grandchildren (see Figure 14). Through speeches, song, and cultural dances, the yearly

commemoration transforms the site of mourning into an ever-evolving space of collective

memory and ritualistic practices (see Figure 14). The post also links to a video of the

commemoration recorded by a local newspaper, "Naiz," titled "Ahaztuak recuerda a los fusilados

en La Tejera (Gesaltza)." The digital manifestations that arise out of these commemorations

disseminate the rituals to a wider audience that witnesses the rituals. As in the *YouTube* videos

and the ARMH *Flickr* album previous analyzed, the blog post here shows nearly identical

commemoration rituals: a community gathering around the decorated memorial monolith,

speeches, and artistic tributes through music and dance.

The juxtaposition of digital media content produced by a witness, presented next to a

collective narrative about the content, gives a contextualized view of the exhumation and rituals

of commemoration. Social networking sites, like *Facebook* and *Twitter*, encourage social

interaction, but the weblog focuses on linear narratives constructed by a community, like the

husband and wife team at "Crónicas." While users can post verbose status updates on *Facebook*,

the platform "hides" content that extends past a few lines of text. In order to access the text of a

lengthy *Facebook* post, the user must click on a link that says, "read more." The extra steps

necessary to reveal the entire post discourage users from delving deeper into complex modalities

of thought. The weblog gives users the space through which to develop a complex narrative with

the collocation of text next to multimedia elements. Bloggers can then disseminate their posts

through social network sites with additional digital materials to complement shared content.

"Crónicas" has a popular *Facebook* group with the same name as their blog, "Crónicas a Pie de Fosa," which has 1,190 followers. The family shares their blog posts through their page, which then gets disseminated through the social cascade.

Since the remains of the victims were reburied together at the site of the mass grave in 2010, the delivery of the remains and reburial did not occur at this commemoration. However, the annual memorials that continue even after the identification and reburial of remains extend the rituals of remembrance beyond the act of inhumation. On the anniversary of the deaths of the victims, community members gather to honor their memory and their history at the site of the grave located along a roadside. The exhumation of the mass grave and the reburial of the bodies at the same location convert these sites into spaces of memory, where communities gather to remember, collectively. The community has appropriated the mass gravesite—a space surrounded by silence and fear for decades—and converted it into a place of collective remembrance.

Figure 14: Group gathered at La Tejera commemoration with regional music and dance

The ritual of the yearly commemoration appears again in the blog post "Fosas de La Pedraja. Homenajes y Vandalismo" from October 20, 2015, as the families prepare for the

145

upcoming commemoration in celebration of All Saint's Day on November 1st. Located 15 miles

from the graves at Monte de Estépar, the mass graves on the Monte de La Pedraja are some of

the largest in Burgos. The graves at La Pedraja contain the remains for approximately 300

republicans executed after the military coup in 1936 during the first months of the war. Through

two excavations in 2010 and 2011, the families recovered and identified 135 bodies from two of

the graves at La Pedraja.[33] As of 2015, only 16 of the 135 bodies have been identified through

forensic testing, but the bodies of all 135 were buried at the hands of community members in the

commemoration, as represented in the blog post by "Crónica."

The post begins with a description of an upcoming commemoration of the victims from

the grave. Varon and Lafuente explain that in 2014 "los restos fueron trasladados tras el

homenaje a pie de fosa al cementerio de Villafranca de Montes de Oca, donde la Asociación de

Familiares de Personas Asesinados en los Montes de La Pedraja ha conseguido un terreno cedido

por 100 años por el Obispado, en el que ellos han construido un panteón para dar cobijo a todos y

cada uno de las 135 personas exhumadas." (np). While the community association transferred the

remains from the mass gravesite at La Pedraja to the cemetery approximately 40 miles from the

original burial site, they converted the original burial into a monument (see Figure 15). Instead of

eradicating the site and obfuscating the events that occurred by leaving the mass grave as a

vacant space, the community Association re-memorialized the location. After the exhumation

---

[33] "Crónica" explains the history of the exhumations at La Pedraja: "La exhumación de la fosa

numero 1 se realizó en 2010 con 104 individuos y la fosa número 2 en 2011 con 30 cuerpos más,

perdiéndose para siempre los restos de otras 30 personas aproximadamente en las obras de

ampliación del camino y de las que solo se halló un único hueso perteneciente a una persona

identificada."

and reburial, the community gained agency by erasing the power of a space surrounded by secrecy and exposing the atrocities that transpired at the site. In Figure 15, I show a side-by-side comparison of the grave during exhumation next to the memorial constructed on the grave location. The monument they erected over the grave after the extraction of the remains emulates the layout of the site before exhumation. Around the monument, the community assembled informational signs and benches to provide a space for contemplation and remembrance, separate from the site of reburial.

Figure 15: "Fosa nº1 de La Pedraja. Imagen 'Crónicas a Pie de Fosa'"

The blog post about the upcoming commemorations of 2015 was prompted by the violent defacement of the memorial erected at the site of reburial in 2014. The post explains that recent vandalism from ultraconservative or neonazi groups has highlighted the reason why the exhumations and diffusion of information about them are important. The images show graffiti over the memorial, gravesite, and obscuring the informational signs next to the site of reburial (see Figure 16). The graffiti reads "Arriba España," "Rojos No," "Pasamos y Pasaremos," "Estos Os Metimos" with a middle finger raised, and a swastika painted prominently over the

photograph on the information at the gravesite. Local news stations covered the defacement of the monument that happened over the weekend of September 26-27, 2015 ("DiariodeBurgos.es, BurgosConecta.es, and "Radio Televisión de Castilla y León's" local station, La 8 Burgos, posted video coverage on *YouTube*). The violent act demonstrates how the exhumations continue to strike a contentious chord within a community and highlights the importance for families and affiliative relations to make public their histories and maintain dignified sites of remembrance. The diffusion of the defacement through social media denounces the rebellious actions, while also demanding accountability of the culpable parties.

Figure 16: "Pintadas 'patrióticas' neonazis en las fosas de La Pedraja. (Fotografías enviadas por una persona amiga de los autores)"

The blog post moves past the vandalism to provide information about the gravesite, concluding with a section dedicated to the post-exhumation process of commemoration and reburial from 2014. As shown in the various *YouTube* videos cited previously, and *Flickr*

imagery from the ARMH, the display of the ossuaries for delivery to the community plays a

central role in the ritual of interment. Each of the recovered bodies was encased in an ossuary

(see Figure 17) and situated under the monument dedicating the site to the victims and families.

The ossuaries were then laid to rest together in the pantheon built by the families. While 2014

marked the first of annual commemorations at the pantheon built for the remains, the site of

remembrance will continue to grow as additional remains are recovered from the remaining mass

graves located on La Pedraja. The diffusion through social media of the rituals of reburial share

the evolving recovery of collective memory. As the identification of the hundreds of remains

continues, families and affiliative relations will add new memories to those established through

the annual memorials. The narrative quality of the weblog helps contextualize the defacement of

the monument in relation to the grave and rituals of reburial.

Figure 17: "Francisco Etxeberría y Lourdes Herrasti colocando bajo el monumento en La Pedraja los osarios el día 1 de noviembre 2014. Imagen 'Crónicas a pie de fosa'"

In a post from April 3, 2016 titled "Valdenoceda, prisión del horror, cementerio y

homenajes," Varona and Lafuente post a detailed historical account of the prison, mass graves

that grew from the prison in Burgos, and the current exhumation and reburial. The annual

commemoration from 2017 was discussed above in relation to the social cascade of information on *Facebook*, but the post on the "Crónicas" weblog differs from the layering quality of information on the social network site. The representation of the rituals on the weblog develops in a narrative format, where the events are recounted in a chronological order giving the reader an interpretive view of the commemoration. At the cemetery of Valdenoceda they have an annual commemoration for those that have been reburied and add newly identified bodies to the graveyard: "Uno de los actos más entrañables son los homenajes y si además son con la entrega de los restos identificados a la familia, más emotivos aún. Todos los años se realiza en el mes de abril, en un fin de semana cercano al 14, Día de la República, un homenaje en el cementerio de Valdenoceda" (np). The families inhume the bodies in the same location as the mass grave, but every year during the commemoration rituals, the remains of newly identified victims are added to the group. The commemorative rituals follow the pattern identified and performed in other inhumations: families decorate the memorial site with flowers and flags in the colors of the republic, as the ossuaries are laid in view before the gathering (see Figure 18); musical groups play songs of tribute; community members give speeches; and the victims names are read aloud. 11 families received the remains of their loved ones (see Figure 19) and finally the ossuaries were laid to rest together. The yearly ritual of commemoration permits the entire community to join together and undergo the performative rituals of inhumation.

Figure 18: "Homenaje en el cementerio de Valdenoceda el 18 de abril de 2015"

Figure 19: "Entrega a familiares de la urna con los restos identificados"

The continued identification of the remains from the site punctuates the memorials, as families receive the bodies of their loved ones and entomb them alongside their compatriots. Varon and Lafuente write: "El año pasado se realizó con la entrega de 11 urnas con los restos de los presos represaliados a las familias. Este año 2016 sucederá lo mismo, se harán entrega 9 urnas con los restos recientemente identificados de 9 presos. Será un acto bonito de homenaje, de recuerdo, de reparación en lo posible . . ." (np). Families that have identified the remains return to commemorate their loved ones, and even more families join their group, as the identification process continues. The recurrent commemoration follows the same rituals every year (see the previous description of the 2017 commemoration as represented on *Facebook*), but the return of bodies to the families and the entombment of remains alongside victims already identified and laid to rest demonstrate the evolving nature of memory as new names and histories are added to the tribute.

"Exhumación de Valdenoceda: Buscamos familias. Cerramos heridas."

The exhumations at Valdenoceda prompted the creation of a website by the families of the victims called "Exhumación de Valdenoceda: Buscamos familias. Cerramos heridas."

Whereas a husband and wife pair maintains "Crónicas" and their efforts are undertaken as a familial unit with their daughter, the weblog "Exumación de Valdenoceda" comes out of a collective, community effort. The families began collaborating at the end of the 1990s and in 2016 formed an official organization, the *Asociación de Familias de Represaliados en Valdenoceda (Burgos)* ("Association of Families of Victims of Reprisal in Valdenoceda") ("AFRV"), in order to facilitate the solicitation of funds for the exhumations. Under the information about the formation of the AFRV they write: "desde finales de los 90 comenzó a constituirse un grupo de familias de aquellos presos, que deseaban recuperar los restos de sus padres y sus abuelos. Apenas comenzaron unos pocos. La Asociación de Familias de Represaliados en Valdenoceda (Burgos) comenzó a gestarse con los primeros contactos entre familiares de aquellos represaliados" (np). The recuperation efforts began as a community-backed initiative in the '90s and have continued over 25 years later, leading to the recuperation and identification of some of the remains found at the prison's grave.

The weblog divides its pages into the following sections: "La Asociación," "La Cárcel," "Los Muertos," "Colabora," Reencuentros," "Fotos," and "Valdenoceda." The inclusion of a tab for *reencuentros* or "reunions" indicates that the commemorations and rituals surrounding the reunion of families with the remains of the deceased is a fundamental step in the recuperation process. The cycle behind the recuperation of bodies—identification of the area, exploratory excavations, exhumation, disinterment, and identification through DNA results—is completed with the reunion of the bodily archive and the family, culminating in the reburial of bodies.

The "Reunion" tab contains the following pages: "Cerrando Heridas," "Familias que quizás nos entiendan" "Testimonios escritos," and "Testimonios: La voz de las familias en Radio Valdivielso." Each of the pages focuses on a different medium of remembrance regarding the

return of the remains to the families. On the first page under "Reunion," *Cerrando heridas*

("closing wounds,") the collective explains that the purpose of the exhumations is to heal the

wounds left open from the disappearances. The AFRV writes:

> No hay nada como asistir al momento en que unas hijas recuperan
>
> los restos de su padre, un nieto puede cumplir la promesa que hizo a
>
> su abuela de llevar los restos del abuelo a su pueblo, una familia
>
> realiza un larguísimo viaje en memoria de su padre y su abuelo, . . .
>
> Son momentos vibrantes, de reencuentros de una familia de hoy con
>
> su origen, que se viven en toda su intensidad, con la emoción a flor
>
> de piel y que sirven para recordarnos a todos la necesidad de vivir
>
> en paz, de recuperar la memoria para que todo aquello no vuelva a
>
> repetirse. La necesidad, en fin, de cerrar heridas. (np)

Each section of the weblog highlights either written or recorded testimony of families that have

undergone the process of the exhumation and identification of remains. The wide distribution,

multiplicity of digital mediums, and simultaneity of production found through the weblog

weaves a rich fabric of memories regarding the recuperations and each modality effectuates a

different result.

Regional public radio stations and online reproductions of the programs support local

recovery efforts.[34] While originally produced for the radio broadcast, these shows undergo

---

[34] Other radio broadcasts throughout Spain emulate. Canal Sur's radio program "La Memoria" is

broadcast on air and online through the Andalusian website for Canal Sur. The radio station's

blog has archived all of its programs for "La Memoria." The weekly radio program grapples with

topics on historical memory and, at times, with the exhumation process in southern Spain by

digitization for distribution on the web. Due to the ephemeral nature of a radio broadcast, the

digital versions of the programs allow for the archiving and distribution of them online. The local

radio station, Radio Valdivielso run by the "Asociación Cultural Radio Valdivielso" supports the

recuperations by giving the families a space to broadcast their reactions and the process of the

exhumation and the recuperation of the disappeared.[35] The photograph section on the weblog

complements the oral testimonies about the reburials. The images have been separated into

corresponding sections: the jail, the exhumation, the association, and "Emociones: las entregas."

The images for the reunion focus on the moment of the *entrega*—the moment the families take

possession of the remains, before the reburial. Image after image repeats in the gallery of family

members either posing alone or with relatives holding the ossuary, or alongside other community

members who have also identified remains (see Figure 20 and Figure 21).

---

inviting local citizens, government officials, representatives from historical memory associations

and other interested parties to discus regional and national recuperation efforts. There are

currently 25 programs out of 333 shows dedicated to mass graves. "Recuperando Memoria" is a

radio program about the recuperation of historical memory that aired its first program on

November 16, 2015 and has completed 2 seasons for a total 26 shows. One of the programs was

an interview with Paul Preston about Lorca's grave.

[35] With seven broadcasts produced thus far, three focus on the yearly commemorations and four

are family interviews of those that were reunited with the remains of their loved ones.

Figure 20: "Modesto, emocionado, recuerda al abuelo Modesto Flores. Foto: Jokin Garmilla"

Figure 21: "Nieta y bisnieta, ante los restos del abuelo. Foto: Fuen Benavente"

"Las Merindades en la Memoria"

Located approximately 11 miles northeast of Valdenoceda, Las Merindades gives rise to a third weblog from Burgos. A short distance from Estépar and Valdenoceda, the collaborators that work on the weblog "Las Merindades en la Memoria" make clear their intention to work as a collective force: "Este trabajo por medio del BLOG es para que funcione como imán, e ir acumulado fuerzas, un cuaderno de apuntes abierto y colectivo. Con toda la información a la vista y a la discusión. Un buen foro." This last sentence demonstrates the power they give to their communal weblog as a "good wall" from which to document and confront the past as a collective force, to recover collective memory as a community. This "good wall" combats the "bad wall" or the firing squad wall, against which many of the Francoist victims were executed and subsequently buried in mass graves. The group writes: "La información que existe sobre Las Merindades es escasa, la mínima información es una joya. Os proponemos un trabajo colectivo de recuperar a la memoria a ciudadanos de nuestros pueblos que han sido olvidados. Hacer

155

público y reconocerlos, lograr un reconocimiento cívico que, de una vez por todas, selle la convivencia sobre bases de respeto y tolerancia . . . " ("Sobre Este Blog"). Designed as a website for the general recuperation of historical memory for Las Merindades, the site dedicates several sections to mass grave recovery. Specifically "Lugares del horror," which has entries on the graves of the area, and "Asesinad@s y Represión Pueblo a Pueblo."

The collective responsible for the weblog in "Las Merindades" also dedicates a post to the commemorations in Valdenoceda in 2015, like the post by "Crónicas" ("Valdenoceda, prisión del horror, cementerio y homenajes"). Titled "Valdenoceda 2015," the weblog entry includes both video and images of the 2015 commemoration. The photographs and videos from the 2015 commemoration show the remains of 11 victims being returned to their families. Rather than the narrative written by Varona and Lafuente in "Crónicas," which includes the prison's historical background and the exhumation details, the version published by "Las Merindades" provides a transcribed version of some of the speeches given during the event. The speeches gain a voiceover quality, as the viewer scrolls the series of color photographs of the ceremony for the reinterment of the 11 victims. The blog post begins with *YouTube* video of the musical tribute from the ceremony called "Valdenoceda. 18 de abril de 2015. 11 familias recuperan a los suyos." Pablo Sempere, grandson to Ernesto Sempere (one of the victims from the mass grave in Valdenoceda) and Lucía, a young girl, sing a song called "Huesos" ("Bones") by Pedro Guerra accompanied by the guitar that belonged to Pablo's grandfather. Video clips of the return of the remains are interspersed during the video, showcasing the exchange of the remains.

In a two-part series titled "Homenaje Fosa de La Mazorra (Texto-1) Quisicedo 2 De Junio" and "Homenaje Fosa de La Mazorra (Texto-2) Quisicedo 2 De Junio" from June 3rd and 12th, 2013, the weblog documents through photographs and reprints of speeches given by family

members the rituals of reburial from June 2nd, 2013. The exhumations were completed on May 17, 2011 and the remains of 13 people (11 men and 2 women) were recovered, but only two were identified because of the degraded states of the remains. "Las Merindades en la Memoria" describes the commemoration: "Se ha celebrado el homenaje a los ciudadanos asesinados de la fosa de La Mazorra en Quisicedo (Merindad de Sotoscueva). En un acto cálido e íntimo han sido entregados por Aranzadi los restos, y posteriormente enterrados en una tumba colectiva en el cementerio de Quisicedo" (Textos-1).

Many of the same motifs already described pervade the series of images: the transmission of the remains in an ossuary to the community and the decoration of the memorial tomb, inscribed with a dedication and the names of the victims. The use of a black and white filter on the images—like the "Petrol Station" photo on *Flickr*—imbues the photographs with a timeless quality, recalling the past and instilling a sense of gravity. The series begins with family and community members posing with the ossuaries containing the remains in the center of Quisicedo (see Figure 22). The photographs follow the funeral procession documenting the route from a variety of angles as it moves through the town (see Figure 23 and Figure 24), finally ending at the cemetery (see Figure 25) before the shared tombstone (see Figure 26). The photograph in Figure 22 shows the familial and affiliative relations holding the physical archive of the missing for the purposes of documentation. Each box shows the name or identification number of the person in the ossuary. The photographic series depicting the procession to the cemetery and the reburial together shows the community rituals of mourning. The procession through the town with the ossuaries represents the traditional funeral rite. Unlike the other rituals analyzed thus far, the community in Las Merindades chose to start the commemoration in the center of the town and travel together to the cemetery to complete the reburial. The act of a joint procession

walking through the town square requires the acknowledgement of the entire citizenry as the

collective makes its journey from the center of town to the cemetery on the outskirts.

Figure 22: Family Members holding Ossuaries in the center of Quisicedo

Figure 23: Processional to Cemetery

Figure 24: Processional to Cemetery

Figure 25: Arrival at cemetery with ossuaries

Figure 26: Cemetery Memorial Plaque

Equally active online communities from around the Peninsula take to the Internet to publish their recuperation efforts. In Andalucía, for example, multiple communities undertake the call to document and disseminate the recuperation process online through weblogs, *Facebook* groups and *YouTube* videos. Sites like "Abuelo tu memoria" maintained by the grandson of a Francoist victim, or local historical memory associations like "Foro por la Memoria de Málaga," "La Asociación Granadina para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica" in Granada, and "Sin Memoria No Hay Dignidad" by *the Asociación por la Memoria Histórica San Fernando (Cádiz) (AMERE)* with their image galleries and descriptions of commemorations, act as virtual sites of remembrance where community members share digital materials of commemorative actions. The rituals throughout the Peninsula regarding the reburials do not deviate from one to another. While the flags may change depending on the autonomous community, or the song choice and poem read may differ, these communities have constructed a standard for the memorialization of the remains recovered from mass graves. The formula, as represented online, suggests a prescribed series of events for mourning and reburial.

160

In Madrid, a group of familial and affiliative relations began a collective named "Memoria y Libertad." The group maintains a website of the same name. The collective explains their beginnings and their mission: "Memoria y Libertad es un colectivo que surge en 2005 por iniciativa de familiares de personas fusiladas por el franquismo en la posguerra, con la finalidad de compartir datos, recabar información, mostrar a través de la red los resultados y contactar con familiares y allegados de las víctimas para perseguir su justo reconocimiento y homenaje." Since 2007 they have organized annual memorials at the firing squad wall in the *Cementerio del Este* known today as La Almudena (also the site of the execution of The 13 Roses discussed in Chapter 2). The Francoist regime executed some 2,663 people against the cemetery's wall. The yearly commemorations are organized and publicized through the collective's *Facebook* group called "Fusilamientos Madrid Memoriaylibertad" which has over 7.5k followers. The group's channel on *YouTube* catalogues the video clips from the commemorations. They compile clips of speeches from a variety of representatives and family members, poetry readings, and musical tributes.

The rituals of reburial and commemoration that honor the victims throughout the Peninsula follow similar rituals of remembrance. The virtual communities that build weblogs about the recuperation efforts, such as the weblogs in Burgos, can be found clustered around the Peninsula. The virtual communities found in Madrid ("Memoria y Libertad"), Andalucía ("Abuelo tu memoria," "Foro por la Memoria Histórica de Málaga," "La Asociación Granadina para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica," "Sin Memoria No Hay Dignidad") and Burgos, present a multiperspective vision of the rituals of reburial. The polyphony emerges not only from the multiple weblogs and social networks focused on the same geographic areas, but from the community collective that joins together to build and maintain these virtual sites of memory.

Digital technologies foster the proliferation of new forms of communication on the Web by turning the typical consumer of media into the originator of cultural productions. By publishing digital images, videos, and audio files of the ritual of disinterment and reburial of familial and affiliative relations from mass graves, a new form of personal and collective agency emerges. Social networks based on computer-mediated communication and organized around common interests, rather than by a physical, shared space, transform digital media about the exhumations into acts of transfer assisting communities in continuing to heal from the collective trauma caused by the Francoist regime. The combination of yearly commemorations held at the gravesites with the continued identifications of bones, ritualizes homages by fusing them with the inhumation of newly identified remains. Eiroa, et al. conclude: "Los medios on line y las distintas posibilidades comunicativas que ofrece Internet han sido el mejor escenario para la propagación de propuestas de carácter pedagógico, cultural, informativo, interpretativo, político, social, manipulativo o negacionista" (367). The blogs and social media sites that record, commemorate, share and distribute digital cultural materials help spread collective memories to virtual communities, while also helping these communities connect in real-world (analogue) ways by coordinating exhibitions, events, and memorials. The continued community involvement around the commemoration of mass gravesites makes these places of mourning and remembrance an ever-evolving site for the recovery of collective memory.

Chapter Four. "Virtual Cartographies": Thick Mapping and the Visualization of Mass Grave Recovery

"Deep maps," "thick maps," "digital culture mapping," *Spatial Humanities*, *Geohumanities*, *GIS Humanities*, and "the spatial turn" are terms that, among others, have grown in popularity in academic circles during recent years. Thick mapping makes it possible to create multiple layers of culturally, socially, and historically relevant materials, as Todd Presner explains in *HyperCities: Thick Mapping in the Digital Humanities*: "On its most basic level, 'thick mapping' refers to the process of collecting, aggregating, and visualizing ever more layers of geographic or place-specific data. Thick maps are sometimes called 'deep maps' because they embody temporal and historical dynamics through a multiplicity of layered narratives, sources, and even representational practices" (Presner, Shepard, Kawano 17). Using Geographic Information Systems (GIS)—or digital mapping platforms—thick maps essentially layer a variety of multimedia elements onto a digital cartographic interface. This chapter analyzes the role of digital maps in assisting in the recuperation of historical memory regarding the exhumation of mass graves. The analysis includes a discussion on thick mapping and its role within the humanities and digital humanities. I will then describe the thick map that I have constructed called "Virtual Cartographies." The map combines a dataset from the Spanish Ministry of Justice (SMJ)—which identifies over 2,600 mass graves found throughout Spain, northern Africa, and the Balearic and Canary Islands—with a rich collection of multimedia texts directly related to specific gravesites. By mapping these layers in tandem, "Virtual Cartographies" becomes a thick map that takes the data pertaining to specific mass graves and links it directly to media associated with the sites. I will address the theoretical questions, implications and decision-making process that went into the creation of the map and

corresponding website, such as: how to display multimedia content, how to present resources in a non-linear manner, and how to resolve issues of spatial ambiguity for these texts. I conclude the chapter with a detailed account of the development of the map to lend insight to researchers undertaking similar initiatives. Using the mass grave dataset published by the Ministry of Justice ("SMJ"), "Virtual Cartographies" contributes an innovative visualization to mapping projects undertaken by the Spanish government, autonomous communities, and historical memory associations. Combining digital media with burial sites of specific locations recorded through mapping programs makes "Virtual Cartographies" a unique effort in its display of multimedia elements in an interactive, hypermedia environment.

Thick Mapping: Converting Space into Place

Thick mapping converts a purely geographic *space* into a *place* by imbuing the topography with memories and histories. In their Introduction to an edited book on deep mapping titled *Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives*, David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris describe the characteristics of deep maps:

> A deep map is a finely detailed, multimedia depiction of a place and
> the people, animals, and objects that exist within and are thus
> inseparable from the contours and rhythms of everyday life. Deep
> maps are not confined to the tangible or material, but include the
> discursive and ideological dimensions of place, the dreams, hopes,
> and fears of residents—they are, in short, positioned between matter
> and meaning. (3)

By combining multimedia cultural materials on a digital map, a space transforms into a place as the geography becomes inscribed with meaning. A thick map "records and represents the grain

and patina of place through the juxtapositions and interpenetrations of the historical and the contemporary, the political and the poetic, the discursive and the sensual" (Warf 135). The deep layering of interactive media lends insight into the histories surrounding the topography. In the case of the exhumations, a thick map (such as "Virtual Cartographies") that combines information about the geography with digital texts about the spaces contextualizes the processes undertaken by individuals and communities around the disinterments. By inscribing gravesite locations with the testimonies, videos, narratives, newspaper articles, radio program, social network sites, etc. about the disinterments, "Virtual Cartographies" contributes a thick map that gives depth to spaces of mourning. For Trevor M. Harris, in "Deep Geography—Deep Mapping: Spatial Storytelling and a Sense of Place," the ultimate goal of deep maps "is to explore and attain a deeper understanding of place, as distinguishable from that of space. Place and sense of place, place-making, and experiencing place are well-established fields within geography and deep mapping links these to humanistic examinations of deep contingency" (29). Rather that dots on a map that represent mass grave locations, as we see in the SMJ's visualization (see Figure 27), "Virtual Cartographies" creates a framework for analyzing the exhumations and mourning rituals while furthering the recovery of collective memory.

0.00000, 0.00000

Source of Maps: IGN - Instituto Geográfico Nacional [Spanish National Geography Institute]
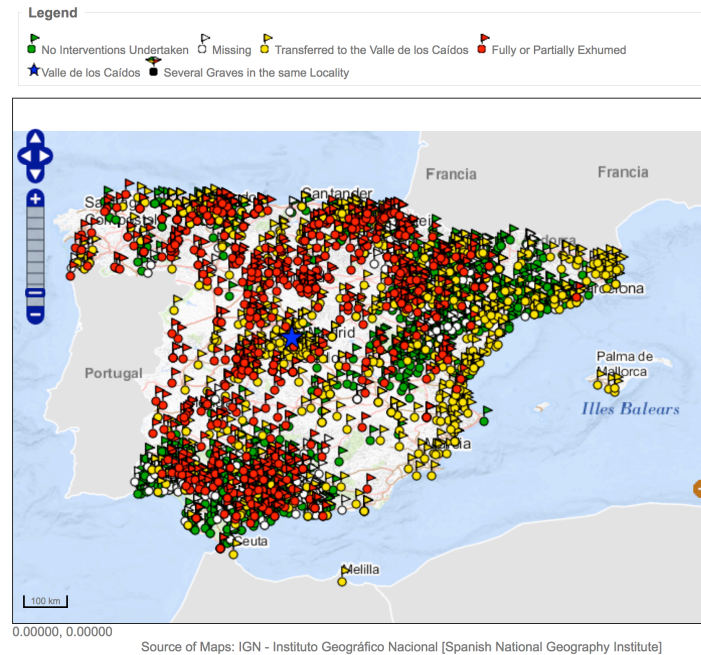
Figure 27: "Map of Graves," "Memoria Histórica." Spanish Ministry of Justice.

Bodenhamer, Corrigan and Harris describe precisely why a thick map displaying digital

cultural material concerning mass grave recovery befits the recuperation of historical memory:

because in them "we do not find the grand narrative but rather a spatially facilitated

understanding of society and culture embodied by a fragmented, provisional, and contingent

argument with multiple voices and multiple stories. The deep map offers a way to integrate these

multiple voices, views, and memories, allowing them to be seen and examined at various scales"

(5). The juxtaposition of digital cultural materials embedded within a digital "thick" map helps

visualize the mass grave recuperation in digital texts produced by the everyday citizen, and

virtual and physical communities. Heavy in narrative, autobiography, art, folklore, stories, and

memory interlaced with the physical form of space, thick maps weave a complex of multi-

layered maps of both the invisible and visible aspects of place (Harris "Conceptualizing" 11).

While the terms "thick mapping" and "deep mapping" are used interchangeably, the term

"thick mapping" more adequately describes the newly emerging digital maps layered with

166

multimedia elements developed after the turn of the 21st century. When employing the phrase "deep map" the consequential opposition would be to describe other types of maps as "shallow" or superficial. The dichotomy of comparing deep maps to shallow maps ascribes negative connotations to other cartographic interpretations. The phrase "thick map," however, implies the clustering of materials that combines to create a dense map, without negatively ascribing "thin" maps with the superficiality attributed to "shallow" maps.

Todd Presner and David Shepard signal trends in thick mapping in their contribution to the *New Companion to Digital Humanities* titled "Mapping the Geospatial Turn." They write: "Mapping in the digital humanities ranges from historical mapping of "time-layers" to memory maps, linguistic and cultural mapping, conceptual mapping, community based mapping, and forms of counter-mapping that attempt to de-ontologize cartography and imagine new worlds" (Presner and Shepard 202). As a thick cultural map, "Virtual Cartographies" provides scholars and the public with a geospatial visualization of the multimedia elements being produced by the Spanish public. Ian Gregory, et al., explain the key advantage to deep mapping in their article "Crossing Boundaries: Using GIS in Literary Studies, History, and Beyond": "it allows the user to explore not only what is occurring but also where it is occurring and, by extension, how things occur differently in different places." (2). By layering digital cultural materials centered on the exhumations onto a cartographic interface, users of the map can view what types of resources are associated with specific places and draw comparisons about the recovery efforts across different spaces.

Thick maps are also particularly well suited for representing the evolving nature of the continued exhumation process and reburials occurring around the Peninsula. With the continual addition of digital materials about the recovery and commemorations honoring them, a thick map

spatially organizing multimedia elements allows for the growth of materials to be included

within the visualization:

> It is, in short, a new creative space that is visual, structurally open,
>
> genuinely multimedia and multilayered. Deep maps do not
>
> explicitly seek authority or objectivity but provoke negotiations
>
> between insiders and outsiders, experts and contributors, over what
>
> is represented and how. Framed as a conversation and not as a
>
> statement, they are inherently unstable, continually unfolding and
>
> changing in response to new data, new perspectives, and new
>
> insights. (Bodenhamer, Corrigan and Harris 4)

"Virtual Cartographies" does not proffer a hypothesis on, or an analysis of, the digital materials

embedded on the map and it does not perform complex geospatial analysis of the digital texts.

Instead, it provides a space for scholars and the public to approach place-based materials and

visualize the interconnectedness of community recuperation efforts. The analysis of the materials

occurs within the pages of this dissertation (Chapter 3) and within the website hosting the map.

As Bodenhamer, Corrigan and Harris explain, the emergence of web applications (such as the

Content Management Systems described in Chapter 3) combined with digital mapping platforms

(such as Google My Maps, Carto, and ArcGIS, for example) will effect a paradigmatic shift in

the way humanities scholars reflect on the past: "spatial technologies are being used in tandem

with web applications in ways that make them eminently suitable for humanities scholarship, and

it is this combination that promises a revolution in the ways we think about the past" (2). CMS

technologies (or websites) give scholars a space to contextualize digital maps built for

distribution on the web. For example, the website I built to accompany "Virtual Cartographies"

provides the necessary background information about the project, the decision-making process that went in to developing the metadata schema, includes a description of the resources embedded on the map, etc. Rather than merely distributing a thick map imbued with digital cultural materials without any contextualization, web applications give humanists a space through which to describe the didactic and pedagogical implications of the project.

Visualization of Mass Graves

Distribution through social networks and blogs, as well as visualizations of digital media about mass grave recovery allows these texts to circulate to wider audiences. One of the most recognized visualizations of mass grave recovery in Spain is a digital map published on the SMJ's website and based on information provided by regional authorities and historical memory associations (See Figure 27, "Map of Graves"). The dataset was constructed with the cooperation of autonomous communities, and local and regional historical memory associations based off their continued exhumation processes. Since national government entities do not participate in the location, exhumation, or memorialization of gravesites, they rely on the information supplied by associations like the ARMH and other local groups for the actualization of the dataset. As one of the measures of the Historical Memory Law, the Ministry developed a map that reveals areas with the remains of victims along with the recuperation status of the gravesites. Updated biannually, the government's map identifies if a mass grave has been fully or partially exhumed (red), has yet to be opened (green), is missing (white) or has had its contents moved to the Valley of the Fallen, a vast underground mausoleum built on Franco's orders near Madrid (yellow). Along with indicating the status of exhumation, a user can click on any point on the map to pull

up further metadata about the gravesite.[36] In addition to the mapping interface, through an

available search function, users can search for keywords within the metadata for the graves.

Along with providing the map, and as part of the Historical Memory Law, the SMJ also

publishes the data they use as the base of their visualization. The National Catalogue of Open

Data is housed online (datos.gob.es) and acts as the access point to datasets that the government

makes available for reuse. The dataset titled: "Graves or burial sites in the Spanish territory" is

purportedly updated twice yearly as the disinterments continue. Again, this data is aggregated by

the SMJ, the ARMH, and local and regional community organizations, and has become the

standard dataset used for the geographic display of mass graves around Spanish territories. As a

condition of use, the SMJ requires that the most current version of the data be displayed in any

project. However, the SMJ has not updated the dataset since December 18, 2015. The delay in

actualizing the information could be attributed to the election of the conservative Partido Popular

in December 2011, which eliminated all State funding to realize exhumations (Ferrándiz, "From

Tear to Pixel" 4).

Private entities and regional communities have also constructed digital maps to visualize

mass grave locations around the peninsula using the same dataset. Maps produced by

autonomous communities such as Asturias ("Mapa de fosas comunes de Asturias – Mapa

Interactivo"), Catalonia ("Fosses i Repressió") (See Figure 28), and Navarre ("Visor de fosas de

---

[36] The map includes the following metadata fields: Numero_Registro, Dominación_Fosa,

Tipo_Fosa, Fecha_Fosa, Municipio, Provincia, Comunidad Autónoma, Lat, Long,

Tipo_Intervención, Fecha_Intervención, Estado_Actual, Numero_Personas_Fosa,

Numero_Personas_Exhumadas, Numero_Personas_Identificadas, Entidad_Promotora,

Entidad_Informante

Navarra") (See Figure 29) emulate the structure of the visualization built by the Ministry of Justice and all utilize the master dataset stored and updated by the SMJ.[37] The maps geographically locate gravesites and include the metadata about the specific site, as indicated on the government's dataset. The ARMH maintains their own digital map where they document the sites they exhume and includes narratives within the map pinpoints regarding the disinterment process ("Mapa de la Memoria"). The data used for the ARMH map differs in scope and content from the other visualizations discussed herein because they only include data for the exhumations they undertake, excluding all other gravesites.

Figure 28: "Fosses i Repressió," Generalitat de Catalunya.

---

[37] Other digital cartographic representations have been created by regional and autonomous communities that emulate the same layout as the SMJs map: "Mapa de fosas comunes de Aragón"; "Paz y Convivencia: Mapa de fosas de Euskadi"; and "Mapa de fosas de Galicia."
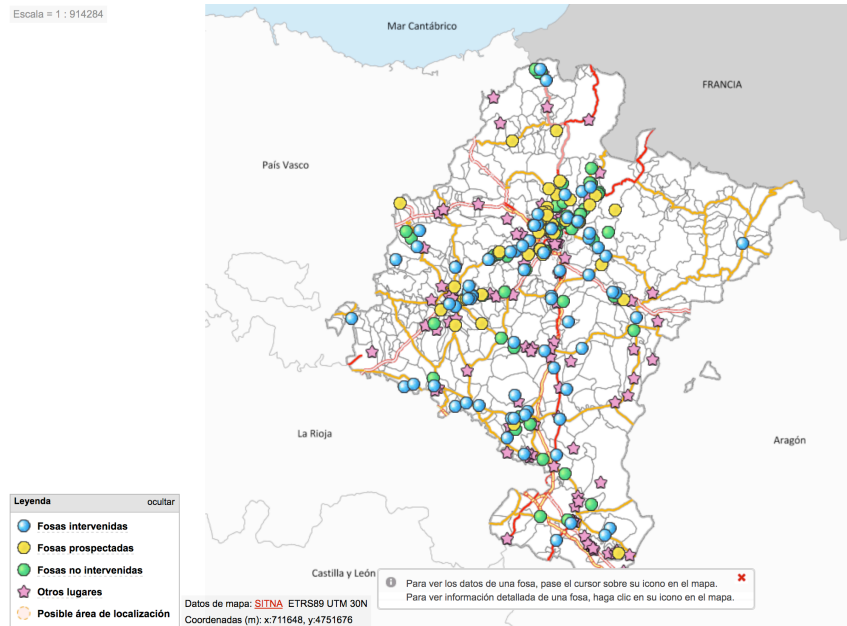
Figure 29: "Visor de fosas de Navarra," Gobierno de Navarra.

The Spanish newspaper "El Diario" uses the same data from the Ministry of Justice to show the locations of the graves, but advances their visualization a step further (See Figure 30). On their map called "Mapa. Las víctimas en fosas del franquismo" they too indicate the location of the gravesite, but rather than simply spatially designating the graves, they have built a bubble map using graduated circles to indicate the proportion of exhumed victims from each site.
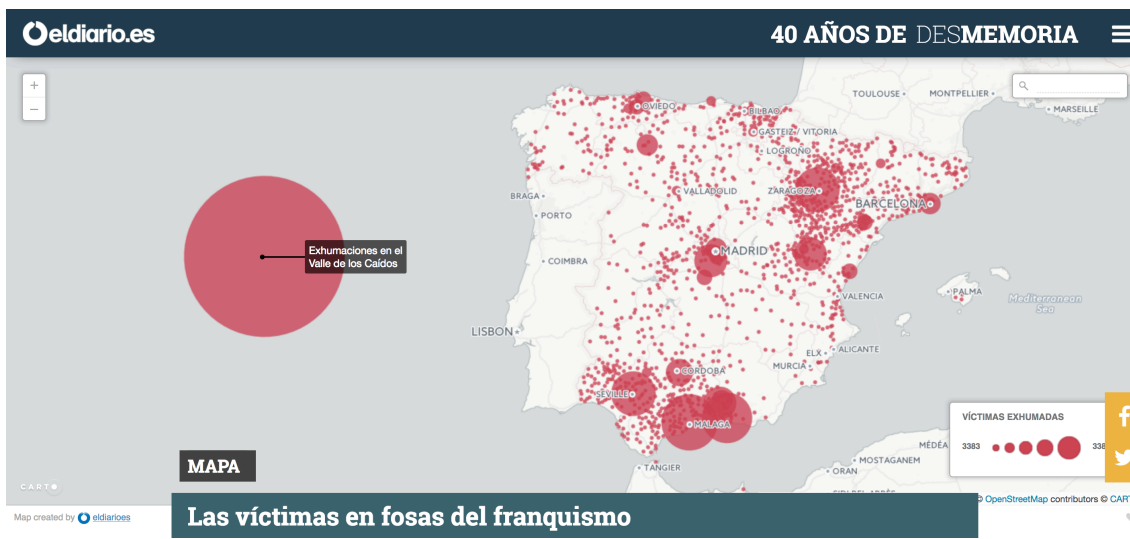

Figure 30: "Las víctimas en fosas del franquismo." "El Diario.es."

172

By layering the multimedia materials, "Virtual Cartographies" contributes to the recuperation of collective memory in Spain by assisting in the contextualization of emerging memories and place making around the sites of disinterment and subsequent inhumations. Currently, no comparable thick mapping efforts exist for the layering of cultural artifacts in relation to mass grave recovery or historical memory. While the SMJ and various autonomous communities have constructed maps of mass grave location as seen in Figures 1-3 (as well as those listed in footnote 37), the maps cannot be considered thick maps. These "thin" maps display single layers of data for the space-specific site of the grave, along with available metadata about how the site arose and its stage of exhumation. These are useful for locating mass graves and for discovering the state of their exhumation, but they provide little to no background about the surrounding space.

Project Goals

Just as digital texts are mediated by the technology used to create them and the forms of distributions to disseminate them, as discussed in Chapter 3, cartographic representations of the spatial location of mass graves are mediated by the platforms used to visualize them. Digital maps translate a three-dimensional space into a two-dimensional interface. In her book on visualizations, *Graphesis: Visual Forms of Knowledge Production*, Johanna Drucker analyzes spatial interfaces such as the platforms used to build these visualizations: "maps, like other geographic conventions, construct normative notions about time, space, an experience that becomes so familiar we take them for accurate representations rather than constructions. The constructive experience of space cannot be presented in standard cartography anymore than the variable concepts of temporality can be charted on a standard timeline." (82) One way these maps, and the underlying data, could be misconstrued is the fact that the map pinpoints do not

173

correlate to the exact geographic coordinates of gravesites. Under the information about the map, the SMJ notes: "We inform the citizens concerned that the locations of the burial places on the map do not correspond to their real geographical coordinates; rather the symbols have been placed over the populated area where they are located" ("Map of Graves"). Surprisingly, despite providing the information regarding the geographical coordinates for the grave locations as described on the Ministry's website for the map of graves, these indications are absent from the site where they host the dataset. This omission is remarkable because the SMJ makes their data available for download and reuse at the website, but do not provide the background information about the data itself. The maps published by the autonomous communities and private entities mentioned above do not provide the information specified by the Ministry about the location data of the graves. When users visit the maps built by any entity other than the Ministry, they are not provided with the necessary information about the construction of the datasets and maps. In order to avoid misconceptions about visualizations, transparency regarding the decision-making process that contributed to the creation of the projects is imperative.

Rather than only visualize the status and metadata of the gravesites, "Virtual Cartographies" spatially grounds the ever-growing corpus of digital media about the recuperation of specific gravesites alongside collected data about those locations. The combination of digital media with information regarding specific sites helps to expand on the data-driven aspect of the Ministry of Justice's map. "Virtual Cartographies" bridges the gap between digital maps that are representations of locations and visualizations that generate knowledge. Drucker describes the difference between visualizations that represent information already known and visualizations that are capable of being knowledge generators: "knowledge generators are graphical forms that support combinatoric calculation. Their spatial organization may be static or mobile, but their

174

spatial features allow their components to be combined in a multiplicity of ways. They make use of position, sequence, order, and comparison across aligned fields as fundamental spatial properties" (105). "Virtual Cartographies" does not perform spatial analysis, but instead visualizes gravesites alongside media pertaining to specific locations.[38] Rather than constructing a database where users could search or filter by a variety of fields (such as location), a digital map permits users to easily select media pertaining to a specific region or area, and further reduce selections to media types (i.e., articles, audio files, films, websites, etc.) "Virtual Cartographies" has three goals: 1) to display multiple data layers (Ministry of Justice dataset together with digital media elements), 2) to present the information in a non-linear structure, and 3) to cluster multiple resources for one geographic area. Each of these goals is further described in detail below.

Determining the Audience

The first step for the project was the determination of the audience for the map. I considered questions such as: who would be visiting the map, how would they access it, and what interfaces (or controls) would they need in order to make the map meaningful. The audience I envisioned was both scholarly and the general public. Because the recovery of historical memory is a local, regional, national, and global event affecting people from around the world, "Virtual Cartographies" seeks to be an inclusive site designed for the use of researchers, communities and the general public. Presner and Shepard explain why a thick map is an ideal tool for the interaction of a user with digital cultural materials: it "privileges experiential

---

[38] ESRI, a leading GIS company, defines spatial analysis as the ability to "[d]etect and quantify, find hot spots and outliers, make predictions and measure and distribute" (ESRI, n.p.) using mapping technologies.

navigation on the part of the user, giving him/her the ability to control his/her interaction with the multimedia elements on the map (Presner and Shepard 207). Rather than guiding the user through the digital resources as inscribed by place, "Virtual Cartographies" was designed to provide an open framework through which to allow users to navigate and explore sites of memory as represented through digital cultural texts.

In order to facilitate the distribution and access to the map, I determined that it should be accessed through the web, rather than through a local drive. A platform like Google Earth, for example, requires the user to download and install the Google Earth application, along with data through a .kml/.kmz file. That data would then have to be uploaded locally to view the map through the Google Earth instance installed on a personal machine. I wanted anyone with an Internet connection have access to the map without requiring the downloading of any files or installing of any programs. Achieving mobile capabilities was a consideration, but not a goal for the project. "Virtual Cartographies" and the accompanying website are accessible on mobile devices, but because of the complex user interface and the amount of data, viewing the map and resources on a mobile device becomes cumbersome.

Datasets

Before evaluating different mapping platforms and undertaking the construction of prototypes, I had to collect and structure data for upload into the different GIS platforms. I built the data sheets for the media in Google Sheets, rather than Microsoft Excel, because it enabled collaboration and consultation on the data with other parties.

Mass Grave Dataset

As previously discussed, I acquired the mass grave dataset from the SMJ's online catalogue of public data ("Graves or burial sites in the Spanish territory"). As the baseline and

commonly accepted standard for the mass grave data available, I left the metadata from the SMJ nearly untouched. The only information I modified was the addition of latitude and longitude coordinates for the gravesites, as the SMJ's dataset included location information by listing the gravesite name, followed by the town, city, autonomous community and country. Using the geographic coordinates (latitude and longitude) makes it easier for GIS systems to read the exact location, rather than parsing through several columns of data to compile an address. Other platforms required the designation of latitude and longitude columns for plotting locations. Adding the coordinates will also facilitate the use of the data for other visualization projects about mass grave locations. Google Sheets has several plugins available that derive the latitude and longitude coordinates from full addresses. I used both GeoCode by Awesome Table and Geocode Cells to compile the geocoordinates. I used both programs because they limit the number of sites you can locate within a 24-hour period to 500 entries. To bypass this limitation, I ran the two programs separately on the data. In order to derive the coordinates, the programs first combine the multiple address columns to create a new column with the full address information. Based on that full address, the program finds the coordinates and inputs each latitude and longitude coordinate in its own column. Once the mass grave data was geocoded, it was ready for upload as a layer onto the various digital platforms for testing.

One question that arose while working with the data from the SMJ was that of spatial ambiguity. As previously explained, the locations of the graves on their map do not correspond to their actual coordinates, but instead to the "populated area where they are located" ("Map of Graves"). The SMJ does not provide an explanation as to why they use this methodology in their placement of the map pinpoints, but the exact locations for many of the graves are still unknown. Often, familial and affiliative relations identify a general area where the grave is thought to lie

177

and it can take many exploratory excavations to locate the actual site of the remains. As

discussed in Chapters 1 and 3, the documentaries (Chapter 1) and the ARMH's Flickr account

(Chapter 3) document filmically and photographically the process of searching for the exact

locations of the bodies in mass gravesites. Because of the nebulous recognition of the exact sites,

it is nearly impossible to geographically designate the precise locations of the graves, but these

points are approximations of the sites. The search for Lorca's gravesite exemplifies the difficulty

in ascribing a precise location to mass graves. In 2015, the mayor of Vizcar in Granada installed

a commemorative plaque designating the spot where his remains were believed to reside, but as

of April 2016, entities were still looking to locate the remains, closer to Alfacar than to Vizcar

(Europa Press, n.p.).

Metadata Schema for Digital Media

Following Dublin Core metadata standards, I devised a schema for the underlying

information relating to the digital media for use in the map. I formatted the dataset of multimedia

texts and devised categories for the different media types. Simply defined, metadata is data about

data. The media included on the map is inherently inscribed by place, but it was also imperative

to include the data (or metadata) about the data (or text). The metadata schema emerged from the

texts included on the map, since these digital materials are to be studied, considered and

analyzed, rather than consumed.[39] My final spreadsheet has eight categories and nine .csv sheets

total. After evaluating the types of media accessible through the Internet, I devised the following

---

[39] The metadata fields I included are: Title / Título; Date / Fecha; Creator / Creador; Source /

Fuente; MediaType / Tipo de Medio; Gravesite / Fosa; Town / Municipalidad; City / Ciudad;

State / Comunidad Autónoma; Country / País; Lat; Lon; SourceURL / URL; Description of

Resource / Descripción del Recurso; EmbedURL (not shown in popup window).

categories: 1) Master sheet with all the data combined, 2) Articles / Artículos, 3) Audio, 4) Videos, 5) Novels / Novelas, 6) Social Networks / Redes Sociales 7) Websites / Sitios Web. I started out with a broad set of categories and narrowed it down as the map developed. For example, I combined "Scholarly Articles" with "Newspaper Articles" to form the "Articles" layer. I also joined "Documentaries," "Films," and "Videos" into a "Films" category. I had originally differentiated layers for the different filmic representations where films and documentaries were defined as having the backing of a production company, journalism outlets, or other kinds of professional backing. Conversely, I defined "Videos" as being made directly by familial and affiliative relations and uploaded to the web of their own volition. The main reason I simplified the categories was not to overwhelm the user with too many layers on the map. Each category represents a different layer, making for six total layers—one layer for the mass grave data and five individual media layers. If I had included the broader set of categories, the map could have easily expanded to over ten layers.

I also had to decide what types of resources were feasible for inclusion on the map and how to geolocate vague locations. Since one of the goals of the project was to associate specific gravesites with media related to the recuperation of the site, I only included media that referenced a specific area, rather than Spain and its territories in general. That means that I excluded general resources for the recuperation of historical memory. For example, the ARMH's website documents the work of their group. I did not include a link to the ARMH website on the map. Since the ARMH serves the Peninsula at large, there was no way to spatially represent their website on a map. Instead, I went through the ARMH site and pulled videos and images of their recovery efforts for specific sites and mapped them accordingly. Similarly, Canal Sur's radio program, "La Memoria" has 333 radio programs (to date) about the exhumations in Andalucía in

general. Since their program focuses specifically on Andalucía, I was able place a coordinate on the geographical coordinate for the autonomous community. But I also went through the descriptions of their over 300 programs and mapped specific shows in relation to the locations they discussed in the program.

One important consideration when developing the relevant categories for the media data schema was the language chosen for the metadata fields. I used both Spanish and English for the metadata fields. I included English for a couple of reasons. First, I wanted to open the project up to the largest audience possible. The inclusion of Spanish and English for the Dublin Core metadata fields would make it easier for users to understand the categories used to define the resources. While a majority of the resources found on the map are Spanish-language, the inclusion of the English translation in the various fields would give the English user a clear description of the categories. Second, including the English translation facilitated the coordination on the development the project while working with a diverse group of scholars at UCLA.

Development of Project Goals

A number of different platforms were considered for the project: Google Fusion Tables, Google "MyMaps," Omeka with Neatline functionality, ESRI "Story Map" in combination with ArcGIS, "Carto," and "Leaflet." After considering the project needs, I created four working prototypes in four different platforms (Google "MyMaps", ESRI "Story Maps", "Carto" and "Leaflet"). Each platform prototyped had advantages and disadvantages, but none fit the criteria for the project without significant modifications to the code (see Section VI for a discussion of the different prototypes). I wanted a to build a map that I could easily maintain on my own, without the assistance of programming experts. After experimenting with different platforms, I

selected uMap as the platform for the project. uMap is a free, open-source platform developed

out of France where users create digital maps using OpenStreetMap layers that can be embedded

into any website. uMap was the only program that could manage the three main objectives of the

project.

"Virtual Cartographies" evolved over two iterations. In the discussion that follows, I

describe the changes in processes that occurred between the two versions of the map. When

differentiating between the two versions, I will refer to the most current version as version 2.0

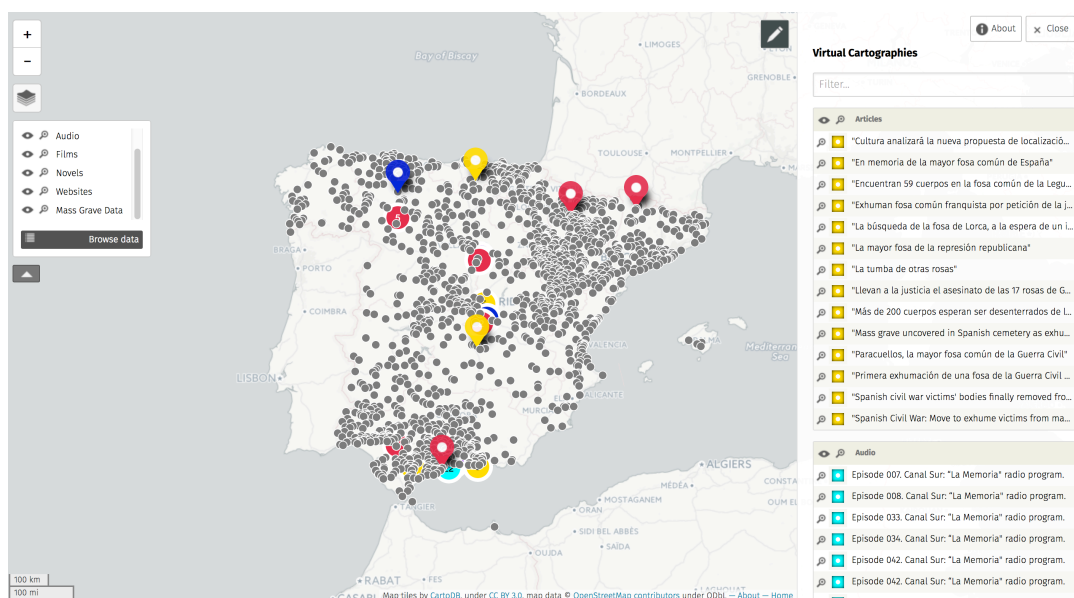(see Figure 31) and the first version of the map as 1.0 (see Figure 32).

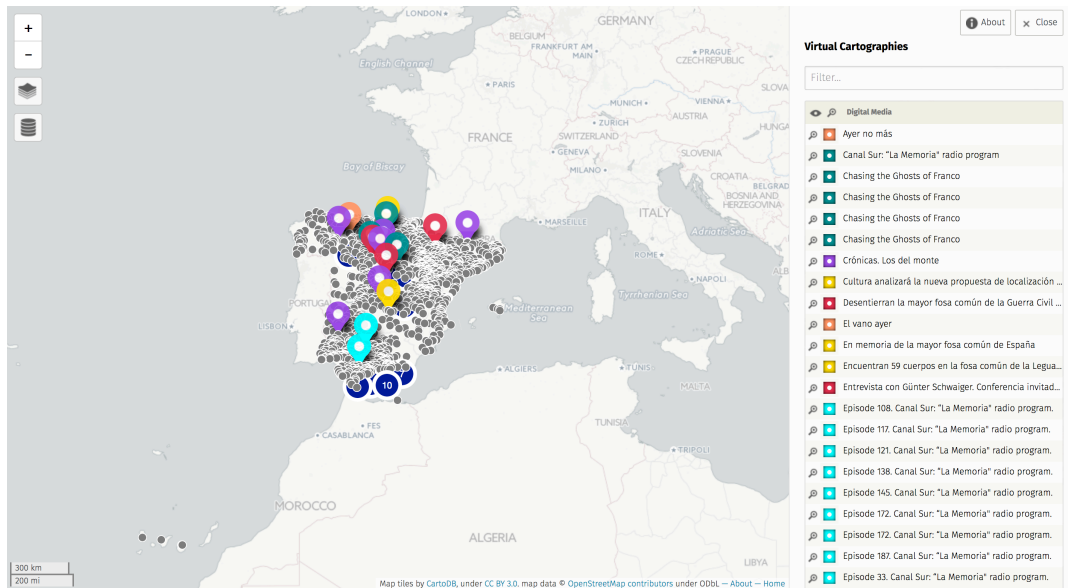**Figure 31: "Virtual Cartographies," version 2.0**

Figure 32: "Virtual Cartographies," version 1.0

Importing (Meta)Data into uMap

After deciding that uMap was the correct platform, I could begin building out the map

using my six data layers. Users can import a variety of file types into the uMap system.[40] The

import capability allowed me to upload the data directly to uMap. Importing the datasets

maintained all of the metadata from the spreadsheet with their geographic location. I was able to

carry over the requisite information without manually having to enter each field or lat/long

coordinates. First, I downloaded each of the six .xls spreadsheets into a comma separate value

(.csv) sheet from the online Google Sheets platform onto my local computer, ensuring that the

language on my computer's keyboard was set to Spanish in order to retain proper accent marks.

Each sheet then had to be uploaded individually into its own layer. I started each new layer using

---

[40] Accepted formats are .geojson, .csv, .gpx, .xml, .osm, .georss, and .umap.

the category title (i.e., Articles, Audio, Films, Novels, Mass Graves, Websites) and then imported each of the .csv files into the platform.[41]

After importing the data, I had to format the display of the metadata in the popup windows. Importing the data brings the tabular information into the platform, but one must format which information you want to display and how you want it to appear, such as using italics for titles and bold for the metadata field names. I had to use a programming language specific to uMap to format the metadata for the mass graves or for the digital resources associated with them. Using the uMap code structure, I built a personalized code that pulled the information from the columns in my .csv for each layer (see Figure 33). Figure 34 shows one of the popup windows as formatted using the code specification. The title of the film is in italics and displays as a header, and the metadata categories on the far left are in bold.

---

[41] In version 1.0 of the project, I had some issues directly importing .csv files into the Map platform. I was downloading the .xls table from GoogleSheets and making some changes on my local desktop in Excel, then reconverting the sheet from .xls to .csv. Doing this was causing an error in the spreadsheet when uploaded into uMap. I was able to convert my .csv files to GeoJSON format for use with the system using the conversion program GeoJSON.io. GeoJSON is an open source data format for encoding a variety of geographic data structures. I ended up converting the .csv files to .geojson because some of the platforms I considered required that the data be in that specific format.

| Figure 33: uMap code	
uMap code for formatting imported data	Personalized code for data importation
simple star for italic **double star for bold** # one hash for main heading ## two hashes for second heading ### three hashes for third heading Simple link: [[http://example.com]] Link with text: [[http://example.com|text of the link]] Image: {{http://image.url.com}} Image with custom width (in px): {{http://image.url.com|width}} Iframe: {{{http://iframe.url.com}}} Iframe with custom height (in px): {{{http://iframe.url.com|height}}} Iframe with custom height and width (in px): {{{http://iframe.url.com|height*width}}} --- for an horizontal rule	# **{name}** {{{EmbedURL}}} **Date / Fecha:** {Date} **Creator / Creador:** {Creator} **Source / Fuente:** {Source} **Media Type / Tipo de Medio:** {MediaType} **Gravesite / Fosa:** {Gravesite} **Town / Municipalidad:** {Town} **City / Provincia:** {City} **State / Comunidad Autónoma:** {State} **URL:** {SourceURL} **Description of Resource / Descripción del recurso:** {Description}
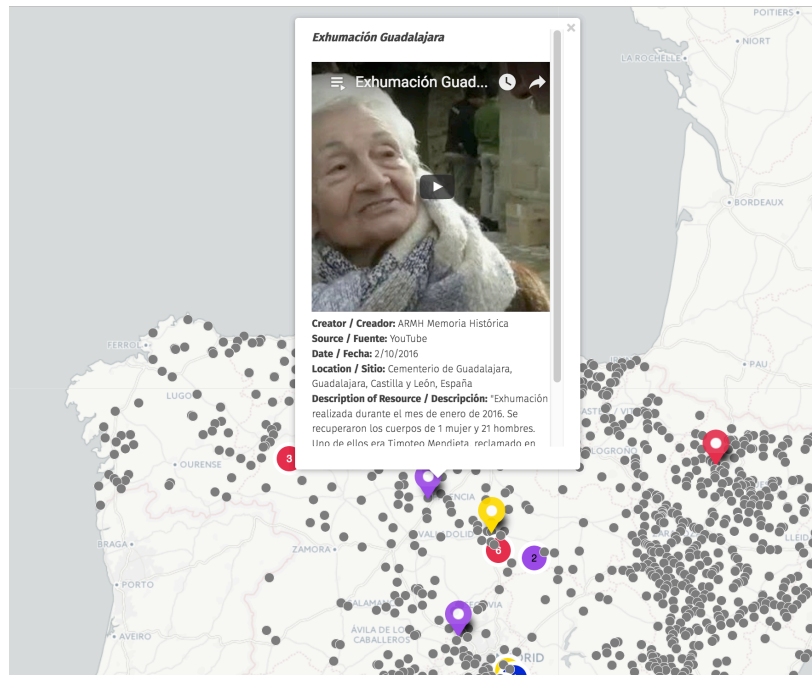
Figure 34: Formatted metadata displayed in popup window.

184

I also reformatted two of the column titles in the imported data in order for the platform to connect my .csv data to specific fields in their system. The two changes were made in order to chart their "name" and "description" fields to my column structure. The "name" and "description" fields are the default display items for the popup windows in uMap. In order for the title of the resource to display, I had to change the column name from "Title" (as listed in my .csv) to "name" (with no capitalization). The change to the column title communicated to uMap to read that column as the name of the resource. Similarly, I had to alter the column header from my .cvs for the "EmbedURL" to "description." The change from "EmbedURL" to "description" allowed for the display of the digital media, rather than showing a link to the resource. By changing the "Embed URL" column title to "description" from within uMap, I could add the Iframe code necessary for embedding media into the popup for each information window. I already had a "Description" field populated in my .csv (which includes a description of the resource) and changing the column title for the "EmbedURL" to "description" created a second description column in uMap. But by maintaining a lowercase "d" in the second instance, the uMap platform could differentiate between the two columns.

Integrating Digital Resources

One of the greatest challenges of the project and a fundamental goal was the integration of digital media elements onto the map. Most GIS platforms are not designed for the integration of media, but rather to conduct geospatial analysis. While most platforms can incorporate one representative image for each pinpoint, displaying multimedia elements proved to be extremely challenging for most out-of-the-box tools. After evaluating the different types of media that needed to be integrated into the map, the following types emerged: audio files, videos (both *YouTube* & uploaded clips), .pdfs, .jpgs, and URLs. Initially I thought that most of the popular

185

GIS platforms could handle the needs of the project, but incorporating a variety of media types, and also needing to include more than one media file per popup window was a challenge for nearly all of the typical mapping platforms. uMap could easily displays media on their platform through the use of Iframes. That means users can embed a variety of media types into the information windows: video (both YouTube and self-hosted), audio clips, PDFs, and images onto the map.

I stored all of the media elements for the project on Box.com. Because UCLA has an agreement with the cloud service provider, university-affiliated persons have unlimited storage space on the cloud service (with a limit of 15gb per file). Box.com generates embed codes to use in the Iframe info windows for the map. Each file has a unique code, and I set the files to be available to anyone with the link, so that any user viewing the map would have access to the resource housed in Box.com. I hosted the representative images for the newspaper articles in Box, as well as all the audio files, PDFs and several videos. A user can see when a resource is being pulled from Box.com because the Box logo is visible in the popup window.

The various map layers are designated with different pin colors on the map where novels are represented in blue, films in red, websites in purple, articles in gold, audio in teal, etc. Separating each of the media types into individual layers (i.e., one layer for audio, one for videos, one for novels, etc.) created a legend in the "About section." The legend shows which pin color represents each layer. Users can toggle each of the layers on or off. The ability to control the different layers allows users to view different combinations of resources, if desired, rather than all of the digital resources at one time. In version 1.0, I had all of the media combined in one layer (see Figure 32). This means there were only two layers total on the map—one with the mass grave information and one with the digital media elements. Users could not toggle the

186

different types of media on and off; they could only display all or none of the grave data and/or the digital media. As Figure 31 shows, version 2.0 has separate layers for each category, making for a cleaner navigation experience. It permits the user to view the different types of media separately, rather than a grouping of all of the media together in one layer.

Developing a Non-linear Structure of Content

When displaying the data layers onto the map, I wanted to extricate the project from imposing an authorial presence in the presentation of materials and this consideration became one of the principles of the project. Since the map was designed as a resource for scholars and the public, I did not want to impose a narrative structure on the digital texts by avoiding a linear progression of the media elements. The objective was for the map to function as a platform to further bolster the efforts of the creators of the media elements and to situate these digital texts within the larger framework of recuperation. Each multimedia element is divided into a separate layer (i.e., audio, films, mass grave data, novels, websites). While the media selection process and implied geographic structure inherently gives the creator of projects such as "Virtual Cartographies" an authorial presence, I wanted to extricate my voice as much as possible, while presenting the resources in a clear, straightforward manner. The structure of the information for each resource is alphabetical: layers are organized by title (audio, films, novels, websites, etc.), and the media within each layer is organized alphabetically by title as well. Similarly, the mass grave dataset organizes the name of the gravesites alphabetically within its own layer.

When navigating the map, a user can click on the different color pinpoints directly on the map, or by using the sidebar that organizes content in alphabetical order. There are six separate layers listed alphabetically, each identified with different color pinpoints. In the sidebar of the map located on the right, under "About," you can view a list of the different layers and their

corresponding pinpoint colors. The layer with mass grave information is organized alphabetically

using the name of the gravesites. To view the data within each layer, click on "Browse data" in

the sidebar (or at the bottom of the map). The resources can be navigated by clicking on the

different color pinpoints located directly on the map, or by scrolling through the "Browse data"

tab in the sidebar. The layers can be toggled on and off by clicking on the "eye" icon. You can

view any combination of layers by turning them on and off. The "eye" icon can be found under

the "About" or "Browse data" tab in the sidebar, or the "Data layers" control icon on the left side

of the screen. Users can also filter the titles within all of the layers using keywords in the

"Browse data" tab. Filters group together elements that contain the same keywords, while

filtering out content that does not.

Clustering of Multiple Elements for One Location

The last goal was to represent multiple media elements for any one site. Certain

gravesites have a large number of digital texts associated with them. A site could have a

documentary produced about it, a YouTube video filmed by a family member, and a radio

program discussing the exhumation. I wanted to display multiple media points (and their

metadata) for one gravesite. I considered combining all of the multimedia elements for one site

into one point, to share one information popup window, but ultimately kept them as separate

points to be viewed as a cluster. Combining all the media elements into one popup window

would overwhelm the user with too much information on the screen at one time. It was also

impossible to devise a coherent way to incorporate the metadata for multiple media elements, if

included within one popup window. Keeping the media points separate serves the purpose of

immediately signaling what type of media (audio, images, video) is associated with each site.

uMap provides the option to cluster together points located in proximity to each other. A circle

with a number in the center represents a cluster. The number in the center of the circle indicates the number of elements clustered together. As users zoom in, the clusters disperse and show the individual pinpoints. Clustering functionality permits media elements to retain autonomy while displaying a relation to other surrounding resources. I maintained the system's default clustering radius at 80, meaning that the maximum radius that a cluster will cover from the central marker is 80 pixels. Decreasing the radius will make more, smaller clusters.

Other Considerations: Prototypes

"Virtual Cartographies" found a platform that met all the project goals in uMap, but only after extensive experimentation with some of the most popular digital mapping software. In order to describe the reasons why the initial prototypes did not meet the goals of the project, I will briefly describe the pros and cons of the different platforms considered. The first prototype was built in Google's "MyMaps" (see Figure 35). "MyMaps" was perfect for displaying resources in a non-linear fashion. It could also display video content, which was better than most of the mapping platforms available. "MyMaps" did have some significant downsides, the biggest being that each data layer was limited to 2000 entries. With the mass grave dataset containing over 2,600 entries, I would have had to split the dataset into two separate layers. That separation would not have served any pedagogical purpose and would have been difficult to explain to users. Almost as egregious was the inability to display multiple elements for the same location. The map would stack resources located in the same space on top of one another, without clustering them in any way. The stacking would hid all the points underneath the topmost resource, making it impossible to click on or even see the points beneath. Finally, since there was no HTML editor available for the popup windows, I could not add multiple media elements in one info window. I could only include one element per popup.
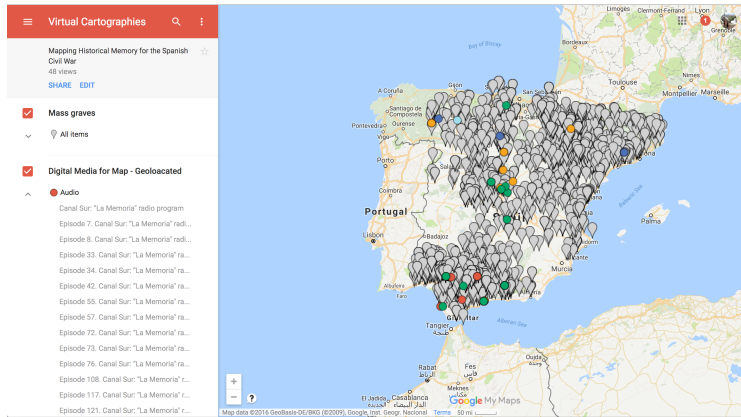
Figure 35: Prototype in Google "My Maps"

I next considered ESRI "Story Maps" (see Figure 36). ESRI is a well-established GIS company also responsible for GIS mainstay, ArcGIS. "Story Maps" offers multiple templates that could easily display the multimedia content that I wanted to incorporate, such as uploading films hosted locally and embedding *YouTube* or *Vimeo* videos, as well as using *Soundcloud* for audio clips. But as the platform's name suggests, the available "Story Map" templates all have an intrinsic narrative structure, as it expects the users to tell a story with their content. They did have one template that displayed resources on a nonlinear map, but that template did not integrate multimedia content.

Figure 36: Prototype in ESRI "Story Maps"

Next I moved on to "Carto" (see Figure 37).[42] "Carto" is a sophisticated GIS platform

that overcame many of the problems I had with Google "MyMaps" and ESRI "Story Maps."

Like uMap, it had clustering capabilities for designating multiple data points for the same

location and displayed resources in a non-linear manner. It also had some added features

unavailable in uMap. I could create a legend that was embedded in the map itself, rather than

having a legend that only appears in the sidebar when a user clicks on "About." But "Carto" had

no multimedia integration. Each data point could only include one representative image; no

video, audio, or PDF content could be used. There was a possibility for the inclusion of video,

with significant modification to the site's code. Since media integration was one of the

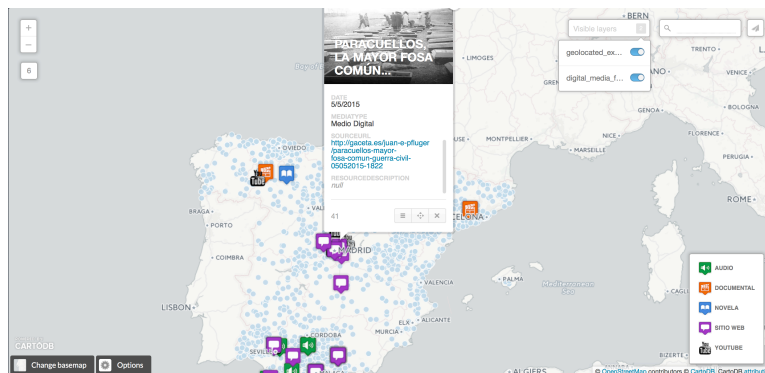cornerstones of the project, I had rejected the platform.

Figure 37: Prototype in "Carto"

From there, I turned to mapping libraries, specifically "Leaflet" and Leaflet templates

found in GitHub (see Figure 38). "Leaflet" does not have a Graphical User Interface (GUI). A

GUI provides an interface with buttons used for the creation of digital products. A GUI

facilitates the construction of online content without having to know any programming

languages. "Leaflet" provides different snippets of code you can combine to customize and build

---

[42] Previously know as "CartoDB," the company changed its name to "Carto" in 2016.

a digital map. "Leaflet" had a significantly higher learning curve and required significant programming knowledge. I converted my .csv data sheets into to GeoJson format in order to use it with the libraries and templates I was testing. I was able to connect my .geojson file to the "Leaflet" JavaScript library and was able to display my data points, but I was unsuccessful at displaying any of the info window popups.
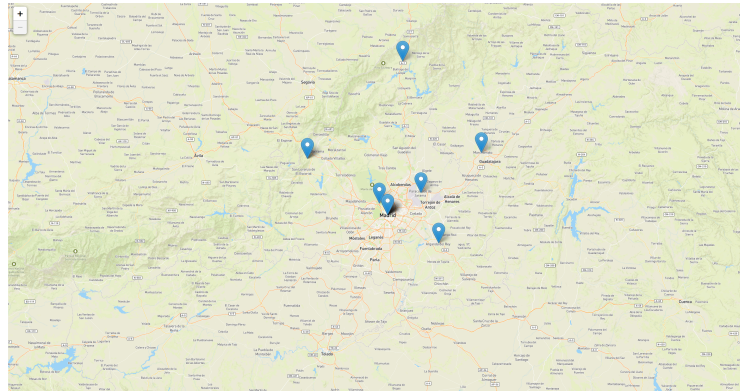

Figure 38: Prototype in "Leaflet"

Project Website

While the "Virtual Cartographies" map is hosted on the uMap servers, it was imperative to present the map in a contextualized style. I could have chosen to share the project using the direct link to the map on the servers, but the uMap interface did not provide enough space to describe the research questions, methodology, and datasets that went into the creation of the map. In order to clearly express the goals of the project to the user, it was necessary to build a website to house the map. I built a website that embeds the map within a cohesive framework that includes a transparent description of the decision-making process that led to its construction. The website is straightforward and only has five pages: 1) Home, 2) Map, 3) About, 4) Datasets, and 5) Contact.

Next steps

The next big step for "Virtual Cartographies" is the continued addition of media elements. While the current map has a moderate sampling of media elements, with over 150 data points, these are only a selection of the media available regarding mass grave recovery. I included digital media discussed throughout this dissertation, as well as additional texts found online. I wanted to have a representative sample of the different media types for inclusion. Next I will dedicate time to increasing the media dataset on the working map I have developed.

I will also continue expanding the website that houses the map. I would like to include sections on how to incorporate the map into the classroom and also provide a page with general references about historical memory and mass grave recuperation. These would be resources that are important to the disinterments, but do not have spatial designation and could therefore not be included on the map.

Finally, I would like to move the map onto my own server. "Virtual Cartographies" is currently hosted on the uMap servers. Hosting the map on a private server would increase navigation speed and resolve any lags when scrolling around and viewing larger file sizes embedded in the map. Since I have a large dataset with the mass grave information and multiple layers, the lag experienced while navigating could be improved. Since uMap is open-source, I can download the current map and upload it to my own server. This would also resolve any issues of sustainability in the event that uMap decides to remove their hosting services.

The thick mapping concepts at work in "Virtual Cartographies" combine the spatial, social and historical aspects of recovery of mass graves onto one cartographic interface. The metadata pertaining to the mass gravesites and corresponding digital media accompanies the texts in order to give contextual information, rather than presenting digital cultural materials

without a supporting framework. Merging digital media with geospatial elements and relating

them to specific gravesites (or areas) brings to mind Edward Soja's concept of *thirdspace*. In his

book of the same title, Soja uses the idea of thirdspace to highlight what he considers to be

innovative ways of thinking about community, history and social spatiality:

> As we approach the fin de siècle, there is a growing awareness of
>
> the simultaneity and interwoven complexity of the social, the
>
> historical, and the spatial, their inseparability and interdependence.
>
> And this three-sided sensibility of spatiality-historicality-sociality is
>
> not only bringing about a profound change in the ways we think
>
> about space, it is also beginning to lead to major revisions in how
>
> we study history and society. (3)

GIS technologies have increasingly improved the ability to learn and share experiences through

the dissemination of digital culture materials. Visualization tools build an archive for digital

cultural materials emerging around the search for and disinterment of mass graves. Since the

creator of the digital text retains responsibility for publishing the materials online, the

sustainability of these texts for public access becomes a critical next step in the preservation of

these cultural artifacts.

Conclusion

In my dissertation I reflect on the ritualistic aspects of mourning practices that accompany the current disinterment and reburial of Francoist victims from mass graves on the Iberian Peninsula. I use critical theories of performance to argue the necessity to actualize funeral rites before a community of witnesses in order to disseminate memory and enact closure. The disinterment process acts as a catalyst for the rebuilding of suppressed or unexplored sentiments silenced by a dictatorial regime and, later, through the transition to a democratic government. I include an analysis of novels and documentaries, but also consider a variety of digital media, such as weblogs, *YouTube* short films, and social media content from *Facebook* and *Twitter* groups. Studying the intersection of novels and documentaries with digital cultural materials demonstrates how the rituals of reburial assist in the healing of collective trauma. The analysis of documentaries, novels, and digital media shows how multigenerational communities undergo the rituals of reburial together to form a collective historiography.

The digital companion to my dissertation is a digital "thick" map of mass grave locations on the Peninsula. I have built a digital map called "Virtual Cartographies" that combines data acquired from the Spanish Ministry of Justice—which identifies over 2,600 mass graves located on Spanish territories—with a collection of digital materials directly linked to specific gravesites. Layering multimedia texts together with mass grave locations on a digital map inscribes these spaces with a social and historical context. The thick mapping in "Virtual Cartographies" marks the location of gravesites and includes cultural productions about the recovery efforts onto one cartographic interface.

The exhumation, identification and reburial of remains are crucial steps in beginning to heal from the collective trauma experienced under Francoism. Community members stress the

195

need for physical tombstones to honor their dead, and social media reveals that the sites of reburial become points of gathering for communities. Rituals of commemoration extend past the funeral rites as yearly tributes honor the reinterred. Important anniversaries—such as dates of execution and inhumation or dates of celebration, like the "Día de la República"—mark occasions for communities to gather at sites of reburial. The annual remembrances, documented online through photographs, videos, and social media contribute to the recuperation of collective memory by uniting physical and virtual communities. The year gathering of community members at the sites of reburial converts these monuments into permanent spaces of remembrance.

The yearly tributes bolster the recuperation of collective memory by bringing together communities to perform analogous rituals of mourning and reburial as remains are added annually to gravesites. The reiterative memorials as represented on social media (*YouTube*, *Flickr*, and *Facebook*)—from the decoration of monuments with flowers, flags, and colors of the Republic, to artistic homages via music and poetry, to the *entrega* or return of the bodies, culminating in the communal burial—instill a ritualistic practice that allows community members to relive the moments of reburial every year. As the exhumation and identification processes continue, more bodies are added to communal tombs, converting memorialized sites of burial into enduring spaces of commemoration. Social media preserves the rituals while disseminating the practices of commemoration as a way to recuperate collective memory. Social networks provide contemporary Spaniards with a virtual community and public forum to share memories repressed for decades. The ability to communicate online with multiple generations about the War and dictatorship while participating in rituals of commemoration assists in recuperating collective (post)memories.

The careful analysis of rituals of disinterment as represented in novels, films, social media, and thick mapping, invites new inquiries, and opens up new paths of research. It brings to the fore questions around the gendered nature of memory and ritual in the context of mass grave exhumation. I have already begun to reflect upon gendered memory in my analysis of the documentary *Santa Cruz, por ejemplo* in Chapter 1, but there are other sources in which remembrance and gender play an even more relevant role and deserve further scrutiny, such the novel *La voz dormida* (2002), by Dulce Chacón, and its filmic adaptation by Benito Zambrano, the documentary *Que mi nombre no se borre de la historia* by José María Almela and Verónica Vigil (2006), and Luis Mateo Díez's novel, *Fantasmas del invierno* (2004).

Additionally, "Virtual Cartographies" is meant to be used not only as a resource for the exploration of digital cultural materials as related to place, but can also serve as a base for other digital projects. Designed as a resource for scholars and the public, "Virtual Cartographies" is available to share on weblogs and social media sites, but can also be copied, reused, and expanded. Map administrators have the capability of cloning their uMap projects for distribution to others. The sharing capability gives me the opportunity to distribute the map for reuse and opens the possibilities for the construction of personalized narratives. Using the slideshow capability within uMap, users can guide visitors through a progression of the materials on the map. The map-builder can select a geographic location or a specific group of texts (for example) upon which to build a narrative that would take the visitor through a "tour" of the materials. The slideshow functionality facilitates the creation of complex microhistories that make use of the embedded multimedia texts on the map while supplementing those materials with their own reflections.

The datasets (both the mass grave set and digital cultural materials) are also available for download on the "Virtual Cartographies" website that hosts the map. Having access to the raw data files means that anyone can reuse them for any number of digital projects about mass grave recovery—from network analysis to text mining—to further contextualize the recuperation efforts. "Virtual Cartographies" will continue to grow as new digital cultural materials are added to the Web. The biannual update of the mass grave locations also makes the thick map an ever-changing site of memory. The ability for scholars and the public to engage with resources in a thick mapping environment to create their own narratives based off the foundation I have laid would greatly contribute to the recovery of collective memory and the continued development of an equitable historiography by sharing multiple histories about specific gravesites.

Another important next step is situating the Spanish disinterment efforts and rituals of reburial within a transnational context. The search for and exhumation of bodies from mass graves stemming from other dictatorships—such as those in Chile, Nicaragua, and Argentina—is occurring simultaneously. Historical memory initiatives are underway in several Latin American countries, and establishing a transatlantic dialogue would foster a support structure for families searching for the missing, while showing the parallels and differences among ritualistic practices. Digital initiatives focused on historical memory have also begun developing outside of Spain, as seen in the Colombian Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica. The National Center of Historical Memory in Colombia dedicates a section of their site to an "Audiovisual Center" ("Centro Audiovisual") that contains videos, photographs, audio files, and multimedia materials about historical memory. An analysis of this site as compared to other historical memory digital ventures—like the "Mapa de Fosas" and the "Portal de Archivos Españoles (PARES)" maintained by the Spanish Ministry of Justice—will lend insight into the successes and

198

challenges of maintaining and diffusing digital cultural materials about historical memory. Now

that the groundwork has been laid in analyzing rituals of reburial in Spain, establishing a

conversation about the commemorations happening in other countries would inform the analysis

of community mourning and recovery from collective trauma by showing the methods of

commemoration used in other cultures.

Works Cited

"About." *Facebook*. 1 June 2017 https://newsroom.fb.com/company-info/.

"About." *YouTube*. https://www.youtube.com/yt/about/.

"Abuelo tu memoria." 1 June 2017. http://abuelotumemoria.blogspot.com.es/.

"Acto-homenaje a los fusilados en el Marrufo," YouTube, uploaded by Foro por la Memoria del Campo de Gibraltar, 1 December 2012. https://youtu.be/BsetbrqVf7M.

"Ahaztuak recuerda a los fusilados en La Tejera (Gesaltza)." *Naiz*. 3 September 2016 http://www.naiz.eus/eu/mediateca/video/ahaztuak-recuerda-a-los-fusilados-en-la-tejera-gesaltza#.V8tdgYFhgL8.facebook. Accessed 1 June 2017.

Allen, Matthew. "An Education in Facebook." *Digital Culture and Education*. 4.3 (2012): 213-225.

Amago, Samuel. "Speaking for the Dead: History, Narrative, and the Ghostly in Javier Cercas's War Novels." *Unearthing Franco's Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain*. Edited by Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010. 243-261.

—. *True Lies: Narrative Self-Consciousness in the Contemporary Spanish Novel*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2006.

Anderson, Jon Lee. "Lorca's Bones: Can Spain Finally Confront its Civil-War Past?" *The New Yorker*. 22 June 2009.

"ArcGIS." *ESRI*. 1 June 2017. https://www.arcgis.com/.

"Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica." 1 June 2017. http://memoriahistorica.org.es/.

"Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica." *Flickr*. 1 June 2017.

https://www.flickr.com/photos/memoriahistorica/albums.

 "Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica." *YouTube*. 1 June 2017.

https://www.youtube.com/user/ARMHmemoria

"Asociación por la Recuperación de los Desaparecidos en el Franquismo." 1 June 2017.

http://www.ardfdesaparecidos.com/.

Balibrea, Mari Paz. "La novela negra en la transición española como fenómeno cultural: una

interpretación." *Iberoamericana (2001-) Nueva época* 2.7 (2002): 111-118.

Barbosa, Marialva. "Medios de comunicación y conmemoraciones: Estrategias de

reactualización y construcción de la memoria." *Signo y Pensamiento*. 39 (2001): 104-112.

Barea, Arturo. *La forja de un rebelde*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1951.

Bataille, Georges. "Concerning the Accounts Given by the Residents of Hiroshima." *Trauma:*

Explorations in Memory. Ed. and Intro. Cathy Caruth. Baltimore, MD: The Johns

Hopkins University Press, 1995. 221-235.

Bodenhamer, David J. John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris. "Introduction." *Deep Maps and*

Spatial Narratives. Edited by David Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris.

Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2015. 1-6.

Bodenhamer, David, J. "Narrating Space and Place." *Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives.* Edited

by David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris. Indiana: Indiana

University Press, 2015. 1-6.

Cabello Elorriaga, Oihana. "Ahanztezina ez ahanzteko, preso errepublikarrak omendu dituzte"

Busturialdeko Hitza. 12 April 2017. http://busturialdea.hitza.eus/2017/04/12/ahanztezina-

ez-ahazteko-preso-errepublikarrak-omendu-dituzte/.

 "Calañas (Huelva)." "Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica." *Flickr*.

https://flic.kr/s/aHsjSRAV7v. 1 June 2017.

"Calera y Chozas. Fosas comunes, llegada restos asesinados republicanos al cementerio"

YouTube, uploaded by Javier de la Puerta, 17 February 2013.

https://youtu.be/KNjt3FCxNPo.

"Calera y Chozas: Fosas. Inhumación en panteón republicanos asesinados por el franquismo"

YouTube, uploaded by Javier de la Puerta, 17 February 2013. https://youtu.be/a3mvJF3-

4Mg.

"Calera y Chozas: Republicanos asesinados. Final inhumación en el panteón." YouTube,

uploaded by Javier de la Puerta, 17 February 2013. https://youtu.be/.

"Cantante y poesía para el recuerdo," YouTube, uploaded by Foro por la Memoria del Campo de

Gibraltar, 2 December 2012. https://youtu.be/sAsJTddr1kU

Cárcamo, Silvia. "The Spanish Connection: Detective Fiction after Franco." *Journal of Popular*

Culture 28.1 (1994): 151-161.

Carro, Patricia. "Valdenoceda necesita 20.000 euros para identificar a los represaliados del

penal." "Burgos Conecta." 27 December 2016.

http://burgosconecta.es/2016/12/27/valdenoceda-necesita-20-000-euros-para-identificar-

a-los-represaliados-del-penal/.

Carto. 1 June 2017. https://carto.com/.

Caruth, Cathy. Introductions. *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. Ed. and Intro. Cathy Caruth.

The Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, MD. 1995. 3-12 and 151-157.

Cazenave, Jon. "Petrol Station." 14 October 2008. https://flic.kr/p/5uzLWn. 1 June 2017.

"Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica." 1 June 2017.

http://www.centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/.

Céspedes, Jaime. "Las Trece Rosas de la Guerra Civil vistas por el novelista Jesús Ferrero y el

    periodista Carlos Fonseca. *Tonos digital: Revista electrónica de estudios filológicos* 14

    (2007): np.

Cha, Meeyoung, et al. "Characterizing Social Cascades in Flickr." *WOSN '08. Proceedings of the*

    First Workshop on Online Social Networks. (2008).13-18.

Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1989.

"Crónicas a pie de fosa." 22 April 2017, 2:11am. *Facebook*.

    https://www.facebook.com/cronicasapiedefosa/photos/a.1636999566517630.1073741828

    .1636874076530179/1814172528800332/?type=3. 1 June 2017.

Dellinger, Mary Ann. "El cuerpo como mazmorra: Una lectura femenina de *La voz dormida* y

    Las trece rosas," *Letras Peninsulares* 2-3 (2007-2008): 361-374.

Deuze, Mark. "Participation, Remediation, Bricolage: Considering the Principal Components of

    a Digital Culture." *The Information Society*. 22 (2006): 63-75.

"Día Internacional del Desaparecido." *YouTube*, uploaded by ARMH Memoria Histórica, 12

    September 2016. https://youtu.be/s_pdfVA621g.

Dorca, Toni. "Presentación." *Contornos de la narrativa española actual (2000-2010): Un*

    diálogo entre creadores y críticos. Edited by Palmar Álvarez-Blanco and Toni Dorca.

    Madrid, Spain: Iberoamericana--Vervuert, 2011. 13-18.

Drucker, Johanna. *Graphesis: Visual Forms of Knowledge Production*. MetaLABProjects:

    China. 2004.

Efimova, Lilia, Stephanie Hendrick, and Anjo Anjewierden. " Finding "the life between

buildings": An approach for defining a weblog community [PDF document]” (2005): np.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/252997123_Finding_the_life_between_buildin gs_An_approach_for_defining_a_weblog_community.

Eiroa, Matilde, et al. “La guerra civil Española en la actualidad cibermediática.” *Studia Historica. Historia Contemporánea.* 32 (2014): 357-369

“Encuentros Digitales: Andres Trapiello.” *El mundo*. Oct 4, 2012. Accessed 1 June 2017.

“Entierro de 129 víctimas de la guerra civil española en Aranda de Duero, Burgos.” *YouTube*, uploaded by Calamar2producciones, 3 November 2013. https://youtu.be/GJLJgIoedxQ.

Erikson, Kai. *Everything in Its Path: Destruction of community in the Buffalo Creek Flood.* Simon and Schuster: New York, NY. 1976.

—. “Notes on Trauma and Community.” *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. Ed. and Intro. Cathy Caruth. The Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, MD. 1995. 183-199.

“ESRI Story Maps.” *ESRI*. 1 June 2017. https://storymaps.arcgis.com/en/.

“Estación Atlántica.” 1 June 2017. http://estacionatlantica.blogspot.com.es.

Estrada, Isabel M. *El documental cinematográfico y televisivo contemporáneo: Memoria, sujeto y formación de la identidad democrática española*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Tamesis, 2013.

Europa Press. “Memoria.- El Ayuntamiento de Víznar sitúa la fosa de García Lorca en el barranco y la señala con una placa.” *20 minutos*, July 18, 2015, n.p. http://www.20minutos.es/noticia/2516794/0/memoria-ayuntamiento-viznar-situa-fosa- garcia-lorca-barranco-senala-con-placa/.

European Society for Opinion and Marketing Research. “Guidelines on social media research.”

ESOMAR World Research. (2011). 1 June 2017.

    http://www.esomar.org/index.php/professional-standards-codes-and-guidelines-

    guideline-on-social-media-research.html

Everly, Kathryn. *History, Violence, and the Hyperreal: Representing Culture in the*

    Contemporary Spanish Novel. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue UP, 2010.

"Exhumación Estépar." 1 June 2017. https://exhumacionestepar.wordpress.com/.

"Exhumación de Valdenoceda: Buscamos familias. Cerramos heridas." 1 June 2017.

    https://exhumacionvaldenoceda.com/.

Faber, Sebastiaan. "La literatura como acto afiliativo: La nueva novela de la Guerra Civil (2000-

    2007)." *Contornos de la narrativa española actual (2000-2010): Un diálogo entre*

    creadores y críticos. Edited by Palmar Álvarez-Blanco and Toni Dorca. Madrid, Spain:

    Iberoamericana—Vervuert, 2011. 101-110.

Ferrándiz, Francisco. "Cries and Whispers: Exhuming and Narrating Defeat in Spain Today."

    Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies 9.2 (2008): 177-192.

—. "From Tear to Pixel: Political Correctness and Digital Emotions in the

    Exhumation of Civil War Mass Graves in Spain Today." *Engaging the Emotions in*

    Spanish Culture and History. Ed. Elena Delgado, Pura Fernández and Jo Labanyi.

    Nashville, NC: Vanderbilt University Press, (2016). 242-261.

—. "The Intimacy of Defeat: Exhumations in Contemporary Spain." *Unearthing Franco's*

    Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain. Ed. Carlos Jerez-

    Farrán and Samuel Amago. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010.

    304-325.

Ferrero, Jesús. *Las trece rosas*. 8th ed. Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Siruela, S.A., 2003.

Fonseca, Carlos. *Trece Rosas Rojas: La historia más conmovedora de la guerra civil*. Madrid:

    Ediciones Temas de Hoy, 2004.

"Foro por la memoria: Campo de Gibraltar." *YouTube*. 1 June 2017.

    https://www.youtube.com/user/foroporlamemoriacg.

"Foro por la Memoria Histórica de Málaga," http://www.memoriahistoricamalaga.org/. 31 May

    2017.

"Fosa Común." 1 June 2017. http://www.fosacomun.com/1938-b.htm.

"Fosas o lugares de enterramiento en el territorio español - Catálago de Datos." *Ministerio de*

    Justicia. 1 June 2017. http://datos.gob.es/catalogo/e00003901-fosas-o-lugares-de-

    enterramiento-en-el-territorio-espanol.

"Fosses i Repressió." Generalitat de Catalunya. 1 June 2017.

    http://fossesirepressio.cat/es/home.

Franco, Jean. "The Nation as Imagined Community." *The New Historicism.* Edited by H. Aram

    Veeser. New York, NY: Routledge, 1989.

Freud, Sigmund. *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*.

    Vol. 18. Translated under the editorship of James Strachey in collaboration with Anna

    Freud, assisted by Alix Strachey and Alan Tyson. 24 vols. (1953-74). London: Hogarth.

    1920 (1955).

Fuentes para la Historia de la 2ª República, la Guerra Civil y el Franquismo. 1 June 2017.

    http://memoriasdelaguerracivil.blogspot.com.es.

Galba, Juankar. 14 April 2017, 3:05am. *Facebook*.

    https://www.facebook.com/juancarlos.balbas.3/videos/10211658122876083/?hc_ref=NE

    WSFEED. 1 June 2017.

García, Jordi. *Historia y crítica de la literatura española: Vol. 9, Tomo 2: Los nuevos nombres: 1975-2000: primer suplemento*. Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 2000.

García Martín, José Luis. "Andrés Trapiello: Campo de minas." *Crisis de Papel*. October 2, 2012. http://crisisdepapel.blogspot.com/2012/10/andres-trapiello-campo-de-minas.html.

Garmilla, Jokin. *Facebook*. https://www.facebook.com/jokin.garmilla.

Gauntlett, David. "Media Studies 2.0: a response. *Interactions: Studies in Communication and Culture*. 1.1 (2009): 147-157.

"GeoCode." Awesome Table. Google Sheets Addon. Offered by Romain Vialard. 1 June 2017. https://chrome.google.com/webstore/detail/geocode-by-awesome-table/cnhboknahecjdnlkjnlodacdjelippfg?hl=en.

"Geocode Cells." Google Sheets Addon. Offerd by Mlucool. 1 June 2017. https://chrome.google.com/webstore/detail/geocode-cells/pkocmaboheckpkcbnnlghnfccjjikmfc?hl=en.

"GeoJSON.io." 1 June 2017. geoJSON.io.

Gies, David T. "Modern Spanish Culture: An Introduction." *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Spanish Culture.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999. 1-10.

Global Web Index. "Social Summary: Global Web Index's quarterly report on the latest trends in social networking [PDF document.]" Retrieved from website: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKE wiDpZX8hNfTAhULxmMKHcIIDQwQFggjMAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Finsight.global webindex.net%2Fhubfs%2FReports%2FGWI-Social-Q4-2016-Summary.pdf%3FsubmissionGuid%3D73896324-9c17-4fcd-abcd-

4f0bb022f4fb&usg=AFQjCNGyeYGaNwBuFvvMaQw09NENRIKFaQ&sig2=wzrHCht

_QmjZ5X-7OK1qmg.

"Golpe a la memoria histórica." *DiariodeBurgos.es.* 29 September 2015.

http://www.diariodeburgos.es/noticia/ZDF5E9E1F-0A4F-3A32-

97598FC951CC05B1/20150929/golpe/memoria/historica. 1 June 2017.

"Google Fusion Tables." *Google*. 1 June 2017. https://fusiontables.google.com/

"Google MyMaps." *Google*. 1 June 2017. https://www.google.com/mymaps.

Greenblatt, Stephen. "Introduction." *The Power of Forms in the English Renaissance*. Edited by

Stephen Greenblatt. Norman, OK, 1982.

Gregory, Ian, et al. "Crossing Boundaries: Using GIS in Literary Studies, History, and Beyond."

Keys for architectural history research in the digital era (« Actes de colloques »). 2004.

1-10.

"Guerra Civil en Melilla: 1936-1939." 1 June 2017. http://guerracivilenmelilla.blogspot.com.es/.

"Guerra Civil Española (Espanhola)." *Facebook*. 1 June 2017.

https://www.facebook.com/groups/234589516628356/.

"Guerra Civil Española y sus victimas." 1 June 2017.

http://victimasguerracivilespaniola.blogspot.com/.

Hafter, Lea Evelyn. "España de la rabia y de la idea. Contra un mañana efímero: Entrevista a

Isaac Rosa. *Olivar* 9(11): 2008. 115-121.

Harris, Trevor M. *Conceptualizing the Spatial Humanities and Humanities GIS* [PDF document].

Retrieved from website:

https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=4&cad=rja&uact

=8&ved=0ahUKEwjPmYDv5tXTAhVhs1QKHcRgB-

MQFgg2MAM&url=https%3A%2F%2Ffsu.digital.flvc.org%2Fislandora%2Fobject%2Ff

su%3A209941%2Fdatastream%2FPDF%2Fview&usg=AFQjCNHBU9icW4avVZT97Zj

Si9H0XkM8xA&sig2=tcCKMMzNg9oK0ptXUEvXMA.

—. "Deep Geography—Deep Mapping: Spatial Storytelling and a Sense of

Place." *Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives*. Edited by David J. Bodenhamer, John

Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2015. 28-53.

Hart, Patricia. *The Spanish Sleuth: The Detective in Spanish Fiction*. Rutherford: Fairleigh

Dickinson UP, 1985.

"Hedy760 Recuperando Memoria." *Flicrk.* 1 June 2017.

https://www.flickr.com/photos/hedy_760/albums/with/72157679309988484.

Herman, Judith. *Trauma and Recovery*. New York: Basic Books, 1992.

Herrmann, Gina. "Mass Graves on Spanish TV: A Tale of Two Documentaries." *Unearthing

Franco's Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain*. Edited

by Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre

Dame Press, 2010. 168-191.

Herzberger, David K. "Narrating the Past: History and the Novel of Memory in Postwar Spain"

PMLA 106.1 (1991): 34-45.

"Homenaje en Arbo." Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica. *Flickr*.

https://flic.kr/s/aHskK7CZJo. 1 June 2017.

"Homenaje Fosa de La Mazorra (Texto-1) Quisicedo 2 De Junio." *Las Merindades en la

memoria*. 3 June 2013.

https://lasmerindadesenlamemoria.wordpress.com/2013/06/03/homenaje-fosa-de-la-

mazorra-quisicedo-2-de-junio-textos-1/. Accessed 1 June 2017.

"Homenaje Fosa de La Mazorra (Texto-2) Quisicedo 2 De Junio." *Las Merindades en la memoria*. 12 June 2013.

> https://lasmerindadesenlamemoria.wordpress.com/2013/06/12/homenaje-fosa-de-la-mazorra-texto-2-quisicedo-2-de-junio/. Accessed 1 June 2017.

"Indignación por la aparición de pintadas en el monumento de La Pedraja." *BurgosConecta.es*. 28 September 2015. http://burgosconecta.es/2015/09/28/indignacion-por-la-aparicion-de-pintadas-en-el-monumento-de-la-pedraja/. 1 June 2017.

Janet, Pierre. "L'automatisme psychologique." Paris : Société Pierre Janet. 1889 (1973).

—. "L'amnésie continue." *L'état mental des hystériques.* 2nd ed. Paris: Alcan. 1893 (1990).

—. "Les idées fixes de forme hystérique." *Press Medicale*. 3: 201-3 (1895).

Jesús Pablo Dominguez, Triskel. *Facebook*. https://www.facebook.com/triskel.bilbao.

"La Asociación Granadina para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica." 1 June 2017.

> http://www.granadamemoriahistorica.es/.

"La Guerra Civil Española." *Facebook*. 1 June 2017.

> https://www.facebook.com/groups/378972102146174/?ref=br_rs.

"La Memoria." *Canal Sur*. 1 June 2017.

> http://blogs.canalsur.es/lamemoria/2010/11/24/como-y-por-que-se-escavan-en-espana-ßlas-fosas-comunes-y-como-se-identifican-los-restos-oseos-de-las-victimas-del-franquismo-que-aparecen/.

Labanyi, Jo. "History and Hauntology; or, What Does One Do with the Ghosts of the Past? Reflection on Spanish Film and Fiction of the Post-Franco Period. *Disremembering the Dictatorship: The Politics of Memory in the Spanish Transition to Democracy*. Ed. Joan Ramon Resina. Atlanta: Rodopi, 2000. 65-82.

—. "Narrative in Culture, 1975-1996." *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Spanish Culture.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999. 147-162.

—. "Testimonies of Repression: Methodological and Political Issues." *Unearthing Franco's Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain*. Edited by Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010. 192-205.

Labrador Méndez, Germán. *Culpables por la literatura: Imaginación política y contracultura en la transición española (1968-1984)*. Madrid, Spain: Ediciones Akal, 2017.

—. "Historia y decoro: Éticas de la forma en la narrativas de memoria histórica." *Contornos de la narrativa española actual (2000-2010): Un diálogo entre creadores y críticos*. Edited by Palmar Álvarez-Blanco and Toni Dorca. Madrid, Spain: Iberoamericana—Vervuert, 2011. 121-130.

"Las 28 vítimas del as Fosas due Marrufo," *YouTube*, uploaded by Foro por la Memoria del Campo de Gibraltar, 2 December 2012. https://youtu.be/BbNWMv2hl6Q.

Las fosas del olvido. Dirs. Alfonso Domingo and Itiziar Bernaola. *Documentos* TVE, 2004. Web.

"Las Merindades en la memoria." 1 June 2017. http://lasmerindadesenlamemoria.wordpress.com.

Leaflet. 1 June 2017. http://leafletjs.com/

Les fosses del silensi. Dirs. Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis. TV 3Televisión de Cataluña, 2004. DVD.

"Libro de Visitantes: Exhumation in Igrexa Paramos (A Coruña). [PDF document]." *Asociación*

para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica. October 2016.

http://memoriahistorica.org.es/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/1610-Libro-visitas-Exhumaci%C3%B3n-Igrexa-Paramos-AC.pdf.

Lirola, Vita. "Contra los mitos del regimen: *El vano ayer* por Isaac Rosa. *Renacimiento* 45/46 (2004): 106-108.

Lievrouw, Leah L. "New Media, Mediation, and Communication Study." *Information, Communication & Society*. 12.3 (2009): 303-25.

López-Quiñones, Antonio Gómez. "La misma guerra para un nuevo siglo: textos y contextos de la novela sobre la Guerra Civil." *Contornos de la narrativa española actual (2000-2010): Un diálogo entre creadores y críticos*. Edited by Palmar Álvarez-Blanco and Toni Dorca. Madrid, Spain: Iberoamericana—Vervuert, 2011. 111-120.

—. "Toward a Pragmatic Version of Memory: What Could the Spanish Civil War Mean to Contemporary Spain?" *Unearthing Franco's Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain*. Edited by Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010. 208-220.

"Manuel Barreiro Rey: Resistente con causa." 1 June 2017.

https://resistenteconcausa.blogspot.com/.

"Map of Graves." *Memoria Histórica*. Gobierno de España. 1 June 2017

http://www.memoriahistorica.gob.es/es-es/mapafosas/Paginas/index.aspx.

Mapa de fosas comunes de Aragón." Gobierno de Aragón. 1 June 2017.

http://www.sipca.es/censo/busqueda_fosas_simple.html

"Mapa de fosas comunes de Asturias – Mapa Interactivo." Gobiernu del Principáu d'Asturies. Universidad de Oviedo. 1 June 2017. http://tematico.asturias.es/asunsoci/fosas/.

"Mapa de fosas de Galicia." *Nomes e voces: Proxecto interuniversitario*." 1 June 2017.

    http://www.nomesevoces.net/gl/mapas.

"Mapa de la Memoria." "Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica." 31 May

    2017. http://memoriahistorica.org.es/mapa-de-la-verguenza/.

 "Mapa. Las víctimas en fosas del franquismo." *El Diario.es.* 1 June 2017.

    http://desmemoria.eldiario.es/mapa-fosas/.

Margalit, Avishai. *The Ethics of Memory*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Mateu, Ferran Sáez, and Elena Yeste Piquer. "Disfunciones en el tratamiento mediático de la

    memoria colectiva." *Argos* 32(62) 2015: 131-149.

Maurice Halbwachs. *On Collective Memory*. Edited, Trans., and Intro. by Lewis A. Coser.

    Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Mecke, Jochen. "En busca de una estética postdictatorial: Guerra Civil y dictadura en las novelas

    de Isaac Rosa." *Escribir después de la dictadura: La producción literaria y cultural en*

    las posdictaduras de Europa e Hispanoamérica. Ed. Janett Reinstädler. Madrid, Spain:

    Iberoamericana—Vervuert, 2011. 121-135.

"Memoria Histórica de España." *Facebook*. 1 June 2017.

    https://www.facebook.com/archivosdememoriahistorica/?ref=br_rs.

"Memoria y Libertad." 1 June 2017. http://www.memoriaylibertad.org/.

"Memoria y Libertad." *Facebook*. 1 June 2017. https://www.facebook.com/memoriaylibertad/.

"Memoria y Libertad." *YouTube*. 1 June 2017. https://www.youtube.com/user/lokuvin.

"Memòria Repressió Franquista." Jordi Grau i Gatell. 1 June 2017.

    http://memoriarepressiofranquista.blogspot.com/.

"Memorias de la Guerra Civil Española - República." Familia de José Hernández

Génova. 1 June 2017. http://memoriasdelaguerracivil.blogspot.com/.

"Memoria Histórica de España." Facebook. 1 June 2017.

https://www.facebook.com/archivosdememoriahistorica/?ref=br_rs.

Mislove, Alan, et la. "Growth of the Flickr Social Network." *WOSN '08. Proceedings of the*

First Workshop on Online Social Networks. (2008): 25-30.

MJBarreiroLG. "Estación Malagueña." 1 June 2017. http://memoriamalaga.blogspot.com.es.

Monegal, Antonio. "Exhibiting Objects of Memory." *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 9.2

(2008): 239-251.

Moreiras Menor, Cristina. "Cultura herida: Literatura y cine en la España democrática." Ed.

Tatjana Gajic. *Anales de la literatura española contemporánea*. 31.1 (2006): 339-342.

Muerte en El Valle. Dir. C.M. Hardt. CM Pictures, Inc., 2009. DVD.

"Neatline." Scholars' Lab. University of Virginia Library. 1 June 2017 www.neatline.org.

Newmark, Kevin. "Traumatic Poetry: Charles Baudelaire and the Shock of Laughter." *Trauma:*

Explorations in Memory. Ed. and Intro. Cathy Caruth. Baltimore, MD: The Johns

Hopkins University Press, 236-255.

Nogales, Manuel Chaves. *A sangre y fuego. Héroes, bestias y mártires de España*: Ercilla,

Santiago de Chile, 1937.

Olvidados. Dir. Jesús Zamora and Gustavo Castrillejo. 2004. Web.

"Omeka." Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media, George Mason

University. 1 June 2017. www.omeka.org.

"OpenStreetMap." 1 June 2017 https://www.openstreetmap.org/.

Orejas, Francisco G. *La metaficción en la novela española contemporánea: Entre 1975 y el fin*

de siglo. Madrid: Arco/Libros, 2003.

"Paz y Convivencia: Mapa de fosas de Euskadi." Lehendakaritza. 1 June 2017.

http://www.jusap.ejgv.euskadi.net/r47-

contmh2/es/contenidos/informacion/fosas_franquismo/es_fosas2/mapa_fosas_franquismo

.html.

"Plataforma Memoria Histórica - Guerra Civil Española." *Facebook*. 1 June 2017.

https://www.facebook.com/Plataforma-Memoria-Hist%C3%B3rica-Guerra-Civil-

Espa%C3%B1ola-219608795906/?ref=br_rs

"Portal de Archivos Españoles (PARES)." *Gobierno de España. Ministerio de Educación,*

Cultura y Deporte. http://pares.mcu.es/. 1 June 2017.

Poster, Mark. "Global Media and Culture." *New Literary History*, 39.3 (2008): 685-703.

Presner, Todd. "Remapping German-Jewish Studies: Benjamin, Cartography, Modernity." *The*

German Quarterly 82.3 (2009): 293–315.

Presner, Todd, David Shepard. "Mapping the Geospatial Turn." *New Companion to Digital*

Humanities. Edited by Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens, and John Unsworth. Oxford:

Wiley Blackwell, 2016. 201-212.

Presner, Todd, David Shepard, Yoh Kawano. *HyperCities: Thick Mapping in the Digital*

Humanities. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press,

2014.

Preston, Paul. *El holocausto espanol: Odio y extenninio en la Guerra Civil y despues*. Trans.

Catalina Martinez Munoz and Eugenia Vazquez Nacarino. Madrid: Debate, 2011.

"Primer Ejército de Maniobra - Batalla de Brunete." http://pemaniobra.blogspot.com/. 31 May

2017.

Ramblado Minero, Cinta. "History, Memory, Fiction: *Las trece rosas* and Discourses of

    Recovery in Contemporary Spain." *Constructions of Conflict: Transmitting Memories of*

    the Past in European Historiography, Culture and Media. Edited by Katharina Hall and

    Kathryn N. Jones. New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2011. 111-134.

Renshaw, Layla. *Exhuming Loss: Memory, Materiality and Mass Graves of the Spanish Civil*

    War. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2011.

Resina, Joan Ramon. "The Weight of Memory and the Lightness of Oblivion: The Dead of the

    Spanish Civil War." *Unearthing Franco's Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of*

    Historical Memory in Spain. Edited by Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago. Notre

    Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010. 221-242.

"Restos materiales guerra civil española." *Facebook*. 1 June 2017.

    https://www.facebook.com/groups/240289476125136/.

Richards, Michael. "Grand Narratives, Collective Memory, and Social History: Public Uses of

    the Past in Postwar Spain." *Unearthing Franco's Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery*

    of Historical Memory in Spain. Edited by Carlos Jerez-Farrán and Samuel Amago. Notre

    Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010. 121-45.

Rico, Francisco. *Historia y crítica de la literatura española: Vol. 9, Tomo 2: Los nuevos*

    nombres: 1975-2000: primer suplemento. Ed. Jordi Gracia. Barcelona, España: Editorial

    Crítica. 2000.

Rosa, Isaac. *El vano ayer*. 9th ed. Barcelona: Seix Barral, S.A., 2004.

Ross, Janell. "How Black Lives Matter moved from a hashtag to a real political force." "The

    Washington Post." 19 August 2015.

Sabogal, Winston Manrique. "Entrevista: Jesús Ferrero. El olvido en España ha sido aterrador."

El País. 15 March 2003, np.

Sampedro, Victor, and Alejandro Baer. "El recuerdo como olvido y el pasado extranjero. Padres e hijos ante la memoria histórica mediatizada." *Revista de Estudios de Juventud. Número especial: Jóvenes, Constitución y cultura democrática,* (2003): 93-108.

Sanchéz, Mariela. "La fuerza del testimonio o el testimonio forzado. Construcción de la memoria de la Guerra Civil española en *Muerte en El Valle*, de Christina Hardt. *Olivar.* 15 (2011): 109-129.

Sánchez, Lucía Berruga. "La memoria nostálgica a través de Internet y de las Historias de vida: confrontaciones generacionales de las historias de barrio." Historia y Comunicación Social 20.2 (2015): 391-411.

Santa Cruz, por ejemplo. Dir. Günter Schwaiger. Filmnetwork, 2005. Web.

Sender, Ramón José. *Crónica del alba*. 2nd ed. Barcelona: Destino, 1942.

Schechner, Richard. *Between Theatre and Anthropology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.

Silver, David. "Internet/Cyberculture/Digital Culture/New Media/Fill-In-The-Blank Studies." *New Media and Society*. 6.1 (2004): 55-64.

"Sin Memoria No Hay Dignidad." *Association por la Memoria Histórica San Fernando (Cádiz)*. 1 June 2017. http://sinmemorianohaydgnidad.blogspot.com/.

Singh, Gurdev and S.M. Shahid. "Blogs as Tools for Online Information Sharing." *Library Philosophy and Practice*. 9.1 (2006). 1-4.

Small, Heather *et al.* "What Your Tweets Tell Us About You: Identity, Ownership and Privacy of Twitter Data." *International Journal of Digital Curation* 7.1 (2012): 174–197.

Sobejano, Gonzalo. "The testimonial novel and the novel of memory." *The Cambridge*

Companion to The Spanish Novel from 1600 to the Present. Edited by Harriet Turner and

Adelaida López de Martínez. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

172-192.

Spires, Robert C. *Beyond the Metafictional Mode*. Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of

Kentucky, 1984.

—. *Post-totalitarian Spanish Fiction.* Columbia, Missouri*:* University of Missouri, 1996.

Soja, Edward. *Thirdspace*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.

"Spanish Civil War Memory Project: Audiovisual Archive of the Francoist Repression."

University of California, San Diego. 1 June 2017.

http://libraries.ucsd.edu/speccoll/scwmemory/about-eng.html.

Sturken, Marita. "The Remembering of Forgetting: Recovered Memory and the Question of

Experience." *Social Text*. 57 (1998): 103–125.

Taylor, Diana*. The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas.*

Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003.

Thompson, John B. *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*. Cambridge: Polity,

1995.

Thumim, Nancy. *Self-representation and Digital Culture*. London, UK: Palgrave MacMillan,

2012.

"Todos los nombres." 1 June 2017. http://www.todoslosnombres.org/.

Trapiello, Andrés. *Ayer no más*. Barcelona, Spain: Ediciones Destino, S.A., 2012.

"Traslado de las víctimas al Panteón de la Dignidad" YouTube, uploaded by Foro por la

Memoria del Campo de Gibraltar, 2 December 2012. https://youtu.be/9k5zNr3SZxg.

Tsuchiya, Akiko. "Women and fiction in post-Franco Spain. *The Cambridge Companion to the*

Spanish Novel from 1600 to the Present. Edited by Harriet Turner and Adelaida López de

Martínez. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 212-230.

"Umap." 1 June 2017. http://umap.openstreetmap.fr/en/.

"Valdenoceda. 18 de abril de 2015. 11 familias recuperan a los suyos." *YouTube*, uploaded by

Exhumación Valdenoceda, 19 April 2015.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MfeVNdYUpuQ.

"Valdenoceda 2015." *Las Merindades en la memoria*. 5 May 2015.

https://lasmerindadesenlamemoria.wordpress.com/2015/05/05/valdenoceda-2015/.

Accessed 1 June 2017.

Van der Kolk, Bessel A., and Onno Van der Hart. "The Intrusive Past: The Flexibility of

Memory and the Engraving of Trauma." *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. Ed. and Intro.

Cathy Caruth. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. 158-182.

"Vandalismo contra el monumento memoria histórica La Pedraja" YouTube, uploaded by La 8

Burgos, 29 September 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bHnVp-

9bBa0&feature=youtu.be. 1 June 2017.

Varona, Jesús Pablo Domínguez, Aiyoa Arroita Lafuente "Crónicas a Pie de Fosa." 1 June 2017.

https://cronicasapiedefosa.wordpress.com/.

Varona, Jesús Pablo Domínguez, Aiyoa Arroita Lafuente "Crónicas a Pie de Fosa." *Facebook*.

1 June 2017. https://www.facebook.com/cronicasapiedefosa/. Accessed 1 June 2017.

Varona, Jesús Pablo Domínguez, Aiyoa Arroita Lafuente "Crónicas a Pie de Fosa."

YouTube. 1 June 2017.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?list=PLgtCggw8UMkS_TwPeCPl_Ur8MCKWr6HIj&v

=uyIe3NS32mQ.

Varona, Jesús Pablo Domínguez, Aiyoa Arroita Lafuente. "Exhumando Fosas, Recuperando Dignidades." *Crónicas a pie de fosa*, 15 November 2015. https://cronicasapiedefosa.wordpress.com/2015/11/15/exhumando-fosas-recuperando-dignidades/. Accessed 1 June 2017.

Varona, Jesús Pablo Domínguez, Aiyoa Arroita Lafuente. "Fosas de la Pedraja. Homenajes y Vandalismo." *Crónicas a pie de fosa*, 20 October 2015. https://cronicasapiedefosa.wordpress.com/2015/10/20/fosas-de-la-pedraja-homenajes-y-vandalismo/. Accessed 1 June 2017.

Varona, Jesús Pablo Domínguez, Aiyoa Arroita Lafuente. "La fosa de Parasimon (Pajares)" 20 March 2016. https://cronicasapiedefosa.wordpress.com/2016/03/20/la-fosa-de-parasimon-pajares/. Accessed 1 June 2017.

Varona, Jesús Pablo Domínguez, Aiyoa Arroita Lafuente. "Los Asesinados de la Fosa de la Tejera, (Ribera Alta-Alava)." *Crónicas a pie de fosa*, 15 November 2015. https://cronicasapiedefosa.wordpress.com/2016/09/05/los-asesinados-de-la-fosa-de-la-tejera-ribera-alta-alava/. Accessed 1 June 2017.

Varona, Jesús Pablo Domínguez, Aiyoa Arroita Lafuente. "Valdenoceda, prisión del horror, cementerio y homenajes." 3 April 2016. https://cronicasapiedefosa.wordpress.com/2016/04/03/valdenoceda-prision-del-horror-cementerio-y-homenajes/. Accessed 1 June 2017.

Veeser, H. Aram. "The New Historicism." *The New Historicism Reader*. Edited by H. Aram Veeser. New York, NY: Routledge, 1994.

Vilarós, Teresa. *Mono del desencanto: Una critica cultural de la transicion espanola, 1973-1993*. Madrid, Spain: Siglo XXI, 1998.

—. "The Novel Beyond Modernity." *The Cambridge Companion to the Spanish Novel from 1600 to the Present*. Edited by Harriet Turner and Adelaida López de Martínez. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003. 251-263.

"Virtual Cartographies: Visualizing Mass Grave Recovery in Contemporary Spain." Wendy Perla Kurtz. 1 June 2017. www.virtualcartographies.com.

"Visor de fosas de Navarra." *Gobierno de Navarra*. 1 June 2017. http://fossesirepressio.cat/es/home.

Walker, Jim. "Weblog." *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory*. Eds. David Herman, Manfred Jahn, and Marie-Laure Ryan. New York, NY: Routledge, 2005. 45.

Warf, Barney. "Deep Mapping and Neogeography." *Deep Maps and Spatial Narratives*. Edited by David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2015. 134-149.

"Web de la fosa común de Oviedo." 1 June 2017. http://www.fosacomun.com/index4.htm.

White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in 19th-Century Europe*. Forward by Michael S. Roth. 40th anniversary edition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014.

Yu, Bai, and Hong Fei. "Modeling Social Cascade in the Flickr Social Network." *Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Fuzzy Systems and Knowledge Discovery* 7 (2009): 566-570.

Zeichick, Alan. "How Facebook Works." *Technology Review*. Michigan: MIT Press, 2008.

@adoyma. *Twitter*. https://twitter.com/adoyma/status/818651613560766471.

@ARMH. *Twitter*. https://twitter.com/ARMH_Memoria/status/823531159703482370.

@coscurrera. *Twitter*. https://twitter.com/coscurrera/status/792712019661164545.

@docfmarin. *Twitter*. https://twitter.com/docfmarin/status/69341497903955 1488.

@KarmentMlg. *Twitter*. https://twitter.com/KarmenMlg/status/792702941627092993.

@laberciana. *Twitter* https://twitter.com/laberciana/status/28672860939.

@PardoSalud. *Twitter*. https://twitter.com/PardoSalud/status/792066369235914752.

@PPopluar. *Twitter*. https://twitter.com/PPopular.

@PSOE. *Twitter*. https://twitter.com/PSOE.

@Sergi_Bernal. *Twitter*. https://twitter.com/Sergi_Bernal/status/559287127142563841.

@Sil_Viach. *Twitter*. https://twitter.com/Sil_Viach/status/854422248983318530.