

NOTES

Introduction

1. For contemporary books about literary and filmic representations of the Spanish Civil War see: Camino, *Film, Memory and the Legacy of the Spanish Civil War*. Jerez and Amago, *Unearthing Franco's Legacy*. Luengo, *La encrucijada de la memoria*. Winter, *Lugares de memoria de la Guerra Civil y el Franquismo*.
2. The term “lieu de mémoire” entered the *Le Grand Robert de la langue française* in 1993, and Nora’s ideas have since been translated into other national contexts.
3. F. Ankersmit writes that it is necessary that historians regard historical reality as a permanent challenge (261). Historical knowledge is as much formed by the historian’s language as it is found in the archives (30). History is art, but the historian does not have the same freedom as the artist does (284). The artists and critics of these four *lieux de mémoire* have had more freedom than the average academic historian, but that does not negate the reality that both formal history and cultural products about the past are *representations*. I work as a kind of historian of these representations with full awareness of the limitations of language, and my own cultural and social background.
4. Jo Labanyi also finds the term “postmodernity” problematic and uses the term “late modernity” instead. She argues for a version of modernity “very different from the ludic relativism assumed by the term postmodernity”; a version “that is able to acknowledge the past while continuing to work for a better future” (“Memory and Modernity” 92, fn. 6).
5. Postmodernity is often regarded as a kind of continuation of modernity. The term “modernity” refers to the definitive cultural break with tradition and the prioritization of the future over the past that occurred in Western societies with the move from feudalism (or agrarianism) toward capitalism, industrialization, secularization, rationalization, and the nation-state.
6. Sikkink writes:

Three key ideas underpin the justice norm: The first is the idea that the most basic violations of human rights—summary execution, torture, and disappearance—cannot be legitimate acts of state and thus must be seen as

crimes committed by individuals. A second related idea is that the individuals who commit these crimes can be, and should be, prosecuted. These seem like simple, even obvious ideas. But they run counter to centuries of beliefs about the state. It took a major movement to move such new ideas forward, embed them in law, and put them into practice. The third idea is that the accused are also bearers of rights, and deserve to have those rights protected in a fair trial. (13)

7. "Postmemory," a term coined by Marianne Hirsch, refers to the responses of the children and grandchildren of Holocaust victims to the troubling continuity of the past in the present, and to the impossibility of erasing the legacy of traumatic memories, even in subsequent generations. Most cultural productions about the past that we see today in Spain were created by the grandchildren of Franco's victims, and are not based on any sort of direct neurological recall, but rather on silences and fragments (see Hirsch, "Generation of Postmemory")
8. Ideology is defined in this work as a comprehensive systematic metanarrative of the world that informs a person's goals, expectations, and actions. Examples include Marxism, Socialism, Christianity, Fascism, Positivism, etc.
9. Twenty-first-century Western society is also a "hypermemorial" society, and many aspects of the past are commemorated and consumed (Lipovetsky, *Hypermodern Times* 57). The market forces have undoubtedly exploited the recent political revisiting of the Spanish Civil War, and novels, exhibitions, and films have become commercial products.
10. See, for example, Resina, Gómez, Mangini, Olmos, Winter, and Gómez.
11. The "pacto de olvido" has been called into question by historians such as Santos Juliá who point out that since Franco's death in 1975, an enormous amount of scholarship, films, and publications have been produced about the war (Juliá 11–54).
12. Agustí Centelles's photographs have been interpreted and reinterpreted to address the realities of different historic moments. Jaime Camino's filmed testimony documentaries utilize both word and image to communicate the impossibility of ever synthesizing the past into a coherent streamlined whole. Muñoz Molina uses photographs as inspirations for his prose, and reflects upon this process in his novels. The meaning of Picasso's *Guernica* has changed considerably as it has interacted with various political and social discourses.
13. The Constitution was approved in Congress on July 28, 1978, with 325 votes in favor and 6 in contra (14 abstained). In the Senate it was passed with 226 votes in favor, and 5 in contra (8 abstained). Of the Spanish voters 88.7% voted in favor of the Constitution in a referendum (Aguilar Fernández, *Memory and Amnesia* 257).
14. On March 11, 2004, three days before general elections, the Madrid metro was bombed and 191 people were killed. Spanish Conservative President José María Aznar told the media that it was ETA, a Basque terrorist group, who had bombed the metro. This provoked much outrage among the Spanish people, mistrustful of the government, and already frustrated by the Spanish involvement in the Iraq war. The official investigation by the Spanish Judiciary revealed an al-Qaeda inspired terrorist group as responsible for the bombing. Elections were held three

days later, and Zapatero's Socialist party (PSOE) defeated the conservative party (PP) of Aznar.

15. Garzón tried to prosecute the Chilean dictator Pinochet in Spain in 1998, and then attempted to inquire into the crimes against humanity committed by the Franco regime after the Spanish Civil War in 2008.
16. Centelles's first big show was in 1978, and was the inaugural show of the Centre Internacional de Fotografia Barcelona. In 1984 he received the Premio Nacional de las Artes Gráfica.

One Photojournalism and Memory: Agustí Centelles's Legacy

1. For more information about the debate see Susperregui, Young, and Capa.
2. Agustí Centelles's biographical information was principally gathered from his published diary, Teresa Ferré's catalogue of the exhibit: *Agustí Centelles: The Concentration Camp at Bram, 1939*; Eduard Pons Prades's history *Años de muerte y de esperanza =: Anys de mort i d'esperança*; the Ministerio de Cultura and NYU's exhibit catalogue *Centelles> in_edit-joh!* It also can be found in other multiple catalogues and history books that use his work.
3. His suitcase has also been referred to as the "French Suitcase" as a play on words with the famous "Mexican Suitcase"—a collection of negatives of the Spanish Civil War shot by Robert Capa, Gerda Taro, and David Seymour. This collection mysteriously disappeared when Capa left his studio in Paris in 1939 as Nazi-German troops were closing in, and was recently discovered in Mexico and shown in September 2011 in the International Center of Photography. For more information, see Young.
4. This dynamic is no better illustrated than in David Seymour's (or Chim's) famous Civil War picture of a woman breastfeeding and looking at the sky. The picture was used by magazines and propaganda to illustrate the German and Italian air raids, when in fact it was taken at a peasant land reform meeting. Alone, it does not prove or show anything, and in fact it was made to represent something very different than its original context. At the same time, it cannot be separated from its roots in a historical moment, for, in fact, that is where its power lies (see Susan Sontag).
5. It appeared in *Regards*, July 30, 1996, n. 133, p. 7 and *Paris-Soir* July 25, 1936, n. 48048.
6. The migration and recycling of Agustí Centelles's photographs have in part been kept in check by his sons' fierce protection of the copyright. When in 1994 the Jehovah Witness magazine *Watchtower* published one of Centelles's iconic pictures of a woman crying out in agony next to the dead body of her husband with the title "Is War Necessary?" the Centelles sons retaliated with a 60,000 Euro lawsuit. See Junquera, "Los Centelles reclaman a los Testigos De Jehová 60.000 Euros."

7. When Centelles returned to Barcelona in 1947 and started a tiny photography studio, the Dirección General de Seguridad began to investigate his case until 1949. From 1950 to 1956 Centelles served a house arrest and had to appear in court once a month (see Acalá de Olmo Olea 34–45).
8. The portraits displayed at Agustí Centelles's first exhibit include pictures of: Díaz Sandino, Martí Barrera, Coronel Villalba, Comandante Reyes, Aviador Erguido, Buenaventura Durruti, Salvador Seguí, Rafael Vidiella, Antonio Sesé, Teresa Pàmies, Ricardo Sanz García, Joan Comorera, and Catalan Presidents Francesc Macià (1859–1933), Lluís Companys, Josep Irla (1876–1958), and Josep Tarradellas (1899–1988) (information provided by Agustí Centelles Molinero and Sergi Centelles).
9. The events of May 37 refer to the violent confrontations between various factions of the Republican side of the war during May 3–8, 1937, on the streets of Barcelona. They began when the Stalinist Communist party attempted to take over the Anarchist-run Telefónica building.
10. Some of the titles of Prades's other histories of the Spanish Civil War include: *Guerillas españolas: 1936–1960* (1977), *Republicanos españoles en la 2.ª Guerra Mundial* (1975), *Los que sí hicimos la guerra* (1973), *Crónica negra de la Transición española* (1987), *Realidades de la Guerra Civil: mitos no, hechos!* (2005), *Las guerras de los niños Republicanos* (1997).
11. See Junquera, “El que dispara es Mariano Vitini.”
12. Xavier Antich's family transferred his photographic archive to the Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Barcelona in February 2011 without economic compensation as a response to the “caso centelles.” See also “Miserachs recala en el Macba” and Foguet.
13. The emotion surrounding the “caso Centelles” also stems from a recent history of archive wars between the Generalitat and the central government of Spain. The reality that the negatives are now housed in the Centro Documental de la Memoria Histórica in Salamanca is hard to swallow for many Catalans. Franco's Nationalist forces established this center in 1937, calling it the “Oficina de Investigación y Propaganda Anticomunista” (OIPA), and later the “Delegación Nacional de Asuntos Especiales” (DNAE). The purpose of the office was to compile and organize documents from the opposing side for better control and repression. After Franco's death, the archive was incorporated into the Ministerio de Cultura, and transformed into a historical archive for academic study. The debate about where to house these archives has been the source of great tension for the last thirty years.

During the transition, Generalitat President Jordi Pujol demanded that the Catalan documents be returned to Catalonia. No one anticipated the uproar, protests, and political anger from both sides that this request would generate. Conservatives and residents of Salamanca argued that the integrity of the archive must be maintained and on March 30, 1995, protested on the street, reaching numbers of 15,000 to 25,000. On April 25, 1995, the mayor of Salamanca Jesús Málaga (a Socialist) and great defender of keeping the archive intact, handed

Minister Alborch a signed petition of more than 97,000 signatures (*Los archivos que Franco expropió de Cataluña* 36–38).

Catalans argued that the documents were stolen by an oppressive dictator and rightfully belonged in Catalonia, as they are part of Catalan political and cultural history and heritage. The government of Spain, however, did not return the archives to the Generalitat until 2006 under the leadership of PSOE President Jose Luis Zapatero. When the Spanish government transferred the archives to Catalonia, copies of the documents were made and placed in the Salamanca archive at the expense of the Catalan government, another detail that aggravated many Catalans. Now the photographs that Centelles hid in France for forty years out of fear that they would be used for repressive measures are housed in that very same edifice that Franco's government used to investigate possible infidels (including Centelles, as his information also passed through the center, see Alcalá del Olmo Olea).

14. The relocation to the International Center of Photography in New York City of Robert Capa's, Gerda Taro's, and Chim's images discovered in the "Mexican Suitcase" in Mexico City was also criticized, see *La maleta mexicana* (2012).
15. The Centelles archive continues to be the source of debate and disagreement between central Spain and Catalunya. An exhibition at New York University in the King Juan Carlos I center during the fall and winter of 2011, put on by the Ministerio de Cultura, *Centelles in-edit-oh!*, provoked a scathing article in Barcelona's leading newspaper *La Vanguardia*. Joan Fontcuberta, an artist and photography theorist, compares the exhibition with an exhibit of many of Robert Capa's recently discovered photographs in Barcelona at the MNAC. He describes the Centelles prints as being shown "en una discreta dependencia universitaria, un vestíbulo multiusos que conecta el control de seguridad del edificio con aulas y despachos; las fotografías están mal colgadas, mal iluminadas, en medio de mesas y máquinas de café" ("In a hidden branch of the university, a multipurpose lobby that connects to the security control room, with classrooms and offices; the photographs were poorly hung, badly lit, and in the middle of small tables and coffee machines"; Fontcuberta). The exhibition was modest, but for a university art show, with limited funds, not surprisingly so. Fontcuberta's review, however, insinuates that the photographs would have been better curated and displayed in hands other than the Ministerio de Cultura. Fontcuberta's piece also includes a bitter comparison between Agustí Centelles and Robert Capa. While Capa, a foreigner who used the Spanish Civil War to launch his career as a photojournalist, is an international celebrity, Centelles remains virtually unknown outside of Spain. While Capa's work was recently the source of a documentary film and a prestigious exhibition at the International Center of Photography in New York City, Centelles has received very little coverage outside of Spain. Capa died famous and rich, but Centelles lived for several years in exile, afraid for his life, and was never permitted to return to documentary photography again under the dictatorship. The injustices of the art and journalism industries apply to Centelles, but are all the more irritating when heated national politics are involved.

16. See Paul Preston, *The Spanish Holocaust*. The slaughter was especially intense in Valladolid because of the death of rebel leader Onésimo Redondo. Many rebel leaders saw his death in a confrontation with Republican forces at Labajos on July 24, 1936, as a mandate for vengeance. Estimates of those assassinated in the repression have varied between 1,303 and 15,000. According to Preston, the most recent study places the figure at over 3,000. In the larger Old Castile and Leon province, the death toll is estimated at 17,195 civilians behind rebel lines (669).
17. The guided tour of Agustí Centelles's photographed Barcelona on July 19, 1936, "Experiencia Centelles," has become an annual educational event held annually every July 19 by Arqueologia Punt de Vista.

**Two Jaime Camino's Evolving Dialectic:
The Reconstruction of the Spanish Civil War
through Filmed Testimony**

1. The very first No-Do was released on January 4, 1943, and begins with a male voice cheerfully describing the presence and glory of Franco as an example that should be emulated by all citizens of Spain. The opening script of the very first No-Do reads:

En el palacio de El Pardo, como en otro tiempo en su cuartel general, el jefe del Estado, caudillo victorioso de nuestra guerra y de nuestra paz, reconstrucción y trabajo, se consagra a la tarea de regir y gobernar a nuestro pueblo. Siguiendo el ejemplo de Franco, todos los españoles tenemos el deber de imitarle, y lo mismo que él dedica su inteligencia y su esfuerzo, su sabiduría y prudencia de gobernante a mantener nuestra patria dentro de los límites de una paz vigilante y honrosa, cada uno, en su esfera de acción y de trabajo, ha de seguir esta línea de conducta, sirviendo lealmente la misión que le esté encomendada, y que, en definitiva, redundará en beneficio de nuestra nación y de nuestro pueblo.

In the El Pardo palace, as he once did in another time as general in his barracks, the head of state, victorious caudillo of our war and our peace, reconstruction, and work, dedicates himself to the work of governing our people. All Spaniards must imitate him and imitate the way that he dedicates his intelligence and efforts, his knowledge and prudence of governor to maintaining our country in the limits of a vigilant and honored peace. Everyone in his or her sphere of action and work should follow this line of conduct, and faithfully serve his or her purpose in life, which will multiply the benefits of our nation and our people. ("Archivo histórico del No-Do")

2. Surprisingly, however, and especially in comparison with the newsreels produced in the Soviet Union after the revolution, the No-Do does not reflect a cohesive, monolithic, or calculated ideology (Sánchez-Biosca, *No-do: El tiempo y la memoria* 24–26).

3. The film was financially feasible because producer Manuel Fernández Palacios wanted to make his famous Flamenco dancer mistress, Manuela Vargas, into a film star, and called on Camino to collaborate (Riambau, *Jaime Camino: La Guerra Civil i altres històries* 153). Shortly after its release, the film was quickly removed because Fernández Palacios had a falling out with Vargas.
4. As Maite Conesa Navarro notes, *Canciones para después de una guerra*, a box office hit at the time of its public release in 1976, is doubly interesting for being both a documentary and an object of repression by the regime (86). In its making, Martín Patino had access to all the regime's official footage (from the Filmoteca Española de Madrid), as the Francoist Censorship Board initially believed it to be an entirely innocent movie. In 1970, five years before Franco's death, the Script Censorship Commission authorized the filming of *Canciones*.
5. "Que más de treinta años de la mayor contienda fratricida que hemos sufrido los españoles, se haga una cinta de este fuste. Porque lo que estamos buscando los españoles hoy es, precisamente, los puntos que nos unen en nuestra diversidad, olvidando pretéritas rivalidades y formar un bloque lo más homogéneo posible y con los máximos puntos de entendimiento, apartando extremismos, de cualquier signo.

And more than thirty years after the greatest fratricidal conflict that we Spanish have ever suffered, someone makes a tape like this... Because what we are looking for today is precisely the points that unite us in our diversity—to forget past rivalries and also to form the most homogeneous block possible with the maximum points of understanding, setting aside extremisms of any kind." (*El Alcázar* June 4, 1971)

6. February 20, 1976, marked the end of censorship of scripts. The total abolition of film censorship occurred on November 11, 1977.
7. Though *Caudillo* and *Queridísimos Verdugos* were produced in 1974 and 1973 respectively, they were not released to the public until 1977, after Francisco Franco's death.
8. The film was re-released in 1983. For more information see Santos.
9. The same editing tactics would later be adopted by Julio Medem in his 2003 documentary, *La pelota vasca* (2003), with the same purpose of giving the illusion of a dialogue that had not actually taken place.
10. When the film was released in Barcelona, Camino invited all the participants to a lunch in October 1978. Several protagonists, however, could not appear as they were still in exile. Frederic Escofet Alsina, the Generalitat's Commissioner of Order, refused to come and said he would not return to Spain until they recognized his rights as Colonel of the Spanish Army (Camino, *La vieja memoria* 16).
11. Dolores's life and perspective on the war is featured in the Communist Party produced film *Dolores* (1980). Jaime Camino published the interviews he did with her for *La vieja memoria* (1977) in a book. See Camino, Jaime, and Dolores Ibárruri, *Íntimas Conversaciones*. Federica Montseny has appeared in other films like *Las fosas del silencio* (2005).
12. Despite showing initial interest, politician Ramón Serrano Suñer did not agree to be interviewed for the film (Declós).

13. Jose Luis de Vilallonga has led a vibrant and curious life. After the war he worked as a journalist. He also published more than thirty novels, some in Catalan. His first novel, *Les Ramblas finissent à la mer*, tells of his experiences in the war. It was banned in Spain during the Franco regime, and Vilallonga was forced to live in France for some time. Vilallonga's political views, however, have changed considerably over his lifetime. He also has acted in more than sixty films, including Blake Edwards's *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (1961) where he played the protagonist's Brazilian lover. For more information see "Fallece el polifacético aristócrata y escritor José Luis de Vilallonga,"
14. According to Teresa Vilarós *La guerra de papá* presents "una guerra civil domesticada y casi divertida" ("a domesticated and almost entertaining Spanish Civil War"; 240). It is also the Spanish Civil War movie with the highest number of spectators (Aguilar Fernández, "La evocación de la guerra" 289).
15. See Jaime Chávarri's *Un dios desconocido* (1977), *El jardín de los poetas* (Basilio Martín Patino), Jose Antonio Bardem's *Lorca, muerte de un poeta* (1987), Marcos Zurinaga's *Muerte en Granada* (1997), Marcos Zurinaga's *Lorca* (1998), Miguel Hermoso's *La luz prodigiosa* (2003), Emilio Ruiz Barrachina's *Lorca. El mar deja de moverse* (2006), Paul Morrison's *Sin límites (Little Ashes)* (2008), Rafael Zarza y Fernando García de Canales's *El deseo y la realidad* (2009), and Pere Portabella's *Mudanza* (2009). For more information on documentary film on Lorca see Marí, "Objetivo: García Lorca."
16. See Antonio Mercero's *Espérame en el cielo* (1988), Francisco Regueiro's *Madregilda* (1993), Albert Boadella's *Buen viaje, excelencia* (2003).
17. "Hypermodern" refers to a post-postmodern society of hyperconsumption and the hypermodern individual. The hypermodern individual is stripped more than ever from the structures of tradition and lacks a belief system to which he/she can turn to for assurance.
18. See Paul Preston's *El holocausto español: Odio y exterminio en la Guerra Civil y después* (2011), Char Prieto's *El holocausto olvidado: Guerra, masacre, pacto, olvido y recuperación de la memoria histórica española* (2011), and Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis's *Las fosas del silencio: ¿Hay un holocausto español?* (2004).
19. See Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. In her book she argues that the great evils of history were not committed by lunatics, but by ordinary people who did their job within the system, and perceived their actions as normal.

Three Archeology of an Icon: Picasso's Guernica and Spanish Democracy

1. For examples of some of the many contexts where the word "vuelta" was used, see: "Inaugurada la plaza dedicada a Pablo Picasso; "Roland Dumas: El 'Guernica' de Picasso, volverá a España pero no enseguida"; Ángulo, "Estudios sobre la conversión de Guernica en ciudad de la resistencia y la cultura" and "Tierno: Cuando vuelva el 'Guernica' debe ir al Prado." Similarly, many writers have used the word "exilio" (exile) when referring to the painting's forty-year stay in the New York MoMA.

2. Picasso's *The Charnel House* (1944–1948) is an unfinished black and white composition that refers to the Nazi genocide. *Massacre in Korea* (1951), which is a contemporary translation of Goya's *3 de Mayo* is a criticism of the American intervention in the Korean War. Recent art exhibits such as *Picasso: Peace and Freedom* at the Tate Liverpool, May 7—August 30, 2010, and *L'Art en guerre, France 1938–1947: From Picasso to Dubuffet* at the Guggenheim in Bilbao, March 16–September 8, 2013, further explore Picasso's political commitment in art.
3. The poem that accompanied the print reads: “fandango of shivering owls souse of swords of evil-omened polyps scouring brush of hairs from priests' tonsures standing naked in the middle of the frying pan—placed upon the ice cream cone of codfish fried in the scabs of his lead-ox heart—his mouth full of the chinch-bug jelly of his words—sleigh bells of the plate of snails branding guys—little finger in erection neither grape nor fig—commedia dell'arte of poor weaving and dyeing of clouds—beauty creams from the garbage wagon—rape of maids in tears and in snivels—on his shoulder the shroud stuffed with sausages and mouths—rage distorting the outline of the shadow which flogs his teeth driven in the sand and the horse open wide to the sun which reads it to the flies that switch to the knots of the net full of anchovies the skyrocket of lilies” (van Hensbergen 27).
4. From 1937 to 1967, the regime maintained that *Guernica* had been destroyed in large part by Basques and Republican arsonists. In later years of the dictatorship, official investigators of Franco's regime such as Carlos Rojas and Ricardo de la Cierva emphasized that the responsibility for the bombing lay exclusively with the Germans. The Franco regime never publicly acknowledged or investigated the number of casualties of the German bombing and many of the details of the tragedy were not clarified until March 1978 in an official post-Franco investigation, which determined that General Francisco Franco was not free from responsibility. Herbert R. Southworth, an amateur American Hispanist, devoted much of his life to clarifying what happened in the *Guernica* bombing. His book, *La destrucción de Guernica* (1975), traces the reporting and distortion of what occurred in *Guernica*. Spain, unlike Germany, has never formally apologized for *Guernica* (see Brey and Southworth).
5. Picasso completed a similar dynamic of light struggling against darkness in 1935 with his etching *Minotouroquía*, which portrayed a young girl bravely facing a dark minotaur and holding a lighted candle and a bouquet of flowers. This etching is hopeful.
6. The World Fair occurred two months after the events of May 1937 when Anarchists and Communists fought each other on the streets of Barcelona. Juan Negrín, a strong supporter of the Communist Party, had just replaced Largo Caballero, a Socialist, as the new prime minister. Negrín and Luis Araquistáin, Spain's ambassador to France, did not see eye to eye politically. Renau, one of the cofounders of the Communist Party in Valencia, had directed the country's graphics department under Negrín, and had been sharply critical of the Republican government in earlier years.
7. In the 1940s and 1950s, *Guernica* was regarded by some as “Communist art” (van Hensbergen 122–24).

8. The first reference to the Civil War as an episode of collective madness appears in 1961 in Gaspar Gómez de la Serna's *Cartas a mi hijo* (see Aguilar, *Memory and Amnesia* 65).
9. The Franco Regime was not the only organization that embraced a peaceful posture and rhetoric during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. In 1956, the Partido Comunista Español, which had previously been engaged in armed resistance, formally announced its commitment to peaceful strategies for replacing the Franco regime. In 1971, under the leadership of Cardinal Tarancón, the first Asamblea Conjunta de Obispos y Sacerdotes redefined the Church's relationship to the Civil War. Instead of championing the war as a crusade, this group asked for forgiveness for not being true agents of reconciliation (Edles 50).
10. Picasso composed a statement to the Museum of Modern Art on November 15, 1970 (in translation): "You have agreed to return the painting, the studies and the drawings to the qualified representatives of the Spanish government *when public liberties will be reestablished in Spain . . . You understand that my wish has always been to see this work and its accompanying pieces return to the Spanish people.*" (In Chipp 206 and in *Guernica—Legado Picasso* 160)
11. See Barra.
12. In 2013 historian Angel Viñas wrote that the truth of what happened in Guernica has not been sufficiently clarified in Spain, and even in Germany, and continues to be disfigured (see Viñas.)
13. Though some reforms of the police forces occurred during the transition such as the elimination of the Brigada de Investigación Social (BIS), most members of Franco's police were simply moved to other departments (Aguilar, "Justice" 109).
14. For information about the transactions regarding *Guernica's* return to Spain, see Fernández-Quintanilla.
15. For several decades there has been talk of showing Goya's 3 de Mayo alongside Picasso's *Guernica* in the Prado, but due to *Guernica's* fragile status, this hope and desire has never come to fruition, and probably never will. Today, in the Reina Sofía's permanent collection, a viewer can observe Goya's *The Disasters of War*: 13 etchings, which are essential for any sort of understanding of Picasso and contemporary Spanish Art.
16. The Museo de Arte Contemporáneo (founded in 1894) and the Museo Español de Arte Contemporáneo (founded in 1975 by the regime) were the antecedents of the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, created in 1988 by the Ministerio de Cultura for twentieth-century works of art. In 1988 a group of experts decided that Picasso's *Guernica* should be a part of the collection.
17. Aguilar Fernández bases her research on surveys, dates, monuments, and discourse in newspapers. Much of her research is empirical and quantitative. Vicent Druliolle recently questioned Aguilar's methodological framework in his article "Memory as the Return of the Repressed for Social Research: A Critical Discussion of Paloma Aguilar's Work" in *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* for its focus on numbers over content analysis and lack of ontological evaluation. I argue that Aguilar Fernández does both content and quantitative analysis of many of the statements made in Spanish newspapers, and that both sorts of research are

necessary. For this reason, I rely heavily on both Laura Desfor Edles and Paloma Aguilar's studies of the transition.

18. The *paracuellos* massacres were the mass killings that occurred in the Battle of Madrid during the early stages of the war. The Republican side killed thousands of suspected military and civilian supporters of the coup. The death toll and the circumstances of the massacre are controversial.
19. The number of victims of the Gernika bombing has been a source of contention for many years. Nationalist historians have claimed between 10 and 200 casualties, while more liberal historians have claimed between 592 and 1,642 victims. (See Southworth 353–70)
20. Jean-Stéphane Durán Froix demonstrates that during the Spanish transition to democracy there was cultural television of great quality that “remembered” Republican artists, writers, intellectuals, and politicians of the Spanish Civil War. Between November of 1977 to December of 1981 there were over nine full-length television programs dedicated to Picasso's politics and most especially *Guernica*.
21. A redress of the events surrounding the Gernika bombing was one of the few public acts of truth-telling of the Spanish transition to democracy. Upon the fortieth anniversary of the bombing, newspapers began printing articles about a “reparación simbólica” (“symbolic reparation”) for the tragedy (“Puede haber una ‘reparación simbólica’ en Guernica”). In February 1978, Spanish Minister of Culture Pío Cabanillas organized a committee of historians to investigate the Spanish and German documents concerning the incident and the committee determined that Franco was not free from responsibility. While conservative newspaper *ABC* hardly mentioned the results of this investigation, *El País* boldly proclaimed its conclusions with headlines such as: “Franco mintió en su versión del bombardeo de Guernica” (“Franco lied in his version of the Guernica bombing”; Ángulo) and “Franco fue el responsable moral del bombardeo de Guernica” (“Franco was morally responsible for the Guernica bombing”; Ángulo).
22. This survey in *ABC* reported that 7.5% of the population thought it should go to Málaga, 10.46% Guernica, 20.38% to Barcelona, 23.66 didn't care, and 7.6% did not know or answer the survey (“Que el ‘Guernica’ se cuelgue en el Prado”). These numbers curiously do not add up mathematically. This is never explained.
23. See “El *Guernica* en 3D” for examples of filmic digital reinterpretations of the *Guernica* masterpiece.

Four Searching for the Spanish Epic:

Antonio Muñoz Molina's *La noche de los tiempos* and the Evolution of the Spanish Civil War Novel

1. Paul Preston's new study *The Spanish Holocaust* asserts that around 300,000 individuals were killed at battle, and around 200,000 people were killed off the battlefield. The ratio of Nationalist violence to Republican violence, according

to Preston, is 3:1. While the revolutionary anarchist violence only occurred in the first five months of the conflict, brutal and systematic Nationalist violence endured until the very end of the war and afterward, when 20,000 Republican were executed.

2. In 1967, a year after the Ley de Prensa was passed, the first novel with a Republican hero was published in Spain: Angel-María de Lera's *Las últimas banderas*.
3. Edurne Portela writes (of Chacón):

Reubica una foto anónimo de archivo en un nuevo marco, convierte una imagen pública, comunitaria, sin nombre en una imagen privada con historia propia que al mismo tiempo vuelve a hacerse pública a través de la ficción. Lo que la historia no recogió en sus anales, Chacón lo reinventa en la novella... cambia por completo el significado de la misma, puesto que la narrativiza, llenando así los silencios de la historia (58).

She relocates an anonymous photograph from an archive into a new framework. She converts a public communal image, without a name, into a private one with its own story that at the same time becomes public again through fiction. What history did not recover in its annals, Chacón reinvents in the novel... she completely changes the meaning, because she narrativizes it, filling in the silences of history.

4. See Ruben García Cebollo's *Ebro 1938: La batalla de la Tierra Alta* (2009); Fernando Calvo González-Regueral's *Queridísima Elena; desde el frente de batalla* (2009); Susana Fortes's *Fronteras de arena* (2001); Manuel Arce's *El latido de la memoria* (2006); Ramon Perna's *Del viento y la memoria* (2006); Ramon Mayrata's *Miracielos* (2000); Luis Mateo Díez's *La gloria de los niños* (2007); Manuel Riva's *Los libros arden mal* (2006).
5. Muñoz Molina says:

En Campo Abierto, Max Aub logra unas páginas de épica insuperable sin más recurso que una lista de nombres propios, nombres de personas que existieron de verdad, la lista de los peluqueros en Madrid que en los primeros días de noviembre de 1936 decidieron organizar un batallón para defender un sector de la Casa de Campo por el que avanzaban hacia el interior las tropas de Franco... Los nombres ortogan la suprema ciudadanía de la novela: Negrín, Azaña, el coronel Casado, son tan personajes de Max Aub como el peluquero de Lavapiés que resiste junto al lago de la Casa de Campo la embestida inmisericorde de los legionarios. (34)

6. Sean O'Faoláin notes the emergence of the antihero figure in the Western novel of the 1920s. While the hero of the traditional nineteenth and early twentieth century novel takes part in clearly defined conflicts, the antihero is "never able to see any pattern in life and rarely its destination" (17). The writer of the traditional novel (before the 1920s) tended to accept a general consensus in society as to what it meant to live a good and virtuous life. He or she may have questioned these societal norms, or laughed at them, but the author of the pre-1920s novel would never deny that they formed the basis of the community, and that to go against

them meant a break from society and almost nature itself (17). The hero of the traditional novel is also characterized by a will to act, passion, and conviction.

The antihero, however, is a much less neat and tidy concept, since he is always presented as groping, puzzled, cross, docking, frustrated, and isolated, manfully or blunderingly trying to establish his own personal, supra-social codes. . . . Whatever he is, weak or brave, brainy or bewildered, his one abiding characteristic is that, like his author-creator, he is never able to see any pattern in life and rarely its destination. (O'Faoláin 17)

7. The concept of the “dos Españas (two Spains)” was born in 1808–1814 during Napoleon’s invasion when the country was divided into absolutists and liberals. This division between conservatives and liberals continued to widen during the nineteenth century and each side became more clearly defined by its relationship with the Catholic Church. The division between those who supported the powerful Catholic church and those who didn’t is present in the novels of Galdós and Clarín and the term “dos Españas” was used by intellectuals such as Larra, Menéndez Pelayo, Maeztu, and Ortega y Gasset. The idea or myth grew even more with the poetry of Antonio Machado. The vision of two Spains is presented with symbolic significance in many of the political poems of *Campos de Castilla* and more specifically in “Una mañana efímera” in which Antonio Machado contrasts the old Spain that “bosteza y ora” (“yawns and prays”) with an imagination of the new Spain “la España del cincel y de la maza/ con esa eterna juventud que se hace/ del pasado macizo de la raza/ Una España implacable y redentora/ España que alborea/ con un hacha en la mano vengadora;/ España de la rabia y de la idea” (“a chisel and hammer Spain/ with this eternal youth that makes/ of the solid past of the race/ A redemptive and unstoppable Spain/ Spain that dawns/ with a hatchet in its vengeful hand/ Angry Spain with ideas”).
8. Stanley Payne asserts that at the end of the Spanish Civil War there wasn’t a person more hated than Juan Negrín. In recent years historians Gabriel Jackson and Ricardo Miralles have written histories that (in part) vindicate Negrín’s name and reputation, which was much maligned by Indalecio Prieto after the war. According to Payne, the problem is that Negrín wrote little about his political motivations and actions, and there is far less of a trace of the man than there are of other important actors during the conflict (“El problema Negrín”).
9. For more information on the connection between affect, romance, and historical memory see Ángel Loureiro’s “Los afectos de la historia.”

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- “A Calvo Sotelo le habría gustado que el ‘Guernica’ se llamara ‘Los horrores de la guerra.’” *El País* October 24, 1981. Web. March 16, 2013.
- Acevedo, Carlos, and Guillem Martínez. *CT o la cultura de la Transición: Crítica a 35 años de cultura española*. Barcelona: Debolsillo, 2012. Kindle File.
- Aguilar Fernández, P. *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*. New York: Berghahn, 2002. Print.
- . “La evocación de la guerra y del franquismo en la política, la cultura y la sociedad españolas.” *Memoria de la guerra y del Franquismo*. Ed. Santos Julia and Paloma Fernández Aguilar. Madrid: Taurus, 2006. 279–318. Print.
- . *Políticas de la memoria y memorias de la política: El caso español en perspectiva comparada*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2008.
- . “Justice, Politics, and Memory in the Spanish Transition.” *The Politics of Memory: Transitional Justice in Democratizing Societies*. Ed. Alexandra Barahona de Brito, Carmen González-Enríquez, and Paloma Aguilar. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001. 92–118. Print.
- “Agustí Centelles, Colección Particular.” La Sala Municipal de Exposiciones de San Benito. C/ San Benito, s/n 47001 Valladolid, España. July 11–August 29, 2010.
- “Agustí Centelles: El camp de concentració de Bram.” Fundació Caixa Tarragona, España. Carrer Higini Anglès, 5–43001 Tarragona. March 24–May 30, 2010.
- Aizarna, Santiago. “San Sebastián, Festival Internacional de Cine.” *La Vanguardia* September 15, 1978: 33. Print.
- Alberch, i F. R. *El preu de la memòria: El cas de L'arxiu Centelles*. Lleida: Pagès, 2011. Print.
- Albesa, Isaac. “Fotoperiodista y protagonista.” *Diari de Tarragona* March 24, 2010. Web. July 12, 2013.
- Alcalá del Olmo Olea, Rocío. “Agustí Centelles: una vida entre luces y sombras.” *Centelles in Edit !oh!: Exposición Sobre La Obra Fotográfica Del Fotoperiodista Español Agustí Centelles Ossó (1909–1985), Premio Nacional De Bellas Artes, 1984 = Exhibition Photographic Work, the Spanish Photojournalist, Agustí Centelles Ossó*. Ed. Joaquín Gasca. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2011. 21–38. Print.
- Amon, Santiago. “El ‘Guernica’ y la serpiente del verano.” *El País* August 10, 1978. Web. March 16, 2013.

- Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991. Print.
- Angulo, Javier. "Franco fue el responsable moral del bombardeo de Guernica." *El País* April 23, 1978. Web. July 21, 2013.
- . "Estudios sobre la conversión de Guernica en ciudad de la resistencia y la cultura." *El País*, April 13, 1978. Web. May 28, 2015.
- . "Franco mintió en su versión del bombardeo de Guernica." *El País* April 25, 1978. Web. March 16, 2013.
- . "Protestas en Euskadi por la instalación del 'Guernica' en el Casón del Buen Retiro." *El País* September 12, 1981. Web. March 16, 2013.
- Ankersmit, Frank R. *Historical Representation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2001. Print.
- Antich, Xavier. "Imágenes de sombras." *La Vanguardia* June 14, 2010. Web. July 21, 2013.
- Antonio Molina, César. "La cultura sin cultura." *El País* November 25, 2010. Web. March 16, 2013.
- "Antonio Muñoz Molina: La noche de los tiempos." *Página 2*. Rtv. December 13, 2009. Television.
- "Archivo histórico del No-Do." 1A. January 4, 1943. Video clip. Web. May 28, 2015.
- Arendt, Hannah, and Jerome Kohn. *Responsibility and Judgment*. New York: Schocken Books, 2003. Print.
- . *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. New York: Viking Press, 1963.
- Armengou, Montse, and Ricard Belis. *Las fosas del silencio: ¿Hay un Holocausto español?* Barcelona: Plaza and Janés, 2004. Print.
- Arnscheidt, Gero. "La construcción de una historia de España: Uso e invención de 'lieux de mémoire' en la obra narrativa y ensayística de Antonio Muñoz Molina." *Lugares de memoria de la Guerra Civil y el Franquismo: Representaciones literarias y visuales*. Ed. Ulrich Winter. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006. 39–56. Print.
- Atxaga, Bernardo. *De Gernika a Guernica*. Barcelona: Ediciones de La Central, 2007. Print.
- Azcárate, Justino. "Carrillo tiene destreza; Fraga, impetus; Suárez da en el clavo." *ABC: Blanco y negro* November 16, 1977: 7. Print.
- Barra, Alfonso "Guernica." *ABC* November 27, 1975: 22. Print.
- Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1981. Print.
- Belloti, Magda. "Actualidad del 'Guernica.'" *El País* October 11, 2001. Web. April 8, 2013.
- Benet, Juan. *Qué fue la Guerra Civil*. Barcelona: Editorial la Gaya Ciencia, 1976. Print.
- Benet, Vicente. "Excesos de memoria: El testimonio de la Guerra Civil española y su articulación filmica." *Hispanic Review* 75.4 (2007): 349–63. Print.
- Benjamin, Walter. "The Storyteller: Reflections on the Life of Nikolai Leskov." *The Novel: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory 1900–2000*. Ed. Dorthy J Hale. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006. 361–78. Print.

- . *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. New York: Classic Books America, 2009. Print.
- Bertrand de Muñoz, M. “Antonio Muñoz Molina and the Myth of the Spanish Civil War.” *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 18.3 (1994): 427–35. Print.
- . *La Guerra Civil española en la novela: Bibliografía comentada*. Madrid: J. Porrúa Turanzas, 1982. Print.
- . “Las grandes tendencias de la novela de la guerra civil del siglo XXI.” *Revista canadiense de estudios hispánicos* 36:1 (2011): 207–26. Print.
- Besas, Peter. *Behind the Spanish Lens: Spanish Cinema Under Fascism and Democracy*. Denver, CO: Arden Press, 1985. Print.
- Box, Zira. “Secularizando el Apocalipsis. Manufactura mítica y discurso nacional franquista: La narración de la victoria.” *Historia y Política* 12: 133–60.
- Brey, Gerard. “La destrucción de Guernica, cuarenta años de polémica.” *Sumario* April 29, 1977: 4–12. Print.
- Brooksbank, Jones A. *Visual Culture in Spain and Mexico*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2007. Print.
- Cadava, Eduardo. *Words of Light: Theses on the Photography of History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997. Print.
- Calvo Seraller. “Una lucha incesante contra la reacción y la muerte.” *El País* September 11, 1981. Web. March 16, 2013.
- Camino, Jaime. *La vieja memoria*. Castellón de la Plana: Ellago Ediciones, 2006. Print.
- . Personal Interview. July 2, 2012.
- Camino, Jaime, and Dolores Ibárruri. *Íntimas Conversaciones con la Pasionaria*. Barcelona: DOPESA, 1977. Print.
- Camino, Mercedes M. *Film, Memory and the Legacy of the Spanish Civil War: Resistance and Guerrilla, 1936–2010*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Print.
- Canciones para después de una guerra*. Dir. Basilio Martín Patino. La Linterna Mágica, 1977. Film.
- Capa, Robert. *Death of a Young Soldier*. 1936. Photograph.
- Capa, Robert, and Richard Whelan. *This Is War! Robert Capa at Work* [published in Conjunction with the Exhibition “This Is War! Robert Capa at Work”; New York, September 26, 2007–January 6, 2008]. Göttingen: Steidl [u.a., 2009]. Print.
- Castiñeira, Ángel. “Naciones imaginadas. Identidad personal, identidad nacional y lugares de memoria.” *Casa encantada. Lugares de memoria en la España Constitucional (1978–2004)*. Ed. Joan Ramon Resina and Ulrich Winter. Madrid: Vervuet-Iberomericana, 2005. 41–78. Print.
- Castro, Flórez F, Josep V. Monzó, and Pablo Picasso. *Crónica del Guernica: Ivam, Institut Valencià D'art Modern, 27 Julio-24 Septiembre 2006*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport, 2006. Print.
- Català, i G. J. M., Josetxo Cerdán, and Casimiro Torreiro. *Imagen, memoria y fascinación: Notas Sobre El Documental En España*. Madrid: Ocho y Medio, 2001. Print.

- Caudillo. Dir. Basilio Martín Patino. Princeton, NJ: Films for the Humanities & Science, 1991.
- Centelles, Agustí. *Diario de un fotógrafo*. Barcelona: Península, 2008. Print.
- “Centelles in_edit_oh! The Spanish Civil War Photographs of Agustí Centelles (The French Suitcase).” King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center. 53 Washington Square South, Suite 201 New York, NY 10012. October 5, 2011.
- Cercas, Javier. “¡Otra bendita novela de la Guerra Civil!” *El País* February 10, 2010. Web. May 2, 2013.
- Chacón, Dulce. *La voz dormida*. Madrid: Punto de lectura, 2011. Print.
- Chipp, Herschel Browning, and Javier. *Picasso's Guernica: History, Transformations, Meanings*. Berkeley: University of California, 1988. Print.
- Conesa Navarro, Maite. “Canciones para después de una guerra (1971).” *Guerra Civil: Documentos y memoria*. Ed. María D. Calle and San R. M. Redero. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2006. 85–110. Print.
- Corral Quintero, Raúl. “Gilles Lipovetsky: Una sociología del presente pos (hiper) moderno.” *Casa del tiempo I: IV:I* (2007): 41–46.
- Crespo, Pedro. “La vieja memoria.” *ABC* April 3, 1978: 56. Print.
- Crespo Macleannan, Julio. “Reconciliación.” *ABC* September 10, 2006: 64. Print.
- Delclós, Tomás. “Recuperar el silencio de la izquierda.” *Telexprés* December 31, 1977: 24. Print.
- Dell, Simon. “Mediation and Immediacy: The Press, the Popular Frinto in France, and the Spanish Civil War.” *The Mexican Suitcase*. Ed. Cynthia Young. New York: International Center of Photography, 2011. 37–49. Print.
- Demaria, Cristina, and Colin Wright. *Post-Conflict Cultures: Rituals of Representation*. London: Zoilus Press, 2006. Print.
- Derrida, Jacques, and Eric Prenowitz. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996. Print.
- Después De*. Dir. José Bartolomé and Cecilia Bartolomé. Valladolid: Divisa Home Vídeo, 2004.
- Dragón Rapide*. Dir. Jaime Camino. RAI Radiotelevisione Italiana, 1986. Film.
- Druillolle, Vincent “Memory as the Return of the Repressed for Social Research: A Critical Discussion of Paloma Aguilar’s Work.” *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 13:2 (2012): 113–27. Print.
- Duran, Froix J.-S, and Sylvie Persec. *La télévision espagnole: Un contre-modèle?* Paris: Ophrys, 2009. Print.
- Durant, Mark Alice. “Notes on Monumentality and Photography.” *Apture* 196 (1999): 36–41. Print.
- Edles, Laura Desfor. *Symbol and Ritual in the New Spain: The Transition to Democracy after Franco*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998. Print.
- El amor del capitán Brando*. Dir. Jaime de Armiñán. Impala, 1974. Film.
- El fascista, la beata y su hija desvirgada*. Dir. J. Coll Espona. Estalac Films, 1978. Film.
- “El *Guernica* in 3D.” Online Video Clip. Youtube, September 26, 2010. Web. May 28, 2015.
- “El regreso del último exiliado.” *El País* September 10, 1981:1. Print.

- El sueño derrotado*. Dir. Jaume Serra and Daniel Serra. Barcelona: S.A.V, 2004. Film.
- Els nens perduts del Franquisme*. Dir. Montse Armengou, Richard Belis, and Muntsa Tarrés. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2003. Film.
- Equipo Crónica. *La Visita*. 1969. Museo Reina Sofía, Spain. Pop art.
- España otra vez*. Dir. Jaime Camino. Pandora, 1969. Film.
- Esrati, Stephen. "Spain Welcomes Picasso Painting Following Many Years of Exile." *Linn's Stamps* November 20, 1981: 81. Print.
- Exilio: El exilio republicano español : 1939–1978*. Dir. Urquijo P, Carvajal, and Alfonso Guerra. Barcelona: SAV, 2002. Film.
- Faber, Sebastiaan. "Entre el respeto y la crítica. Reflexiones sobre la Memoria Histórica en España." *Migraciones y exilios* 5 (2004): 37–50. Print.
- . "The Debate about Spain's Past and the Crisis of Academic Legitimacy: The Case of Santos Juliá." *The Colorado Review of Hispanic Studies* 5 (2007): 165–90. Print.
- "Fallece el polifacético aristócrata y escritor José Luis de Vilallonga," *El Mundo* August 30, 2007. Web. May 28, 2015.
- Fernández-Quintanilla, Rafael, and Pablo Picasso. *La odisea del "Guernica" de Picasso*. Barcelona: Planeta, 1981. Print.
- Ferré, Panisello Teresa., and Manuel Guerrero. *Agustí Centelles: El Camp De Concentració De Bram, 1939*. Barcelona: Actar, 2009. Print.
- Ferreras, Juan I. *Tendencias de la novela española actual, 1931–1969. Seguidas de un catálogo de urgencia de novelas y novelistas de la posguerra española*. Paris: Ediciones Hispanoamericanas, 1970. Print.
- Foguet, Joan. "La Fundación Miró exhibirá el fondo Gomis en la primavera de 2012." *El País* April 1, 2011. Web. May 28, 2015.
- Fonseca, Carlos. *Tiempo de memoria*. Madrid: Temas de hoy, 2009. Print.
- Fontcuberta, Joan. "El Ministerio de Cultura difunde en Nueva York la obra de Centelles con una exposición plagada de despropósitos." *La Vanguardia* December 6, 2011. Web. July 12, 2013.
- Furtivos*. Dir. José Luis Borau. New Yorker, 1975. Film.
- Franco ese hombre: 25 años de paz*. Dir. José Luis Sáenz de Heredia. Chapalo Films S.A., 1964. Film.
- Galindo, Juan Carlos. "Muñoz Molina alerta sobre la complejidad de juzgar y conocer el pasado." *El País* September 23, 2010. Web. May 2, 2013.
- Galán, Diego. "La vieja memoria." *Triunfo* March 24, 1979. Print.
- García Calero, Jesús. "El Gobierno vasco pide prestado el 'Guernica' para conmemorar los 70 años del bombardeo." *ABC (Madrid)* April 12, 2006. 56. Print.
- Gasca, Joaquin. "Centelles in Edit !oh!" *Centelles in Edit !oh!: Exposición Sobre La Obra Fotográfica Del Fotoperiodista Español Agustí Centelles Ossó (1909–1985), Premio Nacional De Bellas Artes, 1984 = Exhibition Photographic Work, the Spanish Photojournalist, Agustí Centelles Ossó*. Ed. Joaquin Gasca. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2011. 15–20. Print.
- Gibbs, Anna. "After Affect: Sympathy, Synchrony, and Mimetic Communication." *The Affect Theory Reader*. Eds Melissa and Gregory J. Seigworth. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010. 186–206. Print.

- Giral, Francisco. "Un republicano reflexiona sobre el 'Guernica.'" *El País* January 4, 1981. Web. March 16, 2013.
- Godmilow, Jill, and Ann-Louise Shapiro. "How Real Is the Reality in Documentary Film?" *History and Theory* 36.4 (1997): 80–101. Print.
- Gómez, López-Quiñones A. *La guerra persistente: Memoria, violencia y utopía: Representaciones contemporáneas de la Guerra Civil española*. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006. Print.
- . "Identidad y memoria colectiva en *Los niños de Rusia*." *Colorado Review of Hispanic Studies* 1.1 (2003): 129–57. Print.
- Gómez-Montero, Javier. *Memoria literaria de la transición española*. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2007. Print.
- Goñi, Javier. "Un millón de títulos: Las novelas de la guerra de España." *La guerra civil española: Una reflexión moral 50 años después*. Ed. Ramón Tamames. Barcelona: Planeta, 1986. 153–69. Print.
- Gregg, Melissa, and Gregory J. Seigworth. *The Affect Theory Reader*. Ed. Melissa and Gregory J. Seigworth. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010. 186–206. Print.
- Gubern, Román. *1936–1939: La guerra de España en la pantalla: De la propaganda a la historia*. Madrid: Filmoteca Española, 1986. Print.
- . Personal interview. May 28, 2012.
- Gutiérrez Albilla, and Julián Daniel. "Children of Exile: Trauma, Memory and Testimony in Jaime Camino's Documentary *Los niños de Rusia* (2001)." *Spain on Screen: Developments in Contemporary Spanish Cinema*. Ed. Ann Davies. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. 129–50. Print.
- Guernica—Legado Picasso*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura. Text by J. Miró, J. Renau, J. L. Sert, J. Tusell, and H. B. Chipp.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *The Collective Memory*. Trans. Frances J. Ditter. New York: Harper & Row, 1980. Print.
- Hernández, Javier. "El cuadro era la llave que indicaba si nuestro país era democrático o no." *ABC* September 10, 2006: 56. Print.
- Herzberger, David K. "Creation of Identity in Muñoz Molina's '*Beatus Ille*.'" *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 50.2 (December 1997): 382–90. Print.
- . "Representing the Holocaust: Story and Experience in Antonio Muñoz Molina's '*Sefarad*.'" *Romance Quarterly* 51:2 (2004): 85–96. Print.
- Hidalgo, Carlos. "Hilando libertado entre las rejas." *ABC* May 12, 2005: 41. Print.
- Hirsch, Marianne. "Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory." *Yale Journal of Criticism* 14.1 (2001): 5–37. Print.
- . "Generation of Postmemory." *The Collective Memory Reader*. Ed. Jeffrey K Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy. New York: Oxford UP, 2011. 346–47. Print.
- Huerta, Rocío. "Mi primera 'cara a cara' con el *Guernica*." *El País* May 9, 2012. Web. March 16, 2013.
- Hutcheon, Linda. *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction*. New York: Routledge, 1988. Print.

- “Ibarretze quiere que España pida perdón por ‘sus crímenes.’” *ABC (Sevilla)* April 25, 2007: 42. Print.
- “Inaugurada la plaza dedicada a Pablo Picasso.” *El País* June 1, 1980. Web. May 28, 2015.
- Jackson, Gabriel, and Ossó A. Centelles. *Catalonia republicana i revolucionària, 1931–1939*. Barcelona: Grijalbo, 1982. Print.
- Jerez, Farrán C, and Samuel Amago. *Unearthing Franco’s Legacy: Mass Graves and the Recovery of Historical Memory in Spain*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010. Print.
- Judt, Tony. *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*. New York: Penguin Press, 2005. Print.
- Juliá, Santos, and Julián Casanova. *Víctimas de la Guerra Civil*. Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 1999. Print.
- Jünke, Claudia. “Pasarán años y lo olvidaremos todo: La Guerra Civil española como lugar de memoria en la novela y el cine actuales en España.” *Lugares de memoria de la Guerra Civil y el Franquismo: Representaciones literarias y visuales*. Ed. Ulrich Winter. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006. 101–29. Print.
- Junquera, Natalia. “Los Centelles reclaman a los Testigos De Jehová 60.000 Euros.” *El País* February 8, 2010. Web. July 12, 2013.
- . “El que dispara es Mariano Vitini.” *El País* July 17, 2011. Web. July 12, 2013.
- . “Bienvenidos al Tesoro de Centelles.” *El País* December 9, 2009. Web. July 12, 2013.
- . “La Generalitat ha ignorado siempre a Agustí Centelles.” *El País* December 1, 2009. Web. July 12, 2013.
- “La amnistía.” *El País* July 31, 1976. Web. March 16, 2013.
- La escopeta nacional*. Dir. Luis García Berlanga. Impala, 1978. Film.
- La colmena*. Dir. Mario Camus. Televisión Española, 1982. Film.
- La guerra cotidiana*. Dir. Daniel Serra, Juan C. Hoz, Jaime Serra, and Pablo Cervantes. Barcelona: S.A.V. Editoria, 2001. Film.
- La guerra de papá*. Dir. Antonio Mercero. José Frade Producciones Cinematográficas S.A., 1977. Film.
- La maleta mexicana*. Dir. Trisha Ziff. Barcelona: Cameo, 2012. Film.
- La muchacha de las bragas de oro*. Dir. Vicente Arada. Films Zodiaco Procesa, 1980. Film.
- La pelota vasca*. Dir. Julio Medem. Madrid: Aguilar, 2003. Film.
- “La transición del ‘Guernica.’” *ABC (Sevilla)* August 10, 2001: 45. Print.
- La vieja memoria*. Dir. Jaime Camino. Profilmes, 1977. Film.
- Los niños de Rusia*. Dir. Jaime Camino. TVC, 2001. Film.
- Labanyi, Jo. “Memory and Modernity in Democratic Spain: The Difficulty of Coming to Terms with the Spanish Civil War.” *Poetics Today* 28.1 (2007): 89–116. Print.
- . “The Politics of Memory in Contemporary Spain.” *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 9.2 (2008): 119–25. Print.
- Las fosas del silencio: Les fosses del silenci*. Dir. Montse Armengou, Richard Belis, and Muntxa Tarrés. Barcelona: Vernal Media, 2005. Film.

- Las largas vacaciones de 36*. Dir. Jaime Camino. José Frade Producciones Cinematográficas S.A., 1976. Film.
- Leon, Caroline. "Libertad sin ira." *CT o la cultura de la Transición: Crítica a 35 años de cultura española*. Ed. Carlos Acevedo and Guillem Martínez. Barcelona: Debolsillo, 2012. Kindle File.
- León-Sotelo, Trini. "El 'Guernica,' de Picasso, visitado por más de un millón de personas en el año." *ABC* September 11, 1982: 36. Print.
- Lipovetsky, Gilles, Sébastien Charles, and Andrew Brown. *Hypermodern Times*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2005. Print.
- . Antonio-Prometeo Moya, and Jean Serroy. *La cultura-mundo: Respuesta a una sociedad desorientada*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 2010. Print.
- . Jean Serroy, and Antonio-Prometeo Moya. *La pantalla global: cultura mediática y cine en la era hipermoderna*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 2009. Print.
- "Little War on the Prairie." *This American Life*. Chicago Public Radio. PRI. November 23, 2012. Radio.
- Los archivos que Franco exolió de Cataluña: La lucha por la devolución de los "papeles de Salamanca"*. Lleida: Editorial Milenio, 2004. Print.
- Loureiro, Ángel G. "Pathetic Arguments." *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 9.2 (2008): 225–37. Print.
- . "Los afectos de la historia." *Política y (po)ética de las imágenes de Guerra*. Ed. Antonio Monegal and Rafael Argullol. Barcelona: Paidós, 2007. 133–60. Print.
- Luengo, Ana. *La encrucijada de la memoria: La memoria colectiva de la Guerra Civil Española en la novela contemporánea*. Berlin, Germany: Frey, 2004. Print.
- Lyotard, Jean-François. *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984. Print.
- Machado, Antonio, and Geoffrey Ribbans. *Campos de Castilla: 1907–1917*. Madrid: Catedra, 1989. Print.
- Mangini, González S. *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995. Print.
- Marcos, Pilar. "La calle clama de nuevo contra la guerra." *El País* March 16, 2003. Web. March 16, 2013.
- Marí, Jorge. *Lecturas espectaculares: el cine en la novela española desde 1970*. Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias, 2003. Print.
- . "La hora perdida: memoria, olvido, reconciliación y representabilidad en España otra vez." *Un hispanismo para el siglo XXI*. Ed. Rosalía Cornejo Parriego and Alberto Villamandos. 241–60. Print.
- . "Objetivo: García Lorca. Nuevas inquisiciones cinematográficas y televisivas sobre la vida, obra y muerte del poeta." *Arbor* 187.748 (2011): 211–22. Print.
- Maso, Angeles. "La vieja memoria." *La Vanguardia* September 24, 1978. Print.
- Marti, Octavi. "Excelente acogida a 'El balcón abierto', la película de Jaime Camino sobre Federico García Lorca." *El País* September 1, 1984. Web. June 16, 2013.
- Martínez, Guillem. "El concepto de CT." *CT o la cultura de la Transición: Crítica a 35 años de cultura española*. Ed. Carlos Acevedo and Guillem Martínez. Barcelona: Debolsillo, 2012. Kindle File.

- Megill, Allan. "History, Memory and Identity." *The Collective Memory Reader*. Ed. Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy. New York: Oxford UP, 2011. 193–97. Print.
- Mendelson, Jordana. *Documenting Spain: Artists, Exhibition Culture, and the Modern Nation, 1929–1939*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 2005. Print.
- Merriam-Webster Concise Encyclopedia. n.d. Web. March 16, 2013.
- Minchom, Martin. "The Truth about Guernica: Picasso and the Lying Press." *The Volunteer* March 12, 2012. Print. Web. July 21, 2013.
- "Miserachs recala en el Macba." *El País*, February 22, 2011. Web. May 28, 2015.
- Montanari, Federico. "The Narrative Form of Post-Conflicts." *Post-Conflict Cultures: Rituals of Representation*. Ed. Cristina Demaria and Colin Wright. London: Zoilus Press, 2006. 151–62. Print.
- Monterde, José Enrique. "Realidad, realismo y documental en el cine español." *Imagen, memoria y fascinación: Notas sobre el documental en España*. Ed. G. J. M Català, Josetxo Cerdán, and Casimiro Torreiro. Madrid: Ocho y Medio, 2001. 15–26. Print.
- Moreiras, Alberto. "Time Out of Joint in Antonio Muñoz Molina's *La noche de los tiempos* and *Todo lo que era sólido*." *Romance Notes* 54.1 (2014): 51–66. Print.
- Moreno-Nuño, Carmen. *Las huellas de la Guerra Civil: Mito y trauma en la narrativa de la España democrática*. Madrid: Libertarias, 2006. Print.
- Morrajás, Martí Lorens i, Guillem Martínez, and Paco Salinas. *Memorias revolucionarias*. Muricas: Mestizo, 1999. Print.
- Morris, Leslie. "Postmemory, Postmemoir." *Unlikely History: The Changing German-Jewish Symbiosis, 1945–2000*. Ed. Leslie Morris and Jack Zipes. New York: Palgrave, 2002. 291–306. Print.
- Muñoz, Molina A. *Todo lo que era sólido*. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 2013. Print.
- . "Publicaciones." *Antonio Muñoz Molina, Escrito en un instante*. Blog. July 21, 2013.
- . "Desmemorias." *El País* September 6, 2008. Web. May 8, 2013.
- . *La noche de los tiempos*. 2009. Print.
- . *El jinete polaco*. Barcelona: Bibliotex, 2001. Print.
- . *Pura Alegría*. Madrid: Alfaguara, 1998. Print.
- . "Destiempo y destierra de Max Aub." *Artes Gráficas. Real Academia Española Reception*, Madrid. June 16, 1996.
- . *Beatus Ille*. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1986. Print.
- Naharro Calderón, José María, "De la retirada a la alamburada: Escrituras y miradas concentracionarias españolas." *Encrucijadas históricas de la España contemporánea: Textos y contextos que marcan época*. Ed. Wendy-Llyn Zaza and Roberto González-Casanova. Auckland/Salamanca: Ambosmundos, 2011. 93–120. Print.
- Newsweek* August 8, 1936. Print.
- Nichols, Bill, Josetxo Cerdán, and Eduardo Iriarte. *La representación de la realidad: Cuestiones y conceptos sobre el documental*. Barcelona: Paidós, 1997. Print.
- Nieto, Ferrando J. *La memoria cinematográfica de la Guerra Civil española (1939–1982)*. Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2008. Print.

- Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les lieux de mémoire." *Representations* 26.1 (1989): 7–24. Print.
- Nora, Pierre (ed., preface, and introd.), Kritzman, Lawrence D. (ed. and foreword), and Arthur Goldhammer (translator), eds. *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past, I: Conflicts and Divisions*. New York, NY: Columbia UP, 1996. Print.
- O'Faoláin, Seán. *The Vanishing Hero: Studies in Novelists of the Twenties*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1957. Print.
- Olmos, Ignacio, Nikky Keilholz-Rühle, and Günther Maihold. *La cultura de la memoria: La memoria histórica en España y Alemania*. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2009. Print.
- Oppler, Ellen C. *Picasso's Guernica: Illustrations, Introductory Essay, Documents, Poetry, Criticism, Analysis*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1988. Print.
- Paris-Soir* July 25, 1996. Print.
- Patrimonio Nacional*. Dir. Luis García Berlanga. In-Cine Compañía Industrial Cinematográfica, 1981. Film.
- Payne, Stanley. "El Problema Negrín." *Revista de libros*. 151–52. July 2009. Electronic publication.
- Penchanski, Denis. "Camps d'acollida." *Agustí Centelles: El camp de concentració de Bram, 1939*. Ed. Teresa Ferré. Barcelona: Arts Santa Mònica, 2010. 11–16. Print.
- Pérez del Solar. "Pedro: Amansar al Guernica (o 'El Guernica en España, su manipulación y lo que el comic tiene que decir sobre eso')." *Dissidences: Hispanic Journal of Theory and Criticism* 2.3.2 (2007). Electronic publication.
- Picasso, Pablo. *Guernica*. 1937. Museo Reina Sofía, Madrid. Oil on canvas.
- "Picasso." *Simon Schama's Power of Art*. BBC Four. September 27, 2008. Television.
- Pingree, Geoffrey "Photography and the Spanish Civil War." *Teaching Representations of the Spanish Civil War*. Ed. Noel Maureen Valis. New York: Modern Language Association, 2007. 305–16. Print.
- . "Modern Anxiety and Documentary Cinema in Republican Spain." *Visualizing Spanish Modernity*. Ed. Susan Larson and Peiró E. Woods. Oxford: Berg, 2005. 301–28. Print.
- Pons, Prades i, and Ossó A. Centelles. *Años de muerte y de esperanza =: Anys de mort i d'esperança*. Barcelona: Blume, 1979. Print.
- Portela, M. E. "Hijos del silencio: Intertextualidad, paratextualidad y postmemoria en *La voz dormida* de Dulce Chacón." *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 41.1 (2007): 51–71. Print.
- Primera Plana* March 1978. Print.
- Preston, Paul. *The Spanish Holocaust: Inquisition and Extermination in Twentieth-Century Spain*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2012. Print.
- Prieto, Char. *El holocausto olvidado: Guerra, masacre, pacto, olvido y recuperación de la memoria histórica española*. Madrid: Editorial Pliegos, 2011. Print.
- Puebla Martínez, Belén. "El documental en la Transición española, testimonio de su tiempo. Estudio de caso de *Después de . . . (No se os puede dejar solos y Atado bien atado)*." *Revista de cibercomunicación* 1.1 (2014): 1–3.
- "Puede haber una 'reparación simbólica' en Guernica." *ABC* October 20, 1977: 87. Print.

- “Que el ‘Guernica’ se cuelgue en el Prado.” *ABC: Blanco y negro* December 21, 1980: 50. Print.
- Quintana, Ángel. “Construcción y deconstrucción documental de un mito: Sobre ‘Franco, ese hombre’ y ‘Raza, el espíritu de Franco.’” *Imagen, memoria y fascinación: Notas sobre el documental en España*. Ed. G. J. M. Català, Josep Cerdán, and Casimiro Torreiro. Madrid: Ocho y Medio, 2001. 203–10. Print.
- Radstone, Susannah. “Cinema and Memory.” *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*. Ed. Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz. New York: Fordham UP, 2010. Print.
- “Rafael Alberti: ‘El ‘Guernica’ debe venir a una España segura.’” *El País* April 30, 1981. Web. May 28, 2015.
- Rankin, Nicholas. “A Case of Crusts: Fresh Memories of Guernica.” *Times Literary Supplement* July 6, 2007. Print.
- Raza: El espíritu de Franco*. Dir. Gonzalo Herralde. Grau. S.l.: EDITRAMA, 2000. Film.
- Reinares, Fernando. “Sociogénesis y evolución del terrorismo en España.” *España: Sociedad y política*. Ed. Salvador Giner. Madrid: Espasa, 1990. Print.
- Regards* July 1996: 7. Print.
- Rejas en la memoria*. Dir. Manuel Palacios. Sogecable, 2004. Film.
- Resina, Joan R, and Ulrich Winter. *Casa encantada: Lugares de memoria en la España constitucional, 1978–2004*. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2005. Print.
- Riambau, Esteve. *Jaime Camino: La Guerra Civil i altres històries*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Institut Català de les Indústries Culturals, 2007. Print.
- . “Vivir el presente, recuperar el pasado: El cine documental durante la transición (1973–1978).” *Imagen, memoria y fascinación: Notas sobre el documental en España*. Ed. G. J. M. Català, Josep Cerdán, and Casimiro Torreiro. Madrid: Ocho y Medio, 2001. 125–38. Print.
- Rich, Lawrence. *The Narrative of Antonio Muñoz Molina: Self-Conscious Realism and “el Desencanto.”* New York: P. Lang, 1999. Print.
- Richards, Michael. *A Time of Silence: Civil War and the Culture of Repression in Franco’s Spain, 1936–1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998. Print.
- Ripoll-Freixes, Enric. *100 películas sobre la Guerra Civil española*. Barcelona: Centro de investigaciones literarias españolas e hispanoamericanas, 1992. Print.
- Rodríguez Marcos, Javier. “La justa memoria.” *El País* October 6, 2012. Web. May 8, 2013.
- “Roland Dumas: El ‘Guernica’ de Picasso, volverá a España pero no enseguida.” *El País* October 4, 1978. Web. May 28, 2015.
- Romeiser, John B, and Frederick R. Benson. *Red Flags, Black Flags: Critical Essays on the Literature of the Spanish Civil War*. Madrid: J. Porrúa Turanzas, 1982. Print.
- Salinas, Pedro, and Enric Bou. *Cartas a Katherine Whitmore: (1932–1947)*. Barcelona: Tusquets, 2002. Print.
- Sánchez-Biosca, Vicente. *Cine y Guerra Civil Española: Del mito a la memoria*. Madrid: Alianza, 2006. Print.
- . “Imágenes en migración.” *Política y (po)ética de las imágenes de Guerra*. Ed. Antonio Monegal and Rafael Argullol. Barcelona: Paidós, 2007. 113–32. Print.
- Sánchez-Biosca, Vicente, and Rafael R. Tranche. *No-do: El tiempo y la memoria*. Madrid: Filmoteca Española, 1993. Print.

- Sánchez-Biosca, Vicente. Axel Ramirez, Vitoria. "Una sociedad construye sus relatos sobre aquello que le intriga y le fascina." *In Cinema*. Web. June 10, 2011.
- Sánchez, Soler M. *La transición sangrienta: Una historia violenta del proceso democrático en España, 1975–1983*. Barcelona: Península, 2010. Print.
- Santos, Ángel Fernández. "'Después de...' obra 'maldita' del cine de la transición, se estrena con tres años de retraso." *El País* November 3, 1983. Web. May 28, 2015.
- Sanz Villanueva, Santos. "La noche de los tiempos." *El cultural* November 20, 2009. Print.
- Sarlo, Beatriz. *Tiempo Pasado*. Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Ed. Argentina, 2005. Print.
- Saura, Antonio. "Réquiem para el 'Guernica.'" *El País* July 27, 1992. Web. March 16, 2013.
- Sedghi, Ami. "ETA and Basque Separatism: Data over the Years." *The Guardian* January 10, 2011. Web. May 28, 2015.
- Sekula, Alan, "Reading an Archive." *Blasted Allegories: An Anthology of Writings by Contemporary Artists*. New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1987. 114–27. Print.
- Senillosa, Antonio. "La vieja memoria." *La Vanguardia* October 15, 1978: 8. Print.
- Serra, Catalina. "La Comisión de la Dignidad ve 'cinismo' en el 'caso Centelles.'" *El País* December 5, 2009. Web. July 12, 2013.
- Sesé, Teresa. "Los expertos lamentan que 'se están cargando a Centelles' en la exposición de Nueva York." *La Vanguardia* December 6, 2011. Web. July 12, 2013.
- Seymour, David, Gerda Taro, and Robert Capa. *Madrid*. Barcelona: Industries grafiques Seix i Barral, 1937. Print.
- Sikkink, Kathryn. *The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions Are Changing World Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2011. Print.
- "Sinde anuncia que 365 cajas de 'papeles de Salamanca' viajan hacia Cataluña." *El País* July 20, 2011. Web. July 12, 2013.
- Sobejano, Gonzalo. *Novela española de nuestro tiempo: (en busca del pueblo perdido)*. Madrid: Prensa Española, 1975. Print.
- Song, H. Rosi. "Visual Fictions and the Archive of the Spanish Civil War" *MLN* 129:2 (2014): 367–90. Print.
- Sontag, Susan. *Regarding the Pain of Others*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003. Print.
- Southworth, Herbert Rutledge. *Guernica! Guernica!: A Study of Journalism, Diplomacy, Propaganda, and History*. Berkeley: University of California, 1977. Print.
- Spender, Stephen. "Picasso's Guernica at the New Burlington Gallery." *New Statesman and the Nation* October 15, 1937. Print.
- Susperregui, José M. *Sombras de la fotografía: Los enigmas desvelados de Nicolasa Ugartemendia, Muerte de un miliciano, La aldea española, El Lute*. Vasco, Spain: Universidad del País Vasco, 2009. Print.
- Tierra sin pan*. Dir. Luis Buñuel. Ramón Acín, 1934. Film.
- The Spanish Earth*. Dir. Joris Ivens. Contemporary Historians Inc., 1937. Film.
- Thomas, Gareth. *The Novel of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1975)*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Print.

- “Tierno: Cuando vuelva el ‘Guernica’ debe ir al Prado.” *El País* August 29, 1979. Web. May 28, 2015.
- Todorov, Tzvetan. “In Search of Lost Crime. Tribunals, Apologies, Reparations, and the Search for Justice.” *The New Republic* (2001): 29. Print.
- . *Hope and Memory: Lessons from the Twentieth Century*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2003. Print.
- . *Memory As a Remedy for Evil*. Kolkata: Seagull Books, 2010. Print.
- Trapiello, Andrés. *Ayer no más*. Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, 2012. Print.
- Umbral, Francisco. “El Guernica.” *El País* Jul 25, 1979. Web. March 16, 2013.
- “Una emocionante crónica del desarraigo de ida y vuelta.” *ABC: Madrid* December 7, 2001: 124. Print.
- “Un documento magnífico.” *La Vanguardia* October 11, 1978: 72. Print
- “Un ‘Guernica’ para evitar la tala de hayas en Navarra.” *El País* November 18, 2012. Web. April 8, 2013.
- Valls, Fernando. *La realidad inventada: Análisis crítico de la novela española actual*. Barcelona: Crítica, 2003. Print.
- van Hensbergen, Gijs. *Guernica*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2004. Print.
- Vernon, Kathleen M. “The Language of Memory: The Spanish Civil War in the Films of Carlos Saura.” *Rewriting the Good Fight: Critical Essays on the Literature of the Spanish Civil War*. Ed. Frienda S. Brown S. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State UP, 1989. 125–42. Print.
- Vilarós, Teresa M. *El mono del desencanto: Una crítica cultural de la transición española, 1973–1993*. México: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1998. Print.
- Villegas López, Manuel. *Arte de masas*. Madrid: GECI, 1936.
- Viñas, Ángel. “¡Guernica! ¡Guernica!” *El País* February 9, 2013. Web. May 28, 2015.
- Vicent, Manuel. “El Guernica en la cueva neolítica.” *Triunfo* October 1981: 26–27. Print.
- Visions de guerra i de reraguarda*. 1937. Print.
- Wallis, Brian. “Rediscovering the Mexican Suitcase.” *The Mexican Suitcase*. Ed. Cynthia Young. New York: International Center of Photography, 2011. 37–49. Print.
- White, Hayden. “The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality.” *Critical Inquiry* 7.1 (1980): 5–27. Print.
- . *Topics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1978.
- Y el tercer año, resucitó*. Dir. Rafael Gil. Cinco Films, 1980. Film.
- Young, Cynthia N. *La maleta mexicana: Las fotografías redescubiertas de la Guerra Civil española De Capa, Chim y Taro*. New York: International Center of Photography, 2011. Print.
- Wilson, Sarah. *Picasso*. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2013. Print.
- Winter, Ulrich. *Lugares de memoria de la Guerra Civil y el Franquismo: Representaciones literarias y visuales*. Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2006. Print.