Sites of Memory / Sites of Oblivion in Contemporary Spain*

The recent past of Spain has occupied a central point in Hispanic Studies in the last twenty years. In previous decades, nevertheless, the dynamics of memory with regard to the Spanish Civil War and its traumatic consequences were addressed almost exclusively by historians and political scientists (Ronald Fraser, Santos Juliá, Paul Preston, Paloma Aguilar Fernández, and Michael Richards to name but a few), who have made an enormous contribution to the development of memory studies in the area of Hispanism. More recently, the importance of memory, remembrance and the processes associated with them have become the focus of study in other disciplines as well, with the appearance of a series of works which have looked at memory from a cultural studies perspective, and which can be interpreted as a response or a reaction to the social movement for the 'Recovery of Historical Memory' in Spain.1 However, as positive and optimistic as this situation may look, in the area of cultural studies which focuses on the use and re-denomination of space, the importance of images and objects as vectors of memory (as illustrated by the work of Hirsch

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and Spitzer, Huyssen and Wood), the Spanish case seems to remain in the margins. Although there has been very valuable work from a historiographical perspective in identifying the spaces of memory/oblivion of the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath, the analysis of the re-construction of such spaces, of the power of present visualisation and of the dynamics of remembering (or post-remembering, to follow Hirsch’s most useful theory) is still in its infancy. Therefore, this article is conceived as an initial attempt to fill that gap and contribute to the already invaluable work now taking place in the development of Hispanic Memory Studies.

Consequently, my main aim in this article is to explore the performative aspect of this process of visualization and space demarcation as acts of resistance against a collective memory based on and fostered by an official one-sided history that still haunts Spanish society. In this respect, these acts of resistance are constructed as counter-memory (in the Foucaultian sense), that is, as contestation of the dominant memory (and oblivion) imposed by the Francoist state and perpetuated in some respects in the transition to democracy.

The article examines two photographic exhibitions, *Presas de Franco* and *Cartografías silenciadas*, which, in my view, clearly illustrate the strategies of re-appropriation of space. The intention of this article is not to offer here an exhaustive analysis of all *lieux de mémoire* of the dictatorship but rather look at the way in which the position of some sites of horrific memories were covered (or buried) by the regime itself and later by the Transition in the name of a political consensus, overgenerous as it may seem, but necessary at the time precisely because of the nature of the “peaceful” transitional process. In fact, I am less interested in those sites which remain as clear exponents of Francoist memories (street names, the Valley of the Fallen) than in those whose history and memories have been successively (and successfully) covered by new meanings or simply by oblivion, and which the materials which concern this study aim to re-inscribe in the collective memory of Spain’s recent past.

The construction of the Francoist state was aimed primarily at the erasure of all remnants of the immediate past, of the Second Republic, considered an accident in the history of Spain. As such, any vestiges of the Second Republic had to be erased, annihilated, and this included social and political dissidence but also any landmarks of that brief democratic period. In a clear example of what Connerton terms “repressive erasure” (60), the dictatorship took every opportunity during its thirty-six years of existence to achieve its objective, for, at the time of the death of Franco, not only had the regime legitimised its origins, but also its raison d’être. As Michael Richards accurately states: “While redemption of the Nationalist sacrifice was facilitated with the aid of the state, the Republican war effort and social revolution was depicted exclusively as a problem of public order and of ‘crime’” (101).
By the end of the dictatorship, the regime had left its geographical mark, and, what is more relevant to my argument here, the Francoist state had left no trace of the systematic repression it had exerted upon political (and social) dissidence, even though the construction of Francoist commemorative sites was in many cases physically exercised by political prisoners under the forced labour system (Redención de penas por el trabajo) (Rodrigo). With the passage of the Amnesty Law of 1977, the approval of the Pactas de la Moncloa, and the ratification of the 1978 Constitution, Spanish society as a whole accepted equal responsibility for the Civil War of the 1930s. This was the ultimate step in the legitimisation of the dictatorship, for it "implied that the 'baptism of blood' and the 'purification' and 'purge' of dictatorship were somehow justified" (Richards 112), thus fulfilling the primary objective of the dictatorship and the rebels since the beginning of the civil war itself.3

Before going any further, however, it must be acknowledged that the transition to democracy in Spain remains a greatly contested issue, especially when attempting to explain it within the current memory studies boom. The so-called "pact of silence" or "pact of oblivion" is viewed by some as something reasonable, logical and appropriate for the political circumstances of the 1970s; for others, it represents the surrender of the political left. However, in order to understand the present urge to "recover" the memory of those who lost the war and suffered the repression and marginalisation of the dictatorship of Francisco Franco, I believe it is necessary to appreciate the circumstances of the transition in terms of reform and deferral. As acknowledged by scholars such as Santos Juliá and Aguilar Fernández, there is a clear difference between "voluntary forgetting-amnesty-reconciliation" and "remembering-justice-reconciliation." Consequently, as Rafaela Baccolini states, the prescriptive forgetting seemingly inherent to amnesties "is supposed to provide the basis for an enduring peace. But the very act of prescription – the fact that it is a voluntary forgetting – separates amnesties from forgiveness" (916). In this way, the return of Republican memory (to paraphrase Helen Graham) can be understood more clearly by identifying the issues that (arguably) had to be postponed and deferred until the time was right to bring them back into the public sphere.3

In this sense, the concept of deferral becomes particularly useful. According to Rafaela Baccolini, "deferral ... has to do with the postponement, until a better time, of pain and discomfort ... the kinds of feelings possibly arising from traumatic and conflicting memories" (93). In the case of Spain, the exercise of deferred memory (or postmemory) is mainly performed by a third generation who has not experienced the Civil War or the dictatorship, and therefore may be prepared to face the past. However, since that past is not a personally "remembered" one, it must be accessed through representation. Thus, we are dealing not with memory itself, but with what Marianne Hirsch terms "postmemory," which is defined as "the response of the second [third in
our case] generation to the trauma of the first" ("Surviving Images" 8): "Postmemory is a powerful form of memory precisely because its connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through representation, projection, and creation – often based on silence rather than speech, on the invisible rather than the visible" (9).

Deferral thus becomes a useful term to explain the special circumstances of the Transition and the relationship between past and present in contemporary Spain, for it can "offer temporary relief in the sense of suspending time in order to gain awareness and distance" (Baccolini 21). Now, seventy years after the end of the Spanish Civil War, the period of deferral seems to have come to an end. Clearly, it is the time of postmemory, giving the generation of the grandchildren the opportunity "to come to terms with the past," providing the necessary "perspective and distance ... to get to remember, and not forget, the past, and to reconcile with, and not forgive, past wrongs" (Baccolini 3). However, this desire for remembrance is still contested and problematic, as deferral has lasted for so long that it has come to be equated with justice and reconciliation.

Despite the current efforts to reinstate the dignity of those who lost the war and suffered the regime's repression by means of different social and political initiatives, the itinerary of repression in Spain is still marked (or more precisely, unmarked) by the construction of the Francoist state and its legitimisation both in terms of its origins and its achievements. The current movement for the "recovery of historical memory" has clearly involved attempts to recover space, and thus transform the different sites, whether of memory or of oblivion, into sites that incorporate the memory of those defeated in the Spanish Civil War.

In this respect, we are obviously dealing with familiar terms such as Nora's lieux de mémoire and Marc Augé's lieux d'oubli. However, although Nora's lieux would retain their original meaning as "sites" or 'realms' that individuals and groups have invested with affective ties of longing and belonging" (Wood 3), my understanding of the sites of oblivion is slightly different. For the purpose of my exploration, lieux d'oubli have a meaning composed of both the definitions by Nancy Wood and Marc Augé. For Wood, these sites of oblivion are consciously so, that is, they are characterised by "the intentionality of their avoidance" (13). On the other hand, for Augé, they are spaces which are emptied of meaning by postmodern acceleration: airports, train stations, shopping malls; in some instances, this oblivion has been imposed on existing meanings and memories which seem to be avoided: for instance, the prison of Les Corts (1936-1955) in Barcelona is there no more, and instead there is a big shopping complex, El Corte Ingles. Indeed, in the case of the infamous Ventas prison (1933-1967), there is now a block of apartments on its grounds, with, certainly, a multiplicity of personal memories, but none of them necessarily connected to the original meaning of those grounds. This applies to most of the
sites in this study; concentration camps, police stations and detention centres have acquired a new meaning or lost all meaning with the passing of time, but not because of inertia but as a conscious and intentional act of oblivion brought about by the economic development of the 1960s and 1970s, and further reinforced in favour of a peaceful present, under the motto of the "Spirit of the Transition." In his study of the architectural developments in Berlin since the fall of the Wall, Huyssen considers that "the current discourse of the city as image is one of 'city fathers,' developers, and politicians trying to increase revenue from mass tourism, conventions, and office or commercial rental" (50).

In the case of Spain, this discourse has evolved in different ways during the 20th century and for different reasons, but it originates in the political objectives of the dictatorship and its legacy. Thus, the changes in Madrid and Barcelona that saw Ventas and Les Corts disappear, even though they seem to be motivated at first by the economic boom of the 1960s, were also clearly driven by the desire to erase all traces of the dissident experience under the dictatorship, for, as Ángela Cenarro states, "the Franco regime never officially recognized the violence exercised against the enemy and the vanquished. Francoist repression was silenced by force and the victims ignored for forty years" (172). Moreover, sites of Francoist repression, such as prisons, concentration camps, detention centres, forced labour camps and sites of massive executions, were de-codified by means of the juxtaposition of successive layers of meaning, burying thus the memory of the vanquished and their experience not only of the war but also of the dictatorship.

At this point, the question that needs to be asked is how these places are being re-named, re-appropriated, recovered. I would like to devote the remainder of this article to two exhibitions which epitomise some of the strategies used for the re-signification of sites of oblivion: Presas de Franco, organised by the Fundación de Investigaciones Marxistas and curated by Sergio Gálvez Biesca and Fernando Hernández Holgado, and Cartografías silenciadas by Ana Teresa Ortega.

In both cases, we are dealing with exhibitions in which photographs play an essential role. In fact, as explained by Kuhn and McAllister, the photograph offers a unique opportunity for exercising (post)memory, as it

is widely held to be a record, a piece of evidence that something happened at some time, somewhere – in the time and the place in front of the camera. ... the photograph holds this recorded moment in stillness, capturing and offering up for contemplation a trace of something lost, lending it a ghostly quality. (1)

As will be seen below, the two exhibitions under study make use of and manipulate three of the main properties of the photograph as a cultural medium: disturbance of the present by capturing "troubling or nostalgic
memories and ... forgotten, or all too vividly remembered, histories" (Kuhn and McAllister 1); retrieval of "photographic archives as repositories of collective memory" (6) in order to re-codify them and give them another meaning; and re-appropriation "to re-member the shadowy presence of those violently extricated from the social landscape" (6).

Presas de Franco is a multimedia exhibition which combines photographic material, historical documents and audiovisual testimony with the aim of offering a detailed chronicle of the experience of Republican women prisoners during the post-war (1940s). Its aim is to "contribuir a visibilizar esa experiencia penitenciaria femenina de las primeras décadas de la dictadura franquista a partir de un diálogo continuo entre memoria e historia, donde se conjugan las imágenes y los documentos con el recuerdo y los testimonios de las mujeres encarceladas" (Galvez and Hernandez 19; my emphasis). As can be seen in the exhibition catalogue the materials are organised into photographs retrieved from national archives and from personal collections, which are then contextualised by means of historical studies and testimonies. This is in fact necessary, as "photographs do not always disclose clues, nor lead us to the sites we imagine, nor release us from what lies in the silences and the ambivalent traces imprinted onto their surfaces" (Kuhn and McAllister 2). In fact, as Galvez and Hernández state in their introduction to the catalogue,

La imagen puede engañarnos si previamente no nos preguntamos por la finalidad de la fotografía, el medio de información en el que fue publicada, su carácter público o privado, su capacidad para ser utilizada por el servicio del régimen. A la fotografía hay que acercarse prevenidos. Una vez más, es falso que una imagen valga mil palabras: esas mil palabras son necesarias para entender la foto. (17)

The exhibition itself was organised around seven main axes: (1) women's prisons, (2) women prisoners, (3) punishment, (4) children, (5) forced labour, (6) nuns and prostitutes, and (7) resistance and memory militants. Each axis is dealt with in a detailed manner, offering photographic and documentary material which illustrates and gives evidence to the historiographical exercise of the exhibition. Hence, the relationship between historiography, oral history and photography becomes essential in the process of visualisation intended. This relationship between image and word (written or spoken) is at the heart of the exhibition's aim.

The exhibition also includes an audiovisual component which consists of, on the one hand, documentary footage about women's experience of confinement, and on the other, four musical themes composed and performed by the hip-hop band LABOCA. Each song incorporates oral testimonies by a number of prisoners complemented by a musical score representative of the primer franquismo. This interesting tribute can be understood, as well, as a way
of reinforcing the connexion between past and present inherent in every exercise of memory work, for, as the exhibition’s curators note, “La intención no es otra que tender un puente de actualidad entre el recuerdo transmitido de las antiguas presas del franquismo y las generaciones actuales” (Gálvez and Hernández, Dossier 9).

The exhibition integrates all its components, enabling the beholder to grasp the circumstances surrounding the images contemplated and the sites they represent. The texts included in the catalogue are also of primary importance, for they serve to situate and re-contextualize the photographs, not only of the women, but also of the sites of confinement. Thus, the photographs of the women in Ventas prison are complemented by the text by Hernández Holgado, as are the images of Les Corts by the piece produced by the Associació per la Cultura i la Memòria de Catalunya (ACMe) or those of Saturrarán women’s prison, situated in Northern Spain, by Basterretxea and Ugarte’s micro-study.

In his piece about Ventas, Hernández Holgado emphasises the relevance of the image and of memories of women prisoners in the task of reconstructing the history of the prison, and thus re-appropriating and re-naming that space as a site of memory (“Carcel de Ventas” 76). Likewise, Basterretxea and Ugarte and the ACMe put special emphasis on the void left by the disappearance of the prisons of Saturrarán and Les Corts respectively, therefore foregrounding the importance of establishing the connection between the photographs and the sites, that is, between past and present. Basterretxea and Ugarte conclude their essay by noting that “De la antigua cárcel no queda más que algún trozo de pared y dos placas que recuerdan que en ese espacio hubo una prisión entre 1938 y 1944” (69). ACMe open theirs by informing the reader that “El solar [de Les Corts] lo ocupan hoy varios edificios levantados en la década de los setenta ... No es un lugar de memoria debidamente señalizado” (89).

Thus, the photographs used in the exhibition disturb the present by making reference to a painful past, but they also achieve another goal: the re-appropriation of the sites through the construction of alternative meanings based on the interaction between the photographs themselves and the accompanying materials. By doing so, the exhibition not only recovers and gives voice to the experience of thousands of women prisoners but, through the use of the photographic image, it re-names spaces of repression, which had remained as sites of oblivion since the end of the dictatorship. Therefore, the memory of the past does not reside exclusively in the “voluntad de las antiguas presas supervivientes de seguir custodiando el recuerdo de lo ocurrido dentro de sus muros” (Hernández Holgado, Mujeres 21); it manifests itself by means of the conjunction and fusion of word and image. Hence, the exhibition re-codifies the spaces of confinement in order to tell the story of las presas de...
Franco "como actores principales que fueron ... de un periodo histórico que presenciaron, vivieron y protagonizaron" (Galvez and Hernández, Dossier 5).

Ana Teresa Ortega's *Cartografías silenciadas* is an independent photographic exhibition aimed at documenting the most significant sites of repression of the dictatorship. In a similar way to *Presas de Franco*, it accompanies the photographs with historical evidence (maps, lists of prisoners, context and history of the sites themselves, etc.). *Cartografías silenciadas* consists of 50 photographs, most of them landscape shots. At first sight, when looking at the photographs alone, it would be rather difficult to find a link among them. In an interesting manipulation of the nature of the photograph, the exhibition is an active exercise of re-inscription, carried out, once more, by contextualizing the images represented in the photographs through accompanying material (plans of some of the original buildings, archival documentation from different institutions, and a ten-minute audiovisual piece about the itinerary of repression and confinement in Francoist Spain) and, most importantly, by naming the sites; as stated in the online catalogue:

"Cartografías silenciadas" documenta gráficamente los espacios más emblemáticos de la represión: campos de concentración, colonias penitenciarias militarizadas y espacios donde hubo fusilamientos masivos durante la guerra civil y la posguerra. Cronológicamente abarca desde 1936-1962 y coinciden estas fechas con la apertura y cierre de estos espacios. Hoy, estos lugares tienen otros usos, y casi no quedan vestigios de lo que fueron, muchos de ellos han desaparecido y en casi ninguno hay una placa que les haga memoria. El proyecto está contextualizado con documentos de archivos relativos al funcionamiento de los campos, su reglamento, normativas, planes, mapas, fotografías de los prisioneros de guerra, etc. (Ortega, "Presentación"; my emphasis)

Once more, the "clues" and "silences" alluded to by Kuhn and McAllister are not disclosed in the photographs themselves but in the action of naming them. What Ortega does is an interesting reversal of what would be considered the traditional role of a photograph, for her images are not photographs of the past, recorded for posterity, but photographs of the present which are identified in the past. In fact, the photographs are conceived as something more than artistic stills. By using what Kuhn calls "the pretexts of memory, the traces of the past that remain in the present" (158), Ortega invites the viewer to trace an invisible past, or what Barthes calls "the Intractable" (80). *Cartografías silenciadas* thus attests to the intractability of the past, of what has been, by referring to it but being unable to show it. In this sense, the exhibition enacts "silence, absence and contradiction" (Kuhn 154) in order to produce an effect on the spectator. The photographs by Ortega are, in Barthes's terms, "pensive" (38), for they aim to entice the viewer to "think back on them" (53), to "scrutinize [them] ... to want to know more about the thing or the person [they] represent" (99). This
desire is then partly met and further motivated by the accompanying materials of the exhibition.

The landscape shots of barren land in Extremadura or of palm tree and white sand coastal areas in Alicante are contextualised by naming those sites as the original locations of the concentration camps of Castuera (Ortega, Image 45) and Albatera (Image 42) respectively, which are also dated in the captions in order to locate them historically. Similarly, the photograph of a modern steel building in Badajoz (Image 29) is identified as the Plaza de toros de Badajoz, 14 de agosto 1936, thus making a statement against the strategies of the dictatorship to erase the traces of their own violence.

Cartografias silenciadas offers in fact images of three different types of sites which are then re-appropriated and renamed by means of the structure of the exhibition. Sites like Porlier (Image 10), the Instituto Miguel de Unamuno (Image 11), the Plaza de toros de Valladolid (Image 46) are originally de-codified sites, for their specific meaning as regards the memories of repression has been buried under previous meanings re-applied to the locations; the Plaza de toros de Badajoz mentioned above is an example of a re-codified site, as the original meaning has been buried under a newer meaning constructed on a site of oblivion in Auge's terms; finally, Castuera, Albatera, Los Merinales (Image 27) epitomise what could be called erased sites, for their historical meaning has been deleted as all traces of their memories of violence have been obliterated.

What the exhibition aims to do is to re-inscribe these sites and re-codify them once more with their original meaning from the point of view of postmemory, offering thus a clear example of "how photographs may be creatively employed in (post)memory projects of reworking the traumatic experiences of past generations: experiences that continue to haunt the present" (Kuhn and McAllister 4). Moreover, the possible spectral tone of some of the photographs in Ortega's exhibition, especially those of former concentration camps and execution sites, points to, as Labanyi puts it, an unfinished past. Thus, the photographs and their contextualisation evoke and summon "the victims of history who demand reparation; that is, that their name, instead of being erased, be honoured" (Labanyi, "History" 66).

In both exhibitions, sites of oblivion are subtly transformed into sites of memory by the portrayal and perpetuation of memory through image and by the communication established between image and word, written or spoken. They may be considered exercises of what Kuhn calls "memory work," for they "create new understandings of both past and present, while refusing a nostalgia that embalms the past in a perfect irretrievable moment" (10). Moreover, the processes activated in the two exhibits could be defined as "postmemory work," as, although exercised by third-generation individuals, their aim is to utilise the interaction of all the components in order to produce "new stories about the past [which] may heal the wounds of the past" (158) or may indeed result in the
“expression of conflict” (14). Thus, they are clearly connected to the deferral aforementioned, for they invite us to reflect upon the past and understand its connection to the present.

All in all, the visual samples analysed here are interesting from two perspectives. On the one hand, they are clear attempts at re-appropriating sites of oblivion in order to transform them into contesting sites of memory, that is, sites that re-inscribe the memory of the defeated in contemporary Spain. This re-appropriation is made by means of the exercise of the postmemory work already mentioned, which involves an interactive relationship between all the exhibits’ components in order to offer alternative/new interpretations of the past and its connection to the present. On the other, thanks to “the privileged status of photography as a medium of postmemory” (Hirsch, “Surviving Images” 13), the photographs of prisons and concentration camps, of what they were then and what they have become now, act as clear vectors of memory which illustrate "the incongruity or incommensurability between the meaning of a given detail [in our case, a space, a site] then, and the one it holds now" (Hirsch and Spitzer 246). Thus, Presas de Franco, by offering photographs of what was and is no more, and Cartografias silenciadas, by picturing what is no more but once was, become perfect examples of Barthes’s *punctum*, as they epitomise "the intersection of spatiality and temporality that is inherent in the workings of personal and cultural memory" (246). Furthermore, they are also performative in two ways, as memory is not only performed by the curator or the artist, but also by the spectator, who is enticed by the images to recover the experience of the repressed, the persecuted, and the dissident, to make it present, to bring it back and incorporate it into their cultural identity.

Therefore, we are clearly dealing with exercises of social postmemory, in the sense that the artists and curators studied here "strive to reactivate and embody more distant social/national and archival/cultural structures" so that "less-directly affected participants can become engaged in the generation of postmemory, which can thus persist even after all participants even their familial descendants are gone" (Hirsch, “The Generation” 111).

In all the cases discussed here, albeit briefly, it is evident that memory is, as Wood and Kuhn state, performative, for we are not dealing with attempts to emphasise existing *lieux de mémoire* but with endeavours to actively recover the meaning of sites condemned to oblivion. Furthermore, following what Martha Langford calls "the rules of performance" (225), both exhibitions are conceived (and approached) in terms of interaction and relationships, essential aspects of performative acts. As examples of postmemory work, they are performative because, as Kuhn puts it, they "take an inquiring attitude towards the past and its (re)construction" and question "the transparency of what is remembered [or forgotten] as material for interpretation" (157).
Since postmemory work is obviously the result of a process which involves specific cultural, historical and political variables, the samples here analysed must be interpreted in such terms too. The need to remember, re-name, re-inscribe here discussed explicitly demonstrates the gaps in the transitional process, especially as regards the acknowledgement of the past and illustrates the importance of the concept of deferral in the Spanish context. But deferral, despite giving us a certain distance and perspective to look back to the past, also involves incompleteness, and unresolved issues are bound to remain so until they are addressed properly.

NOTES


2. There is very interesting work done on the dynamics of exhumation (Ferrandiz); and on the construction and commemoration of the dominant memory of Francoism (Aguilar Fernandez, Políticas), but little attention has been paid to the dynamics of the recovery and re-appropriation of space, except for the work of Francesc Torres in the aforementioned issue of the Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies and the book/catalogue resulting from the exhibition of his work in New York, Dark Is the Room Where We Sleep.

3. According to De Andrés Sanz, "el plan de construcción simbólica e iconográfica del régimen" (10) had four main objectives: the erasure of the Republican symbolic legacy, the instrumentalisation of such construction as a propagandistic tool, the definition of public space according to the new political, ideological and religious directives, and the legitimisation of the new authorities, that is, of the Francoist dictatorship.

4. It would be too simplistic to state that the political opposition to the dictatorship, legalised for a proper transitional process, was forced to forget the past, the years of struggle and the legitimate claims of their defence of the previous democratic regime. In fact, the transition to democracy in Spain necessitated an agreement to rewrite the past, or better: "pass no remarks," about a past too traumatic and painful (the Civil War) which had to be put aside for the sake of a gradual political Project for the future. However, the dictatorial past was not addressed despite the measures taken as regards the Civil War.

5. There seem to be diverse opinions in this respect, some of which attribute credit for this "return" to civil society, while others see it as a consequence of the renovation of the PSOE, represented by María Teresa Fernández de la Vega and Rodríguez.
Zapatero. However, the avalanche of memory in contemporary Spain has to be explained in conjunction with several factors, as identified by Santos Julià ("Echar al olvido") and Paloma Aguilar Fernández ("Guerra civil"): First, the breach of the pact of non-instrumentalisation of the past by the left in the 1990s, as a consequence of the rise to power of the Right; second, the international climate as regards the development of human rights and transitional politics; and third, the generational change in Spain, with a younger generation joining the public sphere who are characterised by "amplios deseos de saber lo que ocurrió y no tan temerosa como sus mayores a la hora de reivindicar la apertura de archivos o la identificación de fosas comunes" (Aguilar Fernández, "Guerra civil" 29).

6 For a history and photographic material on the Les Corts prison, see http://www.presodelescorts.org/es/node.

7 Both prisons were already active as women’s correctional facilities during the Second Republic and became women’s prisons for the confinement of political prisoners with Franco’s victory in 1939.

8 For further information on the disappearance of the Ventas women’s prison, see Hernández Holgado (Mujeres 21).

9 Part of the soundtrack is available at <http:www.laboca.ws>.

10 These images are available at <http://www.espaivisor.com/cartografias.html>.

11 For Annette Kuhn, "memories evoked by a photo do not simply spring out of the image itself, but are generated in a network, an intertext, of discourses that shift between the past and the present, spectator and image, and between all these and cultural contexts, historical moments" (14).

12 Essential reading in this respect is the extensive work of Aguilar-Fernández.

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