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Remembering Madrid: Urban Space and Memory from the Spanish Civil War to the Transition to Democracy

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REMEMBERING MADRID: URBAN SPACE AND MEMORY FROM THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR TO THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

By

Enrique Téllez-Espiga

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Faculty of the University of Miami in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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REMEMBERING MADRID: URBAN SPACE AND MEMORY FROM THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR TO THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

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This dissertation examines the relationship between memory and urban studies by emphasizing the importance of urban space and its experience in the (re)construction of collective memories of the Spanish Civil War, Francoism, and the Transition to democracy. Urban and memory studies have been relatively disconnected fields in Spanish Peninsular cultural studies so far. While memory studies emphasize the importance of commemorative spaces, they generally disregard the urban experience and its impact on the construction of collective memories. Similarly, urban studies mostly explore, on the one hand, representations of the city at different historical periods, and, on the other, how cultural texts reflect and criticize Madrid’s urban transformations and their effect on the population. This study proposes that merging urban and memory studies allows for an innovative conceptualization of the importance that urban space and its experience plays in the formation and preservation of collective memories. Central to this analysis is the term of “mnemonic collective map,” a concept that I propose to read the cultural artifacts I analyze in my dissertation and to describe the multilayered, mental map individuals create of a city. This notion highlights the importance of collective memories in order to apprehend and understand the city’s urban space, as well as the importance of urban space in the creation and transmission of memories. This study takes
an interdisciplinary approach to analyze contemporary novels, films, urban space, and monuments under the democracy (1978-present) that are set in Madrid, including Almudena Grandes’ monumental novel, El corazón helado (2007); Basilio Martín Patino’s mixed-genre film, Madrid (1987); Madrid’s neighborhood of Nuevos Ministerios; and the statue of Franco erected in 1959 in the Plaza de San Juan de la Cruz.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 1. MONUMENTAL OBLIVION: URBAN REGENERATION, MONUMENTS, AND MEMORY POLICIES IN MADRID FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO THE PRESENT DAY</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 2. FROM THE ARCHIVE TO THE CITY: (RE)CONSTRUCTING MADRID’S PAST IN BASILIO’S MARTÍN PATINO’S MADRID (1987)</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 3. URBAN SPACE AND MEDIATED AFFECTIVE MEMORIES IN EL CORAZÓN HELADO (2007) BY ALMUDENA GRANDES</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORKS CITED</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Monastery of El Escorial</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The <em>Ministerio del Aire</em> (1943-1958)</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The <em>Torre de España</em> and the <em>Torre Madrid</em></td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The Kio Towers</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Blueprint of the <em>Nuevos Ministerios</em></td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>Nuevos Ministerios</em> in 1950</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>Nuevos Ministerios</em> nowadays</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Statue of Franco in <em>Nuevos Ministerios</em></td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Largo Caballero’s plaque</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Statue of Indalecio Prieto</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Statue of Largo Caballero</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>The Valley of the Fallen</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Hans in front of Vaquero Turcios’ monument</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction

The recurrent polemic in Spanish society over the last thirty years surrounding the subject of the Spanish Civil War (1939-1939) and General Francisco Franco’s dictatorship (1939-1975) suggests a lack of closure regarding these historical periods. The year 2011 marked the 75th anniversary of the military insurrection commanded by Franco against the democratically elected government of the Second Republic. In spite of recent political efforts to normalize Spain’s recent traumatic past through legislative initiatives such as the 2007 “Ley de memoria histórica,”1 thirty-five years of democracy have not sufficed to open a public discussion about these traumatic events.

The presentation in May 2011 of the Diccionario Biográfico Español coordinated by the Real Academia de la Historia exemplifies this issue. After more than ten years of preparation and 6.5 million euros of institutional subventions, the lack of impartiality of some of the biographies included in this work sparked complaints. Franco’s entry describes him as a leader who “pronto se hizo famoso por el frío valor que por el campo desplegaba” (Marcos n. pag). This characteristic contributed to the victory in the Civil War: “Una larga Guerra de tres años que permitió derrotar a un enemigo que contaba en principio con fuerzas superiores. Para ello, faltando posibles mercados, y contando con la hostilidad de Francia y Rusia, hubo de establecer estrechos compromisos con Italia y Alemania” (Marcos n. pag). After his victory, the text states Franco “montó un régimen autoritario pero no totalitario,” (Marcos n. pag.) without any reference to the merciless repression during the war and post-war period. These gentle descriptions of the dictator

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1 The complete title of the law, passed in December 2007, is: LEY 52/2007, de 26 de diciembre, por la que se reconocen y amplían derechos y se establecen medidas en favor de quienes padecieron persecución o violencia durante la guerra civil y la dictadura.
differ from the harsh depiction of Juan Negrín, last president of the Republic from 1937 to 1939, whose government was “prácticamente dictatorial” (Marcos n. pag.). Historian Julián Casanova, who was not invited to collaborate on the project, asserts that it would be unimaginable for German historians to accept an exaltation of Hitler (Casanova “Quién,” n. pag).² In Spain, conversely, Franco’s entry was commissioned to historian Luis Suárez Fernández, connected to the Fundación Francisco Franco, whose goal is to promote Franco’s human dimension as well as his military and political achievements (Casanova “Quién,” n. pag). In 2011 José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero’s government stopped the public funds that supported the endeavor until the entries were corrected (Constenla n. pag). Nonetheless, a few months later with the Partido Popular again in control of the government, the subvention was reactivated (Constenla n. pag). The dictionary not only illustrates the lack of reform in the Academia de la Historia, but also how the absence of a public discussion regarding Spain’s past during the Transition and first years of democracy legitimates the inclusion of these opinions in an official dictionary. In so far as this study problematizes the relationship between memory and urban experience, I believe that it is necessary to argue that this controversy portrays the deficient treatment of the legacy of Francoism in current democratic Spain. More than thirty years after the death of Franco some of the most basic points of Spain’s past, such as defining what kind of regime was Francoism, are a point of contention within the political elites, academia, and society at large.

This study merges memory and urban studies stressing the importance of urban space and experience in the (re)construction of collective memories of the Civil War,

² The names of the historians who compiled the almost 40,000 biographies is also a point of contention, since prestigious progressive historians, such as Santos Juliá, and Paul Preston, were not invited to participate.
Francoism and the Transition to democracy in Spain. I take an interdisciplinary approach to analyze novels, films, urban space, and monuments. The cultural artifacts and spaces that I analyze take Madrid as the setting and they were published or produced during the democracy (1978-present), including Almudena Grandes’ monumental novel, *El corazón helado* (2007); Basilio Martín Patino’s mixed-genre film, *Madrid* (1987); Madrid’s neighborhood of *Nuevos Ministerios*; and the statue of Franco erected in 1959 in the Plaza de San Juan de la Cruz, an area that, in my opinion, is representative of the politics of memory in Madrid, and by extension of Spain, during the last eighty years. These “texts” will be read in relation to a tradition of novels and films that highlight the importance of memory, urban development and its experience in the capital of Spain—such as *La Colmena* (1951) by Camilo José Cela, Luis Martín Santos *Tiempo de silencio* (1962), the French documentary *Mourir à Madrid* (1963) by Frédéric Rossif, and the tradition of documentary films about Madrid during and after the Civil War. This dissertation focuses on Madrid due to its political and symbolic importance during the Civil War, Francoism, and Democracy, as well as for the city’s rich literary and filmic tradition.

For decades the Spanish transition to democracy was considered a model of peaceful change from a dictatorial to a democratic government. This process is, nonetheless, one of the main causes for the deficiency in Spain’s politics of memory. If the dictatorship’s repression, censorship, and the control of ideological apparatuses manipulated and buried the memory of the Second Republic and its supporters, the transition was carried out under an implicit pact of silence which promoted oblivion regarding Spain’s traumatic past. However, even today, the majority of intellectuals
consider the pact as the only viable path towards the establishment of a democracy in Spain, an idea that Felipe González, the first Socialist president of the democracy, still maintained in 2001:

A la muerte de Franco, había un razonable temor al enfrentamiento histórico que habíamos vivido durante los siglos XIX y XX, y eso aconsejaba un esfuerzo de prudencia, de aproximación al otro. Esa actitud fue la mejor para poder conseguir, por primera vez en la historia de España, una convivencia democrática y pacífica. (González and Cebrián 25)

In general, interpreting the transition as a model process is the consensus among national political parties as well as public opinion. Nonetheless, as democracy consolidated, the disapproval of how officials treated public debate regarding the past increased. As a result, there are two divergent interpretations of the Transition. The first maintains that the pact of silence was indispensable for a peaceful foundation for democracy. The second describes the Transition as a pact among the elites that thwarted an open public debate about the past, thus preventing the victims of the Civil War and the dictatorship from being honored, both judicially and morally. Moreover, some scholars note that the conservation of certain political practices and institutions contributed to the absence of debate which is, nowadays, a reason for the deficiencies in Spanish democracy with regards to not only the politics of memory but also politics more generally.

In Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy (1996), Paloma Aguilar Fernández argues that the traumatic memory of the Spanish Civil War “played a crucial role in the institutional design of the Transition by favouring negotiation and inspiring a conciliatory and tolerant attitude on the part of the main actors” (Memory 25). The traumatic memory of the war amplified after Franco’s
death, thereby creating a climate in which “the vast majority of Spaniards acted on the assumption that the Civil War could be reignited at any moment” (Memory 163). Under these circumstances, the political elites reached an agreement to share the responsibilities of the war in order to facilitate the instauration of a democracy. During the Transition, the conflict “would become known as la ‘guerra de los locos’ or the war of the insane” (Memory 209). This narrative evenly distributed accountability and guilt, changing the narrative “from ‘we were all to blame’ to’ none of us was entirely to blame’, as we were not conscious of our acts, therefore, not responsible for them” (Aguilar Fernández, Memory 210).

In spite of the fact that the political leaders during the Transition represented all the parties and ideologies of the conflicting sides of the war, Aguilar Fernández maintains that:

Even before the death of Franco, an historical memory based on a sufficiently wide consensus had been formed regarding the lessons that needed to be drawn from the Civil War. At least the political class was aware that the idea of ‘never again’ should constitute the absolute priority of all Spaniards, which meant that renunciations, concessions and promises would be required for all. (Memory 8)

It was not important how and why the conflict started but rather to prevent another civil confrontation. As a consequence Spain’s recent past should not be used as a political weapon which, according to the author, is “the most outstanding process witnessed during the Transition” (Aguila Fernández, Memory 210). Although the tacit pact of silence implied many renunciations, the ultimate goal, the peaceful consolidation of democracy, was achieved.

In “Echar al olvido: memoria y amnistía en la transición a la democracia” Spanish historian Santos Juliá denies the existence of the pact of silence, and refers to the
Transition not as a process of oblivion but of amnesty, imposed to avoid the past shaping the future. The numerous publications—mainly historiographical and journalistic—that dealt with the Civil War and Francoism during the Transition and the years that followed support, according to Juliá, the view that the past was confronted (“Echar” 311-12).

This would in fact show that the recent past was part of the public debate. Juliá proposes, that “echar al olvido,” a term that implies a voluntary act of oblivion, is a more accurate term to describe the politics of memory during this period: “Una sociedad no podrá amnistiar, echar al olvido, un pasado si no lo recuerda con claridad, si carece de la conciencia de lo que ese pasado fue, si lo ha dejado caer en el olvido” (“Echar” 310).

Ángel Loureiro also claims that the notion of a pact of silence is unlikely because “[t]o suppose that there was a pact of silence is to fail to acknowledge that even a totalitarian regime could not have muzzled the politicians of various tendencies, nor the newspapers, independent publishers, novelists, workers, students, graphic artists or any other vehicle of public opinion” (225). Juliá and Loureiro’s assertions are problematic because they seem to blur the distinction between political and the sociocultural spheres. The fact that there was a consensus among the political parties, whether tacit or not, indicates an attempt to hamper debate about the past. In addition, the appearance of publications on the Civil War and Francoism suggests that there was freedom to publish, not that the pact did not exist: “no hubo silencio historiográfico (no hubiera sido posible imponerlo) pero sí dejación política del Gobierno y del Estado para con la memoria democrática” (Reig Tapia, “Cultura,” 113). The existence of the pact is evident in the preservation of monuments, names of streets and squares that commemorated Franco and other

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3 I am excluding from this debate revisionist arguments of pseudo-historians such as Pío Moa who argues that the Second Republic’s policies and obedience to the Soviet Union triggered the Civil War. The coup d’etat was the only solution to avoid a communist regime in Spain, according to Moa.
prominent figures of the rebellion even thirty years after the instauration of democracy. During the Transition and early democracy, there was no serious attempt to remove these symbols, let alone to erect monuments and memorials to the victims of the war and Francoism. In fact, as I analyze in the following chapter, although Franco’s statues have been removed, many symbols and names of streets still remain unchanged, not to mention El Valle de los Caídos, the massive mausoleum that honors the dictator located a few miles North in the Cuelgamuros Valley of the Sierra de Guadarrama.

Juliá supports his arguments listing a number of historiographical investigations published during the Transition and early democracy. However, according to Ofelia Ferrán the fact that these publications are mainly historiographical, “circumscribes the process of remembering to only one of various levels at which such remembrance must take place in order for there to be an effective practice, in society at large, of working through the past” (40). I concur with Ferrán and, while I recognize the importance of historiographical investigation, this large production may suggest that there was an urge to historicize the Civil War and the dictatorship. This production presents an aseptic revisiting of Spain’s recent traumatic past as an issue of history, of the past, without considering in-depth the effects of these events on the present. In this way, collective memories turn into historical events, thus becoming part of the official archive, which, to a certain extent, implies closure (Resina, “Weight,” 223).

4 Javier Tussel stresses the deficiencies of the dissemination of the historiographical works regarding the Civil War (qtd. in Ferrán 41). One of the mechanisms to propagate the past is the textbook. Carolyn Boyd analyzes history textbooks since the end of the Civil War to the present. The books used during the 1980’s have shared a common compromise to represent the conflict as a national tragedy, underscoring the origins rather than its consequences. The contents devoted to the dictatorship silences the repression (94-5). She also notes that the books written after 1990’s educative reform are both more plural and more critical of the dictatorship (97).
Despite denying that the pact existed, Juliá admonishes Spanish society’s inability to recognize that the memories of the Civil War and the dictatorship have changed over the years (“Echar” 313). That is to say, the arguments and policies adopted during the Transition are no longer valid because the political context and the collective memory have evolved. Aguilar Fernández and Juliá coincide regarding the two main factors for the current discontent with the Transition. The first reason is the political class’ changing attitudes, particularly the left and nationalist parties. The second is the coming of age of a generation who did not experience the dictatorship firsthand.

Aguilar Fernández explains how the political parties’ approaches to the Civil War remain unchanged because both sides still feel that the other side is responsible for the conflict. On the contrary, according to this historian, consensus about the dictatorship dissolved because those who participated or collaborated with the regime benefited from the silence, while those who suffered reprisals and opposed Franco gained neither ethical nor political advantage (“Presencia” 282). Aguilar Fernández attributes the initial break of the pact to the PSOE’s fear of losing the general election in 1993. During the political campaign, the PSOE utilized the PP’s Francoist past to alarm voters with the possibility of the right’s return to power (“Presencia” 283). Furthermore, she states that upon the PP’s arrival to power in 1996, the rest of the political parties generalized the association between conservative party members and the dictatorship. Simultaneously, these political parties began to promote commemorations and legislation to honor the victims of the Civil War and Francoism.

Juliá equally considers that upon the PP’s arrival to power, “quienes habían administrado el poder del Estado durante cerca de catorce años cayeron en la cuenta de
que el pasado no desaparece tan rápido y de que allí había rebrotado lo de siempre, una herencia del franquismo” (“Echar” 328). Despite certain validity to these arguments, they seem to completely disregard the PP’s policies since the party was re-founded in 1989. Likewise, in “Cultura política y vía pacífica a la democracia. El miedo y el olvido en la transición española,” Alberto Reig Tapia maintains that the PSOE used the past as a political argument in 1993. However, he also indicates that the PP had previously broken the State pact regarding ETA’s terrorism in order to use it as a electoral argument: “Al parecer lo que los políticos no paraban de recomendar a la sociedad (moderación, serenidad, mesura, equilibrio) era bueno para los ciudadanos, pero no para ellos con vistas a la conquista o conservación del poder a costa de lo que fuera dentro de la peor lógica política de que el fin justifica los medios” (“Cultura” 117).5

The second factor in the current disapproval of the Transition is the interest of the generation of the grandchildren, born around 1970, to know Spain’s recent past as well as what happened to their relatives who were victims of the Civil War and Francoism (Aguilar Fernández, “Presencia,” 281). Juliá adds that since the generation of the grandchildren does not have a personal memory of the dictatorship, the narrative of reconciliation and equal responsibility is obsolete (“Echar” 325). Thus the increasing reevaluation of this period is a consequence of generational change:

El resultado es que, de hijos a nietos, la memoria se ha literalmente invertido: la amnistía, que los hijos tuvieron como una de sus grandes conquistas, en verdad, como la gran conquista que despejaba el camino hacia la democracia, se considera por los nietos como la gran traición, pues convertida en amnesia habría permitido la persistencia del legado de los vencedores de la guerra y bloqueado la

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5 Felipe González holds the PP accountable for political tension: “el espíritu del consenso se mantiene hasta el comienzo de los años noventa, cuando Alianza Popular se convierte en PP y sus nuevos dirigentes reinstauran la política del renacer. Iniciaron una oposición crispada, una política de ruptura de los acuerdos básicos, incluidos los referidos a terrorismo y política exterior.” (González and Cebrián 24).
reparación moral y política de los vencidos y el reconocimiento debido a los que lucharon contra la dictadura. (“De hijos” 85)

Positive opinions of the Transition decline as more studies denouncing its deficiencies emerge in the field of historiography and Peninsular cultural studies. Reig Tapia indicates that the peaceful consensus can only be understood in relation to the fear of another fratricidal confrontation. Although he acknowledges that other processes may not have been viable, he also highlights that the perpetuation of the consensus, when representative democracy was consolidated, had negative consequences: “la transición política fue modélica para la mayoría, a pesar de sus inevitables concesiones, y no tan modélica desde la perspectiva de la cultura política democrática” (“Cultura” 113). The amnesty, which Reig Tapia equates with amnesia, prompted an almost non-existent politics of memory as well as basic deficiencies in the political system (112-3). Helen Graham, in her recent book *The War and its Shadow* (2012), also indicates that the pact of silence nurtured the continuation of Francoist elites within the judiciary system and political elites during the Transition and democracy: “the very logic of the transition, as a pact between reformist Francoist sectors and the democratic opposition, meant that there was no departure of Francoist state personnel form either the executive or the judiciary, nor any root and branch renovation of the political class” (129). This issue is manifest in the presence of “Francoist” families in the national political class even to the present (Graham 129).

In *Traces of Contamination* (2005) Eloy Merino and Rosi Song describe as “traces of contamination” the remnants of Francoism that are still ingrained in Spanish society. Merino and Soong argue that as a result of the pact of silence, the ideological remains of Francoism have been, for the most part, ignored: “beyond what had been
suppressed, erased or ignored, the question of what Spaniards integrated and normalized during the dictatorship had been overlooked” (11). That is, while extreme ideologies are well documented, the influences inculcated in the society by a regime that lasted almost forty years are more difficult to discern. After the long dictatorship, for many Spaniards Franco was not the main culprit of the Civil War and a ruthless repression, but a leader who modernized Spain. It is not uncommon to hear elderly people saying “con Franco se vivía mejor,” because delinquency and unemployment rates were, supposedly, lower.

Interestingly these authors do not mention Monarchy as one of the remnants of Francoism. In 1947 Franco signed the “Ley de Sucesión en la Jefatura del Estado,” that granted the dictator power to decide his successor. In 1969, Franco appointed Juan Carlos de Borbón as Prince of Spain and his official successor. After the Caudillo’s death, Juan Carlos became Head of State and King Juan Carlos I. Spanish historian Javier Tussell describes the Monarchy as one of the key institutions during the Transition because it was “un instrumento para evitar la quiebra de la legitimidad” (Transición 20). Part of the legitimacy of the Monarchy is due to the fact that Juan de Borbón, father of the King and rightful heir to the Spanish crown, was a firm and vocal detractor of Franco’s regime from his exile (Tussell, Transición 21). It should be acknowledged that, in spite of being designated his successor by Franco, Juan Carlos supported a Constitution that designated Spain a Parliamentary Monarchy and did not grant any political power to the King. Nonetheless, the event that definitely erased his connections to Francoism was the failed coup d'état of February 23rd 1981. When a group of Guardias Civiles burst into the Spanish Congress to prevent the election of Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo as the President of Spain, Juan Carlos kept control of most of the army and
delivered a televised address condemning the coup and supporting the elected democratic government. After these events, the popularity of the King rose: “Desde la muerte de Franco, y sobre todo a partir del fallido golpe de Estado de febrero de 1981, a muchos les dio por presumir de Rey, protegerlo frente a las críticas y el debate público, para preservar lo conseguido y cambiar el pobre bagaje democrático que la historia de la Monarquía borbónica podía exhibir antes de 1931” (Casanova “Monarquía,” n. pag).

While the importance of Juan Carlos in the Transition and his support of the democratic process is undeniable, it should also be noted that Franco reinstated the Monarchy and the referendum to approve the 1978 Constitution did not grant the opportunity to the Spanish people to vote on this institution. I concur with Casanova who indicates that the construction of Juan Carlos’ image as a long-time democrat is another element of the pact of silence that attempted to erase the recent past of Spain:

[S]e ocultó, rompiéndolo, el cordón umbilical que unía a don Juan Carlos con la dictadura de Franco, de donde procedía en ese momento su única legitimidad, y se estigmatizó a la República, ya liquidada por las armas y la represión, como la causante de todos los conflictos y enfrentamientos que llevaron a la Guerra Civil. No puede negarse el éxito de esa operación de lavado del pasado, capaz de sobrevivir, sin grandes cambios, hasta en los libros de texto, durante más de tres décadas de democracia” (Casanova “Monarquía,” n. pag)

Although textbooks and history still portray this idealized vision of the monarch, the opinion of Spanish society has drastically shifted due to the current economic crisis and the scandals involving several members of the royal family. As of April 2013, public opinion of King Juan Carlos was negative and Prince Felipe de Borbón barely achieved

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6 In April 2012 King Juan Carlos injured himself when he was on a safari in Botswana. The estimated cost of the safari was 20,000 euros in the midst of one of the worst economic crisis of Spanish history (Galaz n. pag). In addition, the Infanta Cristina is in the middle of a judicial investigation about her possible implication in her husband’s alleged corruption.
50% of positive opinions (Garea n. pag). As I just mentioned above, the opinion of the younger generations concerning the 1978 amnesty has evolved and considers it a betrayal that thwarted a moral recognition of the victims, even though that same generation acknowledges that it facilitated the political transition. The Monarchy is highly regarded by the older generations, but questions about its legitimacy and the need for its continuity as an institution within the current Spanish political model arise among the younger generation. King Juan Carlos’ role in the Transition and the coup “ya no supone un plus [for the new generation], porque los jóvenes carecen de esa referencia” (Garea n. pag).7

The lack of a public remembrance that would make amends to the hundreds of thousands of victims of these periods is only part of the problem. The absence of political condemnation of the dictatorship favored the persistence of certain values that were part of Franco’s regime. Thus, the consensus that facilitated democracy is also liable for democracy’s shortcomings, due to the fact that the system is not perceived as a complete break from the previous model: “Se da así la paradoja de que «el consenso» facilitó la transición y resultó functional para el éxito político de la misma, pero, al mismo tiempo, dificulta la profundización democrática y resulta disfuncional para la vida política democrática que exige una transparente actuación de sus actores” (Reig Tapia, Memoria 352). Reig Tapia suggests that several instances of political corruption in the last thirty years stem directly from the legacy of Francoism’s political favoritism (Memoria 352-3).

The field of Peninsular cultural studies has also weighed in on this debate. However, the interpretations of the period tend to emphasize the negative impact that the

7 A critical analysis of the role of the Monarchy in the last years of the dictatorship and during the Transition is a topic that deserves further academic study, but falls outside of the scope of this project.
pact had in Spanish society. Joan Ramon Resina maintains that the two main shortcomings of the Transition were, on the one hand, the urge to historicize the Civil War and the dictatorship, and, on the other, that the amnesty granted after Franco’s death implied amnesia. Regarding the former, Resina points to the degradation of memories into “events that no longer claim the attention, much less arouse the passions, of anyone with the exception of professional historians—events that one is done with” (“Weight” 223). The latter argument expands the absence of a public debate about Spain’s recent traumatic past, not only to the political consensus, but also to the acquiescence of a great majority of the society: “[The cause] is the impregnation of society with Francoist values through the capillary dispersion of corruption. It was not just the Francoist elite but a considerable part of Spanish society that found it convenient to divest itself of its memory” (“Weight” 226).

Nonetheless, Resina ultimately seems to blame the elites as he characterizes 1977’s amnesty as “institutionalized oblivion,” for the reason that “individuals cannot forget on command, but amnesty ensures that they relegate the proscribed memories to the realm of their private conscience” (“Weight” 227). The regime’s liability and its guilt was exculpated and, as a result:

The social division between victors and vanquished disappeared by enchantment, and with it the distinction between victims and perpetrators. Dissolving the moral certainties of but a few years before opened the way to a relativism that would increase in the same proportion as the collective memory declined, making the roles of the victims and perpetrators interchangeable. (“Weight” 229)

Resina’s interpretation concurs with various of Reig Tapia’s arguments, in particular civil society’s acceptance of the reinvention of the state through a consensus that perpetuated institutions and practices of the dictatorship. José Colmeiro develops this argument by
proposing that the Transition’s collective taboo is that Spanish society has not yet admitted its complicity with Francoism, opting instead for the simulacrum of collective amnesia. For that reason, Colmeiro asserts that the return of the repressed past is more evident but also less effective (*Memoria* 32).8

Salvador Cardús i Ros takes these arguments further describing the Transition as a “process of historical and social amnesia, and the invention of a new political tradition” (18). Therefore the object of study is the “strategies of ‘invisibilization’ that include both intentional forgetting and the production of false records of events,” that were created in order to turn “the page from an authoritarian to a democratic regime without bringing about a political breakdown and, in the process, achieving the unheard of situation in which the dictatorship’s juridico-political framework became the source of legitimacy for the new democratic model” (18-9). Creating a new tradition could only be achieved through the erasure of the memory of the Civil War and dictatorship because “a transition to democracy carried out against the dictatorship would have reactivated the memory—or rather, the diverse and counterposed memories—of the dramatic division of Spanish society in the Civil War, visions that had never been fused into a single common memory” (Cardús i Ros 20). Thus, the author connects the political class’ oblivion to the need for consensus in which the past would not open old disputes by avoiding “who was what in the old regime” (20). Cardús i Ros adds a novel element stressing the importance of the media in “erasing the memory not only of Franco’s regime but also of the ‘Francoist’—and their corresponding images—a practice that would become basic to

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8 Jo Labanyi indicates that “the ‘pact of oblivion’ has become commonplace because it allows the transition to be seen as a break with the past, masking—conveniently for both political Right and Left—the fact that it was effected by politicians from within the former Francoist state apparatus” (“Memory 93”).
political reconstruction” (21). In a sense, the media played a role similar to the historians as they “took over the function of constructing a collective national mythology” (25).

The pact of silence, whether necessary or not, was operative both in politics and in society.⁹ The 1977 amnesty equated those who had fought for the democracy with those who committed crimes during the dictatorship. Therefore, in addition to liberating political prisoners, it also prevented any member of the regime from being judged for their crimes. Thus, I concur with other critical opinions and believe that amnesty became a justification for the society’s burial of Spain’s recent traumatic past. As Ferrán states, in Spain, the maxim during the Transition was that “in order not to repeat the past, [it] was best to forget it” (23).

Due to the enormous amount of cultural artifacts representing the Civil War and the dictatorship, there is a considerable amount of scholarship dealing with the representations of memory. Labanyi’s studies of the Civil War have been very influential. In particular, her analyses of the representations of the traumatic past in novels and films raise the question of what should Spanish society do with history and the ghosts of the past (“Engaging;” “History”). These representations can be divided into two main groups. The first depicts ghosts and monsters that metaphorically represent the past, a thematic, prevalent in but not exclusive to the seventies and eighties, which includes novels such as Manuel Rivas’ *El lapiz del carpintero* (1998), and Julio Llamazares’ *Luna de lobos* (1985); and the films *El espíritu de la colmena* (1973) by Víctor Erice, and Guillermo del Toro’s *El espinazo del Diablo* (2001). The second group opts for a realist approach to the conflict. Although the use of a realist aesthetic is

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⁹ The word silence denotes passivity and a lack of agency. I agree with Cardús i Ros that the Transition was a process of “intentional forgetting” (18).
constant in Spanish literature and films, the number of realist texts multiplied since the 1990s with novels such as Rafael Chirbes’ *La larga marcha* (1996), and Juan Eduardo Zúñiga’s collection of short stories *Capital de la Gloria* (2003); and the films *Las trece rosas* (2007) directed by Emilio Martínez Lázaro, and Montxo Armendariz’s *Silencio roto* (2001).

Labanyi adapts Jacques Derrida notion of hauntology to conceptualize the narratives that include ghosts, monsters, as well as the politically displaced or disappeared. Societies have different options for dealing with the ghosts of the past (“Engaging” 65-6). Their presence may be blocked, as typically enacted by official discourses; or, on the contrary, one may obsessively hang on to them through the pathological process that Freud labeled as melancholia. In this case, they will become the “living dead.” Finally, a society may offer “habitation” in order to recognize their presence through a mourning process (“History” 64). The first two options imply a negation of the past, while the third is an “acknowledgement of the history, that allows one to live with the traces” (“History” 65). As Derrida explains in *Specters of Marx* (1994) ghosts must be expelled in order to “to grant them the right […] to […] a hospitable memory out of a concern of justice” (qtd. in Labanyi, “History,” 66).

Because “ghosts are the return of the repressed of history—that is, the mark of an all-too-real historical trauma which has been erased from conscious memory but which makes its presence felt through its ghostly traces” (“Engaging” 6), Labanyi asserts that a cultural representation that portrays elements of “hauntology” is the most effective device to debate the traumatic past. On the one hand, the terror genre represents the horror—the “unspeakable” as she puts it—of the war and the political repression (“Memory” 107).
On the other hand, it avoids a direct representation of the past in favor of its consequences, which highlights the legacy of the past to the present (“Memory”113). In contrast, realistic accounts have “the effect of reinforcing the difference of the past from the present, with the result that, at the end of the viewing or reading process, we feel a sense of relief on returning to a present free from such barbarism” (“Memory”103). I agree that narratives of hauntology successfully demonstrate that traumas are not closed, and that they still affect the present. However, I disagree with the idea that realist accounts separate the present from the past. On the one hand, they make explicit the violence of the war and the repression of the dictatorship, thus conveying the horrors to a generation who did not live these periods. On the other hand, realist narratives make use of literary devices that link the past to the present. For instance, a character in the present investigates an event or crime in the past, thus establishing that the collective memories of the events are still affecting the present. This is the case of Soldados de Salamina by Javier Cercas and Grandes’ El corazón helado.

One of the most recent studies of representations of memory in Spanish literature is Ferrán’s Writing through Memory: Writing and Remembrance in Contemporary Spanish Narrative (2007) in which the author explores the construction of memory in “meta-memory texts,” a term she coins to stress the self-reflexive nature of these works (15). Ferrán argues that self-reflexivity in combination with self-conscious examination of the relations between memory and representation is “what makes them particularly appropriate models for how to develop a much-needed culture of memory in Spain” (15). An analysis of texts ranging from the year 1960 to 2000 allows her to examine a wide variety of perspectives regarding the process of remembering traumatic events. Ferrán
maintains that the realms of memory—following Pierre Nora’s concept—that emerge from these texts are “perfect sites for the practice of working through a tirelessly ‘unsatisfied’ and ‘vigilant’ memory” (59). Furthermore, these texts are “places of recognition,” a phrase that Ullrich Winter coined in reference to the process of exhumation of mass graves of the civil war:10

The examples these texts provide for different ways of working through memory transform these works into valuable places of memory, and of recognition, themselves, real and symbolic artifacts where a relentlessly ‘unsatisfied’ and tirelessly ‘vigilant’ memory is continuously created and re-created each time the texts are read and re-read. (Ferrán 60)

Over the last decade, the concept of *lieux de mémoire* has become one of the keywords in Peninsular cultural studies. However, it is mostly used in relation to cultural artifacts rather than to actual space. The volume *Lugares de memoria de la Guerra Civil y el Fraquismo* (2006), compiled by Ullrich Winter, proposes the study of novels, comics, and films in relation to this concept. Winter considers a “*lieu de mémoire*” to be any historical event, or symbolic facts “siempre que plasmen una ‘metáfora’ de la historia (conflictiva) de la nación” (13). Winter points out that many contributors conclude that “las obras de arte analizadas no (solamente) tratan sobre lugares de memoria, sino que, invirtiendo el concepto, constituyen ellas mismas, en cuanto acontecimiento estético o hecho histórico, lugares de memoria” (14). This quotation exemplifies how this concept is often used to designate cultural artifacts as repositories of memory, that is, as archives, rather than merely analyzing spatial constructions of memory.

What seems to be a conclusion *a posteriori* is the unifying theme of Resina and Ullrich’s compilation *Casa encantada: Lugares de memoria en la España constitucional*

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10 Winter defines “places of recognition,” as “escabrosos y dislocados, pero que posibilitan un proceso social de reconocimiento entre memorias conflictivas” (qtd. in Ferrán 43).
(1978-2004). The book is constructed around Nora’s concept; however, it actively avoids commemorative notions (Resina and Ullrich 10). The contributors stress the mnemonic function of popular culture, particularly of the novel and cinema (12). The introduction concludes that the essays themselves constitute a lieu de mémoire: “Éstos son también un «lugar» en el sentido de que «materializan», sin acotarlo, un trayecto accidentado de reflexión sobre el tema” (13).

The concept of lieu de mémoire deserves a brief analysis at this point. I acknowledge Nora’s contribution to historiography opens a novel approach to problematizing the relationship between memory, history, and commemorative spaces, however I find some shortcomings to his conceptualization. Nora defines lieu de mémoire as spaces, whether symbolical or actual places, where history and memory converge. Nevertheless, as Steven Englund points out the term lieu is utterly vague—including, but not limited to a song, a book, a flag, and a festivity—thus raising the question of “what isn’t a lieu?” (Englund 304-5). The concept of memory that Nora deploys is equally controversial. He argues that the proliferation of lieu de mémoire is due to the disappearance of “milieux de mémoire, in which memory is a real part of everyday experience” (Nora 1). The lieux appear because, as Nora bluntly proposes, “there is no such thing as spontaneous memory” (7). As a consequence, “what we call memory today is therefore not memory but already history” (Nora 8). This conceptualization is rather contradictory and, as Englund proposes, it suggests that collective memory no longer exists (305). Englund concludes that “[w]hat Les lieux de mémoire attempts, therefore, is the willed re-creation of memory, or what Nora calls ‘memories worked over [saisies] by history’ (pt. 1, p. xxv)—which is to say, worked over
by professional historians” (305). Englund concludes that Nora labels as memory what is, in turn, history. Whereas I believe that film and narrative are vehicles to memorialize the victims of the Civil War and the dictatorship, I tend to disagree with the notion that literature and films depicting the memory of Spain’s recent past are a realm or place of memory. Rather, they represent or (re)create a space.

Madrid’s representation in film and literature has been the subject of a number of studies, as well. Nevertheless, concepts such as memory and notions that link space and memory are not central issues in these analyses. The topics range from representations of the city at different historical periods, to how urban regeneration has been depicted in cultural artifacts. Edward Baker and Malcolm Compitello gather studies that trace Madrid’s history during the last century through literature in “Madrid de Fortunata a la M-40. Un siglo de cultura urbana” (2003). Some studies are worth mentioning, such as Compitello’s “Del plan al diseño: El día de la bestia de Alex de la Iglesia y la cultura de la acumulación flexible en la Madrid del postcambio,” which analyzes Álex de la Iglesia’s feature film as a reaction to urban sprawl of the nineties, with the Torres Kío as its main example. Although some studies include Madrid during the war and post-war, memory only appears indirectly. Nil Santiáñez analyzes the former in “El fascista y la ciudad” through Agustín de Foxá’s novel Madrid de corte a checa. However, this work emphasizes the representation of violence rather than the memory of the war. Likewise, William Sherzer studies the importance of the topography of the city in Cela’s La colmena concluding that for Cela: “la ciudad no forma parte del significante, sino más bien constituye una función intermediaria en la creación de un mensaje novelístico” (253). In “Shifting modern identities in Madrid’s recent urban planning, architecture and
narrative,” Susan Larson examines the development of Madrid during the eighties and early nineties. The article proposes that it is possible to read buildings and neighborhoods as “public objects caught in an urban cultural process and the flows of capital and shifting modern identities” (397). She does this by studying how these tensions are depicted in novels and films of the nineties. Finally, Compitello’s “Recasting Urban Identities: The Case of Madrid 1977-1997. Mapping Urban Spaces and Subjectivities” deals with Madrid’s identity after Francoism, and how its identity was transformed in order to differentiate itself from the capital of the dictatorship.

Recently, there have appeared studies examining the role of the reconstruction of Spanish cities and their patrimony in the post-war period have appeared. *Ashes and Granite: Destruction and Reconstruction in the Spanish Civil War and its Aftermath* (2011), by Olivia Muñoz-Rojas, analyzes the destruction and rebuilding of Madrid, Barcelona, and Bilbao, three of the most representative Republican cities. The Francoist efforts to reconstruct these cities depicts that “National reconstruction was understood as physical rebuilding, moral regeneration and economic renewal” (24). That is, while the rebuilding of edifices and streets was crucial, it was equally important to instill the values of the new regime that would erase the traces of the Second Republic. Muñoz-Rojas reveals that with the exception of Madrid, the “regime’s main priority was the rural reconstruction as a means of preventing or deterring peasants and villagers from migrating to the cities, and developing the kind of class resentment that, according to the victors, had fuelled the communist revolutionary atmosphere leading to the outbreak of the war” (165). These efforts failed, and the misery of the post-war deepened by the autarkical policies of the 1940s that increased social differences in the cities.
In *Reconstructing Spain: Cultural Heritage and Memory after the Civil War* (2011), Dacia Viejo-Rose examines the role cultural heritage plays in the reconstruction after the war (1). Viejo-Rose argues that the past of a society is constantly revised in the form of narratives that are frequently supported in material heritage: “objects and architecture that act as both tangible ‘proof’ of the stories and as evocative sign-posts, reminders of a common past” (2). After the war, Francoism developed its policies regarding heritage to complement “a meta-narrative that seeks to fuel a sense of national cohesion and belonging” (216). A past that, as Viejo-Rose indicates, glorifies some historical periods while others are ignored (217). Along with this process, “a new heritage landscape emerges to support the emerging re-visioning of the nation” (217).

The book studies the reconstruction after the Civil War at a national level, but it especially emphasizes the rebuilding of the town of Gernika and how the discourses surrounding the Basque town changed from the dictatorship to democracy. Madrid is also part of the study and Viejo-Rose’s ideas are an invaluable contribution to analysis regarding the period of the 1940s. I would add that the Transition also re-signified cultural heritage. As I further expand in the first chapter, cultural heritage policies ignored the material legacy of Francoism by focusing on heritage that denoted a *madrileño* identity in an attempt to separate Madrid as a symbol of Francoist centralism. The period of the Second Republic was also disregarded in what I interpret as embracing the pact of silence in urban and heritage policies.

In spite of these recent efforts, memory and urban studies are, predominantly, two separate fields in peninsular cultural studies. The former focuses on the analysis of cultural representations depicting social groups whose collective memories were buried
during Francoism and the Transition, while urban studies examine how cultural texts reflect and criticize Madrid’s urban transformations. I want to specify that there is a vast production of literature concerning monuments and urban space as sites of memory, as receptacles and creators of memory; nonetheless they are mainly studied as “static cultural artifacts.” Thus, I would argue that for the most part these studies overlook urban experience. My research combines both fields stressing the importance of urban space and its experience in the (re)construction of collective memories of the Civil War, Francoism, and the Transition to democracy. My analyses highlight the dual relationship between memory and urban space. The city is a space where memories are created and negotiated; at the same time, the transmission of memories generates an image of the urban space that influences the experience of the city.

The dissertation focuses on Madrid for its political importance and symbolism during these periods. The Second Republic started a process to dissociate the capital’s image as royal court by means of an ambitious urban regeneration. After this process was truncated by the war, it became the symbol of the fight against Franco as represented in the famous slogan “No pasarán.” For this reason, one of the goals of the totalitarian regime was to re-signify Madrid by changing the names of the streets and erecting monuments. After the dictatorship, it was again necessary to distinguish the capital from the previous period through its transformation into a post-modern city. In addition, since it never lost its status as capital of Spain, it can be read as a metonym of the State’s politics of memory during the last eighty years.

In this project I take an interdisciplinary approach by analyzing novels, films, urban space and monuments. Although art in general has been very influential in opening
up the debate surrounding the historical memory in Spain, I choose to examine novels and films because they are the most influential artistic expression not only because of the numerous productions of literary fictions and films, but also owing to their large audience. As Rafael Chirbes indicates, “[l]a historia ordena el conjunto de datos que obtiene de sus testimonios e investigaciones y, con ellos, arma una narración que se trama para desembocar en una teoría de cómo el mundo ha llegado a ser el que es. La novela, en cambio, nos muestra, en un modelo para armar, los mecanismos del ser humano ante esa ola que, en cada período histórico, parece arrasarla, pero de la que él inequivocamente forma parte” (Chirbes, “De qué memoria,” 230). As a novelist, Chirbes emphasizes the importance of narration in analyzing a historical period. The same can be said about cinema, and thus both artistic expressions constitute a means for remembering the memories buried during the long dictatorship. The selection of urban space and monuments is a logical choice since they portray how the city is a space where meaning is negotiated, thus shaping not only the urban landscape, but also producing official memories and influencing collectives ones. The combination of these cultural artifacts is productive in my conceptualization of the discourses of memory regarding Spain’s recent past. In narrative, I read El corazón helado (2007) by Almudena Grandes, a novel that narrates the intertwined stories of two Madrilenian families from the Civil War to present day Spain and their relationship to Madrid, their affective relationship to the capital, and to real-estate speculation. The film Madrid (1987) by Basilio Martín Patino, is a hybrid genre film that combines fiction and documentary, and whose main topic is how Madrid and its identity were transformed since the war to the time of the production of the film. In addition, I analyze Madrid’s renewed area of Nuevos Ministerios and the statue of
Franco erected in 1959 in the Plaza de San Juan de la Cruz nearby. I argue that this area is representative of the politics of memory in Madrid, and by extension of Spain, during the last eighty years.

All of the cultural artifacts I examine share Madrid’s urban space and a focus on the memory of the Civil War, Francoism, and the Transition. They are, on the one hand, a product of the official memory of the dictatorship, and a sign of the pervasive negligence of memory during the Transition and democracy, as in the case of the monument. On the other, they are part of a discourse that attempts to morally compensate the collective memories repressed during Francoism and later ignored during the Transition. Grandes and Martín Patino’s works introduce characters from various generations, thus presenting different urban experiences and memories of these historical periods. This allows for an analysis of the tensions amongst the memory of events in the internal time of the narration and the historical moment in which the film or novel was produced or written. All the texts I analyze are published or produced during the Spanish democracy, with the exception of Franco’s statue. However, I argue that the meaning of monuments, as well as the memory they represent, changes over time. As a consequence, after Franco’s death and the establishment of democracy the meaning of this statue was altered, becoming a new(er) text, allowing for different interpretations. For instance, the fact that it remained unmodified for thirty years, and that it was removed secretly during the night with the excuse of renovating the square, can be interpreted as representative of the deficient politics of memory in Spain during democracy. Similarly, the protests and acts of vandalism against the monument transform it into a space of countermemories.
My theoretical framework also takes an interdisciplinary approach, addressing the work of philosophers, sociologists, and scholars of urban studies. Regarding memory studies, Maurice Halbwachs and Walter Benjamin’s different, yet complementary, conceptualizations of memory provide the foundations to my arguments. Halbwachs proposes his sociological view on memory as a collective construction in *The Collective Memory* (1950). Not only do I believe that his concept of collective memory is central to an analysis of the past, but I also consider that the importance he devotes to the relationship between memory and space is a seminal argument. The second interpretation of memory with which I work is proposed by the German philosopher Walter Benjamin in his posthumous work “Theses on the philosophy of History” (1940). This work criticizes universal history because it silences the voice of the vanquished. It may seem paradoxical that a study about Spanish memory focuses on a work whose title explicitly states that it deals with history. However, one of my arguments, following Paul Ricoeur, is that the works I analyze suggest that, in order to have a deeper understanding of the past, it is indispensable to know both the memory and the history of a society; thus rejecting the dichotomy history versus memory.

From urban studies, I draw on scholarship that emphasizes how urban planning and the production of space influence the experience of the city. From the first structural proposals of Kevin Lynch in *The Image of the City* (1960) to Henri Lefevbre’s Marxist reading of the relationship between the means of production and the urban space they produce, epitomized in *The Production of Space* (1974). In order to underscore the importance of the experience of the city, I rely on Michel de Certeau’s *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984) and Fredric Jameson’s concept of “cognitive mapping,” as
delineated in his book *Postmodernism or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (1991). Before fully explaining my theoretical framework I want to introduce some important concepts for my research from academic discussions about the past and collective memory. First, I outline the differences between history and memory to later define historical memory and, “*memoria histórica*” in the Spanish context.

Traditionally, history and memory have been considered as two opposing methods to approach the past. Peter Novick considers that the differences are methodological, since the training of historians allows them to understand the complexity of the historical events, while memory remembers from a single, subjective perspective:

> To understand something historically is to be aware of its complexity, to have sufficient detachment to see it from multiple perspectives, to accept the ambiguities, including moral ambiguities, of protagonists’ motives and behaviours. Collective memory simplifies; sees events from a single, committed perspective; it is impatient with ambiguities of any kind; reduces events to mythic archetypes. (qtd. in Wertsch 125)

Similarly, Pierre Nora defines history as an intellectual activity that “calls from analysis and critical discourse” (3). History is an impartial, albeit incomplete, representation of the past, whose sources are documents and archives. It has a universal vocation because history “belongs to everyone and no one” (3). In contrast, memory is embodied in living societies, thus in permanent evolution. For that reason it is vulnerable to appropriations, manipulations, and censorship, subject to the dialectic of remembrance and oblivion. It is, consequently, a phenomenon of the present, a “bond tying us to the eternal present” (3). With this binary opposition Nora ultimately points to the equation of history to the narration of objective facts through official documents, while memory is the reconstruction from the present of past experiences. Elizabeth Jelin considers that there is no univocal relationship between these concepts. Memory is an important source for
history, which brings up the distortions, displacements and negations that characterizes memory. In contrast, history allows a critical analysis of the contents of memory, thus contributing to the tasks of transmitting critically established memories (75).

Paul Ricoeur argues that one of the main features of memory is the oral testimony, as opposed to historiography’s written archive. Thus history is archived memory (178). However, the French philosopher proposes that memory should not be an object of study of history; nor should memory be in charge of history. Quite the reverse, he advocates for a dialectic relationship between the two:

The history of memory and the historization of memory can confront one another in an open dialectic that preserves them from the passage to the limit, from that hubris, that would result from, on the one hand, history's claim to reduce memory to the level of one of its objects, and on the other hand, the claim of collective memory to subjugate history by means of the abuses of memory that the commemorations imposed by political powers or by pressure groups can turn into. (392)

I agree with Ricouer and will argue that, in order to better know and understand the past, history and memory should not be opposed—an issue on which I expand below. Nora and Novick place history above memory, due mainly to history’s methodological objectivity. Nonetheless, they seem to overlook that history can be manipulated and that it is the discourse, as Benjamin argues, of the victors. In addition, history’s authority as receptacle of the archive is an obsolete romantic depiction in a time in which histories and commemorations have surpassed national boundaries. It may be true that, in the past, official documents were the sources of the archive. However, nowadays, the definition of archive is more ample as any individual can create an archive with personal and collective memorabilia. For these reasons, I believe, on the one hand, that both memory and history are necessary to understand the past, and, on the other, that to know a city
implies an affective interpretation of urban spaces that are marked form a historical and memorial perspective.

The concept of historical memory presents more difficulties, since it is sometimes close to the definition of history. Halbwachs defines historical memory as the recollection of events that have not been personally experienced and that individuals retrieve through documents:

These events occupy a place in the memory of the nation, but I myself did not witness them . . . I often know such events no better nor in any other manner than I know historical events that occurred before I was born. I carry a load of historical remembrances that I can increase through conversation and reading. But it remains a borrowed memory, not my own. (51)

Although Halbwachs fails to differentiate, on some occasions, between history and historical memory; he characterizes history as a schematic organization of the past into periods that are independent from each other (80-1); as a mere “record of changes” (86). Marie Claire Lavabre clarifies the term: historical memory does not designate what is lived or experienced, neither do remembrances—which would stem from collective memory. Historical memory is the process by which the conflicts and interests of the present operate upon history (Lavabre 43). Thus historical memory indicates:

[L]os usos del pasado y de la historia, tal como se la apropian grupos sociales, partidos, iglesias, naciones o Estados. A las apropiaciones dominantes o dominadas, apropiaciones plurales y selectivas en cualquier sentido, marcadas por el sello del anacronismo, de las similitudes entre el pasado y el presente, de manera que la historia propiamente dicha tenderá, en principio, si no a la unidad, al menos a la crítica de las memorias históricas y al establecimiento de diferencias entre el pasado y el presente. (Lavabre 43)

Therefore, history and historical memory have different purposes. The former attempts a systematic, legible and intellectual reading of the past; whereas the latter is a form of history whose goal is not knowledge, but: “[el] ejemplo, el de la legitimidad, el de la
polémica, el de la conmemoración, el de la identidad, aquello que Nietzsche identificaba como los diferentes usos que se podían hacer de la historia” (Lavabre 44).

The conceptualization of historical memory is more complex in Spanish cultural studies, since it specifically conveys the retrieval of the collective memory of the Civil War and Francoism. The expression “recuperación de la memoria histórica,” designates the socio-political process whose purpose is recuperating the memory of the victims of the war and the dictatorship. The discussion regarding this expression and its purpose has been intense. Conservative sectors of the Spanish society consider it to be an unnecessary reopening of the past that will only generate social tensions; generally invoking the fact that the Transition and democracy closed almost forty years of dictatorship. In addition, the phrase itself is considered contradictory because as Gustavo Bueno states: “si es Historia, no es memoria, y si es memoria, no es Historia” (n. pag.).11

For the Spanish philosopher “memoria histórica” is a spurious concept: “sobre todo cuando él [memoria histórica] pretende tener como referencia el supuesto (metafísico) «archivo indeleble» cuya custodia estaría encomendada al género humano; y que es susceptible de eclipsarse ante los individuos, dotados de una memoria más flaca” (n. pag.). For Bueno it is a pseudo-concept that originated after the years of amnesia imposed by the Transition in an attempt to portray the remembrances of the Spanish Civil War as objective and impartial. However, he notes that this concept is selectively applied to the victims of the Republican side whose mortal remains have not yet been properly buried. It does not include the victims of the Francoist side who were killed by the Republic. Bueno states that it is said—my translation is literal—that they were honored

11 Historian Javier Rodrigo considers the phrase “recuperación de la memoria histórica” as an oxymoron (392).
upon being buried in *El Valle de los Caídos*. To these ideological objections, Bueno attaches criticisms to the concept from a theoretical perspective. He argues that memory can only be a personal experience, thus denying any social dimension to memory.

I agree with Bueno that it is a mistake to consider *memoria histórica* as a universal and indelible archive; however, I cannot agree with the ideological implications of his statements when he equates the victims of the Republican and National side. He fails to note that it is indeed a fact that the victims of the National side were tirelessly honored and remembered during the dictatorship. Of course, this does not imply that these victims should not be remembered, and efforts should be made in order to honor the remains of victims that are still unburied. Loureiro similarly argues that historical memory is not a way of remembering the past but a way to refer to the past and construct it (226). Historical memory emphasizes “the need to come to terms with a past purportedly neglected, and it is therefore primarily a movement geared toward a moral and political restoration, at the expense of a rigorous examination of the past” (227).

Taking a closer look at Loureiro’s argument, one may question: is not any act of remembrance, whether personal or collective, whether from a historical or memorialistic perspective a way to reconstruct the past? As historian Julio Aróstegui indicates, while memory maintains the past alive, history also achieves this goal with “un discurso construido, obligatoriamente factible de contrastación y objetivado o, lo que es lo mismo, sujeto a un método” (31). What Bueno and Loureiro’s arguments miss is that, since the 1978 amnesty closed the possibility of any judicial reparation, the recuperation of historical memory seeks an ethical restoration for the victims of the Civil War and the dictatorship. Thus historical memory recognizes and pays homage to those who
defended the legality of the Second Republic (Ortiz Heras 180). A consideration of the term in light of the definitions of history and memory provided above demonstrates how, in the case of Spain, memory and history are not exclusive because, as I stated previously, the reconstruction of the past implies memory and history. Therefore, despite the problematic nuances of the expression, I prefer to interpret the “recuperation of the historical memory” in a more constructive way.

The word “recuperación” implies agency, an effort to achieve a goal. This relates to Jelin’s idea of “entrepreneurs of memory” whose objectives imply “una elaboración de la memoria en función de un proyecto o emprendimiento, que puede significar la posibilidad de un pasaje hacia una memoria «ejemplar»” (59). Jelin considers that in order to work through trauma, perspective is necessary. This can only be achieved by a younger generation who did not witness the traumatic events (48-51). Therefore the verb to “recuperate” implies that memory is not a mere receptacle of remembrances, and that the act of remembering involves an effort. In the current Spanish debate, the objective is to honor the victims of the war and the dictatorship. Thus the “entrepreneurs of memory” are the generation of the grandchildren who want to understand what happened to their grandparents. The Asociación para la recuperacion de la memoria historica, founded in December 2000 by Eduardo Silva and Santiago Macias, is a good example. The purpose of the association is to compile testimonies of the victims of

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12 In a similar fashion, Aróstegui states: “Quienes exigen su conservación y se lanzan a la «lucha por la memoria» son, muy destacadamente, los portadores mismos de ella. Son los depositarios directamente concernidos por los hechos cuyo recuerdo permanente se reclama, sus beneficiarios o sus víctimas. En manera alguna queremos decir que ello afecte a la legitimidad de los valores reclamados, sino que esa reclamación implica la preeminencia de las pretensiones de retribución ética, identitaria, social, en definitiva, de la memoria sobre la verdad de su contenido. Por ello puede llamarse, justamente, a nuestra época, la del testigo” (30).
Francoism and to exhume and identify the thousands of victims that still lay buried in mass graves.

The expression “recuperación de la memoria histórica” has also been critiqued because it suggests memory lies buried, waiting to be recovered (Labanyi, “Politics,” 122). However, in my interpretation, the term “recuperation” points to a break in the continuation of memory caused by the dictatorship and the Transition. Therefore, it is an attempt to bring back those remembrances. The word history associated with the recuperation of memory would designate the rupture in the transmission of the memory of the victims. As Aróstegui concludes: “Es la memoria histórica, por tanto, el punto real e imprescindible de la convergencia entre las memorias particulares y la historia de vocación universal de la que hablaba Pierre Nora y el punto real entre una y otra realidad no puede establecerlo sino la «memoria histórica»” (27). In sum, historical memory represents an attempt to revise the Transition: “today’s demands to remember the Francoist repression represent an attempt to ‘recover’ (reactivate) the demands for transitional justice that were sidelined at the time” (Labanyi, “Politics,” 122).

After this necessary explanation of terms, I now turn my attention to the concept of collective memory since it is the foundation of the concept of memory that I lay out in this study. One of the difficulties in approaching memory from a sociological standpoint is the lack of a consensual definition of this concept. James Wertsch maintains that the broad meaning of the term, as well as the lack of a solid methodology complicate the discussion: “studies of collective remembering have tended to focus on how memory is

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13 I do not mean a break in a mere chronological sense. I do not consider memory as linear, what I suggest is that since the memory of the vanquished was a repressed and turned into a private issue on some occasions its transmission was stopped.

14 Chirbes considers that: “La memoria histórica pone las bases de un método de justicia. En las sociedades laicas, el concepto de historia viene a ocupar el espacio que deja libre la religión” (229).
part of complex processes such as the negotiation of group identity, and this has led to a view of remembering as contestation and negotiation in social and political spheres. This focus, in turn, has placed issues of accuracy in a secondary position” (123-4). The problem is that, in this case, collective memory is compared to individual remembrance in psychology which heavily relies on accuracy and a strict methodology. However, the scope of these concepts is, as Wertsch points out, quite different. Individual memory can be studied in isolation, accuracy being one of its major variables. Collective memory, on the contrary, is a representation of the past connected to other areas of human experience insofar as it represents a negotiation of identity and the relations of a collectivity to the past.

Memory as a social phenomenon was first studied by Halbwachs, who rejects the idea of a strictly individual memory arguing, that when individuals remember, they do so in relation to different social groups. Although a remembrance may appear to be personal, every recollection is influenced by social frameworks: “The succession of remembrances, of even our most personal ones, is always explained by changes occurring in our relationships to various collective milieus—in short, by the transformations these milieus undergo separately and as a whole” (49). On account of these ideas, Halbwachs has been accused of sociological determinism. Frederic Bartlett emphasizes the determinism that Halbwachs’ assumptions imply, and criticizes the concept maintaining that social groups and collectives do not have any kind of memory (qtd. in Wertsch 118). Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam criticize the concept of collective memory as an abstract notion insufficiently defined by the author. Noa and Elam argue that Halbwachs “rather inclines toward a literary description of how one recollects one’s past experiences, always within
the framework of a certain social group” (37). Collective memory has become a concept that replaces, at the same time, factual history and personal memory. Thus this concept is unnecessary because it is an attempt to substitute the term “myth,” which can, in turn, be identified with “social” or “collective” stereotypes (Gedi and Elam 41-2). Nevertheless, in spite of these critiques, it should be noted that Halbwachs dismisses the existence of a “collective consciousness.” On the contrary he claims that: “While the collective memory endures and draws strength from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who remember” (Halbwachs 48). That is to say, it is individuals who remember, but social groups dictate what will be remembered. For this reason, oblivion appears as a consequence of the weakening of social bonds that helps to rework certain remembrances. Collective memory, asserts Halbwachs, fluctuates and erodes with the passing of group members (82).

Building upon Halbwachs’ theories, Eviatar Zerubavel further develops the importance of society in every individual’s memory, pointing out that what “we ‘remember’ includes more than what we have personally experienced” (“Social” 289). In fact, Zeruvabel explains that many of the recollections we have of events not experienced personally are remembered as part of different mnemonic communities such as the family, organizations, and nations (“Social” 289). Therefore, individuals remember through thought communities that are part of a mnemonic tradition that “includes not only what we come to remember as members of a particular thought community but also

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15 In the book Social Mindscapes Zeruvabel expands this idea: “Given that we are socially situated at unique intersections of rather separate thought communities, our cognitive makeup also tends to be unique. As the networks of my social affiliations become more complex, my memories, for example, inevitably become more individuated and, thus, personal. After all, who else besides me also shares the collective memories of such separates mnemonic communities as Rutgers University, the track world, and my wife’s family?” (18). The author points out that because it is almost impossible to belong to the same mnemonics communities, it is impossible to have the same remembrances. Thus, Zeruvabel expands Halbwachs’ premise that we remember through social memberships but we do so in a personal manner.
how we remember it. After all, much of what we seem to “remember” is actually filtered (and often inevitably distorted) through a process of subsequent interpretation, which affects not only the actual facts we recall but also the particular “light” in which we happen to recall them” (Mindscapes 87).

Zerubavel’s arguments are especially relevant to study the memory of a collectivity, as he clearly states the collective memory of a mnemonic community is not the same as the summation of personal recollections of its individual members, since “it includes only those [remembrances] that are commonly shared by all of them” (Mindscapes 96). That is to say, a collective memory integrates different personal pasts “into [a] single common past that all members of a community come to remember collectively” (Mindscapes 96). For that reason, it is not possible to speak of the collective memory of the Civil War, or the collective memory of Republicans as they encompass different shared experiences depending on the mnemonic communities of the group.

Zerubavel’s arguments are especially relevant to the study of memories in the Spanish context. Franco’s regime imposed an official memory. First, the regime attempted to eliminate dissident memories by killing and incarcerating hundreds of thousands of Spaniards. It also removed the symbols—monuments, archives, names of streets, festivities—that ideologically differed from the regime. Subsequently, it created its own symbols and monuments to impose its official memory upon society. Therefore, the memories of the vanquished endured in different mnemonic communities; for

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16 In the book “Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory” (1994), Iwona Irwin-Zarecka proposes the term “communities of memory.” This concept refers “to the sense on bonding with other solely because of a shred experience, the experience itself would often be of extraordinary if not traumatic quality” (47).

17 Similarly Ricoeur in Memory, History, Forgetting proposes a theory of memory based on personal memory, close relations, and distant others.
instance, within communities of the defeated who stayed in Spain and privately transmitted their experiences to their trusted friends and family; and in the communities of exiles, who transmitted their memories to the younger generations.

Collective memory is, therefore, constructed, shared, and passed on by the different social groups that comprise a society. Thus, a society has as many collective memories as social groups. Memory is in constant evolution; it changes as the relation of an individual to the social frameworks varies: “A remembrance is in very large measure a reconstruction of the past achieved with data borrowed from the present, a reconstruction prepared, furthermore, by reconstructions of earlier periods wherein past images had already been altered” (Halbwachs 69). In sum, collective memory is the account of the past that individuals, as part of a social group, share. It is constructed from the present in an attempt to know and explain the past. Finally, as the relationship with the social groups changes, the remembrances are reworked because, as Yerushalmi remarks, the collective memory is: “el movimiento dual de recepción y trasmisión, que se continúa alternativamente hacia el futuro” (19).18

Benjamin’s proposals regarding the philosophy of history are also central to my research. He proposes that history is the discourse of the victors, whereas memory is the

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18 One of the challenges of dealing with a social perspective of memory is that there are different concepts that, on some occasions, overlap. In addition to collective and historical memory, I also employ in my analysis terms such as official memory and public memory. Claudia Koonz defines official memory as that generated in ceremonies and leader’s addresses (261). In the case of totalitarian regimes I would add that official memory is the discourse sanctioned by the government and, in the case of Spain, it would include the discourse produced by the newsreel NO-DO, and other news outlets because there was a strict censorship of what could be published and broadcast. John Bodnar argues that public memory “emerges from the intersection of official and vernacular memory” (75). Public memory is a “body of beliefs and ideas about the past that help a public or society understand both its past and its present, and by implication, its future” (Bodnar 76). In the effort to connect the past with the present public memory “attempts to mediate the contradictions of a social system: ethnic and national, men and women, young and old, professionals and clients, leaders and followers, soldiers and their commanders” (Bodnar 75). Collective memories may or may not be public. Of course, the fact that they are collective implies that they are shared by a community; however, as Labanyi has pointed out the memories of the vanquished have been private until recent years (“Politics” 119-20).
discourse of the vanquished and is often marginalized. In the endeavor to narrate the progress of mankind, historicism provides an “eternal image of the past,” (“Theses” 262) thus promoting the oblivion of events that are not recollected by universal History. This is the reason why historians should “brush the history against the grain” (257) in order to break the everlasting version of the victors. Benjamin debunks a positivist conception of history because: “to articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it ‘the way it really was’” (“Theses” 255). However, he is not merely criticizing History’s objectivity; rather, he proposes a vision of the past that includes memory and history:

A chronicler who recites events without distinguishing between major and minor ones acts in accordance with the following truth: nothing that has ever happened should be regarded as lost for history. To be sure, only a redeemed mankind receives the fullness of its past, which is to say, only for a redeemed mankind has its past become citable in all its moments. (“Theses” 254)

Therefore, knowing the past implies more than the events recorded by History. This quotation also anticipates the process that Benjamin calls “remembrance.” Memory does not only imply recollection but also redemption. As Spanish historian Manuel Reyes Mate indicates: “La recordación tiene por objeto rescatar del pasado el derecho a la justicia o, si se prefiere, reconocer en el pasado de los vencidos una injusticia todavía

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19 Haitian historian Michel-Rolph Trouillot proposes a similar conceptualization of history. For this scholar, history is a narrative of silences: “the role of the historian is to discover, or at least, approximate the truth. Within that viewpoint, power is unproblematic, irrelevant of the construction of the narrative as such. At best, history is a story about power, a story about those who won” (5). One of Trouillot’s most engaging arguments concerns how one evaluates the role of historical monuments and buildings. He argues that these monuments may be silencing part of history. Hence, they should be re-examined to reveal how history is produced. To that effect, he analyzes the palace of Sans-Souci in Haiti. Colonel Jean Baptiste Sans Souci was an African ex-slave who became a popular leader in the early stages of the revolution. King Henry Christophe, also a former slave who would become the King after the revolution, killed Sans Souci (44). Christophe later built the palace where Sans Souci was killed and named the palace after him. This act silenced Colonel Sans Souci’s memory because Europeans believed that the name was taken from the palace of the same name of Frederick the Great in Postdam, Germany (44). Trouillot argues that: “Almost every mention of Sans Souci, the palace, the very resilience of the physical structure itself, effectively silences Sans Souci, the man, his political goals, his military genius” (48). This example portrays how monuments not only elevate the memories of those commemorated but they also silence the history and memory of the vanquished.
vigente, es decir, leer los proyectos frustrados de los que está sembrada la historia no como costos del progreso sino como injusticias pendientes” (Reyes Mate, Medianoche 25). In other words, history records the past, whereas memory is concerned with the currency of the preterit (Reyes Mate, “Historia,” 19-20). This is why memory can keep injustices alive. Thus Benjamin advocates for a reconstruction of history that transcends victors and vanquished (Reyes Mate, Medianoche 133). This is particularly relevant in the Spanish context where, although the official Francoist historiography has been refuted, an agreement on how to remember that past has not been reached.

While Benjamin’s proposals and the concept of collective memory will be especially useful to analyze how the cultural artifacts examined in my study conceptualize the notion of memory; my main contribution will be in addressing the relationship between memory and urban space. Halbwachs asserts that every collective remembrance takes place in a spatial frame (140), thus emphasizing the importance of spatial images in the collective memory to the extent that “when we reach that period when we are unable to represent places to ourselves, even in a confused manner, we have arrived at the regions of our past inaccessible to memory” (157). Halbwachs indicates that without a remembrance of the space it is not possible to remember an event. In spite of the significance of this idea, the following quotation lays out Halbwachs’ most important contribution for the purpose of my research:

The place a group occupies is not like a blackboard, where one may write and erase figures at will . . . The board could not care less what has been written on it before, and new figures may be freely added. But place and group have each received the imprint of the other. Each aspect, each detail of this place has a meaning intelligible only to members of the group, for each portion of its space corresponds to various and different aspects of the structure and life of their society, at least of what is most stable in it. (130)
After being erased, the inscription on a blackboard does not leave any mark, whereas modifications on urban space—whether urban expansion, urban regeneration, or a traumatic event such as war—do leave a trace that can be read. This is the idea of the city as a palimpsest. Nonetheless, Halbwachs stresses that “place and group have each received the imprint,” an idea that, in my opinion, emphasizes that the memories of a city are constructed not only by the physical city—building, streets, and monuments—but also by the citizens’ experiences in relation to the urban space. Connecting the argument that there are as many collective memories as social groups, Halbwachs, points out that “there are as many ways of representing space as there are groups” (156). I will, nonetheless, disagree with the notion that “the group has no impression of change as long as the streets and buildings remain the same” (131). It seems that Halbwachs was not considering the urban experiences of individuals and how they may change their interpretation of the urban space.

It is at the intersection of memory and the experience of the city that my dissertation merges urban and memory studies from a theoretical perspective. As early as 1960, Kevin Lynch expressed in the *Image of the City* how individuals experience the urban fragmentarily, and how the mental image of a city is constructed not only upon the environment, but also upon past experiences (1). Although the study refers only to morphological aspects of urban space, there exist some connections with memory as it proposes that the image is created in a bilateral process among the observant and the *milieu*. Furthermore, the image of a city is formed by each inhabitant’s unique individual images, which, nonetheless, resemble the public image (86). Lefebvre’s seminal work *The Production of Space* (1974) offers insight into how urban space exemplifies the
ideology and means of productions of any given society. Since space is a social product, the production of space is a means of control and domination imposed by hegemonic classes (26). Therefore, the productions of space influence political and social practices (41), and, I would add, memory and its construction. For that reason, space alienates individuals because “producers of space have always acted in accordance with a representation, while the ‘users’ passively experience whatever was imposed on them” (43).

More relevant for the purposes of my project are the works of de Certeau and Jameson, whose proposals underlie the urban experience. For de Certeau the city is a text (92), that walkers write as they experience the city (93). Walking in the city, changing routes, or taking shortcuts are tactics that break the urban planners’ design. In spite of the walker’s lack of awareness, s/he is creating new meanings in space, contributing to the text. Thus walking in the city signifies creating space, because “spatial practices in fact secretly structure the determining conditions of social life” (97). For instance, walking in the city is essential for Hans, the protagonist of Martin Patino’s Madrid. As he wanders through Madrid and experiences the city the new texts that he creates allows him, not only to understand the idiosyncrasies of present day Madrid, but also to develop a better knowledge of the city’s histories and memories.

Jameson coins the term “cognitive mapping” in order to understand how urban space’s fragmentation alienates individual city dwellers. He contends that: “Disalienation in the traditional city . . . involves the practical reconquest of a sense of place, and the construction or reconstruction of an articulated ensemble which can be

20 De Certeau proposes two main opposing concepts in this study. “Strategy” is the power relationship established in a space by a dominating force. “Tactic,” on the contrary, is the way that an individual can subvert the strategy. It is an action without a proper locus. (35-37)
retained in memory and which the individual subject can map and remap along the moments of mobile, alternative trajectories” (89). Therefore, this notion allows for a more abstract representation of the city, inasmuch as: “cognitive mapping in the broader sense comes to require the coordination of existential data (the empirical position of the subject) with unlived, abstract conceptions of the geographic totality” (90). Although physical space is part of the concept of “cognitive mapping,” Jameson includes social space as well. However, I contend that a cognitive map should include other elements too, such as a history, memories, and the emotional relationship of individuals and collectivities with the city. These factors are the result of the dual relationship between the inhabitants experiencing the urban space and the physical space of the city.

I propose that to comprehend a city—and I mean both to understand and to encompass it mentally—one must know and understand its collective memories and history in addition to creating a cognitive map. Thus, I coin the term “mnemonic collective map” to read the cultural artifacts I analyze in my dissertation and to describe the multilayered, mental map individuals create of a city. This notion highlights the importance of collective memories in order to apprehend and understand the city’s urban space, as well as the importance of urban space in the creation and transmission of memories. In this manner, mnemonic collective map stresses the reciprocal processes by which the experience of the city constructs or reinterprets memories, at the same time that the transmission of memories generates space; not a physical space, but a mental image or a representation of a given space that influences how actual places are experienced and interpreted by city-dwellers.
This introduction has laid out the purpose and theoretical framework of the study. The first chapter, “Monumental Oblivion: Urban Regeneration, Monuments, and Memory Policies in Democratic Madrid,” analyzes the urban development of Madrid since the end of the Civil War to the early 2000s. The study of the main urban plans of the dictatorship and early democracy outlines how, in spite of the early efforts after the war, capitalism and urban speculation shaped the physical and social structure of the capital. This chapter also interprets the area of Nuevos Ministerios and the statue of Franco as “texts” representative of the politics of memory in Madrid and, by extension, in Spain during the democracy. Located in front of the Nuevos Ministerios, a prominent ministerial building complex, a statue of Franco remained immune to all political changes affecting Spain since the end of the dictatorship until a recent controversy, when the Department of Public Works surreptitiously removed it during the night of March 17th 2005, with the excuse of having to conduct renovations in the square. I argue that the debate surrounding the removal demonstrates Spanish democracy’s inability to implement a consensual politics of memory in order to publicly debate the Civil War, the dictatorship, and their effects on the civilian population.

In the second chapter, “From The Archive to The City: (Re)constructing Madrid’s Past in Basilio Martín Patino’s Madrid (1987)” I examine how Patino’s film proposes a dialectical relationship between memory and history to achieve a deeper reconstruction and representation of the past. The protagonist, Hans, starts his documentary film on the city of Madrid with a historiographical approach, but later he adopts a methodology that highlights the relevance of collective memories in the reconstruction of what the city has been and is. In this process, Hans’ affective relationship to the city proves essential: As
he experiences the urban milieu, its collective past becomes more comprehensible. Likewise, as he comprehends the past of the city he is able to understand better the idiosyncrasies of present-day Madrid.

The final chapter, “Urban Space and Mediated Affective memories in El corazón helado (2007), by Almudena Grandes,” explores the generational division of the diegesis and the significance of urban space and affect in the transmission and maintenance of the past. Ignacio Fernández, who is exiled in Paris, proactively remembers Madrid, because the stable image of the city allows him to remember his past and maintain his identity. On the contrary, for his son these remembrances preconfigure his image of the urban space and for that reason he can locate himself in Madrid when he first visits as a teenager. Thus, the interrelation between the generations exposes how mnemonic collective maps are a symbiotic process: urban space creates memory, and memory produces an image of the city that the experience of Madrid completes.
Chapter 1: Monumental Oblivion: Urban Regeneration, Monuments, and Memory Policies in Madrid from the Civil War to the Present Day

Thirty years after the death of Franco in 1975, monuments and symbols representing him and the regime were still part of Madrid’s urban landscape. Located in front of the Nuevos Ministerios, a prominent ministerial building complex, an equestrian statue of Franco remained immune to all political changes affecting Spain since the end of the dictatorship. It was not until the night of March 17, 2005 that the Department of Public Works surreptitiously removed it, giving the excuse of having to conduct renovations in the square. Progressives and conservatives criticized this action equally. The left applauded its removal but were critical of its secrecy. In contrast, the right wing claimed that its removal was unnecessary and that it constituted an attack not only on Franco’s character but also on Spanish history. The Fundación Francisco Franco appealed the decision to the Ministry and won in March 2009. Although the court ruled the removal illegal, it rejected the Foundation’s petition to restore the statue on the grounds that it did not serve any practical purpose.

This chapter analyzes the area of Nuevos Ministerios and the statue as representative of the politics of memory since the Francoist dictatorship to present day. The first part of this chapter examines the urban development of Madrid since the Civil War to the late 1990s, focusing on three important moments of Madrid’s history and their respective urban plans. The first moment considers the post-ward period, which was influenced by the desires of the regime to establish a new concept of Spanishness, in which urban planning and architecture played a relevant role. The second period encompasses the 1950s and 1960s, which represent the definite establishment of
capitalism and the modernization of Madrid. During the mid-fifties the capital rapidly changes and becomes a disorganized city due to internal immigration from rural areas. This causes the proliferation of shantytowns and cheap housing in the periphery. The end of this stage is the Plan general de ordenación urbana del área metropolitana de Madrid (1961) which reveals how urban policies were trailing the development of the city. The third period I analyze is the Transition and the early years of democracy. The new democratic Socialist government tries to alleviate the deficiencies of the periphery at the same time that it attempts to solve the problem of urban speculation, with little or no success. In the second part of the chapter I propose that the urban policies portray how memory is considered in each of these periods. Whereas Franco’s regime employed urban space to legitimize his government by erecting memorials and monuments, during the 1980s the PSOE’s policies endorsed the pact of silence of the Transition by omitting references to the material legacy of Francoism and by avoiding any explicit reference to the Second Republic. Finally, the removal of the statue of Franco in Nuevos Ministerios and the debate surrounding its removal demonstrate Spanish democracy’s inability to implement a consensual politics of memory in order to publicly discuss the Civil War, the dictatorship, and their effects on the civilian population.

Before analyzing the urban development of Madrid, it is important to briefly recapitulate the role of Madrid during the Civil War, as it will shape the future of the city under Francoism. As I develop below, the long siege of Madrid during the Civil War became the symbol of the resistance against Fascism within and outside Spain. For this reason, the capital later became the setting for numerous documentaries, feature films, and novels. Classic novels such as La Colmena by Cela, and Tiempo de Silencio by
Martín Santos portray how Madrid changed from a city in which intellectual life prospered during the Second Republic and the previous decades into a city in which social liberties almost disappeared and social differences accentuated during the post-war period. The social realism of La Colmena depicts Madrid’s alienated society due to the tight social control of Francoism and the economic hardships of the 1940s. In Luis Martín Santos narration, the misery of the shantytowns in the outskirts of Madrid is the backdrop for the intellectual and human misery of the city. Both Grandes’ novel and Patino’s film are part of the series of novels and films that pay homage to Madrid at the same time that they denounce how the city was stripped off its castizo identity in order to portray the city as a symbol of the central power of the dictatorship.

Due to its geographical and political importance Madrid was the primary military objective of the rebels since they believed controlling the capital would imply the definite defeat of the Republic. The advance towards Madrid from the north and especially from the south was rapid, and at the beginning of October 1936 rebel troops arrived at the borders of Madrid. This swift progress ignited optimism amongst the national military commands to the point that “the plan was for the nationalist forces to enter the capital on 12 October, the day of the Feast of the Spanish Race” (Beevor 167). This would symbolically represent the emergence of a pure Spain coinciding with the anniversary of Christopher Columbus’ arrival to America. Nonetheless, Franco’s decision to divert troops to liberate the Alcázar de Toledo frustrated this plan.21

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21 This battle became one of the central myths of the imaginary of the dictatorship. Historian Reig Tapia maintains that Franco decided to liberate this fortress because it symbolizes the spiritual values of National Spain: “El asedio del Alcázar de Toledo es uno de los mitos más caros, si no el mito por antonomasia, del franquismo. Las razones de semejante mitologización son fáciles de entender. El Alcázar es un trozo de Historia de España; sus muros han sido protagonistas de importantes acontecimientos y han formado parte de un conjunto arquitectónico que ha sido fortaleza, palacio, cárcel, academia militar, museo…” (Memoria 154).
This decision turned out to be essential for the defense of Madrid as it allowed the city to receive arms and military equipment from the USSR and the arrival of the International Brigades (Preston 179). On November 1st general José Valera reaches the outskirts of Madrid with an army of 25,000 soldiers with the objective of breaking the Republican lines in the Casa de Campo and the Ciudad Universitaria (Preston 174). The Republican government, owing to the impossibility of stopping the better trained troops in their advance towards Madrid, decided to evacuate all the members of the government to Valencia. The government appointed General José Miaja to create the Junta de Defensa de Madrid. The evacuation demonstrates that the government did not expect to retain Madrid for long.

The Francoist plan to take Madrid involved a double attack. The first column would cross the Manzanares River through the Puente de los Franceses, advance through the Ciudad Universitaria and descend down the Castellana Avenue. The second would attack the Parque del Oeste and attempt to penetrate through Plaza de España (Alpert 133-4). Equally important was taking positions in the Casa de Campo and Cerro Garabitas to bombard the city (Alpert 134). Once again, fortune was on the Republican side when, the day before the attack, a nationalist captain was captured with the plan of the attack (Montoliú, Madrid en la guerra 199). The Junta de Defensa believed that the main attack would take place in the area of Carabanchel, but now knowing that this was a distraction, Miaja moved the troops to the Casa de Campo to repel the rebel forces (Beevor 177). In spite of the initial defeat, the nationalist troops under the command of General Varela made some progress in the following days, and the fronts stabilized at the Casa de Campo and at the Ciudad Universitaria. The fatigue of the national troops along
with the impossibility of breaking the Republican lines ended the battle of Madrid (Preston 198).

In the last week of November the rebels controlled most of the Casa de Campo, and made notable progress in the Ciudad Universitaria where they controlled “la Escuela de Arquitectura, los campos de deportes, la Casa de Velázquez, la Escuela de Ingenieros Agrónomos, la granja de Castilla la Nueva y el palacio de la Moncloa” (Montoliú, Madrid en la guerra 210). The Republican forces were able to maintain control of the schools of Law, Philosophy and Letters, and Medicine. These buildings were, for almost two years, the first line of defense of Madrid (Montoliú, Madrid en la guerra 210). In addition, the Republicans controlled the Parque del Oeste and the accesses to Plaza de España. Therefore, the southwest area of the city resisted until the end of the war with the rebels troops minutes from the downtown area of the capital. This fact illustrates the resistance of the militia against the well-trained rebel army that included columns of Arab mercenaries.

This was the first and most important defeat of Franco’s army and the beginning of the legend of Madrid as the resistance against Fascism. From this moment on the strategies of both sides changed: “no sería un conflicto de rápidos movimientos envolventes, sino de batallas a gran escala, de maniobras tácticas para alcanzar objetivos estratégicos, en las que unos cuantos centenares de metros de terreno tendrían significado y cuyo modelo sería la guerra de 1914-1918” (Alpert 136). The end of November of 1936 also marked the beginning of an almost two year siege of the capital with continuous bombing of civilian targets: “for the first time in history, a capital city came under intense air as well as artillery bombardment. All residential areas except the
fashionable Salamanca district were bombed in an attempt to break the morale of the civilian population” (Beevor 181).

The Civil War is the first conflict in which aerial bombings were systematically used, and there is evidence to suggest that one of the purposes was to terrorize the civilian population and punish the city because it was perceived as the nest of Communism (Muñoz-Rojas 163). The fact that the areas of the Ciudad Universitaria, Argüelles and Moncloa were the most affected testifies to the fact that they were the main fronts of the Battle for Madrid. However, the nationalist side did not respect buildings due to architectonical or historical interest and they bombarded “the Prado, the Museo Antropológico, the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, the Biblioteca Nacional, the Museo de Arte Moderno, the Museo Arqueológico and the Archivo Histórico Nacional, as well as various hospitals: the Clinic of San Carlos, the Hospital Provincial and the Hospital de la Cruz Roja” (Beevor 181). Another area that was severely punished by the rebels was the Gran Vía, which they interpreted as the “referente «supercapitalista y supersocial»” (Rueda Laffond, “Desarrollo,” 596) and, therefore, against the ideology of the Falange. This shows how the goal was to demoralize Madrilenians not only by the casualties but also by destroying some of the most iconic spaces of the capital. It should also be noted that the historic area of the Madrid of the Hapsburgs, an area that Falangist perceived as the traditional and pure part of Madrid did not suffer important damages.

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22 In El corazón helado the Gran Vía, along with the Castellana Avenue, are spaces that portray the physical and social transformation of Madrid during the dictatorship. Since the early fifties a process of terciarization was imposed upon these areas and families who had lived there for generations. The area was abandoned to the increase in the cost of living. I expand the analysis of these urban transformations later in this chapter and also in the third chapter that analyzes Grandes’ novel.
The Salamanca district was not bombarded because it was—and still is—the bourgeois area of the city par excellence and, consequently, the area of the city with a larger concentration of supporters of Franco. The name of the neighborhood honors José María de Salamanca y Mayol (1811-83) first marquis of Salamanca and deemed the first Spanish real-estate businessman (Navascués Palacio 422). This district has its origin in the Plan Castro (1860) that expanded the city in the North, East and South. Carlos María de Castro, architect and chair of the commission, proposed distributing the areas according to social classes: “dejando para las clases menos favorecidas el sur de Madrid y reservando el Norte, mejor equipado y con mayor desahogo, para la aristocracia en torno a la Castellana, y situando a la burguesía en lo que llegaría a ser el Barrio de Salamanca” (Navascués Palacio 421). The Plan Castro left an indelible influence in the future Madrid as it shaped the social division of the city that persists to this day. In turn, as I analyze in the third chapter, an apartment in this district is a central element in El corazón, and is part of the criticism of urban speculation in the last decades in Madrid.

Madrid functions as a symbol of the resistance against Fascism not only because of its military resistance. As a result of the bombings Madrid was chaotic: “los madrileños debían refugiarse cada poco tiempo en el Metro o en los portales en medio del ruido de las explosiones y de las sirenas de ambulancias y bomberos” (Montoliú, Madrid en la guerra 221). Nonetheless, Madrid maintained, within its possibilities, its everyday activities: “no se interrumpieron los espectáculos públicos, ni siquiera en los locales que se hallaban próximos al frente de combate o bajo el fuego de los cañones; . . . los escolares no dejaban de acudir a las aulas, ni los niños dejaron de jugar al sol, en las
It is worth underscoring that cultural productions did not stop. For instance, Rafael Alberti adapted Cervantes’ play *El cerco de Numancia*. Alberti strove to equate “the Iberian city of Numancia’s legendary resistance to a Roman imperialist General to Madrid’s resistance to international fascism” (Viejo-Rose 34).

The symbolism of Madrid influences Patino and Grandes’ work. As I argue in my analysis of Patino’s film, one of the interpretations of *Madrid* is as an homage to the city’s resistance during the war. Grandes acknowledges how she repudiates the image of Madrid as the capital of Francoism:

> Ninguna ciudad resistió tanto, dio todo lo que tenía y en pocos días pasó de ser símbolo mundial contra el fascismo a ser la capital del único fascismo gobernante. Con el tiempo de ha consolidado esa imagen de un Madrid franquista, complaciente, hasta el punto de que ahora parece imposible que en 1939 se le quitara la capitalidad por ser la ciudad roja, la ciudad maldita y traidora. Todo ese mito se ha perdido y me interesaba mucho recuperarlo porque tiene que ver con mi propia vida. (qtd. in Martín Gijón 177)

*El corazón* encompasses the evolution of Madrid from a few months before the Civil War to present day Madrid. Using the image of the city as the tomb of Fascism, the narration metonymically describes the city’s active resistance during the war: “Pero aquella cálida tarde del 37, Madrid todavía era la tumba del fascismo, y sus habitantes sus orgullosos héroes que se bastaban solos para compartir hambre, ruinas, bombardeos y lo que venga” (Grandes 221). Battleground of one of the most important battles in the early months of

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23 This climate of oppression and anguish is masterfully recreated in the film *Las bicicletas son para el verano* (1984) directed by Jaime Chávarri. The movie, an homage to the Madrid of “They shall not past,” portrays the traumatic consequences of the Civil War in its physical space and its inhabitants through the story of a Madrilenian family and their neighbors. Madrid changes from a lively city into an oppressive space. Especially relevant are the scenes of the bombing of Madrid. Interestingly, the bombings are never part of the mise-en-scène and the narration focuses on the characters taking refuge in the basement.

the Civil War and under a two-year long siege Madrid became the icon of “they shall not pass.”

In the end, the rebels passed. Internal dissensions in the Republican government accelerated the end of the war. On March 5, 1939 Colonel Segismundo Casado rebelled against the Republican government because of the influence the Communist Party had achieved in the last months of the war (Esenwein 412). A week later, the Nationalists broke the lines of defense of the city. The new government sought to negotiate peace with Franco, however the latter’s conditions “were those of a conqueror” (Beevor 390). The rebels took Madrid on March 27, 1939, and four days later the war ended.

Franco saw himself as the new Emperor of Spain, and he treated Madrid as a foreign city that was conquered. Madrilenian journalist and essayist Eduardo Haro Tecglen, who experienced the war as a teenager, equates the taking of Madrid by the rebel forces to an invasion by a foreign army:

Los nuevos dueños de Madrid venían a utilizar la ciudad: a derribar sus viejas casas, a imponer otra forma de cultura y de civilización, a especular con sus terrenos, sus transportes, sus suministros; los que se instalaban no traían ya aquella antigua necesidad de imitación o de asimilación de los que llegaban antes, porque no aceptaron nunca la esencia de Madrid. Era una ciudad enemiga que se ocupaba. (245)

This is not the kind of language used in a Civil War in which both sides share similar cultural values. Haro Tecglen states that Franco wanted to impose a new culture similar to the way in which the Roman Empire acculturated the regions that they subjugated. As I develop below, Madrid and its inhabitants would dearly pay the two year long

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25 According to Beevor Franco said that: “Nationalist Spain demanded unconditional surrender, offering pardon for those which had been ‘tricked into fighting’. . . After vague promises of humanitarian treatment, the letter finished with a clear threat: ‘Delay in surrender and a criminal and futile resistance to our advance will carry a grave responsibility, which we will exact on the grounds of the blood spilled uselessly’” (Beevor 390).
resistance: “los vencedores traían nuevos dioses, nuevos idolos, nuevos lenguajes (parecía el mismo castellano, pero era otro muy distinto), otros conceptos de la historia, de la estética, de las relaciones humanas, de las costumbres de la sociedad” (Haro Tecglen 259). These words explain how Madrid would suffer through the dictatorship, not only physically through urban transformations, but also through the partial erasure of its identity features.

Although the Nationalists seized Madrid, controlling the city was still their main challenge. The Nationalists perceived the capital as politically tainted because it represented the symbol of the resistance against Fascism, and it also embodied a long tradition of liberalism. Hence, Franco considered stripping Madrid of its status as the nation’s capital (Terán, Madrid 255). Once this idea was rejected, the regime focused on creating an Imperial Madrid that would represent the New Spain envisioned by Franco and the Falange. Even before the end of the war there were plans to initiate the reconstruction of Spain. The Plan Nacional de Ordenación y Reconstrucción “preconizaba la restauración del «ambiente tradicional» y la «mejora de la raza»” (qtd. in Terán, Historia 229). The national reconstruction implied a hierarchical organization of urban space in favor of national unity. Cities and regions “han de responder a programas definidos por el Estado, dejando de ser piezas de un rompecabezas nacional con libertad de actividades, para pasar a constituir órganos precisos con funciones determinadas al servicio de una causa suprema: La Misión Nacional” (qtd. in Terán, Historia 229). The plan advocated for the suppression of historical nationalities and the federal organization of Spain that the Second Republic implemented with the Estatuto de Autonomía de Cataluña in 1932, and of the País Vasco in 1936. In addition to the application of new
urban planning, Franco believed that by imposing a “unique architectural vision of Spanishness, he could bind the disparate regionalist and separatist factions within Spain” (Dent Coad 223). Ernesto Giménez Caballero, one of the ideologues of the *Falange*, wanted to strip Madrid of “el aspecto cochambroso, zarzuelero y popular de sus barrios pintorescos” (Bonnet Correa, “Espacios,” 19-20). The head of the centralism of the state had to be Madrid, and the Capital of the New Spain had to be a city in accordance with the New Empire.

Architect Luis Pérez Mínguez in his lecture “Madrid, capital imperial” (1939), states that Felipe II achieved the perfect urban organization of the capital. Thus, the return to this model would provide Madrid with: “unidad absoluta de mando y organización jerárquica de los organismos ciudadanos” (qtd. in Diéguez Patao, *Nuevo* 10). The early projects advocated for a return to the years of the Empire from the point of view of an aesthetic and a hierarchical organization of space. The reasons for Madrid remaining the capital of Spain are not clear. Viejo-Rose argues that it was important to the regime to maintain “the regime’s values of centre, unity and glorification of Castile as the most authentic region” (92). I argue that moving the capital to another city would have implied a defeat for the new regime, suggesting its incapability to tame the largest “red” city of Spain. For this reason Madrid had to be purified and turned into the symbol of the New Spain. Paradoxically, maintaining the rank of capital punished the city, as it became the symbol of centralism and state repression during the dictatorship. As Manuel Castells indicates, Madrid “was the first victim of centralism,” adding that for the “following 40 years the central government appointed a dictatorial mayor to concentrate
all power on its behalf. Local cultures and popular traditions were deliberately exterminated” (287).

Changing the cultural image of Madrid was as important as the reconstruction of the city. Shortly after the end of the war, Alberto Alcocer, the appointed mayor of the capital, describes Madrid as a martyr city “victima de los malvados sin Dios ni patria, que tiene que volver a convertirse en el Madrid acogedor y alegre de antes, cuna y orgullo de España” (qtd. in Diéguez Patao, Nuevo 34). The same rhetoric that equated the Civil War with a crusade to liberate Spain from Marxist hordes is deployed to purify the capital of the state. Madrid works as a metonymy that encompasses its inhabitants as much as its space.26 Madrilenians will be purged of communists, socialists, atheists, and anyone who does not agree with the values of authority, hierarchy, and order. The city, on the other hand, will become the arena where the value of unity and centralism will be staged and enforced. The importance of this endeavor is superlative as Madrid represented the head of the new regime and, as such, needed to be transformed into the symbol of the New Spain of Franco.

If the fallen of the national side were regarded as martyrs of the crusade, the ruins started to represent the urban space as “victim” of the war. Thus, ruins acquired a symbolic value representing the cathartic emergence of Spain after the liberation of Franco. Agustín de Foxá stated in the Falangist magazine Vértice that:

[n]ecesitamos ruinas recientes, cenizas nuevas, frescos despojos; eran precisos el ábside quebrado, el carbón en la viga y la vidriera rota ... Benditas las ruinas porque en ellas están la fe y el odio, y la pasión y el entusiasmo, y la lucha, y el alma de los hombres ... España, varonil, desvelada, inesperada, tiende sobre la

26 The discourse of the rebels characterized their rebellion as a Crusade to liberate Spain “with all the historical connotations of medieval Reconquest and Renaissance Empire that this Word implied. This reference entailed a specific set of values by which the adversary was depicted as the antithesis of the Spanish raza—race—despite being Spanish” (Viejo-Rose 35).
Foxá does not characterize the devastation as a catastrophe but as an opportunity for a new virile Spain to emerge purified through the reconstructed cities and new architecture. An example of the symbolic meaning of the ruins is the city of Belchite in Aragón. The city was completely destroyed during the Battle of Aragon in 1937 and after the war Franco ordered the ruins to be left untouched and to build a new town in close proximity.⁴⁷ On other occasions, “symbolic elements were left in ruins as monuments to the crimes of the ‘other’” (Viejo-Rose 85), such as the Cuartel de la Montaña.⁴⁸

The continuous bombings reduced to ruins some parts of Madrid, especially the western part of the city: the Parque del Oeste, the Casa de Campo, the Ciudad Universitaria, and the Dehesa de la Villa (Terán, Madrid 255). The “Consejo del Gran Madrid,” organization in charge of delineating the guidelines for the reconstruction of Madrid, suggested in the Plan general de ordenación, reconstrucción y extensión de Madrid (1939) that it would be more beneficial to tear down some downtown areas that were partially destroyed during the war in order to create wider avenues:

Si estas averías en las edificaciones comprendidas entre las calles del Carmen y Preciados fueran de gran importancia, merecería la pena de suprimirlas totalmente, convirtiendo ambas calles en una amplia avenida con grandes aceras, para dar paso al caudal circulatorio de peatones que el carácter comercial de la misma determinaría. La estética urbana ganaría extraordinariamente, ofreciendo una inmejorable perspectiva de los edificios modernos que no tardarían en levantarse en lo que es el actual Ministerio de la Gobernación y construcciones inmediatas. (Paz Maroto 52)

⁴⁷ As Lluís Doménech explains: “En la obtención de la prioridad de reconstrucción cuentan evidentemente los méritos de guerra y así las ciudades que han protagonizado heroicas batallas o hechos militares significativos obtienen los favores del Régimen aun cuando no signifiquen ninguna pieza básica en la estrategia de rehacer la Nación: Brunete, Belchite y Guernica ejemplifican lo dicho” (19-20).
⁴⁸ I analyze this space in detail in the second chapter.
It appears that new regime also interpreted the ruin as an opportunity to alter the morphology of the city to develop an Imperial Madrid, a new grandiose city similar to the *Welthauptstadt Germania* (World Capital Germania) planned by Adolf Hitler. At the same time it suggests that the reconstruction of Madrid is an opportunity for capitalist profit and new commerce with the creation of wider pedestrian area with new businesses.

An organization constituted in 1939 to oversee the rebuilding of Madrid, the *Junta de Reconstrucción* proposed to “levantar de esas ruinas la capital de un imperio, capaz de alzarse como exponente de la grandeza histórica que iba a resurgir, gracias a la renovación espiritual que suponía la llegada del nuevo orden que iba a implantar el nuevo Estado nacionalsindicalista” (Terán, *Historia* 238). The main project was the so-called “ciudad falangista” en la que “además de un orden monumental y simbólico de grandiosos edificios oficiales, existirían barrios de alegres y claras viviendas sociales, que proclamarían a todos los vientos el profundo sentido de justicia del Régimen, a la vez que impedirían las subversiones” (Bonnet Correa, “Espacios,” 14). Rueda Laffond suggests the close relationship between the traditional architectural aesthetics and “los mensajes retóricos de pureza ideológica ganada [by Francoism] en 1939” (Rueda Laffond, “Desarrollo,” 595).

Falangist architect Antonio Palacios suggests the most eccentric plan, imagining a new city that would eliminate some of the most emblematic places of Madrid in accordance with the megalomaniac vision of the regime:

Madrid debía ser sometido a una radical intervención quirúrgica que arrasara la Puerta del Sol y sus contornos para elevar allí una «sinfonía heroica» de quince

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29 Albert Speer was the main architect behind this project. The aim was to renovate Berlin with the creation of a east-west city axis, inspired by the Champs-Élysées in Paris, but that tripled its dimensions with 5 kilometers long by 120 meters wide. The avenue would host the regime’s celebrations with a 117 meter triumphal arch presiding the enormous avenue. (Rábanos Faci 278).
millones de metros cúbicos de edificaciones monumentales, complementadas con una vía elíptica y con intervenciones imperiales de la envergadura de la Gran Vía Área, una calzada de 85 metros de ancho que discurría desde el cerro de Garabitas a la montaña del Príncipe Pío, salvando el río Manzanares pivotada sobre cuatro soportes capaces de alojar cada uno a cien mil personas. (Juliá, “Madrid,” 433)

The ideologists of the Falange were more concerned with the design of a grandiose space filled with monuments and official buildings than to alleviate the miseries of the population. Although these colossal edifications and boulevards never came to fruition, the first urban plan of the dictatorship, the Plan general de ordenación de Madrid (also known as Plan Bigador)—presented in 1941 and approved in 1946 and commissioned to the Junta de Reconstrucción de Madrid under the direction of architect Pedro Bigador—did include a detailed blueprint of the areas and buildings that would be part of the new Imperial Madrid.

The plan emphasizes the symbolic and political importance of Madrid as capital of Spain, a status that entails three different urban functions: “I. Organización eficaz de la Dirección Política y Económica de la Nación. II. Exaltación de los valores tradicionales que nos unen espiritualmente a nuestro pasado histórico. III. Representación simbólica material de la realidad, la fuerza y la misión de España” (Bigador n. pag.). The plan encourages the revalorization of the seventeenth century Imperial façade, with the construction of the main political and representative buildings in the Manzanares River Valley. This symbolizes a location that “reúne el paisaje típico velazqueño de la sierra madrileña, la belleza de las luces del poniente, el prestigio histórico de los recintos antiguos con el recuerdo de la primera Reconquista, la tradición imperial de esta fachada, la emoción de la lucha y la victoria de la Segunda Reconquista” (n. pag). As Sofía Diéguez-Patao indicates, this geographic location was chosen to encompass the three
buildings representing the ideological foundations of Francoism: The Alcázar, the Cathedral, and what would be the headquarters of Falange. The latter would be erected in the symbolical space of the Cuartel de la Montaña. These three buildings symbolize the patria (fatherland), religion, and hierarchy respectively (Diéguez Patao, “Arquitectura,” 66).

The importance of this area goes beyond its geographical location. It also represents some of the traditional architecture of Spain. Architecture was a political activity and, in turn, the Dirección General de Arquitectura was part of the Ministerio de Gobernación (Llorente 68). The New Regime pursues: “una «arquitectura nacional» que representara el triunfo del «orden nuevo» sobre el liberalismo, que expresara la concepción del estado de los vencedores” (Capitel 9). Since the ideology, or at least the rhetoric of the first years of the post-war period, looks back to the reign of Felipe II, it was logical that the style chosen also dated back to this epoch. The idea was that recovering this style would infuse “the city with the spirit of command, austerity and deep religious faith which had purportedly characterized Spain’s imperial rule under the Hapsburgs” (Muñoz-Rojas 58). Juan de Herrera, planner of El Escorial, and to a lesser extent the neoclassical style of Juan de Villanueva, who designed the Prado Museum, were the models that better fit the Falangist aesthetic. The Monastery of El Escorial (Fig. 1) was envisioned by Felipe II as the center of the Spanish Empire and it was presented by Francoism “as a product of the Renaissance and, hence, indirectly of Greece and Rome” (Muñoz-Rojas 35). Aesthetically it represented “la pureza ortogonal de sus líneas como propias de la virilidad, reciedumbre, ascetismo y voluntad de orden de la Falange—y por extensión del régimen” (Llorente 80). In other words, El Escorial
embodied the values of Francoism: “reflejo del orden, la autoridad, la seguridad y el nacionalismo” (Portela Sandoval 338).

The search for a national architecture and aesthetic was so deep that even what building materials were representative of the Spanish spirit were discussed. For Giménez Caballero, cement was not acceptable because it “‘crushed all hierarchy’, and considered brick to be communist for being ‘cubist, naked, egalitarian, red, cellular’ (cited by Bonet Correa 1996: 152)” (Viejo-Rose 52). In hindsight, this debate conveys how fascist ideologies quickly gave way to the ideology of capital, as concrete was the building material chosen for the cheap housing for the underdeveloped areas of the periphery during the 1950s and 1960s.

The Ministerio del Aire (Fig. 2) is the best example of the historicist Spanish architectonic style. It is also the only building projected for the Manzanares façade that was erected. In 1944 Diego Reina proposed a model “that combined a sense of Spain’s ‘imperial mission’ with a combined version of neoclassicism rooted in Herreran style but
adopted to contemporary realities” (Viejo-Rose 52). The location chosen was the old plot of the Cárcel Modelo, and, according to Diéguez Patao it fulfilled the representative functions to: “dignificar la entrada en el casco urbano por un acceso tan importante como es la carretera de La Coruña y como elemento de representación educativa para todos aquellos que se dirigen diariamente a los centros de enseñanza de la Ciudad Universitaria” (“Arquitectura” 69). Moreover, as previously explained, this area was one of the fronts of the battle and siege of Madrid. Thus, the placement of the building in this area is an attempt to resignify the symbolic meaning of this area by erasing the vestiges of the war by imposing an official building.

The building is a colossal structure with a rectangular floor and straight lines. The entrance has an arcade with neoclassical columns, and the four corners have “sendas torres de agitado, chapitel apizarrado, análogas a las ideadas por Felipe II para El Escorial” (Cirici 129). The building is surrounded by a rectangular square that also
imitates the exterior gardens of *El Escorial*. The design of the ministry and the location creates a sensation of hierarchy.\(^{30}\)

The second course of action to enhance the imperial image includes the construction of three vast roadway entrances to the city. The *Vía de la Victoria* connects *El Escorial* with Madrid through the façade of the River Manzanarea; the second, the *Vía de Europa* joins the Castellana Avenue with the rest of the continent; and the third, the *Vía de la Hispanidad* passes through the Atocha station, the *Paseo del Prado* and reunites the connections with Portugal, Morocco, and Spanish America (Bigador n. pag). The *Avenida del Generalísimo* (Castellana Avenue) would be the focus of all the attention, as the goal was to transform it into the urban expression of the new regime. This avenue would unite the political centers—the buildings of the *Nuevos Ministerios* and the *Ministerio del Aire*—with the creation of a residential area for the middle classes, and the concentration of the tertiary economy with the construction of the complex Azca (Valenzuela Rubio 374-6).

In spite of the Falangist aesthetic and the return to a more hierarchical concept of urban planning, the *Plan Bigador* is a continuation of the urban planning of the 1920s and the Second Republic: “among the continuities was a need to alternate urban population rings with green belts and accentuate the city’s northern-southern axis... by extending the *Paseo de la Castellana*, [and] finishing the *Nuevos Ministerios*” (Muñoz-Rojas 58).\(^{31}\)

However, the *Plan* introduces urban planning innovations to Spain, with the substitution of the traditional model of city expansion (*ensanche*) for one that organizes the urban

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\(^{30}\) Portela Sandoval provides a complete analysis of the architecture and ornaments of the building (355-59).

\(^{31}\) Juliá indicates that the plan combines “la retórica del nuevo urbanismo de los vencedores con el legado del racionalismo y funcionalismo que había recibido directamente de Zuazo” (“Madrid” 433).
space in relation to the geographical territory. The plan surrounds the historical nucleus of the city with:

un amplio anillo verde que lo rodee y a partir de él un sistema de accesos radiales que, acompañados de cuñas verdes, pondrán en comunicación la ciudad y su entorno. Más alejado, un nuevo anillo verde concéntrico recogerá a los antiguos núcleos, que servirán de base a los «satélites» o «nuevos poblados» en el caso de Madrid, y que, como unidades autónomas, cumplirán una función productiva y de expansión al servicio de la ciudad central. (Azurmendi 16)

Whereas Terán suggests a positive interpretation of this organization (Terán, Historia 239), Juliá perceives a rejection of the suburbs as they were considered to be the nest of Marxism by Falangist architects (“Madrid” 436).32 I concur with Juliá and I consider how the plan outlines the ideas that paved the way for the spatial and economic segregation of the periphery, which started in the 1940s and intensified during the 1950s and 1960s. Bigador delineates three concentric green rings that demarcate the different areas and function of the city. The first constitutes the political and representative area of the city, while the second and third encompass industry, services, and residential areas for the working class. According to the plan this organization “hace que los núcleos edificados queden perfectamente delimitados como islas de vivienda y trabajo, sobre un fondo general verde” (n. pag). By including a pleasant environment the plan conceals the fact that the working classes, the segment of the society more critical of the regime, is secluded to the outside areas. This geographically based exclusionary practice would facilitate the control of political demonstrations and revolts against Franco. Furthermore, the green belts ultimately facilitated speculation, in these areas, as zoning liberated “zonas de suelo apetecible para las inmobiliarias” (Domènech 90). It is paradoxical that

32 Juliá indicates that the city was transformed: “No es ya el Madrid que se sueña capital abierta al exterior, ciudad-nexo, sino el Madrid que se siente sitiado por una amenaza silenciosamente asentada en su entorno. . . un anillo verde protegerá a Madrid de un peligroso cinturón rojo” (Juliá, “Madrid,” 437)
an urban plan that followed a Falangist organic ideology attempting to create a hierarchical city would end up contributing to the infiltration of capital into an area that should represent the power of the state. In other words, when the Imperial Madrid failed, the downtown area of Madrid became a coveted urban space for speculators who altered the social and physical structure of the city by transforming it into the Spanish capital for banks, insurance companies, and real-estate companies.

In summary, as Castells sharply indicates, the 1946 Plan “mainly emphasized the symbolic aspects while clearly asserting the right of the state to decide on the use of most land, channeling speculation through the patronage system of Franquist bureaucracy” (218). The regime attempted to control the urban space and, therefore, the social structure of Madrid. As David Harvey asserts following Lefebvre’s theories, “[c]ontrol over spatial organization and authority over the use of space become crucial means for the reproduction of social power relations” (Urban 187). The Plan Bigador attempted to create a conceptualized space (Lefebvre 38), which would grant the regime control over society by imposing a new symbolic order and would reproduce the socioeconomic division in the society. The first endeavor did not materialize, but the social differences between the center of Madrid and the emergent periphery started to appear. The financial problems as well as the ideological shift that Francoism undergoes with the defeat of the Axis powers in World War II truncated the massive urban transformations. I would also add that the plan reproduces the discourse of the Civil War as a crusade that allowed reconquering the country from the Marxists who were tarnishing Spain’s future. Moreover, as the imagery of the regime promoted the time of the Spanish Empire, the urban plans attempted not only to erect a “ciudad falangista” but also to establish a
relationship between Madrid’s reconstruction and the Empire. From this perspective it is relevant to point to the importance the plan gives to the fortified city Alfonso VI reconquered from the Muslims. This establishes a historical parallelism between this historical event and the reconquest of Madrid during the Civil War. In the end, however, it would be private capital and urban speculation that shaped the development of Madrid, especially form the early fifties to this day (Juliá, “Madrid,” 438; Bonnet Correa 14; Castells 219-20).

As indicative of this transformation it is interesting to briefly analyze the buildings Torre de España and Torre Madrid (Fig. 3). The first tower, designed by Julián and José María Otamendi, was constructed between 1947 and 1953 in a neo-baroque style (López Díaz 320), half way between the historicist aesthetic of autarchy and the more modern capitalist models of the fifties and sixties. The structure stands out for its magnitude becoming the tallest building in Madrid until the adjacent Torre Madrid was finished in 1957 (López Díaz 320). The interior, on the contrary, represents the emergence of private capital with luxury apartments, offices, a mall, and the Crown Hotel. The Torre Madrid designed by Julián Otamendi is a moderate structure in comparison with the Torre España, and represents the definite consolidation of a modern aesthetic, thus diverging from the historicist architecture of the forties.
Dent Coad indicates that by the end of the 1940s, ideological and financial changes led “to a gradual rejection of historicist forms and to a reappraisal of the tenets of modern architecture, emphasizing its purely stylistics attributes—seen as representing not modernism (rejected for its radical political implications) but modernity (establishing Spain as a modern country)” (224). *The Torre de España* and *Torre Madrid* seem to be an example of Dent Coad’s argument. The colossal neo-baroque structure of the first gave way to a more stylized building that would represent the modernization of Madrid. The shift in architecture and urbanism also reflected the political evolution in which the regime was now engaged with a “strong pro-development stance” (Neuman 107).

Equally relevant is the location of both buildings. Designed and built for the *Compañía Inmobiliaria Metropolitana*, the most important real-estate company of the
time, they are situated at the end of the Gran Vía in what should have been part of the imperial façade. Thus, these structures transform a space that was designated to represent the hierarchy of the regime into an expression of capitalism in Madrid. This signals changes that affected the regime after World War II and the necessity to adopt a more measured discourse: “The time had come to move ahead, abandoning economic isolationism at the price of watering down Fascist ideology” (Castells 218). At the end of the 1940s Spain abandons autarchy and starts a slow but steady liberalization of the economy. In 1950 the United Nations lifts the international blockade against Spain and three years later Spain signs a treaty with the U.S. that allowed the establishment of U.S. military bases in Spain in exchange for economic aid. The propaganda apparatus of the dictatorship championed these treaties “como un colosal éxito diplomático y político que situaba a España como un aliado de primer orden en la defensa de Occidente contra el comunismo” (Martínez, “La consolidación,” 89). Whereas these treaties were not as beneficial as the propaganda proclaimed for Spain, the recognition received from the U.S. stabilized and empowered the regime.

During the next decade the problems of the city increased due to deficient urban planning, private speculation, and new economic policies. One of the most detrimental factors was the decision to turn Madrid into “a major industrial centre to counterbalance the peripheral industrial power of the Basques and Catalans” (Castells 218). The new industry created a torrent of unqualified immigrant workers, who were not able to find adequate housing. This created a housing problem in the outskirts that the Plan general de ordenación urbana del área metropolitana de Madrid (1961) did not manage to solve.

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33 For a detailed description of the treaties see: Jesús Antonio Martínez (“La consolidación,” 89-92), and María Carolina Ferraris (73-82).
This new social problem was criticized in literary and filmic works such as the already mentioned *La colmena*, and *Tiempo de silencio*, and also in the film *Surcos* (1951) by José Antonio Nieves Conde.

In 1965 Carlos Trías Bertrán, appointed *Comisario Urbano* in 1959, delivered a lecture titled *El desarrollo urbanístico de Madrid en el futuro de España*, which reveals the changes urban planning experienced since the *Plan Bigador*. Trías Bertrán praised the achievements of Franco’s regime in the reconstruction and modernization of the capital, highlighting the new imprint the regime achieved: “[e]l Madrid zarzuelero y caricaturesco murió con nuestra guerra . . . aquel Madrid que fijaron con trazos indelebles desde Quevedo a Mesonero Romanos y Arniches, desde Larra a Fernández Flórez, todo esto es lo que el huracán de la guerra se llevó para siempre” (14). The regime erased the traces of liberalism—exemplified in this quote by prominent liberal writers and thinkers—that, as I mentioned before, turned Madrid into a chaotic and uncontrollable city. Trías Bertrán further contends that “este Madrid, tan distinto de aquel [sic] que feneció desde 1936 al 39, es obra de Franco, de su régimen, de la paz que su prudente gobierno nos ha deparado” (17). The author interweaves the necessity of boosting private capital in order to accomplish the shift of Madrid’s economy from an agrarian model to a tertiary one, along with comments on how Franco managed to inculcate the Christian spirit and values into the city.

The main issues that Madrid faced since the end of the war, and that it will encounter in the upcoming decades were, according to Trías Bertrán, the rapid growth of the city due to immigration from other parts of Spain, and the transformation from a rural economy into and industrial and tertiary one. The first urban plan in almost twenty years
attempts to provide an answer to these problems. The *Plan general de ordenación urbana del área metropolitana de Madrid* (1961), proposes a shift in urban planning and theories from the organic proposals of the *Plan Bigador* to a model based on capitalism and private investment.³⁴ The *Plan general* is mildly critical of the failure of the previous plan to carry out the representative façade in the Manzanares River. However it praises that: “se ha logrado el conjunto de Nuevos Ministerios, y el edificio del Ministerio del Aire incorporando este último a la fachada representativa del Manzanares” (*Plan General*, vol. V a: 62). Thus it congratulates the regime for finishing a project that was designed and mostly built by the Second Republic. It also gives special importance to other minor interventions that added value to this part of the city, but that are not related to the *capitalidad* of the new Spain: “A esta finalidad contribuyeron eficazmente la Ordenación del Paseo de Rosales, las adecuadas repoblaciones del Parque del Oeste y Parque de las Vistillas y la canalización del Manzanares” (*Plan General*, vol. V a: 45). Most interesting is the fact that the planners acknowledge how the *Edificio España* and the *Torre Madrid* utterly altered “la ordenación arquitectónica de la fachada en la que, por otra parte, se ha incrementado notablemente el aspecto utilitario con las nuevas zonas residenciales situadas en las márgenes de la canalización del Manzanares. Todo ello ha supuesto una notable variación en el aspecto representativo de este importante elemento urbanístico de la ciudad” (*Plan General*, vol. Va: 45). The plan substitutes the fascist rhetoric of the *Plan Bigador* for a discourse that praises the new modern city. Put

³⁴ Trías Bertrán justifies the ideological shift: “u ordenamos la sociedad futura, que ya es la de nuestros hijos, asentando a las masas de población en centros urbanos en que esté organizada a escala humana la convivencia, y en los que el 80 ó el 90 por 100 de la población activa dependa de los sectores secundarios y terciarios, o condenamos a nuestros pueblos a la miseria mientras nosotros seguimos divagando en la región de la nostalgia de un pretendido edén perdido, que sólo existió en la imaginación de los futuristas del pasado” (43).
another way, the change in economic policies and a rhetoric that characterize Spain as a dynamic emerging economy are also used in urban policies to establish the foundations for a new image of the central city of Francoism.

Although the *capitalidad* of Madrid fails from a Falangist representative perspective, the plan underlies the development of the capital into an important international metropolis:

> [u]n examen atento de la realidad demográfica y sociológica de Madrid permite observar que aquella ciudad, que todavía antes del Movimiento se integraba casi exclusivamente de funcionarios, artesanos, rentistas y obreros de la construcción, hoy ha dado paso a otra en la que, junto a las legiones de burócratas y técnicos que sirven a la Administración pública, se alinean los obreros de la pequeña, mediana y gran industria, los empresarios creadores de nuevas fuentes de riqueza y los técnicos, empleados y obreros de las variadas ramas del sector Servicios. (*Plan general*, vol. 0: 8)

From an urban theory perspective, the two novelties of this plan are, first, a newer conceptualization of urban regeneration, emphasizing that the city should be treated as the adjoining of small communities, thus proposing the division of Madrid into self-sufficient urban districts (*Plan general*, vol. V.a 149). The second, and more influential, is the definitive endorsement of private capital investments in the development of the city (*Plan general*, vol.0 26), as reflected in the planned development of new businesses, parks, and shopping centers with private capital. This only worsened the problem of housing in the periphery at the same time that it modified the social structure of the downtown area of Madrid.

Before analyzing the housing problem in the periphery, I want to focus on how private capital changed the urban and social structure of the center. Whereas the metropolitan area of the capital grew uncontrollably, increasing its population by 855,00 inhabitants from 1950 to 1960 (Terán, *Madrid* 266-7), the area of the *Castellana* reduced
its population by 87,000 from 1950 to 1965 (Rueda Laffond, “Desarrollo,” 598). The Castellana Avenue is a perfect example of how the center of Madrid was transformed from a residential area into the zone with the highest volume of tertiary businesses in Spain. Pedro Bigador underscored that the urban expansion of the Castellana would transform it into the main artery of the city, creating a space in accordance with the rank of Madrid as capital of Spain (Bigador n. pag.). However, successive changes in the zoning laws caused urban speculation to transform this area into the focal point of the tertiary economy, as opposed to enhancing the symbolic importance of the Castellana as the political center of the state. In December 1952, “se aprobó la llamada Ley Castellana, que otorgaba privilegios fiscales a aquellos promotores que desarrollasen el nuevo eje de la Castellana; la presión de éstos transformó el proyecto original, procedente del plan Bigador” (Otero Carvajal 16). The growing demand for office space started “to force tenants out of rent controlled houses either by allowing the old buildings to crumble or by official declarations from city hall of their ‘imminent ruin’” (Castells 221). As a consequence, inhabitants of these areas were forced to move towards the periphery as buildings and urban spaces were redistributed for tertiary businesses (Terán, Madrid 282). This process also boosted speculation that destroyed part of the historical heritage: “numerosos edificios del centro fueron derribados para hacer espacio a las oficinas y sedes de las empresas nacionales y multinacionales que se instalaron en España” (Otero Carvajal 16-7). The demolitions erased “tree-lined boulevards, old neighbourhoods, cultural traditions, and local networks” (Castells 221). Families who had lived in this area for generations no longer could afford living there and had to move to cheaper areas of the city.
If the center of the city underwent transformations to accommodate banks and businesses, the periphery sprawled out of control. The onset of the housing problem lies in the immigration of the forties and the impossibility to find lodging within the city limits due to the destruction of the war, and to the high prices caused by speculation. The problem intensifies in the fifties and especially the sixties as a result of the industrialization of the south of the capital without a proper urban development of these zones.  

The creation of smaller, autonomous urban developments appeared to be the solution to this problem. However the greed of urban speculators only exacerbated an already substandard situation as large development firms built thousands of apartment buildings in isolated areas distant from the city, “leaving empty spaces of several kilometers between clusters of blocks in order to raise the value of the land in between which they also owned” (Castells 220). These areas were scarcely equipped with infrastructures and the communication with the city was deficient, thus segregating its inhabitants socially.

Contrary to what was believed, Juliá indicates that even before the economic boom of the fifties and sixties there was a steady migratory flux towards the capital. He estimates that 225,000 immigrants arrived to Madrid in the 1940s (Juliá, “Madrid,” 439). During the post-war period there were no economic reasons to migrate to Madrid, since there was no industry and the main reconstruction projects were completed with the free labor of Republican prisoners. In this context, what may be the reason for such a high index of migrations? Evidently Madrid’s status as capital attracted immigration from the time when Felipe II established it as capital of the kingdom, but the factor that I find

35 For a more detailed explanation of the housing problem in the outskirts see: Juliá (“Madrid” 436-45), Terán (Madrid 266-75)
more plausible, and that to the best of my knowledge has been overlooked in urban studies, is the necessity to start a new life after the Civil War. In small towns and cities the vanquished were stigmatized and, on many occasions, it was difficult to continue their normal lives. Madrid, and other large cities, offered the vanquished the anonymity for a clean start, even at the price of living in the outskirts in subhuman conditions in a self-made shack and with no infrastructures.

The measures adopted in the Plan General magnified the segregation between the center and the periphery. The regime was so concerned about this problem that it founded the Department of Housing in 1967. José Luis Arrese, minister of this department from 1957 to 1960, initiates the Plan de Urgencia Social de Madrid to promote the construction of 60,000 cheap houses (Terán, Madrid 271), with two different consequences. On the one hand, it showed Spanish society that the social agenda of the regime was still underway. Nonetheless, the policies implemented demonstrate the incongruities of the regime as it considered housing to be a right but, at the same time, the government attempted to control migratory fluxes within Spain: “toda persona que quisiera trasladar su residencia a Madrid debería comunicar oficialmente que disponía de vivienda adecuada en la capital, para que pudiese ser comprobado. Del mismo modo, las empresas de cualquier actividad debían abstenerse de contratar trabajadores que no pudieran acreditar tener vivienda en Madrid” (Terán, Historia 244). The supposed social justice was to be tightly controlled and, paradoxically, benefitted those who already had a house in the capital, which obviously forestalled immigrants benefitting from this policy.

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36 Arrese said that: “El Ministerio de la Vivienda es, por esencia, el encargado de llevar a la práctica uno de los pilares básicos de la revolución social” (qtd. in. Terán, Historia 233-4). Due to the emphasis in the family as a foundation of the new state, it was necessary to provide decent housing to all the Spaniards (Caprarella 165).
On the other hand, it provided a push to speculators who took advantage of the situation and constructed “massive, extremely dense high-rise complexes, where the main problem was the absence of all the proper elements of urban life with the natural exception of people. New schools, health care, open space, cultural facilities, a basic urban infrastructure, transportation, and so on, were totally lacking. And some time the water supply also failed” (Castells 220). Ultimately, the regime goal was, according to Juliá, to intensify the segregation of the city “para detener a las afueras a los inmigrantes e impulsando el proceso de industrialización concebido como una barrera de defensa de la ciudad” (“Madrid” 439). Thus, once again, the regime prioritizes centralism by highlighting the center of Madrid as the political and economic capital of Spain whereas the south of Madrid contains industrial ventures and the “menace” of the working classes.

The 1961 Plan General was obsolete even before it was approved and was doomed to fail at solving the housing problems of the periphery. The industrialization of Madrid aggravated this issue as it attracted even more immigrant workers. The slow-paced construction of affordable housing and its poor quality worsened the situation in the periphery. Furthermore, when the regime embraced private capital and subsidized developments in the outskirts it raised prices at the same time that it encouraged the already ongoing rampant speculation. The Plan General and the housing policies of the sixties definitely segregated the urban space. Sure enough, it shaped the metropolitan area of Madrid to this date. The north of the city is a residential area for middle and upper classes with infrastructures, transportation, and amenities. In opposition, in the South and East: “se entremezclan desde barriadas de protección oficial de ínfima calidad, con edificaciones privadas, hasta poblados de chabolas” (Martínez, “Madrid,” 239).
During the seventies, the world economic crisis started to change urban policies. This process accelerated with the demise of Franco and his regime in 1975. For the first time in Spanish history, the 1978 Constitution transferred the policies of urban planning to the recently created Autonomous Regions (Baker and Compitello 24). That is, the rigid centralism of the dictatorship gave way to a situation in which each region was responsible for urban planning. Enrique Tierno Galván, elected as the first democratic mayor in 1979, faced a number of challenges. Quite possibly the most imperative one was to separate Madrid as the symbol of Franquist centralism (Compitello, “Recasting” n. pag; Pérez-Sánchez 154; Stapell 35).

After decades of deficient urban planning, Tierno Galván’s office first objective with regards to urban policies was to outline a general plan to improve the capital’s urban and social conditions. The result was the 1985 Plan general de ordenación urbana de Madrid (PGOUM), whose main function is “recuperar Madrid” in order to “garantizar el derecho a la ciudad” (59). The PGOUM’s main premise is that urban development during the last twenty years of Franco’s dictatorship was characterized by uncontrolled growth fueled by capitalist speculation. In addition, urban planning during the dictatorship lacked a clear model and was surpassed by the rapid development of the city: “ha ido detrás del crecimiento, primero dejando hacer y después tratando de paliar, aquí y allá, siempre con retraso, las ausencias dejadas en el fulgurante y acelerado crecimiento” (Plan 85 55).

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37 The Comunidad Autónoma de Madrid was the last to join the Estado de las Autonomías in March, 1 1983.
38 In the second chapter I analyze how Madrid recasted its identity culturally. In this section, I focus in urban policies.
In order to palliate the negative effects of such uncontrolled growth, the plan advocates for the regeneration of the existing city to satisfy the social needs of all Madrilenians through the building of subsidized housing and the proper urbanization of these areas (*Plan 85* 59). The four main objectives of the new plan, already outlined in the advance of the plan *Recuperar Madrid* (1982), focus on a social agenda:

“Garantizar el «derecho a la ciudad» de todos los ciudadanos madrileños; reequilibrar socialmente la ciudad; hacer habitable la ciudad para todos los ciudadanos; [y] recuperar la ciudad, «volverse» sobre ella para rescatar el patrimonio urbano que se va perdiendo, restaurándolo y poniéndolo en uso al servicio de todos” (*Recuperar* 95). The plan seeks to stop the spatial and social segregation that began due to the immigration of the post-war period and the insufficient urban planning of the dictatorship. The plan “sought the conservation and rehabilitation of usable preexisting housing units, instead of demolishing them to make way for commercial projects” (Stapell 50). For the first time in fifty years, an urban plan proposed to use and enhance the existing stocks of houses. This proposal seems to be an effort to put a halt to speculation, since with the new policies real-estate companies were not able to profit from the demolition of older houses. It also represents an effort to respect the traditional areas of the city and its dwellers. It is significant that the plan’s final goal “was not just the physical rebuilding of the city; instead, it was the transformation of the capital’s identity” (Stapell 50).

Rather than continuing the expansion of the metropolitan area, the PGOUM recommends improving and finishing the areas of the periphery that were overlooked by

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39 Compitello indicates that “the verb recuperar [to recuperate] captures eloquently the sense of restoring the rule of law to the city and its built environment after decades of governmental and private sector abuse during the dictatorship. It also resonates with the idea of restoring a sense of wholeness to the built environment and those who inhabit it” (“Designing” 404).
the dictatorship and abused by speculation (Plan 85 93). Urban space is no longer hierarchically organized, segregating the interior areas from the periphery. The plan provides adequate infrastructures in order to recuperate the city for its inhabitants. Consequently, some of the major projects concentrate on the periphery where social and urban problems were more severe after the immigration of the fifties and sixties (89), allocating funds for transportation, infrastructures, green areas, and parks (Plan 85 89).41

In the introduction to Recuperar Madrid, Tierno Galván indicates that along with stopping the tertiarization of the central area, the main preoccupation is balancing the city socially: “rompiendo el desnivel entre Norte y Sur, equiparando en lo posible las zonas marginadas con las del Centro e intentando evitar que la ciudad se convirtiera en testimonio de las diferencias de los modos de vida que nacen de la rentabilidad de las distintas funciones y actividades” (6).42 Therefore, as Compitello argues, this was “Spain’s last great attempt at rational modernist urban planning with an emphasis on social justice, an attempt to answer the question of ‘whose city is it?’ with a resounding answer: those who live there” (“Designing” 411). In the end, the more progressive agenda of the Madrilenian PSOE clashed with the interests of the party at a national

40 The PGOM has “una voluntad de acabar la ciudad, de terminar con la frecuente imagen de la periferia madrileña como una ciudad a medio hacer, en la que los vacíos carecen de contenido y el suelo no edificado permanece lleno de basuras y escombros. El crecimiento de la ciudad, al limitarse a una serie de zonas bien definidas, permite «reordenar» lo que queda: poner aceras, plantar árboles en la miniareas verdes y construir los equipamientos que faltan” (Plan 85 89).

41 Recuperar Madrid describes the underdeveloped situation in the periphery: “La inhospitalidad del «entorno urbano» privado de los elementos funcionales y estéticos necesarios para la comodidad pública, cuyos espacios abiertos carecen de condiciones para su disfrute y uso comunitario, y cuyas calles, paseos y plazas se ha convertido en simples vías de circulación y aparcamientos” (88).

42 In the introduction to Plan especial de protección y conservación de edificios y conjuntos histórico-artísticos de la Villa de Madrid (1982) Tierno Galván is even more critical of the speculation that took place in Madrid during the last decades: “evitar el despilfarro especulativo. Durante muchos años, cerca de cincuenta años, la ciudad se ha ido haciendo y deshaciendo según el capricho, los intereses momentáneos públicos o privados, el arbitramiento y la imaginación, sin el control científico conveniente y el análisis comparativo necesario” (v).
level: “The planners on the left spoke the language of social justice while those controlling the purse strings and the national agenda for the party increasingly spoke the language of flexible accumulation” (Compitello, “Recasting,” n. pag.). Therefore, internal fights within the PSOE and the influence of capitalism obstructed many key projects of the plan (Baker and Compitello 24). Accordingly, the social agenda of the plan was progressively transformed into an urban development that favored design over planning (Compitello, “Designing,” 405).

The PGOUM was widely criticized because of its leftist political agenda. Alternative proposals and subsequent documents such as Avance de la Revisión del PGOUM (1993), and Revisión del PGOUM (1997), shift the focus from social justice to “selling place and promoting a growth-oriented vision of the city” (Compitello, “Designing,” 406). After the imposition of the national neoliberal economic agenda of the PSOE, the PGOUM forsook its social agenda in favor of a branding of Madrid as a global city, something that intensified when the PP took control of Madrid’s City Hall in 1991, and the Autonomous Region in 1995.

The most prominent example of urban speculation and the failures of urban planning are the Kio Towers, located in the Plaza de Castilla, just north of the Castellana. Compitello indicates that they “represent all that went wrong in the history of urbanization in Spain under socialism and the redesign of Madrid in the hands of the governments that succeeded the PSOE in the 1990s” (Compitello, “Planning,” 208). The buildings (Fig. 4) were financed by the Kuwaiti Investment Office, hence their name KIO, a company that from 1985 on invested heavily in Spain. The interest of KIO in Spain’s economy was set to accomplish the City Hall’s desire to turn Madrid into a
global city with the construction of these towers that would become the symbol of the postmodern global Madrid. It would correspondingly benefit KIO, as the group needed “a building befitting the stature of its position in the Spanish economy and one that would earn it a tremendous return through the rents it would charge for the prime office space located there” (Compitello, “Planning,” 211).^43^ For years the unfinished towers were a presence in the Madrilenian cityscape that symbolized the failures of speculation: “Madrid had its unfinished twin towers adorning the entrance to a city that the culture of flexible accumulation and consumption began to make look more and more like every other European and American city” (Compitello, “Planning,” 212).


During construction, the towers were renamed *Puerta de Europa*: indicating that “al final del Paseo de la Castellana, estas torres inclinadas rematarían el eje Norte-Sur de

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^43^ Compitello provides a detailed description of the financial irregularities committed by the real-estate promoters that would lead to the bankruptcy of KIO in Spain and to the erosion of PSOE’s political credit in the eyes of Spanish society. This scandal contributed to the PSOE’s defeat in the 1996 general elections (“Planning” 209-12)
la ciudad conformando una puerta alegórica en el camino que conduce hacia la Europa de la prosperidad” (Fernández Herráez et al. 52). The use of the word “puerta,” links these buildings with the emblematic Puerta de Toledo and Puerta de Alcalá establishing a contrast between the past and future of Madrid: “The Puertas de Alcalá and Toledo were visions of kings realized with the colonial gold lining state coffers, while this new arch was the product of private, transnational capital” (Gonick 24). In the current Spanish economic and social crises, the fact that the towers are the headquarters of Realia, a real-estate company, and Bankia,44 ironically suggests that they may be the “exit door” of the Euro economy, rather than the way into the global market.

One aspect that I find very relevant is the absence, in both plans, of a strategy for heritage buildings and monuments. In fact, the first publicly financed effort to preserve Madrid’s patrimony was the 1980 Plan especial de protección y conservación de edificios y conjuntos histórico-artísticos de la villa de Madrid. The goal of the plan is:

la protección del patrimonio urbano y a los usos existentes a través de las medidas de defensa de los edificios y conjuntos que dan valor histórico-artístico a la ciudad, entendiéndolo desde una perspectiva urbanística y, por tanto, contemplando aquellos elementos y conjuntos cuya conservación consolida las diferentes morfologías urbanas, manteniendo la coherencia entre éstas y las tipologías edificatorias correspondientes. (Plan especial 11)

The Plan also eliminates the “plan 90-A, conocido así familiarmente, y que permitía el derribo de casas del centro de Madrid para ser sustituidas por centros comerciales o de oficinas” (“El Plan Especial,” El País n. pag.). In turn, the city hall “did not permit the construction of the Torres de Valencia, the Torres de Colón, or a significant part of the large-scale commercial Project destined for Azca” (Stapell 54). Another hundred and eight licenses for new projects were suspended to end speculation and to liberate land for

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44 Bankia was created in 2010 to consolidate the operations of seven regional saving banks. In 2012 it was partly nationalized by the Spanish government after Bankia requested a bailout of 19 billion Euros.
the PGOUM (Stapell 54). De Terán indicates that at the end of the 1970s emerged in Spain “una actitud cultural de «recuperación» de la ciudad histórica, que empezó a ser algo más que cultura, para asumir una importante carga ideológica” (Terán, Historia 328). Therefore, the new growing interest to preserve the center is due to two reasons. First, it aims to stop the speculation that benefitted private capital and not only caused the destruction of the heritage but it also altered socially the city. The second reason is that it follows the directives of the plan to recuperate the city for the inhabitants. Sophie Gonick enticingly argues that the alterations of the Castellana during 1980s and 1990s rely “on a process of creative destruction that sought to erase the collective memory of the Franco era” (24). The developments alongside the Castellana “re-created this space, destroying its previous meanings” (24), shifting its image from the emblem of Francoist nationalism into a space of international investment and commerce in the twenty first century. (Gonick 24).

But, did urban policies really erase the imposed memories of Francoism? I do not think so. Azca, stood the passage of time as an inheritance of the years of desarrollismo, and this area also underwent a process of tertiarization with subsequent gentrification. Hence, this part of the city is a testament to the segregation of Madrid and the speculation in the center of the city caused by the deficient plans of the dictatorship. With democracy, the name of the avenue was changed form Avenida del Generalísimo to Avenida de la Castellana, but, to this day, the toponymy of adjacent streets continue to bear the names of prominent Falangists and rebel generals: Avenida de Alberto Alcócer, first mayor of appointed by Franco; Calle del General Yagüe, one of the generals that plotted the coup d’état that started the Civil War; and the Calle General Varela, another
prominent general during the war, just to name a few. Furthermore, other symbols and monuments, such as the Statue of Franco in front of the ministerial complex of *Nuevos Ministerios*, stood impasse to the consolidation of the democracy.

I agree with Gonick’s premise that the *Castellana* was re-imagined, but, as I argue in the second part of this chapter, urban plans, policies regarding monuments, and the rebranding of Madrid as a global city echoed the pact of silence implicitly imposed during the Transition. The Francoist past was not erased; rather it was ignored. Urban policies of the early 1980s bifurcate in opposite directions: They look at a distant past advocating for the recuperation and preservation of urban heritage on the one hand, and they look at the future design of a global city, on the other. Madrid’s design shifted focus from the past to the future, sacrificing a discussion of the recent past in favor of consolidating Madrid into the global economy. Paradoxically, the policies also look toward the past, but the new democratic city-hall focused on a *castizo* past as the model for the new Madrilenian identity. The preservation of heritage overlooked the monuments of the dictatorship and the past of the Second Republic. Thus, I argue that the urban policies of the 1980s embrace the pact of silence of the Transition in order to establish democracy.

Before analyzing the equestrian statue of Franco, its history, and the polemics surrounding its removal, it is necessary to briefly examine the building of *Nuevos*

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45 Source Google maps. In 2008, *El País* reported that the names of 194 streets were related to Francoism (*Fraguas n. pag*). The name of streets and squares has also been very polemic during the last years. Some sectors of Spanish society advocate for not changing the names because they are part of the history. I am in favor of changing the names, in the end, renaming the streets was one of the first steps Francoism took to erase the memory of the Second Republic. If this is not the solution, as the dictatorship is part of Spain’s past, Reig Tapia raises an interesting question” ¿Si Aranda, Asensio, Cabanillas, Fanjul, García Escámez, García Morato . . . tienen su correspondiente calle en la capital de España, por qué no la tienen Aranguren, Asensio Torrado, Batet, Ciutat . . . Lister, Miaja, Mera . . .? ¿Un imperdonable olvido, un definitivo silencio quizá?” (*Memoria 27*).
Ministerios in front of which the statue stood, and how it is an instance of the politics of memory during Francoism. Nuevos Ministerios was projected to consolidate all the ministries of the regime, thus becoming the representation of centralized political administration of Spain. The statue imposes a symbol of power onto the complex, thus altering the original project of the Republic. During the Transition the ministerial complex continued to be the center of many Government Departments and for thirty years the statue continued to impose itself over the entrance of the building. This statue portrays how the pact of silence allowed monuments of Franco to remain in Madrid well into the democracy. Its removal in 2005, with the excuse of renovating the square, reflects the politics of memory in Spain after thirty years of democracy. Instead of following legislative procedures and presenting a motion to remove the statue, the Department of Public Works decided to get rid of the statue without any discussion. In a sense this is how the past of the Civil War and the dictatorship has been treated during the democracy: the past was never publicly debated in an organized manner.

As I developed earlier, the new regime had to rapidly shift its urban policies in the 1940s due to a lack of financial means, and to the defeat of Germany and Italy in World War II. Hence Francoism abandoned the idea of an Imperial Madrid, at the same time that some urban projects of the Second Republic, such as the widening of the Castellana Avenue and the Nuevos Ministerios, continued and were completed with minimal alterations. Monuments and symbols proliferated, as they were a less costly way to legitimate Francoism and to impose its official memory upon society, than completely redesigning the city itself.
Before the Civil War, the government of the Second Republic started key urban transformations for the future of the capital. 1933 sees the beginning of the expansion of the Castellana to the North. Designed by Secundino Zuazo, the Nuevos Ministerios forms the core project of the expansion. On the one hand, the square around the building would link the old part of the Castellana and the new expansion. The construction of an underground train station beneath the plaza would also connect the outskirts with Nuevos Ministerios. On the other hand, the ministerial complex would represent the: “definición política de la ciudad en términos de representatividad y funcionalidad de capital del Estado” (Martínez, “Madrid,” 234). Franco’s government continued the project of the Republic to convert this area into the administrative center of the country, reinforcing the centralism of Madrid as the capital of the regime.

Nonetheless, the plan of the Second Republic was to create a space integrated with the city that would welcome its inhabitants. As a result, there is a balance between open spaces and built spaces (Valenzuela Rubio 370), as reflected in the planning of a park with gardens around the building and large arcades. Valenzuela Rubio indicates that these spaces are consistent “con la voluntad de Zuazo de crear en torno al edificio administrativo un gran centro de vida ciudadana” (370). Contrary to other emblematic buildings of the city, such as the Royal Palace, which “surgía tangente a la ciudad, abriéndose hacia la naturaleza y sin preocuparse de su interrelación con la traza urbana” (Maure, Secundino 310), and whose gardens are fenced and private, Nuevos Ministerios

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46 Another reason Madrid required expansion was the high unemployment rate (Maure, Zuazo 63). This aspect was a preoccupation of the Republican government. For that reason the beginning of the constructions was very significant for the Second Republic: “El 14 de abril de 1933 se inauguró el primer tramo de la prolongación y se colocó la primera piedra de los edificios ministeriales. Al acto—que coincidía con la celebración del segundo aniversario de la II República—acudió el presidente Manuel Azaña. La solemnidad de la celebración respondía a la trascendencia de las obras que se iniciaban en Madrid” (Maure, Zuazo 44)

47 Maure provides an in-depth architectural analysis of the complex (Secundino, 307-47)
emerged as a symbol of a conciliatory urbanism. Put another way, the Republic envisioned this project would assimilate the center of power to its surroundings, which would differentiate it from the hierarchical distance of the symbols of the monarchy. In addition, the rail station “aseguraba la conexión de la periferia con el nuevo centro administrativo” (Maure, Zuazo 64) which facilitated access to the center of Madrid from the outskirts.

The complex’s structure and style (Fig. 5) follows the rational aesthetic in vogue since the 1920s. It is a functional building design, forming various modules that construct an L-shape: “Había dispuesto un eje central (el patio de honor) y, a cada lado, simétricamente, Los Ministerios de Obras Públicas y Gobernación, la Dirección General de Seguridad sería un edificio de tres alturas y el Ministerio de Agricultura desarrollaría una altura de once plantas, persiguiendo un contraste con las restantes masas de construcción” (Fernández Polanco, Urbanismo 58). El Escorial, with its combination of open spaces and the sobriety of the structure, partially inspires Zuazo’s blueprint (Maure, Zuazo 64). In turn, Zuazo’s acknowledgement of this inspiration would be used by Franciosm after the war to justify the continuation of the most important projects of the Republic (Bonet Correa, “Espacios,” 19).

48 Carmen Rábanos Faci defines this style as “un estilo coincidente con el Cubismo; sus protagonistas, los arquitectos europeos que los practican desde 1911 hasta la llegada de las dictaduras y después también, pese a estas” (696-97). It is a rational style “en lo formal y en lo estructural, y [se] pensaba que sus formas estructurales podían adaptarse bien a los nuevos materiales de origen industrial, como el hierro laminado” (692).
After a hiatus caused by the war, the Franquist government finishes the project. In 1940 the administration accelerated the expropriations of the adjacent plots and committed to complete the widening of the Castellana and the Nuevos Ministerios in thirteen months (Diéguez Patao, Nuevo 115). The Plan Bigador emphasizes the necessity to continue the widening of the Castellana, finalizing the Nuevos Ministerios, and constructing the Ministerio del Aire to enhance this area as the political center of Spain (10). The government could not finish the works as promised and the widening was not finished until 1951 (Diéguez Patao, Nuevo 134). Although the main structure of the buildings of Nuevos Ministerios was finished in 1942, the constructions continued at a slow pace until 1957 as a result of the “limitación de créditos presupuestarios” (Suárez Sinova 228).
Due to his relationship with the Second Republic, Zuazo was dismissed from the project and a group of architects loyal to the regime finished the construction introducing some modifications. They eliminated a high-rise planned on the North side, and changed the building material from brick to granite (Martín Pallín 81), because, as I explained before, the new architecture of the regime associated brick with communism, and *El Escorial* is built from granite. Additionally, the architects introduced “perspectivas adornadas por obeliscos, despliegue historicista de cúpulas y chapiteles de pizarras,” (Diéguez Patao, “Arquitectura,” 72). The complex was well under construction before the war so it was not possible to modify the structure. Thus, adding ornaments was the only way to enhance the imperial aesthetic of the building. The *Nuevos Ministerios* were finally inaugurated in 1957 and two years later the statue of Franco was placed in the interior patio.
In *Written in Stone* (1998), Sandford Levinson indicates that, “those with political power within a given society organize public space to convey (and thus to teach the public) desired political lessons” (10). The *Nuevos Ministerios* is an example of this idea. Whereas the Republic intended a democratic space assimilating the administrative center of Spain with the urban experience of city dwellers, Francoism modifies this place by interrupting the citizen’s space with an equestrian statue of Franco space. With the simple introduction of a monument the regime reappropriates this space at the same time that it imposes a sign of the dictator in front of a building that hosts many Departments and administrative duties. Thus, following Levinson’s idea, by placing a statue in the public space the regime teaches the public that Franco oversees all the political power of Spain.

![Image](image.jpg)

**Fig. 7. Nuevos Ministerios nowadays. Image by the autor (2009).**

After the war, sculpture experienced a renaissance in Spanish art. The New State perceived this form of art as one of the most efficient ways to sanction the legitimacy of
Francoism: “las instituciones políticas del Régimen . . . llaman a sus «Cortes» a escultores con el encargo de que dignifiquen la Victoria levantando monumentos en pueblos, caminos, montes… o esculpan las magnas cabezas de prohombres que con su lengua o su espada habían hecho realidad la implantación del Nuevo Estado” (Ureña Portero 89). Sculpture expresses and reflects the new political elites that emerge victorious from the war and those who died for it (Ureña Portero 90). 49

Jesús de Andrés indicates that the proliferation of monuments and symbols is a common practice of totalitarian regimes for two reasons:

Por un lado, la ausencia de legitimidad democrática, que impulsa la búsqueda de legitimidades alternativas de corte carismático y, como consecuencia de ello, la necesidad de ensalzar simbólicamente a los detentadores del poder; por otro, la falta de pluralismo, que, junto con la ausencia de crítica interna, fomenta el culto al líder y a lo que representa, tanto por él mismo como por los que le rodean. (Simbolos 8)

Modern nation-states created heroes to commemorate in order to generate a shared past and therefore a communal identity (Gillis, “Memory,” 9). This was one of the necessities of the New Regime, whose endeavor to create a historical discourse removed from the Republic establishes two main methods of commemoration. The first honored the fallen of the Civil War in communal memorials, while the second established heroes such as the late Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, and Franco himself. Therefore, Franco made a conscious effort to install his figure in spaces that were representative of the state. For instance, the first equestrian statue was placed in the Instituto Ramiro de Maeztu “destinada a impresionar y ejemplarizar a la juventud” (Cirici 155-6). This location is also relevant because this school is where many of the children of Republican elites were

49Gabriel Ureña Portero indicates that during the period between 1939 and 1959, sculpture had a triple function: “La estatalización de esta práctica como la de la Victoria y del Nuevo Estado; La revitalización de la imaginaria religiosa de las épocas inquisitoriales; La prolongación de los estilos escultóricos más «clásicos»—antivanguardistas—que se dieron durante la República (91-92).
educated. Similarly, the statue at *Nuevos Ministerios* functions as a symbol of power in front of one of the more important administrative buildings of Madrid.  

The statue, authored by José Capuz, was commissioned by the *Junta de Gobierno de la Ciudad Universitaria* in 1943 to be placed in front of the Arco de la Victoria (Fernández Delgado *et al.* 117). The *Plan Bigador* projected this area as one of the Imperial entrances of the city because it is close to the front of the *Ciudad Universitaria*, and to the space where the *Ministerio del Aire* would be constructed. The arch and the statue would culminate the urban and monumental transformations of this area. In 1939, there is a proposal to erect a Victory Arch to commemorate “los hechos más gloriosos de la cruzada española” (Fernández Delgado *et al.* 405). The initial project of 1943 was postponed due to financial hardships. The construction did not start until 1950 and was finished six years later. Ureña Portero describes that the baseboard “contiene en su exterior figuras que simbolizan virtudes militares—sacrificio, fidelidad, heroísmo—y otras que representan disciplinas universitarias—las letras, las ciencias y las artes” (92). The location of the arch and the sculptures symbolizes the alliance of intellectuals and the military (Ureña Portero 93). The project changed over the years, and Franco himself decided not to place the equestrian statue in this location (Soroa y Pineda 37). For David Cirici the completion of this arch signals the end of the “arquitectura triunfalista monumentalista del franquismo” (179). The fact that the arch was never inaugurated depicts how, in the late 1950s, the regime avoided exaltations of fascist ideology. In turn, Andrés proposes a chronological categorization of the monuments and symbols of Francoism. The first stage spans from 1936 to 1959. This is the most prolific period, especially the forties. The purpose of these symbols is to legitimize Franco’s power and perpetuate the memory of the victory in the Civil War. The second period, from 1960 to 1969, coincides with the *desarrollismo* and monuments pay homage to Franco and the achievements of the regime. Finally, the third period starts in 1970, in which numerous symbols were erected in order to perpetuate the memory of Francoism” (Andrés, *Símbolos* 8-9).
to this date, the arch has not been inaugurated (Fernández Delgado 406-8). The political recognition by the U.N. and U.S. probably influences this decision, as the inauguration of a monument commemorating the national crusade would not be accepted internationally. Pieter Leenknegt indicates the absence of documents explaining why the statue was not placed in front of the arch (16), but I suggest that it was related to the image the regime wanted to project to the international community.

Critics offer two different yet interrelated interpretations of the classic style of the statue (Fig. 8). Antxón Hernández and Antonio Ruiz Barbarín consider that “se trata de una representación ecuestre en la que el escultor ha representado al General Franco al modo de los ‘condotieros’ renacentistas. Capuz realizó una obra muy realista poniendo especial interés en guardar el mayor parecido posible con los rasgos del homenajeado” (110). According to Leenknegt the monuments evoke the equestrian statue of the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius as well as iconic religious Spanish figures such as Santiago Matamoros, and San Fernando who are usually depicted riding a horse (22). Thus, the style associates Franco with the classical Roman Empire and with the religious fighters against the Muslims during the Spanish Reconquista (Leenknegt 22). Franco wears the uniform of the Falange with the “Cruz laureada de San Fernando (símbolo de clara significación militar-religiosa). El bastón de mando en la mano derecha, símbolo de poder” (Leenknegt 22). Both readings of the style denote classical and neoclassical periods, the imagery that the dictatorship attempted to emulate in architecture, sculpture, and even a rhetoric that evokes the values of this period as the foundations of the Spanish
As James Young indicates, “by themselves memorials are of little value” (178), which is the reason why Francoism inaugurated monuments and memorials with ceremonies that congregated its followers. Both the monument and the ceremony affirmed “the righteousness of a nation’s birth, even its divine election” (Young 178). In the case of Spain it affirms the rebirth of a Nation, after the “crusade” of the war. Hence the monuments represent Franco riding a horse as leader of the New Spain. Andrés further illustrates this idea recalling that the inaugurations of statues and monuments took place on important dates for the regime: “con cada inauguración las élites franquistas monopolizaron el espacio simbólico en un ejercicio que se encontraba a medio camino entre el homenaje al dictador y la reafirmación de su posición dominante” (Andrés, “Estatuas,” 161). In the particular case of Nuevos Ministerios, placing the statue in this space achieved two goals. First, in spite of the fact that it was developed by the Second Republic, the monument appropriates the complex of Nuevos Ministerios as an
accomplishment of the dictatorship. Zuazo’s intention was to create a space that brought together the administrative buildings and urban experience that integrated the Madrilenians. Xavier Sust indicates that “el régimen franquista es consciente de que el símbolo altera la función” (qtd. in Bonet Correa, “Espacios,” 19). Therefore, the addition of the monument also changes the original intention of democratizing the space of the administrative buildings by presenting who holds the political power of the country.

Lefebvre contends that the space “produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power” (26). Francoism was aware of the importance of symbolically controlling space to control the society, and to accomplish that it had to produce its own space: “any ‘social existence’ aspiring or claiming to be ‘real’, but failing to produce its own space, would be a strange entity” (Lefebvre 53). In other words, confronted with the impossibility of producing the Imperial Madrid, Francoism shifted the means of production of space by colonizing the city with monuments and symbols that legitimized the narrative of the victors and imposed official memory upon its dwellers.

The date when the statue was finished is unknown, but for several years it was stored in an unidentified location. Arrese, first Minister of Housing, decided that the interior patio of the new Ministerio de la Vivienda in the complex of Nuevos Ministerios would be the ideal location for the statue (Fernández Delgado et al. 117). Franco, as founder of the ministry, should preside over the headquarters. The monument was inaugurated on July 18, 1959, twenty years after the “Glorioso alzamiento nacional.” The ABC edition of the following day describes the ceremony. Franco “pasó revista al
batallón del Ministerio del Aire, que con bandera y música le rindió homenaje, mientras un público numerosísimo, estacionado frente a la fachada del Ministerio de la Vivienda, le hacía objeto de cálidas demostraciones de afecto” (“Los actos” 48). Thereupon, he entered the patio and “ante la estatua ecuestre permaneció unos minutos contemplándola, mientras el señor Arrese descerría la bandera que tapaba la dedicatoria” (48). As ABC reports, the inauguration of the statue was not the main event. In the same ceremony, Franco received the “medalla del plan de urgencia social” (“Debemos” 47), and he announced that 20,931 new apartments had been finished. In addition, he also awarded two hundred and fifty private developers with medals (“Debemos” 47), who “incrementaron sus esfuerzos en la construcción de casas baratas” (“Los actos” 48).

Tzvetan Todorov distinguishes between the languages of the witness, historian, and commemorator.51 The latter “operates in the public sphere and aspire to irrefutable truthfulness” (Hope 132). Commemorations, continues Todorov, take place in spaces such as schools, mass media, and politics (Hope 132). This eclectic ceremony, with “hermosos tapices y las banderas del Movimiento” (“Los actos” 48), embodies how the ideological and economic changes that the regime underwent in the late 1950s affected commemorations. Not just inaugurating the statue, as it would have been the case in the early post-war period, the ceremony highlights the social achievements of the government by celebrating the construction of over 20,000 cheap houses. In turn, in his speech, Franco stresses the social preoccupations of the regime, emphasizing how providing housing to all Spaniards is one of the main concerns (“Debemos” 47). As I

51 Testimony is “the type of discourse that arises when we summon up memories and, by shaping them, give meaning to our life and construct our identity” (Todorov, Hope, 129). In this process some events are omitted while others are reshaped (129). A historian is “someone attached to the discipline whose aim is to recover and analyze the past . . . to establish as far as possible what she or he considers, in all honesty, to be truth” (Todorov, Hope 129-30).
explained earlier, the efforts to solve the housing problem in the periphery were insufficient, and the incorporation of private capital only deteriorated the situation. The fact that the regimen awards medals to the investors, who profited from the developments, points to the increasing importance of capital in the regime, as I later demonstrate in the analysis of Grandes’ novel.

Urban space is a key factor in the politics of memory of Francoism. The urban approach to create an Imperial Madrid failed and from this moment on, monuments and symbols acquired even more importance, as they were a more readily available way to impose official memory upon society. Not only are the monuments important, but also where they are located is significant too, as they were used to indoctrinate and remind people about who held power in Spain. Hugo Achugar indicates that: “El monumento es el objeto y el objetivo de la representación. El monumento, en tanto hecho monumentalizado, constituye la celebración del poder, del poder tener el poder de monumentalizar” (135). Therefore, in the specific case of the statue, the fact that it remains in front of the administrative buildings is doubly problematic. Not only does it commemorate Franco but it also commemorates the power that Franco possessed over thirty years and how this power symbolically remains in the urban space. That is, these monuments and symbols represent a problem during the Transition, as they are part of a past that is traumatic for many Spaniards. Nonetheless, during this period the city hall decided to ignore them to maintain a peaceful coexistence.

During the Transition, there was no political debate to decide what to do with the material legacy of Francoism. Andrés indicates that: “Mientras que los nostálgicos del franquismo las utilizaron como lugar de referencia para su reafirmación ideológica, para
las fuerzas de izquierda se convirtieron en un agravio intolerable” (“Estatuas” 164). Additionally, they became a symbol not only of Franco himself but also of his regime (Andrés, “Estatuas,” 164), with the subsequent alteration of urban experience for the survivors of the war and the relatives of victims of the repression. The Constitution granted the city council the capacity to decide on the names of the streets, symbols, and monuments. Cities and towns governed by progressive parties usually changed some names of streets and eliminated certain symbols (Martín Pallín 63; Andrés, Símbolos 18).

In Madrid, the Socialist government decided to rename twenty-seven streets on January 25, 1980 (Fuente Lafuente n. pag.), but the fate of the monuments and symbols was not discussed.

In the introduction to Recuperar Madrid, Tierno Galván highlights the importance of rehabilitating and preserving urban heritage: “De este modo, mejoraríamos las condiciones ambientales, de trabajo, de habitabilidad, la seguridad psicológica y vital del morador de la villa y creariamos las condiciones para devolver la memoria y las tradiciones de la ciudad, ya que sin conocer y vivir el pasado es muy difícil que tenga sentido el presente” (7). Two questions that arise are: What heritage?, and whose memories? Tierno Galván links the knowledge of the past to a more productive and pleasant urban experience. Likewise, the mayor advocates rescuing the city’s memories and traditions, implying that some were lost during the previous administration.

However, as I argue below, urban renovations completely disregard the monumental and architectural inheritance of Francoism. In the endeavor to create a madrileño identity, the city council’s strategies focus on recuperating the castizo traditions and separating
Madrid as the capital of Francoism. In this process the urban legacy of the dictatorship was ignored and the past of the Second Republic completely overlooked.

The *Plan especial de protección y conservación de edificios y conjuntos históricos-artísticos de la Villa de Madrid* (1982), whose purpose is to outline a strategy to protect and recuperate urban heritage, illustrates how, paradoxically, the new democratic administration looked to a distant past—as Francoism did after the Civil War—in order to avoid a debate about monuments and symbols of the dictatorship. The objectives of the plan are the following:

Se alinea claramente por la conservación, protección y defensa del patrimonio urbano, cambiando el enfoque estrictamente «historicista» de defensa de lo monumental por una actitud más culta de revalorización de la ciudad existente; Toma postura frente al despilfarro especulativo (contra el hacer y deshacer de la ciudad); Asume la defensa del residente y de las actividades tradicionales frente a la recalificación social del espacio urbano, con la expulsión a la periferia de las clases populares; Asumiendo el espacio urbano como la base física en el que se desarrolló el acontecer histórico-social, es defensor del mantenimiento de las señas de identidad que la ciudad, a través de su estructura urbana, representa para la población. (*Plan especial 1*)

The plan proposes to shift the focus from a historicist perspective to one that increases the value of the city. Stapell suggests that Madrid reimagined against itself, that is, against the Madrid of the dictatorship (40). This change points to a break with the policies from a chronological perspective. However, I add that the term historicist also refers to a methodological approach to the past. Whereas Francoism looked at Spanish’s Imperial past to construct its concept of Spanishness, thus imposing a biased historiography, the new democratic local government advocates for a recuperation of the parts of the city and customs that were repressed during the dictatorship. It sought to bring back the *castizo* identity that was eliminated at the end of the war.
This may be one of the reasons why the list of monuments and buildings to be cleaned or restored does not include any project built during Francoism. Enrique Moral, city councilor of culture, describes the heritage that was restored: “[P]ublic monuments of such deeply rooted and madrileño symbolism as the Fountain of Cibeles, the Puerta de Alcalá, and the monument of Alfonso XIII and more than 25 urban statues” (qtd. in Stapell 53). In spite of Tierno Galván’s discourse emphasizing the importance of knowing the past, in the end this plan endorses the pact of silence of the Transition. The memories and past that Madrileniens should know do not include the recent traumatic past, whether of the dictator or the Second Republic.

The Plan’s ambiguity permits the city-hall to decide what buildings and monuments merit preservation: “conservar en correcto estado de utilización aquel patrimonio edificado que el Ayuntamiento de Madrid entiende que presenta suficiente interés histórico-artístico para la colectividad, deteniendo el proceso de demolición prematura e indiscriminada de edificios, sobre todo en el área central de Madrid” (Plan especial 12). Some of the most representative monuments cleaned and restored are the fountain of Cibeles, the Spanish National Theater, the Puerta de Alcalá, the fountain of Neptune, the Palace of Conde Duque, and the temple of Debod (Stapell 52). Andrés affirms that many local administrations avoided political and social conflict by limiting their interventions regarding the symbols and postponing potentially conflictive decisions.

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52 One questions whether Moral does not mention any building and monument from the time of Felipe II because they did not need restoration or due to the appropriation of the architecture of this period as the emblem of Spanish values during Francoism.

53 This last monument was in turn erected during Francoism, but it does not directly represent any personality of the regime, neither does it commemorate the victory of the nationals. For that reason, I would not include it as a monument of Francoism. The temple is an actual Egyptian temple built in the fourth century BC that was offered to Spain in gratitude “for the efforts of the Spanish archeological mission in the Nubia campaign (which the UNESCO organized to prevent the Nubia monuments from disappearing under the water of the Aswan high dam constructed in 1960)” (Muñoz-Rojas 76).
This seems to be the case in Madrid that adopted a dual policy of preserving the patrimony without opening a discussion as to what to do with the symbols of Francoism.

The fact that the plan does not include monuments of the dictatorship does not mean that PSOE’s government did not make any effort to counter-balance the inherited legacy of Francoism. To further develop this issue, it is productive to examine the article “Monumentos con espíritu conciliador y restitución de la memoria colectiva” that appeared in the magazine *Villa de Madrid* in 1981. This article describes the monuments and plaques that the local government installed in the city since the PSOE seized Madrid’s local government. They range from foreign personalities, such as Ludwig van Beethoven, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and Pablo Neruda; to illustrious Madrilenians such as the writers Pío Baroja and Juan Ramón Jiménez, the bullfighter Vicente Pastor, and philosopher José Ortega y Gasset (“Monumentos” 42-5). More problematic for the historical moment are the plaques to Manuel Azaña, described in the article as “una de las personalidades malditas [de Madrid]” (“Monumentos” 42), to Francisco Largo Caballero, and to the city councilors and civil servants of Madrid’s city hall who died during the Civil War.

Azaña and Largo Caballero are relevant figures of the Second Republic. The former was Prime Minister from 1931 to 1933 and President of the Republic during the Civil War. At the end of the war he went into exile and passed away in France in 1940. Largo Caballero was president of the labor union, *Unión General de Trabajadores* (UGT), from 1918 to 1938, and Secretary of Labor from 1931 to 1933. He died in France in 1946, after spending a few years during the Nazi occupation of France in a

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54 This is a publication of Madrid’s city-hall that was issued from 1957 to 1992.
concentration camp. Initially, it would seem that city hall attempts to recuperate Azaña and Largo Caballero’s memory due to their relevant positions and political influence during the Second Republic. However, the argument to install the plaques is their personal relationship to the city.

Azaña’s plaque commemorates the one hundredth anniversary of his birth. It was placed on January 10, 1980 in the house where he lived in Alcalá de Henares. The inauguration of the plaque hardly received attention from the press and no official representation from Madrid’s city hall attended the ceremony. A negligible press release states that: “La placa se instala por iniciativa de la Corporación municipal y al acto asistieron miembros de la familia del ilustre político y numeroso público” (“Placa” n. pag.). The article in *Villa de Madrid* remembers that Azaña’s accomplishments for Madrid cannot be denied: “nadie . . . puede negar a este lúcido pensador, presidente del Ateneo” (“Monumentos” 42). Thus, the article links Azaña to Madrid as the director of el Ateneo rather than as President of the Second Republic.

The purpose of Largo Caballero’s plaque (Fig. 9), dated March 1981, is commemorating the place where he was born. There is no record in the national press on when it was placed and who attended the ceremony. The article describes that Largo Caballero “fue vecino y concejal de la villa y la historia de esta ciudad y de sus trabajadores no se puede entender cabalmente sin la aportación de su persona, «olvidada» oficialmente hasta hace poco por criterios esencialmente ideológicos” (“Monumentos” 44). Like Azaña, he is honored for being a neighbor of Madrid, but his role during the Republic is overlooked. It is rather ironic that the article indicates that he was forgotten due to ideological reasons, since the plaque and the magazine omit the more important
facts of his life, such as his political positions and his death in exile due to political
persecution; two factors that apply to Azaña’s plaque as well.

While these plaques represent a feeble attempt to recuperate the memories of
political figures of the republic, the plaque in honor of the city councilors and civil
servants honors the anonymous workers of Madrid’s city hall. The inscription says: “En
memoria de los concejales y funcionarios del Ayuntamiento de Madrid muertos en la
Guerra Civil 1936-1939” (“Monumentos” 45). According to the article the inscription
omits any “referencia partidista o el recuerdo a pasados enfrentamientos”
(“Monumentos” 45) equalizing the victims of both sides. I agree that memorials should
remember national and republican victims, but in a way that remembers them ethically
and determines who was responsible for the war. During the Transition, official
discourse presented the war as a fortuitous event, thus condoning the responsibilities of
both sides (Aguilar Fernández, *Memory* 210). Furthermore, the plaque does not commemorate those who died due to the repression during the post-war period, nor does it mention the purges and imprisonments of the dictatorship.

This type of memorial reveals the politics of memory in the early 1980s as well. Fernández Delgado *et al.* indicate that plaques are the predominant memorial because of “la baratura económica y la facilidad administrativa para su ejecución” (23). I would add a third factor that, at least on these occasions, may be relevant. Their size makes them less visible, thus they would create less political opposition than the installation of a statute. Therefore, the policies of the monuments of the PSOE echoes the pact of silence, because none of these monuments acknowledges that the Second Republic was a democratic government overthrown by a coup d’état that triggered a cruel civil war and an even more merciless dictatorship. Moreover, the spaces they occupy are hardly visible which depicts the memories of the vanquished as peripheral—literally in the case of Azaña as his plaque is in a town in the outskirts—in the new democratic Spain.

However, it cannot be denied that these plaques are an effort to restore the memories of the vanquished. The article in *Villa de Madrid* suggests that the new statues and commemorative plaques represent a new cultural sensibility, which attempts to "dotar y recuperar para la ciudad de Madrid, para sus habitantes, todo el patrimonio cultural que, unas veces silenciado, otras arrumbado y abandonado en sótanos en otras ocasiones «maldito», pugna por salir y establecerse en una ciudad caracterizada por su cosmopolitismo” (“Monumentos” 42). The new Madrilenian government, continues the article, “pretende asumir toda la cultura «real» y acabar con discriminaciones históricas, fruto de contiendas civiles, felizmente olvidadas” (“Monumentos” 42). I concur with
Stapell who argues that the wide array of people commemorated, and the disregard for Francoist monuments is part of the effort to promote coexistence amongst Madrilenians (Stapell 131). At the same time, one cannot overlook the double discourse promoted by the city hall. On the one hand it advocates recuperating the past as part of a healthy urban experience, and, on the other, it silences the memories of the Second Republic. Nonetheless, it is difficult to say if these insufficient efforts were an active acceptation of the pact of silence or a timid opposition to it. The efforts to create a sense of community, commendable as they are, also expose how the left had to make more concessions for the sake of keeping social peace than the right did. Not only did the material legacy of Francoism continued unchanged in the streets, but the new monuments to relevant figures of the Second Republic overlooked their achievements during this period.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the statue of Franco in Nuevos Ministerios remained in place invulnerable to political and social changes.55 The statue of Franco became a symbolic space for nostalgia and supporters of the dictatorship. Although the statue did not become a regular place to honor Franco as in fact did the Valley of the Fallen, occasionally demonstrations in favor of Franco were held in front of the statue in the Plaza de San Juan de la Cruz. El País reports that an offering took place in the square on October 1st 1983 to commemorate the day Franco was named Head of the State (“Ofrenda” n. pag), a festivity celebrated every October 1st during the long dictatorship. In the November 18th 1989 issue of ABC, a complete page of the newspaper announces the celebration of an offering to commemorate the day Franco died coordinated by the

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55 The only alteration that it suffered was the removal of the inscription in the base. As Leenknegt indicates the inscription read: “Al Caudillo/ de España/ Creador del/ Ministerio de/ la vivienda,” and also the word “Victor.” These words were erased (18). The moment for this removal is unclear but “todas las indicaciones van en la dirección de las llamadas ‘operaciones cosméticas’ realizadas al principio de la época democrática” (Leenknegt 19).
organization *Restauración franquista del pueblo español.*\(^{56}\) Therefore, the installation of two statues financed by the Spanish Government, one of Indalecio Prieto and the other of Largo Caballero, installed in the complex of *Nuevos Ministerios*, may be interpreted as an attempt to counterbalance the memory and legacy of Franco in this space. As I argue below, these monuments did not achieve this goal, but the place where they were installed in relationship to the building and the statue of Franco represent how, ten years after the demise of Franco, the memory of the Second Republic occupies a marginal space, both figuratively and physically, in Madrid.

The second statue that was placed in the area of *Nuevos Ministerios* during the 1980s portrays Prieto (1883-1962) (Fig. 10), who held several positions under the Second Republic. While he was Minister of Public Works from 1931 to 1933, he promoted the construction of *Nuevos Ministerios* as a measure to mitigate the spiking unemployment in Madrid (“Inauguración,” n. pag), hence the decision to place the statue adjacent to the building. The inaugural ceremony on December 18th 1984 was presided by “*los ministros de Obras Públicas, Transportes y Comunicaciones, y de Trabajo y Seguridad Social con la asistencia de Concha Prieto, hija del homenajeado, y numerosos directivos y militantes del PSOE* (Álvarez 447).

\(^{56}\) I did not find any information about this organization.
The statue, made of bronze and more than four meters tall, is not a realist reproduction of the politician; on the contrary it pretends that:

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\text{[L]}a \text{ vida interior y psicológica del personaje sea la que genere los rasgos del mismo, siempre dentro de unos límites que le hagan reconocible a los demás. El cuerpo ha sido tratado mediante grandes planos, se podría decir que cubistas, rotos visceralmente como si se tratase de lava volcánica que al secarse se hubiera resquebrajado. Es a través de estas rupturas como dota a la figura de movimiento y vitalidad. (Hernández and Barbarín 126)}
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The PSOE commissioned the statue of Largo Caballero (Fig. 11) inaugurated by Joaquín Almunia, Mininister of Labor, on May 8\textsuperscript{th} 1985 (“Joaquín” n. pag.). The rectangular shapes of the statue, which is placed in front of the arcades of the Nuevos Ministerios, stands out with the rationality of the building (Hernández and Barbarín 130). The statue attempts to merge “la escultura abstracta, casi cubista se podría decir, con el retrato, de modo que mientras cabeza y manos han sido tratadas de una manera figurativa,
expresionista, el cuerpo tiene una estructura de grandes cubos rotos de forma violenta y arbitraria” (130).

Fig. 11. Statue of Largo Caballero. Image by the author (2009).

What may be the reason for selecting Prieto and Largo Caballero as subjects of sculptural monuments? Although they were part of the government of the Republic, they are not amongst the most paradigmatic figures of the period. If the goal was to commemorate the Second Republic, Manuel Azaña or Niceto Alcalá-Zamora, both presidents during that time, seem to be more suitable choices, especially if the purpose was to counterbalance the statue of Franco. At this time, erecting a statue of one of the presidents of the Republic would cause political and social backlash. Therefore, PSOE’s government chose persons related to the project of Nuevos Ministerios whose political leadership during the Republic was not too controversial. Thus, the national government mimics the double discourse of the city hall, choosing to commemorate figures of the Republic whose political relevancy would not instigate social and political unrest.
While the quasi-abstract representations of both politicians portray the artistic evolution of sculpture, what I find more relevant is the space where they are located. The *Nuevos Ministerios* is the element that links the three statues integrated in the complex. Prieto started the project that was not finished due to the Civil War. As Minister of Labor of the Republic, Largo Caballero also contributed to the project. Finally, Franco’s regime finished the construction and, I argue, placed his equestrian monument in a prominent location in order to colonize this space, introducing the authoritarian figure of the dictator as a symbol and a reminder of who held power in Spain. Leenknegt describes how the colossal equestrian statue of Franco overshadows the monuments of Largo Caballero and Prieto:

[A] la sombra de la ‘todopoderosa’ presencia de la efigie de Franco—es el colosalismo de la última frente a la relativa modestia de las dos primeras, la colocación de la estatua ecuestre en posición rigurosamente simétrica al elemento arquitectónico de la entrada del Ministerio de la Vivienda (resultado de una dirección de mirada fuertemente impuesta desde cierta distancia) y el verticalismo de la efigie dictatorial frente al horizontalismo del lenguaje escultórico de los demócratas representados. (Leenknegt 21)

Beyond the aesthetic and formal differences, what separates these monuments, in my opinion, is the spaces they occupy in relation to the building. As I mentioned, the Franco statue was in the *Plaza de San Juan de la Cruz* in front of one entrance to the building. The monument to Prieto is in the corner of the *Plaza de San Juan de la Cruz* and the *Avenida de la Castellana*, about twenty yards from the entrance. Finally, Largo Caballero’s statue is in front of the arcade, half way between the entrance on the *Castellana* and the location of Prieto’s memorial. Therefore, whereas Franco occupied a hierarchical space in front of an entrance and is placed on a tall base that gave more visibility to the monument, Prieto and Largo’s statues are on the side of the building
which suggests that, although their memories are now part of the urban space, they are still peripheral in a democratic Spain that has yet to pay the sufficient recognition to the Second Republic, their dignitaries, and the anonymous people who died defending the democratic government.

Jelin and Victoria Langland differentiate between spaces that have been successfully marked by a monument and those in which the attempt to establish a memory or a counter-memory failed (4-5). The first occurs when “un grupo (o grupos) logró marcar un espacio con un cierto conjunto de significaciones que han perdurado en el tiempo” (4). In the case of Nuevos Ministerios Franco achieved this goal, as it is now a place that represents the legacy of Francoism, even after the statue was removed, at least in the short term. On many occasions when it is not possible to remove memories from a place, the purpose is to add another layer of meaning (Jelin and Langland 5). The attempts of the PSOE to re-signify this space with the addition of the statues of Prieto and Largo Caballero largely failed, because it did not achieve establishing the memories of the Second Republic.

This space is symbolic of the evolution of the politics of historical memory in Spain. During the Transition and early democracy, the imposed memory of Francoism was clearly the dominant memory in urban space. The local Socialist government undertook some measures to lessen the legacy of Francoism. It changed the name of some streets and installed monuments and plaques, but the absence of symbols of Francoism in the Plan to restore Madrilenian patrimony and monuments suggests that it

57 Jelin and Langland acknowledges that it may be an oversimplification to talk about succeeding or failing to mark a space with memory: “Dada la historicidad de estos procesos, lo que puede ser vivido como «éxito» o «fracaso» en un momento llevará a cambios de sentido en momento futuros, dependiendo de las interpretaciones que las generaciones futuras darán a lo que se está conmemorando, al sentido que adquiere el lugar para otros proyectos, incluyendo la posibilidad de indiferencia u olvido” (5)
did not question what to do with the monuments of Franco. Furthermore, new memorials
did not commemorate historical figures for their contribution to the Republic but for their
relationship to Madrid. This depicts how the past of the Second Republic was silenced in
order to consolidate the democracy. Once the PSOE won the national elections, their
policies regarding monuments echoes the interventions of city hall. The statues of Largo
Caballero and Prieto in the *Nuevos Ministerios* seem to be an attempt to counterbalance
the statue of Franco placed in front of the headquarters of several miniseries. Once again,
it was a weak attempt to introduce memories of the Republic into this space; because the
monuments do not represent the Republican politician’s achievements for the Second
Republic nor do they acknowledge or inform that they passed away in exile due to the
persecution of the dictatorship.

For almost twenty years, the area of *Nuevos Ministerios* remained unchanged, and
with the arrival of the Partido Popular first to city hall (1991), then to governing body of
the Autonomous Region (1995), and finally to the national Spanish Government (1996)
the policies regarding monuments remained the same. In the book *Así cambiamos Madrid* (1996) Enrique Villoria advocates for the preservation of the urban patrimony
and the monuments of Madrid. In spite of offering a detailed list of monuments that have
been restored—Cibeles, Alonso Martínez, Puerta de Toledo—and cleaned—Espartero,
Teniente Ruiz, Castelar or Lope de Vega—the list does not include any monuments of
political figures of the twentieth century. There seems to be a double reason for this
ellipsis. First, the conservative party does not oppose the permanence of symbols of the
dictatorship in the urban space. In fact, PP did not condemn the *coup d’etat* that started
the Civil War until November 20, 2002 (Cué n. pag). Second, including any political
monument in the list may generate criticism from other parties. During the late 1990s
and early 2000s, amidst the raising cry from society demanding recognition of the past of
the Civil War and the dictatorship that I described in the Introduction, monuments and
symbols of Francoism steadily disappeared from Madrid and other cities. However, the
procedure to remove the statue of Franco in Nuevos Ministerios and the subsequent
controversies are representative of the politics of memory in Spain.

In 1999, congresswoman and Izquierda Unida’s (IU) candidate for mayor to
Madrid’s city hall, Inés Sabanes officially requested, without success, the removal of the
monument regretting that “persistan elementos propios de la simbología franquista”
(Neira n. pag.) Five years later, Concepción Denche , also a congresswoman of the IU,
requested the removal of the monument: “suprimir este ‘monumento al fascismo y a la
intransigencia que se cobró tantas víctimas en defensa de la democracia’” (“IU” n. pag).
In both cases the minority party IU asks for the removal of the statue, revealing that PP
and PSOE still subscribe to the pact of silence and would not use the past as a political
issue. Other opinions considered that the statue was a sign of a stable democracy.

Architect Miguel Fisac makes this rhetorical question: “¿Quién puede dudar, por
ejemplo, de que la respetada estatua ecuestre del General Franco es un auténtico
monumento a la tolerancia actual del pueblo de Madrid?” (9). Rather than the tolerance
of Madrilenians, its peaceful permanence points to two interrelated aspects. On the one
hand, it demonstrates the success of the pact of silence that was more punitive to Franco’s
opposition who had to make more concessions than the right. The Amnesty of 1977
pardoned all political crimes, thus exonerating torturers and executors, while victims had
to accept this and live with the material legacy of the dictatorship. On the other hand, it
may be related to what Merino and Song label as “traces of contamination.” A term they employ to refer to the ideological remains of Francoism that are still part of the society. Therefore, the permanence of monuments may point to how ingrained Francoism was in Spanish society, something that the Transition reinforced with the closure of the past without any public discussion.

In March 17, 2005, without any notice, the statue of Franco in Nuevos Ministerios was removed and taken to a warehouse of the Ministerio de Obras Públicas y Urbanismo (Rodríguez n. pag). The newspaper El Mundo quotes the two reasons given by the government for the removal: “el primero, la reordenación del complejo de Nuevos Ministerios y el segundo, retirar una figura que no agradaba a la mayoría de los ciudadanos” (Rodríguez n. pag.). The works were undertaken during the night so that traffic would not be disrupted (Rodríguez n. pag.).

If the secrecy of the removal and the reasons are representative of the politics of memory in Spain even after three decades without Franco, this reactions are also representative of how the Civil War and the dictatorship are open wounds in Spanish society.

Mariano Rajoy, then leader of the opposition, accused Rodríguez Zapatero of breaking the consensus of the Transition, adding that “en 1978 los españoles tomaron ‘un acuerdo, que era difícil después de una historia complicada’ y decidieron ‘mirar hacia delante’. Y desde ese momento, añadió, ningún presidente del Gobierno ‘se dedicó a revolver en el pasado’” (Ferrandis and Aizpeloa n. pag.). Rajoy considers the 1978 Constitution as a binding document that disallows any revision of the past. Vice-President María Teresa Fernández de la Vega explained that “no se trata de anular la Historia, se trata de pasar una página” (Ferrandis and Aizpeloa” n. pag). Finally, Ignacio

58 For a detailed account of the removal see the article by López Zapico.
del Burgo, member of the parliament representing PP, asked for the removal of the monuments of Prieto and Largo Caballero (Ferrandis and Aizpeloa n. pag.). Del Burgo’s opinion depicts how ingrained was the idea that the Republic was equally responsible for the Civil War when he compares the monument of a dictator to the statues of two democratic elected politicians.59

The Department’s action and the debate surrounding the statue’s removal demonstrates Spanish democracy’s inability to implement a consensual politics of memory in order to publicly discuss the Civil War and the dictatorship. The removal also shows how extreme organizations used the legislative void for their own interests. The Fundación Francisco Franco appealed the decision to the Ministry and won in March 2009. Almost four years after the removal, Madrid’s Supreme Court ruled the action illegal because the Department of Public Works did not follow the legal procedures regarding historical and artistic heritage (“El TSJM” n. pag.). The Court admonishes the Department for deciding on this action when the monument was not property of the Universidad Complutense.60

The Court ruled the Department incompetent because they were not the owner of the statue. Nonetheless, a petition of the Foundation to restore the statue was rejected because “carece de finalidad práctica y no deja de ser un mero simulacro efectista vacío

59 The conservative newspaper ABC also contributed to the controversy in an editorial piece, indicating that Rodríguez Zapatero and his government: “Parecen carecer de otro discurso que no sea elacndado [sic] en un pasado que actualizan de forma constante para encontrar sentido a la confrontación con la derecha, a la que quieren devolver a un estado democráticamente neófito propio del postfranquismo (Zarzalejos n. pag.).

60 Months before the removal of the statue from the square there was an inquiry of the Department of Public Works to determine the owner of the monument. The Dirección General de Patrimonio Nacional discovered that it did not appear in their catalogues. The National Government and Madrid’s city hall also denied responsibility. The Universidad Complutense, the original destination for the monument, also repudiates ownership: “Sin embargo, según explicó el portavoz de la Complutense, no se ha logrado confirmar que eso supusiera que les pertenecía. ‘No consta en el catálogo de la universidad’, agregó” (Alcaide n. pag).
de contenido” (El TSJM n. pag.). The Foundation appealed the decision and the case went to the Supreme Court. The appeal was rejected on June 2012: “Se rechaza revisar el caso en función de la cuantía del caso, pues el desmontaje no llegó a alcanzar los 150.253 euros que requiere la ley para que el Supremo revise este tipo de asuntos” (“El TS” n. pag). The Supreme Court clarified that, even in the case that the Court was competent; it would have to apply the Law of Historical Memory:

«Dicha disposición impone a todas las Administraciones Públicas adoptar las medidas oportunas para que se proceda a la retirada de aquellos monumentos conmemorativos que supongan una exaltación de la Guerra Civil, con el objeto de dar cumplimiento al espíritu de reconciliación y concordia que permitió el alumbramiento de la Constitución de 1978, y evitar la permanencia de cualquier vestigio que pueda ser causa de enfrentamiento, agravio u ofensa al modelo constitucional de convivencia». ("El TS" n. pag)

The decision of the Supreme Court seems to close another episode that portrays how memory is mishandled in Spain. Although the Law of Historical Memory sets the grounds regarding how to proceed with the material legacy of Francoism, it is still an issue that needs to be publicly discussed.

In October 31, 2007, when the Congress passed the Law of Historical Memory, it seemed that the situation regarding symbols and monuments would be regulated, but as I mentioned, names of streets and symbols remain in the topography of Spain. Before examining this issue I want to comment on this Law, and how, in spite of being a step forward in recognizing the victims of Francoism, it still has some shortcomings. The Law attempts to give moral reparations to the victims of the Civil War, Francoism and the Transition, as well as to increase the economical reparations established during the Transition.
Although the Law includes victims of both sides, it has been broadly criticized. The organizations and political parties that support the recovery of the historical memory emphasize that, yet again, the measures are not satisfactory, as the Law does not differentiate the victims who died or suffered defending the Second Republic, and those who rebelled against the democratic government. The Asociación para la Repuperación de la Memoria Histórica (ARHM) and the Foro por la Memoria, argue that the Law should only recognize the victims of the Republican side, since Francoism repeatedly paid homage to its own victims. Emilio Silva, founder of the ARHM, claims that it is shameful that the State does not assume the exhumation of the executed victims of the Civil War (“Un proyecto” n. pag). El Foro por la Memoria labels the Law as disappointing and indicates that the Government: “ha vuelto a defraudar las expectativas de las víctimas del franquismo y sus familiares” (“Un proyecto” n. pag). On the contrary, conservative groups and political parties opposed the Law claiming that investigating the past would open wounds that were closed during the Transition. Mariano Rajoy, leader of the PP, considered that the Law created tensions in the Spanish society since: “[la] ‘inmensa mayoría de los españoles no quiere una revisión de la historia, ni quieren volver a hablar de la República ni de Franco’ porque no sirve ‘absolutamente para nada’” (“Un proyecto” n. pag)

The Law highlights the spirit of the Transition as a model of coexistence and guidance for the recognition of the victims (53410). It is time for the Spanish democracy and its living generations to recover those who suffered for any political, ideological, or religious reasons during these historical periods. The objective of the law is explained in the first article:
La presente Ley tiene por objeto reconocer y ampliar derechos a favor de quienes padecieron persecución o violencia, por razones políticas, ideológicas, o de creencia religiosa, durante la Guerra Civil y la Dictadura, promover su reparación moral y la recuperación de su memoria personal y familiar, y adoptar medidas complementarias destinadas a suprimir elementos de división entre los ciudadanos, todo ello con el fin de fomentar la cohesión y solidaridad entre las diversas generaciones de españoles en torno a los principios, valores y libertades constitucionales. (“LEY” 53411)

Thus, as should be the case, the law includes the victims of the two sides during the Civil War.\(^6\) However, the ambiguous descriptions of the origins of the Civil War and Francoism exacerbate some criticisms of the law. José Antonio Moreno points out how Franco’s name is not mentioned once, and the numerous euphemisms used to describe the dictatorship, which is referred to as “el periodo histórico surgido después de la Guerra Civil” or “el régimen dictatorial surgido con posterioridad” (715). There is a conscious effort to avoid the word República or any reference to its democratic regime which is just mentioned as “[la] legalidad institucional anterior al 18 de julio de 1936” (715). Finally, while the Law declares illegal the courts and the sentences promulgated due to political, ideological, or religious motive, the text lacks an open condemnation of the coup d’état and Franco’s regime.

The concept of memory the Law seems to follow is also insufficient. It recognizes the individual and family memories of each citizen; however, Silva regrets that the law perpetuates the belief that the memory of these periods is personal and familiar, rather than a public issue, which is a negation of a collective memory (Labanyi, 61).

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\(^6\) The equiparation of the victims is also a theme of contention. Moreno argues that it is unfair putting the victims of Francoism at the same level as those who raised against the Republic: “la Dictadura franquista durante toda su existencia se encargó muy mucho de castigar a los derrotados (con amplio y brutal exceso como es sabido) pero también, y sobre todo, de otorgar prebendas, privilegios y ventajas a las víctimas del bando vencedor: es moralmente inaceptable bajo unos mínimos criterios éticos equiparar a aquellos que defendieron – y dieron su vida en tal defensa- un sistema democrático y una legalidad institucional plasmada en la II República y en su Constitución de 1931 con aquellos que subvirtieron dicho orden democrático, no aceptaron las normas mínimas de convivencia del mismo y lo violentaron por la fuerza de las armas” (719).
“Entrevista” 153-4). Silva goes further to denounce that the relegation of memory to the personal and private sphere allows the Law to avoid the issue of teaching these periods in the public education system (“Entrevista” 154). I believe that education is not the only issue at stake. Negating the social part of memory also avoids the implementation of public measures regarding the investigation of memory, such as the removal of symbols and the creation of monuments honoring victims.

Regarding monuments and symbols of the dictatorship, the Law states that Public Administrations “tomarán las medidas oportunas para la retirada de escudos, insignias, placas y otros objetos o menciones conmemorativas de exaltación, personal o colectiva, de la sublevación militar, de la Guerra Civil y de la represión de la Dictadura” (53414). The law does not specify what administration—local, regional, or state—should decide on this issue. Probably the most controversial part of the Law concerning symbols and monuments is the second section of the same article: “Lo previsto en el apartado anterior no será de aplicación cuando las menciones sean de estricto recuerdo privado, sin exaltación de los enfrentados, o cuando concurren razones artísticas, arquitectónicas o artístico-religiosas protegidas por la ley” (53414). That is, the Law exempts monuments and symbols due to artistic reasons. José Antonio Martín Pallín points to the future contentions that this provision may create. On the one hand, Martín Pallín completely agrees with the preservation of historical buildings and monuments “because the democratic convictions and values don’t have any fear of the dictatorial past, sclerotized in the stone of its monuments, exalts of the basest feelings of humanity” (Martín Pallín 65). But, on the other hand, he is troubled with the fact that the “architectural criteria become a mere bureaucratic formulism, predetermined by decrees, orders, and even laws,
which may very well be useful in their true prevision but which in fact are excessively
rigid for confronting this task” (65-6). Martín Pallín implicitly suggests that this
stipulation may turn into an alibi to maintain buildings or monuments whose historical
value does not go beyond commemorating the dictatorship. How will the Law affect
monuments such as El Arco del Triunfo, or as Greppi mentions the symbols that are
carved in patrimonial buildings?

Consequently, in spite of the Law of Historical Memory, there is still an absence
of agreed upon policies and public discussion. These issues have caused deficiencies in
the urban memory of Madrid and Spain. First, as Todorov maintains, totalitarian regimes
attempted to systematically control memory (Abusos 14). Hugo Achugar indicates that
“[L]a visibilidad del monumento vuelve invisible todo aquello y todos aquellos que el
monumento niega o contradice” (135). Therefore, in a sense, the preservation of
monuments as Franco planned them suggests that Spain, as a society, “ought to
remember what the dictator wanted us to remember” (González-Ruibal 65). In spite of
the progress regarding this issue “la realidad es que después de casi tres décadas de
democracia el espacio urbano de muchas localidades españolas sigue dominado por una
sola memoria” (Alonso Carballés 96). The elimination of symbols did not mean a
recovery of the memories of the victims: “no ha significado una recuperación de la

62 Andrea Greppi further problematizes this issue: “No conozco cuántos sean los «escudos, insignias, placas
y otros objetos o menciones conmemorativas» que caen en el ámbito de protección de la norma, pero no
creo que entre ellos se puedan contar las fúgubres lápidas que, todavía hoy recuerdan en algunas iglesias a
los caídos «por Dios y por España». Al fin y al cabo, no parece sensato pensar que todos los objetos
situados en el interior de un monumento protegido, o colgados de sus paredes, por el simple hecho de
encontrarse ahí, merezcan el mismo grado de protección. Y no creo que la norma se refiera tampoco a las
chapas, con el yugo y las flechas, que todavía ornan los portales de las viviendas de protección oficial
construidas en los mejores años del franquismo. Me pregunto, en definitiva, cuántas de las lápidas y
símbolos que aún hoy existen tienen alguna clase de valor artístico. En todo caso, lo que debería quedar
claro es que sólo aquellos que tengan algún valor artístico—suponiendo que alguno lo tenga—merecerán
un trato generoso, mientras que todos los demás, los feos, no podrán seguir estando en lugares públicos”
(122-23).
memoria de las víctimas y rara vez ha permitido una reappropriación del espacio en favor del recuerdo de la legitimidad democrática contra la cual se alzaron los militares el 18 de julio” (Alonso Carballés 97). Not only is Franco’s imposed memory still part of the urban landscape, but the memories of the vanquished have not been ethically compensated. After more that thirty years of democracy, “¿Dónde están los monumentos dedicados al exilio, al emigrante, a los presos del franquismo, a los muertos por las fuerzas de orden público en Granada, Madrid, El Ferrol, Barcelona...?” (Saz Campos 201)

This question leads me to the second shortcoming of the politics of historical memory in the urban space. Namely, the absence of counter-monuments that consider Spain’s traumatic past. Other countries that also suffered violent dictatorships have policies to memorialize traumatic urban places (Argentina, for example, transforms places of torture into mnemonic spaces, and creates places of memory such as “El parque de la memoria” in Buenos Aires). However, Spain lacks any plan not only for the creation of an agreed upon memorial, but also for what to do with Francoist monuments and symbols once they are removed from the urban landscape. This is yet another instance of the thwarted debate surrounding this historical period in current Spanish society.

Whether one agrees with the removal of monuments or advocates for their preservation, it seems obvious that the procedures to remove the statue of Nuevos Ministerios and the subsequent storing in a warehouse are not the best to deal with an

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63 Young defines counter-monuments as spaces: “brazen, painfully self-conscious memorial spaces conceived to challenge the very premises of their being” (171).
issue that should be one of the foundations of a democratic society: discussing the past critically. Benjamin suggests that heritage, or cultural treasures as he names them,

Have an origin which he [the materialist historian] cannot contemplate without horror. They owe their existence not only to the efforts of the great minds and talents who have created them, but also to the anonymous toil of their contemporaries. There is no document of civilization which is not at the same time a document of barbarism. (“Theses” 256)\textsuperscript{64}

This quotation leads Achugar to state that, if Benjamin is correct, it is impossible to erect a democratic monument, and furthermore questions whether monuments are necessary in contemporary democratic societies at all (128). It is not possible to give a definitive answer to either question, but I do think that a society should democratize their “documents of barbarism.” Perhaps, instead of removing the statue of Nuevos Ministerios, it would have been more productive to displace it to a museum, where its meaning would be altered; or even, change its location to a less symbolic space and re-signify it with a text that states Franco’s biography and the crimes he committed during the war and dictatorship. Of course, this seems to be an illusion in a society that cannot agree, as I said in the introduction, whether Franco was a dictator or not.

In this chapter, I have revealed how urban regeneration and monuments at times impose memories, and at times attempt to hide them. After the war, Francoism faced the challenges of rebuilding Madrid and of erasing the signs of the resistance against Fascism, as well as the memory of the Second Republic. When Fascist ideology gave way to capital and speculation, which transformed the center of the city and created the housing problem of the periphery, the regime colonized urban space with monuments and symbols in order to legitimize itself. The Nuevos Ministerios area is a prime example of this approach. A project designed and initiated by the Republic, with the equestrian

\textsuperscript{64} This passage is quoted in the Spanish translation by Achugar (128).
statue of Franco provides a visible sign that shows Madrilenians who is in power. With the demise of Franco, the statue continued to preside over the entrance of the building that accommodates some of the Departments of the democracy. The pact of silence achieved its original goal of establishing a democracy without social confrontations, but the visible and physical legacy of the dictatorship did not disappear after the imposed silence of the 1980s. The Transition made an effort to ignore the past of Francoism with a strategy of recuperating a castizo identity that disregarded the Second Republic and of looking to the future by redesigning Madrid. Thus, as Francoism did after the war, the new democratic government of the city sought to restore heritage buildings and monuments, mainly, from the nineteenth century, something that embraces the pact of silence. The situation was largely unchanged until the year 2005, when the statue was removed amidst criticism from the conservatives and approval from progressives. However, it also depicted how thirty years after Franco’s death the debate about the past is an unresolved matter.
Chapter 2: From the Archive to the City: (Re)Constructing Madrid’s Past in Basilio Martín Patino’s Madrid (1987)

This chapter analyzes how Martín Patino’s feature film, Madrid, underscores the importance of urban space and its experience in the creation and recuperation of collective memories of the Spanish Civil War as well as the representation of the past. I argue that this film proposes a dialectical relationship between memory and history in order to reconstruct and represent the past better.65 Ricoeur signals the futility of a binary opposition between history and memory. Neither is memory an object of study of history; nor does collective memory subdue history “by means of the abuses of memory that the commemorations imposed by political powers or by pressure groups can turn into” (393). Ricoeur considers both memory and history as necessary in order to know the past. Hence, he advocates for a dialectical relationship: “The history of memory and the historicization of memory can confront one another in an open dialectic that preserves them from the passage to the limit” (392).

I argue that Madrid echoes Ricoeur’s proposal. On the one hand, the film, in which a fictional plot about the filming of a documentary interweaves with archival footage, pictures of the civil war, and images of present day Madrid proposes a hybrid representation of the past. On the other hand, the evolution of the protagonist, Hans, who starts his endeavor with a historiographical approach and later adopts a methodology that highlights the relevance of collective memories, contributes as well to this dialectic. I contend that both the hybridity of the movie and Hans’ evolution question the authority of the official historical archive as the main reliable source to represent and know the past.

65 I do not use dialectic in the Hegelian or Lacanian sense. I employ it as Ricoeur proposes in order to explain how memory and history complement each other.
past. This issue is especially relevant, since Madrid was shot on the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the Civil War. The commemorations were nonexistent at a politically public level; however there were a significant number of historiographical volumes and compilations published by the main newspapers and the principal publishing houses. In fact, Madrid originated as a project of Martín Patino’s production company, “La Linterna Mágica,” in collaboration with the Ministerio de Cultura entitled Vivir en Madrid. The Department of culture aimed at filming a documentary about the war in Madrid using archive images (García Martínez, Cine 112). However, the project changed and the local administration and its politicians were dissatisfied with the film. Patino explains that: “a lo mejor ellos esperaban otro tipo de película más apologética. No he querido hacer un NO-DO con Madrid” (qtd. in Caparrós Lera, Cine 301). Finally, I argue that equally important in Hans’ evolution is his relationship to the city. As he experiences the urban milieu, its collective past becomes more comprehensible. Likewise, as he comprehends the past of the city he is able to understand better the idiosyncrasies of present day Madrilenians.

To develop fully these arguments, I first trace the evolution of the documentary genre in Spain during the dictatorship, emphasizing the relevance of NO-DO and the production of documentaries that deal with the city of Madrid during the Civil War and Francoism. I examine Frédéric Rossif’s Mourir à Madrid (1963), and the Spanish production ¿Por qué morir en Madrid? (1966) by Eduardo Manzanos Brochero, filmed as a direct response to Rossif’s movie. Martín Patino uses these films as intertexts in Madrid. All of them are part of a series that highlights the symbolical relevance of Madrid during the war. I also analyze Martín Patino’s trilogy of documentaries during

66 NO-DO is the abbreviation for Noticiarios y Documetales a newsreel created by the regime in 1943.
the Transition: *Canciones para después de una Guerra* (1971, not released until 1976); *Queridísimos verdugos* (1973); and *Caudillo* (1974). I focus my analysis on *Canciones* as the type of editing and the soundtrack add new meanings to archival footage produced during the dictatorship, something that continues in *Madrid*. In general, this introduction contextualizes Martín Patino’s use of archival footage and his reinterpretation of the historical discourse of Francoism throughout his cinematographic career, but focuses especially on *Madrid*.

The technical evolution of cinema and its increasing popularity in the first third of the twentieth century turned it into a medium to express and to represent the ideological values of the Republic and the pro-Franco’s forces. Cinema also epitomizes the broader ideological scope of the war as Nazi Germany assisted the Fascist side in the production of feature films and the Soviet Union made sure that the heroism of the Second Republic and the destruction caused by Franco’s troops were filmed in a series of documentaries. Newsreels and documentaries, due to their informative and propagandistic qualities, were central to the early representations of the war and its aftermaths.\(^{67}\)

During the almost forty years of dictatorship, the cultural and political apparatus of Francoism tightly controlled the recording of newsreel. As a consequence, the documentary genre was almost nonexistent in Spain during this period. Whereas Francoism regulated the production of feature films through censorship and subsidy policies, the control over newsreel footage was absolute (Vernon 175). After the

\(^{67}\) There is an extensive tradition of producing documentaries about the Civil War. Some of the most iconic were filmed during the war by foreign filmmakers. Such is the case of the works of Roman Karmen and his assistant Boris Makasiev who were sent by the Kremlin in August of 1936 (Kowalsky 39), and in less than a year these soviet filmmakers released the documentaries *Madrid se defiende* (1936), *Madrid en Llamas* (1936), and *Ispaniia* (1937), a series of episodes for television that cover the war since their arrival in Irún, to the filming of the formation of the *Brigadas Internacionales* in Barcelona, to the siege of the Alcazar of Toledo, and finally the battle of Madrid (Kowalsky 40-1). Other emblematic documentaries are *The Spanish Earth* (1937) by Dutch communist filmmaker Joris Ivens with Ernest Hemingway as narrator.
foundation of Noticiarios y Documentales Cinematográficos (henceforth referred to as NO-DO) in 1942, documentary footage was controlled and destined entirely for the NO-DO (Aguilar Fernández, Políticas 120). Román Gubern characterizes the NO-DO as a “monopolio estatal que implicaba una automática censura legal contra cualquier iniciativa particular en este campo de la información, lo que tendría gravísimas consecuencias para el futuro del cine documental y del cortometraje español” (qtd. in Vernon 183). In spite of the negative consequences for the documentary genre and its systematic manipulation of information, NO-DO is nowadays the largest visual historical archive of Francoism, and it is, for this reason, one of the main sources for the study of the politics of memory under the dictatorship and its official discourse as represented through victory parades, inauguration of monuments, and celebration of anniversaries (Aguilar Fernández, Políticas 121).

NO-DO was created to transmit the ideology of the regime and, since it preceded the screening of every feature film in commercial cinemas, it was one of the most effective apparatuses of propaganda. The slogan of the newsreel, “poner el mundo al alcance de todos los españoles,” conceals, as Sheelagh Elwood proposes, “the reality of a regime which was using the cinema for the construction and transmission of its particular system of socio-political values and for the circulation of its own mythology” (229). The discourse of NO-DO evolved at the same pace as the dictatorship, and it can be divided into two main periods. The first spans from its creation in 1942 to the end of World War II. The tone of this period is belligerent with a continuous “evocación de la Guerra Civil hasta la exaltación de la figura de Franco, pasando por la calculada captación de un desfile o la recreación del himno falangista” (Rodríguez Tranche, “NO-DO,” 195). From
the early fifties on, with the economic model of an autarchy shifting to a liberal capitalist one, NO-DO follows a twofold discourse. One corresponds to the economic and social changes that were gaining importance: “la celebración y apología de su transformación económica, su dinámica industrial, la creación de infraestructuras;” (Rodríguez Tranche, “NO-DO,” 195) and, a second discourse in which the regime celebrates and remembers itself. As a consequence, some of these celebrations would lose ideological authority to become an expression of an expiring rhetoric (195). Therefore, after a celebratory period that explicitly glorified the victory in the Civil War, the propaganda of the regime softened its views in order to offer a more democratic image abroad.

Sánchez-Biosca describes the style of NO-DO as “la más sencilla expresión de los estratos profundos del régimen. Un lenguaje henchido y desbordante, una retórica kitsch, una dicción sobreactuada, un nulo sentido del humor, una cansina repetición de lugares comunes” (“NO-DO,” 242). In other words, the artificial discourse of the newsreel echoes the artificial and static concept of history elaborated during the dictatorship: “No-Do habla, a través de su retórica, de su vocación intemporal, de su implícito rechazo a lo actual o su pereza respecto al paso del tiempo y al cambio” (Sánchez-Biosca, “Lugares,” 207). The concepts of time and history are constructed to legitimize the Regime as a natural continuation of the pure and imperial Spain, as time and history imply:

[Por una parte] una incursión selectiva en el pasado para recolectar en él episodios, memorable antología o florilegio épico, sobre los que depositar las ansias conmemorativas, por otra, descubrir en la guerra civil una cristalización plena, coherente y compacta de cuanto precedió en la historia, es decir, un arsenal renovado de lugares, fechas, homenajes y símbolos, en los que todos los fragmentos anteriores se recomponen de nuevo y de manera definitiva. (Sánchez-Biosca, ‘NO-DO,” 290)
Francoism structured its concept of history around a constant gaze to a remote past and a cyclical repetition of milestones: “los años se suceden siguiendo hitos prefijados que emergen de ese pasado y convierten al presente en una ceremonia lexicalizada, inerte, de aquél” (Sánchez-Biosca, “NO-DO,” 277). Year after year, the newsreel repeats the most representative dates of Francoism, April 1st, the day of the victory in the Civil War, July 18th the day of the Alzamiento Nacional, and October 1st Franco’s saint’s day just to name a few (Sánchez-Biosca, “NO-DO,” 277). These dates, along with several celebrations of historical events and anniversaries, such as the thousand-year anniversary of Castile, create a notion of time and history that looks back to a glorious imperial past and represents Francoism as a liberator from forces that attempted to drag Spain away from its original traditional values. NO-DO and its discourse placed Spain in an isolated present, impassive to the historical changes in the world.68

Censorship and the control of newsreel prevented the production of historical documentaries about the Civil War within Spain, but it continued to be a topic of foreign films. Documentaries became a means to criticize and delegitimize Franco’s regime. The bombing of Guernica was one of the events that foreign filmmakers revisited frequently. In 1949 Robert J. Flaherty, one of the pioneers of documentary films, produced Guernica, and a year later Alain Resnais and Robert Hessens released a short documentary with the same title based on Picasso’s drawings of the bombing of the Basque town.

68 It should be noted that this artificial and outdated Spanishness was also one of the main elements of feature films, with a substantial increase in the production of historical movies. Examples include Locura de amor (1948) and Alba de América (1951) both directed by Juan de Orduña. The former is a drama that focuses of the figure of Juana la loca (Joanna the Mad), while the latter that narrates Columbus’ preparations and discovery of America. Los últimos de Filipinas (1945) is a biographical war film that epically retells the resistance of the last Spanish soldiers in the siege of Baler (Philippines) against the army of the United States of America. For a thorough investigation of the ideological complexities of these films, see: Colmeiro (“Nostalgia”), Juan-Navarro, Kinder, Labanyi (“Imperial”), and Mira Nouselles.
Madrid and its resistance against Fascism shaped the imaginary of many documentaries. The symbolic value of the capital during the war is well known. For the Republicans it represented the resistance of a people united against the national army, at the same time that it embodied the values of the Second Republic. On the contrary, for the rebels it was a kidnapped city whose people had been stripped of their traditional values (Rodríguez Tranche, “Escenas,” 83-4). As a consequence, the film productions about Madrid portray the battle for the capital of Spain from the ideological convictions of each side: as an emblem of the resistance against Fascism, for the Republicans, and for the rebels it represented a battle for the liberation of the city from the Communist forces.

One of the most influential documentaries about Madrid and the Civil War is Rossif’s *Mourir à Madrid* (1963). Although not released in Spain until 1978, its political impact during the dictatorship is unquestionable. The documentary was considered: “Oficialmente como un verdadero ataque al régimen y a diversas instituciones ideológicamente implicadas con él, como la Iglesia o el Ejército” (Rueda Laffond, “Transdiscursividad,” 122). The regime’s propaganda apparatus perceived Rossif’s film so damaging to the image of Franco, its government, and its historical discourse that there were diplomatic attempts to impede its release in France. While this goal was not achieved, French censorship eliminated “algunos pasajes considerados como ofensivos, entre los que se reproducían algunos testimonios especialmente virulentos del general Franco, del Cardenal Gomá o de Monseñor Díaz Gomara, así como otras referencias directas a la colaboración alemana con el bando nacional” (“Transdiscursividad” 131).

However, the main preoccupation of the *Ministerio de Información* was not the political message against the legitimacy of Franco’s government but the negative
influence that it may bring to the new policies of *aperturismo* and to tourism. For this reason the *Ministerio* insistently asked the French authorities to prohibit screening the film on television (“Transdiscursividad”132). In addition to these official reactions, Rossif’s movie also provoked semi-officials responses through the documentaries *Morir en España* (1965), directed by Mariano Ozores; *¿Por qué morir en Madrid?* (1966), by Eduardo Manzanos Brochero; and to a lesser extent José Luis Sáenz de Heredia’s *Franco, ese hombre* (1964).

In the following pages, I analyze briefly Rossif and Manzanos Brochero’s films as part of a series of documentaries that depict Madrid’s symbolic importance during the Civil War and the postwar period. Martín Patino’s *oeuvre* is part of this series, especially his feature film *Madrid*, a film that claims to reestablish the memories of the Second Republic and that is an homage to the resistance of the city against Fascism. *Mourir à Madrid* relates the story of the war “with a highly stylized narration that explains the causes, course, and consequences of the conflict, and that is regularly intercut with poetic quotations from writers, artists, and historical figures, read by professional actors” (Rosenstone 78). Rossif articulates the structure of the documentary around two different sets of images. The first is a compilation of materials from the Civil War, gleaned from archives in Berlin, Paris, and Moscow (Rueda Laffond, “Transdiscursividad,” 128). In contraposition to this footage, in 1962 Rossif filmed on location, in Spain, presenting images of a society “anclada en la desolación y el atraso secular” (Rueda Laffond, “Transdiscursividad,” 128).69 The diegesis starts and finishes with sequences filmed in

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69 Rossif obtained permission to shoot in Spain by assuring the recently established *Ministerio de Información* that the title of the project was “La España eterna.” Nonetheless, “el equipo francés lo que pretendía rodar (y rodó) era un documental sobre la Segunda República Española y la Guerra Civil” (Deltell Escolar 187).
rural areas in Spain, while the rest of the film reconstructs chronologically the Civil War. Likewise, the director organizes the ideological premises of the film around a binary juxtaposition that depicts the ideologies of the two sides:\(^{70}\)

$$\text{Mientras que el franquista era evocado como resultante natural del maridaje surgido entre el tradicionalismo reaccionario y la rápida asimilación del fascismo en la España de los primeros años treinta, los republicanos eran presentados como un heterogéneo conglomerado de fuerzas y aspiraciones populares. Desde ahí se construía un relato audiovisual de tono épico, en el que la guerra era explicada como una lucha desigual entre las ansias de libertad y el peso agobiante de una tiranía secular representada por el bando sublevado. (Rueda Laffond, “Transdiscursividad,” 129)}$$

As Resina indicates *Mourir* “relies heavily on the contrast produce by montage” (“Last” 339).\(^{71}\) I would add that the voice over is as important as the montage. Bill Nichols, in his typology of documentaries, proposes the term “expository documentary” to define those films that “address the viewer directly, with titles or voices that advance an argument about the historical world” (*Representing* 34). Thus, the narrator transmits an interpretation of reality from an authoritative position. Nichols also proposes the term “evidentiary editing” to explain the use of montage in these documentaries. The function of the footage is to “illustrate, illuminate, evoke, or act in counterpoint to what is said… [we] take our cue from the commentary and understand the images as evidence or demonstration” (Nichols, *Introduction* 107).\(^{72}\) In *Mourir* the narrator translates a speech of Franco after the victory: “What we need is a Spain united and conscious. We need to end all the hate and passions of the past war. But this must not be done in the liberal

\(^{70}\) *Mourir* is also part of a broader political message that signals the victory of Fascism in Spain as the prelude to the II World War. Following a sequence of the victory parade in Madrid, the setting change to Berlin and, while Hitler salutes the troops, the voiceover says: “Three months later they will be in Warsaw. A year later in Paris” (*Mourir*).

\(^{71}\) For instance, Resina argues that juxtaposing images of the exodus after the Civil War of “weary, ill-clad civilians trekking the snowy Pyrenees [the film] effectively communicates the emotional abyss of forsaken people” (“Last” 339).

\(^{72}\) One example of expository documentary in Spanish cinema is *Las Hurdes: Tierra sin pan* (1933), by Luis Buñuel.
way. There will not be any amnesty, for it is a lie rather than forgiveness. It [the purification] must be Christian: redemption through work; repentance, and penitence.”

A pan over numerous tombs in a cemetery accompanies these words. Thus, the images and the narrator points to the merciless repression that the Franco regime carried out in the years following the war. The voice over sets the tone of the political message and how the images must be interpreted; consequently, it is impossible for the audience to interpret the images on the screen on its own.

Madrid acquires a double symbolic meaning in the diegesis. While a column of International Brigades and militiamen walk in the countryside the voiceover states: “They come to die in Madrid.” In this case, Madrid symbolizes the Second Republic and its resistance against Fascism and how it became the tomb of men and women who fought for liberty. This message is emphasized in the following sequence where a panoramic vision of the city shows the Gran Vía and the building of the communications company Telefónica while the voice over states: “Madrid is the heart. The rebel generals, Franco, Mola, Queipo de Llano, Varela, Yagüe, the falange, the church, they cannot obtain Madrid” (Mourir). The next shot shows a banner with the slogan “No pasarán” underscoring the symbolical significance of Madrid during the war. The film also portrays the battle in the Ciudad Universitaria, the everyday struggles of the population during the long siege due to the bombings, and the chaos and destruction they caused.

Madrid’s second symbolic meaning is the death of the Republican Madrid, defeated in the war. At this discursive level Madrid works as a metonymy of Spain and of how the dictatorship thwarted the hopes for a liberal and modern society.

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73 Translations from French are mine.
74 Once again the reference to the International Brigades emphasizes the international scope of the war.
Manzanos Brochero’s ¿Por qué morir en Madrid? also makes ample use of voice over in this case to represent Spain as a traditional yet modern society that embraces economic growth and welcomes tourism. The opening sequence remembers the ancient and traditional roots of Spain with images of historical places and monuments such as the Alcazar de Toledo and San Lorenzo de El Escorial, two locations that evoke the country’s imperial past and that, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, influenced the architecture of the 1940s. The ensuing shots show beaches full of tourists and the modern infrastructures of Madrid. This sequence offers an image of Spain that blends traditional Spanish values with the newer aperturista policies with tourism as the emblem of a modern capitalist society.

The film explicitly addresses Rossif’s documentary, explaining how the submission of documents describing the film’s topic as dealing with Spanish traditions deceived the Ministeiro de Información. These documents and others recommending Rossif and signed by French diplomats actually appear on the screen. The outcome is a “estrategia radicalmente original, consistente en intentar desarticular, mediante el contrapunto, la versión de la guerra interiorizada en los círculos de la oposición, pero haciéndose eco de ella y reproduciéndola en pantalla (Rueda Laffond, “Transdiscursividad,” 135-6). That is, Manzanos Brochero reproduces frame-by-frame many of the sequences of the French documentary but offers a different historical version of the events. While this strategy implies a cinematic novelty, the rhetoric deployed echoes the official historical discourse:

[L]a Guerra Civil fue una «guerra de liberación», en la que la «verdadera España se alzó» frente al riesgo de una inminente sovietización … La España republicana fue presentada como un espacio textual coherente y cerrado, univocamente dominado por la violencia, la inmoralidad y la influencia soviética.
La España nacional, por el contrario, representaría un ideal colectivo regenerador y patriótico, así como un proyecto de futuro (encarnado a posteriori en el mito de la paz de Franco), capacitado, por tanto, para justificar la inevitabilidad del enfrentamiento. (Rueda Laffond, “Transcursividad,” 134)

The final sequence is a rebuttal of Rossif’s assertions about Franco’s repression: “¿Quiere más cementerios? Le vamos a enseñar uno gigantesco. Este cementerio donde están enterrados un millón de españoles [with a shot of The Valley of the Fallen], pero donde también el pueblo español sepultó definitivamente sus discordias interiores . . . Son otros desde fuera los que se empeñan en reavivar la guerra” (¿Por qué?). This passage addresses directly the appropriation of Franco’s speech at the end of Rossif’s documentary. Redemption through work has provided a memorial that unites the memories of both sides and offers closure to the war, as a million Spaniards, from both sides, are buried in this gigantic mausoleum. At the same time, the film implies that “el mito del millón de muertos sea capaz de englobar, nominalmente, a las bajas de ambas zonas, a los «sencillos soldados» que lucharon a los dos lados del frente” (Rueda Laffond, “Transcursividad,” 140). This shift was an effort to moderate the discourse surrounding the war and its aftermaths in an effort to achieve international political recognition. However, it erases the hundreds of thousands executed after the war by omission, as well as the prisoners and exiles that are pariahs of a “forgotten” war.

The Valley of the Fallen (Fig.12) is a massive mausoleum located about thirty five miles north of Madrid in what is “el centro geográfico de la península—y con ello, ideológico de la nación: una e indivisible--, y cercano al Escorial, con el que se compararía, hacienda una fácil—y falsa—equiparación de las obras y de las épocas,

75 One million is a figurative number. Aguilar Fernández estimates that there are 40,000 bodies in the crypt (Políticas 157), while Crumbaugh raises this number to 70,000 (“Afterlife” 419). The narrator seems to equate that all the death in the war are symbolically buried in the Valley of the Fallen.
calificadas ambas como esplendorosas e imperiales” (Llorente 282). The construction began in 1940 and was finished eighteen years later. It is the tomb of Franco, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, and about 70,000 fallen from the National and the Republican sides. The latter were buried there at a later stage when the “regime began to camouflage its ideological origins” (Resina “Weight,” 224), without the permission of the families by emptying “the contents of numerous mass graves left during the war by pro-Franco forces and transported them to the Valley of the Fallen” (Crumbaugh “Afterlife,” 419). As Crumbaugh indicates, the transfer of Republicans bodies was not only done without the authorization of their families, but these bodies were moved from a mass grave into another as the “Republican dead went unidentified” (“Afterlife” 425). Such a colossal architectonic complex was difficult to fund due to the economic poverty of the postwar period. It is at this point that redemption through work materializes with the use of political prisoners as free labor with the promise to reduce their sentences.


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76 The project directed by Pedro Muguruza, the general director of architecture, includes “un monasterio-cuartel, una hospedería, una basílica, subterránea, un Vía Crucis con capillas anexas, una plaza del homenaje y la infraestructura viaria de enlace con la red de carreteras” (Llorente 282).
The decree approving the construction of the monument does not describe it as a conciliatory memorial. On the contrary, it affirms that “un acontecimiento tan glorioso y trascendente como la contienda no puede ser evocado por pequeños y sencillos monumentos, sino por lugares grandiosos que «desafíen al tiempo y al olvido» en el homenaje a «nuestros muerto (...) los héroes y mártires de la cruzada»” (Aguilar Fernández, Politicas 147). Rather than memorializing the victims of both sides or to foment any reconciliation, the monument was erected to honor the victims of the national side. However, as the regime softened some of its policies in order to gain international recognition, the discourse surrounding the Valley also evolved. The vindictive discourse appeared, once again, during the inauguration of the monument when Franco “compared them [the fallen] to the martyrs of early Christianity, and insisted that ‘they demand that we keep guard of what they died for’” (Crumbaugh, “Afterlife,” 422). This monument and its construction exposes the fallacies of the regime and how conciliatory discourse only arises owing to the search for international political approval as well as to boost tourism.

NO-DO, Rossif’s, and Manzanos Brochero’s films significantly influence Martín Patino’s oeuvre. The connections go beyond problematizing the Civil War from different ideological and representational approaches. *Mourir* is an intertext for Martín Patino’s mixed genre film. In fact, as Pérez Millán points out, Martín Patino chose as the original title of the project “*Vivir en Madrid,*” which seems a clear allusion to Rossif’s film (Pérez Millán 259). While *Mourir* is an actual documentary filmed during the dictatorship to expose the dictatorial regime, *Madrid* is a fiction film in which a German director comes to Spain to investigate an archive and portray the capital’s past and present to
commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Civil War. The plot of Madrid seems to
denounce that, even two decades after Rossif’s documentary and after a decade of
democracy, a foreign director is more concerned with Spain and Madrid’s past than the
Spanish society. Moreover, Martín Patino’s film includes some archival shots that are
part of Mourir, and ¿Por qué? The shots, which appear in both Rossif and Manzanos
Brochero’s films, are part of longer sequences that portray the training of civilians, some
of them children, after the beginning of the war. Rossif places these images after a
parade of the nationalist professional army that includes, as the narrator states, “40,000
Muslims mercenaries” (Mourir). Quite the reverse, the voiceover highlights that “the
Republic does not have an army” (Mourir). These words are followed by another
sequence that portrays the training of children as the narrator says: “Everyboy in Spain
knows how to die. The Republic must know teach them to live and to fight” (Mourir).
These words paired with the montage of armed children are more dramatic than those of
the previous militiamen and women. Thus, the juxtaposition of voice and images
suggests how the war cuts short the childhood and lives of a generation. ¿Por qué? also
uses this archival footage, but it omits the images of the children. The purpose is to
refute Rossif’s argument regarding the superior forces and logistics of the nationals: “Los
grandes parques militares quedan del lado rojo. Las grandes ciudades industriales, la casi
totalidad de la marina y de la aviación quedan del lado rojo…” (¿Por qué?). The use of
this footage reveals how the image is subjected to the ideological manipulations of the
voiceover in expository documentaries, and how these comments distort the original
meaning of the footage. In contrast, Martín Patino decides to place these images in a

77 The rhetoric deployed in this sequence belies the argument that the discourse surrounding the Civil War
was less belligerent during the sixties, since it contemptuously refers to the Republican side as “rojos.”
sequence without a voiceover narrator and with zarzuela music as the soundtrack. As I further develop the analysis of Madrid, I will examine in depth how the juxtaposing of archival footage with this popular music genre achieves a double purpose. On the one hand, it highlights the connection of the Second Republic to the people. On the other hand, it strips zarzuela of the negative connotations that it acquired during Francoism as a consequence of the cultural manipulations that depicted it as an archetype of traditional values of Francoist populist rhetoric.

Madrid differs from the other films in the absence of a voice over that explains or indoctrinates the audience during the archival sequences. While Rossif and Manzanos Brochero produce expository documentaries, Martín Patino chooses, as I will develop below, to open a dialogue with the audience and invites them to elaborate and think about the meaning of the archival images that they are watching. The main focus of Martín Patino is to reinterpret the past and to emphasize how almost four decades of dictatorship did not manage to overcome the popular resistance of the city. Whereas ¿Por qué? is an example of the manipulation of the past that echoes the evolution of NO-DO, as both the newsreel and the documentary present a more conciliatory discourse that is a façade disguising the absence of liberty and the silencing of the vanquished.

The weakness of the regime and the subsequent death of the dictator allowed the resurgence of documentaries during the 1970s as this genre was considered the best to represent Spain’s recent past. According to José Enrique Monterde, documentary offered “la posibilidad del acceso lo más directo posible a los vestigios auténticos del pasado, pese a que precisamente las muestras más valiosas se centran en poner en duda cualquier asomo de objetividad o, en último término, de la imposibilidad de un discurso
El histórico que evacuase su propia condición discursiva” (Veinte 154-5). Therefore, filmmakers considered documentary as a valid genre to question the historical discourse instituted by Francoism, in spite of the very anti-historical manipulation of the genre by the regime.

During these years, Martín Patino undertook the filming of a trilogy of documentary films about Franco’s dictatorship. **Canciones** and **Caudillo** are compilation films that recycle images of historical archives, mainly from NO-DO, in order to question the historical validity of certain official images of Francoism (García Martínez, Cine 145). **Queridísimos**, is a complex documentary interview that is “un testimonio estremecedor—y, por ello mismo, poco «grato»--sobre las alcantarillas de la justicia y el orden público en la sociedad española de los últimos momentos del franquismo” (Pérez Millán 18). Casimiro Torreiro proposes that the historical and social issues of the trilogy present a pyramidal structure: while **Canciones** deals with people and popular culture; **Queridísimos** portrays one of the political mechanisms of fear and control; and, finally, **Caudillo** culminates the trilogy with a biographical sketch of Franco (Torreiro 239).

These films are crucial in the history of Spanish film as they mark the beginning of a new documentary tradition after the long suppression of the genre under Francoism (Vernon 175).

A compilation film is, as the name indicates, a compiling of footage from different sources with a preeminence of archival footage, although it may include fragments of feature films, television, and personal recordings. The materials come from different filmmakers and were shot at different times (Monterde, “Realidad,” 19). As William Wes explains, even though the historical referents of the archive material are
obvious, the meaning the audience will give them depends on the context where they are employed (Wees 70). The spectators may not know the images at all, or they may be familiar with them in which case they will “interpret an historical image on the basis of their previous exposure to that image through the mass media and other instruments of popular culture, which may or may not retain references to its actual historical context” (Wees 71). Moreover, the audience is conscious that these images were filmed for other purposes thus opening “an interpretive space, which is shaped by the film's form, but filled by the viewer's response to the form and content of the work. The result is an active dialogue with—rather than a passive consumption of—visual representations of the past” (Wees 71).

The most important cinematographic techniques in this type of film are the use of montage and the soundtrack to modify the original meaning of the footage. By nature compilation films are fragmentary as they are made of pieces of other movies and newsreels. Thus, this fragmentation:

[O]torga al film de montaje un carácter necesariamente analítico, cuya componente discursiva se hace epicentro de una manipulación de materiales de segunda mano que no solo afecta a su selección y combinación sino a las alteraciones de la relación entre imagen y sonido, ya que no necesariamente se conservan las bandas sonoras originales, pudiendo incorporarse nuevas músicas y comentarios. (Monterde, “Realidad,”19)

Antonio Weinrichter reminds us that the production of compilation films is especially prolific at the end of traumatic historical events, such as a war or a dictatorship: “En ambos casos se trata de recuperar una perspectiva global y/o cuestionar la imagen dada por un determinado discurso oficial propagandístico, sobre todo cuando se trata de una imagen única impuesta por un régimen totalitario” (65). It is not surprising, then, that after the almost forty years of documentary censorship compilation films would flourish
as one of the most popular genres within non-fiction films as a way to challenge the political and historical discourse of Francoism.

The classification of these films is challenging. Alberto Nahum García Martínez categorizes compilation films into three different types, according to the degree of experimentation and the level of ideological criticism (“Film,” 72). The first group is the “compilación informativa” constructed around footage from different sources that are unified according to a global idea that justifies and structures the materials (García Martínez, “Film,” 72). The criticism leveled at this kind of compilation usually focuses at its lack of critical and analytical scope because its main purpose is to inform the audience of a given event or topic. The material is literally used “respetando la imagen como índice de la realidad y adecuándose a las características del documental histórico expositivo” (García Martínez, “Film,” 72). García Martínez labels the second group as “montaje irónico” whose purpose is to go beyond the original aim of the images in order to criticize its ideological discourse: “la reordenación de metraje de archivo adquiere un tinte político, una finalidad propagandística o subversiva. Los cineastas que lo practican pretenden que se dejen de asumir las imágenes de archivo como si fueran documentos históricamente neutrales” (García Martínez, “Film,” 75). The majority of ironic compilation films “apuntan temáticamente hacia el pretérito, para abordarlo desde una perspectiva histórica revisionista” (García Martínez, “Film,” 78). The final group is the collage: “una práctica donde se mezclan todo tipo de materiales audiovisuales de muy diversa procedencia” (“Film” 79). One of their characteristics is that, in these films, “la visibilidad del montaje y de sus costuras resulta más evidente aún que en las otras dos modalidades” (García Martínez, “Film,” 79).
García Martínez defines *Canciones* as an ironic compilation film because it attempts to criticize the historical discourse of Francoism during the post war period. For this reason, the images need to be familiar to the audience, continues García Martínez, so as to facilitate a critical interpretation: “se trata de derribar la asunción de las imágenes de archivo como si fueran el paradigma de la objetividad o la realidad” (García Martínez, “Film,” 78). I would suggest that the ideological criticism and the structure of the film complicate its classification. From a structural point of view, *Canciones* alternates visual documents of historical events, with fictional material—films, comics, and feature films—that Patino takes from the popular culture of the time (Castrillo Cano 83). Additionally, the film implicitly reveals the process of construction and resemanticization of the images with the use of filters, montage, and the soundtrack. I would argue that Martín Patino’s intention was not only to reinterpret this footage and the historical facts it portrays; but also to point to the manipulation and selection that went on in the original newsreels. Therefore, I would describe *Canciones* as an ironic collage compilation film.

In April of 1970, still under strict censorship rules Martín Patino’s producer requested a license to produce a film based on popular songs of the forties and fifties. Due to the characteristics of the film, the producer could not present to the censors the script of the film, which was necessary to receive the approval of the *Comisión de Censura de Guiones*. However the Commission accepted the project pending final authorization upon the visualization of the film (Sánchez-Biosca, “NO-DO,” 250). When the film was presented in April of 1971, censors recommended various modifications such as the suppression of scenes of bombings perpetrated by the national army,

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78 For instance there are several appearances of the famous comic character Carpanta as a symbol of the hunger of the period (Castrillo Cano 83-4).
references to the Falange, and the removal of the images of Franco that appeared with the song “La bien Pagá” (García Martínez, Cine 92). The footage that Patino used belonged, for the most part, to the archives of the NO-DO and the Filmoteca Nacional. Thus, these restrictions suggest that the regime not only was cautious of the filming of documentary material, but also of how their own propaganda materials were employed by other filmmakers or entities even during the last years of the regime.79

Canciones exemplifies achieving new meanings through montage and the addition of a different soundtrack to archival materials. Except in two occasions, the film does not include a voiceover to comment on the images, thus just the combination of the archival footage with popular songs of the postwar period serves to reinterpret and demystify the historical referent of the images and, by extension, of the historical discourse of Francoism. The film establishes, as Wees proposes, an active dialogue with the audience who needs to interpret what the images represent through the at times implicit, at times explicit messages of the songs.

Canciones opens with a still image of the document, signed by Franco, certifying the end of the Civil War, accompanied by the Falangist hymn Cara al sol. The sequence continues with images of people celebrating the National victory in Madrid with the use of a filter that gives the footage a blue tone.80 Subsequently the title, with a design that resembles the typography used in comics, appears on the screen. These first minutes establish the obvious temporal referent of the movie, since all the images and events take place after the end of the war. More interesting is the inclusion of the last “parte de

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79 García Martínez (92-95) and Sánchez-Biosca (Cine 253-5) describe the political obstacles previous to its release as well as the public reactions upon its premiere.
80 In fact, Patino uses a blue filter in the images when he wants to emphasize that this images belong to the national side; on the contrary, he employs a reddish tone to highlight events that are part of the Republicans (García Martínez, Cine 151).
Guerra,” in contraposition with the title. The former establishes that Canciones is a compilation film created from official documents and footage of the Francoist archive; whereas the strident title points to the manipulation of the documents and images in the creation of the film. The montage, the soundtrack, and the use of fictional material brings to the fore the aim of the film, which is to reinterpret the historical discourse of Francoism. Thus, the first sequence implies that historical documents may be manipulated to achieve the political and social agenda of the government in power, as much as they may be resignified in a compilation film.

Throughout the film, popular songs serve as mnemonic devices that trigger remembrances of the postwar period (Catalá 40). The result is a:

[m]étodo creativo que podría calificarse de «recuperación emocional de la memoria colectiva»: lejos del discurso ideológico explícito y descarnado, el autor investiga las posibilidades de creación de emociones e ideas mediante la contraposición de imágenes rodadas por otros—y con otras intenciones--, sonidos muy populares y recordados, manipulación abierta a base de coloreados, dibujos sobreimpresos, congelados de imágenes y otras técnicas. (Pérez Millán 16)

Lev Kuleshov proved the impact montage has upon the audience and how personal feelings play an important role in the interpretation of images.81 Martín Patino’s techniques produce a similar yet different effect. The combination of popular songs—that, even to this date, most Spaniards recognize—with the archival images transforms the referent of the visual materials as the diegesis establishes an affective connection with the lyrics of the songs. As Colmeiro argues the songs convey history and a story. The latter because the lyrics tell about “micro-narratives with strong story-lines that resonate

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81 The Kuleshov effect is a famous experiment in which the director alternated the shots of a inexpressive soldier with images of a plate of soup, a girl in a coffin, and a woman in a divan. The audience affirmed that the actor’s facial expression changed depending on where he was looking at. However, the shot of the soldier was always the same, thus Kuleshov proved how personal emotions play an important role in the audience’s interpretation of the montage of a film.
with an audience attuned to the shared miseries” (“Canciones” 34); and also full of history as they reflect “the lived times of a shared experience, giving voice to the communal hardships, dreams and realities of the voiceless masses. Like narrations of oral history, they construct a link between present and past, individual subjectivities and collective identities” (“Canciones” 34). The music triggers pleasant remembrances for the audience while the images portray on some occasions the miseries of the postwar and, in other newsreel propaganda. As a consequence, spectators face a combination of image and sound that create contradictory emotions with the intention of questioning the historical discourse of the dictatorship.

This issue is best presented in a five minutes sequence that combines videotaped scenes and still pictures of the hardships of the post-war with the popular song “La bien pagá,” interpreted by Antonio Molina. The lyrics of the song talk about a man who buys the love of a woman and is later rejected; thus creating an ironic effect within the sequence (Hernández Rubio and Pérez Rubio125). The montage, using parallel syntagma, intercalates images of long lines of people waiting to get free food and

82 The lyrics of the song, composed by Ramón Perelló and Juan Mostazo, are as follows:

“Na te debo, / na te pido, / me voy de tu vera / olvidame ya / que pagao con oro / tus carnes morenas / no maldigas paya / que estamos en paz.
No te quiero, / no me quieras, / si to me lo diste / yo na te pedí / no me eches en cara / que to lo perdiste / también a tu vera / yo to lo perdi.
Bien pagá, / si tú eres la bien pagá / porque tus besos compré / y mi te supiste dar / por un puñao de parné, / bien pagá, / bien pagá, / bien paga fuiste mujer.
No te engaño, / quiero a otra, / no pienses por eso / que te traicioné. / No cayó en mis brazos / me dio solo un beso, / el único beso / que yo no pagué.
Na te pido, / na me llevo, / entre esta paredes / dejo sepultas / penas y alegrías / que te he dao y me diste / y esas joyas que ahora / pa otro lucirás.”

83 Christian Metz uses the term alternating syntagm to refer to “two or more series, each of which, if shown continuously, would constitute a normal sequence” (102). He proposes three subdivisions within the alternating syntagm: the alternator that refers to a parallel alternation of the significances; the alternate syntagma in which “the alternating of the significers corresponds to a simultaneity of the significates; and, finally, the parallel syntagma in which the two series of events do not have a temporal relationship (103-4). For that reason I choose Metz’s terminology instead of alternating montage as the latter usually implies that the two series of events take place simultaneously, whereas Metz emphasizes the opposing meanings of the two series.
children with ragged clothes begging for money; with pages of newspapers and magazines that praise the work of auxilio social. One of the slogans of Francoism during the war and in the early post war was: “Ni un español sin pan, ni un hogar sin lumbre.” In turn, the National army bombarded Republican areas with white bread and leaflets with this sentence to undermine the morale of the population. When the war finished this continued to be a motto of the dictatorship regime, a promise that it would never be able to fulfill. In my interpretation the association of the lyrics with the images infers that Franco’s propaganda—represented in the newspapers pages that praise Auxilio Social—concealed the widespread poverty and misery of the society. That is, the contrast between the lyrics of the song and the hunger of the post-war creates an association of meanings that debunks the dictatorship’s propaganda about how Spanish people supposedly improved their life when they were freed from Communism.

This scene reveals “lo no proclamado por el régimen, las pérdidas y penurias del bando republicano y sobre todo de los civiles” (Castrillo Cano 98). It is no coincidence that this sequence is placed right after scenes depicting the continuous commemorations of those who died in the war on the national side. The commemorative ceremonies for the martyrs of the crusade, the inauguration of monuments, and victory parades were part of the strong propaganda apparatus that the regime implemented in order to legitimize the uprising against the democratically elected Republican government. The montages of

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84 This is a charitable organization that helped in the areas devastated by the war. One of its functions was to take in orphaned children and educate them in the Catholic faith. Historian Aurora Morcillo examines this organization in True Catholic Womanhood: Gender Ideology in Franco’s Spain (2000).

85 The ration book was eliminated in 1952. This does not mean that economic and social conditions improved dramatically. It was an attempt to end the black market that proliferated during the postwar (Abella 66).
these scenes show how these events and victims were given a voice, while the hunger and misery of the vanquished were silenced.

Not all the images of the movie are archival or come from feature films. The final credits show childhood pictures of the members of the crew while the song “Se va el caimán” plays as soundtrack. In conjunction with the pictures, a religious and a military parade made with toys fill the mise-en-scène. This juxtaposition suggests how the regime and its imaginary affected the infancy of the crew members and, therefore, of the generation who grew up during the dictatorship. The lyrics of the song identify the devilish alligator with Franco and the hope for his imminent death. In this occasion the association of images and soundtrack is less elaborated, as if the criticism of this last sequence came from Martín Patino as a child: “El que alude a la marcha de Franco y se burla de la grandilocuencia de los discursos del régimen, es un inocente y subversivo Martín Patino niño haciendo una divertida gamberrada, ridiculizando al dictador a la manera de Chaplin, mediante la burla insolente a pesar de las crudas realidades que pueda haber detrás” (Castrillo Cano 91).

Therefore, Patino’s film employs the archive as a source of materials that he reinterprets through the use of the soundtrack and montage. Casimiro Torreiro underscores that Canciones discloses how cultural industries manipulated Spanish society, and summarizes the topic of the film as: “más una historia de los españoles, de las clases subalternas—y con profusión, cazando sus imágenes de entre noticiarios y documentales de la época, de los derrotados de la guerra civil—que una canónica Historia de España” (234). The reinterpretation of the documents is achieved through the use of:

[L]a imaginación consagrada oficialmente por el NO-DO para contrastarla no con otras imágenes que nunca existieron (las de la derrota, la cárcel, la represión física
y moral, la miseria, el hambre, etc.) sino con una banda sonora que acaba corporeizando las figuras de la ausencia. Así, *Canciones para después de una guerra* no habla de la realidad española de finales de los sesenta, pero propone una aproximación a la realidad histórica oculta por el franquismo, manejando eso sí materiales visuales y sonoros licitamente circulantes en la España de los años cuarenta. (Monterde, “Realidad,” 24-5)

In one of his most quoted passages Benjamin says that, since any document is a document of barbarism, “barbarism taints also the manner in which it was transmitted from one owner to another.” (“Theses” 256). The German philosopher advocates for a critical reading of the documents that comprise the official historical archive in order to stop the transmission of the historical discourse of the victors. He continues, stating that “[a] historical materialist therefore dissociates himself from it as far as possible. He regards it his task to brush history against the grain (Benjamin, “Theses,” 257). Martín Patino’s compilation film suggest that the archive of the dictatorship should be reinterpreted and turned back on itself in order to question the historical discourse elaborated for almost four decades by Francoism. Only in this way the barbarism of the official historical archive will not be transferred to the younger generations.

The uses of archival newsreel and the addition—or removal—of soundtrack are cinematographic techniques present in the film *Madrid* as well. However, far from the compilation film genre, this feature film mixes a fictive plot, a metanarrative about the creation of the documentary, and archival footage. A German television station commissions Hans (Rudy Voegler) to film a documentary about the Civil War in Madrid on the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the war. In Madrid, he works with his production assistant, Lucía (Verónica Forqué), and Goyo (Actor unknown) his cameraman. After tediously researching archives, he realizes that the traumatic past as well as Madrid and Madrilenians’ present are linked in intricate ways unexplained by the
mere use of archival footage. For this reason he starts his documentary from the present, a technique of which the German producers do not approve. As a consequence, Hans is forced to abandon the project, which is eventually finished by another director who follows the guidelines of the production company.

Critics such as Aurora Fernández Polanco (“Basilio” 45), García Martínez (Cine 204), and Vernon (176) interpret Hans as Martín Patino’s alter ego. They are both filmmakers who are captivated by the Civil War, and have a troublesome relationship with the film industry. They cannot develop fully their creative freedom due to industry pressures. The German production company disagrees with Hans’ approach to the documentary and he is forced to abandon the project. The producer recommends to the new director that: “uno debe saber a qué público se dirige y con qué meta. Hay que jugar con nombres famosos. Lorca, Pasionaria…” (Madrid). Therefore, the film points to an exploitation of the common places of the Civil War, and how this contributes to the commodification and fetishization of historical figures of the Republican side. According to Colmeiro, Martín Patino criticizes in his film: “cuestiona el proceso de mitificación de ese pasado, de su desgaste y conversión en imágenes fetichizadas: las fotografías de Robert Capa y Gerda Taro, y los documentales de Joris Ivens o Roman Karmen, figuras legendarias con las que Hans se identifica implicitamente como documentalista extranjero en Madrid” (Memoria 211).

Martín Patino’s problems with censorship and the film industry were a central issue in his early work, and his relationship with the film industry continued to be tortuous during the filming of Madrid. The film was released in a limited number of cinemas and it was a commercial disaster. Part of the problem was that it was financed
with public funds from the capital’s government to support Madrid’s designation as European capital in 1992 (Nieto Ferrando 143). However, the film did not please any of the bureaucrats who expected the film to be a celebration of the city: “No aparecía por parte alguna la exaltación que todos esperaban de la ciudad. Lo que veían, con asombro, era un desorden manifiesto donde únicamente podían deleitarse con la típica música de zarzuela. Además, ¿qué era aquello? ¿Era un documental o una película? (Bellido López, 85). Hans and Martín Patino face similar problems as their creative freedom is restricted by the film industry and political interest respectively. Thus the film problematizes the independence of the artist in the subsidized film industry.

The opening sequence anticipates some of the main issues of the film. A: [P]hotomontage of Spanish Civil War posters which serves as backdrop of the credits cuts to a close-up of Voegler. Cutting back to the posters, we see the frame of a camera viewfinder superimposed on the images . . . The camera pans over wartime photos and illustrations which then give way in the next image to their source in an exposition of wartime artifacts of ‘Madrid en Guerra.’ (Vernon 176-7)

As Vernon underscores, the film portrays its own process of creation, thus revealing to the viewers that any access to the past or present is always mediated technologically and ideologically (177). To this analysis I would add that the first minutes of the film already establish the importance of the past in present day society, and how the two are inextricably related. In the following sequence, noises from the street interrupt Hans and Lucía’s work, who are in fact viewing the sequence that opens the film. As they approach the balcony to look below, demonstrators repeat the slogan “¡OTAN no, bases fuera!” protesting Spain’s entry into NATO. Juxtaposing the photomontage of the posters of the Civil War, in which the motto “No pasarán” appears twice, with the demonstration against the entry in NATO, suggests that “el pueblo de Madrid que
participó masiva y colectivamente en su defensa frente a las tropas fascistas y que resistió el asedio sin rendir un ápice de su protagonismo popular, sería el mismo Madrid que hoy palpita en torno a las manifestaciones anti-OTAN” (Heredero 19). Although this opinion may overstate the message of the film, I agree that Madrid may be considered a homage to the city’s resistance to the long dictatorship. That is, Madrid suggests that Francoism did not purge the spirit of freedom and justice that preceded the war. On the other hand, the fact that the people of Madrid demonstrate against the PSOE government implies that their resistance is not against ideological or political thinking, but rather against what they believe goes against the values of Madrid. Martín Patino himself explains how this sequence made some members of the PSOE uncomfortable: “Madrid, a film that did not risk censorship, is nevertheless frightening to some, even within the Socialist Party. I was criticized for beginning the film with the demonstrations against NATO when Felipe González was head of the government” (Passevant 40).

In addition, this opening sequence takes place at an exhibition called “Madrid en Guerra” which represents the war as part of the museum. Andreas Huyssen indicates how “the modern museum has always been attacked as a symptom of cultural ossification” (13). Musealization is one of the singularities of postmodernity, with an unprecedented blossoming of museums, whole museum villages, or even the self-musealization allowed by technology (14). This generates a paradox because the more

86 As I argue below, although Madrid links the past and the present from the beginning, the protagonist does not seem to be aware of how important present society is for his documentary at this time in the diegesis of the film. That is the reason why Hans returns to the archive later on.  
87 Oscar Cornago interprets the demonstration against the NATO as the present frustrating the archival investigation (126). I would consider that it is an example of how the present is related to the past, and vice versa.  
88 In addition to this proliferation of museums, the last two decades also change the museum itself: “In most contemporary museums, curators and designers are exploring more participatory forms of display, replacing what are now regarded as the static and overtly academic presentations prevalent in an earlier
museums and exhibitions remembering the past, the further removed the historical events appear to visitors. The exhibition displays memorabilia of Madrid during the war in closed glass display cases as objects that can be looked at but not touched or experienced. Another remarkable issue within this sequence is that most of the public in the exhibition are senior citizens with a significant amount of children—that is, those who experience the war or the early postwar and their grandchildren. The sequence depicts how grandparents involved the third generation in their memories, something that, years later, will be essential to the boom of historical memory in Spain. The absence of the second generation portrays their lack of interest in the war. Resina argues that the early years of democracy degraded memories into “events that no longer claim the attention, much less arouse the passions, of anyone with the exception of professional historians—events that one is done with” (“Weight” 223). The museification of the war is even more relevant in relation to the commemorations that took place in 1986, the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the Civil War. 89 Thus, Madrid critically engages with the absence of official commemorations proposing that the war and the dictatorship should not be historicized, as both affect the current society in its democratic trajectory.

At the time of the shooting and the production of the film Martín Patino was aware of the official and commercial commemorations that were taking place in Spain in 1986. Spanish historian Juan Andrés Blanco Rodríguez argues that these anniversary commemorations were scholarly, historical, and social rather than political (758). The day. While stopping short of full-scale ‘disneyfication,’ they strive to animate their exhibitions in ways that will give the visitors a sense of the past that is socially more comprehensive and visually more immediate. Once dedicated to the scientific task of clarification and demonstrations, museums now seek to evoke an experience of alternative milieus. Frequently this means freeing the materials from their cases, reducing the separation between viewer and object” (Salber Phillips 93). Huyssens describes postmodern museums as a “hybrid space somewhere between public fair and department store” (15). 89 One example is the thirty hour historical series España en Guerra produced by the Spanish Public Television (TVE) in 1986 (Sánchez-Biosea, Cine 308).
official position of the Socialist government echoed the pact of silence unofficially sealed during the Transition. Felipe González, Spanish Prime Minister in 1986, maintained in a press release that: “una guerra civil no es un acontecimiento conmemorable” (“Una guerra” n. pag.); adding that the Civil War “es definitivamente historia, parte de la memoria de los españoles y de su experiencia colectiva,” but “[the war] no tiene ya—ni debe tenerla—presencia viva en la realidad de un país cuya conciencia moral última se basa en los principios de la libertad y de la tolerancia” (“Una guerra” n. pag.). The underlying message of the press release is “never again,” a motto that accompanied the (absence of) debate during the Spanish Transition. In fact, on the anniversary of the uprising the editorials of El País and ABC, two of the most important Spanish newspapers, are titled “Nunca más.” The piece in the progressive El País explains that, for most Spaniards, the war was involuntary, denouncing the cruel repression of the dictatorship and how it “aisló, deprimió al país, y operó como un reductor de todas las salidas ideológicas” (“Nunca,” El País n. pag). It also underscores the importance of the war as a “tragedia aleccionadora y como la marca de un fracaso colectivo” (“Nunca” El País n. pag), and holds both the Republican legitimate government and the rebellious Fascist military equally accountable for the war. However, the issue of redeeming the victims of the war and Francoism is as absent as their memories, hence the editorial indirectly advocates for a process of oblivion in the interest of social peace.

A contemporary editorial in the conservative newspaper ABC, pays homage to “[el] espíritu de convivencia y libertad que predomina en la España de hoy,” as well as to the heroism of those who fought “por una idea de España desde posiciones enfrentadas y pedimos a Dios que nunca más puedan darse en nuestro pueblo acontecimientos que
fatalmente encadenados condujeron a la lucha entre españoles” (‘Nunca,’ ABC 3). The editorial concludes that: “La guerra civil no debe ser recordada como arma arrojadiza para unos u otros. Tampoco debe ser olvidada como si no hubiera existido. Lo inteligente es estudiarla y analizarla con equilibrio y frialdad” (“Nunca,” ABC 3). In other words, both pieces implicitly approve closing the revision of the past. The war must be historicized, thus becoming an object of study detached from the current democratic society, without interest as to how it affects the present. Hence, as I argue below, Madrid suggests that although history is a valid representation of the past, introducing other sources such as the collective memories of the survivors of the war would create a better understanding of this period. In this way, by recognizing living individuals and their experiences the film helps to highlight that past events are still very relevant for Spanish society.

The historical and official archive gathered by the regime was the primary source of historical publications at the time. If Martín Patino’s compilation films use archival material to question and reinterpret the historical discourse of Francoism, Madrid problematizes this issue even further by proposing the necessity to expand the archive, so as to include the collective memories of the survivors repressed during the dictatorship

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90 In spite of the title of this piece, the text blames the left as the main cause of the war: “Aquéllo fue el estrépito de un gran fracaso nacional, en el que el Estado de Derecho yacía por tierra desde el punto y hora en que ciertos sectores de la izquierda hacían un uso alternativo de la ley, alzándose incluso en armas en octubre de 1934 contra la mayoría salida de las elecciones generales de 1933. La legalidad había sido conculcada por quienes tenían el poder, y el Estado era ilegítimamente utilizado para la eliminación física de los oponentes. Cuando llegó el 18 de julio de 1936, hacía tiempo que ya había desaparecido de la vida española la noción de adversario político, sustituida por la de enemigo” (“Nunca,” ABC 3).

91 Antonio González Quintana describes the problematic management of the archives of the dictatorship. For instance, the military archives, which hold documents of the repression, were not publicly cataloged until 1998 when the Reglamento de Archivos Militares was approved (731). For two decades these documents “continuaron siendo custodiados en acuartelamientos o edificios militares bajo responsabilidad de las jefaturas logísticas de los ejércitos, carentes así de todo servicio de tratamiento profesional de tales documentos y sin poder pasar, como el resto de la documentación militar, a las nuevas infraestructuras archivísticas que se fueron desarrollando en los años noventa” (718).
and ignored during the Transition to democracy. The film represents a dialectical approach to the past at various levels. On the one hand, the structure of the film includes a fictive and a metanarrative line. Critics such as Colmeiro, Vernon, and Nahum García Martínez emphasize how the structure complicates not only the generic classification of the film, but also how it adds several levels of interpretation to the film. On the other hand, Hans also embodies this dialectic. He starts his investigation and the montage of the film with a historiographic methodology based on the archive. However, he realizes that it offers a detached representation of the past and, as he understands the city and becomes involved with its inhabitants, his approach emphasizes collective memories and the experience of the city. This process, as I expand below, is a consequence of his involvement with the city that helps him to establish an affective bond with its inhabitants and their memories.

The structure of the film contains three discursive levels. First, the film Madrid itself that narrates the fictional story of Hans and his filming of a documentary about Madrid. This level includes: “las escenas planificadas y los diálogos escritos por Patino e interpretados por actores [que] conviven con fragmentos documentales que describen el Madrid de la época en sus calles, sus exposiciones, sus gentes, etc.” (García Martínez, Cine 209). The second, metanarrative level documents the filming of the documentary, mainly composed by “entrevistas a expertos (tanto de personajes reales como de actores cómplices que interpretan un papel), fragmentos vérité procedentes de la realidad del Madrid de 1986, y, por último, imágenes de archivo” (García Martínez, Cine 209). Finally, the archival footage constitutes the third discursive level, which presents a “discontinua línea argumental trazada de imágenes factuales rodadas por otros, que
pretende reflejar el Madrid de la guerra” (García Martínez, *Cine* 210). The structure of the film integrates the three levels to propose a critical approach to the archive as well as to problematize the issue of the representation of the past.

The importance of self-reflexivity in *Madrid* is twofold. On the one hand, it modifies the traditional division between reality and fiction, thus questioning the relationship between reality and its representation: “el hilo ficcional se identifica con la realidad del presente y con el proceso de reflexión y revelación sobre la construcción del documental; y el hilo documental—constituido por imágenes de archivo que refieren directamente a una realidad histórica—se revela como una construcción de montaje” (Colmeiro, *Memoria* 215). On the other hand, the hybridity of the film exposes the fact that any attempt to narrate the past is mediated: “la metáfora visual prevaleciente a lo largo de la película es que el pasado es algo que ya ha sido codificado, editado, montado y archivado; el acceso al pasado está siempre mediatizado por intervenciones anteriores; la memoria histórica del pasado, vivida o heredada, es siempre una re-construcción” (Colmeiro, *Memoria* 214).

I contend that *Madrid* reveals the unavoidable process of selection—whether it is an event, or documents about events—in representing the past. Furthermore, in the process of unveiling the construction of the past the film questions the authority of the archive as the most reliable source for its analysis. Derrida maintains that “there is no political power without control over the archive, if not of memory” (Derrida, “Archive,” 10-11). For that reason, totalitarian regimes constitute the official archive with functional memory (Assman, *Cultural* 329). In contrast, as Derrida argues, effective

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92 Assman does not provide a definition of this term. I interpret it as the memory that serves a political purpose to the government in power.
democratization can be measured by “the participation in and the access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation” (“Archive” 11). Francoism controlled both memory and the archive. First the dictatorship eliminated dissident memories by killing and incarcerating hundreds of thousands of Spaniards, and it removed the symbols—monuments, archives, names of streets, festivities, etc.—that ideologically differed with the regime. Subsequently, it created its own symbols and monuments to impose its official memory upon society. A similar process occurred with the archive, with the institution of the regime’s own historical discourse and the creation of foundational myths, such as equating the Reconquista with the Civil War. In light of these ideas, a major shortcoming of early democratic Spain is the non-expansion of the archive, since, “conservar y hacer accesibles los archivos tenía una importancia capital en los procesos de transición a la democracia para, entre otras cosas, conocer la verdad, reparar y compensar a las víctimas de la represión y, en su caso, castigar a los culpables de las violaciones de derechos humanos” (González Quintana 95). As democracy strengthened, no measures were taken to include the memories of the vanquished and repressed into the official Spanish archive. That is to say, not only were the history and memories shaped by Francoism neither critically analyzed nor reinterpreted by public institutions but also the memories of the vanquished continued to be mainly a private matter, as they were perceived to be a destabilizing factor to the new democratic order.

In this context, I would add that Madrid exposes the shortcomings of representations of the past based solely on the archive. Hence, the hybrid genre of the movie echoes the hybrid representation and understanding of the past that the film advocates. García Martínez describes the disjointed nature and fragmentation of the
archival materials in the film (Cine 210). The footage and pictures do not follow a chronological order and range from bombings of Madrid during the war, and the proclamation of the Second Republic, to parades celebrating the fascist victory. The only characteristic that unifies these materials is that they are part of the Spanish historical archive, which, in opinion of García Martínez, anticipates the impossibility of retelling the war (García Martínez, Cine 210).

I further develop here the treatment of archival materials in the film. Compilation films attempt to compel the spectator into looking at recognizable scenes as if they “had not seen them before, or by which the spectator’s mind is made more alert to the broader meanings of the old materials” (Leyda 45). The use of archival material in Madrid resembles Martín Patino’s previous compilation films. The difference is that, whereas previous films “flaunted the manipulation of documents, for example by using blue and red tints to distinguish scenes of Nationalist and Republican sides” (Vernon 180); in Madrid, “Hans’s selection and manipulation of footage is portrayed on screen but he deliberately rejects the tricks effects of the earlier films, instructing a cameraman who is filming still photos to abandon his zoom lens” (Vernon 180). This change in the treatment of the documents points to two complementary interpretations. On the one hand, as Vernon suggests, Madrid may be interpreted as a commentary on Patino’s own compilation trilogy (175). On the other, it indicates the evolution of the director’s attitude towards the documentary tradition that he now considers too restrictive: “Aborrezco en general el llamado cine documental por su tendencia a convertirse en una manifestación de autoridad; lo contrario a la dialéctica del diálogo cómplice con el espectador, abierto y crítico” (Martín Patino “Filmar,” 11). Thus, Madrid denotes: “[U]na
clara evolución en su [Patino’s] manera de entender la función del documental, ya no como simple rescate del pasado escamoteado o estrategia de resistencia crítica, sino como una forma más compleja de reinscripción del pasado en el presente y a la vez de constante interrogación sobre sus propios mecanismos operativos (Colmeiro, *Memoria* 207).” As I argue, this film questions the authority of the archive as the main source for accessing the past, at the same time that, in the process of interrogating the archive’s validity, it establishes a dialectic between memory and history and the importance that urban space plays in the reinterpretation and reconstruction of the past.

The combination of fiction and documentary may be regarded as a rupture of the conventions of documentary, which summarized very simplistically and naively purport to document reality in an objective way. However, in the case of *Madrid* the combination of these approaches to reality contributes to the dialogue between memory and history by opening up a space in which the audience can contrast the images against their previous knowledge of the Civil War and its aftermath in Madrid.93 Accordingly, a voice over that contextualizes or explains the materials never accompanies the archival footage. Consequently, the narration allows the audience to create his or her own interpretation.94 On some occasions, such as in a sequence showing the bombing of Madrid, there is a complete absence of diegetic and extra diegetic sound. The sequence consists of alternating scenes of people running, explosions, and buildings collapsing with close-ups of terrified people looking at the sky, frightened children, and women

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93 Carl Plantinga states that one of the functions of reflexive films is to challenge spectator’s “assumptions by making plain its representational functions, or by upsetting spectator assumptions through its political content” (102).
94 This is not the case when Hans examines photographs. In these scenes the protagonist’s voice over reflects about the photography as a means to capture the past and its relation to the present. The protagonist states: “la paradójica naturaleza de la imagen fotográfica, la imagen congelada del tiempo, como un memento mori que, según Hans, «siempre anuncia una futura muerte» (Colmeiro, *Memoria* 214).
crying. The absence of sound in combination with the montage attempts to create the feelings of fear and anguish in the viewer, such as those suffered by Madrilenians during the bombings. Although the absence of sound could be interpreted as an invitation for viewers to focus on the visual horrors of the war, in my opinion, the lack of noise—eliminating the explosions, cries and screams—creates a double effect. The sensation of serenity suggests that the images will never be able to reproduce these chaotic and violent events. Additionally, removing the voices of the people who appear in the footage may also be interpreted as the silencing of those who lost the war, whose voices and memories were relegated to the archive of the victors.

In contrast, several archival sections in Madrid are accompanied by zarzuela music, which recalls the techniques employed in Canciones. This popular genre, one of the most genuine and traditional Spanish artistic expressions (Muñiz Velázquez 353), originated in the mid sixteenth century in the Habsburgs court, and successfully developed during the following decades (Lamas 42). When Philip V was named king in 1700, zarzuela lost importance in favor of Italian opera seria (Lamas 42). This trend continued, but during the last third of the nineteenth century zarzuela underwent a resurgence in Madrilenian society: “emerging classes of professionals and civil servants . . . began to favor dances and songs of native musical genres such as zarzuela and tonadilla escénica over aristocratic preferences for the refined arias of Italian opera seria” (Lamas 39). It was around this time when zarzuela “became a heterogeneous cultural product capable of pleasing all Madrilenians regardless of their political and social affiliations. In fact, in the last half of the eighteenth century, zarzuela was both “high” and “low” culture, enlightened and popular art, the musical form of the
revolutionaries, as well as a bastion of the reactionaries” (Lamas 43). Already in the twentieth century, folkloric genres became part of the ideological battleground during the years of the Second Republic and the dictatorship. Gemma Pérez Zalduondo explains how the concepts of nation and people (pueblo) articulated the cultural projects from 1931 to 1945 (Pérez Zalduondo 149). The cultural program of the Republic highlighted the importance of the teatro lírico and expressed “el carácter ‘popular’ de la zarzuela y destaca su importancia en la historia musical española” (Pérez Zalduondo 151). As it happened with other folkloric genres, Francoism appropriated zarzuela as a “folkloric fetish,” (Vernon 179) with the purpose of resemanticizing this genre as representative of the concept of an official “Spanishness” that promoted values that dated back to the Spanish Golden Age.95

When the dictatorship came to an end and new democratic governments were elected at local and regional levels, one of their main objectives was “to revamp Madrid’s image to distance the city from the perception of it as the centralist, oppressive power that it was under Franco’s regime and from its perception outside of Spain as a provincial, third-world town” (Pérez-Sánchez 154).96 This process implied a transformation of Madrid at cultural, political, and urban levels. Tierno Galván, first democratic elected major since the Civil War, understood the role that culture plays when outlining a new inclusive Madrilenian identity.97 For that reason, Tierno Galván assumed a cultural

95 Flamenco is, perhaps, the best example of this cultural manipulation: “La cultura franquista utilizó el flamenco, y sobre todo sus derivados, como la forma de representación de una hispanidad «pura» y «primitiva»” (María del Mar Alberca García 286).
96 These efforts also included the creation of a new Madrilenian identity: “[r]ather than basing inclusion on place of birth, ethnicity, political affiliation, or age, all madrileños were to be included within a new civic identity based primarily on the notion of voluntarily residence, solidarity, and equal ‘citizenship’” (Stapell 48).
97 Prior to being part of the PSOE Tierno Galván was the leader of the Partido Socialista Popular (PSP), a minor socialist party that shared some ideological postulates with communism (Pérez-Sánchez 153; Stapell
revitalization that included all Madrilenians: “The idea was not to bring the level of
culture down to all citizens, but to elevate the cultural level of everyone. In short, Tierno
Galván’s administration believed in creating a new feeling of belonging through both the
promotion and democratization of mass culture, and not through its massification”
(Stapell 80).

La movida, an urban countercultural movement that took place during the
Transition, proved to be an excellent, albeit involuntary, ally in Tierno Galván’s cultural
policies. Gema Pérez-Sánchez signals the publishing of the comic book Madriz by the
Concejialía de Juventud del Ayuntamiento de Madrid as “an excellent means to transmit
their [PSOE’s] electoral program to younger generations” (Pérez-Sánchez 144). The use
of a “-z” at the end of the title imitates the dialectical pronunciation of Madrid by
working classes (Pérez-Sánchez 149). Therefore, this publication is an attempt to link
traditional castizo culture with avant-garde expressions to create a new Madrilenian
collective identity:

This subtle connection with sainetes and zarzuelas of the late nineteenth and
eyearly-twentieth centuries functions as an imaginary national identity formation
device—a device that allowed the Socialists to manipulate effectively this
particular comic book (among many other cultural products) to shore up support
for and coalesce a sense of identity around the newly formed Comunidad
Autónoma de Madrid (Madrid’s Autonomous Community). (Pérez-Sánchez 149)

The connection of popular genres with newer cultural expressions of the movida re-
inscribed zarzuela in contemporary Madrilenian society without the negative
connotations that it acquired during Francoism and, at the same time, it linked Madrid’s

28). When Tierno Galván was elected as mayor of Madrid, there was an ideological breach within the
PSOE at the Madrilenian and national level that was reflected on the city policies by the mayor’s office
(Stapell 31-33).
contemporary society with a *castizo* past that worked for a foundation of the new Madrilenian identity.

The prominence of *zarzuela* music in the film, both diegetically and extra diegetically, seems to align with the twofold effort to search for a new Madrilenian collective identity after the dictatorship, and to recover this popular genre from its ideological manipulation during Francoism. Thus, the film backs the efforts of Tierno Galván’s government to promote the renaissance of this genre detached from the negative connotations that cultural kidnapping of Francoism assigned to zarzuela. However, I suggest that the inclusion of zarzuela goes a step further. Tierno-Galván’s government overlooked the Second Republic period from a political, memorial, and urban point of view. As I further developed in the first chapter, urban renovations completely disregarded the monumental and architectural inheritance of Francoism. For instance, some streets were renamed but the nomenclature chosen was previous to the Second Republic, and the *Plan especial de protección y conservación de edificios y conjuntos histórico-artísticos de la Villa de Madrid* (1982) whose purpose is to outline a plan to protect the urban patrimony ignores Francoist monuments. In the list of monuments and buildings to be cleaned or restored there is not one that was built during Francoism. These instances seem to implicitly endorse the pact of silence of the Transition.

The combination of *zarzuela* with images of the war and the II Republic in Madrid, reminds the audience that this suppressed past is also part of Madrid’s collective

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98 In an editorial piece in the newspaper *El País* Enrique Moral Sandoval explains the reason for the change in the toponomies of streets: “Se inscribe, pues, en el proceso de concordia perseguido por nuestro régimen democrático y su legítimo objetivo de superación de anteriores discordias con la necesaria equiparación entre todos los españoles” (Moral Sandoval n. pag). Ironically the next paragraph states: “Por otra parte, las nuevas denominaciones que se recobran son, en su casi totalidad, anteriores a la II República. Tras el cambio permanecerán más de un centenar de calles relacionadas con el régimen autoritario anterior. De ellas, varias dedicadas al general Franco” (Moral Sandoval n. pag). Again, this shows that the process of “concord” of the Transition disregarded the Republican interests.
memory and identity. One particularly representative scene shows military training and parades of militiamen and militiawomen in Madrid by using montage cuts. The zarzuela music, a jovial piece, complements the enthusiasm of the marching militia. While the policies of Madrid’s government attempted to emphasize the casticismo of this genre dating back to the Enlightenment (Pérez-Sánchez 153), the newly democratic government omitted that zarzuela was also an important genre during the II Republic. Thus the combination of the militia with this music brings to the fore, as Patino himself states, the existence of a forgotten Madrid: “There is an official Madrid and a dissimulated, authentic Madrid. This is the Madrid I knew with the old anarchists, and I wanted to honour them” (Passevant 39). For this reason the preeminence of zarzuela music in the soundtrack is an attempt to establish that this genre is, as an elderly politician that Hans interviews emphasizes, a symbol of the freedom and progress of the working classes (Vernon 179). Although the use of this genre in this scene in particular, and in the film in general, does not reflect the elaborate use of popular songs in Canciones; neither does it add any meaning to the archive (Nieto Ferrando 147). It accomplishes the double purpose of acknowledging the Madrilenian roots of this popular genre, as well as an implicit criticism on how the Second Republic and its political, cultural, and social values were disdained during the Transition.

Nonetheless, the aspect that separates Madrid from Martín Patino’s previous films is the direct eruption of fiction into archival sequences, specifically when a group of Republicans comment on some of these images, thus aiding in the spectators’ contextualization of the events. Through their conversations, the audience learns, for instance, about the difficulties they had obtaining uniforms and clothes, and how they
could only get boots that belonged to the casualties on the front. Their testimony provides important information to the spectator who, otherwise, may not be able to fully understand the archival images he or she is watching. This indicates the role fiction may have in a documentary film, since both representations of reality complement each other. But more importantly, this issue highlights that the war is not merely a historical event. Madrid shows that there are still survivors whose memories are alive, thus contributing to establishment a dialectic between the history of the archive and the personal and collective memories of the characters. Furthermore, the interest of the friends defies the widespread notion that Spanish society was not interested in debating and remembering the past. On the contrary, the film shows that there is a portion of the society that was eager to share their memories.99

The role of the group of Republicans goes beyond commenting on the archival footage of the war. They are an important factor in Hans’ backwards glance towards the past, and they are also involved in a sequence that portrays how the meaning of historical documents may be altered. The Republicans (Luis Barbero, Luis Ciges, Félix Defauce, María Luisa Ponte) ask for Lucía’s permission to watch some of the archival footage that Hans uses for the documentary. When Lucía plays the tape, there is a cut to a shot of the screen of the editing table. A first page of a newspaper reads: “Francisco Franco Católico Ejemplar.” Immediately afterwards the footage shows Franco and his wife, Carmen Polo, taking communion. The shot cuts to a close-up of Paco who jovially smiles as he reaches for the controls of the table and starts playing with them. The scene alternates shots of

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99 In an interview with the Spanish cinema magazine Dirigido por... Martín Patino admits that he also manipulated the archival footage: “Incluso hay una manipulación de los documentales, en el sentido que no todo transcurre en Madrid, o por lo menos algunos planos de ellos corresponden, seguramente a materiales rodados en otros sitios” (Heredero 23)
Franco repeatedly eating the communion as a result of Paco fast forwarding and rewinding the tape, and shots of his friends laughing and mocking the images. The scene ends with a shot of all the screens of the editing table. The one in the center repeats the same footage of Franco, while the right and left ones show the reflection of the characters that are playing with the archival footage.

The goal of the original NO-DO piece was to reinforce the dictator’s religiousness, reiterating one of the ideological pillars and symbols of the regime: the union of government and the Catholic Church.\textsuperscript{100} Therefore, ridiculing the dictator taking the communion demystifies his devotion especially if one bears in mind that he was responsible for innumerable assassinations during the war and the post-war. What is more interesting, however, is the role that the friends play in the scene. The reflections of their faces in the screens—almost as spectral images—represent, in my opinion, the victims whose memories are not allowed into the official archive. However, the fact that those reconstructing the imagery are a group of Republicans intensifies the criticism of the sequence. In a compilation film, the director could ridicule the dictator;\textsuperscript{101} or, in the metanarrative structure of \textit{Madrid}, Hans could play with the images. However, Labanyi argues that many representations of memory tend to present the vanquished as victims, with the risk of constructing history as something done to people, negating individual

\textsuperscript{100} National-Catholicism attempted to discipline society: “Fusionar por decreto la unidad nacional y la versión más integrista de la fe católica implicaba la propagación coactiva de códigos de conducta inspirados en el dogma. La presencia del catolicismo en las escuelas y en los espectáculos, en el trabajo y la diversión, en la familia y en la intimidad acuñaban los modos normalizados de socialización” (Martín 50-1)

\textsuperscript{101} As in fact Patino did in \textit{Caudillo} by including: “imágenes congeladas sobre posturas grotescas del dictador o el contrapunto musical de pasodobles o zarzuelas sobre determinados actos oficiales,” (Catalá 131) or using “comic book depictions of heroic scenes from the life of Franco [that] served to put into question the integrity of documents themselves and the biographical genre they support” (Vernon 180).
agency” (“Politics” 120). This scene, instead, symbolically grants the victims agency. I interpret these spectral images as an homage to the people who for almost 40 years were obliged to watch how the NO-DO created a historical discourse that fit within the guidelines of the Regime, that their beliefs and memories were debased blaming them as the cause of the Civil War.

The editing table is a larger metaphor for the deletion of history and collective memory in Spanish democracy society at large. Another moment of the film involving this cinematic apparatus is symptomatic of the lack of memory in Spain and the damages it may cause to the younger generations. Lucía’s son sits in the flatbed editor and randomly plays with the machine. As soon as he presses the play button the first words are: “No olvides, Madrid, la guerra,” a famous verse of Rafael Alberti’s poems collection La defensa de Madrid. The child continues playing with the controls and the following shot shows the images of the editing table screen with images of a militiaman (maybe Buenaventura Durruti), Manuel Azaña, president of the II Republic at the beginning of the war, giving a speech, and Dolores Ibarruri, La Pasionaria, representative for Asturias during the II Republic and leader of the Spanish Communist Party in the exile. Owing to Curro’s actions, the images and the sound are distorted as he fast forwards and rewinds the footage repeatedly. This sequence raises several interesting points. The use of Alberti’s verses seems to invoke in the spectator the image of the heroic Madrid under siege during the war. In addition, the verse “No olvides, Madrid, la guerra” underscores the importance of remembering the past for the people of Madrid. This verse is in opposition to the distorted images and sound of the screen of the editing table, which may 102 It is well know how “los adultos del bando derrotado ocultaran información a los más jóvenes pretendiendo con ello evitarles problemas” (Aguilar Fernández, Políticas 162).
be interpreted as the deteriorated memory the younger generation will receive if there is
not a public debate about Spanish past. Thus, the distortion of these iconic historical
figures of the Second Republic and Alberti’s verses may point to how these historical
characters will be forgotten if coming generations are not educated.

In light of this interpretation, I argue that challenging the rules of the genre not
only creates a parallelism between the mediated nature of a documentary and the
representation of the past, but it also contributes to the dialectic between memory and
history. The use of a voice over to explain the archive footage could represent an
authoritative voice interpreting the scenes for the audience. However, the casual
commentaries of the Republican friends reduce this effect and open up a dialogue with
the spectators who now have the context of the images, but who can also elaborate their
own interpretation.103 Thus, the fictional plot that some critics describe as irrelevant and
unfinished acquires new meaning. On the one hand, it fosters a more open relationship
with the audience, as the reflexive nature of the film reveals that the discourses of
documentary, feature films, history, and memory are constructed and, thus, should be
critically interpreted by the intended recipients. On the other, it allows Hans to expand
his mnemonic collective map as he socializes with and learns about the memories of the
elder generation.

The sentimental relationship between Hans and Lucía, unfruitful as it is, expands
Hans’ mnemonic communities too. Before arriving in Madrid to shoot the documentary,
he is a member of a mnemonic community mainly composed by the historical knowledge

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103 Patino expresses that: “Si algún día hubiera de utilizarse el cine como gran testimonio del siglo XX no
será, creo yo, por la credibilidad de lo que llamamos los documentales cinematográficos. El conocimiento
del siglo habrá que buscarlo en las películas de ficción, [que]objetivan más fielmente las conductas y
problemas del tiempo” (Martín Patino, “Juego,” 121).
he acquired in Germany, as well as his knowledge of the documentary tradition about the Civil War, documentaries done mainly by foreign directors. Conducting research in the capital expands his historical knowledge and helps to develop a certain historical memory. Upon consolidating his relationship with Lucía, Hans becomes a member of Lucía and her family’s mnemonic community. This, in fact, is essential for Han’s evolution as, Paco, Lucía’s father, introduces him to a mnemonic community of Republicans who survived the Civil War and Francoism. With their testimonies and their collective memories, they contribute to Hans’ revised historical memory. In addition, Hans’ experience of the city enriches his mnemonic communities by allowing him to get in contact with politicians, and also Madrilenians’ traditions such as zarzuela, and the city’s urban space and the experience of said space. Therefore, I argue that the film highlights not only that all access to the past is mediated, but also that the relationship between urban space and memory is symbiotic. That is, experiencing the city creates memories as much as accessing archival images of the city creates memories.

The dialectic relationship between memory and history is further emphasized by Hans’ evolution from a historiographical approach to a methodology that underscores the importance of collective memories and the present day urban experience in order to reconstruct the past. The protagonist’s gaze is doubly detached. On the one hand, he represents a continuation of the tradition of foreign documentary filmmakers, press photographers, and reporters whose ideological compromise went beyond the mere witnessing of the war (Colmeiro, Memoria 208). Likewise, Hans’ nationality emphasizes the internationality of the conflict at the same time that his sympathies with the Republican side implicitly denote retribution for the intervention of the Nazi German in
the Spanish War (Colmeiro, *Memoria* 209). On the other hand, Hans’ attitude towards the Spanish past reveals “una explícita postura ética a contracorriente del amnésico pacto de silencio acordado entre los artífices de la transición española” (Colmeiro, *Memoria* 209). It is in relation to this idea that the protagonist’s nationality is more significant. His nationality suppresses the nostalgic vision that a Spanish character could add to the story, but, more importantly, Hans symbolically represents German society, which contrary to what happened in Spain, publicly acknowledged his shameful past, and openly debated its social traumas.

At the beginning of the narration, the protagonist attempts to understand the Civil War and to organize his documentary based on the archive. In a phone conversation with his wife, he says: “Hacer una película sobre la Guerra es como buscar dinosaurios. Tengo que investigar más… buscar más en archivos…” (*Madrid*). This is the methodology a historian would undertake to complete the project. Once again, this depicts the war as an event detached from the present, as part of a closed archive. Moreover, in a meeting with the German producers of the documentary he draws an analogy with archaeological reconstruction: “Reuníamos los trozos de vasija, los estudiábamos, los combinábamos. Completábamos los trozos que faltaban hasta que volvía a tener su antigua fuerza” (*Madrid*). While the labor of archeologists is commendable, their reconstruction of artifacts is usually incomplete. Some fragments may be missing, and even if the whole artifact is restored, the fissures will be visible. In any case, the meaning of the artifact is incomplete if its cultural value is unknown. This comparison applies to Hans’ research. Borrowing Ricoeur’s terminology, Hans looks for “historical traces.”

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104 The French philosopher, paraphrasing Marc Bloch, argues that “the trace is to historical knowledge what direct or instrumental observation is to the natural sciences” (170).
ambiguous because they signal something that is no longer there and, in addition, must be deciphered. Because he lacks a dialogical relationship with memory while working from within a closed archive, Hans’ quest to reconstruct the past does not come to full fruition.  

Hans’ narrow historical methodology hinders his ability to recognize other sources for his documentary. Hans guides his cameraman on how to film a picture, while in the background the diegetic sound reproduces Paco and a friend talking about their experiences and remembrances of the Civil War. The following shot shows the two friends speaking on the left part of the frame as Hans gets closer and talks to Lucia’s son, who is playing with the editing projector, completely disregarding the words of the elders. The two friends start relating their story to Hans who distractedly looks at them. A few seconds later he admonishes the cameraman for using the transfocator to film the picture: “Es un aparato innoble,” (Madrid) the director explains, as the frame changes to a medium shot of the two friends who continue their narration. In the background we can hear Hans saying: “Los documentos testimoniales hay que filmarlos tal como son” (Madrid). Soon afterwards Lucía arrives and warns the friends that this is not a gathering place. Hans responds that “es bueno contar con un testigo de excepción” (Madrid) as a first shot of Paco with a proud expression concludes the sequence.

This sequence is rather ironic, and may be tied to the archival and historiographical frenzy of the 1980’s. Hans does not want his cameraman to manipulate

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105 In the book Posibilismos, memorias y fraudes (2006), Jorge Nieto Ferrando uses the metaphor of the archeologists to structure his analysis of Madrid. He argues that the film is composed of four pieces: the acknowledgement of the past in the present; the use of factual newsreel in order to explain the fiction; the contrast between popular and cultured; and Hans’ monologues about his own process of creation (143-48). This is a compelling and structural analysis that, in my opinion, simplifies the scope of the film. As I propose, Hans realizes the impossibility of an approach from within the archive. He understands that the access to the past and to the city is more complex, and a more plural approach should be taken.
a picture, underscoring the importance of the authenticity of documents. At the same
time, he ignores the oral testimonies of two survivors of the Civil War. He then praises
the importance of witnesses in what seems to be an attempt to appease Lucía’s father.
Testimony constitutes “the fundamental transitional structure between memory and
history” (Ricoeur 21). 106 Therefore this sequence may be interpreted as a criticism of
intellectuals who disregard oral sources. As I mentioned before, the commemorations of
the anniversary of the beginning of the war were characterized by a clear
historiographical approach, overlooking the testimonies of the generation who lived and
experienced the war. In contrast, the film seems to propose that their memories should be
part of a representation of Madrid’s past. The sequence, placing the archival picture on
the wall, represents the archive as static and fixed. 107 On the contrary, the two characters
represent memory as dynamic, social, and, more importantly, alive.

The exposure of the protagonist to the mnemonic community of the Republican
friends and his involvement in the life of Madrid are two key elements for the evolution
of the protagonist. One of the instances that show that Hans’ approach to the
documentary has changed his initial historical methodology, is that the protagonist
accepts the invitation of Lucía’s father to go to a friend’s house to see his personal
archive. This man’s collection comprises a portrait of Franco—that the owner moves
away with disdain and the other characters do not even look at—many Republican
Blanco y Negro magazines, ABC newspapers, and satirical publications very critical of

106 Ricoeur indicates that archives are established in three steps: “Testimony opens an epistemological
process that departs from declared memory, passes through the archive and documents, and finds its
fulfillment in documentary proof” (161).
107 I am referring to the document itself, not to the interpretation of that document. However, as I
explained, Hans emphasizes the necessity to film the photography as it is, thus underscoring the lasting
nature of the document.
the Catholic Church.\textsuperscript{108} As Labanyi maintains, one of the shortcomings of memory in the Spanish democracy is that memory has been considered personal and private (“Politics” 120). This character’s personal archive is one instance of how memories remained private. Portraying it in Madrid and making it part of Hans’ investigation showcases memory as a social phenomenon. Once again, due to Paco’s explanation, part of the audience may be able to understand better the documents: “Ah, pero si éste es el Blanco y Negro republicano, ¿no te acuerdas? . . . Me acuerdo” (Madrid). This scene shows the importance of expanding the archive in the new democracy. This expansion involves making collective memories public as well as expanding the definition of archive to include the memorabilia and testimonies of the survivors.\textsuperscript{109}

Before continuing with Hans’ development I want to discuss how Madrid problematizes the importance of generational memories in early democratic Spain. Juan Antonio Pérez Millán describes the attitudes towards the past of the different generations in the film: “los mayores permanecen estérilmente fijados en sus recuerdos, los de edad intermedia sobreviven como pueden y los más jóvenes ignoran su pasado colectivo y responden al estereotipo del desarraigo, o bien se dedican a jugar con los aparatos, inconscientes todavía de las posibilidades que encierran” (252). Thus, for the generation of the grandparents, those who lived the war, remembrances of this period are vivid and important, but the second generation considers the war as a past event without any influence in the present. Finally, the film points to the ignorance of the younger

\textsuperscript{108} The fact that a portrait of Franco belongs to a person whose sympathies fall on the side of the Republic may be an indication of the imagery that decorated most of the Spanish homes in order to keep ideological suspicions away.

\textsuperscript{109} In fact, as the narration advances it seems that: “Patino prima su testimonio memorial sobre el erudito con pretensiones de historización, con representante queda degradado a politiquillo de tres al cuarto interesado sólo en salir bien frente a la cámara” (Nieto Ferrando 144).
generations of the grandchildren, as I indicated before when I analyzed the scene showing Lucía’s child playing at the editing table.

Aguilar Fernández points out the importance of differentiating between the generation that lived the war during childhood and adolescence, and those who were born during the war and were raised in the misery of the postwar period (Memory 5). The latter were, in large part, the political leaders of the Transition to democracy (Memory 5). This is significant because the children who lived the war remember it as an ideological fight, while the second group remembers the years of hunger, the repression and the misery of the postwar. Franco’s regime only admitted the memory of the victors, relegating the memory of the vanquished to the private sphere. Some families chose not to transmit their remembrances so that their descendants would have an easier life trying to erase the stigma of belonging to a Republican family. Although the Transition changed this situation, the great majority of the political leaders, who were part of this generation, chose to continue silencing the memories of the vanquished in an attempt to keep social peace.

Eva’s (Ana Duato) sentimental partner best represents this attitude. He is a politician who participates in Han’s documentary and he openly argues how ideologies have given way to political pragmatism. Eva refutes the politician by saying that all the political class “iba [durante la transición] como ‘acojonaos’” (Madrid). The politician does not respond to her and, opportunistically, says that this was not the topic of the interview and that they are turning the Civil War into a political issue. This sequence depicts two interpretations of the Transition. On the one hand, the politicians attempted to undermine the political importance of the Second Republic and the Civil War because, as
Aguilar Fernández has pointed out, an aseptic interpretation of the past was the better, and perhaps only way, to consolidate a democratic government. This attitude highlighted the foundational importance of the Civil War for Spanish democracy but it did not analyze the responsibilities and the consequences that the war and the dictatorship had in Spanish society (Aguilar Fernández, Memory 209). On the other hand, Eva’s reactions reveal the early discontent of some sectors of society towards the abandonment of ideologies on the left in favor of a neoliberal approach.

Interestingly, although Eva criticizes the politicians she does not have any interest in the past: “Todos los de vuestra generación tenéis la misma manía. Siempre estáis hablando de muertos” (Madrid). A few minutes later, the film makes explicit that Eva’s aversion to the past is due to her ignorance of the Civil War. After Hans and Eva watch a long archival sequence of Madrid during the war and Hans explains the images to her, she asserts: “No tenía ni idea. Es impresionante” (Madrid). Thus, the rejection of the past is the consequence of the historical manipulation during Francoism and the pact of silence of the Transition that kept a generation uninformed of the war.111

In sum, Hans’ initial approach to the past is based on the documents, photographs and archival footage that are included in the archive. However, he realizes the analysis of the documents will result in a representation of the past that does not establish any

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110 Fernando González describes how Martín Patino constructs Duato’s character as ambiguous: “Curiosamente, Patino viste a este personaje extraño, ambiguo, que se relaciona carnalmente con miembros de otras generaciones, con los atributos de lo que, en aquellos momentos, era la «movida» madrileña, lo más moderno, lo «postmoderno», y resulta quizá, paradójicamente, en su absoluta irreflexión y vitalidad, en su estar totalmente vivo e inexplicable en su presente, el personaje más ajeno de toda la representación. Quizá por eso atraiga tanto al historiador como al cineasta” (166).
111 Pérez Millán relates the anecdote that “la cara de sorpresa de Eva cuando descubre en esa misma pantalla las huellas de unos acontecimientos históricos que desconocía, recuerda a aquella montadora real que ayudó a Patino en Canciones para después de una guerra y por cuyas expresiones se dejaba guiar el director paral comprobar el efecto que producía su trabajo creativo sobre unas generaciones más jóvenes, no directamente condicionadas por la vivencia de los hechos” (Pérez Millán 254)
connection to the present. As he gets involved with different mnemonic communities he understands the relevance of testimonies, and the necessity to complement the archive with the testimonies and vice versa. Therefore, the film encourages an approach to the past that analyzes the place of memory in the representations of the past and how the past affects contemporary society.

Like his initial approach to analyze the archive, Hans’ approach to the city starts from a structural depiction of urban space. The scale model that Hans and his crew film at the beginning of the film suggests a methodology based, once again, on the archive. As the narration advances, he gradually separates himself from the archive as the main source for his investigation. Hans’ experience of the city turns out to be a central factor in his evolution. He visits monuments, museums, and attends a zarzuela representation. Furthermore, Hans discovers traditions, meets with politicians and public personalities, and he continues to learn about the collective memories of the survivors. This allows the protagonist to develop a mnemonic cognitive map that provides him with the understanding that a city is comprised of more elements than its physical space and its history.

At the beginning of the film, a long sequence stages the protagonist and his crew shooting a scale model of Madrid. As the camera pans over the model, Hans’ voice over states: “Conocer sus antecedentes, reconstruir las imágenes de lo que desapareció en el tiempo.” The scale model operates as an archive that the protagonist attempts to read in order to understand Madrid’s urban past. As Doreen Massey indicates, a map is a synchronic geographic depiction that represents space “as the completed product. As a coherent closed system” (106). Structuralism renders space “as the sphere of stasis and
fixity” (Massey 38), ignoring the processes by which this space is created and transformed over time. The model cannot depict urban memories; neither can it represent the palimpsests of urban space, only appreciable through the experience of the city. Moreover, neither can it map the affective charge of a city-dweller’s experience of the city—all important factors in the generation of memories. Therefore, the protagonist attempts to approach urban space from within the archive, hoping that learning about its urban development will help him to understand the past. Once more, his methodology implies reconstructing, in this case, the images that have been lost from an archive. The problem that emerges is that this synchronic representation does not establish any relationship with present-day urban development in Madrid.

In another effort to decipher Madrid’s past, Lucía and Hans watch archival footage comparing images of the city at the editing table. One screen shows scenes of a number of locations in Madrid during the war, whereas the other displays the same places after the war, once the city was reconstructed. Lucía points at the screens and exclaims: “Coinciden.” To which Hans replies: “No estoy seguro de que éste sea el método de trabajo,” adding that, “lo único que se va a conseguir con esa equivalencia es la confirmación de que fue verdad, pero eso ya lo sabemos” (Madrid). As Vernon indicates, Hans conveys that “documentary must do more than merely verify the pastness of the past” (182). The protagonist’s reflection suggests that comparing two images of Madrid’s urban space at different points in time will not contribute new information to the documentary. In fact, this approach just documents the changes in the city architecture as finished processes, thus suppressing the process of transformation or the
relationship with present day Madrid, as well as the knowledge that living in the city
would add to his research.

Hans’ next step is to visit the contemporary city with pictures of the past. One of
the first places he visits is the Parque del Oeste, an emblematic site of memory of the
Civil War in Madrid. Considered the site of the first battle of the Civil War in Madrid, it
is a symbol of the fidelity to the Republican government. On July 19th 1936 around
1,500 rebels commanded by General Joaquin Fanjul mutinied and locked themselves in
these barracks. A crowd of workers and troops loyal to the Republic gathered outside.
After hours of siege, some soldiers abandoned the barracks with white flags, a sign that
the crowd took as a surrender; but when they advanced towards the building two machine
guns opened fire killing several Madrilenians (Preston 122). As a result, the enraged
multitude slaughtered several officials and soldiers after the final attack. At that moment,
the assault was compared to the Storming of the Bastille during the French Revolution
(123).\textsuperscript{112} The barracks were almost in ruins when the war ended and they were used by
the regime to exalt the martyrs who died in this event with annual masses and
commemorations over the next decades (Muñoz-Rojas 68-9). As I mentioned on the
chapter on urbanism, Bigador selected this space as the location for the Falange
headquarters due to its sacred value (Bigador n. pag). Muñoz-Rojas interrogates the
suitability of erecting the headquarters in this space, something that would strip off the
symbolism of the site, rather than building a memorial or a monument (71). The answer
may be that the event triggered ambiguous memories for the National side as there were
martyr soldiers and officials who died but the battle was ultimately lost. Consequently,
the space retained a heavy symbolic value for republicans. Therefore, erecting the

\textsuperscript{112} In addition, this Park was one of the fronts in the Battle of the Ciudad Universitaria.
colossal headquarters seems to be an attempt to erase this ambiguity and transform this space into the center of Falangist ideology.

The project to construct the headquarters started in 1945 and the ruins were dismantled between 1945 and 1948 (Muñoz-Rojas 72). However, as I explained in the first chapter, the plans to build the Imperial Madrid soon failed in part due to the economic hardships of the country, in part for the defeat of German and Italian in World War II and the subsequent attempt of Francoism to dissociate itself from Fascist ideology.

In the late 1960s a plan was approved to transform this area into a park with the inclusion of a monument inaugurated on July 20th 1972. The monument, authored by Joaquín Vaquero Turcios (Fig. 13), was installed to commemorate the memory of the fallen in the assault. A bronze statue of a mutilated man against a wall made of sandbags composes the monument. At first, the plan for the monument included mythical representations and a more grandiose structure (Aguilar Fernández, Políticas 162). The inscription states that the monument commemorates “los caídos en el Cuartel de la Montaña.” This shows how “[l]a socialización política en los valores de la paz y la saturación con el espíritu bélico de otros tiempos, habían hecho mella y el público veía una contradicción, que en las dos primeras décadas de régimen no eran tan evidente, entre la triste evocación de las víctimas de la Guerra y la exaltación de los valores épicos de la contienda” (Aguilar Fernández, Políticas 162).
Hans arrives at the park and, from his car, he looks briefly at the monument. Then he looks at pictures of militiamen outside the building, soldiers walking with their hands up, and the building of the *Cuartel de la Montaña*. After that, a point of view shot from the protagonist’s perspective scans the park, only to show gardens and the stairs that lead into the park. The sequence ends with a cut-in of Hans’ hand holding a photograph of people running towards the barracks. The juxtaposition of the pictures with the landscape of the park creates a sharp contrast. Except for the monument there are no traces of the war. Where the building was located, and where the first battle of the war in Madrid took place, there are now gardens.

The only soundtrack is the diegetic sound of the car’s engine and some noises of the city, but the sequence does not provide the spectator with any information through a voiceover or subtitles. Therefore, the audience needs to be familiar with the location and
the events in order to understand fully the scene. This absence of commentary may be interpreted as an attempt to create a parallelism between the meaning Hans acquires contrasting the pictures and the current landscape and the interpretation that an informed spectator would gather form the sequence. It implies that the mere showing of the archive without any diegetic or extra-diegetic explanation—as opposed to the scenes in which the elder Republicans contribute their testimonies—does not suffice to interpret the documents.

The previous sequences are revelatory, as the protagonist realizes that simply looking at archival pictures of Madrid at different moments in time, and comparing those photographs with the current space is not a methodology that will help him to complete his documentary. On the one hand, the traces of the war are almost nonexistent. Therefore his archeological approach is not as productive as he expected, as he does not find the pieces fit together. On the other hand, I would argue that the protagonist understands that, as Jameson contends, knowing the physical urban space does not imply comprehending the city, as the social structures of the city and its society are also part of its organization (52). Accordingly, Hans starts prioritizing the discourse of memory and the experience of the city thus consolidating his ties with different mnemonic communities. In fact, Hans reveals to the German producer that he has changed the idea for the documentary and that he now plans to take present day Madrid as the point of departure. This is an opinion that the producer does not share. She recommends that he stay within the limits of the guidelines and to focus on the historical facts.

Vernon describes Hans’ approach to the city as “ethnographic or *cinema verité* mode. Filming almost at random they record a teacher’s strike, landmarks and
monuments, streetscapes in old Madrid, an open air performance of a *zarzuela*, highrises *(sic)* and shanty-towns, and religious processions” (177-8). I would not consider these choices arbitrary as this diversity portrays a dynamic city full of contrasts: the developed city in opposition to the shanty towns still present in the middle of the metropolis; the tradition of the *zarzuela* against the postmodern *Movida Madrileña*; the shops of the traditional streets in the downtown area with the images of the financial institutions in *El Paseo de la Castellana*; and, finally, the past of the city with its present day experience.  

I would argue that from this moment the archive, the testimonies of the Republicans, and the experience of the city intertwine in order to develop the protagonist’s own mnemonic cognitive map. His involvement with such a variety of cultural experiences, along with different mnemonic communities, allows him to better comprehend Madrid’s past and identity.

Therefore, an important factor in developing a mnemonic collective map is Hans’ visits to emblematic places in the city. Walking in the city creates, according to de Certeau, “a rhetoric of walking.” In spite of the urban planners’ attempt to establish the text of the city, inhabitants create new meanings by taking shortcuts or disobeying the rules that urban planners arrange for a given space (101-2). Totalitarian regimes impose official memory through monuments and symbols, imposing its memory onto the inhabitants. *Madrid* resists official memory by intentionally not portraying any paradigmatic monument erected during the dictatorship. There is no sight, for instance,

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113 The juxtaposition of the small business in the downtown area with the financial institutions may also be interpreted as an implicit criticism of the PSOE’s neoliberal policies of the 1980s. This also connects with the demonstration against the entrance in the NATO.
of *El arco del triunfo*, no statues of Franco or of the Falangist leaders either.Likewise, no mention is made of the names of the streets and squares named after rebellious generals or Franco himself. On the contrary, this absence may be interpreted as a “tactic,” in de Certeau’s terms, to resist official memory. Therefore, the narration underscores the agency of individuals to create meaning within the urban space. The city is an archive as much as a space where meaning is negotiated and individuals write their own text, or interpretation, of the city. While the absence of Francoist symbols does not solve the political or ethical issues that their presence in urban space generates, at the very least it does not perpetuate the officially imposed memory of Francoism. At the same time, the absence of Francoist symbols subverts and provides an image of the city far from the association of Madrid with the concept of Spanishness constructed during the dictatorship, underscoring that *Madrid*, in spite of its title, is not a representation of the capital. Rather, the film conveys a subjective view of the city, which pays an homage to the city that resisted Fascism and to the traces of that resistance that last in the contemporary city, whether through its inhabitants, its traditions, or its urban space.

The scenes of Hans experiencing the city are intercalated with scenes in which the protagonist and the spectators enjoy panoramic views of the city that resemble the idea of the voyeur god developed by de Certeau. In a particular scene in which Hans and a Madrilenian intellectual view the city from a roof terrace Hans’ interlocutor indicates that one can perceive the city: “Irracional, hecha a oleadas, siempre sin acabar” (*Madrid*). Hans agrees, replying that he likes these qualities of the city. In this sequence, space is considered a process in permanent evolution, in opposition to the stasis of the scale

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114 The exception would be the memorial in the *Parque del Oeste*, but, as I explained before, this location is symbolic of the resistance of Madrid at the beginning of the rebellion.
model. The sequence continues with an extreme long shot of the characters on the terrace looking down at the city. The camera zooms out gradually, showing the city on the right, while the characters occupy the upper left of the scene. As the characters move away from the frame zarzuela music intensifies in the soundtrack overlapping with the conversation. The frame continues to open until it finally pans to the right offering a panoramic view of Madrid.

The soundtrack and the image create different levels of interpretation. The former links zarzuela music with present day Madrid. If the use of this music with archival footage established that this genre was part of Madrid long before it was appropriated by the regime as a cultural symbol, its presence in this scene, with the panoramic shot of present day Madrid, underscores that this traditional genre is still an important part of the capital’s culture and identity. Therefore, the film links the past and the present through the zarzuela. The image, in combination with the commentaries of the characters, implicitly criticizes the urban policies of the capital.

The panoramic view does not provide either of the characters a “readable” city (de Certeau 93). As Hans’ interlocutor points out, Madrid has always lacked an architectonic culture, which may be the reason for the characters’ inability to perceive the organized space of urban planners. This suggests a criticism of the urban policies implemented by the regime in the capital, which focused on social segregation, locating the industrial city on the outskirts. This did not solve the town-planning problems of the capital as the urban plans were “una desenfrenada carrera siempre detrás de la necesidades generadas por un Madrid en veloz crecimiento, provocado en el futil [sic] intento de convertirlo en una metrópoli «moderna», que, con actitud del «nuevo rico»,
habría que ocultar su pasado «ignominioso» de ciudad provinciana, borrando sus signos de identidad (Mangada and Leira 2). As I explained in the previous chapter, this also created the housing problema in the outskirts and the segregated geographical situation between the rich center areas and the underdeveloped suburbs in the south.

This is not the only occasion in which bad urban planning is implicitly criticized. A very wide shot portrays two shacks made of rubble in an unknown location. A quick cut shows a medium close-up of Hans looking through the window, again Martín Patino uses the montage in order to suggest the protagonist sees the shacks through the window. However, the following shot does not relate to the two previous images. Hans occupies the left part of the frame while high rises, a residential complex, and a park occupy the right part of the frame. Hans and his cameraman walk through the building and after a few seconds there is a cut to a shanty town. Following this desolate view, Goyo films from a terrace and Hans stands next to him staring at the street. The camera pans to the right and two high residential buildings fill the mise-en-scène. A few seconds later, as the pan shot continues, a high angle shot presents a shanty town next to these edifices. The whole sequence is filmed with a soundtrack of a slow piano score with high-pitched notes when the shanty town appears in the screen, accentuating the dramatic quality of the images. The slow rhythm of the music in combination with the measured camera movements highlights the contrast between these two Madrilenians realities.

This sequence establishes an intertext with Luis Martín Santos’ experimental novel *Tiempo de silencio*. The narrator describes the shantytowns the first time they appear:

¡Allí estaban las chabolas! Sobre un pequeño montículo en que concluía la carretera derruida, Amador se había alzado—como muchos siglos antes Moisés
The treatment of urban space in this novel has been widely analyzed.\textsuperscript{115} The narration presents the accumulation of slums in the periphery of Madrid due to the immigration from rural areas to Madrid and the hardships of the postwar period. While Amador in \textit{Tiempo de silencio} distinguishes these areas from a small hill, thus suggesting that shantytowns are not part of the city, Hans and Goyo see the shantytown from the perspective of a new building still under construction. Four decades after the action of Martín Santos’ novel takes place the problem has not been resolved. On the contrary, the city sprawled and continued its expansion around these slums engulfing them. \textit{Madrid} criticizes how the problem of underdevelopment in the outskirts was not solved during Francoism, neither has it been confronted by the democratic governments.

If these images are revelatory of the deficient urban planning of Madrid, equally important is the moment of the film in which this scene appears, right after the burial of Tierno Galván and the demonstrations of support by hundreds of thousands of Madrilenians in the streets. As I mentioned above, Tierno Galván’s government undertook a complete image overhaul of Madrid to dissociate it from its negative image as the site of the centralist regime during the dictatorship. This transformation included the \textit{Plan General de Ordenación Urbana de Madrid} (1985), in which: “la transformación de la ciudad se convierte en el gran objetivo. Madrid ya no crece, no se puede, pues, «abandonar» la ciudad existente, «dejarla por imposible», proponiendo una irrealizable y despilfarradora «nueva» ciudad alternativa. Aunque la ciudad apenas crezca, las

\textsuperscript{115} For a detailed analysis of this issue see: Enrique Fernández, Benjamin Fraser, Marisol Morales Ladrón, and Marianela Muñoz in the list of works cited.
demandas sociales aumentan y, sobre todo, cambian” (Plan 1985 57). Within these guidelines there was a clear social agenda that advocated for “el derecho a la ciudad.”¹¹⁶ I do not interpret this juxtaposition of Tierno Galván’s funeral with the images of the shantytowns as a criticism of the Socialist mayor; rather, I suggest that it works as a reminder that there are still many urban problems to solve and that Tierno Galván’s demise should not stop the social and urban renovation of the city. In hindsight, it is well know that the larger national economic and political agenda of the PSOE overcame the specific social agenda of the PSOE in Madrid by imposing policies that strengthened capitalism in an attempt to modernize the capital and the country.¹¹⁷

While knowing and comprehending the physical urban space is essential to acquire a mnemonic collective map, it also implies knowing its traditions and knowing its citizens. For this reason, Hans attends a zarzuela performance in the Plaza Mayor, and continues his relationship with Lucía and her family. During the performance of the zarzuela, the protagonist asks a German friend about the origins of the spectacle. He explains that its origins are popular and can be considered as a “rito popular de autoafirmación,” but that Madrilenians “no se lo toman demasiado en serio.” As Vernon indicates, these explanations are more effective in the words of a foreign observer (179), thus suggesting that a German praising and appreciating this castizo genre eliminates some of the negative connotations that the genre inherited from Francoism. The sequence ends with Hans purchasing a cassette to which he listens to in the next scene.

¹¹⁶ This slogan reminds one of the most influential works of Marxist urban critic Henri Lefebvre El derecho a la ciudad (1958).
In addition to portraying this *castizo* tradition on the screen, the scene establishes that the *zarzuela* music that accompanies some of the archival footage stems from Hans’ fascination with this genre.

His interest in the *zarzuela* does not stop there and he decides to interview a Madrilenian politician. The interview is divided in two sections. The first part is a traditional interview in which the politician sits at his desk while he gives an erudite lecture about the origins of *zarzuela* and its importance for Madrid’s tradition. This part is composed by a sequence shot that pans to the left showing Goyo filming the interview followed by an over the shoulder shot of Hans looking at the politician. The second part starts when the shot cuts to a first shot of the politician. The camera zooms out revealing that the image comes from the screen of the editing table. The frame zooms out to show Hans and the politician watching the interview at the protagonist’s studio. The discourse of the politician follows a chronological order without any ellipsis. Nonetheless, an indeterminate amount of time elapses between the filming and the viewing as the location has changed and Hans wears a different attire. Therefore, the spectator sees how the scene is shot and, seconds later, the final result, which makes explicit how film and documentary can manipulate narrative time.

However, I would argue that splitting the sequence into two parts fulfills another function. In the first part, the politician is talking in an academic tone, with detailed information about the *zarzuela*. Interestingly, Hans asks the politician the most relevant question when they are watching the interview: “Me gustaría saber por qué este pueblo se lanzó a la calle con tanto entusiasmo frente a los militares rebeldes en el 36” (*Madrid*). This seems to be a key topic for his documentary, but he raises the question after the

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118 Vernon identifies him as Socialist Senator José Prat (179).
interview and, consequently, the answer of Prat will not be part of the documentary. They resisted, answers Prat, due to the extreme loyalty to the ideology that they believed to be correct. He adds that Tierno Galván’s burial with hundreds of thousands of Madrilenians honoring him in the street is another example of this loyalty.

This sequence contains several layers of interpretation. First, the erudite discourse of Prat endorses the popular opinion of Hans’ German friend, thus detaching zarzuela from the cultural folklore of Francoism. Second, Hans’ inquiry links the popular genre with Madrid’s resistance. Subsequently, Prat establishes that the same spirit of justice was present in the past resistance of Madrid against Fascism and in the present tribute to Tierno Galván. Once again, the narration links past and present events. Finally, temporal division establishes a separation between the erudite discourse of the first part and Prat’s casual answer to the question in the second part. Prat was undersecretary in the Government of Negrín and participated in the Consejo Nacional de Defensa during the war. The division differentiates between his public discourse as politician, which can be characterized as scholarly and closer to history. On the contrary, in the second part his intervention is more casual and constitutes his private testimony of his experiences in the war. Therefore, this sequence portrays how history and memory complement each other, as they cover different aspects of the past.

Before concluding, I want to analyze the last sequence of the movie, as it is representative of the evolution of Hans during the film and as it encompasses many of the issues addressed in the film. Once his mnemonic cognitive map is developed, Hans realizes that, in order to reconstruct the past, the archive is as important as the memories of the survivors. Lucía and her family are on a rooftop with Hans and his wife. Hans
states that from now on he wants to invent stories: “Por ejemplo, la historia de una pareja que tiene un niño y su abuelo lo lleva al parque a recordarse a sí mismo sus batallas de hace ya muchos años de una guerra legendaria por la libertad…” (Madrid). Whereas in the opening sequence of the film the protagonist searches for information about the war in an exhibition, the final sequence reveals how his knowledge of the war and Madrid has changed. He understands that the testimonies of survivors, of the people who experience Madrid are as important as accessing the archive in order to document what happened. That is, the end of the film reveals how Hans’ involvement with Lucía family’s mnemonic community has created an affective connection with her family and the city that otherwise he would have not achieved, and that helps him to really comprehend the city and its past. Equally important is the city itself, with its memories and contradictions: “A free city, incomplete, that is, alive.” As Hans says these words the camera pans to the right so that the final shot is a panoramic view of Madrid against a zarzuela music soundtrack.

Hans reiterates that the city is incomplete. Likewise, all the narrative levels of the movie are incomplete. When Madrid finishes, the audience does not know what is in store for the characters. The process of filming the documentary is also unfinished and the film is, presumably, going to be finished by another director. Finally, the complete representation of Madrid during the war and Hans’ mnemonic cognitive map are also frustrated. Not because the archive, the investigation of the protagonist, and the experience of the city are not satisfactory, but because a representation of the city and its past is, inherently, unfinished and in continuous evolution. Thus the film resists a static totalizing vision of Madrid and its history. It is, as Madrid, alive.
To conclude, *Madrid* is organized around dialectical relationships that propose a reconstruction of the capital’s past beyond history and the archive. The first dialectic connects the rigor and theoretical objectivity of the documentary with the possibilities of the feature film to narrate fictional stories. The hybrid genre contributes to link the historical archive with the memories of the Republican friends. Furthermore, the fiction underscores the social characteristics of memory and the importance of mnemonic communities in the socialization and creation of memories. The second dialectical relationship is that of history and memory, whose relationship, as Ricoeur argues, seems to be the best solution to narrate the past comprehensively. The archive provides historical information of the events, but the Spanish society of the Transition failed not only to honor the victims of the war and Francoism, but also to reinterpret the official archive of Francoism and to expand the archive of the new democracy to include the testimonies of the survivors.

Hans best represents this dialogical association. Initially he takes an archeological and historical approach to filmmaking by looking for the traces of the past in the archive and the scale model and by comparing the urban space with archival photographs. This approach falls short and grants a representation detached from the present. As the narration unfolds Hans realizes that in order to recount Madrid’s past, the archive is as important as looking to the people who survived the war and endured the dictatorship. This process underscores the symbiotic relationship between urban space and memory. Experiencing the city and getting involved with its inhabitants grants Hans a more sophisticated knowledge of the past. He understands that just as the city is alive and in constant evolution, the past is, as well, changing and affecting the present.
Likewise, the past influences the urban space. I am not only referring to monuments and symbols of the past but to the fact that knowing the past may alter the experience of a specific urban space. That is why Hans decides he cannot investigate the past without including the present day city and its people, and by physically wandering through the city himself.

His research in the archive and his involvement with different mnemonic communities in conjunction with the experience of the city provides Hans with a mnemonic collective map of the city that is necessarily incomplete and mediated by the communities and the city that he experiences. The element in the narration that is not dialectical is the city. The film presents Madrid as a plural city, full of contrasts. It cannot be a complete representation of the city because something always will be missing. The film is an homage to the city and its inhabitants that resisted Fascism and endured the long dictatorship. The film pays special attention to the zarzuela, a Madrilenian musical and theatrical genre. Its combination with archival footage underscores that this traditional genre existed long before the regime’s ideological apparatuses appropriated it as a symbol of the Francoist Spanish identity. In addition, the panoramic views of the city with the soundtrack music symbolize that zarzuela is a genre that is still part of Madrid’s tradition, at the same time that they link past and present.
Chapter 3: Urban Space and Mediated Affective Memories in *El corazón helado* (2007) by Almudena Grandes

*El corazón helado*, one of the most successful Spanish novels of the last decade, equally acclaimed by critics and public, belongs to the numerous cultural expressions in favor of the *Movimiento por la Memoria Histórica* which, for the last decade, have advocated for an ethical revision of Spain’s recent past. Although Grandes considers historical memory as the great topic of her generation, both culturally and civically, this is the first of her novels that directly addresses this issue. Nonetheless this topic has long been present in her oeuvre, as seen in novels such as *Las edades de Lulú* (1989); *Malena es un nombre de Tango* (1994); and *Los aires difíciles* (2002) (Macciucci and Bonatto 125).

*El corazón* recounts the story of three generations of the Fernández and Carrión families, spanning from a few months before the Civil War to the year 2006. The narration begins on the day of the burial of Julio Carrión, a real estate businessman who amasses his fortune during the dictatorship. Álvaro Carrión, his youngest son, spots an attractive young woman during the ceremony. His inquiries to discover her identity lead him to learn the secret and dark past of the Carrión family. The mysterious woman is Raquel Fernández Perea whose grandparents, Ignacio Fernández and Anita Salgado, are forced into exile in France after the Civil War.¹¹⁹ In Paris they meet Julio Carrión who deceives them and steals all their properties in Spain. Raquel Fernández Perea’s parents, Raquel Perea and Ignacio Fernández Salgado, are born in Paris and represent the second generation of exiles. They decide to come back to Spain during the last years of the

¹¹⁹ The name of the grandfather and the son is Ignacio. For clarity purposes I refer to the grandfather as Ignacio Fernández, and to his son as Ignacio Fernández Salgado.
Franco regime. Although Raquel Fernández Perea knows the traumatic past of her family, there is a secret that remains a mystery. One evening, after her grandparents return to Madrid, she accompanies Ignacio Fernández to the house of an old friend: Julio Carrión. Her grandfather leaves the house in tears and this traumatic experience creates a close affective relationship between grandfather and granddaughter. On that day, Ignacio Fernández claimed from Julio Carrión the properties of the family that the latter had stolen during the exile of the Fernández family in Paris. Julio Carrión, protected by the legal impunity that the political and social oblivion of the Transition permitted, refuses to compensate Ignacio Fernández for his family’s loss.

As the relationship that grows between Álvaro Carrión and Raquel Fernández Perea develops throughout the novel, the narration reconstructs the past of these families alternating between a first person narration focalized on Álvaro’s quest to know the past of the Carrión family, and an omniscient narrative voice that recuperates the memories of the Fernández family and the millions of vanquished citizens affected by the Franco dictatorship. The breadth of narrative time reflects “la dinámica generacional que ha seguido el tema de la memoria en España y viene a secundar los esfuerzos de quienes, libres de los compromisos de la Transición, consideran un ejercicio de salud mental y política recordar y restaurar la verdad histórica” (Andrés Suárez 314). Eduardo Mendicutti describes the novel as a story of losers, the so called “vencidos,” who, in turn, come across as the ultimate winners, because they were able to maintain “la dignidad, la fidelidad absoluta en aquello en lo que creyeron, la conciencia alerta, y la limpieza de corazón” (147-8). On the contrary, the victors of the war are presented also as losers, because they lost “el verdadero sentido de la lealtad, de la gratitud, de la nobleza de
espiritu y de la justicia” (148). In my opinion, Mendicutti points to the fact that the novel goes beyond the mere historical facts to propose how historical memory is as much about political retribution as it is about social recognition.

In this chapter, I organize my analysis of Grandes’ novel in three interrelated sections. I start by examining the concept of the past proposed in the novel. I concur with Carmen Urioste Azcorra, who—following Ricouer in *Memory, History, Forgetting*—indicates that this novel presents the intersection of memory and history in order to comprehend the past (205). However, I expand her analysis to argue that the concept of the past in this novel is inspired by Benjamin’s ideas about the necessity of developing an ethical historical knowledge. The German philosopher maintains that “[t]he tradition of the oppressed teaches us that the ‘state of emergency’ in which we live is not the exception but the rule. We must attain to a conception of history that is in keeping with this insight” (“Theses” 257). In other words, History is the narrative of the victors, while memory is the tradition of the vanquished. Therefore, historians should focus on the facts that have been displaced from official history. Grandes’ narration also underscores the importance of a plural concept of memory—one that includes notions akin to collective memory and Hirsch’s concept of postmemory. The transmission of memories from generation to generation reveals the importance of postmemory, which, as Hirsch indicates, differs from history due to a profound affective connection and “characterizes the experience of those who grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth, whose own belated stories are evacuated by the stories of the previous generation shaped by traumatic events that can be neither understood nor
recreated” (22). Hence, *El corazón* achieves an interpretation of the past that examines the responsibilities of the war and the dictatorship from an ethical perspective.

In the second section of this chapter, I continue my analysis of *El corazón* by exploring how the diegesis of the novel underscores generational division and by emphasizing the significance of urban space and affect in the transmission and maintenance of the past. For Ignacio Fernández, Madrid’s urban landscape represents a stable image that helps him to remember his youth. I argue that, upon his return to Madrid after exile in 1977, he fears alienation because of the urban and sociological changes that Madrid has undergone in his absence. However, after he experiences the city again as an old man, he realizes that, in spite of the city’s growth, he can still appreciate the Madrid that he left after the war. Ignacio Fernández Salgado underscores how the memories that his father transmitted to him prefigure his image of the urban space in such a way that he can find his way through the city when he first goes there. During a trip with his French friends and Raquel Perea, he experiences both the Madrid of the tourists and also that of the working-class inhabitants of the periphery. Ignacio Fernández Salgado and Raquel Perea visit the former’s aunt Casilda. Casilda’s husband, Mateo Fernández, brother to Ignacio Fernández, was killed a few days after fascist troops seized Madrid in 1939. However, after his death, his widow decided to stay in Madrid. Listening to his aunt’s testimony allows Ignacio to approach emotionally his parents’ trauma since it provides the memories of the defeated who stayed in the country and suffered an interior exile. The urban space, the testimonies of his relatives, along with the experience of the city combine to create Ignacio Fernández Salgado’s mnemonic collective map of Madrid that includes both the official propaganda and the history he
learnt in Paris and the personal trauma of his family. Finally, Raquel Fernández Perea embodies the character to whom Madrid conveys more affective memories. Her grandfather shapes her mnemonic collective map of Madrid when she traverses the traditional areas of Madrid with him. These walks throughout Madrid with her grandfather attach her emotionally to the city so that, during her adult life, the urban space mediates the memories she has of Ignacio Fernández. Therefore, the interrelation between the generations exposes how mnemonic collective maps are a symbiotic process: urban space creates memory, and memory produces an image of the city that the experience of Madrid completes.

The final section of this chapter addresses how the long narrative time covered in this novel allows for a vision of Madrid’s urban development from the dictatorship to democracy. I argue that Grandes’ novel indirectly critiques how the urbanization of the Spanish capital altered the city center and created an underdeveloped periphery. For example, in the section that narrates Ignacio Fernández’s return from exile in 1977, *El corazón* conveys how Castellana Avenue was transformed from a traditional residential area into the capital of the tertiary economy in Spain, because of the proliferation of banking and insurance companies’ headquarters, thus displacing the residents of these areas to the outskirts. Following David Harvey’s ideas, I argue that this urbanization of Madrid influenced the urban consciousness and altered the urban experience of Madrilenians. In addition, Grandes seems to suggest that inadequate policies to control urban growth in conjunction with urban speculation lead to social segregation. This effect is best represented in the apartment in a peripheral neighborhood in which Casilda, Ignacio’s sister-in-law, lives.
The structure of the novel includes three parts of different lengths—“El corazón,” “El hielo,” and “El corazón helado”—and an epilogue—“Al otro lado del hielo”—in which the author “combina teoría de la novela con influencias literarias, agradecimientos y bibliografía” (Urioste Azcorra 206). Urioste Azcorra proposes that the recurring physics metaphor that Álvaro uses to describe the relationship between parts and totality presents the underlying concept of past in the novel. Álvaro explains: “X puede resultar mayor o menor que la suma de A más B. Eso depende de la interrelación de las partes. Por eso, sólo podemos afirmar con certeza que el todo es igual a la suma de las partes cuando las partes se ignoran entre sí” (The totality equals the parts when they are not interrelated; but the whole may be larger or smaller than the addition of the parts if they interact with each other [Grandes 157]). Thus, Urioste Azcorra argues that this is a larger metaphor to suggest that the knowledge of the past is not possible without the interaction of history and memory (206).

In the pages that follow I argue that the narrative structure of the novel is equally important to understanding this notion of past. The three parts of the novel are comprised of five, fifteen, and five chapters, respectively. As Ángel Basanta (n. pag.), Medicutti (149), and Urioste Azorra (206-7) indicate, Álvaro narrates the odd-numbered chapters, whereas an omniscient third person narrator relates the even-numbered episodes. Álvaro’s narration is:

un monólogo en primera persona gramatical, entrecortado constantemente, [que] va hilvanando sus recuerdos con lo que observa o siente física o emocionalmente y, en ocasiones, inserta en su discurso frases de otros personajes en estilo indirecto libre, instaurando con ello la polifonía de voces y una estructura memorística de gran complejidad. (Andrés Suárez 313)
These chapters constitute Álvaro’s testimony about the experience of reconstructing his family past, and how these findings affect him personally and change his understanding of the past.

The third-person narrator of the even-numbered chapters has his roots in the “novela galdosiana, pero en su despliegue no tiene nada que ver con ella. Es una voz siempre enormemente respetuosa con el lector, una voz que no se permite apropiarse en crudo de los sentimientos y pensamientos de los personajes, y que logra siempre emocionarnos a partir de situaciones o expresiones concretas, perfectamente trazadas, desarrolladas y resueltas” (Mendicutti 150). As the author herself acknowledges in the epilogue, Benito Pérez Galdós is one of the main narrative influences in this novel. In fact, Grandes is currently completing “Episodios de una guerra interminable” an ambitious six-novel project whose title is an homage to Galdós’ Episodios nacionales (1872-1912). In the same vein as Pérez Galdós, Grandes’ aim is to “contar el cruce entre la historia inmortal y los cuerpos mortales, ‘construir una historia de ficción que encaja en el molde de un hecho real en el tiempo y en el espacio, un relato en el que los personajes reales de la Historia con mayúsculas interactúan con los de la historia con minúsculas’” (Rodriguez Marcos n. pag.). Therefore, as in realist novels, the third person omniscient narrator creates a socio-historical discourse of the Civil War and the

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120 Basanta considers the realist techniques as the most prominent in the novel: “el desarrollo progresivo de una historia familiar y plural con muchos meandros y la creación de personajes redondos, complejos, como Julio Carrión, que se apuntó a todos los frentes hasta dar con el ganador; Ignacio Fernández, íntegro en su esencial bondad y sabiduría humana; Teresa González, luchadora maestra republicana de Torrelodones; y Paloma Fernández, criaturas éstas dos dignas de una tragedia” (Basanta n. pag.).

121 Grandes has published the first two novels Inés y la alegría (2010) and El lector de Julio Verne (2012). The rest of the planned novels include: Las tres bodas de Manolita, Los pacientes del doctor García, La madre de Frankenstein y Mariano en el Bidasoa. “Cada novela es independiente, pero varias comparten personajes. Todos terminan en 1964—‘los 25 años de paz y el comienzo de la apertura’—y todos tienen un epílogo en 1977 o 1978. ‘Quería vincular las historias con el presente y enfrentar al lector actual con su pasado’” (qtd. in Rodríguez Marcos n. pag.).
dictatorship that focuses, once again coming back to Benjamin’s theses, on the history of the defeated; on the victims and events that do not form part of History.\textsuperscript{122}

Nonetheless, the combination of narrative techniques, such as the use of free indirect speech and interior monologue (Basanta n. pag.), differentiates \textit{El corazón} from the traditional nineteenth-century narrator. Irene Andrés Suárez adds how the omniscient voice narrates “de manera fragmentada la historia de la familia Fernández, adoptando a menudo la perspectiva de Raquel, con focalizaciones internas en este personaje” (313). The inclusion of these techniques and the alternation of narrative voices points to the postmodern structure of the novel. A structure that echoes the hybrid construction of the past and the intricacies of recovering historical memory through the alternation of narrative voices which provides the narration a complex and fragmentary discourse.

The studies that analyze the narrative voices and the structure of the novel overlook, in my opinion, two important aspects. First, to date critics have not underscored the relevancy of Antonio Machado’s epigraphs that precede and end the narration within the narrative structure of the novel, and how, from a narratological standpoint, they encompass the voice of the implicit author. The second aspect is that, although it is important that the first-person and the omniscient narrator rotate in the fragmentary story of the novel, it is equally significant to underscore that they complement each other in two different ways. On the one hand, they supplement each other in the goal of reconstructing the past; on the other, they are complementary from a genre point of view, as they represent two common narrative strategies employed in

\textsuperscript{122} Galdós uses a first-person narrator in some of his \textit{Episodios}, but he does not systematically alternate first- and third-person narrator within the same novel as Grandes does. For instance, \textit{Los cien mil hijos de San Luis} (1877) is mainly narrated form the perspective of Genara de Barahona who describes her trip to support the French invasion of Spain in order to restore the absolutist regime in Spain.
novels that reconstruct the historical memory of the Civil War and the dictatorship. That is, not only are both narrative voices necessary to relate the numerous plotlines, but they also contribute to the concept of the past as the first person narrator traces Alvaro’s personal experience, while the omniscient narrator delineates the collective memory of the Fernández family.

The appropriation of Machado’s words introduces a third narrative intervention: that of the implicit author, who provides an ideological guide to reading the book. The novel opens with these verses: “Una de las dos Españas / ha de helarte el corazón,” which are the obvious referent for the title of the novel. But, more importantly, the direct pronoun “te” opens a dialogue with the reader. These words may be interpreted within the context of the pact of oblivion that took place during the Spanish Transition, which condemned younger generations to ignorance regarding Spain’s recent traumatic past. Therefore, the epigraph conveys a warning of the shocking emotions that readers will experience upon discovering aspects of the past of which they were not aware before reading the novel: a process that is almost parallel to Álvaro’s journey into the past of his family.

The novel closes with a famous quote that Machado wrote on his way to exile in France: “…para los estrategas, para los políticos, para los historiadores, todo estará claro: hemos perdido la guerra. Pero humanamente no estoy tan seguro… Quizá la hemos ganado.” These words suggest that the novel, and by extension the reconstruction of the past of the Civil War and the dictatorship, implies an ethical recuperation of the victims’

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123 These verses are part of the poem CXXXVI “Proverbios y Cantares” from his collection of poems *Campos de Castilla* (1907-1917). The complete verses are as follow: “LIV Ya hay un español que quiere / vivir y a vivir empieza, / entre una España que muere / y otra España que bosteza. / Españolito que vienes / al mundo, te guarde Dios. / Una de las dos Españas / ha de helarte el corazón” (152)
experience, previously wiped out from History. Specifically, the reconstruction of the historical memory of Spain is an ethical endeavor that seeks to symbolically remunerate these victims. In an interview published in *El Cultural*, Grandes comments that, “Yo creo . . . que perdieron su presente pero ganaron el futuro. Desde donde estamos ahora, tres generaciones después de la guerra, nos parecemos más a nuestros abuelos que nuestros padres, porque hoy disfrutamos de una libertad, de una democracia, de una forma de vida que ellos conocieron y nuestros padres no” (Basanta n. pag.). The author points out to the relevance these words have for her and therefore suggests the reason why she included them at the end of the book: that the discourse of history does not coincide with an ethical re-reading of these periods.

The use of two narrators combines into one novel two of the most representative literary narrative strategies used in works about the recuperation of the historical memory in Spain. Álvaro’s personal recovery of the memory of his family typifies the quest of a character in the present who inquires about the past. This is the basic structure of novels such as *Soldados de Salamina* (2001) by Javier Cercas, and *Martina la rosa número trece* (2006) by Ángeles López. These novels, among others, establish a new trend in the tradition of narratives about the recuperation of historical memory in Spain. The protagonists, who usually belong to the generation of the grandchildren, investigate the past only to realize how little they know about the Spanish Civil War and the dictatorship. These narratives are “explicit depiction[s] of the past infiltrating the present and wreaking havoc” (Jonhson 32). At the same time, they convey the negative effects

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124 Juan Antonio Ennis indicates that the narration problematized transmitted discourses of the past: “La recurrencia de estas tramas de exhumación de una memoria e impugnación de otra, en las que la muerte del padre o la revelación del vínculo espurio disparan una nueva comprensión del pasado desde el presente,
that the pact of silence had on the younger generations and how the absence of debate perpetuated a lack of information regarding this traumatic past. Complementing this strategy of recuperation of historical memory, the omniscient narrator recreates the stories of anonymous Spaniards who lost the war and whose past was silenced during the dictatorship and democracy. This is the foundation of Dulce Chacon’s *La voz dormida* (2002) and *El lápiz del carpintero* (1998) by Manuel Rivas. Consequently, the two narrators in *El corazón* correspond to two different literary projects of the recuperation of historical memory and, by combining both of them, the novel proposes that this process is as much a personal as a collective effort.

The use of two narrative voices facilitates filling in the silences produced by official history. Álvaro’s first person description of his quest to discover his family’s past can only offer a limited vision: namely, his childhood remembrances, which are always distorted by the official discourse of the dictatorship and his own father; the information he discovers in his investigation from other family members and friends of the family; what Raquel tells him when they establish a relationship; and the information he obtains from official archives and records. As a consequence, he does not have a complete narrative of the enigmas of his family. Only through the perspective of an omniscient narrator is it possible to (re)create the past that he does not know from the focalized perspective of several characters, as well as from different narrative spaces and times. In other words, the omniscient narrator challenges the official discourse of Francoism at the same time that the omniscient narrator fills the secrets of the Carrión family that Álvaro cannot solve during his investigation. Moreover, unlike Pérez Galdos’

*ponen en escena no tanto la pugna entre memorias antagónicas añejas, como la necesidad de problematizar los relatos recibidos*” (Ennis 5).
Episodios Nacionales, which are organized around historical events—such as the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805—and important historical characters—like Mendizábal, O’Donnell and Prim—*El corazón* narrates Spain’s past from a memorialistic discourse that focuses on the events and persons silenced by official History.

Regarding the concept of the past in relation to the narratological structure of the novel, Urioste Azcorra emphasizes that the chapters in the first person have a double story line, as they recount Álvaro’s interrogations about the past of his father and family at the same time that they narrate the sentimental story between Álvaro and Raquel (Urioste Azcorra 207). These narrative lines focus on the impact of the past in the present (206). The even-numbered chapters recount the history of Spain during the war and postwar (Urioste Azcorra 206), through a fragmentary narration including alternations in the narrative point of view and changes in focalization (209). Therefore, this narrative structure helps to represent the reconstruction of the past of the Carrión family and of Spain’s twentieth century history, respectively (Urioste Azcorra 209).

While I agree with Urioste Azcorra on the basic premise that the alternation of narrators enriches the representation of the past, I would add that the narration includes nuances that do not allow one to divide the structure simply between the memory-filled recounts of Alvaro’s effort to reconstruct his family’s past and the historical reconstruction of Spanish history after the war. In turn, Urioste Azorra states that the discontinuous narrative time and the constant use of analepsis and prolepsis compels readers to organize the events themselves (209). This interpretation contradicts the chronological and organized narrative of historical discourse. The fact that the narration breaks the linearity
of historical discourse with lapses, gaps, and fragmentation seems to point to the
discourse of memory rather than to a historical one.

I propose that the change in narrative voices illuminates a concept of the past that
aligns with Benjamin’s “Theses of History.” Benjamin considers History as “a form of
sanctioned forgetting” (Leslie 133) that only records the events of the victors. For
Benjamin, historical reconstruction should be “a history writing that can account for the
experience of the nameless. It is able to remember the repressed of history who were its
victims and its unacknowledged makers” (Leslie 133). *El corazón* seldom employs
historical figures or dates; on the contrary, it attempts to reinterpret history in order to
provide perspective and ethical justice to the forgotten of History. Benjamin believes that
it is “more difficult to honor the memory of the anonymous than it is to honor the
memory of the famous, the celebrated, not excluding poets and thinkers”
(“Paraliponema” 406). The concept of history that the narration proposes is not that of
positivist History, but that of the discourse that brushes history against the grain
(Benjamin, “Theses,” 257) in order to chronicle events that were left out of the archive—
that is, to honor Machado’s words at the end of the narration and to emphasize that
factual History does not necessarily equate with an ethical reconstruction of the past.

In my interpretation, the reconstruction of actual history is not the main goal of
the chapters narrated in the third person. As Jerelyn Johnson states, “events unfold
predominantly without intervention, omnisciently narrated in the third person; but there
are also plenty of explicitly narrated memories through direct [*sic*] between characters”
(32). Therefore, the events narrated omnisciently may be interpreted as a way to
rehabilitate the anonymous persons whose memories were lost in the dictatorship and
Transition. Accordingly, the events narrated by the omniscient narrator coincide with Machado’s last epigraph that highlights the importance of an ethical reading of history. Andrés Suárez argues that El Corazón “[n]o es una novela de hechos históricos, aunque inevitablemente aparecen, sino sobre la memoria; se trata de una reelaboración sentimental, ideológica y moral de la historia” (311). I concur with this idea and I contend that although history is a necessary backdrop for the narration, historical events and dates are not relevant throughout the novel because the main purpose of the novel is to highlight the people and events that were ignored by History.

At the same time, it can be argued that the fragmentation of the narration reveals the relevance of affect in the ethical recuperation of memories. It seems that the narrative structure fluctuates to the rhythm of the feelings that appear throughout the story. The changes in the narrative time are, on occasion, the result of the emotion that an event or discovery causes for the characters. When Ignacio Fernández finds out about his son’s trip to Spain with his high-school friends he “envidiaba a su hijo, temía por él. Y experimentaba ambos sentimientos con la misma intensidad” (Grandes 801). Ignacio Fernández wishes he could return to Spain and, at the same time, he fears what might happen to the son of an exiled Republican in dictatorial Spain. This event triggers the memories of Julio Carrión’s betrayal: “Y en ese momento, en el segundo más negro de la noche, recordó a Julio Carrión tal y como lo vio por última vez en el recibidor del primer piso que tuvieron en París” (Grandes 804). The narrative shifts to the time when he and his family discover the fraud plotted by Julio Carrión. Specifically, the narrative focuses on the suicide attempt of his sister Paloma Fernández, who had a sentimental relationship with Julio Carrión. Ignacio Fernández “nunca podría olvidar los gritos de Anita, los
sollozos de su madre en el teléfono, la desesperación de sus propias piernas corriendo por la acera, la mirada perdida de su hermana, su rostro palidísimo cuando la encontró" (Grandes 805). Thus, the structure of the narration is organized around the remembrances of the characters and how certain experiences activate traumatic memories.

To sum up, historical events unavoidably constitute the background of the reconstruction of the historical memory of the characters (Zapata Calle n. pag.), but the omniscient narration also allows the characters to relate key historical events from their own personal and affective perspective, as is the case with Franco’s death. Rueda Laffond and Martín Jiménez indicate that the long agony of Franco allowed to plan his funeral and to retransmit all the events in live television, to retransmit live history. The broadcast “invitaba a la audiencia a suspender masivamente su rutina y a concentrarse ante la pantalla. Su sentido como hecho histórico de gran relieve permitió, además, la presencia de argumentaciones dominadas por la apelación comunitaria, orientada a testificar principios de unanimidad y consenso” (55). Some of the most iconic images around the historical fact of Franco’s death include television shots of Carlos Arias Navarro stating with consternation: “Españoles, Franco ha muerto,” and later reading the dictator’s political will and shots of the long lines of Spaniards waiting to enter into the funeral chapel to view the dictator’s body. These events were ingrained into the imaginary of Spanish society through the TV, which fulfilled a “función socializadora, actuando como instancia productora de un imaginario anclado en una perspectiva de reconstrucción explicativa o evocativa” (Rueda Laffond and Martín Jiménez 66).125

125 In the article “Información, documental y ficción histórica: Lecturas televisivas sobre la muerte de Franco,” Rueda Laffond and Martín Jiménez brilliantly trace the evolution of this event in the Spanish
However, in the novel the reader learns about Franco’s death through the focalized childhood recollections of Raquel. But she does not remember this day because of its political importance, nor because of her relatives’ joy and celebration. Rather her remembrances focus on an episode in a square of the Latin Quarter in Paris, when a group of young Spaniards spontaneously pays homage to her grandfather Ignacio:

Raquel, que se acordaría siempre de aquel día, contempló la escena como si estuviera sentada en un cine, viendo una película. El acordeón dejó de sonar, los que bailaban se quedaron quietos, los que cantaban callaron de pronto, y en la plaza pequeña hizo mucho frío mientras corría un murmullo entrecortado, respetuoso, casi litúrgico, capitán, república, exiliado, rojo, palabras venerables, pronunciadas en voz baja con mucho cuidado y los labio rozando el oído de su destinatario, para no herirlas, para no desgastarlas, para no restarles ni un ápice de su valor. (Grandes 49)

Through Raquel’s remembrances, the narration offers a perspective of this historical event that differs from the official mourning in Spain. She feels as though she is watching a movie, which resembles the television footage that documented the historical events of those days. Additionally, there is an “almost liturgical” silence that contrasts with the pompous, loud Catholic burial of the Caudillo. In sum, Raquel’s recollection represents the event from the perspective of the mnemonic community of the exiles in France, which differs from the official discourse that has survived in the historical imaginary of the nation.

The previous excerpt shows the contrast between official commemorations in Spain and private celebrations, but it also reveals that it was not an exultant day for exiles. While the dictator died in power and was praised and loathed for days, Ignacio Fernández, an exiled military leader of the Republican side, only enjoyed a spontaneous, unofficial recognition in a foreign square. Thus, Raquel remembers it as a bittersweet imaginary. The footage of November 20, 1975 has been employed for many newsreel pieces, documentaries, and feature films.
day in which celebrations blend with her grandfather’s feelings of frustration. Ignacio Fernández expresses the futility of his fight, first in the Civil War and later in the French Resistance against the Nazis: “[P]ude morir tantas veces, pero salvé la vida, y ¿sabes para qué? . . . Para nada. Para bailar esta noche un pasodoble con tu abuela en una plaza del Barrio Latino, con un frío que pelaba y delante de una pandilla de inocentes” (Grandes 52). The space in which the spontaneous homage to Ignacio Fernández takes place establishes another contrast. A public square in Paris accommodates the celebrations, which suggests that the members of the Spanish exiled community were able to publicly express their feelings—because they lived in a foreign country—while many Spanish citizens had to celebrate privately for fear of reprisals.

The small and spontaneous homage to Ignacio Fernández differs from the memorialization and celebration that the regime promoted during its almost forty years. Conceivably, the clearest example is the victory parade that was celebrated yearly to commemorate the end of the Civil War. Its objective was to legitimize the origins of the dictatorship and to impose a discourse that shaped the memories of the war (Aguilar Fernández, Políticas 142). Ángela Cenarro explains how these parades accentuated social division, since these celebrations “no sólo revestían los éxitos en el campo de batalla con significados heroicos rescatados del pasado más glorioso e imperial, sino que llenaban el espacio público de consignas triunfalistas, apelando a quienes habían apoyado la causa de los vencedores y dejando fuera, en cambio, a quienes la habían resistido o cuestionado” (126). As a consequence, although the victory parade supposedly celebrated the end of the war and the peace it brought to Spain, Franco’s peace is
aggressive and “incapaz tanto de producir integración social como de crear una identidad colectiva acceptable por todos” (Aguilar Fernández, *Políticas* 144).126

The description of Franco’s death from the perspective of the exiled community draws attention to the different interpretations available of a single historical event. The novel also exposes that history is not objective; neither does it represent a complete discourse of the past. Raquel tells Álvaro about the thousands of Spaniards who fought against the Nazis in France when they were forced to leave Spain:

Echaron a los nazis de Francia, ganaron la segunda guerra mundial y no les sirvió de nada, pero no te preocupes, lo normal es que no lo sepas. Nadie lo sabe, y eso que eran muchísimos, casi treinta mil. Y sin embargo, no salen nunca en las películas de Hollywood, ni en los documentales de la BBC. . . Porque si salieran, los espectadores se preguntarían qué pasó con ellos, para qué lucharon, qué les dieron a cambio . . . Y aquí no digamos, aquí es como si nunca hubieran existido, como si ahora molestaran, como si no supieran dónde meterlos... (505-6)

Raquel’s words echo Benjamin’s idea that universal history is the discourse of the victors, while memory epitomizes the discourse of the vanquished. This quotation implicitly criticizes the manipulation of Spanish historiography during the dictatorship, as well as those of European historians who attempted to conceal the injustices committed towards Spanish exiles.127 The novel denounces the silences of Universal History,

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126 The day of the start of the rebellion, July 18th, was celebrated until 1977. During this significant anniversary authorities “celebrated by delivering official speeches that praised Franco’s Peace and the country’s purported prosperity while they inaugurated new buildings, projects, or tributes to the triumph of the regime” (Cazorla Sánchez 20).

127 This is a topic that Grandes further develops in the novel *Inés y la alegría* (2010), in which she narrates the invasion of the Valle de Arán by the Unión Nacional Española in 1944 with the intention to overthrow Franco. This is an event ignored by historians. Thus, Grandes’ novel is an homage to the more than 4,000 soldiers who fought for democracy and liberty in this endeavor. The novel criticizes that Spanish history, more than thirty years after the dictatorship, does not properly address this event: “La Historia con mayúsculas la escriben siempre los vencedores, pero su versión no tiene por qué ser eterna. Algunos países europeos, como Polonia o Hungría, han sabido integrar el fracaso de sus luchadores por la libertad en el patrimonio de su orgullo nacional, asumiendo que ciertas derrotas, lejos de implicar deshonor, pueden ser más honrosas que muchas victorias. Pero España es un país anormal, que circula a su aire, a trompicones, en dirección contraria a la del resto de las naciones del continente. Por eso, aunque parezca mentira, nadie se ha tomado nunca el trabajo de hacer un censo de los invasores de Arán, una lista con los nombres de los hombres que entraron y otra con los que salieron, ni de comparar ambas” (*Inés* 483).
holding it responsible for the oblivion of the events that do not enter its archive
(Benjamin, “Theses,” 262). One of the aims of remembrance is to identify in the past
those injustices perpetrated on the vanquished, so that wrongs do not fade with time
(Reyes Mate, Medianoche 25-6). Reyes Mate expands this idea: “Memoria es leer la
historia como un texto . . . se ocupa no del pasado que fue y sigue siendo, sino del pasado
que sólo fue y del que ya no hay rastro. En ese sentido, se puede decir que se ocupa no
de los hechos (eso es cosa de la historia), sino de los no-hechos” (Reyes Mate,
Medianoche 126). In the (probable) absence of written documents, the transmission of
memories from generation to generation is quintessential to keeping these remembrances
alive, an issue that I further develop in the second section of my analysis.

A final aspect of the structure of the novel worth mentioning is the “nota de la
autora,” where Grandes acknowledges that in spite of the fact that El corazón is fiction, it
is inspired by historical works as well as testimonies of survivors and relatives of
victims.128 The list of historical works is brief in comparison to the interviews and
testimonies of survivors or their children. In fact, she stressed that “yo he estado allí,”
and “yo los he visto” (1230) referring to a well in Areucas, Canarias, where more than
sixty Republicans were buried alive in quicklime, and the flowers that still today are
placed in Madrid’s Almudena cemetery inside the holes left in the wall by the bullets of
the firing squads, respectively. These utterances, which almost seem like a willful link
between Grandes and first-hand testimonies, achieve two functions: they provide a voice

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128 The use of the documents and testimonies as sources of “novels of memory” and historical novels is
becoming more popular in Peninsular literature. In 2005 Ignacio Martínez del Písón published Enterrar a
los muertos. This novel narrates the friendship between the novelist John Dos Passos and the Spanish
intellectual José Robles. A large number of footnotes compliment the narration, and the final section is an
extensive bibliography. Issac Rosa also includes several references in his novel El vano ayer (2006). Rosa
deploys a metanarrative structure to reconstruct the expatriation of an older university professor during the
student revolts of the late 1960s and the mysterious disappearance of one student. Like Martínez del Písón
and Grandes’ novels, El vano ayer includes a bibliography of historical and academics works.
to the victims of these events, at the same time that Grandes validates the testimonies that have been passed down to her.129

Ricoeur explains that “[t]he specificity of testimony consists in the fact that the assertion of reality is inseparable from being paired with the self-designation of the testifying subject. The typical formulation of testimony proceeds from this pairing: I was there” (Ricoeur 163). Grandes is not a witness of these events but she testifies that she has seen the traces of these events. In *The Ethics of Memory* (2002), Avishai Margalit coins the terms “moral witness” to refer to the witnesses who experience “the suffering first-hand—as a victim” (149) in opposition to the figure of witnesses who are bystanders or reporters (149-51). Margalit further explains that the hope of moral witnesses is that “in another place or another time there exists, or will exist, a moral community that will listen to their testimony” (155). In the well of Areucas or in the executions in front of the cemetery wall there are no “moral witnesses” as they all died as a consequence of the reprisal during the early post-war period. In this context, Grandes may be considered a “second-hand moral witness” who gives voice to these victims. Her aim is not to

129 There is a lack of testimonial works, whether literary or filmic, of the Civil War and Francoism. During the Transition, Ronald Fraser published the innovative work *Blood of Spain: An Oral History of the Spanish Civil War* (1979). Fraser compiled oral testimonies of survivors to reconstruct the history of the conflict. However, this work is highly controversial in “its mingling of historical narrative and first-person accounts such that one cannot be sure who is speaking: (Labanyi “Testimonies,” 196). Perhaps the most well-known testimonies of the 1980s are *Cárcel de mujeres* (1985), and *Mujeres en la resistencia* (1986) by Tomasa Cuevas, a prisoner who compiled her own misfortunes and those of other prisoners she met during her imprisonment. Since the early 2000s documentary is the medium that has seen a larger number of testimonies. *La guerrilla de la memoria* (2003) by Javier Corcuera remembers the fight against Francoism of the *maquis*, a rural guerrilla, through the testimonies of several maquis. *Los niños perdidos del franquismo* (2003) in which journalists and documentary filmmakers Montse Armengou and Ricard Belís, along with historian Ricard Vinyes investigate the separation of newborns and children form their Republican families during the post-war in order to raise them in a Catholic environment far from their communist families. This is a topic that is very current in Spain with the indictment of Sor María Gómez Vabuena for her direct participation in a scheme to steal newborns from hospitals during the dictatorship. During the early 2000s also proliferated the memories of gays and lesbians, a collective who was extremely repressed during the dictatorship. A few titles are: Arturo Arnalte’s *Redada de violetas* (2003), and Fernando Olmeda’s *El látigo y la pluma* (2004).
denounce the perpetrators but rather to include these victims within the discourse of an ethical recuperation of memory. Thus *El corazón* “helps to record, store, and transmit” (Assmann, “History,” 269) the memories of these events. Moreover, these assertions are a validation of these extraordinary events, which, otherwise, the audience may believe to be fictional. Consequently Grandes informs the reader that: “Los episodios más novelescos, más dramáticos e inverosímiles de cuantos he narrado aquí, están inspirados en hechos reales” (Grandes 1230). The fact that the reader is informed of the veracity of the story regarding the well in Areucas amplifies the traumatic and affective connotation for the reader whose heart may freeze upon discovering it is not merely a fictional account.

Alvaro’s investigation of his family’s past also conveys the dialectic between history and memory at the same time that it underscores a plural conception of memory. He can be considered, using Jelin’s phrase, an entrepreneur of memory as he not only wants to know who his father and grandmother really were, but he also wants to do justice to their personas regardless of the negative impact that this discovery might have on his relationship with his family. The tipping point of his investigation is the discovery of a briefcase with official documents, pictures, and personal mail that reveals Julio Carrión’s double past as a socialist youth and a Falange member and the lies he told about his mother.

The content of the box functions as a hybrid archive, constructed through memories, such as letters and pictures, and the official information found in the documents. Browsing through the papers, he discovers files that identify Julio Carrión as

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130 LaCapra indicates that “witnessing is a necessary condition of agency” (12), so, to a certain extent, Grandes grants agency to these victims. This compliments the ethical endeavor of the novel.
a “caballero divisionario” (Grandes 379), and letters from a young member of the “sección femenina” who offers herself as her “war godmother” (Grandes 377). Álvaro also finds a picture and a letter from his grandmother, gathering that she did not die during the war as his father always claimed.

Surprised, Álvaro reads the bellicose rhetoric of the letters of Julio’s godmother, who states “la necesidad urgente de aplastar, exterminar, extirpar, arrasar, machacar y matar a todos los habitantes de la Rusia criminal, canalla y culpable” (Grandes 377). Nonetheless, he attributes this language to the indoctrination of the post-war period. He is not affected by these letters as they coincide with the past of his father that he knows: “la repetición empezó a aburrirme, cómo podían ser tan fascistas y tan cursis a la vez, tantos abrazos amorosos, tanto pecho henchido…” (Grandes 378). Álvaro finds more relevant that his father kept these documents after the dictatorship ended: “si Julio Carrión González no se había tomado la molestia de deshacerse de ellos, no había sido por nostalgia, ni siquiera por descuido, sino por desidia. Porque aquellos papeles no eran peligrosos” (Grandes 394). This quotation points to Urioste Azcorra’s argument that the period of the Transition is absent from the narration: “Esta ausencia puede entenderse como una metáfora del pacto de silencio que supuso la Transición durante la generación de los padres, el cual únicamente sirvió para suspender la normalización de la Guerra Civil en la sociedad civil” (216). In turn, the Transition is never mentioned openly, but the process of democratization and the absence of debate about the past are criticized along the narration. When Álvaro examines the documents regarding his father’s position as legionario, he remembers that during the late 1970s his father’s wealth increased considerably:
mi padre se hizo rico de verdad en los últimos años del franquismo y, sobre todo, después de aguantar el tirón de la crisis energética, en los primeros de la democracia . . . Los demócratas jóvenes, inexpertos, recién salidos del horno, se le daban mucho mejor. Él le contaba a cada uno lo que quería oír, se calificaba a sí mismo de antifranquista con menor o mayor intensidad. (Grandes 392)

This passage depicts the Transition as a period in which the economic growth and personal interest were more important than dealing with the past. A new democracy in which results were the main objective: “Mi padre contó siempre con esa ventaja, la ingravidez de España, la excepción a la ley de la causa y el efecto, el país donde nadie ve una manzana que se cae de un árbol, porque todas las manzanas están ya en el suelo desde el principio” (Grandes 396). Therefore, the novel portrays the years of the Transition as a time of change that hides the past of its actors and thwarts any public debate about Spain’s recent past.

The letters and documents in his father’s hidden box trigger Álvaro remembrances of the story his father had created, but they do not uncover any new relevant information about Julio Carrión’s past. The circumstances change with the discovery of the socialist identification card, a picture of his father with Paloma Fernández in Paris, and a letter from his grandmother Teresa revealing that she did not die during the war. The pictures and particularly the letter deeply affect Álvaro and the manner in which he looks at his father and the past. Hirsch contends that photography is the privileged medium of postmemory inasmuch as it maintains a lasting connection between those who experienced the events and the subsequent generations.131 The generational distance, continues Hirsch, differentiates this concept from memory, at the same time that the personal connection separates it from history (22). Álvaro does not

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131 Hirsch defines postmemory as “a powerful and very particular form of memory precisely because its connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through and imaginative investment and creation” (22).
have an emotional connection with the pictures because he does not know the story behind them, but he also discovers a letter that Teresa, his grandmother, wrote to Julio Carrión. When Álvaro reads the letter, dated the day that Julio said Teresa died, he feels “que era mi abuela y me estaba hablando a mí” (Grandes 402).  

Andrés Suárez aptly states that the letter “reproducida en cursiva y de manera fragmentada, constituye una larguísima frase sin ningún punto, que evoca tipológica y sintácticamente la emoción intensa experimentada por el protagonista durante su lectura, así como los mecanismos psicológicos que escapan al control de su razón” (321). The alternation between the words in cursive from the letter and Álvaro’s thoughts and emotions opens up a conversation between grandmother and grandson, with numerous anaphora and repetitions that accentuate Álvaro’s emotions (Andrés Suárez 322). In the epistle Teresa states that “la guerra terminará algún día, y vencerá la razón, vencerán la justicia y la libertad, la luz por la que luchamos” (Grandes 404). Very moved, Álvaro replies: “ya sé que esta victoria póstuma, simbólica y tardía nunca te consolará de aquella derrota pero tú, hoy, has ganado la guerra . . . para ti es un triunfo inútil, para mí no lo es” (407). These words resonate with Machado’s epigraph. Like Machado, Teresa lost the war, but unlike the poet whose memory and works have been part of the Spanish culture, Teresa is one the many anonymous victims whose memories were silenced during the dictatorship and the Transition. The discovery of the letter with the

132 Photographs are also important for Raquel Fernández Perea’s memory. Her memory is informed by her family members’ narrations, but also by the postmemories encompassed in several pictures that she keeps: “La foto de la boda de Carlos y Paloma, Mateo cobijando a Casilda dentro de su capote mientras los dos miraban de frente a la cámara. Ignacio vestido con el uniforme del ejército francés y Anita con su hijo en brazos, abrazados en un parque de Toulouse, cinco hombres sonrientes exhibiendo un tanque alemán como un trofeo . . . fotos que hablaban, que la miraban, que la hacían sonreír le llenaban los ojos de lágrimas” (Grandes 1076). The list of pictures continues and, with the exception of how Julio Carrión deceived them and stole their properties, they compose, quite accurately, the past of the Fernández family.
subsequent efforts of Álvaro to discover who his grandmother was fulfills Machado’s words and redeems Teresa from oblivion. Additionally, Teresa’s farewell message to Julio establishes an affective connection with her grandson. It creates a postmemory that displaces the false and invented discourse of his father. Therefore, reading the letter exposes “la toma de conciencia del nieto engañado, el proceso por el que las generaciones presentes pasan por encima del silencio temeroso de sus padres para hurgar en la historia familiar y nacional” (Wood 189).

The letter is not the only source Álvaro has to reconstruct his grandmother’s past. According to Ana Zapata-Calle, Álvaro gathers information from three different sources: Raquel’s narration about the Fernández family and Julio Carrión; the objects that he finds in his father’s office; and the conversation with Encarnita, a friend of Teresa during his childhood (Zapata-Calle n. pag.). I add that history is also a factor, since Álvaro needs to visit the public registry to find out her last names—González Puerto—and that she: “había muerto el 14 de junio de 1941 en el penal de Ocaña” (Grandes 762).

Reconstructing Teresa’s past is, for Álvaro, an issue of personal knowledge as much as an ethical issue: “Al rescatarla del olvido y del silencio en los que su padre la había sepultado, Álvaro no solo logra rehabilitar su memoria y su dignidad, sino que recupera también una parte de sí mismo, de suerte que su investigación deriva hacia el reconocimiento y reconstrucción de unas raíces identitarias profundas” (Andrés Suárez 322).

In an interview, Grandes explains that Álvaro is a real sociological referent who embodies the younger generation—a generation that has changed the dynamics of memory in Spain and that wants to know what happened to their grandparents (Maciuucci
and Bonatto 130). Furthermore, this process reveals a double recuperation. First, Álvaro needs to correct the false discourse that his father created. Julio Carrión deliberately falsifies the past of his family because Teresa was in the losing side and he wanted to be part of the victorious one. Second, Álvaro rescues Teresa from the lost pages of History. He digs in the official archives to recover her otherwise anonymous records. Later in the narration, when Álvaro shares the story of Teresa with Raquel Fernández and her friend Berta, he feels better, braver, and more decent: “Todo eso sentí, todo eso conté, su voz en la mía, para que mi abuela volviera a ganar la Guerra aquella noche, y Teresa González Puerto ganó la guerra, y en su triunfo triunfó la razón…” (Grandes 675). The ethical recuperation of the memory of the vanquished should not be limited to private recognition, but should also recount their stories publicly. Only by making the memories and identities of the victims public will they be able to “ganar la guerra.” Unlike a historiographical discourse, Álvaro’s story is full of emotions, something that highlights the relevance of affect in memory discourses.

The fact that Álvaro reinstates the memory of his grandmother is also important from a gender standpoint. One of the underlying themes of El corazón is an argument in favor of recovering the erased memory and history of the Republican women of the Spanish civil war in order to underscore their role during the war and their resistance during the dictatorship. 133 Teresa was a teacher and a pioneer in politics speaking at political rallies. She stands against patriarchy when Benigno, her husband, threatens her because he does not approve her public exposure (Grandes 226-32). Therefore, the narration is also an homage to the women who believed in the liberal agenda of the.

133 The resistance of women during the dictatorship is a topic that I develop further later in the chapter when I analyze the encounter among Ignacio Fernández Salgado, Raquel Perea, and Casilda.
Second Republic and risked their life for it. Ultimately, Álvaro rejects his father’s transmitted past in favor of the memories of his grandmother and the memories that Raquel Fernández Perea provides him when they start their relationship, emphasizing the importance of women as a source of contested memories.134

To recapitulate, the narration not only proposes the dialectic between memory and history, but it also poses the complexities of memory and how different discourses of memory contribute to the past. In the case of Álvaro and his grandmother, the photographs and the letter create an affective link not established by Encartita’s testimony alone. In addition, historical documents reveal the conditions and the date of Teresa’s death. Another narrative technique that develops the complexity of reconstructing the past is the transmission of memories from generation to generation. The generational division underscored in the novel’s plot achieves two main objectives: It traces a diachronically historical map of memory and oblivion in Spanish society during the last seventy-five years, at the same time that it outlines a synchronic map of memory in present day Spain through the characters that form the generation of the grandchildren of the war.135

In the rest of my analysis, I specifically focus on the Fernández family’s memories and the role that urban space plays in the transmission and maintenance of the past and, vice versa, on how the city contributes to the creation and conservation of

134 This is a succinct and incomplete analysis of this issue. However, the importance of gender and gendered memories are topics that surpass the scope of the present analysis.
135 Grandes explains that the Carrión Otero brothers—Álvaro and his siblings—sketch a metaphorical map of the different attitudes towards historical memory in the current society (Macciuci and Bonatto 131). In Grandes’ words, the older brother, Rafa, is a facha who agrees with the outcome of the war and the dictatorship and who, therefore, considers that the past should not be questioned (Macciuci and Bonatto131). Angélica is not concerned with her family’s past but rather with that of her husband, whose Republican father suffered reprisals after the war. She is blinded about Julio Carrion’s real past. Finally, Julio and Clara—the youngest two—are not interested in knowing the past. Julio does not care about it and Clara fears that it would affect her too much emotionally (Macciuci and Bonatto 131).
remembrances. The traumatic memories of the war are the events that unite the generations and the characters in the novel. However, the city of Madrid is as important as these events are. Madrid is the space where their memories converge. For the older generation, it is the place to which they wish to return while they are in the exile. For Ignacio Fernández Salgado, the city is a ghostly presence for which his father painfully yearns for decades. Finally, for Raquel Madrid is the place that affectively mediates the memories she has of her grandfather. I pose how the memories that Ignacio Fernández transmits to his son and to his granddaughter, Raquel, and the affective relationship he has with Madrid shape the mnemonic collective map of Madrid of the younger generations.

When the Fernández family was forced to leave Spain, they lost many relatives, friends, and their life as they knew it. For many years, the real estate that Julio Carrión deceitfully took from them represented the last physical link with Madrid and, therefore, the security that part of their old lives would be there when they returned. Once they learn about Julio’s betrayal, their exile becomes more excruciating. Ignacio Fernández is the character that best embodies the drama of exiles and how it affects his identity and memory. Aguilar Fernández explains that exiles are forcefully disconnected from the social milieus and groups to which they belonged. Because they lack access to how the society they left behind evolves over time, exiles maintain an outdated, idealized, and static image of the place to which they want to return. Consequently when they return:

[N]ot having been inculcated with the values which have socialised [sic] the rest of society over so many years, being unaware of the historical memory which has been transmitted and having only his personal experience to fall back on, the subsequent break with his generation, with members of the former groups he belonged to and with his geographical area, is much greater. (Aguilar Fernández, Memory 11)
The return is often disappointing, as the place they remember no longer exists. Additionally, adapting to the new society is challenging, as they perceive “un desacompasamiento entre su idea de España y la realidad. Desde el punto de vista físico, político, económico y mental, el país que se encuentran ha evolucionado con una rapidez desconocida para quienes la imagen de España se había congelado a su salida, es decir, en los años treinta” (Cordero Olivero 264).

Further elaborating on this idea, Edward Casey affirms that nostalgia is “very often a need to return to the same place” (363 Emphasis in the original), because what an individual “seem[s] to miss, to lack or need, is a world as it was one established in place” (Casey 363). I interpret “place” here to imply not only space, but also frequently a same time, for the pain of absence is due to past memories and experiences, as well as to homesickness for a city or country. For Ignacio, the thirty-seven-year expatriation is a state of “in-betweenness,” both spatially and temporally, as he does not settle in Paris with the hope of coming back to his native city. His wife, Anita, explains to her granddaughter that “[c]uando quisieron darle la nacionalidad francesa, no la quiso él, cuando pudimos empezar a ahorrar, se negó a comprarse un piso” (Grandes 41).

The return of exiles during and after the dictatorship to Madrid has been portrayed in Spanish literature from very different ideological perspectives. Mercedes Formica, a feminist writer affiliated with the Falange, published in 1951 La ciudad perdida. A group of Republicans return to Madrid to establish a terrorist cell in the capital. Before they arrive the police ambushes them and only Rafa, the protagonist, survives. The

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136 Casey implies this idea: “What we miss in nostalgia, after all, is the past as we (or others) once experienced it, not the cultural, epistemological, metaphysical foundations of that world” (364). Thus, Ignacio Fernández misses the Madrid in which he lived and which he experienced before he left Spain.
descriptions of the city are generally a demagogic portrayal of the reconstruction of the city after the war and the achievements of the regime. The omniscient narrator says: “Madrid, al que descubría de pronto inmenso, le aplastaba con la dimensión de sus calles, con la increíble solidez de sus edificios y parado en medio de ellos experimentaba una mezcla desconcertante de desamparo y protección” (Formica 29). Madrid is a modern developed city with “ríos de automóviles, largos tranvías, nuevos autobuses, [que] la cruzaban ruidosamente” (43). As a consequence of the urban changes Rafa is “lost in the city.” Therefore, the title is a veiled allusion to the taking of Madrid that sentenced the Second Republic to definitively losing the war, and to how the city of “they shall not pass” no longer exists, as it is tamed by the social urban transformation performed by the regime.

From a completely opposite ideological perspective, Antonio Gómez Rufo outlines a similar plot in Balada triste en Madrid (2006). Ernesto, an exiled anarchist, returns to Madrid with a plan to assassinate Franco during the parade commemorating the twenty five years of peace: “Las calles se llenaron de anuncios patrióticos y de banderolas rojigualdas, preparativos del desfile de la victoria que se iba a celebrar el viernes siguiente, día de San Isidro, en el paseo de la Castellana y el paseo de Recoletos hasta la plaza de Cibeles” (Gómez Rufo 15). The narration presents two opposing cities. The first is the physical city of the commemoration and of the feigned economic and social advances accomplished in the twenty-five years of dictatorship. Ernesto is surprised that he does not find the misery he expected: “Las casas eran buenas, las calles estaban limpias y la gente vestía dignamente. Y un cierto bullicio de niños y mayores se entremezclaba con un tráfico escaso de coches, lejos de esa apariencia de desolación que
le habían hecho preconcebir” (Gómez Rufo 157). Nonetheless, this is a mirage constructed by Francoist propaganda. When Ernesto goes down to the subway—a metaphor of how the dictatorship hides the miseries of the society—he faces a very different city:

Pero cuando entró en el metro sintió que la simulación y la apariencia era otro de los logros de la dictadura. No era difícil engañar a un visitante paseándolo por las calles nobles que él había recorrido paseando; pero en el interior de los vagones, donde se unía todo tipo de gente, se ponía en evidencia la miseria de la que le habían hablado. Según el convoy se iba acercando a la estación de Bilbao, la mezcla se diluía en una uniformidad corriente, como de igualdad; pero después de hacer el transbordo para viajar en la línea que terminaba en Cuatro Caminos, los vagones se fueron vaciando de viajeros en las estaciones intermedias y al llegar a su destino sólo se habían quedado los desheredados, los vencidos y los desesperados. (Gómez Rufo 157)

The expensive preparations for the parade are a performance of the regime to brand a modern and exultant image abroad. As I further develop in my analyses of Ignacio Fernández’s return to Madrid in El corazón, Balada triste en Madrid novel also criticizes how urban development and social improvement were largely performed in the downtown area of Madrid, segregating the working-classes to the outskirts.

In Josefina Aldecoa’s La fuerza del destino (1997), the protagonist, Gabriela, returns from her forty-year exile in Mexico during the years of the Transition. The narration presents a suggestive generational and spatial division. While her daughter and her husband actively participate in the political process and constantly look to the future; Gabriela, as representative of the generation who fought the war, does not have a say in the process and is concerned to include the past in the current political discussions to learn from previous mistakes. During the narration Gabriela states to her daughter and husband: “venganza no, pero memoria sí. Perdonad, pero no olvidéis” (Aldecoa 75).

Gabriela’s family settles her in a cottage in the periphery of Madrid. The novel never
portrays the city center, but its symbolical meaning is very relevant. Her daughter and
husband continually go to Madrid for meetings related to the political changes but
Gabriela does not access this space. She does not have any agency in the political
process and she is displaced to the outskirts, mimicking how exiles were displaced from
political processes after Franco’s death.

Finally, in his novel 20 años y un día (2003), Jorge Semprún recounts the first
time the narrator—Semprún’s alter ego—returned to Madrid in 1953. The narrator
portrays Madrid as a fixed space hardly modified since he left during the Civil War:

[T]odo era igual—casi todo, salvo algún pequeño retoque en alguna fachada,
salvo la presencia o la ausencia de algún escaparate--., todo era idéntico a las
imágenes de su memoria . . . La Gloria de las Medias [a store he remembers from
his childhood] era el símbolo, a la vez insignificante, doméstico, pero patético, de
un transcurrir del tiempo denso y homogéneo: desde la infancia hasta el día de
hoy, a pesar de tanta mudanza, tanta muerte, tanto éxodo y exilio, un hilo rojo de
idéntica sangre viva recorría los vericuetos de su vida. (248-9)

Soledad Fox maintains that Madrid appears as a “stagnant [city] under the regime” (n.
pag.) in Semprún’s novel. Ironically this benefits Semprún, as “the Madrid of his
childhood is strangely preserved and gives the author the opportunity to reconnect with
his past” (Fox n. pag). As it will be the case for Ignacio Fernández, Madrid’s urban,
space helps the narrator of Semprún’s novel to remember his youth. All these novels
accentuate, in different ways, the importance of Madrid’s urban space for their
protagonist, and the role that urban space plays in their memorialistic discourses.
However, El corazón reveals the importance of the transmitted memories for the second
and third generation in order to create an image of the city.

Upon returning to Madrid, Ignacio Fernández is aware that his image and
experience of the city is outdated, because there have been substantial changes to the
physical urban space and its inhabitants have also changed over three decades he spent in exile. For that reason, he fears he will not be able to adjust to this new society: “Tenía miedo. Miedo de no pertenecer ya a la ciudad, al país al que seguía perteneciendo su memoria, miedo de no reconocerse en los espejos de su infancia, de su juventud, miedo de haberse adentrado para siempre en el laberinto turbio y sin solución de los ciudadanos provisionales de ninguna parte” (Grandes 104). A city changes physically through urban renovations—in the specific case of Madrid, due to the reconstruction after the war—and due to political shifts that modify its sociological structure. This was the case of Madrid, the icon of the resistance against Fascism, later converted into the symbol of centralism by Francoism.

Mnemonic collective maps are, as memory and urban experience, in constant flux and are altered by urban changes as well as by changes in political and social structures. Nonetheless, remembering Madrid is, for Ignacio, a way to lessen his nostalgia as his memories allow him to return to the city where he grew up. As Halbwachs underscores, spatial images provide a sense of stability in the act of remembering (157). Anchoring his memories to the urban space allows him to remember his youth and, therefore, to keep his identity and past alive. For that reason, Ignacio Fernández proactively makes efforts to remember the city. This is, of course, challenging while exiled, but he overcomes it by remembering the urban space of the city:

[Guardaba una memoria asombrosa de la ciudad donde había nacido, recuerdos tan ricos, tan minuciosos y precisos de la situación de las calles, de las fachadas de los edificios, de las fuentes y las estatuas, las tiendas y los cines, que la abuela estaba convencida de que la había ejercitado en secreto . . . Ignacio Fernández] reconoció que todas las noches, al apagar la luz, pensaba en Madrid, en un lugar, en una iglesia, en una esquina concreta que tomaba como punto de partida para reconstruir de memoria la calle Viriato, la plaza de Santa Ana o la Carrera de San
This quotation reveals the fragility of memory. Unlike history that is stored in archives, memory tends to be lived, “a current of continuous thought whose continuity is not at all artificial, for it retains from the past only what still lives or is capable of living in the consciousness of the groups keeping the memory alive” (Halbwachs 80). Ignacio Fernández knows that he needs to revive his memories or otherwise he will gradually lose them. He uses the two methods he has at hand while in exile: remembering the urban space and telling his wife and family about Madrid. Anita says “[y]o no he estado nunca allí [Madrid] y me la sé de memoria…” (Grandes 41). In other words, he turns his individual remembrances into collective memories by recounting his youth in Madrid and his recollections of the capital’s urban space.

In spite of not physically experiencing the city, this can be considered an act of imaginatively walking the city through his memories. Inevitably, the image of the urban space that emerges from this mnemonic exercise is a subjective, fixed, and incomplete one. It is fixed because it does not change as the actual urban space develops; subjective and incomplete because it is the image that Ignacio Fernández has of the part of the city that he knew, where he used to live and work. Besides, the memories of Madrid are permeated by a myriad of emotions: the happiness of his youth, but also the anguish and fear of the last years during the war. However, for an exile this symbolic walk is the only way to traverse the city, since he is physically barred from actually walking it in person. In conjunction with his memories, Ignacio Fernández uses a map, a structural representation that resembles, as de Certeau proposes, the voyeur, god-like gaze from a vantage point. Thus, he retrieves two synchronic representations of Madrid; one that
represents the city of urban planners and his own image of the city that underscores the importance of each individual to understand the urban space. Remembering Madrid’s urban space is, for Ignacio Fernández, essential to maintaining his identity and memories. Furthermore, these recollections are, in a certain way, a return to the place and time he abandoned in 1939, hoping that one day he would come back and recognize the city.

The fact that his son decides to settle in Madrid during the last years of the dictatorship provides Ignacio Fernández information about the changes that the city has undergone. Ignacio Fernández Salgado lives in an urban development in Canillejas. His dad, startled, says that this is very distant from Madrid, to what his son replies: “[e]staba, papá, estaba. Ahora ya no está, ahora es Madrid. La ciudad ha crecido mucho desde que tú te fuiste” (Grandes 57). This conversation warns Ignacio Fernández about the urban growth of the capital. I would like to highlight the importance of Ignacio Fernández Salgado living in the periphery, for, on the one hand, it shows the urban growth of the capital and, on the other, how urban plans relegated the working classes and immigrants to the outskirts.

From 1948 to 1954, the capital annexed thirteen municipalities that comprise what has been known as Madrid’s periphery. Canillejas officially became part of the capital in 1950 (García Alvarado and Alcolea Moratilla 313-4) as part of an urban extension that started during the Second Republic. This expansion was based on the creation of green belts surrounding the city that would expand in concentric patterns (Terán, Madrid 261-2). During the post-war, the dictatorship continued with this model. The main purpose was to: “detener en la puertas de Madrid el flujo migratorio y desviarlo hacia la corona exterior por medio del desplazamiento de las industrias desde el casco antiguo y el
ensanche . . . a la periferia metropolitana, en la que se reservaría suelo para uso industrial” (Juliá, “Madrid,” 449). These urban policies instigated a separation between the political functions of the capital, concentrated in the city center, and the emerging industry located in the periphery (Terán, Madrid 262). During the years of “desarrollismo,” the metal industry concentrated in Canillejas and became an area to where migrant workers moved looking for jobs in this industry. Therefore Ignacio’s son settles in a newer part of Madrid that is traditionally related to immigration and working-class populations. Consequently, he does not live in an area of the city that his father would consider part of Madrid. This suggests that returning exiles and their descendants would not be accommodated in the older areas of the capital, now occupied by social climbers like Julio Carrión, who amassed his fortune by stealing from the vanquished with the acquiescence of the dictatorial government. In other words, Grandes exposes here how the dictatorship appropriated the center of the city and relegated the subaltern classes to the outer parts.

After visiting their son while on vacation, Ignacio Fernández and Anita decide to permanently return to Spain. She bashfully commends the advantages of living in Canillejas, without traffic problems or noises, but she does not insist on settling there, for she knows that, for her husband, this is not Madrid: “La abuela enunciaba con timidez, muy de vez en cuando, las ventajas de vivir en la carretera de Canillejas . . . pero no se atrevió a ir más allá, y todos lo entendieron. Su marido amaba tanto su ciudad que habría sido más que cruel, imperdonable, arrancársela ahora, y para él, Canillejas nunca sería Madrid” (Grandes 105). He knows that the role of returning exiles in the Transition to

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137 During the period of 1960 to 1975 Spain underwent a deep socioeconomic transformation from an agrarian country to a fully industrialized economy with an important service sector (Riquer i Pernanyer 259).
democracy will be minimal, thus his determination not to move to the periphery may represent an act of resistance. He may not be able to participate in the political process but he does not want to be relegated to the periphery of the incipient democratic society.

Ignacio Fernández’s return to Madrid after the exile implicitly criticizes the urban transformation of the center of the capital, at the same time that it determines the relationship between memory and urban space. Upon his arrival, he wants to visit the municipal park of Las Vistillas. His son does not know how to arrive to this location, and Ignacio Fernández very confident, after years of memorizing his city while in exile, quickly gives him directions: “Pero, bueno, Ignacio, será posible . . . La Puerta del Sol, ¿te suena? . . . Pues llegas hasta allí, coges la calle Arenal, desembocas en Ópera, rodeas el teatro, sales a la plaza de Oriente y giras a la izquierda” (Grandes 92). All these years remembering the city allows Ignacio Fernández to give directions to his son who, living in the periphery, does not know the downtown area as accurately as his father. However, his confidence diminishes when he faces the newer metropolitan areas of the capital. Raquel can hear him whisper in the car: “esto ha cambiado mucho, no lo reconocería, porque eso . . ., no, no puede ser, ¿o sí?, no, no sé, estoy perdido…” (92). Ignacio Fernández arrives at Madrid’s airport, located in the municipality of Barajas—a town that did not get annexed to Madrid until 1950 (Montoliú, Madrid bajo 178). Therefore, he cannot know this part of the city. However, his confusion does not last long as he

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138 Anita is excited about the possibility of a transitional process to democracy at the end of the dictatorship, but Ignacio says that it is only speculations: “Que Ramón me había dicho que Fulano le había contado que Mengano había oído que Zutano se había enterado de que en una reunión secreta, que nadie sabe ni dónde ni cuándo ha sido ni quiénes se han reunido, alguien, que tampoco sabe quién es, había dicho que no se iba a hacer nada sin nosotros. Eso te dije. ¿Y sabes lo que significa eso? Eso no significa una mierda, ni eso significa” (Grandes 55). Ignacio Fernández anticipates that exiles will not have an active role in the nascent democratic system. He feels that, once again, promises will not be kept and he will be betrayed again.
joyfully recognizes the Castellana Avenue. From this point on he realizes that his image of the city is still valid and continues giving directions to his son:

Ve hasta Cibeles, y luego coge Alcalá hasta arriba... Pero, bueno, cómo está esto, si lo han destrozado . . . Mira, Raquel, cuando yo vivía aquí, este paseo estaba lleno de palacetes como ése, ¿ves?, algunos cayeron con los bombardeos, porque nos bombardeaban todos los días, ¿sabes?, pero yo no sé qué pasaría después, porque . . . ¿Y ves ese edificio tan grande de la izquierda? Es la Biblioteca Nacional, esto sí que está igual, y por esa calle, que se llama Génova, se va a mi casa, y esto es Recoletos, y el Café Gijón… (Grandes 92-3)

Ignacio Fernández compares the urban landscape with the remembrances of Madrid during the war, something that emphasizes that the war is still a vivid trauma for him. The traditional places of the capital’s downtown provide Ignacio Fernández with the stable image that he remembered during his exile in Paris. At this point, the protagonist is no longer alienated as he has a legible image of the city (Lynch 2-3), that allows him to situate himself in the urban environment.

The implications of this quotation go beyond the relationship between Ignacio Fernández and Madrid’s urban space, as it also reveals the rampant capitalism and deficient urban planning that were the consequence of the desarrollismo years. Ignacio Fernández points to the disappearance of mansions, although he knows that this was not due to the bombings. Juliá explain that, during the sixties, the proliferation of private capital, mainly from banks, and real estate speculation dictated the new configuration of the city (“Madrid” 450). This was particularly evident in the Castellana, which appeared as the best location for the emerging tertiary economy: “El carácter nobiliario-burgués que había impregnado los bordes de la Castellana desapareció, con muchos de sus palacetes, a favor de su conversión en canal para el torrente circulatorio y de su nueva especialización terciaria” (“Madrid” 450). Thus this novel portrays, as I explained in the
first chapter, how capitalism altered the city, which, in a sense, debunks the image of the Imperial Spain that the regime transmitted for many years.

Recognizing the streets and buildings does not mean fully knowing the city. Jameson proposes that disalienation in the city involves the reconquest of a sense of place (89). For that reason it is significant that the first place that Ignacio Fernández wants to visit is Las Vistillas, and the first action he wants to take is to drink a vermouth in a sidewalk bar. The protagonist’s personal reason is that he wanted to return to the last place he saw in Madrid before escaping to Valencia a few days before the end of the war: “[é]ste fue el ultimo sitio de Madrid donde estuve antes de marcharme. De aquí me fui y aquí quería volver…” (Grandes 93). I would argue that, in addition to the emotional importance of this place for this character, this location also has a symbolic importance for Madrilenians in general, since it is a park that offers its visitors a panoramic view of the historical center of the city, the Madrid that Ignacio Fernández longed during his exile, as well as a panoramic, extensive view of the Parque del Oeste (one of the war’s battle fronts) and the mountains north of Madrid. Thus, the sight will contribute to updating the protagonist’s mnemonic collective map of the capital, as he appreciates how it developed in the decades of the dictatorship.139

While orienting himself in the city comforts him, Ignacio Fernández needs to experience the city and certain customs that he nostalgically missed during his absence. After observing Madrid from Las Vistillas, which as I argued provides him with a unified image of his Madrid (de Certeau 93), he wants to sit and order vermouth on tap: “Cerró

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139 The symbolic meaning expands beyond the narration as Las Vistillas is also an emblematic locus in Spanish literature. Ramón de Mesonero Romanos describes this park in El antiguo Madrid (1861). This park is also one of the favorite spaces of Galdós. Las Vistillas appears, for instance, in El 19 de marzo y el 2 de mayo and Gerona from Los Episodios nacionales; and in his masterpiece Fortunata y Jacinta.
los ojos antes de beber, cuando los abrió eran más grandes, más claros y más limpios . . .

[Raquel] en la emoción que abrillantaba sus ojos secos, comprendió que lo que estaba pasando era muy importante aunque ella no lo entendiera, aunque todo le pareciera vulgar” (Grandes 95). After his first sip of vermouth and in front of his astounded granddaughter Ignacio: “cogió unas de las dos patatas fritas con un boquerón en vinagre encima que le habían puesto al lado de la copa, se la comió, y sonrió. Ésa fue la primera vez que Raquel Fernández Perea vio sonreír a su abuelo, la primera vez que contempló su risa auténtica, dos labios curvándose de pura alegría en sus rostro sin sombras, sin reservas, sin miedo y sin dolor” (Grandes 95). Natahlie Sagnes-Alem describes Ignacio’s arrival at Madrid and the rite of the vermouth as derisory, interpreting that Ignacio’s smile repeats the defeat and failures of the political projects of the Second Republic (333). I offer a more optimistic reading of this passage. While at a collective level the character’s return may represent how exiles were ignored in the new democratic Spain, at a personal level Ignacio Fernández realizes that, in spite of the physical changes to the city and the decades of dictatorship, the Madrid that he left more than three decades ago still exists. Drinking vermouth, a quotidian act for most Madrilenians, implies for Ignacio Fernández his definite return to Madrid. At this point, the nostalgia disappears, as he can finally experience the Madrid that he remembered. Therefore, this scene can be interpreted as a triumph, because Ignacio Fernández recovers one of the rites of his youth. Every day, when he left Law school, Ignacio: “alargaba el camino de vuelta a casa parando en todos los bares, donde pedía siempre un vermú de grifo y recibía una tapa de

140 Raquel would understand the importance of this scene later in her life when she remembers that her grandfather did note ven cry the day he returned to Spain and enjoyed a vermutuh and a tapa after almost forty years. (Grandes 961)
Therefore, this act reaffirms Ignacio’s mnemonic map as he realizes that in spite of Madrid’s transformations, the city that he missed and remembered still exists.

In sum, for Ignacio, who spent his youth in Madrid, the urban space is a mediator of his memories as it serves to anchor his identity and remembrances. However, he knows that the urban space is only an element of a city and he wants to revive the experiences of his youth, something that, ultimately, makes him feel that the Madrid he left still exists. Raquel asks him what he missed the most of his life in Madrid, to which he responds: “Cuando me fui de aquí, yo no sabía que me marchaba de un mundo sin tapas, sin vermú de grifo . . . Eso he echado de menos, mucho, muchísimo, lo bueno y lo malo también, el ruido, los gritos, la suciedad de las aceras . . .” (Grandes 104). Experiencing Madrid allows Ignacio Fernández to relive experiences of his youth and therefore to reactivate the emotions that had been dormant during the exile. Hence the importance he gives to the quotidian act of drinking vermouth. Therefore, this character depicts, on the one hand, how urban space provides a stabilizing image for a returning exile and how space helps at the same time to produce and maintain memories. On the other, he demonstrates how the return to Madrid is not complete until he reconnects with the activities and social traditions that he missed most in Paris.

This process is reversed in the second generation. In the case of the children of the exiles, the memories that their parents transmit to them generate an affective image of the urban space. Ignacio Fernández Salgado’s picture of the capital is mediated and shaped by the nostalgic memories his father conveys of the city. However this is not the only source. When he visits Madrid for the first time, he has an idea of Madrid that is also influenced by the different mnemonic communities to which he belongs, namely, his
father’s memories, information he gathers through his friends and the French school system, as well as sources such as books, television, and the tourist propaganda that Francoism used to prompt the tourist boom of the 1960s. Unquestionably, the fact that he grows up within such diverse mnemonic communities creates an internal conflict that represents the challenges that the descendants of Spanish exiles faced.

The identity crisis of the children of exiles is an issue that has not received much attention in Spanish fiction. Ignacio Fernández Salgado grows up in a household that educates him with Spanish values and culture, but he attends a French school, thus he does not feel French or Spanish:

Qué horror el exilio, aquel exilio ajeno que le habían obligado a vivir como propio, a él, que era francés, que no era francés, que no sabía de donde era pero tampoco podía permitirse el lujo de que no le importara ser de ninguna parte, porque no había nacido en un país, sino en una tribu… una sociedad de ingratos incapaz de apreciar lo que tenían… siempre encerrados en las minúsculas dimensiones de una patria portátil, una presencia póstuma y fantasmatológica a la que llamaban España y que no existía, no existía, no existía. (Grandes 810)

Family and school are the most influential institutions in the socialization of children. In the case of Ignacio Fernández Salgado his family is not fully adapted to French society, as they follow Spanish culture and traditions within the exile community. In contrast, the education he receives at school inculcates within him different cultural values. Therefore, he is exposed to very different interpretations of the Civil War and the current socio-political situation in Spain.

His family and the exile community provide him with the interpretation of the vanquished, repeatedly hearing, for instance, how some of his relatives were killed during

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141 Grandes says that this topic was important for her because the image of exile is that of people leaving in 1939 and coming back after Franco’s death: “[e]l otro tema que me tenía allí pendiente era la segunda generación del exilio. Porque los españoles, en general, tenemos una imagen del exilio que se compone de dos imágenes: el 39 en los Pirineos y el frío que hacía, y en el 77 la escalera de un avión de Iberia y unos ancianitos bajando. Parece que no ha habido nada en medio” (Macciuci and Bonatto 126).
the war for no reason. This negative emotion is intensified by his forced participation in the Spanish cultural celebrations that the exiled community organized in Paris. Due to their artificiality, and to the fact that his French friends do not participate in such cultural celebrations, the memories of himself dressed as a baturro\(^\text{142}\) accompanied by flamenco dancers are some of his most negative childhood experiences: “Las fiestas de L’Humanité, me cago en…—a galopar, a galopar, Antonio Vargas Heredia, flor de la raza calé, si me quieres escribir, ya sabes mi paradero, olé, olé, y no tiene novio, y viva la madre que nos parió—. No me lo recuerdes, por favor, mamá” (Grandes 816). In this case the stories of the family and the participation in these celebrations create a negative postmemory.

Earlier in the chapter, I defined postmemory as a transmitted memory that is mediated by the remembrances and traditions in which the second generation of exiles grows up. Hirsch’s concept attributes a positive affective bond between the stories of the older generations and how these are processed by the second generation. Hirsch, the daughter of exiles herself, explains how for her, the city her parents left “embodied the idea of home, of place, but to me it was, and would remain, out of reach” (Hirsch and Spitzer 661). In spite of the traumatic events that her family endured during the Nazi ethnic genocide of Romania, the narratives of her family create a positive affective bond with this space that for her embodies an idea of home. This is not the case for Ignacio Fernández Salgado, for whom Spain “no era un país, sino un contratiempo, una anomalía que cambiaba de forma, de naturaleza, según las fechas y las circunstancias, como una enfermedad congénita, capaz de brotar y de desaparecer ella sola” (Grandes 809). I argue that Ignacio Fernández Salgado’s postmemory should be characterized as “negative

\(^{142}\) The voice Baturro designates the people of the region of Aragon who belonged to rural areas.
The memories and the cultural celebrations in which he participates do not bind him emotionally to Spain; rather, they distance him as he feels that he is different from his French friends. Therefore, the clash between socialization in French society with the traditions of the mnemonic community of Spanish exiles in Paris detaches him from the trauma of his family and from Spanish culture.

These negative emotions are the result of not comprehending what his family suffered, as he resents that they refuse to integrate culturally into France. He does not realize that his family was forced to abandon Spain, and that, in spite of the fact that many exiles established themselves in France, many of them were also prisoners in concentration camps enduring humiliating conditions (López 46). Once they were released, they worked in factories that made equipment pieces for the Nazis, as was the case with his father. Finally, when they fought in World War II and helped to liberate France from the Germans, their efforts were not recognized. In spite of hearing the memories and the trauma of his family, he accepts the historiographical version he learns at school and the opinions of his friends: “Habían pasado treinta años para los historiadores… pero no para su madre . . . Y ahora se iba a España con sus amigos . . . aquel país absurdo que no entendían ni los propios españoles, sus padres, desde luego, no” (Grandes 814). Ignacio Fernández perceives the war as a historical event, far from affecting the current situation in Spain.

He relies on the information he gathers from his friends that have visited Spain rather than listening to his family—opinions based on the tourist propaganda that

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143 Juanjo López details how: “Según el propio gobierno [francés], 55.000 refugiados fueron organizados en las llamadas Compañías de Trabajadores Extranjeros—que por una remuneración miserable hacían todo tipo de trabajos forzados—; otros 40.000 fueron directamente empleados por el Ministerio de trabajo en la industria y la agricultura. Por último otros 6000 fueron enrolados en el ejército francés” (47).
presented Spain as an open country with beautiful beaches, cheap food and nightlife. In *Destination Dictatorship* (2009), Justin Crumbaugh brilliantly argues how Francoism employed tourism to recast Spain’s image abroad and within the country. In 1951, the regime created the Ministry of Information and Tourism as a response to the negative international political image of Spain (Crumbaugh 24). One of the guidelines of the Ministry states that tourism should be “explicitly geared toward ‘attracting foreigners and attracting propaganda through them; and promoting interest both in and outside of Spain in the knowledge of our national territory and ways of life’” (qtd. in Crumbaugh 25).

Laurent, one of Ignacio Fernández Salgado’s best friends, embodies the typical foreign tourist attracted to the image of Spain that Francoism spread abroad. He travelled to Spain describing its people as slightly peculiar but nice to foreigners: “a Laurent le gustaba España, la música, la comida, el marisco, los bares y la insaciable adicción de los españoles a la vida nocturna (Grandes 814-5). The reasons why Laurent likes Spain exemplify the Spanish brand constructed by the Ministry of Information and Tourism.

Therefore, when he tells his experiences of the tourist Spain to Ignacio Fernández Salgado, the latter sees disagreements between his parents’ stories and Laurent’s opinion about the country.

The event that changes his understanding of the past—and also Raquel Perea Millán’s who will later become his wife—and links him affectively to his parents’ memories is the trip he takes to Spain with his French school. This part of the novel portrays two very different images of Spain. The first days in Andalusia depict a stereotypical trip with flamenco and Easter religious processions representative of the “cultural difference” that Francoism promoted. The visit to the capital during the second
part of the trip changes Ignacio Fernández Salgado and Raquel Perea Millán’s attitude to their parents’ memories, as they experience the difficult lives of the vanquished in Spain through the testimony of Ignacio’s aunt Casilda. In addition, this experience creates an affective bond between them that is the catalyst of their love and future marriage.

Andalusia appears to Ignacio Fernández Salgado as a “país desconocido y ajeno para él” (Grandes 826), nonetheless he recognizes that there is a familiarity with the culture and people. Furthermore, he recognizes the truth in his parents’ warnings asserting that he was not travelling to Spain for the first time, but that he was returning:

Ignacio Fernández Salgado comprendió tarde, en Andalucía, que sus padres tenían razón, que él no había ido a España, que él había vuelto aunque no la hubiera pisado jamás, nunca en su vida. Pero eso no le ayudó a orientarse, a encontrarse a sí mismo en el laberinto íntimo por el que circulaba como un niño perdido, arrebatado de los brazos de sus padres, que eran los que tendrían que estar allí, los que tenían que haber vuelto para reconocerse en esa realidad que él no se sentía capaz de interpretar. (Grandes 827)

Thus, he recognizes Spain’s culture due to his parents’ memories and because he belongs to the mnemonic community of exiles in Paris. However, he cannot identify affectively with Andalusia, because his parents are from Aragón and Madrid. Interestingly, Raquel Perea Millán, whose parents are from Andalusia, becomes affectively attached in the early stages of the tour, to the point that she starts talking with the accent of the region: “Mi deo... Que me lo he pillao,” (Grandes 829) exclaims Raquel eliding the intervowel -d- a linguistic feature characteristic of Andalusia.

I do not interpret this passage as an attempt to denounce the cultural appropriation of folklore by Francoism in order to disseminate Spanish difference abroad and to promote tourism. I agree with Mendicutti when he describes this experience for Ignacio Fernández Salgado and Raquel Perea Millán as an enlightening experience that helps
them to understand their parents’ culture (152). This moment happens for both characters during a flamenco demonstration. The live show in a “cueva del Sacromonte” (Grandes 830),\textsuperscript{144} is quite different from their experience in Paris with the exile community. After dancing in the “cueva,” Raquel gives a very poised response to one of the flamenco artists, indicating that she is “malagueña” (Grandes 835). For the first time she acknowledges her Spanish roots, thus embracing the culture of her parents. The return to Spain allows both Raquel and Ignacio Fernández Salgado to appreciate their parents’ culture and to understand why the “artificial” celebrations in Paris are not enough for them.

While the stay in Andalusia changes Raquel dramatically, Ignacio Fernández Salgado identifies more profoundly with Madrid and its culture. This part of the narration highlights how the memories transmitted by his father preconfigure Ignacio’s image of the urban space. Ignacio Fernández Salgado has a partial mnemonic collective map of the city, formed by the memories of his father and other images that he obtains through cultural artifacts: “Salió a la Gran Vía, desembocó en una calle aún más ancha, la Cibeles al fondo, pasó de largo por la Puerta de Alcalá, circuló durante un rato junto a la verja del Retiro, y aquel era Madrid, Ignacio Fernández Salgado lo sabía, lo conocía, lo había visto muchas veces en fotos, en películas, lo había escuchado contar muchas más” (839). He has two main sources of information of Madrid: images and pictures, maybe from a travel guide and the television; but, more importantly, his father transmitted an image of the urban space through his remembrances and stories—an image that is filtered through an affective component that establishes a bond between Ignacio Fernández Salgado and Madrid, as he feels more comfortable in Madrid than in previous

\textsuperscript{144} Sacromonte is a quarter with a long tradition of gypsy population.
destinations of the trip: “Quizás por eso se encontraba mejor allí, porque en los edificios, en los nombres de las calles, en los árboles, en los palacios, en los paseos, en las estatuas, conflúan las dos Españas, la que estaba viendo y la que había aprendido, la de los menús turísticos y la de las tiendas nómadas” (Grandes 839). Whereas the traumatic stories he continually heard during his childhood originated a negative affective link with his family’s memories, not being alienated in Madrid creates an affective bond with the city. That is, for the first time he no longer feels like a tourist, and he can juxtapose his father’s memories with his own experience of the city. In Madrid, the transmitted memories and the knowledge he gathers from books and movies converge with his personal experience of the city, which contributes to his mnemonic collective map.

Once again, the experience of the city is a central factor in the development of a mnemonic collective map. Ignacio Fernández Salgado’s information about Madrid is limited to the areas that his father knew: “más allá del Retiro y de la calle O'Donnell, Madrid empezó a desdibujarse para parecerse cada vez menos a sí misma . . . la ciudad de su padre ya se había acabado, y sin embargo, aquello seguía siendo una ciudad, un barrio nuevo de casas vulgares, baratas, torres y más torres todas iguales” (Grandes 840). Similar to what happens to his father when he comes back to Madrid after Franco’s death, Ignacio Fernández Salgado faces a new city once he abandons the traditional parts of Madrid. He now encounters the urban sprawl of the late 1950s and early 1960s that was built to support the new industrial suburban areas. Describing this suburban development as impersonal raises the issue of how rampant capitalism shaped the structure of the city with the construction of cheap houses in the outskirts.
The transmitted memories facilitate Ignacio Fernández Salgado’s affinity with the urban space of the capital. However, thus far he is exposed to the touristic Madrid that he explores with his friends. Visiting his aunt Casilda, whose husband was denounced by a friend and later killed during the last days of the war, is crucial to understanding his parent’s memories and their resentment towards the current political situation in Spain. This event debunks the picture of Spain as a *quasi*-democratic country that the regime attempted to export, an image based on Spanish’s cultural difference and tourism. It also provides Ignacio Fernández Salgado with a vision of the Civil War and its aftermath through the testimony of a relative who stayed in Madrid. This fact legitimates his parents’ memories, as he understands that his parents’ memories are not conditioned by their status as exiles.

The visit to Casilda gives him the urban experience of the outskirts and allows him to observe first-hand the poor living conditions of those who lost the war and stayed in the capital. His aunt lives “al final de Moratalaz,” an area that the taxi driver does not even know (Grandes 839), establishing how the vanquished were displaced to the periphery both spatially and symbolically. Because many families lost their houses to supporters of the rebellion, they were subsequently displaced to the outskirts of Madrid. At a symbolic level, it represents how they were condemned into oblivion. Claire Pajaczkowska maintains that suburban areas are, generally, spaces without history: “while the urban is conceived as a space that is full of historical meaning, the suburban is

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145 The social stigma placed on the Republic loyalists made it difficult for them to obtain jobs in Spain. Therefore, even though they did not lose their houses they could not afford to live in the areas where they previously lived. This burden was magnified in the case of women whose husbands died during the war, were in prison, or exiled, as these women had to provide for the family by themselves. This issue has been treated in fiction and some of the most brilliant and startling works are: Dulce Chacón’s *La voz dormida*; Josefina Aldecoa’s trilogy *Historia de una maestra, Mujeres de negro* and *La fuerza del destino*; and Un *largo silencio* by Ángeles Caso.
represented, and experienced, as a dystopic void, an absence of historic significance” (25). The vanquished do not have a social space in the center of the new regime; nor is there room for them in the historical discourse constructed by Francoism. Hence, *El corazón* suggests that, although these areas are not part of the official discourse of the regime, they are spaces full of memories of the defeated.

Mateo, Casilda’s firstborn, embodies the inherent state of fear that the dictatorship inculcated in society, as well as how the regime’s propaganda distorted the image of the country within its own borders. Mateo praises the advantages of living in Spain, and the benefits of tourism to the emerging economy. However, when Ignacio Fernández Salgado compares his words with the decoration of the living room, he perceives a very different reality:

> Ignacio comparó su discurso con el contenido de la estantería colgada sobre el aparador que tenía enfrente, seis vasitos de cristal, cada uno de un color distinto . . . un jarrón en miniatura de cerámica blanca con flores en relieve, un frasco de colonia vacío con el tapón en forma de flor y una caja hecha con conchas pintadas. Nada más y ningún libro. (Grandes 844)

The privations are both material and intellectual as the decor and absence of books on the shelves denote, which debunks the discourse that Spain’s economic development reached all social strata. Although Spanish GDP averaged an annual increase of 7.5% from 1960 to 1974, and the *per capita* income tripled during this period, the gap in social differences widened. The economic boom is undeniable, but it did not benefit the whole society. For instance, Riquer i Permanyer estimates that 15% of the population eight years or older were illiterate (262-4).¹⁴⁶ Pedro Montoliú reveals that in spite of the fact that in 1954 the country’s GDP reached, for the first time, the level previous to the beginning of the war,

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¹⁴⁶ Although the absence of books may be a decision of the family, the empty shelves in Casilda’s home suggests that there was a marked difference between the cultural policies of the Franco regime and the efforts of the Second Republic to implement universal education and to close the social gaps within society.
living expenses increased a 7.1% this year. In addition, since the end of the war prices multiplied by five while salaries raised at a much slower pace (Montoliú, Madrid bajo 157). Thus, the suburban location of the house in a precarious urbanized neighborhood, along with the obvious financial hardships of the family point out that the Spanish miracle did not affect society as a whole, but rather only social climbers like Julio Carrión who profited from urban speculation.

Mateo’s praise of the economic boom in spite of living almost below the poverty level shows how propaganda efficiently convinced the younger generations that Spain’s socioeconomic condition was better under the Franco regime. Crumbaugh argues that, during the 1960s the tourist propaganda had as much effect abroad as it did within Spanish borders: “the tourist boom became a central theme is Spanish own commercial entertainment, news media, and political rhetoric, as public discourse was increasingly saturated with glossy images of new high-rise hotels, neotraditional displays of folklore, and sensuous blondes in bikinis” (Destination 2). Tourism branded Spain abroad at the same time that it provided political stability at home as “tourism became the shining star of the ‘Spanish miracle’ not only for economic reasons . . . but, more importantly, as symbolic enterprise . . . Tourism, in short, acted as a trope of a modernity a la Española, as a way to write the story of economic development in Francoist terms” (Destination 4).147 The paramount of this symbolic shift is the slogan “Spain is different,” coined to

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147 Crumbaugh’s most important and suggestive argument is that tourism became the emblem of Francoist ‘defascistization:’ “It is true that political unrest became more visibly in Spain as the dictatorship wore on and that the regime gradually granted more concessions to demands for liberal reform, if only to later revoke them in many cases. It is also true, however, that during the years of the tourist boom, the Franco regime became, in some ways, more difficult to contest, in part because tourism—and the larger emergence of consumer culture in Spain—allowed the regime to recast itself as a benevolent and ideologically neutral administration and even to bill Spain as a ‘free’ and ‘democratic’ nation” (Destination 7).
attract tourism based on Spain’s cultural exoticism. However, NO-DO, the state-controlled cinema newsreel, made “tourism development the emblem of Spain’s economic growth and Francoist officials the skillful, ingenious planners of it all” (Crumbaugh, *Destination* 29). Therefore, the marketing of tourism was so visible within Spain in postcards and souvenirs that it had more resounding effects in Spain than abroad (Crumbaugh, *Destination* 67).

Whereas the location of his aunt’s house and Mateo’s discourse enlightens Ignacio Fernández Salgado about the financial and social hardships for parts of society, the event that concretely makes him understand the trauma of the war and the dictatorship is the testimony of Casilda. Ignacio Fernández Salgado knows the war through the mnemonic community of exiles and the historical discourse of the French school system. Nevertheless, hearing the trauma from a member of a mnemonic community who stayed in Madrid modifies his affective relationship to the transmitted memories of his family.

The war was a traumatic experience, intensified by the subsequent cruelty of the victors, who did not grant the vanquished the opportunity to mourn their losses. Twenty-five years after the end of the conflict, Casilda does not know where her husband Mateo is buried. The only method she has to keep Mateo as part of public memory is to write his name on the wall of the cemetery where he was executed: “Escribo Mateo Fernández Muñoz todos los meses, y escribo 1915, una rayita, 1939, y también sé que lo borran

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148 Luis Antonio Bolín, director of Tourism, created in 1948 the original slogan that said: “Spain is different and beautiful” (Montoliú, *Madrid bajo* 178). It was subsequently shortened to “Spain is different” that is still nowadays part of the popular imaginary.

149 Cinema was another privileged medium to promote tourism and its benefits for Spanish society. Pedro Lazaga’s film *El turismo es un gran invento* (1967) is a perfect example of this: “[t]he film begins with an effusive documentary tribute to the industry that, at the time, was rapidly transforming Spain coastlines and becoming a source of fascination throughout the country. The result is a startling portrait of a newly modernized Spain that gleefully belies the country’s image as Europe’s backward, impoverished outpost” (Crumbaugh, *Destination* 15)
enseguida, pero para poder borrarlo, antes tienen que leerlo. ¡Que se jodan! Porque lo que quieren es que Mateo no haya vivido nunca” (Grandes 854). In *Specters of Marx*, Derrida states that mourning cannot exist with doubt: “one has to know who is buried where” (9 emphasis in the original). Mateo is just one instance of the thousands of victims that lay in mass graves, an example of how the Civil War is still an open wound for the family and friends of those victims.\(^{150}\) Labanyi succinctly interprets Derrida’s notion of ghosts as the victims of history who were excluded of the discourse of the victors and, therefore, were not able to leave a trace (“Engaging” 1-2). I argue that, although Mateo does not have a ghostly presence in the narration, his widow writing his dates on the wall of the cemetery can be interpreted as a ghostly trace that comes back to haunt the regime. The appearance of these dates and names—Casilda says that more widows do the same—represents the impossibility to mourn the assassinated and disappeared. The regime celebrated 25 years of peace while thousands of its citizens neither knew where their beloved were buried, nor were they allowed to mourn them.\(^{151}\)

By writing the name of her late husband on the wall of the Cementerio del Este, Casilda makes his death official and she provides a place of memory to commemorate him, in

\(^{150}\) The effort to unearth the thousands of victims who lay in mass graves has been one of the catalysts for the “Movimientos por la recuperación de la memoria histórica.” (See the introduction for a detailed explanation). The *Asociación para la recuperación de la memoria histórica* (ARMH) states as one of its objectives: “La investigación, exhumación e identificación de las víctimas de la guerra civil y de la represión franquista” (n. pag.). Since the year 2000, when the association conducted the first exhumation, 1,330 bodies have been recovered (n. pag.).

Television has also played an important role in this issue. In January 2004 TVE aired *Las fosas del olvido* co-directed by Alfonso Domingo and Itziar Bernaola. A few months later, the Catalan Television broadcasted *Las fosas del silencio* by Montse Amonegou and Ricard Bellis. This traumatic and important issue is becoming relevant also in fiction and in the year 2009 José María Merino published *La sima*. The protagonist, Fidel, returns to his village in the sierra of León to finish writing a doctoral dissertation about the Carlist Wars and to attend to an exhumation in the *Sima de Montiecho*. The cave works as a metaphor of the open wounds of Spanish society. Ironically, the exhumation does not take place because a group of right-wing activist blows up the entrance to the cave—an action that is also symbolical of the efforts of the conservative factions of society to thwart any open debate about the past.

\(^{151}\) Casilda explains that wearing mourning clothes was only allowed for the victorious side (Grandes 853).
effect materializing—however ephemerally—the burial place that Francoism negates him.

I do not consider this wall a *lieu de mémoire*. As I indicate in the introduction, Nora defines this notion as symbolical and actual places where history and memory converge. Englund stresses Nora’s imprecision when he defines what a *lieu* may be, sharply concluding that these spaces do not refer to memory but rather to historicized memory (305). I argue that in Casilda’s repetitive yet spontaneous memorialization of her late husband it is not memory and History that intersect, but rather the history of the vanquished and their collective memories. It is the history that Benjamin urges historian to recover in his theses, the history that underscores that the “state of emergency” is the rule for the vanquished. (Benjamin, “Theses,” 257). For that reason, I separate this willful act of memorialization from the artificiality of *lieu de mémoire*. ¹⁵²

This passage conveys how the memory of the vanquished is repressed, and, in this particular case, how it is literally erased, prompting the mourners to repeatedly reconfigure the memorial space. In the first chapter, I explained how Francoism colonized urban space by changing names of streets, architecture, and proliferating monuments and symbols that celebrated the victory in the Civil War, Franco, and the martyrs of the crusade. Another practice of control and legitimization of urban space and the regime were public commemorations. Gillis defines commemorations as public and social acts that involve “the coordination of individual and group memories, whose result may appear consensual when they are in fact the product of processes of intense contest,

¹⁵² As I suggested in the first part of the chapter, one of the narrative functions of the first person narrator is to recuperate the memories of those erased from history. In this sense, while Casilda memorializes the figure of Mateo, *El corazón* as a novel also memorializes the victims whose bodies are still missing by recording the victims within the pages of the novel.
struggle, and, in some instances, annihilation” (5). As it is always the case after a traumatic war or revolution, the official commemorations celebrate the memories of the victors, relegating those of the vanquished to private spheres. In addition to the impossibility of mourning their losses, the supporters of the Second Republic had to participate in official commemorations in order to avoid being marked as “reds” or hostile to Franco’s power. As Todorov argues, the colonization of space through monuments and public commemorations is another strategy in the quest of totalitarian regimes to control the memoires of the society (Hope 132-4).

Casilda’s symbolic gesture of commemoration contrasts with the official homages and memorials celebrated by Francoist apparatuses and their followers during the dictatorship. Specifically, this act establishes a connection with the act of naming the martyrs of the Francoist side that died during the war, especially due to reprisals in the areas that remained loyal to the Republic. Graham highlights how Francoism appropriated these victims “through the action of naming (those “who fell for God and Spain”, los caídos por Dios y por España), continuing to ‘own’ them in unchanged form throughout its near forty years of existence, with effects that were neither healing nor redeeming” (141). As a consequence these victims became the opposite of “the Republican disappeared in that their deaths were, from the start, supercharged with state symbolism and the disinterred . . . were made highly visible in the 1940s as part of a ceremonial process of state ‘sanctification’” (Graham 141). The commemoration of these victims did not only imply solemn funerals but also the inscriptions of their names.

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153 It also differs from the monuments and memorials that Francoism erected to memorialize their victims and leaders. The most emblematic of these is probably “El Valle de los Caídos.” See analysis in chapter 2.
154 In April 1, 1947, Franco started his speech to celebrate the “día de la victoria” as follows: “Gloria a los héroes, loor a los mártires, afirmación de fe y de lealtad a los que cayeron por una España mejor” (Franco 73).
in plaques or even in the porticoes of churches and cemeteries in which they were considered as “presentes” (Castro Berrojo 102).

Conversations with Casilda help to shape Ignacio Fernández Salgado’s mnemonic collective map. In spite of knowing how Mateo died—“lo había escuchado demasiadas veces” (Grandes 856)—listening to the same story from a different mnemonic community alters his perception of this event, and he now understands the trauma his family endured during the Civil War and exile: “no sabía si acababa de volverse loco o había recobrado la cordura de milagro y de repente, pero las palabras de Casilda sonaban dentro de sus oídos y llamaban a otras palabras que había escuchado muchas veces sin entenderlas nunca hasta aquella tarde” (Grandes 856). He understands that the war is still an open wound in Spanish society and how his family has not been able to mourn their losses, one of the reasons for his parents’ resentment of Francoism. However, what seems to definitely triggers coming to terms with his family’s memories are the emotion that Casilda’s narrative elicit in him: “conocía la tragedia que la muerte de Mateo había representado para su padre, para sus abuelos . . . pero no pudo evitar un escalofrío espontáneo, sincero, más intenso que el estupor, porque no dudó del dolor de aquella mujer, que tenía otro marido, y tres hijos, y una vida que vivir, una vida que no le importaba” (Grandes 852). Casilda’s first-hand witness narrative connects him emotionally to her suffering and trauma and, more importantly, he understands that his parents’ criticisms of the situation of Spain during the dictatorship are not trivial because they are not allowed to live in Spain. He realizes that his family, including himself, could be in the same misery as Casilda and her family.
The trip to Madrid provides Ignacio Fernández Salgado with images of Spanish society that are different from the tourist Spain that his friend Laurent described. The economic miracle and the boom of tourism allowed the regime, as Crumbaugh explains, to recast Spain as a free country welcoming foreigners looking for cheap vacations (Crumbaugh, Destination 7). However, this discourse concealed the economic underdevelopment and how the losers of the war were positioned as outcasts. Influenced by the regime’s propaganda and probably by twenty years of isolationism, Mateo, the son, cannot understand how miserable his life is. Therefore, the slogan “Spain is different” hides the fact that the image portrayed in this long-term commercial campaign was also, in fact, very different from the reality that many Spaniards endured under the dictatorship.155

Ignacio Fernández Salgado illustrates how memories can create an image of the urban space invested with affect. The transmitted memories of his father regarding Madrid’s urban space are essential upon his first visit to the city, as he has an image of the city which helps him to become situated, thus not feeling alienated. These memoires and his own experience of the city—especially the encounter with his aunt Casilda—provide him with a better understanding of what Madrid meant for his father. During his trip, he opposes the touristic Madrid that he experiences with his friend’s, against the precarious dwelling and socio-economic situation of his relatives in the periphery of the

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155 The regime stressed how Spain was able to overcome two decades of international obstacles. The economic boom of the development years (1960-75) is, consequently, the result of the financial policies of Francoism. Although it is undeniable that there were important ideological and economic changes during the last years of the fifties, it should also be noted that one of the most important causes of the economic miracle was Europe’s economic prosperity. On the one hand, the “fledging tourist industry profited from the greater prosperity of other Europeans,” and, on the other, “opening the borders in 1959 saw over half a million Spaniards leave in search of work and, as a result, unemployment was slashed” (Black 43-6). Furthermore, Black indicates that from 1960 to 1973 “over one and a half million emigrants from Spain sought work in the flourishing economy of Europe, cutting unemployment numbers to under 2 per cent by the early 1970’s (46) and scaffolding the Spanish economic with their remittances back home.
capital. Finally, listening to the testimony of his aunt brings him emotionally closer to his parents’ trauma. After this experience, Ignacio Fernández Salgado and Raquel Perea Millán come to terms with their parents past, which is the catalyst for their love. The urban space, the testimonies of Ignacio’s relatives, and his own experience of the city combine to create a mnemonic collective map of Madrid that includes the official propaganda he learnt in Paris, with the personal trauma of his family.

Raquel Fernández Perea, the representative of the third generation of the Fernández family, grew up in the periphery of Madrid. For this reason, it would be expected that she has a wider knowledge of the city than her father did when he first visited Madrid in a school trip, and even wider than her grandfather when he returns from exile. However, Ignacio Fernández—her grandfather—also shapes her mnemonic collective map of the capital and influences how she experiences the city. In a certain sense, she becomes part of her grandfather’s mnemonic community and acquires knowledge of Madrid that helps her to understand the memories that she learns from Ignacio.

Raquel’s relationship to her grandfather Ignacio Fernández represents the dynamic of the transmission of memory between generations, with the peculiarity that here we witness a generational jump. I propose, once again, the importance of urban space in the maintenance and transmission of memories and the important role that affect plays in this process. Raquel embodies the dialectical relationship between urban space and memory. When she experiences the city with her grandfather, she becomes affectively attached to the areas of Madrid that Ignacio Fernández considers the “real” Madrid. In Raquel’s adulthood, once Ignacio passes away, Madrid mediates not only the
memories she has of her time with him, but also the transmitted memories of the Civil War and the exile.

For Ignacio Fernández, the return to Madrid marks the discovery of a new city with a strong tertiary sector and the growth of the periphery due to the heavy immigration and industrialization of the 1950s and 1960s. In contrast, for Raquel his return implies the discovery of the traditional Madrid, the spaces for which his grandfather nostalgically longed during exile: “Durante aquellos días de septiembre, Raquel aprendió a mirar la ciudad con los ojos de su abuelo. Todas las tardes, Ignacio Fernández tomaba prestado el coche de su hijo y se llevaba a su nieta a cualquiera de los cinco o seis distritos escasos que para él eran, habían sido y siempre serían Madrid” (Grandes 105). The relationship with her grandfather conveys how important Madrid is for Ignacio. This attaches her affectively to the city that she discovers with and through him.

While Ignacio Fernández is alive, enjoying the city is what brings the grandfather and granddaughter together. For the former, experiencing the city with Raquel is an opportunity to transmit his memories to the future generation of Spaniards who only know democratic Spain. Raquel learns how important urban space is for Ignacio’s memories and in the formation of his identity: “Raquel había sido la espectadora privilegiada, y a menudo única, del entusiasmo con el que Ignacio Fernández celebraba la lealtad de su ciudad con su memoria” (Grandes 110). In other words, Ignacio Fernández celebrates the fact that the city was loyal to the recollections he kept during the exile, implying that, in a way, the city did not change and therefore it recognized him when he came back. This implicitly points to the fact that, while certain areas and traditions did
not change, living political forces were disloyal to the exiles as they were not an active part of the political Transition.

One consequence of Raquel’s inclination towards the areas of the city she frequented with her grandfather is that it creates an emotional link with these areas. Once her grandfather passes away, Madrid is the mediator between Raquel and the memory of Ignacio, identifying herself with the parts of Madrid that her grandfather appreciated. In fact, she is the only member of the family who decides to live in the center of the capital while the rest of the family lives in Canillejas: “no le gusta vivir en el centro, a nadie le gusta, sólo a tí. Tú eres igual que tu abuelo, y por eso… Por eso, creo que es bueno que te quedes tú con la casa” (Grandes 1057). The fact that Raquel keeps the family home has sentimental value, at the same time that she honors the memory of Ignacio.

However, not all the memories are pleasant, as she also witnesses the day that Ignacio Fernández went to the Carrión residence to claim the possessions that Julio stole from the family. This is the first and only time that Raquel sees her grandfather cry, an event that imprints an indelible mark in her memory. Raquel Fernández Perea remembers how painful this experience was for Ignacio Fernández and how she became part of the trauma: “Aquella tarde al salir de tu casa, vi llorar a mi abuelo… Y mi abuelo no lloraba nunca, ¿sabes? Nunca…No lloró el día de la muerte de Franco, ni el día que volvió a España después de treinta y siete años de exilio” (961). Raquel keeps the memories of the family alive and, “[a]unque este personaje no ha visto la violencia directamente, ha sentido sus consecuencias y las ha sufrido en cierta manera a partir de la transmisión de la melancolía colectiva que le ha llevado incluso a desear la venganza” (Zapata Calle n. pag.)
Interestingly, after this final defeat, when Ignacio Fernández stops crying, he turns to the urban space to mitigate his pain and tells Raquel the story of the Plaza de las Salesas where they are sitting:

"Se llama así porque antes había un convento, pero esa iglesia de ahí atrás se llama Santa Bárbara, porque la fundó Bárbara de Braganza, un reina de España ... Aquí enfrente estaban los juzgados donde condenaron a mi cuñado Carlos. ¿te acuerdas? Y el edificio que está adosado a la iglesia por detrás, ¿lo ves?, es el Tribunal Supremo. Su fachada da a otra plaza que hay detrás, la plaza de la Villa de París. (Grandes 126)

His inability to recover the family’s possessions is a defeat, but he finds solace in the urban space, something that, now that he is back, he is certain will not betray him.

Ignacio Fernández describes in detail the historical origins of the square, but he also points out to Raquel that his brother-in-law was sentenced in the nearby courts, suggesting that history and memory are an equally important part of the urban space and its experience, thus highlighting how emotions are part of the collective memories of the city.

Julio’s refusal to compensate the Fernández family epitomizes the legal and social defenselessness of exiles and other victims during the Transition to democracy. The Ley de asociaciones políticas, promulgated on June 14th, 1976 did not recognize many political parties such as the Communist Party or Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya. Neither did it acknowledge the exiles’ right to participate in the elections that took place in 1977 (Alberola Suriñach and Villagrasa i Hernández 50). In October of the same year, the new government announced the Ley the Amnistía, which granted pardon to all “actos de responsabilidad política.” This law benefited Republican prisoners unfairly condemned by Franco, but also those who committed war crimes or reprisals during the
dictatorship. Therefore, Ignacio’s impossibility to resort to the judicial system is symptomatic of the socio-political deficiencies of the Transition. In particular, this law “legally” enforced the now infamous pact of silence.

Moreover, Julio, now a prominent real estate business man, knows that Ignacio cannot sue him nor can he make this issue public, as it would be considered an attempt to reopen old wounds and a sabotage to the birth of democracy. In the first meeting between Raquel Fernández Perea and Julio Carrión, he tells his story of what happened in 1977:

Ignacio vino a verme para que supiera que había vuelto a vivir a España, en Madrid, y que conservaba las escrituras de los bienes de sus padres y…, bueno, toda la documentación . . . él no quiso venderme la cartera que está ahora en su maletín. Prefiero quitarte el sueño, me dijo. Prefiero que vivas con la angustia de no saber qué hago, que estoy haciendo, qué voy a hacer. Voy a acabar contigo, Julio, pero nunca sabrás cómo, ni cuándo, ni de dónde te llegará el primer golpe. (Grandes 1081)

The different versions of this event that the reader confronts—none of them complete—point to the difficulty of recovering the memories of the vanquished. This encounter is narrated from four different perspectives. The first time, the omniscient narrator recounts the visit with a focalization on Raquel Fernández Perea and her innocent child’s eyes. The reader does not know what happened in the meeting or what was discussed. The second time it is also Raquel who narrates the story, but now during her adulthood when she tells it to Álvaro. However, the meeting between Julio and Ignacio is not described.

156 The law also condones: “Los delitos de rebelión y sedición, así como los delitos y faltas cometidos con ocasión o motivo de ello, tipificados en el Código de Justicia Militar” (Alberola Suriñach and Villagrasa i Hernández 57), which is a clear attempt to avoid taking to court the soldiers who supported the war. It also grants amnesty to “los delitos y faltas que pudieran haber cometido las autoridades, funcionarios y agentes del orden público, con motivo u ocasión de la investigación y persecución de los actos incluidos en esta ley” (57). In other words, the law granted impunity to government employees who, for example, tortured or killed as a consequence to combat political opposition against the regime (Alberola Suriñach and Villagrasa i Hernández 57-8).
On the third occasion Ignacio tells Raquel what the purpose of the visit was. His description is brief and, once again, there is no account of what took place into the office. Finally, Julio Carrión himself relates the event for the fourth and final time. Some of the most crucial information of the novel is transmitted by second and even third-hand sources, and in a fragmentary manner. Additionally, the last version is narrated by Julio Carrión, with the complication that his account is the last one, as Ignacio Fernández has already passed away by then and he cannot rebuke this version. This shows how personal and collective memories of the war are endangered as the generation of the survivors is disappearing.

The fact that Ignacio Fernández refuses to provide his granddaughter with an exhaustive description of the meeting with Julio Carrión, shows Ignacio Fernández’s awareness of the difficult social and political situation for returning exiles, and of the disregard for the past during the Transition: “Es una historia muy larga. Muy larga y muy antigua. No lo entenderías y además... Creo que tampoco te conviene saberla . . . Lo normal es que tu vivas aquí para siempre. Y para vivir aquí, hay cosas que es mejor no saber. Incluso no entender…” (Grandes 127-8). This shows how the victors once more humiliated the vanquished because “[la] amnistía se confunde con una amnesia que mantiene al héroe . . . en la situación de un hombre traicionado” (Sagnes-Alem 333). This event exposes the injustice of the pact of silence. While its main objective was to maintain social peace, it benefitted Franco’s followers who did not have to respond socially or judicially for their crimes. Ignacio, who talked constantly about his past, chooses in this occasion “that the memory of the event not be passed down to her [Raquel’s] generation so that all can coexist peacefully in this same country: this was one
of the coping mechanisms used by those who returned from exile—mejor no saber ni entender” (Johnson 34). I would add that it is not only an issue of knowledge but also a matter of protecting the younger generation from the feelings of resentment and revenge that separated the generation who lost the war. Ultimately, El corazón is very critical of the Transition, and it reveals one of the main consequences of the pact of silence. Namely, that secret perpetuated within Spanish society, especially among the victims of the Civil War and Francoism.

The final theme I want to develop is how in this novel the experience of the urban space by these three generations serves to denounce how capitalism and urban speculation transformed Madrid during the dictatorship and how this process was accentuated during the democracy. The return of Ignacio Fernández marks the transformations the Castellana Avenue suffered during the dictatorship, while Ignacio Fernández Salgado’s trip presents the deficient urbanization of the periphery. Finally, the relationship of Álvaro Carrión and Raquel Fernández Perea with the Madrid of the early 2000s articulates how urban transformations have altered the social structure of Madrid.

The reconstruction that the Franco regime undertook after the Civil War was marked by a conscious segregation between the center and the periphery. Throughout the 1940s a number of shantytowns appeared in the outskirts as a consequence of the economic hardships. As a solution to the proliferation of these slums, there is an attempt to “aislar por medio de un anillo verde el núcleo central de la ciudad de toda esa franja suburban de chabolas” (Juliá, “Madrid,” 437). During the 1950s, with the intensification of the immigration towards the capital, the response was to separate “con mayor decisión el espacio urbano para detener en las afueras a los inmigrantes impulsando el proceso de
industrialización concebido como una barrera de defensa de la ciudad” (Juliá, “Madrid,” 439). These temporal solutions only worsen the problem. The main purpose of the Plan general de ordenación urbana del área metropolitana de Madrid of 1961 is to coherently organize Madrid’s urban expansion. Nevertheless, during the years of desarrollismo, there was a systematic infringement of urban plans, “invadiendo los espacios rurales y destrozando el paisaje con la promoción de bloques de viviendas en los bordes de la ciudad, mal comunicados y peor equipados de servicios comunales (Juliá, “Madrid,” 450). As a consequence, cheap developments proliferated. These are represented in the novel by the neighborhood of Canillejas, where Casilda and her family live.

Casilda’s apartment building is situated next to “el campo, un campo seco, yermo, de solares pedregosos y desmontes, con una vía de ferrocarril al fondo” (Grandes 840). This urban development is adjacent to a deserted countryside reinforcing, on the one hand, that they are located at the end of the city and, on the other, that they play a barren role as subjects in the dictatorial society and that their memories are displaced to the margins. Linking this idea to urban policies during the first two decades of the dictatorship, the living situation of Casilda and her neighbors conveys the efficacy of the urban plans that organized the city in concentric rings with the purpose of expelling the working classes to the periphery. The middle-lower class—Madrilenians who had to move from the city center, and immigrants from other parts of the country—occupied the newer, and generally underdeveloped suburban areas, whereas the city center gradually transformed into the political, tertiary, and tourist area that the regime heralded as one of the landmarks of the economic development.
In contrast, the Castellana Avenue is a perfect example of the influence that urban speculation had on Madrid’s landscape, and of how this area was transformed from a residential area into the zone with the highest volume of the tertiary businesses in Spain. The *Plan Bigador*, underscores that the urban expansion of the Castellana would transform it into the main artery of the city, creating a space in accordance with the rank of Madrid as capital of Spain (Bigador n. pag.). However, successive changes in the zoning laws caused urban speculation to transform this area into the capital of tertiary economy, as opposed to enhancing the symbolic importance of the *Castellana* as the political center of the state. In December 1952, “se aprobó la llamada Ley Castellana, que otorgaba privilegios fiscales a aquellos promotores que desarrollasen el nuevo eje de la Castellana; la presión de éstos transformó el proyecto original, procedente del plan Bigador” (Otero-Carvajal 16). There was an increment in the demand for office space and, as a consequence, the population was forced to move towards the periphery as buildings and urban spaces were redistributed for tertiary businesses (Terán, *Madrid* 282). Otero Carvajal explains how “los palacetes del Ensanche [of the *Castellana*] fueron derribados para construir torres de oficinas y edificios emblemáticos de las grandes compañías. La construcción de Las torres Colón y la puesta en marcha del plan de urbanización del complejo de AZCA fueron dos ejemplos emblemáticos” (16-7).

The significance of this space as representative of urban speculation is not lost on Grandes, as the headquarters of Julio Carrión’s real estate business is located “en un importante edificio de oficinas que se asomaba a la Castellana a la altura de Azca” (Grandes 1077). Hence, the narration links Julio with the process of tertiarization of the Castellana. Julio stole the properties of the Fernández family and with the profits he
established himself as part of the developers who transformed this area into the capital of banks, insurance companies, and real estate companies, while the former inhabitants had to relocate to the outskirts. Julio explains how he took advantage of the devastation in the capital and the urban speculation: “Para aquel entonces ya había empezado a reinvertir sus ganancias al mismo ritmo en que había ido obteniendo . . . licencias de construcción en un Madrid arrasado por los bombardeos . . . Las empresas inmobiliarias florecían de la mano de una especulación salvaje para hacer ricos a hombres como él” (Grandes 905). Nonetheless, he became rich during the last years of Francoism and the early years of the democracy: “los demócratas jóvenes se le daban mucho mejor. Él le contaba a cada uno lo que quería oír, se calificaba a sí mismo como antifranquista con mayor o menor intensidad” (Grandes 392). Therefore Julio can be interpreted as a metonymy of Spain in which economically ambitious social climbers without scruples obtain fabulous profits during the dictatorship. The pact of silence guaranteed personal pasts were not scrutinized, granting a tabula rasa for those who profited during Francoism and, therefore, allowing them to continue profiteering during the democracy.

Furthermore, Julio’s character and his economic achievements allow Grandes to criticize the double standards of the regime. In spite of the acclamation of traditional Catholic values as foundations of Francoism, Compitello claims how urban planning exposes the tensions between the conservative political agenda and the laxity towards private capital investments: “During the long dictatorship, planning was scrutinized closely in accord with an anti-democratic political agenda that was basically unchanged throughout the decades. At the same time, the dictatorship turned a blind eye to the way that private investors wreaked havoc on the city’s built environment, while lining their
pockets handsomely” (Compitello, “Designing,” 404). As I explained before, the first time Ignacio Fernández observes the Castellana he notices how the transformations in the urban landscape were not an effect of the war, thus implying that they are due to urban speculation.

The narration conveys how the urbanization of capital, using Harvey’s expression, continued and in fact intensified during the early years of democracy. The Plan general de ordenación urbana de Madrid (1985) represents, according to Compitello, “one particular example of the urbanization of capital and the urbanization of consciousness’s effects on the urban process” (“Designing” 403). The plan that advocated for recuperating Madrid for its inhabitants, failed due to the disagreements within the Spanish Socialist party: “The planners on the left spoke the language of social justice while those controlling the purse strings and the national agenda for the party increasingly spoke the language of flexible accumulation” (Compitello, “Designing,” 406). Accordingly, the social agenda of the plan was progressively transformed into an interest in design over planning (Compitello, “Designing,” 405). The Kio Towers, located in the Plaza de Castilla, just north of the Castellana, “represent all that went wrong in the history of urbanization in Spain under socialism and the redesign of Madrid in the hands of the governments that succeeded the PSOE in the 1990s” (Compitello, “From Planning,” 208).

Although urban space seems to be less prominent when the narration is set in present day Madrid, the locations where the characters live, comprise a symbolic meaning. Furthermore, other important spaces, such as the science museum where Álvaro works and the apartment that Julio Carrión offers Raquel Fernández Perea in
exchange for her old flat, extend the symbolic meaning of urban space. While the first
time Ignacio Fernández returns to Madrid during the seventies suggests the urban
transformations of the Castellana Avenue due to the tertiarization of this area, the
relationship between the characters and the Madrid of the early 2000s articulates how
urban transformations continued altering the urban and social structure of Madrid. At
this point, the real estate subplot in which Raquel is immersed takes on a new and
relevant role. At first, it would seem that it is mere poetic license to unite, once again, the
destinies of the Fernández and Carrión families. However, this storyline is also a
backdrop for a criticism of urban policies in present day Madrid and how they involve
processes of gentrification, which are a continuation of the changes produced during the
late seventies and eighties in the Castellana Avenue and surrounding areas.

In the mid-1990s Raquel and her husband buy a modest apartment in an old
building on Ávila Street. This street is just one block away from Castellana Avenue and
is also very close to the Bernabéu stadium. Raquel remembers how she convinced her
husband to move there, telling him the house was on a street named General Perón:

*distinguida arteria de lo que se entiende por un barrio burgués, nacía justo donde
terminaban las naves industriales abandonadas, las pequeñas fábricas
decimonónicas, los antiguos chalés de veraneo y las casas baratas de la calle
Ávila. Desde la frontera de Tetuán se veían las luces de la Castellana, las torres de
Azca y el estadio Santiago Bernabéu, pero esas vistas nunca impedirían que
Tetuán siguiera siendo Tetuán, el barrio popular, abigarrado y viejo, que a Raquel
le gustaba y a su marido no. (Grandes 1035)*

The house is on one of the streets that delimit the border between the district of Tetuán
and the district of Salamanca. The former is a popular and and traditional neighborhood
in which “fueron surgiendo modestísimas viviendas habitadas por pequeños artesanos y
hortelanos que, al trasladarse a la capital desde la sierra vecina elegían para asentarse
estos parajes” (Montero Alonso et al. 165). It is a neighborhood traditionally inhabited by working classes with a leftist ideology. In the late twentieth century, the liminal situation of the street transformed this area into a likely place of expansion for the middle and elitist classes who wanted to live close to the financial and political center of Madrid. The district of Salamanca is, on the contrary, the bourgeois neighborhood par excellence of the capital.

Although Raquel is emotionally attached to the central area of Madrid, the fact that she, a middle class professional, decides to move to the Teuán district depicts how the social composition of the neighborhood is changing and implies the beginning of the processes of gentrification. In 2004 Raquel and her neighbors receive a letter stating that their house is part of an urban renovation plan (Grandes 1035). At the association meeting, the president of the association announces that, in spite of the unfortunate situation, the real estate company Promociones del Noroeste, Julio Carrión’s business, is willing to buy their apartments (1037). This purchase establishes the connivance between the political class and urban speculators, at the same time that it shows the power of speculators who have access to inside information regarding the buying and selling of land and buildings.

Raquel succeeds in organizing a small grassroots movement to oppose the veiled extortion of the real estate company, who wish to obtain the largest settlement possible. She is not only motivated by her personal interests but also by how this will affect the neighbors who had been living there for decades:

No pensaba en ella, que había comprador a tan buen precio que iba a ganar en cualquier caso, sino en Nati, en el pensionista del primero derecha, en Maruja, esa que vivía sin marido y con tres hijos . . . Su casa era lo más valioso que tenían, seguramente lo único, la habrían ido pagando poco a poco, y al llegar al final,
Thus \textit{El corazón} presents, as Neil Smith proposes, how gentrification processes are not only caused by the interest of middle-classes to return to the city center but, more importantly, by the movement of capital and speculative interest within urban space (51). It is also significant that when Raquel discovers the identity of the owner of \textit{Promociones del Noroeste} and refuses to sell with the rest of her neighbors, Julio Carrión offers her in exchange a luxury apartment in Jorge Juan Street.

Jorge Juan forms part of the district of Salamanca, one of the wealthiest and most conservative areas of Madrid. Julio Carrión’s real estate firm acquires and restores a historical building to build luxury apartments (Grandes 173). Álvaro describes the apartment:

\begin{quote}
se parecía mucho más a una suite de lujo de esos hoteles que salen en las películas que a una casa donde pudiera vivir una persona normal. Tenía un salón enorme, un dormitorio inmenso con forma de ábside, un cuarto de baño con más mármol que un mausoleo persa, un jacuzzi del tamaño de una piscina mediana, y una cocina americana, ridícula, escondida dentro del armario. (Grandes 174)
\end{quote}

Álvaro remembers that his brother Rafa sold two of the apartments to a movie distributor to host North American actors who attended premieres in Madrid, and another one to an executive of the \textit{Banco Santander} who uses it as a meeting place for him and his lover (Grandes 176). Julio Carrión is only concerned with the continued growth of his wealth and he does not hesitate to exchange one urban piece for another, which illustrates how urban space is configured as a chessboard, in which pieces are disposable in exchange for greater economic benefit.

This subplot raises two main criticisms contained in the novel. First, it depicts how capitalist interests and speculation continue to shape the urban and social structure
of Madrid. More importantly, the fact that Julio Carrión continues his successful real estate business during the democracy demonstrates how people who illegally amassed their fortunes during the dictatorship continued to benefit economically and socially during the Transition and the democracy. The pact of silence and the political amnesty allowed them to continue speculating in Madrid and to become even wealthier during Madrid’s urban economic revival of the 1990s.

In contrast to these two spaces that are stripped of signs of traditional Madrilenian identity, the narration presents the house that Ignacio Fernández buys on the traditional Street of Conde Duque when he comes back from exile and that Raquel later buys from her grandmother. The name of the street refers to the Conde Duque de Olivares, a famous minister during the reign of Felipe IV. The palace of the Conde Duque was later transformed by Felipe V into a barrack for the elite guards of the king (Montero Alonso et. al 131). The historical significance of this street signals the unique importance attributed to Madrid’s urban spaces in this novel. Other areas of the city suffer a process of gentrification, which diminish the roots of Madrilenian identity, but just as Ignacio Fernández transmits his memories to Raquel, the house also gets passed down to her, thus continuing her grandfather’s legacy and attachment to the traditional part of Madrid. Significantly, then, it is in this house where Raquel recounts to Álvaro the story of her family, which transforms this apartment into a symbolic space where the memories of the Fernández and Carrión’s families coalesce.

The final location that is representative of urban policies in Madrid is the museum where Álvaro curates a science exhibition for children. The museum, located in Alcobendas, a town about eight miles north of the capital, may be interpreted as a
criticism of the situation of culture in current society. Moreover, the position of the museum also shows how wealthier communities benefit from projects that improve their urban environment. While exclusive communities such as “La Moraleja,” and middle-class cities such as Alcobendas developed in the northern part of Madrid, the southern areas were “for decades a dormitory suburb for central Madrid and a zone for heavy industry” (Neuman 75). As a consequence, the “south was the site of most waste disposal facilities and had few parks” (75). Therefore, the fact that the museum is in Alcobendas implies a double criticism. On the one hand, it suggests that the wealthier areas of the north still receive the most important infrastructures and, on the other, it signals that education and culture are peripheral interests for the agenda of the democratic governments.

As a consequence of the urban expansion of the city and transformations of the downtown area, the urban experience has changed under late capitalism. According to Néstor García Canclini, when metropolises expand, new cities emerge within the city (“Viajes” 21), increasing the perceived fragmentation and, thus, altering the urban experience. García Canclini continues suggesting that inhabitants of a large metropolis are usually familiar with the areas of the city where they live and where they work. Consequently, it is more difficult to know the names of the streets and orientate in the urban space. When he walks in the city center, Álvaro, who was raised and lives in the suburbs, suffers this type of alienation: “me desvié en cualquier bocacalle sin saber por qué, y volví a hacer lo mismo al llegar a otra, y luego a otra, y a otra más…” (Grandes

157 The southern suburbs of Madrid and the lack of urban planning are depicted in Deprisa, Deprisa (1981) by Carlos Saura and Barrio (1998) by Fernando León de Aranoa.
158 Harvey reminds us that, “the system of production which capital established was founded on a physical separation between a place of work and a place of residence” (Urbanization 15).
683-84). As García Canclini explains, metropolises become spaces of transit as inhabitants travel to and from their workplaces. On the other hand, rebranding Madrid and its transformation into a global city, involved losing some of the traditional signs of urban identities. As I argued before, Raquel appreciates the center of Madrid because she has an affective attachment to this area, whereas the rest of the family prefers to live in a suburban place. Therefore, the rebranding of Madrid also implies the fading of urban memories in favor of symbols of capitalism.\(^{159}\) Raquel points to the house where her grandfather was born. Álvaro says that he thought that nobody lived there, that the whole building belonged to an insurance company (Grandes 672). Raquel replies: “Ahora, a lo mejor, sí lo es. Antes no” (682). This is a perfect example of how the displacement of the Fernández family represents how urban speculation worked against Madrid’s inhabitants. The urbanization of the capital in the late dictatorship and early democracy transformed the central areas of the city into the business center of Madrid. As a consequence, their inhabitants had to abandon these areas when the prices became unaffordable during the sixties and seventies.

*El corazón* proposes an ethical revision of the silenced past of the vanquished at the same time that it highlights the connection between urban space and individual and collective memories. The novel advocates for the dialectic between history and memory through the novel’s structure, the alternation of narrative voices, and through the generational division made explicit in the diegesis. This issue is further emphasized by Álvaro’s quest to determine who his father really was and to recover his grandmother’s

\(^{159}\) Franco inaugurated the statute on July 13\(^{th}\) 1960 and was placed at the end of the Castellana Avenue. It was relocated during the construction of the Kio Towers. This is symbolical of how political symbols gave way to symbols of capital, a process that intensified during the 1980s and 1990s but that had started during the last stage of the dictatorship.
past. The result is a hybrid notion of the past in which an ethical conception of history overshadows the official Francoist history in an attempt to rescue narratives that were excluded from official discourses, even during the Transition. Moreover, the concept of memory is equally diverse in this novel, as the narration underscores the importance of the transmission of individual memories that become collective memories as they spread across different mnemonic communities. More importantly, the narration exposes the importance of affects in the transmission of memories at the same time that it brings to the forefront the symbiotic relationship between urban space and memory.

Mnemonic collective maps are in constant evolution and are equally shaped by memories and urban experience. I have underscored how, for Ignacio Fernández, Madrid anchors his memories and, as a result, he is not alienated when he returns to the city after more than three decades of exile. However, as important as the physical space is, Ignacio Fernández truly feels he has returned when he recovers quotidian traditions such as drinking vermouth. If for Ignacio Fernández recreating Madrid in his remembrances helps him to maintain his mnemonic collective map; for his son, the stories that Ignacio Fernández tells him of the capital configure his mnemonic collective map through his affective memory. At first, Ignacio Fernández Salgado resents his parents’ attitude towards exile because he does not connect emotionally with their memories. This is the result of being part of opposing mnemonic communities. Nonetheless, the trip to Madrid and the conversation with Casilda stimulate emotions that help him to understand his parents’ trauma. In this process, it is decisive that he recognizes the Madrid that his father described to him on numerous occasions. Thus, in Ignacio Fernández Salgado’s case the configuration of the mnemonic collective map is inverted as he first acquires the
memories of the city from his father and later he experiences the city for himself, broadening and personalizing his knowledge of Madrid. Raquel is the character that best personifies the relevance of affect in the transmission of the past. Her close relationship with her grandfather attaches her to the part of Madrid that Ignacio Fernández values more intensely, at the same time that it influences how she experiences the city. As a consequence, her relationship with the city is very different to the rest of her family, as the capital becomes the mediator of her grandfather’s memories.

Finally, the generational division at the core of the novel helps to lay out how deficient urban policies, in combination with unbridled capitalism, turned Madrid into a city dominated by urban speculation under Francoism—a speculation embodied in the character or Julio Carrión. This speculation continued and even intensified during the democracy, when the capital was transformed into a global postmodern city. The rebranding of the city served two purposes: it was an attempt to sever ties with the image of Madrid as the capital of the dictatorship, but it was also an effort to turn Madrid into a global economic city. The narration implicitly exposes how the Castellana, one of the most traditional bourgeois areas of the city, developed into the capital of the tertiary economy. As a consequence, working classes had to move to the underdeveloped new housing projects in the periphery.
Conclusion

The Austrian writer Robert Musil once suggested the contradictory characteristics of monuments when he said: “what strikes one most about monuments is that one doesn’t notice then. There is nothing in the world as invisible as monuments” (qtd. in Levinson 7). Musil may be right when stating that statues, sculptures, and symbols stand impassive to the passage of time while city-dwellers ignore them. Only the interest of tourists seems to bring attention upon them. Paradoxically, Musil did not imagine how noticeable monuments become when they are removed. In the first chapter I showed the controversy that the elimination of the statue of Franco in Nuevo Ministerios stirred in 2005 when nostalgic Francoist supporters denounced an attack on Spanish history. Urban space continues to be the stage where the past of the Civil War and the dictatorship is still negotiated. When “La Victoria de Franco,” a sculpture of Franco located in the crossroad of Avenida Diagonal and Avenida de Gracia in Barcelona, was removed in January 2011, a group of Republicans celebrated the event with hails to the Republic and showing the Republican tricolor flag (Cia n. pag). The same year in Elche, Mercedes Alonso, the newly elected PP mayor, decided to modify the toponymy of the city a few days after taking power in order to erase the 32 years of socialist government (Moltó n. pag). Alonso changed the name of a garden dedicated to Dolores Ibárruri, La Pasionaria—one of the most important Republican and communist leader in the exile—and named one of the avenues of the city after Vicente Quiles, one of the last Francoist mayors of the city (Moltó n. pag). Finally, as recently as June, 4th 2013, a Madrilenian Court ruled that a monolith honoring the International Brigades erected two years ago
should be removed. The monument is located a short distance from the *Arco de la Victoria*, a huge victory arch that Franco built in the University City in order to commemorate his victory in the Civil War. However, while this huge arch stays in place overseeing the entrance to the university, the small monument to the 35,000 thousand volunteers who enlisted to fight against Franco should be removed because, according to judges, the university “broke planning laws” (Tremlett n. pag). These events reveal how the past of the Civil War and the Franco regime is still an unsettled problem in Spanish society, after almost thirty-five years of democracy.

This dissertation has examined the relationship between collective memories, urban space, and the experience of the city with an interdisciplinary approach that analyzed films, novels, monuments, and urban space. The field of Peninsular cultural studies, urban and memory studies have been relatively disconnected fields so far. While memory studies emphasize the importance of commemorative spaces, they generally disregard the urban experience and its impact on the construction of collective memories. Similarly, urban studies mostly explore, on the one hand, representations of the city at different historical periods, and, on the other, how cultural texts reflect and criticize Madrid’s urban transformations and their effect on the population. Urban space is not a mere repository of memories but rather a space where the past is constantly negotiated in relation to the present. My theoretical framework opens up an approach that considers the urban experience and the role it plays in the construction of memories and in the (re)interpretation of the past. At the same time, my approach also stresses the importance that affect and emotion play in these processes.
My dissertation’s contribution to the field of Peninsular cultural studies is twofold. Firstly, the concept of a mnemonic collective map allows for an alternative conceptualization of the importance that urban space and its experience plays in the construction of collective memories from the Spanish Civil War, Francoism, and the Transition to democracy. Building upon Halbwachs and Zerubavel’s social theories of memory and Jameson’s concept of cognitive mapping, I suggest that in order to understand a city one must go beyond the physical and social spaces and include also the past. I proposed the term mnemonic collective map to designate the mental map individuals generate of a city. This notion underlines the relevance of collective memories in order to apprehend and understand the city’s urban space, as well as the importance of urban space in the creation and transmission of memories. Thus, my concept stresses the reciprocal processes by which the experience of the city constructs or reinterprets memories, at the same time that the transmission of memories generates space. As I have shown throughout the dissertation in the case of Madrid and its recent traumatic past, mnemonic cognitive maps would include, for instance, being familiar with the urban space, the discourses of history, its collective memories, the traumatic events and experiences of the Civil War and the Dictatorship—such as firing squads, the bombing of civilians—and also the resistance of the city, and the appropriation of the urban space during the dictatorship. A mnemonic cognitive map is a fluid construction in constant evolution. Although this concept is shaped by collective experiences, there is not a single mnemonic collective map. In spite of being influenced by different mnemonic communities and the experience of the city, mnemonic collective maps are individual and are shaped by personal memories and experiences as well as the affective
relationship to the city and transmitted memories. This concept is equally valid to analyze cities other than Madrid as well as different historical periods.

The second innovative aspect of my dissertation is its contribution to the discussion of what to do with the material legacy of Francoism. Despite the fact that some scholars have emphasized the importance of mass graves as traumatic spaces that should be memorialized, the field of Peninsular cultural studies has yet to deeply problematize the destiny of monuments and symbols of the dictatorship. While most monuments have been removed, other symbols, such as *El Valle de los Caídos*, remain unaltered and even receiving public funds from the national government for their preservation. Unlike countries that also suffered a violent dictatorship, such as Argentina, which have policies to memorialize traumatic urban places (e.g., the transformation of places of torture into mnemonic spaces), Spain lacks any plan not only for the creation of an agreed upon memorial, but also for what to do with Francoist monuments and symbols once they are removed from the urban landscape. This is yet another instance of the stunted debate surrounding this historical period in current Spanish society. Dealing with actual urban space and monuments differentiates my research from current studies of historical memory in Spain.

In the first chapter I explored urban planning and policies in Madrid since the end of the Civil War to the early years of democracy in relation to the politics of memory in the capital of Spain. The analysis of the *Plan Bigador* (1941-46) and the *Plan general de ordenación urbana del área metropolitana de Madrid* (1961) do not include policies regarding monuments and patrimony. Although the *Plan Bigador* proposed an Imperial Madrid with colossal avenues and monuments most of the projects did not come to
fruition due to the economic adversities and the shifting politics of the regime during the 1950s. The 1961 Plan reveals how Madrid’s urban planning quickly followed the laws of capitalism and speculation. The result was a segregated city with a tertiarization of the downtown area and the proliferation of cheap and underdeveloped housing in the periphery. Monuments, as the abundance of statues of Franco suggests, became a more efficient and affordable way to impose memory upon society. The equestrian image of the dictator in front of *Nuevos Ministerios* exemplifies this issue. Although the project was started during the Second Republic, it was finished after the war and the statue transformed the original objective which was to integrate the administrative building in the experience of the city following a conciliatory urbanism. The statue introduces a symbol that represents a subject who holds power and, consequently, converts this space into a symbol of the totalitarian regime.

During the Transition this space remained unchanged. As I argued, the local socialist government implemented urban policies that ignored the urban legacy of the regime with a strategy of recuperating a *castizo* identity that disregarded the Second Republic and looked to the future by redesigning Madrid. On the one hand, the new democratic government of the city sought to restore heritage buildings and monuments—mainly from the nineteenth century—disregarding the monuments and symbols of Francoism, a move that embraces the pact of silence. On the other hand, the rebranding of Madrid sacrificed a discussion of the recent past in favor of consolidating Madrid into the global economy. Only when the pact of silence was broken in the political sphere did monuments and symbols become a point of contention. However, the secret removal of
the statue in 2005 and the controversies it stirred are revelatory of the deficient politics of memory that still hinder Spanish democracy.

The second chapter examined Patino’s film *Madrid* in relation to the documentary tradition of Madrid during the Civil War. *Madrid* proposes a reconstruction of the city’s past that includes both history and memory. I argued that the film suggests that a dialogical relationship between history and memory, as Ricoeur argues, seems to be the best solution to narrate the past comprehensively. The archive provides historical information of the events, but Spanish society of the Transition failed not only to honor the victims of the war and Francoism, but also to reinterpret the official archive of Francoism and to expand the archive of the new democracy to include the testimonies of the survivors. In this context the hybrid genre links the historical archive with the memories of the Republican friends in order to suggest that both are necessary elements of the past. Hans, the protagonist, best represents this dialogical association. Initially, he takes a historical approach to filmmaking by looking for the traces of the past in the archive and the scale model and by comparing the urban space with archival photographs. This approach falls short because, it provides a representation disconnected from the present. As the narration advances, Hans realizes that, in order to recount Madrid’s past, the survivors of the war and the dictatorship are as relevant as the official archive.

The major contribution I make through my analysis of *Madrid* is to demonstrate that mnemonic collective maps underscore the symbiotic relationship between urban space and memory. Experiencing the city and getting involved with its inhabitants grants Hans a more sophisticated knowledge of the past. He understands that just as the city is alive and in constant evolution, the past is changing and affecting the present too.
Likewise, the past influences urban space because knowing the past may alter the experience of a specific urban space. That is why Hans decides he cannot investigate the past without including the present day city and its people, and by physically wandering through the city himself. His research in the archive and his involvement with different mnemonic communities in conjunction with the experience of the city provides Hans with a mnemonic collective map that is necessarily incomplete and mediated by the communities and the city that he experiences.

The third chapter analyzes *El corazón helado* by Almudena Grandes, a novel that proposes a critical evaluation of the silenced past of the vanquished at the same time that it highlights the connection between urban space and individual and collective memories. The alternation of narrative voices and the generational division supports a dialectic relationship between memory and history. The result is a hybrid notion of the past in which an ethical conception of history overshadows the official Francoist history in an attempt to rescue narratives that were excluded from official discourses. The narration also reveals the significance of affects in the transmission of memories at the same time that it brings to the forefront the symbiotic relationship between urban space and memory.

In this chapter I underscored how, for Ignacio Fernández, Madrid anchors his memories and, as a result, he is not alienated when he returns to the city after more than three decades of exile. However, as important as the physical space is, Ignacio Fernández truly feels he has returned when he recovers quotidian traditions such as drinking vermouth. If for Ignacio Fernández recreating Madrid in his remembrances helps him to maintain his mnemonic collective map, for his son, the stories that Ignacio Fernández
tells him of the capital configure his mnemonic collective map through his affective memory. At first, Ignacio Fernández Salgado resents his parents’ attitude towards exile because he does not connect emotionally with their memories. This is the result of being part of opposing mnemonic communities. Nonetheless, the trip to Madrid and the conversation with Casilda stimulate emotions that help him to understand his parents’ trauma. In this process, it is decisive that he recognizes the Madrid that his father described to him on numerous occasions. Thus, in Ignacio Fernández Salgado’s case the configuration of the mnemonic collective map is inverted, as he first acquires memories of the city from his father and later he experiences the city for himself, broadening and personalizing his knowledge of Madrid. Raquel is the character that best personifies the relevance of affect in the transmission of the past. Her close relationship with her grandfather attaches her to the part of Madrid that Ignacio Fernández values more intensely, at the same time that it influences how she experiences the city. As a consequence, her relationship with the city is very different to the rest of her family’s, as the capital becomes the mediator between her grandfather’s memories and Raquel’s memories of Ignacio Fernández and his transmitted memories of the war and the exile.

Finally, an analysis of the generational division at the core of the novel helps me to lay out how deficient urban policies, in combination with unbridled capitalism, turned Madrid into a city dominated by urban speculation under Francoism—a speculation embodied in the character of Julio Carrión. This speculation continued and even intensified during the democracy, when the capital was transformed into a global postmodern city. The rebranding of the city served two purposes: it was an attempt to sever ties with the image of Madrid as the capital of the dictatorship, but also it was an
effort to turn Madrid into a global economic city. The narration implicitly exposes how
the Castellana, one of the most traditional bourgeois areas of the city, developed into the
capital of the tertiary economy. As a consequence, working classes had to move to the
underdeveloped new housing projects in the periphery.

This research project is still in progress and I plan to expand its theoretical and
cultural scope. First, I intend to further explore the importance of affect and emotions in
the dual relationship of urban space and memories. This is a theoretical issue that I have
surveyed marginally throughout this study, but I acknowledge that further investigation
of this field will enhance the scope of my research. Remembrances of a past experience,
whether lived or transmitted, are full of emotions that shape and influence how we, as
part of different mnemonic communities, recall them. Likewise, experiencing the city
offers a myriad of emotions that affect how one understands and interprets urban space.
For instance, the statue of Franco in Nuevos Ministerios produced opposing emotions
depending on the ideological and personal situation of Madrilenians. While for Franco
supporters it was a sign of his regime and it may evoke emotions of pride, respect, and
even love; for those who personally suffers reprisals, or whose family and friends, died
during the war or suffered the repression it may evoke memories of anger, fear, and hate.
The removal of the statue portrays how these emotions were still taking place in 2005:
“Los pocos viandantes que caminaba por la zona no parecían creer lo que veían sus ojos.
Algunos exclamaban alborozados ‘¡Por fin se llevan a Paco!, mientras que una señora
mascullaba para sí, ‘¿la están quitando? ¿Será capaz ZP…?’” (López Zapico 150).

The difference between affect and emotion—and Teresa Brennan and Sarah
Ahmned’s theories on affect and emotions—are two core issues that I want to develop.
Brennan argues that “the transmission of affect, whether it is grief, anxiety, or anger, is social or psychological in origin” (1), but, as she stresses, in spite of the social origin this process is biological and physical in effect (Brennan 3). Brennan breaks with the paradigm that characterizes affect as a personal and self-contained experience arguing, instead, that it is a social and biological process. Ahmed suggests that “emotions play a crucial role in the ‘surfacing’ of individual and collective bodies through the way in which emotions circulate between bodies and signs” (117). Ahmed proposes that, rather than considering emotions as a psychological disposition, it is more productive to study how emotions do things: “we need to consider how they work, in concrete and particular ways, to mediate the relationship between the psychic and the social, and between the individual and the collective” (Ahmed, “Affective,” 119).

Labanyi points out that, although in the humanities the terms affect and emotion are often used interchangeably (“Doing” 224), there is a conceptual difference. Brennan defines affect as the sensation, whether pleasant or unpleasant, in combination with the ideas associated with this feeling: “it is the psychological shift accompanying a judgment” (5). Robert Shelly defines emotions as “states of physiological arousal revolving around primary emotions . . . , although these primary emotions can be combined and elaborated into more complex emotional states” (qtd. in Turner and Stets 245). Happiness, fear, anger, and sadness, among others, are considered primary emotions (Turner and Stets 14). Primary emotions have various intensities; for instance, happiness’ intensities include content, cheerfulness, joy, bliss, and jubilation (15). Thus, emotions are “ways in which individuals deal with the people and events they encounter in the social world, as they react to complex social situations” (TenHouten 2). Therefore,
emotions are conscious, whereas affect “is the body’s response to stimuli at a precognitive and prelinguistic level” (Labanyi “Doing” 224).

Emotion comes from the Latin word *emovere* meaning to move or to agitate. The etymological origin may be productive in order to argue that Madrid’s urban space becomes a mediator of the characters of Grandes’s and Patino’s works. Ahmed underscores the duality of emotions since they move and attach us to what make us feel: “What moves us, what makes us feel, is also that which holds us in place, or gives us a dwelling place” (*Cultural* 27). Following this idea, the memories filled with emotions transmitted by Ignacio Fernández to his granddaughter, Raquel Fernández Perea, are what moves her to keep remembering his memories and seek restitution of her family’s past. This creates an affective relationship to Madrid that other members of her family do not have.

The concept mnemonic collective map may also be useful to think about collective processes of mourning. Sigmund Freud defines mourning as the “the reaction to the loss of a loved person, or to the loss of some abstraction which has taken the place of one, such as one's country, liberty, an ideal, and so on” (243). Mourning is a defense mechanism of the self to avoid falling into melancholia, which Freud considers pathological (243-4). Most of the research on mourning considers it a personal matter. However, in cases such as the dictatorial regimes in Spain, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay in which the loss is collective, the process of working through these traumas needs to be communal. In connection to the idea of mourning and the process of working through, Diana Taylor’s work on performance is particularly relevant, because her concept of “repertoire” implies the collective agency of embodied memory. Taylor
distinguishes between, on one hand, the archive as a repository of items that supposedly
do not change over time (19) and, on the other, the repertoire that “enacts embodied
memory: performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing—in short, all those
acts usually thought of as ephemeral, nonreproducible knowledge” (20). Thus the
repertoire, comprised of performances, “allows for an alternative perspective on historical
processes” (20). Both the archive and the repertoire are significant sources of
information that complement each other (21), but due to the dominance of language and
writing, the repertoire is not considered an essential part of knowledge (Taylor 21-6).
Therefore, Taylor goes beyond the dichotomy of the official archive and the repertoire
that is not part of History. Rather, the repertoire permits us to establish how traditions
change over time and, on occasions, re-signify themselves.

In a similar manner, the mnemonic collective map proposes a fluid relationship
between the past—comprising History and memories—and the transformations produced
in urban space. This permits a consideration of the process of working through from a
perspective that is not psychoanalytical. Engagement with the silenced past during the
dictatorship and the early years of democracy should go beyond the recognition of the
victims and their memories to look at the past as an ongoing process that still affects the
present. Ferrán indicates that remembering and forgetting are “intertwined in the difficult
balance between honoring the past, mourning the victims of such traumatic events, and
moving on with life” (13). That is, while an ethical revision of Spain’s dictatorial past
should involve a proper acknowledgement of the victims, working through this traumatic
past should go a step beyond in order to ensure that the recognition of the past and the

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160 Taylor indicates that the inalterability of the archive is a myth since documents may disappear from the
archive (19).
victims constitutes “an open-ended process always needing to be taken up again and again, always being re-created and re-negotiated” (Ferrán 45).

The mnemonic collective map suggests looking at this loss as an ongoing process that does not fall into the realm of mourning, or into the realm of melancholia. Thus, another future development of my theoretical framework is to investigate how it may also address not only how people deal with loss in a particular environment, but also how the relationship of urban space and memory stresses the re-semantization that spaces undergo and how it contributes to working through trauma. This issue is an implicit element in the analysis of the texts of my dissertation, since the meaning of the spaces that I analyze changes due to the performative acts that take place in them. Finally, Grandes’ novel and Martín Patino’s film are part of a repertoire that goes beyond the official archive in order to portray how the dual relationship between memory and urban space highlights the process of working through the trauma of the Civil War and the Dictatorship as a process that does not stop with the recognition of the victims.

In my future expansión of this dissertation, I also intend to include an analysis of Rafael Chirbes’ trilogy of novels La larga marcha (1996), La caída de Madrid (2000), and Los viejos amigos (2003). These novels present the problematics of the generational transmission of memories from the postwar period to the decade of the nineties. The relationship of the characters with Madrid shapes their memories of the war and Francoism. Likewise, the novels portray Madrid’s urban development and how the physical and social structure changed in the last eighty years. Another source I intend to investigate is the acclaimed television show Cuéntame cómo pasó, which chronicles the abrupt socioeconomic changes that took place in late Francoism and during the Transition
to democracy through the micro-history of a Madrilenian middle-class family. The show presents the political changes through a discourse that blends history, memory, and fiction with the inclusion of archival footage in some of its episodes. However, its backward look to the nation’s recent history is often nostalgic, offering an innocent version of the past that seems not to be able to go beyond the historical pact of silence of the Transition.

I want to finish with an anecdote that sparked my interests in Francoist monuments and their impact in present day Spain. Several years ago in a conversation with friends, I advocated for the removal of the symbols of the dictatorship. Some of my friends agreed, but others argued that monuments are part of history and as such they should stay in place. At the time, I did not have a sound counter-argument for this idea. The elimination of the symbols and their storage in a warehouse may not be the best solution for this problem, but I agree with Ray Loriga when he asserts that being part of Spanish history does not grant Franco the right to occupy a public space (n. pag.). Loriga proposed a different, and radical, solution to the controversy surrounding the removal of Franco’s statue from Nuevos Ministerios: to enclose the statue with bars, converting the monument into the first incarcerated statue: “puede que estemos obligados a recordar, pero tenemos el derecho a recordar a los tiranos a nuestra manera y no a la suya” (n. pag). While this is a radical solution, that would have turned the statue into a historical countermonument, Loriga is right to suggest that iconic monuments, such as this statue, should have remained in place but with an added symbolic intervention—such as their enclosure behind bars—that would modify their intended meaning.¹⁶¹ In the end, as

¹⁶¹ I am excluding the names of streets and small symbols that in my opinion should be changed and removed, respectively
Loriga concludes: “Puede que los tiranos sean los dueños del pasado, y ahí ya no hay quien meta mano, pero los dueños del presente y del futuro son muy otros” (n. pag).


*Alba de América*. Dir. Juan de Orduña. Perf. Antonio Villar, Amparo Rivelles, José Suárez, and Juan Espantaleón. CIFESA, 1968. Film.


Català i Gimeno, Josep María. “La crisis de la realidad en el documental español Contemporáneo.” Eds. Josep María Català i Gimeno, Josetxo Cerdán, and Casimiro Torreiro. 27-44. Print.


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_Las fosas del olvido_. Dir. Alfonso Domingo and Itziar Bernaola. Televisión Española: 2004. DVD.


_Las Hurdes: Tierra sin pan_, Dir. Luis Buñuel. 1933. Umbrella Entertainment, 2009. DVD.


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