

Archived at the Flinders Academic Commons

<http://dspace.flinders.edu.au/dspace/>

This is the publisher's version of this article.

The original can be found at: <http://www.ehlt.flinders.edu.au/deptlang/fulgor/>

## FULGOR

Flinders University Languages Group Online Review

Volume 4, Issue 1, November 2009

<http://ehlt.flinders.edu.au/deptlang/fulgor/>

ISSN 1446-9219

### Memory, Postmemory, Trauma: The Spanish Civil War in Recent Novels by Women

Sarah Leggott

(Victoria University of Wellington)

#### Abstract

In recent years, the Spanish public sphere has been dominated by intense debates regarding historical memory and the recuperation of the past, focused on the years of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975) and the transition to democracy in the immediate post-Franco period. The increased interest in Spain's recent past is reflected in contemporary cultural production, with many cinematic and fictional works produced since the 1990s focusing on the years of the Civil War and its aftermath, thus engaging with and contributing to the debate surrounding memory and the potential for its recovery. Among these are a number of novels produced by contemporary women writers that foreground the voices and memories of women and children in their fictional representations of Spain's recent past. In this essay, I will discuss two novels: *La voz dormida* [*The Sleeping Voice*] (2002), written by Dulce Chacón (1954-2003), and *Un largo silencio* [*A Long Silence*] (2000), by Ángeles Caso (1959- ), works which effectively portray the extreme physical and psychological repression directed at Republican supporters and their families in the immediate post-Civil War years and beyond. My essay will discuss the cultural politics of these two novels in light of contemporary debates about trauma, memory and the recuperation of the past, and will consider the contribution made by these literary works to the collective memory of the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath.

In recent years, the Spanish public sphere has been dominated by intense debates regarding historical memory and the recuperation of the past, focused on the years of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975) and the transition to democracy in the immediate post-Franco period. The early years of the new regime brought a silencing of past injustices in order to facilitate the peaceful transition to democracy, with critics arguing that "political amnesty" became confused with "historical amnesia" in the name of national reconciliation (Sartorius and Alfaya 2002:11).<sup>1</sup> As a consequence, the stories of Republican families that had been repressed throughout the Franco years continued to be denied any public recognition in democratic Spain.

---

<sup>1</sup> For further discussion of these controversial elements of the transition, see Aguilar Fernández (2001).

**Memory, Postmemory, Trauma:  
The Spanish Civil War in Recent Novels by Women**

This silencing, often referred to as a “pacto de silencio” [pact of silence] or “pacto de olvido” [pact of oblivion],<sup>2</sup> has been resolutely challenged in recent years, evidenced by the flood of publications, both academic and popular, fictional and non-fictional, dealing with this historical period. In addition, the campaigns for the unearthing of mass Republican graves in Spain and the passing of the controversial *Ley de memoria histórica* [Historical Memory Law] in late 2007 have led to numerous previously silenced stories of repression being brought into the public arena.<sup>3</sup> However, these recent moves have also been highly controversial, with some sectors of the population arguing that the recovery of historical memory is causing unnecessary conflict and diverting attention away from important social and economic problems.

The increased interest in Spain’s recent past is reflected in contemporary cultural production, with many cinematic and fictional works produced since the 1990s focusing on the years of the Civil War and its aftermath, thus engaging with and contributing to the debate surrounding memory and the potential for its recovery.<sup>4</sup> As cultural products that construct narratives about the past, these works respond to a desire to counter the historical amnesia imposed by the dictatorship and continued during the transition, by contesting hegemonic discourses and creating alternative versions of history. Among these are a number of novels produced by contemporary women writers that foreground the voices and memories of women and children in their fictional representations of Spain’s recent past. In this essay, I will discuss two novels: *La voz dormida* [*The Sleeping Voice*] (2002), written by Dulce Chacón (1954-2003), and *Un largo silencio* [*A Long Silence*] (2000), by Ángeles Caso (1959- ), works which effectively portray the extreme physical and psychological repression directed at Republican supporters and their families in the immediate post-Civil War years and beyond. My essay will discuss the cultural politics of these two novels in light of contemporary debates about trauma, memory, and the recuperation of the past, and will consider the contribution made by these literary works to the collective memory of the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath.

*La voz dormida*, of which an English translation under the title *The Sleeping Voice* was published in 2006, is Dulce Chacón’s fifth novel. The work focuses on the experiences of a group of female political prisoners in Las Ventas women’s prison in Madrid after the Civil War and on the stories of their relatives and comrades outside the prison, many of whom play an active role in the clandestine democratic movement opposed to Franco. Central to the narrative are the stories of Hortensia, a prisoner who is condemned to death and gives birth to a daughter shortly before being shot by firing squad, and her sister Pepita who goes on to raise the child. The women’s partners, Felipe and Paulino, also referred to under their aliases of Mateo and Jaime, are comrades in the Communist guerrilla resistance movement. Felipe is killed in an ambush following a guerrilla raid

---

<sup>2</sup> Some scholars have recently called into question the accuracy of the term “pacto de olvido,” arguing that during the transition the past “was not forgotten, but was remembered and then put to one side until such time as the political opportunity structure was able to withstand its re-emergence” (Blakeley 2005:52). See also Juliá 1999.

<sup>3</sup> The campaigns for the unearthing of Republican graves have been largely led by the efforts of the *Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica* (Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory, ARMH; <http://www.memoriahistorica.org/>), although other such organisations have also been formed in different regions of Spain. Hundreds of mass graves containing the remains of thousands of unidentified Republicans have now been located, and numerous exhumations have been carried out. The Historical Memory Law (<http://leymemoria.mjusticia.es/>) includes clauses relating to compensation payments and pensions for relatives of victims, both of the Civil War and of Francoist repression, and the removal of plaques and symbols commemorating the war and dictatorship from public buildings.

<sup>4</sup> Among the most popular fictional works dealing with the recent past are Javier Cercas’s *Soldados de Salamina* [Soldiers of Salamis] (2001), Luis Mateo Díez’s *Fantasma del invierno* [Ghosts of Winter] (2004), Manuel Rivas’s *El lápiz del carpintero* [The Carpenter’s Pencil] (1998) and Jesús Ferrero’s *Las trece rosas* [The Thirteen Roses] (2003). In film, prominent examples are *El laberinto del fauno* [Pan’s Labyrinth] (Guillermo del Toro, 2006), *Soldados de Salamina* [Soldiers of Salamis] (David Trueba, 2003) and *Silencio roto* [Broken Silence] (Montxo Armendáriz, 2001).

**Memory, Postmemory, Trauma:  
The Spanish Civil War in Recent Novels by Women**

on a nearby town, and Paulino is later imprisoned in Burgos, where he is held until he is granted conditional freedom as the novel closes in 1963.

Through these male characters and their comrades, both male and female, the novel foregrounds the on-going political resistance of left-wing groups in the postwar years, emphasising the fact that for them, the war continued and had by no means ended in 1939. The on-going nature of the struggle also leads to the establishment of political organisations in Las Ventas, with the narrative depicting the political and psychological solidarity that develops among the female prisoners, who refer to their cellmates as their “family.” The novel portrays the grim conditions endured by the women in prison, due to chronic overcrowding, poor hygiene standards, meagre food rations and a lack of basic medical care, as well as regular episodes of torture and other forms of punishment. Persecution and torture are also rife outside the prison walls, with the novel revealing the repercussions of perceived political activism or association for friends and relatives of the inmates, as well as the daily struggle for survival that characterises the existence of the civilian population, embodied in the novel by Pepita, among other characters.

*Un largo silencio*, the fifth novel produced by Ángeles Caso, is also set in the immediate post-Civil War period. Caso’s work tells the story of the Vega family who, in the narrative present of late 1939, return to the fictitious village of Castrollano on the Cantabrian coast from which they had been forced to flee two years earlier. With their male relatives either dead or imprisoned, the family now consists of five women who span three generations of this Republican family: Letrita Vega, her three daughters María Luisa, Feda and Alegría, and her granddaughter Merceditas. As these women seek to rebuild their lives in their hometown, they are faced with the grim realities of life in postwar Spain for those who are *persona non grata* under the Franco regime. Without a home and unable to gain employment, the women’s struggle to survive and to come to terms with the trauma of the war is the focus of the novel. However, while the start of each chapter returns us to the narrative present of the immediate postwar period, much of the work evokes the past of the prewar and war years, and the future is also anticipated via references to the later Franco period, thus enabling the stories of other members of the family, such as Letrita’s dead husband Publio and son Miguel, to be incorporated into the narrative.

The narrative space in *Un largo silencio* is thus shared by various characters, as it is in *La voz dormida*. There are multiple protagonists in both of these novels, which therefore present shifting perspectives and a multiplicity of voices, an element that stands in clear contrast to the monological nature of official Francoist historiography that these third-person narratives seek to undermine.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, it is women’s voices and experiences that are at the centre of both novels, in contrast to traditional male-centred narratives of war and conflict.<sup>6</sup>

The question of the recovery of historical memory, closely associated with the importance of transgenerational transmission, is central to both of these novels. Firstly, it is an important element in the authors’ decision to write these works, with Chacón affirming that “[h]ay que establecer una conversación [...] para recuperar la memoria de aquellos que no han tenido el derecho de expresar sus propios recuerdos y, de este modo, recuperar la memoria histórica” [we need to establish a dialogue [...] to recover the memory of those who have not been permitted to express their own memories and, in this way, to recover historical memory] (Domínguez 2003). Similarly for Caso, *Un largo silencio* aims to “devolverles la voz” [give voice] to the many Republican women who were “maltratadas, humilladas, perseguidas, sometidas al miedo” [ill-treated, humiliated, persecuted, and made to live in fear] following the Civil War (Iglesias 2001). As

---

<sup>5</sup> For an in-depth discussion of the role and uses of history in Franco’s Spain, see Herzberger (1995).

<sup>6</sup> Many women fought alongside men in the Spanish Civil War, but they have nevertheless been traditionally excluded from narratives of the conflict. For discussion of the roles played by women in the war, see Nash (1995); Mangini (1995).

**Memory, Postmemory, Trauma:  
The Spanish Civil War in Recent Novels by Women**

both authors' declarations make clear, the writing of these works was an important act of voicing a silenced past.

It is significant that these novels were produced by relatively young writers, born in 1954 (Chacón) and 1959 (Caso), who belong to a generation that did not personally experience either the trauma of the war years or the sociopolitical context in which it occurred and thus approach the events of the 1930s and beyond from a somewhat more detached position. Scholars have suggested that a certain distance is necessary in order to facilitate the working through and articulation of political trauma, with Marianne Hirsch affirming that:

[p]erhaps it is *only* in subsequent generations that trauma can be witnessed and worked through, by those who were not there to live it but who received its effects, belatedly, through the narratives, actions and symptoms of the previous generation (2001:12).

In Spain, it is the children or, in many cases, the grandchildren of the victims or survivors of the Civil War, who are less encumbered by the past than are their parents, who are now interested in the silenced stories of violence and repression (Graham 2005:143). Caso and Chacón offer a second-generation perspective that allows them to deal with a traumatic past that those who lived through the Civil War and years of Francoist repression may continue to find difficult to voice, an element that Chacón describes as a responsibility of her generation:

Nosotros, la gente que estamos en los cuarenta o los cincuenta años de edad, somos los hijos del silencio de nuestros padres [...] Pero es hora de romper este silencio en beneficio de nuestros hijos. Tenemos que rescatar la historia silenciada, es una responsabilidad de nuestra generación (We, those of us who are in our forties or fifties, are the children of our parents' silence [...] But it is time to break this silence for the sake of our children. We have to rescue the silenced history, it is a responsibility of our generation) (Valenzuela 2002).

In this way, the concept of "postmemory", a term used by Hirsch in reference to the children of Holocaust survivors whose memories and experiences are shaped by traumatic events that they did not themselves live through, may be applied to these writers and the events that they portray.<sup>7</sup> According to Hirsch:

Postmemory characterizes the experience of those who [...] have grown up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth, whose own belated stories are displaced by the powerful stories of the previous generation, shaped by monumental traumatic events that resist understanding and integration (2001:12).

The younger generation of Spanish writers, of which Caso and Chacón are a part, are generationally removed from the trauma that they narrate, yet they nevertheless grew up under its consequences, often experiencing a childhood and adolescence dominated by the effects of earlier historical events and becoming aware of the stories, often unvoiced, of their relatives who were Republican survivors of the war.

Chacón, however, did not have parents or direct relatives in this situation, as she grew up in a conservative, right-wing family environment in which, she has affirmed, only the suffering of the winners of the Civil War was ever discussed (Domínguez 2003). While a deep or direct personal

---

<sup>7</sup> Portela (2007) presents an interesting discussion of intertextuality and postmemory in *La voz dormida*.

**Memory, Postmemory, Trauma:  
The Spanish Civil War in Recent Novels by Women**

connection to the traumatic events of the past is an important factor in postmemory, Hirsch nevertheless argues that this concept need not be restricted to familial groupings and can also be relevant in the case of “other second-generation memories of cultural or collective traumatic events and experiences” (1997:22).<sup>8</sup> The case of Chacón’s work is further complicated by the fact that her narrative is constructed from the accounts of survivors of the war, from the memories of others. The stories of her protagonists are based on the testimonies of witnesses, either told to the author or published by others, as is made explicit at the end of the novel in the long list of acknowledgments. *La voz dormida* thus blurs the boundaries between history and memory, fact and fiction, and it is this slippage between reality and fiction that is central to the novel’s representation of Spain’s past,<sup>9</sup> and also evokes current debate surrounding the limits of fictional or imaginative representations of past trauma.

Like many contemporary cinematographic and literary works that portray the Spanish Civil War and Franco years, both *La voz dormida* and *Un largo silencio* deploy a realist style. This current “preference for realist and documentary formats” (Labanyi 2007:106) replicates recent trends in writing and films about the Holocaust, many of which similarly use realism in an attempt to take the reader or viewer back to the past to enable them to comprehend its horror. Some critics argue, however, that it is ultimately impossible to re-create the reality of a traumatic past for readers and viewers, suggesting that realism may not be the most effective tool in this case. In fact, Hartman, among others, contends that graphic depictions of violence tend to “desensitize rather than shock” (1997:64), and that works that evoke rather than explicitly represent the horrors of the past are able to create a more meaningful representation of the past.

Within the Spanish context, this debate has recently been taken up by Jo Labanyi in her discussion of the current proliferation of realist novels and films that seek to reconstruct Spain’s repressive past. Labanyi argues that these works often fail to communicate “a sense of the difficulty of articulating the traumatic impact of past violence” (2007:106), going on to warn that

There is a danger, in the texts that are opting for documentary realism, of producing a “feel-good factor” that makes readers or spectators feel morally improved by having momentarily “shared” the suffering represented in the text, without going on to make any connection with the present (112).

Labanyi’s arguments are particularly pertinent to *La voz dormida*, to which she refers in her discussion, whose relatively happy ending at the close of a narrative that depicts numerous traumatic events suggests the start of a new life for the remaining protagonists. Jaime (or Mateo, as he was originally known) is finally released from prison in 1963 and goes on to marry sweetheart Pepita who has been waiting for him for over twenty years, while Tensi, the now eighteen year old orphan daughter of political prisoner Hortensia and guerrilla resistance fighter Felipe, is shown to have established her own identity and political commitment. I am not suggesting here that the novel implies that the past will be forgotten; it is clear that Tensi is determined to follow in her parents’ footsteps and one might assume that Jaime’s political commitment remains strong. It is, however, a very “neat and happy” ending that seems to suggest that the Civil War can now be relegated to the past, rather than acknowledging what Labanyi terms the “unfinished business” (113) that inevitably remains, as the survivors and their descendants seek to come to terms with their painful past and

---

<sup>8</sup> I do not mean to elide here the significance of sociopolitical specificity. It is important to bear in mind the differences between the context to which Hirsch refers in her work and that which pertains to Caso and Chacón, as well as the fact Hirsch’s analysis focuses on family photos and the transmission of memory among family members.

<sup>9</sup> This aspect of *La voz dormida* is explored by Colmeiro (2008), who describes the text as a “hybridization of memories”.

**Memory, Postmemory, Trauma:  
The Spanish Civil War in Recent Novels by Women**

engage with its legacy.

This question of the legacy of the Civil War and the importance of transmitting the stories of the past to future generations is central to both of these novels. In *La voz dormida*, Hortensia, the political prisoner who is shot soon after giving birth to Tensi in Las Ventas prison, leaves two notebooks to her daughter, in which she had written of her thoughts and experiences during her months of imprisonment. In the novel, these notebooks, which Tensi reads repeatedly during the years of her childhood and adolescence, are shown to be key to her sense of identity, engendering a sense of connection with her dead parents and feelings of respect for their political ideals, which she goes on to embrace. Tensi does not, then, experience the silence surrounding the past that characterised the upbringing of many children of Republican families in postwar Spain, although this past could not, of course, be publicly voiced.

In *Un largo silencio*, the question of transgenerational transmission is shown to be more problematic, seen in the debate among family members over what the young Merceditas should be told about the past and what should be silenced for her own sake. While some family members believe that they need to discuss their situation and political ideas openly with her, emphasising the need to prepare the next generation to take responsibility for changing the future, others want to avoid the child becoming “una víctima de nuestras convicciones, por muy seguras que estemos de ellas” [a victim of our convictions, however sure of them we might be] (214). Here, the need to silence certain aspects of the family’s past and their antipathy towards the regime is seen to be necessary to allow the child to survive in the postwar society in which they live.

This reflects the experience of many children from Republican families, whose parents and grandparents avoided discussing their trauma as a defence mechanism to protect themselves and their children in a hostile postwar society.<sup>10</sup> Their children’s lives were thus marked by silences of which the younger generation was inevitably aware. In *Un largo silencio*, Merceditas refers to “la convulsión mal disimulada que provocaron en casa las noticias del fin de la guerra, el miedo que ha creído adivinar en [...] los largos silencios ensimismados” [the poorly-disguised distress caused at home by the news of the end of the war, the fear that she has noticed in [...] the long preoccupied silences] (102), as well as to the insults that other children direct at those from families marked as “rojos” [reds]. Through Merceditas, Caso incorporates into the narrative the perspective of a child whose early years are marked by war and conflict and whose efforts to understand her family’s situation are shown to be ultimately futile, as it remains, to her, incomprehensible. Expressing a desire to forget the conflict and the pain, Merceditas retreats into a fantasy world, into dreams of happiness and stability, in order to escape from the pain of the reality around her.

In contrast, the older women in the novel – specifically Merceditas’ grandmother, Letrita, and her friends – are resigned to the pain that is brought by the memory of their past suffering and realise that it is not possible to forget: “Han aprendido que a cierto dolor sólo se sobrevive conformándose a él [...] Saben que es inútil combatirlo, [...] inútil olvidarlo, porque no se olvida. Saben que hay que llevarlo dentro y dejarle hacer su tarea” [They have learnt that you can only survive a certain sort of pain by accepting it [...] They know that it is useless to fight it, [...] useless to forget it, because you can’t forget it. They know that you must carry it inside and let it do its work] (100). They thereby acknowledge the importance and the inevitability of the process of working through one’s memories and grief although, significantly, this grief cannot be publicly expressed, a silencing that is experienced by protagonists in both novels.

This inability to publicly grieve for loved ones is significant in terms of the process of

---

<sup>10</sup> The silencing of the past may be due to such a desire to shield loved ones from pain, as is the case in *Un largo silencio*, but can also be attributed to political caution, seen in *La voz dormida*, or to the fact that “the fundamental priority for most Republicans and their families was survival” (Aguilar 1999:93).

**Memory, Postmemory, Trauma:  
The Spanish Civil War in Recent Novels by Women**

coming to terms with loss, with the public recognition and remembrance of death accepted to be an important stage in this process (Freud 1917). In the case of post-Civil War Spain, this was impeded by the state, as Republican survivors were denied the opportunity to express their grief in public or to commemorate their victims. In *La voz dormida*, nobody dares to acknowledge recognition of the dead militants whose photos are displayed in shop windows; their mourning will be done in private, as any social or collective recognition of their passing would also almost certainly bring unwanted attention from the authorities: “En casa, a escondidas, llorarán. Rezarán por ellos a escondidas. [...] No encargarán ninguna misa, ningún responso, ningún funeral para sus muertos. Sus muertos no les pertenecen” [At home, hidden away, they will cry. They will pray for them in secret. [...] No mass will be arranged, no memorial prayer, no funeral for their dead. Their dead do not belong to them] (336). The friends and relatives of the dead are thus unable to acknowledge or verbalise their losses, and this silencing obstructs the process of working through their grief.

A further, much later, silencing of the trauma of the war and postwar years occurs in *Un largo silencio* when the future is anticipated through references to Margarita’s efforts to reestablish contact with the sons she had abandoned in Castellano some thirty years earlier. Having fled to Madrid to avoid capture and believing that her separation from her children would be short-lived, Margarita, the widow of Letrita’s son Miguel, realised that she could never return to her hometown and went on to raise a family with her new partner, although she was haunted by feelings of guilt and despair. When she finally returns in the late 1960s and meets with one of her sons, he makes it clear that not only does he have no interest in listening to her apologies for her past behaviour, which is perhaps quite understandable, but that neither does he want to hear about the war or its consequences: “No quiero saber nada. No me interesan nada esas historias. El pasado, la guerra, los rojos [...] ¿Qué tiene que ver todo eso conmigo?” [I don’t want to know anything. Those stories don’t interest me at all. The past, the war, the reds [...] What does all of that have to do with me?] (181). The young Publio is thus representative of the generation that grew up under and was formed by Francoist ideology, and who chose to ignore the legacy of the past.

Moreover, Publio’s attitude foreshadows the lack of interest in such stories of the past during the transition to democracy. For Margarita and her contemporaries, however, the lack of interest of the next generation in their accounts of past suffering means that their experiences appear to have lost relevance for the society in which they live, enacting Dori Laub’s affirmation that “The absence of an empathetic listener, [...] an other who can hear the anguish of one’s memories and thus affirm and recognize their realness, annihilates the story” (Felman and Laub 1992:68). The lack of a willing interlocutor prevents Margarita from articulating her memories of the past, thus impeding the process of coming to terms with the burden of guilt for her past actions. The collective desire to forget the Civil War and its consequences that characterises the later postwar years in Spain is made explicit by Margarita’s comment that “[n]adie [...] recordará lo anterior, la vida de antes de la guerra, ni siquiera la propia guerra, como si nunca hubiera ocurrido” [nobody will remember what happened before, life before the war, not even the war itself, as if it had never happened] (175-76), pointing to the misrepresentation and even erasure of historical events under the Franco regime.

In Spain, remembering the recent past has become a public, collective movement that has led to intense debate about what should be remembered and what should be forgotten. *La voz dormida* and *Un largo silencio*, as fictional representations that are characterised by a strong sense of collective memory, engage with the current debates surrounding the politics of memory and the ethics of remembering, and point to the complex legacy of the Spanish Civil War in contemporary Spain. Produced by second-generation writers who can draw only on “postmemory” of the events that they narrate, *La voz dormida* and *Un largo silencio* reconstitute the past from the stories and memories of others, rather than from direct knowledge. Both works explore the human



**Memory, Postmemory, Trauma:  
The Spanish Civil War in Recent Novels by Women**

repercussions of the wartime and postwar repression for Republican families, and are concerned specifically with the reconstruction of women's historical experiences in the immediate postwar years, whether in prisons, as part of the clandestine resistance movement or as members of the civilian population in an intensely hostile world. These two novels open up for debate important questions about the ways in which a traumatic past can be meaningfully represented in fiction and about the role of literature in the production of cultural memory.

**REFERENCES**

- Aguilar Fernández, P. (1999). Agents of Memory: Spanish Civil War Veterans and Disabled Soldiers. In J. Winter & E. Sivan, (eds), *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 84-103.
- Aguilar Fernández, P. (2001). *Justicia, política y memoria: Los legados del franquismo en la transición española*. Madrid: Instituto Juan March.
- Blakeley, G. (2005). Digging up Spain's Past: Consequences of Truth and Reconciliation. *Democratization* 12,1: 44-59.
- Caso, A. (2000). *Un largo silencio*. Barcelona: Planeta.
- Cercas, J. (2001). *Soldados de Salamina*. Barcelona: Tusquets.
- Chacón, D. (2002). *La voz dormida*. Madrid: Punto de Lectura/Santillana.
- Chacón, D. (2006). *The Sleeping Voice*. Trans. N. Caistor. New York: Harvill Secker.
- Colmeiro, J. (2008). Re-Collecting Women's Voices from Prison: The Hybridization of Memories in Dulce Chacón's *La voz dormida*. In K. Glenn and K. McNerney, (eds), *Visions and Revisions: Women's Narrative in Twentieth-Century Spain*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 191-209.
- Díez, L. M. (2004). *Fantasmas del invierno*. Madrid: Alfaguara.
- Domínguez, A. J. (2003). Entrevista con Dulce Chacón. *Rebelión: Periódico Electrónico de Información Alternativa* 23 March 2003. [online, accessed 16 August 2007] [www.rebelion.org/hemeroteca/cultura/dulce230303.htm](http://www.rebelion.org/hemeroteca/cultura/dulce230303.htm)
- El laberinto del fauno*. (2006). Dir. Guillermo del Toro.
- Felman, S. & Laub, D. (1992). *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*. New York: Routledge.
- Ferrero, J. (2003). *Las trece rosas*. Madrid: Siruela.

**Memory, Postmemory, Trauma:  
The Spanish Civil War in Recent Novels by Women**

- Freud, S. (1917). Mourning and Melancholia. In *On Metapsychology: The Theory of Psychoanalysis. The Pelican Freud Library*, vol. 11, trans. James Strachey, 1984. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 245-68.
- Graham, H. (2005). *The Spanish Civil War: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hartman, G. (1997). The Cinema Animal. In Y. Loshitzky (ed.), *Spielberg's Holocaust: Critical Perspectives on Schindler's List*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 61-76.
- Herzberger, D. (1995). *Narrating the Past. Fiction and Historiography in Postwar Spain*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Hirsch, M. (1997). *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative and Postmemory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Hirsch, M. (2001). Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory. *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 14: 5-37.
- Iglesias, M. (2001). Entrevista: Ángeles Caso, escritora por convicción. *Fusión: Revista Mensual*. [online, accessed 3 January 2008]  
[www.revistafusion.com/2001/mayo/entrev92.htm](http://www.revistafusion.com/2001/mayo/entrev92.htm)
- Juliá, S. (1999). *Víctimas de la guerra civil*. Madrid: Temas de Hoy.
- Labanyi, J. (2007). Memory and Modernity in Democratic Spain: The Difficulty of Coming to Terms with the Spanish Civil War. *Poetics Today* 28,1: 89-116.
- Mangini, S. (1995). *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Nash, M. (1995). *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War*. Denver: Arden.
- Portela, M. E. (2007). Hijos del silencio: Intertextualidad, paratextualidad y postmemoria en *La voz dormida* de Dulce Chacón. *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 41: 51-71.
- Rivas, M. (1998). *El lápiz del carpintero*. Madrid: Santillana.
- Sartorius, N. & Alfaya, J. (2002). *La memoria insumisa: Sobre la dictadura de Franco*. Barcelona: Crítica.
- Silencio roto*. (2001). Dir. Montxo Armendáriz.
- Soldados de Salamina*. (2003). Dir. David Trueba.
- Valenzuela, J. (2002). El despertar tras la amnesia. *Babelia*. 2 November 2002.  
<http://www.elpais.com/suple/babelia/> Online, accessed 3 December 2007.