MEMORY AND (SPATIAL) JUSTICE IN SPAIN: REMEMBERING FROM URBAN OSTRACISM

Memoria y justicia (espacial) en España:El recuerdo desde el ostracismo urbano.

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ABSTRACT: The mass graves of the War and Dictatorship (1936–1977) represent one of the most problematic legacies of the twentieth century, yet they are almost entirely absent from public spaces. This article seeks to recognise how diverse strategies have been developed since the 1970s to take the mass graves into urban centres. It presents partial results from broader research on the memorial initiatives developed on mass graves from the post-war period to the present day. Firstly, the text presents the exclusionary dimension of mass graves and the ostracism to which they are condemned in relation to urban space. Secondly, it explains how the search for justice through memorial actions relates to spatial justice. Thirdly, the article describes initiatives that connect the mass graves with other points in the urban space. It concludes by explaining that spatiality is implicit in the demands of the "Historical Memory" movements.

KEYWORDS: Necropolitics, Precarity, Spanish Civil War, Human Rights, Mass Graves.

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RESUMEN: Las fosas comunes de la Guerra y la Dictadura (1936-1977) representan uno de los legados más problemáticos del siglo XX y, sin embargo, están casi totalmente ausentes del espacio público. Este artículo trata de reconocer cómo se han desarrollado diversas estrategias desde los años 70 para llevar las fosas comunes a los centros urbanos. Muestra resultados parciales de una investigación más amplia sobre las iniciativas conmemorativas desarrolladas sobre las fosas comunes desde la posguerra hasta la actualidad, entre la historia del arte y la etnografía. En primer lugar, el texto presenta la dimensión excluyente de las fosas comunes y el ostracismo al que están condenadas en relación con el espacio urbano. En segundo lugar, se explica cómo la búsqueda de justicia a través de las acciones conmemorativas se relaciona con la justicia espacial. En el tercer punto, se ilustran las iniciativas para conectar las fosas comunes con otros puntos del espacio urbano. Se concluye explicando que la espacialidad está implícita en las reivindicaciones de los movimientos de «Memoria Histórica».

Palabras clave: Necropolítica, Precariedad, Guerra Civil Española, Derechos Humanos, Fosas comunes.

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RESUM: Les fosses comunes de la Guerra i la Dictadura (1936-1977) representen un dels llegats més problemàtics del segle XX i, no obstant això, estan gairebé totalment absents de l'espai públic. Aquest article tracta de reconéixer com s'han desenvolupat diverses estratègies des dels anys 70 per a portar les fosses comunes als centres urbans. Mostra resultats parcials d'una recerca més àmplia sobre les iniciatives commemoratives desenvolupades sobre les fosses comunes des de la postguerra fins a l'actualitat, entre la història de l'art i l'etnografia. En primer lloc, el text presenta la dimensió excloent de les fosses comunes i l'ostracisme al qual estan condemnades en relació amb l'espai urbà. En segon lloc, s'explica com la cerca de justícia a través de les accions commemoratives es relaciona amb la justícia espacial. En el tercer punt, s'il·lustren les iniciatives per a connectar les fosses comunes amb altres punts de l'espai urbà. Es conclou explicant que l'espacialitat està implícita en les reivindicacions dels moviments de «Memòria Històrica».

Paraules Clau: Necropolítica, Precarietat, Guerra Civil Espanyola, Drets Humans, Fosses comunes.

Introduction.

Mass graves represent one of the most problematic legacies of the 20th century in the Kingdom of Spain (Ferrándiz, 2014). On the one hand, the repressive processes initiated after the 1936 *coup d'état* and subsequently with the establishment of the Spanish State headed by Francisco Franco, find in the mass graves their most evident testimony (Casanova, 2010). On the other hand, the near monopolisation of debates about the past in relation to mass graves has had fundamental spatial implications, marked by the ostracism to which these bodies were condemned in relation to urban space. This article sets out to link the two facts, linking the debate on memory to that of spatial justice through the experiences related to the mass graves. It seeks to recognise how, despite the exclusion in public space of elements referring to the aspirations of the "Historical Memory" movement, diverse strategies have been produced since the 1970s to connect the legacy of the mass graves to urban centres.

In order to frame the analysis, it is necessary to start from several facts that are apparently unconnected, but which imply a breeding ground for the situation we are trying to analyse. It is estimated that more than 130,000 people were killed during the war and dictatorship, and that thousands of them are buried in mass graves (Espinosa, 2010), their memory was kept out of the public debate for decades. In the 1970s, after the death of Francisco Franco, the political elites of the regime and the opposition agreed in a "Pact of Silence" not to bring the crimes of the War and the Dictatorship to the debate, promoting a model of memory policies based on the lack of justice and forgetting (Jimeno, 2018). These facts are complemented by two additional spatial aspects. First, that much of the dictatorship's public space memorial programme has continued for decades, including statues and avenues dedicated to the figure of Franco, members of fascist organisations and other references to the dictatorship in the centre of urban spaces. Second, a displacement of the installation of public sculptures to road elements such as roundabouts, creating new references empty of meaning in an impoverishment of the urban landscape (Canosa et al., 2009).

The present research presents a sample of the results of a much broader study on the memorial initiatives developed on mass graves from the post-war period to the present day. In this sense, a qualitative and quantitative research was developed, through which around 600 initiatives on mass graves were documented, of which 100 could be studied as sample. This process involved interviews, participant observation, visual documentation, and consultation of archival materials. Through this, different aspects of mass grave memorial practices were detected, one of which, the spatial dimension, is shown in this text.

At a conceptual level, it is urgent to point out how the debate on memory and spatiality brings together various theories that have guided and allow us to understand this research. On the one hand, the notion of necropolitics is assumed, by which it is understood that power has been exercised by the state to dictate how some people can live and how some must die (Mbembe, 2019): in this case, they were killed for political reasons and buried in mass graves. Added to this is the notion that, given that actions of mourning have taken place over these mass graves, those actions of mourning, developed from precarious groups and discrimination by the state and large social groups, have been eminently political actions (Butler, 2020). Thirdly,

the denial of the existence of the murdered in public debates for decades, added to the fact that their bodies were excluded from urban space by being buried in mass graves, would have produced a situation of spatial injustice (Soja, 2010). An injustice that the actors involved in memorial actions are trying to reverse, thus linking the politics of memory to the struggle for justice also in the construction of the city and its symbolic references.

In this way, the first section exposes exclusionary dimension of mass graves and the ostracism to which they are condemned in relation to urban space. The second section presents experiences that connect the idea of the search for justice through memorial actions to that of spatiality, subverting the space to which the bodies were condemned through various actions and strategies within the framework of exhumations and commemorations. Finally, a third section presents initiatives through which an attempt has been made to connect the mass graves to other points in the urban space, assuming the ostracism to which they have been condemned and trying to break with it through various strategies. The text concludes by explaining that spatiality is one more of the dimensions in which those murdered during the war and the dictatorship have been discriminated against, and that their incorporation into urban space is implicit in the demands of the "Historical Memory" movement.

Mass Graves and Urban Ostracism

When I visited the site of La Pedrera mass grave in the Montjuic cemetery in Barcelona with Ricard Conesa, I saw a space that represented one of the largest graves in the whole of the country, and the largest monument of this kind in Catalonia. Various sculptures and plaques complete the complex, which also includes the mausoleum of the president of the Catalan government during the War, Lluís Companys (Conesa, 2013) At the back of the same enclosure were now piled up the plaques and tombstones which for years were placed over the large mass grave which had remained in use continuously even after the repression (Figure 1).

Figure 1. "La Pedrera" mass grave (Date unknown) Departamento de Urbanismo de Barcelona.

This was the poorest part of the cemetery, on the outskirts of the city. It was a place for mass graves, for burials in the ground, for those who could not afford to pay for any other type of burial. It was also a place for unclaimed bodies. Thus, among the various plaques with political connotations and references to historical organizations such as the International Brigades, the Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña (Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia) or the local Freemasons, which preceded the great intervention project on the grave one stood out, not for its form, but for the painful and revealing text in relation to this space:

> To the memory of my dearest mother
>
> Emilia Gil Albesa
>
> She died on 8-7-1942 at the age of 26 and due to lack of financial means and social conscience she was buried in this place. I also wish to pay tribute to the memory of all those people who, because of their humble means, religion, or political ideals, have been buried in this sad and forgotten place over the years. My tears, my pain, my hate, and the darkness did not let me see the light of the place where you are. Today, fortunately, after stumbling in darkness I found you and my light, which was grey, now has colour. Death is the only human condition that makes us equal, even if the living continue to persist in our differences. May God receive you in his glory.
>
> Your son always cried for you

This anonymous son of a young mother who died in conditions of extreme poverty, thus recognizes the negative charge of this place. He describes a place where the poor, the excluded and the repressed were united because of the rejection they suffered from the regime for decades. I recognized this situation in a multitude of mass graves that have been the object of memory practices in cemeteries that I was able to visit, such as those in Toledo, Seville, Valencia, Oviedo, and Cuenca, among others.

As part of a drive towards public sanitation in the 18th century, the dead began to be buried individually, not for theological or religious reasons, but for political and sanitary reasons, to safeguard the living, to protect them from the influence of the dead. Therefore, cemeteries started to appear on the outskirts of the villages. There, the dead arrived at their final destiny, controlled, lined up, analyzed, reduced, isolated and, above all, outside the city. The spaces represented by cemeteries were defined by Foucault as "heterotopic" spaces, "other" spaces. And therefore, the fate of the "other" in Foucault's biopolitics should not be overlooked: exclusion and confinement (Foucault, 1994). And in our case, the final murder: being exiled to an "other" space within the urban area, the cemetery, but within that to another even more heterotopic space destined for the excluded: the mass grave. Burial in graves, despite being in cemeteries, would therefore condition monuments in an essential way as well as the commemorative actions carried around the monuments. If the monument was produced over the mass grave or after the exhumation, it invariably suffers from the ostracism to which these spaces are condemned in the urban space: the peripheries. This leads to a double absence of references in public spaces that refer to those murdered in the 1936 *coup d'état*, War and Dictatorship. Historically, the State has not developed any monument programme to recognise them, and the monuments and commemorations that have since been organized were linked to the bodies of those murdered and buried in the grave. Thus, the conditioning of the space of the grave or for the burial of the exhumed bodies means that it is not possible to

escape from the same ostracism that the insurgents and the Dictatorship imposed on these bodies. The condemnation of these monuments and the remembrance services associated with them to urban exile led me to recognize a social will to break with this limitation by mean of certain memorial actions, so that the mass grave expand beyond the limits of the monument.

Seeking (Spatial) Justice

The idea of "*enterrarlos como Dios manda*" (burying them as God intended) was underlying the process of the exhumations carried out in the 1970s and early 1980s. Zoé de Kerangat states: "intentionally placing these bodies, however cursory, helps to address the dead towards the place they should occupy, because it implies an order and is a gesture of care" (de Kerangat, 2019: 107). However, the transfer to the cemetery, performed out of a religious belief and developed within the framework of care for the violated body, has undeniable spatial implications. Burial in the cemetery on the outskirts of the cities does not respond to a religious criterion but to a political-sanitary one, and therefore, by taking the bodies to the cemetery, it is not an act of "justice" towards the divinity but of "justice" in relation to the city. Edward Soja argues that human actions take place in specific spaces, always generating advantages and disadvantages depending on location. But this makes clear the prevalence of the notion he posits as spatial "justice" and "injustice." Justice, democracy, and citizenship are defined according to Soja as rights to participate in the politics of the State, something that since classical antiquity also involves the exclusion of certain people and groups from the city itself. The city becomes a space of privilege, and marginalisation implies restricting participation in the social life of the city for segments of the population based on some kind of attribute (Soja, 2010), based in turn on the reading of David Harvey, who defines territorial justice as the search for a distribution of social resources (Harvey, 2010).

Soja's theories throw an interesting light on the remembrance services associated with the mass graves, as the bodies were being returned to the urban environment from which they had been excluded. They were symbolically returned to the *polis* and reincorporated into a space regulated by it. The spatial dimension of the act of exhuming and reburial in a vault in the cemetery during the service makes the spatial injustice explicit as well as the desire for justice, even though it is by the community's own hand. Burial in the cemetery because of modern sanitary policy is one of the urban social resources linked to this notion of "spatial justice." It is therefore essential to observe here the resolution of the tension between body-grave-monument during those remembrance services carried out after the exhumations (Martín-Chiappe, 2019). The mass grave ceases to have any importance as a place in the land, unlike in the contexts where the monument was built over it, in the majority of cases where the grave was not in the cemetery but outside the urban environment. It thus gives way to the subconscious vindication of spatial justice through interventions on the graves, of a recovery of belonging to the community and of a reincorporation of the excluded individual through those services.

However, the "heterotopic" or "other" character of the cemetery still reinforces, despite the transfer of the bodies to the cemetery after exhumation, that these murdered people are not being recognized in the epicentre of the urban public space, a centrality formalised around squares, around a monument or at the foot of buildings that

denote power over the surroundings. These are spaces that function in a common use by the inhabitants, either for commercial exchange or for social encounters or political performativity (Parkinson, 2009). And they are thus places that can be understood through Jürgen Habermas's notion of the public sphere, as a consequence of the construction of democracy in bourgeois society: it is in this sphere that the private becomes public (Habermas, 2015). And it is from this space, the public sphere, that these people have been excluded. Not only from the communicational space, in the absence of debate on the subject in high-level politics (Aguilar, 2006), but also in the physical space itself, in the inhabited, named, rationalized territory. That is why I could not fail to see this desire to change the status in space when I listened to José Vidorreta and Carlos Solana talk about the ceremonies they organized in La Rioja.

Figure 2. March with the bodies exhumed in Cervera del Río Alhama (1978) La Barranca. Asociación para la Preservación de la Memoria Historica en La Rioja.

José commented to me, standing next to the monument that they had built to house the remains after the exhumation, which was later enlarged with lists of names and other symbols, that their concern was to "bury the remains here, so we brought them here." When he says "brought them here" he refers to the cemetery on the outskirts of town. But they did not go there directly. On 2 September 1978, when the exhumation took place, a procession of around 3000 people passed through the streets of Cervera del Río Alhama with the coffins in which the exhumed bodies had been placed (Figure 2).[1] Finally, as Jesús Vicente Aguirre reports, the relatives did not want a ceremony in the church, despite having passed by it, as none of the priests

1. Interview with José Vidorreta Sr. and José Vidorreta Jr. in Cervera del Río Alhama, January 21, 2019.

D. Palacios González   Memory and (Spatial) Justice in Spain: Remembering...

276 ÀGORA

intervened in 1936 to prevent the executions (Aguirre, 2012). They wished to occupy the public space that had been denied them, but not to assume its authority. Their transit vindicated the injustice to which they were subjected, and their march had a funerary dimension but also a claim to space. This was a practice of the community as rebellious citizens, not of the State, not of the anti-democratic government of the *polis* itself that had excluded them.

A few kilometres away, in Arnedo, Carlos Solana told me about a similar initiative, which took a little longer. Since 1979 they had been trying to exhume those who had been murdered but were unable to re-inter them until the end of 1980.

> We did it carrying the coffins. They were in the corner of the village, towards the far end, where the military police barracks are now. That's where they were. And they were taken from there: first to the church. Because they wanted to go to the church. Maybe now many people say, 'but it was the priests who were responsible [for the killings]. These are the children...' One of the phrases you hear them say is 'my father is going to have a church funeral service; he's not going to be buried like a dog.' That is what they wanted you to think; they told you it was a way of dignifying them. So, they were carried like that, on their shoulders.

His wife, Inmaculada Moreno continued, showing me a photograph:

> Look, this is the beginning, where they were taken from, and they walked through the whole town.

Carlos continued:

> We passed through places carrying the Republican flag at the head of the procession. A lot of people from Navarre came, because they came here just as we were coming there. They were carrying the Republican flag. They shouted again and again 'Viva la República' (Long live the Republic) and sang the anthem of the Republic. Here, where I was, the anthem of the Republic was played. [...] When we passed by the house of one of those who had gone out to kill, people started shouting even louder. [2]

He pointed out to me that the route was planned to pass through "the main streets" before reaching the cemetery (Figure 3).

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2. Interview with Carlos Solana and Inmaculada Moreno in Arnedo, January 21, 2019.

Figure 3. March with the bodies exhumed in Arnedo (1980) Carlos Solana's personal archive.

This shows that it was necessary for them to disrupt the city during the ceremony as they processed in the direction of the monument. They were interrupting the living space of those who had made the murders possible or those who had ignored them. This extension of the memory practice into urban space was something that I did not just associate with these first exhumations of the 1970s; a very similar initiative took place in Alcaraz 30 years later. After the exhumation and analysis of the bodies of those murdered in what was once one of Albacete's main towns, a march set off through the historic centre and up to the cemetery on the outskirts of the town. The relatives carried the coffins with the bodies accompanied by a group of traditional Castilian musicians, whose piper played the Hymn of the Republic (Figure 4). This scene that Manuel Ramírez Gimeno described to me in 2019 as part of the process he initiated in 2012, could well have happened decades before like in La Rioja.[3]

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3. Interview with Manuel Ramírez Gimeno in Albacete, October 5, 2019.

Figure 4. March with the bodies exhumed in Alcaraz (2013) Manuel Ramírez Gimeno's personal archive.

Connecting Places

Space does not represent a clear text to be read, as Henri Lefebvre pointed out, despite the premises of semiotics. Everything there is confused and disordered (Lefebvre, 2016). Nevertheless, as Lefebvre argues, space is a signifier of what is essential and what is not, and it is a subliminal way in which to exert power. For this reason, when it comes to addressing the tension that underlies these rituals linked to the monuments, practices that are not limited to the direct vicinity of the mass grave itself, and that move across a much wider area than that delimited by the grave or cemetery itself. The space of representation, as a lived space, is the space where the physical and the imagined spaces overlap. As the place where social life takes place, it is evidently controlled by the dominant powers, as can be seen in so many town squares throughout the country where even today there are crosses to the "Fallen for God and for Spain" placed there by the Dictatorship and maintained by the Monarchy. This is evident to the people, while at the same time this space contains the possibility of disobedience and subversion. This is what happens in the marches to move the bodies after the exhumations, but even without bodies, the subversion of urban space is nevertheless overtly present in other practices I found in relation to the graves.

On 18 July 2019, I attended a march that has been taking place for more than forty years on the anniversary of the 1936 *coup d'état*. After taking Seville, Gonzalo

Queipo de Llano gave free rein to mass murder (Gibson, 1986). Once the San Fer-
nando cemetery in Seville was full, corpses began to be buried in Dos Hermanas.
Jesús Mari García told me at the mass grave monument that the walls of the cemetery
had to be pulled down to facilitate the transport of such many bodies.[4] Nevertheless,
the grave continued to be visited, and even CNT commandos had delivered flowers.
Pepe Sánchez was one of the activists who decided not only to pay for and organize
services at the monumentalized grave, but also to carry out tireless research work
to recover the identities of those murdered there. Pepe sent me a letter a few weeks
before the date of the remembrance service that he had been organizing for decades:
"As every year, on 18 July at 8 p.m., I will leave El Arenal with a bouquet of red
carnations decorated with the tricolour flag to place them on the mass grave in the
Dos Hermanas cemetery." I travelled there, on the date indicated, and that evening
we walked from El Arenal to the Dos Hermanas cemetery, where the service took
place at the mass grave where they had started bringing flowers decades before and
they built their monument.

In Puerto de Santa María, that same morning of the 18 July, the anniversary of the
coup d'état, I attended another march. While the march in Dos Hermanas had been
a tradition for several decades, the one in Puerto de Santa María was being held for
the first time. We gathered at the former Central Prison. The place is recognized by
the regional government as a "Lugar de Memoria Democrática de Andalucía" (Site
of Democratic Memory of Andalusia). From there, we processed to the cemetery
where the mass graves are located and where a monument was built on the initiative
of Rafael Gómez Ojeda, son of one of those murdered in El Puerto, a historical PCE
member and mayor of the municipality in 1981. In Puerto de Santa Maria, the march
was not solemn, but a community-building experience, something I also found at
similar events in which I participated in other regions (Figure 5).

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4. Interview with Jesús Mari García, May 30, 2019.

Figure 5. March towards Puerto de Santa María mass grave (2019) Author's personal archive.

Everyone was talking. Being descendants of a murdered person, because of reprisals or political affiliation, united the people who, in ordinary clothes, walked cheerfully between two places that formed part of the repressive device that was deployed in the province of Cádiz. Thus, at one point, one moment of bad luck made explicit the dimension of spatial injustice and how this practice did nothing but resist and reclaim a better space in the city. Only one lane of traffic was interrupted by the march as it moved through the streets, but when it reached a roundabout, traffic came to a complete standstill. Several police officers accompanied the march, not to protect it or to ensure its safety, but to facilitate and control the traffic. The point is that the marchers were heterogeneous, and while the front part of the march was walking faster, the rear part was lagging, either because of those who needed to walk more slowly due to their physical limitations, or because of the atmosphere of quiet conversation that was taking place. In such a situation one of the officers approached the tail of the march suggesting that if they could not walk faster, they would tell the front of the procession to walk more slowly. This caused great anger among several of the marchers, who complained to the officers, "for one day they let us march, they are not going to tell us how to walk."

These practices are not exceptional, and although they cannot be established as a necessary part of the memory practices linked to the mass graves or as a condition for the remembrance itself, they show a need for spatial transcendence beyond the location of the mass grave or the place of reinterment. An example of this is a

route, organized by the Foro por la Memoria del Valle del Tiétar y La Vera, which in 2018 covered in one route the mausoleum in the cemetery of Candeleda, the monument at the grave exhumed at the bend known as "La Vuelta del Esparragal," the mass grave in the cemetery of Poyales del Hoyo, the monument on the road from El Hornillo to El Arenal where another grave was located nearby, the mass grave in Ramacastañas, the monument in the mass grave in Santa Cruz del Valle, the mass grave on the old road to Pedro Bernardo, the monument in the cemetery of Pedro Bernardo, the mass grave on a farm in Pedro Bernardo and the vault in the cemetery of Casavieja. This event was called "Recorrido en Recuerdo y Dignificación de la Víctimas de la represión franquista en el Valle del Tiétar" (Tour in Remembrance and to Bring Dignity to the Victims of Franco's Repression in the Tiétar Valley) (Figure 6), so it was clearly not an informative tour, nor a leisure activity. This activity connected the monuments outside the walls of the cemetery, to the exhumed graves with the vaults where the bodies are housed, the graves not exhumed and the graves yet to be found, but were the object of memory practices despite their uncertain location.

Figure 6. WhatsApp invitation to the Tour "Tras las huellas de la memoria histórica" (2018) Mría Laura Martín Chiappe's personal archive.

A similar initiative was organized several times, marching from the cemetery to the Castuera Concentration Camp. During the 2019 march, an incident took place:

> During the journey, on a stretch through the centre of the town, there was a disturbing inci-
> dent: the street had not been closed to traffic by the authorities, as has been the case all these
> years, even though the association had all the necessary permits to hold the demonstration.[5]

Once again, it causes perplexity when living space is recovered to connect the urban centre with the monument linked to the mass graves. It causes surprise, moreover, that this was an authorized march, which seems not to have been allowed to modify the space by the local authority. Just as the desire to establish marches is not exceptional, the discomfort they cause among local authorities is not either.

What is relevant about these initiatives is that they establish a network that connects "heterotopic" spaces, places that would not otherwise be visited because they are not located along commonly travelled routes. They construct a spatial narrative by using the graves that are the object of memory practices and setting them up against the spaces historically claimed by the governmental institutions. The initiative "Araken Memoria, Memoria de las Cunetas" (Memory of the Ditches) is representative of this, and Joaquín Iraizoz, one of its supporters, showed it to me firsthand.[6] This has been developed in the Cendea of Oltza, in Navarre, by the Benetan Elkartea collective, focused on promoting Basque culture and language, together with the Zurbau memorial collective. They set out to work on what they considered to be a "gap in our history," in order to "restore dignity to the people who were murdered and those who were repressed by the dictatorship."[7] For this reason, between research and dissemination activities, they decided to give shape to a project that would link the mass graves in the territory to each other, through a website and information panels in the place where the monuments were built (Figure 7). This project was possible thanks to their voluntary work, the contributions of the local community and the support of the Directorate General for Peace and Coexistence of the Government of Navarre, an involvement of the most committed official institutions, which makes explicit the need to recognize not only the murdered person but also their presence in the space.

5. "MEMORIA Y MÁS MEMORIA (Y II)," Asociación Memorial Campo de Concentración de Castuera, July 4, 2019, accessed May 10, 2021, http://amecadec.blogspot.com/2019/04/memoria-y-mas-memoria-y-ii.html.

6. Interview with Joaquín Iraizoz Vizkar "Toki," in Ibero, March 29, 2019.

7. "devolverles la dignidad a las personas asesinadas y a las represaliadas por la dictadura" (Translated by the author). "Araken Memoria. Memoria de Las Cunetas," Zurbau, accessed March 19, 2020, https://zurbau.eus/.

Figure 7. Araken Memoria map (2019) Araken Memoria.

Thus, it is in Navarre that we find a very particular spatial extension of these monuments on mass graves, which also refers to a much wider space than that of the grave itself and breaks with the traditional notion of the procession as a process of mourning, a tribute to or dissemination of the historical event. Fermín Ezkieta explained the initiative to me in Olave, a small municipality at the foot of Mount Ezkaba.[8] At the top of the mountain is Fort San Cristobal, which never functioned as a fort, but rather as a prison, first to hold the revolutionaries of 1934 and then, in Navarre controlled by the insurgents, to hold more than two thousand prisoners in subhuman conditions. In 1938, they managed to mutiny and more than 700 of them began a terrible flight through the surrounding mountains in search of the French border. Only three managed to reach the border, and the mountain passages are dotted with graves where many of those killed in their flight were buried (Alforja, 2006). The GR 225 was traced through such a place following the route possibly taken by Jovino Fernández, one of those who completed the escape (Figure 8). This is a long-distance route under the acronym used internationally and signposted in the territory with a white and red sign. The website created to advertise the initiative explains it to the interested visitor:

> Walking along it, the hiker will enjoy the natural landscapes through which it passes, but will also honour the memory of those who - many years ago - walked through these same mountains and valleys in search of a better life: those who were sent back to the misery of

8. Interview Fermín Ezkieta in Olave, March 29, 2019.

their imprisonment, those who died in the attempt and those who achieved freedom.[9]

Thus, the monuments built over mass graves are connected through hiking. This initiative interrupts the walking space and memory is incorporated through playfulness. More than a thousand kilometres from there, another similar initiative took place. The Club Senderista La Desbandá (La Desbandá Hiking Club), connects the 250 kilometres between Málaga and Almería, via the route that those fleeing from the arrival of the insurgents to the city of Málaga ran and in which they were victims of harassment at the hands of the insurgent troops, naval bombardments, and air raids (Barranquero, 2012).
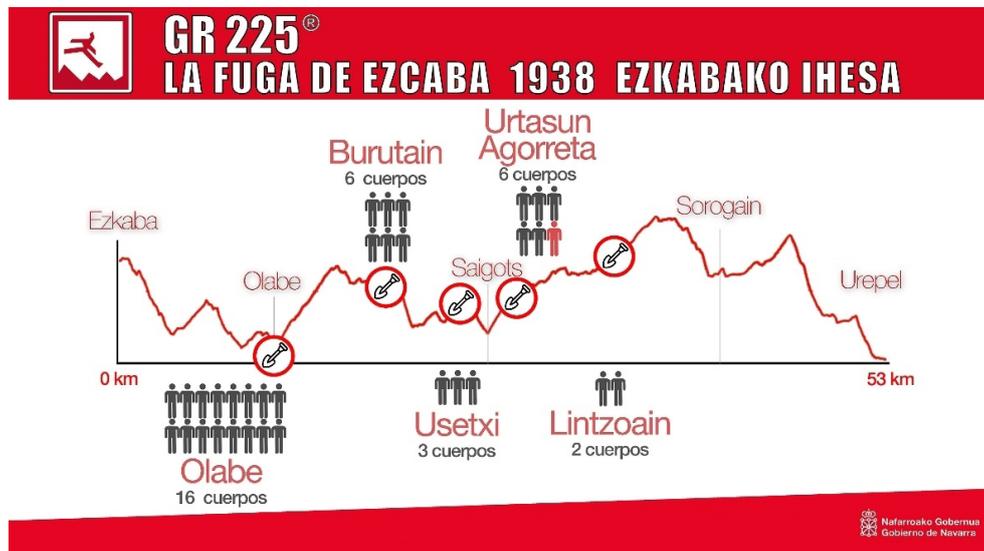
Figure 8. GR225 website description (2018) Instituto Navarro de la Memoria - Paz y Convivencia.

Finally, one of the largest, and longest-running initiatives taking place in urban space, connecting city centres with mass graves and their monuments is the Republican Caravan of Valencia. There I conducted a participant observation. On the morning of 14 April, on the banks of the old Turia riverbed near the Jardines de Viveros, dozens of vehicles gathered as they do every year (Figure 9). When I arrived with my car, I met some of the activists who normally organize the event and who, seeing my car without flags, handed me some so that, like all the other vehicles, I could fly the tricolour flag. The atmosphere was festive, emotional, but also uneasy because, as several of the participants pointed out to me, the police were always trying to facilitate traffic so that the march would not disrupt the urban space as it was intended. So, there was a discussion about whether this year they should run the traffic lights and not give way to pedestrians. When the time came, the cars started up, and began to drive through the city along the main streets of a city that was the capital of the

9. "GR-225 - Fuga de Ezkaba 1938 - Ezkabako Ihesa," GR225, accessed March 19, 2020, http://www.gr-225.org/.

Spanish Republic during the War: a city that has no major reference to those events in the public space. Republican hymns, songs of the War, as well as other pop and rock songs with historical references were played from the cars. As the cars drove by, honking their horns, some passers-by waved, others raised their fists. But there were also faces of bewilderment, because for many that Sunday, 14 April, was just another day in the calendar. There were also signs of aggression, arms raised in the air, fascist salutes, shouts and even threats from other vehicles. The police meanwhile facilitated the traffic on their motorbikes. The event went on for more than two hours, until we finally arrived at the Paterna cemetery, on the outskirts of Valencia, the place thousands of people were murdered and then buried, and the destination of this massive procession by car.

Figure 9. Preparations for the "Caravana Republicana" in Valencia (2019) Author's personal archive.

These processions link central places in the urban space with places where the monuments were built, which are condemned to urban ostracism. But also, through claiming the space, people enter into a complex game of identifications: these collectives identify themselves with the image returned to them by their peers, who they are, and who they wish to be (Piastro, 2019). And that would be the drama of this type of march, the aspiration to occupy a public space, to be recognized in it, while monuments are relegated to urban ostracism. The bodies of the participants are a living memory of the bodies of the murdered, who have been ostracized, buried in mass graves beneath the monuments that are the final destination of these marches that start from the city centres. Thus, without leaving Lefebvre, alongside these collec-

tively produced spaces, we find those that are progressively conceived by governmental institutions, where both the relations of power and the productive possibilities themselves are made explicit. If a governmental institution wishes, space can be endowed with greater symbolic importance within the framework of the politics of memory. This speaks precisely, not of the monopoly, but of the greater amount of means of production available to the State when it comes to generating this type of memory practice in contrast to those that are by necessity entirely self-managed by the community.

Conclusion

Memory and spatial justice have therefore been shown to be connected, and an attempt has been made to make this explicit through experiences of memorial actions in relation to mass graves. These are partial conclusions derived from a much broader study of the memorial initiatives developed on mass graves from the post-war period to the present day. Nevertheless, these conclusions stand out and are pertinent to be presented in their own right, given that the literature related to aspects of "Historical Memory" and the mass graves has not generally paid attention to spatiality or the urban aspect, beyond the removal of Francoist symbols or the changing of street names.

In this sense, it has been found that necropolitics is closely linked to the lack of spatial justice. Moreover, spatial justice is an implicit component of these actions of mourning as resistance, which, despite their precarious nature, are eminently political. The Barcelona experience first showed the injustice of collective burials, their character of urban discrimination. It then showed how the desire to exhume mass graves has often involved returning the bodies to the urban space within the framework of the idea of dignified burial. These initiatives have a fundamental spatial component, but also often involve more than just moving the bodies. Acts of burial could also take place in the framework of memorial marches through urban centres. Such claims through mourning would be frequent from the transition to the present day. Additionally, memory activists and institutions have begun to establish routes and cartographies linking mass graves to other repressive spaces, connecting them through the urbanised and heterotopic space. These actions are not isolated but are carried out by collectives of relatives and activists who work for the memory of those murdered, and indirectly, for spatial justice for their bodies.

This research therefore reveals how spatiality is one of the dimensions in which those murdered during the war and the dictatorship have been discriminated against. And precisely as one of these dimensions of injustice, the search for injustice by incorporation into urban space is implicit in the claims of the "Historical Memory" movement through the practices around mass graves. However, this idea should not be limited to mass graves. It is therefore relevant to integrate this perspective with those studies on Franco's monuments, the renaming of streets, but also with all those that raise the need for public space to attend to a democratic reality. In this sense, the exclusion of the bodies of the murdered is

symptomatic of a much broader system, the one denounced on the Barcelona gravestone, and which would therefore link the bodies of the murdered to all those others who are also systematically excluded by the nowadays necropolitics.

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