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At the Crossroads of Love, Ritual, and Archaeology:
The Exhumation of Mass Graves in Contemporary Spain
by
Rachel Carmen Ceasar

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of

JOINT DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
with
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN FRANCISCO
in
MEDICAL ANTHROPOLOGY
in the
GRADUATE DIVISION
of the
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Committee in charge:

Professor Nancy Scheper-Hughes, Chair
Professor Ian Whitmarsh
Professor Kimberly TallBear
Professor Rosemary Joyce
Professor Thomas Laqueur

Fall 2014

Abstract

At the Crossroads of Love, Ritual, and Archaeology:
The Exhumation of Mass Graves in Contemporary Spain

by
Rachel Carmen Ceasar

Joint Doctor of Philosophy
with University of California, San Francisco
in Medical Anthropology
University of California, Berkeley
Professor Nancy Scheper-Hughes, Chair

Based on 17 months of ethnographic field work on the current exhumation of mass graves from the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and subsequent Francisco Franco dictatorship (1939-1975), the dissertation examines the practice of exhuming as a death ritual animated by emotions. A large wealth of literature on the anthropology of death centers on funerary rituals as a way to reveal a people's social structures and cultural meanings. Yet what happens when the living are denied from performing the rituals surrounding death? What happens to those dead, such as Spanish Republicans killed and left in mass graves, who escape the boundaries of ritual? Never before have Republicans been recognized as victims worthy of reburial until 2000 when a team of experts conducted the first professional exhumation of a Republican mass grave. While the rituals associated with exhuming have had an important impact on Spanish society in that it promises recognition and reburial to Republicans, the Spanish exhumations also project a perspective of the recent past as being resolved through the creation of Republican victims. Underlying the exhumations is the use of the dead body to narrate a particular version of the Spanish past through exhumation practice and ritual. The conditions under which exhuming produces new hierarchies of knowledge via its evaluation of the dead is driven not just by practice, but also emotion. Such feelings of love and loss ultimately determine which remains are excavated (i.e., Republicans), and which are not (i.e., Moroccans and Nationalists). In my ethnography on the Spanish experience of death rituals and emotions, I examine the microcosm of exhumations in relation to a larger framework that situates: (1) exhumation practice as a tool to provide meaning of the violent past in post-dictatorship Spain, and (2) the use of such practices to create knowledge in the aftermath of conflict worldwide. The dissertation concludes with possibilities for understanding how emotions and interests drive the production of knowledge that is more open to personal ways of knowing—an invitation for a critical medical anthropology and science studies approach to exhumation practices.

acknowledgements.

Anthropology demands the open-mindedness with which one must look and listen, record in astonishment and wonder that which one would not have been able to guess. Margaret Mead, American anthropologist (1977:IX)

No other discipline permits you to realize your limits so eloquently like that of anthropology. The people I thank here, their intellectual curiosity and empathetic commitment to a shared love of humankind, inspired me to write this dissertation. Their open-mindedness to my ethnographic intrusion welcomed me to look and listen with them.

First, I thank my family. In Los Angeles, my dad has read everything I have ever written on the Spanish exhumations; somewhere by his bedside still sits a dog-eared copy of my undergraduate paper on the Spanish Civil War. Mama left my room ready for my return and fired up the kitchen once again with *churrasco* (even though I stopped eating red meat). Cotee reminded me that Sundays are for resting and for watching *The Amazing Race* over carefully-labeled leftovers. My Sweet B put his design book down one day and asked me to join him in his rediscovery of the human. Steiner, Brent's neurotic border collie, was my most affectionate writing companion during those last tedious months.

In Lima, after Tío Chukey died of cancer in February 2013, Mamama would leave out fresh linens on the dining room table and urge me to keep writing. Isabel took me to the movies when my heart was broken. I am grateful for those Sundays when we—Chukey, Isa, Oli, Rocio, Sebas, Diego, Diego, and Ariana—would go out for *lucuma* ice cream which, as you know, has the effect of calming the anthropologist's soul.

In the great small town of San Francisco, I am thankful for jam-writing sessions with Jerry on Fridays, and Temple Bar burgers with Stephanie on Mondays. From the South, Timi moved me into my 250-square foot apartment on a block journalist Herb Caen dubbed "Sleazy 6th Street;" Timi even helped me choose a bed, and for that I am grateful for our bedside FaceTime chats. From the East, Rena came to my bedside at 3am when I had my second bike accident, and later, introduced me to what I think is dub step when I felt better. And of course, Sonia, who reminds me to live like the ocean *turquesa*.

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through these organizations and institutions were honest and kind in their efforts to appease my meddlesome inquires.

To my friends, “Marín” Carlos Marín Suárez, “Gonzo” Gonzalo Compañy, “Muros” Manuel Antonio Franco Fernández, and “Alex” Alejandra Galmés Alba gave me the confidence that I could say something important. Miguel Vázquez Pom told me Galician tales and to this day still has my suitcase of Moroccan pottery and Portuguese rugs, reminding me to return to Compostela sooner than later. “Katy” Katherine Valderrama Vázquez, Carmen García-Rodeja Arribí, and André Chamadoira introduced me to everyone and extended to me their friendship and wisdom when I knew no one and nothing. Andrés Crespo Prieto, a walking Spanish Civil War library, may he rest in peace. In particular, I am blessed to have exhumed alongside archaeologist-poet Xurxo Ayán Vila, killed a pig with Elsa Santomé Frade and her family, and learned of Berber Moroccan culture through the hospitality of Abdelillah “Lilah,” Najlaa, and the El Hattach family. I am indebted to them and I hope that what I write here lives up to their expectations.

Thirdly, I would like to thank the academic community of UC Berkeley and UC San Francisco. When I had my first bike accident in the midst of writing my field statement on “Anthropology of the Dead Body,” Nancy Scheper-Hughes, along with Michael, came with a casserole in hand and a Rosie the Riveter “We Can Do It!” get-well-soon card. Everyone hopes for a dissertation chair as compassionate about the mind—and body—of their students as Nancy. “Our students,” she reminded me one day in office hours, “are our blood.” Ian Whitmarsh supported me when I wanted to try science studies and later, when I wanted to go to Morocco. He challenges me to try new things and has guided me through draft after draft of my work, somehow always finding logic in a babel of incoherence. I was fortunate to meet Kim TallBear right before departing to the field in 2011. I am thankful to her for exposing me to feminist, indigenous, and postcolonial approaches to science. Rosemary Joyce took a chance on me and I’m glad she did; the dissertation and I have gained leaps from her direction. Tom Laqueur pushed me again and again to question when the dead are really dead, and bones are just bones. Stanley Brandes carefully read my first attempts at a chapter (even correcting my grammatical errors!), fought for me during my orals exam, and was a welcoming familiar face in the field. Charles Briggs supported my project from the beginning and challenged me to take it into new directions in medical anthropology. I am privileged to have committee members who challenge and support me at every turn of the dissertation process.

At UCSF, Vincanne Adams promised me that first quarter that one day, this “squishy” study of anthropology would all become clearer to me; she was right. Deborah Gordon, from whose magical (and stylish) bag came forth books, chocolates, roses, and wisdom. Sharon Kaufman’s no-nonsense approach to crafting ethnography into written form helped me gain perspective on writing for a wider audience. Kelly Knight brought my research home and teaches me all over again what it means to do ethnography.

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members—Mark Fleming, Alison Tillack, and Na’amah Razon—were helpful guides in that difficult first year when I was truly lost. I am also thankful to Neda Atanasoki and Mariam Lam, and the other members of the UC Humanities Studio Workshop on “Humanitarian Ethics, Religious Affinities, and the Politics of Dissent” for their warm encouragement on Chapter 2 and kind guidance on academic life after the dissertation.

Last but not least, my research could not have been possible without the generous funding from the Institute of European Studies, the Dean’s Normative Time Fellowship, the UC Regents Intern Fellowship, and the Jacob K. Javits Fellowship. True to its commitment to the body in both theory and action, I will never forget the generous support of the UCSF Department of Anthropology, History, and Social Medicine when my body suffered a terrible bike accident in 2010. The Javits Fellowship gave me the necessary time and space to learn what anthropology was all about. Unfortunately, as of 2010, the Department of Education announced it would no longer fund Javits Fellowships.

rachel carmen ceasar
san francisco
august 15, 2014.

table of contents.

	abstract	1
	acknowledgements	i
	introduction: return to the underground	1
	1 why the spanish exhumations	17
2	<i>la escuela sagrada de san pedro</i> , the sacred school of san pedro: an exhumation creed	25
3	<i>te molesta el moro?</i> does the moor bother you? berber bodies, moroccan bones, spanish soil	55
4	how i learned to love the bomb: pueblo politics, <i>cariño</i> , and salvage technologies	71
	conclusion: possibilities for an emotionally-informed exhumation	90

Fortunately, somewhere between chance and mystery lies imagination—the only thing that protects our freedom, despite the fact that people keep trying to reduce or kill it off altogether.

Luis Buñuel, Spanish filmmaker
1900-1983

introduction: return to the underground.

I returned to Spain in the summer of 2009 to conduct field work on the current exhumations of mass graves from the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and subsequent Francisco Franco dictatorship (1939-1975). Since my last trip to Spain as a student of psychology in 2004, I returned now as an anthropological observer to cities and roads whose depth of violence I only knew from history books and news clippings. At the time, neither I nor many Spaniards knew that this violence extended underground (Figure 1).

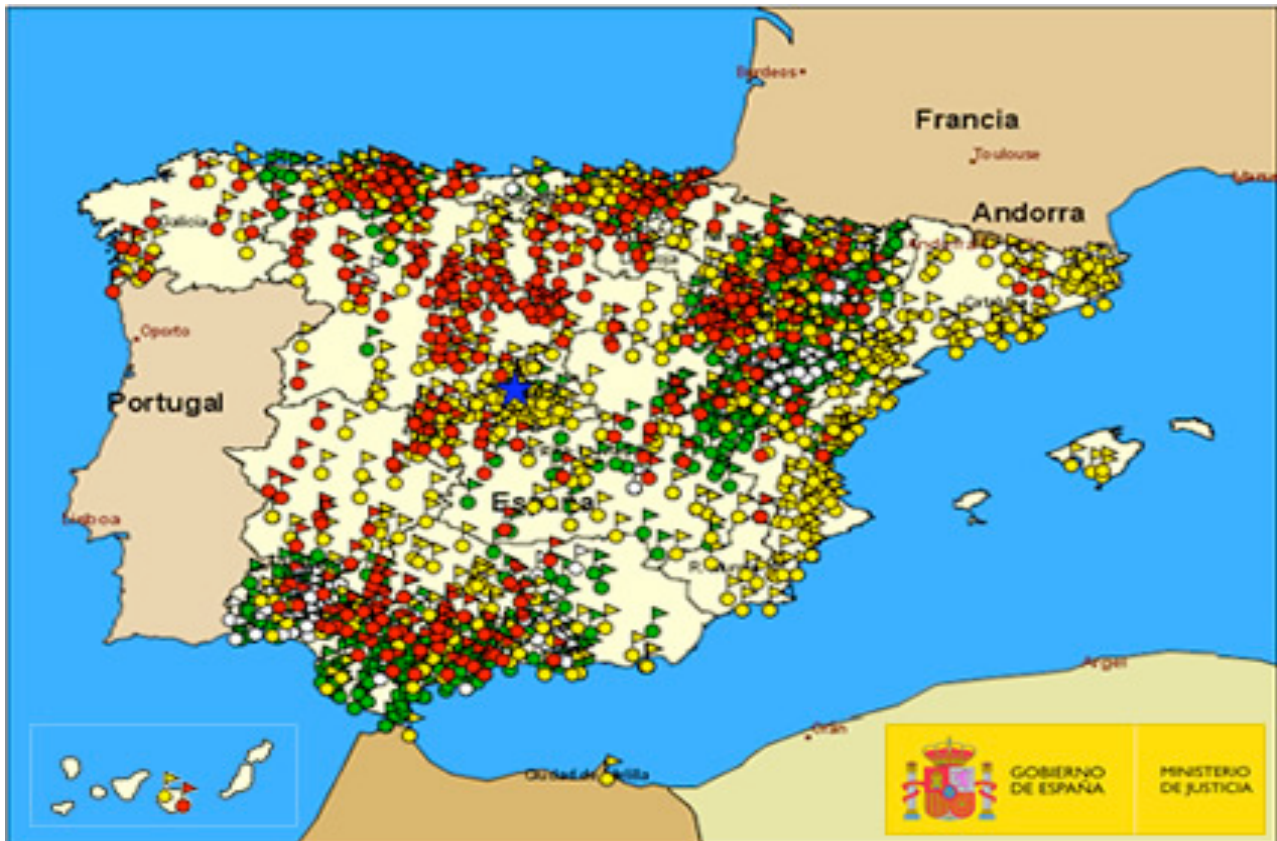


Figure 1: The Spanish Ministry of Justice interactive map of unmarked mass graves from the Spanish Civil War and subsequent dictatorship compiled by the Office of Victims (mapadefosas.mjusticia.es). Each color corresponds to a different intervention: no intervention, missing, transferred to the Valley of the Fallen in Madrid, and fully or partially exhumed.

There remain 2,232 unmarked graves of Republicans killed during the Civil War and dictatorship that have never been exhumed (*Instituto Geografico Nacional* 2011). The circumstances of the dictatorship and democracy prevented further investigation of the conflict period from taking place, eliminating the possibility of a national truth and reconciliation commission. This enforced silence by the Spanish government extended to the living as well as the dead: communities wanting to locate and rebury Republican soldiers and civilians killed by the Nationalists and their supporters were discouraged from doing so by the ruling regime. It was not until October 2000, over 60 years after the end of the war and 20 years into

democracy, that the first exhumation of a Republican mass grave took place in Priaranza del Bierzo, Spain (Silva 2000; Silva & Macias 2003). This exhumation is considered the first exhumation of a Republican grave to be conducted by a technical team of archaeological experts (Ferrándiz 2013).

The recent exhumations of Republicans have had an important impact on Spanish society because it promises to return Republicans to their families and communities for proper burial. However, as a medical anthropologist analyzing exhumation practice in Spain, I find it important to examine the contexts of meaning and action in which this process is conducted and understood by society. Exhuming is a technical process of observation and experiment, but it is also a deeply political and social one as well. In the case of the current Spanish exhumations, it is the emotions and interests of society that ultimately determine which remains are uncovered and remembered, and which are not. The emotions and personal interests underlying exhumation practice in Spain are important because they produce knowledge and determine which bodies matter. These emotional commitments in exhumation practice are expressed in various ways at the Spanish exhumations: traces of a Spanish Catholic ethos revealed in exhuming; the irritation of Moroccans as possible war victims that inhibits their exhumation in Spain; and the love for bombs, bullets, and relics that enacts their excavation by former Franco supporters. The conditions under which the exhumation produces new hierarchies of knowledge via its evaluation of the dead is one driven not just by practice, but emotion.

i. background: civil war, dictatorship, and democracy.

The current Spanish exhumation movement emerged in response to the continual silence of the Spanish government to address the human rights violations committed during the war and subsequent dictatorship that resulted in over 500,000 casualties, 200,000 civilian wartime executions (Preston 2012), and the disappearance of over 114,000 people (Garzón 2008). The Spanish Civil War began on July 17, 1936 when Nationalist military forces led by General Francisco Franco and backed by monarchists, the fascist Falange Party, the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, and other right-wing officers intended to overthrow the leftist Republican Popular Front government, whose supporters included capitalists, socialists, communists, and anarchists. After the Nationalists finally captured Barcelona and Madrid in early 1939, the Republic was defeated and Franco began his rule as dictator for the next 39 years until his death.

The dictatorship ended with Franco's death in 1975 and, with the help of the appointed monarch, Spain began its transition to democracy. Under this democracy, however, an amnesty was passed in 1977 (*La Ley de Amnistía*) by the ruling left-winged Spanish Socialist Workers' Party government (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español, PSOE*) that exonerated all crimes committed during the Civil War and the dictatorship. With the Amnesty, the Spanish government essentially closed any public investigation or discussion on the Civil War and the subsequent repression. In this manner, facts and opinions that conflicted with the dominant ideology of Franco and later democracy were suppressed through fear and intimidation at both local and national levels of Spanish society (Casanova 2010, 1999). "There was an ambition to create a truth commission, but the extreme left abandoned the idea in order to not confront

the memory, renouncing everything that had to do with the Republic—the flag, etc.—and accepting Spain,” explains Paco González, a local historical memory activist I met while investigating on the aftermath of exhumations in Spain.

The centralist conservative Popular Party (*Partido Popular, PP*) has also been hesitant to support initiatives that challenge the legitimacy of the Franco regime. The Catholic Church, while offering an apology in 1971 for their role during the war and dictatorship, has also yet to acknowledge its crimes. As exhumation activist Paco González put it, “*Todavía falta una respuesta judicial, esperando que da vuelta a la historia*, there remains to be a judicial response, in hopes of giving history a spin.” Where the state has neglected to provide legal justice and reconciliation, local communities have taken the matter into their own hands to generate information on the repression period. Without legal or institutional support, one of the ways that Spaniards have addressed the violent past is through the exhumation of unmarked mass graves of Republicans. At the San Pedro exhumation (Chapter 2), physical anthropologist Carmen described these exhumations as “the most evident material of the repression because it is the pernicious test of [how violence was] executed—[on] the body” and as such, she is able “to contribute to a knowledge of our recent past, that until now we do not have.” The exhumation of unmarked Republican graves has become a kind of alternative historical tool for Spaniards in their pursuit to obtain knowledge and understanding of the past.

ii. ritual, emotion, and exhumation practice.

An ethnographic study of exhumation practice returns anthropology to its Frazerian origins: the dead body. Death, wrote Scottish anthropologist James George Frazer (1890, 1913-24, 1933-1936), was feared because of the dead body. The living performed social rites in order to appease the physical remains of the corpse in what Frazer saw as a universal fear of the dead. Death then was not just a physiological concern, but a social one as well maintained by the living through ritual.

A large wealth of literature on the anthropology of death has centered on funerary rituals as a way to reveal the social structures and cultural meanings of a people (Hertz 1960[1908]; Huntington & Metcalf 1991[1979]; Douglas 1990[1966]). Yet what happens, as in the case of Spain, when the living is denied from performing the rituals and practices surrounding death? What happens to those dead, such as Republicans left in unmarked mass graves, who have escaped the boundaries of ritual?

For 60 years, the rituals and practices associated with Republican deaths were delayed, only recently coming to resurface at the current exhumations. The work of exhuming assumes the rituals and practices associated with the end of life in both symbolic and practical ways. As a symbolic practice, the exhumations symbolize a larger ritualistic movement of catharsis to address the silenced past in the present. As a practical procedure, the exhumations uncover the physical remains of the dead. Through the process of ritual, the exhumations recover the Republican dead for death. That is, the exhumations provide Republicans and their families the potential for reburial.

Drawing upon the work of American anthropologist Renato Rosaldo (1993[1989]), I approach the process of death as not solely a structured, ritualistic practice but an expression of frustration and emotional loss. In *Grief and a Headhunter's Rage*, Rosaldo challenges the

reader to understand Ilongot headhunting in the Philippines as not only the ritual manifestation of rage but, as he comes to experience through his own sorrow over the tragic accidental death of his wife and anthropologist Michelle Rosaldo while they were in the field together, an expression of grief and emotional loss. In this way, bereavement for Ilongot men engaged in headhunting lies in practice, not theory.

As with headhunting societies in the Philippines, the Spanish exhumations are also experienced as a culturally and socially idealized ritual practice that is necessary in order to make meaning out of the violent past. Drawing upon Rosaldo, I approach the Spanish exhumations as a Spanish institution that, while operating on the margins of the state, reproduces the social and political milieu from where it is practiced. Although the practices of exhuming in Spain may seem incomprehensible to outsiders (including an outsider such as the author herself), the need to give meaning and express care for once-unwanted bones and persons becomes essential to the people involved in this process. Michelle Rosaldo wrote that, in an anthropological study of the symbolic forms of headhunting, it is important to stay true to the cultural and social contexts in which such symbolic acts are created and practiced:

“if one starts by recognizing the ways in which symbolic form in fact pervades the everyday—as world view, ideology, or more simply, ‘culture’—then the questions one is wont to ask are not just ‘how’ or ‘why’ symbols ‘work’ at special times, but rather how people’s feelings and understandings are organized, or actualized, both in ritual and more mundane or practical pursuits (1980:25-26).

Headhunting then, writes Rosaldo, becomes a consequence and negotiation between the Ilongot concepts of knowledge (*beya*) and passion (*liget*) that are expressed in emotional discourse and everyday life.

Likewise, for those Spanish deaths once silenced and now revealed in exhuming, the symbolic, nonverbal expressions and practices of exhuming become a necessary action, an attempt to give meaning to the impossibility of understanding the violent Spanish past. The ritualized act of exhuming reveals deaths—and emotions—that could not be realized at the end of the Spanish Civil War or the dictatorship. Exhuming then follows a symbolic ritual practice that is at once grounded in the archaeological and the emotional. Emotion is culture, and therefore, can be studied and analyzed to understand larger questions of power, politics, ethics, and the body (Scheper-Hughes 1992; Scheper-Hughes & Lock 1987; Shanks 1992).

Should we follow a strict study of exhumation practice in Spain as a kind of structured ritual process that permits certain bodies to be uncovered and remembered and others to be forgotten neglects a serious engagement with what Renato Rosaldo calls a “cultural force of emotions” (1993[1989]). Rather than discard personal emotions and interests as outliers of funerary ritual study, Rosaldo argues that the “cultural force of emotions” can be studied by the ethnographer to understand how “they animate certain forms of human conduct” (1993[1989]:175). Likewise, British archaeologist Sarah Tarlow (2000, 2012) has stressed an archaeology of emotion to comprehend the social, cultural, and historical contexts of past human experience articulated in material culture and space. These authors point to the ability of the anthropologist to study and access human emotions as a way to consider how these feelings and interests give force to certain moments, places, and relationships. In the case of Spain, the emotions and interests of exhumers and exhumation advocates take place in a variety

of ways that animate certain materials for excavation (i.e., Republicans), and others not (i.e., Moroccans, Nationalists).

I follow Rosaldo's logic of studying death and ritual as contingent on emotion into exhumation practice. An ethnography of exhumation practice in Spain involves an examination of death from the perspective of the dead, the living, and the anthropological observer. In the case of the Spanish exhumations, I observed and participated alongside activists, archaeologists, volunteers, and the local and living descendants of the dead (Singleton & Orser 2003) directly involved in recovering the dead through exhumation practice.¹

Exhumation work is hardly ever an entirely expert endeavor (e.g., Rwanda [Koff 2004], Guatemala [Manz 2004, Sanford 2003], Bosnia [Wagner 2008], Cyprus [Kovras 2014]). In Spain, the local community plays a large role throughout the exhumation process. With little financial, legal, or institutional support from the Spanish state, the current exhumations of Republican partisans necessitate collaboration between various experts, non-professional and professional volunteers, and communities of people without specialized training (Ferrándiz 2013; Renshaw 2011, 2010; Rubin 2014; Silva & Macias 2003). These local and vested communities possess historical information and oral testimonies of the dead, and often participate in the localization of the grave site and the actual excavation of bones and objects. As a result of this collaboration, crossover expertise is frequent: scientists may also be exhumation activists, and local and descendant communities of the dead may also be active exhumers. For those socialized into the exhumations—whether as experts or volunteers—the ability to handle this physically and emotionally taxing process and achieve what the Spanish state cannot is a sign of expertise (Zhan 2001).

Forensic anthropologist Francisco “Paco” Etxeberria Gabilondo spoke of the necessity of this kind of crossover expertise at the Spanish exhumations in front of an audience of volunteers, families, and archaeologists at the Milagros exhumation (the word for “miracle” in Spanish) in Burgos, Spain (Figure 2):

From a technical point of view, the remains are analyzed in a laboratory where we can acquire their identifications. This is a technical effort but we also share a part of the larger message—even the political details regarding all of this, the injustice, the scandal of the wars, and the dictatorship. These people died for having ideas, we can share them now or not, but that we recognize that this was very unjust, because they didn't do anything [wrong]—they were persons who did not commit any crime, people who were not in any war.

At the length of these days, some families have come. These families have been interviewed by part of a team that collect the testimonies—this is very important—and only now we are left to pick up the remains with a little bit of dignity, but also to collect these testimonies so that they are not lost. For that reason, if in your own families there

¹ Throughout the dissertation, I draw on archaeologists Theresa Singleton and Charles Orser's term (2003) “local and descendant communities” to refer to those stakeholders connected to excavated remains by proximity (local) or blood (descendant). In the context of the Spanish exhumations, local communities may refer to people currently living nearby the exhumation site, persons who grew up in a town near the site, or other exhumation allies and volunteers who travel to exhumation sites but are not connected to the local community residing there.

are people who are scared—in particular, those of older age—that they do not distance themselves. It would be very good for these testimonies to be collected so that in 20 years perhaps we will understand everything better. This matter that we have here in Burgos is a consequence in all of Spain, in the Canary [Islands], in Valladolid; in all parts, it is the same. There is no site, there does not exist a gravesite where this did not happen. Millions of people were assassinated.

As for the technical part, I now retire, I won't talk anymore—the protagonists are the families that are here present. And if there aren't families here welcomed, they are neighbors who are appreciated for accompanying us here because perhaps they have not been given the opportunity to be recognized in Spain. For the homage that we celebrate [today after the exhumation], it is important to [recognize] the victims, the children of the victims that know perfectly well what occurred here, but sometimes the rest of us who haven't had the chance to give them a message of support and comprehension. This is the opportunity for all of you who have this in your pueblos, to do this now and in the future (Field notes from July 19, 2009).



Figure 2: The local and descendant community of Milagros address forensic anthropologist Paco Etxeberria Gabilondo (right foreground, in floppy hap) at the Milagros exhumation (July 19, 2009, photo by author).

“Paco” Etxeberria’s narrative highlights the shared technical, political, and social aspects of exhumation practice in Spain. He acknowledges the technical role of forensic anthropology² in exhuming, as well as “the political details regarding all of this” that resulted in the tragic deaths of Spanish civilians who did not fight in the war but were killed for their leftist ideology and/or support of the Spanish Republic. But more significantly, Etxeberria demonstrates the importance of the local and descendant communities that, like the “technical part,” are also “protagonists” of the exhumation process. Together, these technical and familial parts of the exhumation illustrate a kind of expertise contingent on both practice and personal expression.

The fact that “the protagonists are the families” who as “victims...know perfectly well what occurred” at the exhumation site plays a central and complicated role in how knowledge is constructed through the practice of exhuming. Given the lack of legal and institutional support to living and dead Republicans since the end of the Civil War, the role of the Republican victim has become privileged at the exhumation. Underlying the symbolic and practical rituals of the exhumation lies clues to a kind of territoriality of the dead body to produce meaning of the past (Das 1987). In a critique of David Riches’ 1986 collection of anthropological approaches to violence, Veena Das writes that:

It is not only in ritual but also in other kinds of spectacles [of violence]...that one finds that an instrumental relation to the body is subordinated to ideas about its territoriality. Accordingly, it is not the instrumentally efficient goal or method that is chosen but one which resonates with the culture (1987:12).

Just as the exhumation is a sociocultural ritual that produces positive results (i.e., the recovery of Republicans for proper burial), it is also a spectacle that projects a certain perspective of the recent Spanish past as being resolved through the creation of victims (Meskell 2002). Drawing upon Das, the dissertation examines how exhuming can produce another kind of violence in which the dead become instrumental in the production of meaning by which the symbolic and practical, the ritual and archaeological, become residual.

My entry into a study of emotions at the Spanish exhumations does not mean to underestimate the importance of power surrounding exhumation ritual. Rather, emotions are a site where power is negotiated and, in the case of Spain, privileges Republican victims and bodies. The ritual of exhuming is not a “mechanical programmed unfolding of prescribed acts” (Rosaldo 2004:172-173), but rather one dictated by cultural, societal, political and historical contexts and relationships. Archaeologist Ernesto Cortes was one of many exhumers that I came to know who spoke out against this type of structured process based on his experience at some of the first exhumations conducted in Spain with a technical team:

² In the U.S., forensic anthropology is a subfield of physical anthropology and forms part of the discipline of anthropology. That is, in order to practice forensics in the legal U.S. system, a forensic anthropologist must have a PhD in anthropology. Forensic anthropology is a medico-legal discipline that deals with the examination of human remains for legal purposes; forensic pathologists require medical training whereas forensic anthropologists do not.

In Spain, forensic anthropology is situated in the discipline of legal medicine and forensics in the school of medicine. Unlike in the U.S., the subfields of anthropology are located in other departments: social anthropology forms part of the philosophy department, archaeology is in the department of geography and prehistory, physical anthropology is in biology, and linguistics is in philology. For an overview on the emerging field of forensic archaeology in the U.S. (i.e., the use of archaeology to address concerns of conflict and disaster recovery), see Crossland 2013.

I don't do *memoria historica*, historical memory [of Republicans]—I do archaeology...It's not that I view my work separate from that of families but I just don't want the scientific archaeological work to be confused with politics and religion. If family members want that, they should do it but that it not be mixed up with the exhumation process. It is a job where you have to be objective, but not impartial. You can't be anything but impartial: a judge does their work objectively but they have to pick a side. This explains why I was able to exhume one of the first graves of rightists killed by *rojos* [communists]—because I was doing my job (Field notes from July 2, 2012).

Cortes later wrote an op-ed in the national newspaper expressing his own frustration with the exhumation process, as well as his involvement in creating this practice:

To bring some sanity to this whole affair, the Spanish government should be in charge of carrying out the exhumations that were submitted to them and in this way put some common sense on the table on such a sensitive issue. The formula that has been used so far, of subsidizing and leaving the work in the hands of non-professional volunteers, has proven to be an erroneous and exhausted [effort]. And I should, at this point, intone myself a *mea culpa* for the share of responsibility that corresponds to me for having helped create something that has escaped our hands and that has created more division than unity (*El País* 2010).

As Cortes points out, exhuming in Spain attempts to follow a certain archaeological protocol but it struggles in getting “mixed up” with the familial and political. The exhumations are a kind of practice that is “created” in that it deviates from the customary “formula” of practice and ritual. Cortes' dilemma between objective fact and moral and political engagement in the production of knowledge reflects a central problem in anthropology (Scheper-Hughes 1995; see also Bourdieu 2000) and archaeology (Lynott & Wylie 1995; Atalay 2012; Tarlow 2001). Writing in conversation with American anthropologist Roy D'Andrade's critique on moral authority and the need to preserve objectivity in anthropology (1995), medical anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes argues that since objectivity is impossible to obtain, anthropologists are obligated to strive for moral and political engagement in their work:

Anthropologists who are privileged to witness human events close up and over time, who are privy to community secrets that are generally hidden from the view of outsiders or from historical scrutiny until much later, after the collective graves have been discovered and the body counts made—have, I believe, an ethical obligation to identify the ills in a spirit of solidarity...Anthropologists, no less than any other professionals, should be held accountable for how we have used and how we have failed to use anthropology as a critical tool at crucial historical moments. It is the act of 'witnessing' that lends our word its moral, at times almost theological, character (418-419).

Cortes' conflict between objectivity and morality in exhuming is reflective of contemporary debates in archaeology between post-processual archaeology and neopositivism (Hodder 2004[1992]; Meskell, ed. 1998). Should Cortes function as an advocate for the communities that he serves when that community has historically been made politically and economically powerless? As American archaeologist Randall McGuire points out in his Marxist approach to political archaeology (2008), archaeology is an inherently political and ideological

practice where the archaeologist's engagement becomes necessary. In the case of the Spanish exhumations, being politically and morally engaged for McGuire means:

Uncovering the remains and identifying them will allow their descendants to claim and properly bury them. It also will recover the memory of Fascist atrocities and confront the fascism that remains in contemporary Spanish society and politics. In Spain, scholars have fashioned an emancipatory praxis of archaeology to confront fascism (2008:2).

In Cortes' critique of the non-professional exhumers, he strives to preserve objectivity in exhuming yet at the same time, the personal experience and emotional significance of his work involves him in ways where he must "pick a side" in order to do his job. Without the institutional or legal assistance of the Spanish government, it becomes critical to follow the cultural force of emotions and interests at the exhumations to understand how this ritualized process has, as Cortes' puts it, "escaped our hands."

For most Spaniards, these exhumations embody the historical tensions and emotional hardships in their society during the last 80 years. The dead operate as markers of how the government should and exhumation can provide historical and emotional significance in the aftermath of the conflict period. Despite its contradictions, the exhumations provide a kind of death ritual for the Spanish dead and living where the state and other legal institutions have fallen short. My research here examines these exhumations as a microcosm of ritual and exhumation practices animated by emotion that connect to larger historical and political contexts.

iii. "i know who my grandfather was."

This ethnography began the summer of 2009 at a café in Ponferrada following the completion of another exhumation witnessed by Renata Gutierrez and her family. Renata had hoped that this time, at this exhumation, she would finally be able to locate the remains of her grandfather. Yet, to my surprise, she was somewhat satisfied with the results of this second "failed" exhumation:

With the first exhumation, I got my hopes up so when they called me telling me that the DNA tests had been negative, the world came over me. I took it very badly. I was so sure [that the bones would correspond to him] because when they did the three tests, the first two came out positive. Even on the radio, I had heard there was a meeting of the historical memory association [in charge of the exhumation], and I had heard on the radio that it said it was him. The first two tests of DNA showed this, and one of them was my grandfather. And on top of this, it went out over the radio. I was totally convinced.

When the third [DNA] test didn't give [a positive identification], well I decided that this time around in San Tomás [the exhumation], I am not going to get too involved again because the last time I passed it badly. Since I didn't know anything about my grandfather, nothing about what had happened, I asked a lot of people. I found out everything that had happened, I even came to have nightmares about the war, about what had happened. As though I was living it at this moment: I dreamt about the war, about my grandfather.

I said, I'm going to fall into depression—it was all day with this thing. And now I say, no, I'm going to take some distance, I'm not going to involve myself too much because I can't return to that and on top of it them telling me that it isn't him. I'm going to take it bit by bit. At least now I know who my grandfather was, I know what he did, and that he was a good person: he didn't mess with anyone, he didn't kill anyone, he didn't do anything against anyone. He went to work one day, and some shameless people, they—[killed him].

Renata had spent 10 years actively looking for her grandfather and while she did not find his remains at the San Tomás exhumation, she expressed to me that “at least now I know who my grandfather is” through this process. The first Spanish exhumation I participated in was the San Tomás exhumation. At the time, I assumed the goal here and at all sites to be the same: the identification of Republican remains. Yet, as my interview with Renata points to, being “very much involved that I dreamed it” is also a meaningful part of the exhumation. Albeit an important element of the exhumation process, identification is not the only goal for archaeologists and local and descendant communities. For Renata, forensic anthropology Etxeberria, and many others who participate in the death rituals of exhuming, to be involved is to know.

The importance of knowing the lives and deaths of the dead over DNA identification lies in understanding what is masked in the production of knowledge. DNA technology aids in determining identity, yet it can often mask the personal and social processes not naturally considered in this procedure (TallBear 2008). The process of exhuming relies on uncovering material culture to further make visible the victims of the conflict period. Following this logic, if Renata's grandfather is not exhumed or identified by DNA, then he cannot technically be considered a victim. Clearly, as Renata's narrative above demonstrates, this is hardly the case: even after two failed attempts at identifying her grandfather, Renata's understanding of who he is is not solely determined by his biological presence and a DNA test—and neither should ours'. An engagement with such narratives and moments lends itself to an ethnographic analysis of exhumation practices in order to recreate the social context in which DNA identification becomes secondary and knowing who they are is fundamental.

iv. dissertation argument and outline.

In the documentary *Emak Bakia* (2013), Basque filmmaker and journalist Oskar Alegria searches for the gravestone of avant-garde artist Man Ray, whose tombstone epitaph is rumored to be “*Emak Bakia!*” meaning “Leave me alone!” in the Euskara language. Without knowing where to begin his search, Alegria decides the best thing to do is “follow a rabbit's path, down the rabbit hole.” A rabbit's way of walking is unstructured and unpredictable, but in the end, its walking pattern forms a path. Like a rabbit's path, my dissertation ethnographically weaves together patterns and relationships of the Spanish present in regards to the phenomenon of death rituals. There are many paths I could have followed to explain the dynamics of the post-conflict present in Spain. I chose to follow those narratives not predicted by the boundaries of ritual, leading me to analyze those crucial moments where meaning escapes structure.

In my dissertation, I examine the practical and symbolic process of exhuming unmarked mass graves from the Spanish Civil War and subsequent Franco dictatorship in contemporary

Spain. In doing so, I attempt to unmask the emotions and interests behind this process that give meaning as to who is allowed to be exhumed, and who is not. My objective as an ethnographer is to capture social and cultural representations where emotions are not simply a theory, but a force and action that animate exhumation practice to privilege certain victims and bodies for exhumation. To disregard these personal aspects and interests misses the actual experience of the people involved in shaping this process. With my tool of ethnography, I situate myself at the edge as well as inside and beyond the gravesite where people's contexts and logics impart action.

In this ethnography of exhumation practice in Spain, I focus on three specific sites that, laid out together, reflect a landscape of meaning. Each site presents a framework for how to understand the complexity of exhuming as a ritual process driven by various and often-conflicting emotions and interests. As a whole, these sites reflect the ethical dimensions and political dynamics of the aftermath of the Spanish conflict period played out in death rituals during the historical memory movement of 2000 to the present.

In Chapter 1, I map out a social history of the exhumations. Given the exclusion of Republican perspectives and bodies in the crafting of the recent Spanish past, it is important to examine what emotions and interests are masked in the making of historical knowledge (Biehl & Locke 2010; Abu El-Haj 2001). Understanding alternative productions of knowledge is not solely a methodological challenge, but a way to critically examine how emotional force as a practice informs history and nation.

In Chapter 2, I walk the reader through the practical and symbolic process of exhuming. The expression of emotions present at the exhumation lends itself to a ritualization of exhumation practice in which meaning reflects upon a Spanish Catholic culture where it is performed. The San Pedro exhumations, for example, draw on and depart from a Spanish ethos of the Catholic tradition revealed in the ritualized process of exhuming the state's unwanted dead.

For Republican families in San Pedro, the exhumation returns to them the right to proper burial, 70 years after the Civil War. Prior to 2000, the circumstances of the dictatorship and democracy prevented Republicans, such as those living in Vilar, from reburying their dead. While the ritual of exhuming helps Republicans recover their dead from unmarked mass graves, it also covers up issues of the recent Spanish past as being resolved through the creation of victims (Meskell 2002; González Ruibal 2007). Exhuming, I suggest in Chapter 3, is a biopolitical process (Foucault 2003[1976]) that categorizes certain populations of dead bodies—such as Moroccan mercenaries who fought for Nationalist Spain under Spanish colonialism (1912-1956)—as not worthy for burial and victimhood (Verdery 2000; Ferrándiz 2011).

For Nationalist families, who unlike Republicans were able to exhume after the war, care of the past lies in *cariño*: love for old bullets and bombs still plentiful in the fields of Miraflores. Through the salvage technologies of farm and exhumation tools (Foucault 1997[1982]; Whitmarsh 2008), I analyze in Chapter 4 the work of *cariño* as a technical and personal response to state disownment of Spain's shameful past. Finally, I conclude with possibilities for an emotionally-driven approach to knowledge production that is more open to personal ways of knowing—an invitation for a critical medical anthropology and science studies approach to exhumation practice.

The dissertation is an attempt by an American medical anthropologist to capture aspects of the Spanish experience of giving the dead a better death through the ritual of exhumation. In it, I reconstruct the social and cultural contexts of exhuming as a death ritual situated in the emotions and interests of the people I met in Spain. The analysis I provide here is but a small reflection of a larger framework: in regards to Spain, it examines exhumation practice as a tool to provide meaning in post-dictatorship Spain, and, on a global level, it speaks to the use of exhumation practice to create knowledge in the aftermath of conflict. My objective in this dissertation is to produce a nuanced, contextual account of the exhumation process in Spain to understand the logics of exhumation practice, emotion, and ritual.

v. methodology: anthropology vs. psychology.

My original project was to study the current psychological effects of the Spanish Civil War and subsequent dictatorship, with an eye to the sociocultural expression of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) in Spain. Yet the families and activists I met, the archaeologists and forensics I worked alongside with, quickly scrapped my hypothesis. I am reminded of Basque anthropologist Joseba Zulaika's work on Basque terrorism in which he reflects on "expert" diagnosis:

In 1985 the local government did hire a committee of 'international experts on terrorism' in order to find out the 'causes' of the problem and offer the appropriate suggestions to handle it. A situation that for Basques is grounded in political and historical logics and is investigated in this ethnography in cultural terms (that is, conceptual and aesthetic) was thus reduced to a technical issue that could be diagnosed and correctly resolved thanks to supposed experts whose findings were allegedly kept partly secret from the public. I can scarcely conceive of grosser intellectual perversion than focusing 'scientific' expertise on a people's collective agony and I need not insist here that such research goals are the polar opposite of my own...Nor could I reduce the lives of my subjects into some objectified field of knowledge such as the study of *homo criminalis*" (2000[1988]:xxix).

Like Zulaika, I found that the only people who were interested in trauma and PTSD in relation to the aftermath of the Civil War and subsequent dictatorship were largely scholars and the psychologists themselves. A social psychological approach to studying traumatic experience and emotions often overemphasizes the individual experience of emotion (see critique, Lutz & White 1986) without a deep consideration of trauma and emotions as cultural expressions of society (Boellstorff & Lindquist 2004).

Conversations with the local and descendant communities of the Civil War dead were indeed tragic and heartbreaking. But to assess people's mourning—as an anthropologist or any other practitioner of the human experience—as traumatic can stigmatize those very life experiences and emotions into the psychological. By staying close to the ethnographical, my dissertation follows along the emotional and social (Good, Subandi & DelVecchio Good 2007; Jenkins 1990, 1996) to understand feelings and interests brought on by reburial and new deaths.

The move to medical anthropology from psychology was a methodological choice for me, as well as a personal one. I began this project as an undergraduate psychology major at UCLA in 2004. With the anthropological guidance of anthropologist Robert Lemelson and

psychologist Patricia Greenfield, and the humble errors of Nancy Scheper-Hughes in *Saints, Scholars, and Schizophrenics* (2001[1976]), my research was directed into the ethnographical. Elsewhere, Scheper-Hughes (2008) questions the value in applying a PTSD model to human suffering. With reference to her research in Brazil and South Africa, she argues that the diagnostic sets up “a conception of human nature and human life as fundamentally vulnerable, frail, and humans as endowed with few and faulty defense mechanisms” (2008:37). Similarly, Lemelson with Laurence Kirmayer and Mark Barad illustrate with their work in Indonesia “the complex interaction of sociocultural, psychological, and neurobiological processes that give rise to individuals’ strengths and resiliencies” (2007:452). In the uncovering of body and spirit at the Spanish exhumations, I also see the work of resilience.

My departure to not frame the aftermath of the Civil War around the psychological, seeped in terms of trauma and Holocaust as proxy for the Spanish experience, was quickly realized in the field. At the San Pedro exhumation (Chapter 2), for example, psychologists questioned archaeologists for crying and assessed families of the killed with onsite questionnaires (Figure 3). Following the exhumation, Lucia of *Psicología sin Fronteras*, Psychology Without Borders, offered her sympathies and expertise at an homage to the 22 bodies exhumed at San Pedro: “We are closing the wound of the land and taking out its pus.” The very presence of psychologists at the San Pedro exhumation, combined with Lucia’s use of pus as a metaphor for people’s pain, did not always offer us resilience.

At another such incident at a conference in Madrid, I questioned the futility of a scholars’ debate on comparing Shoah to the Spanish experience. The debate was, at best, an entertaining academic pursuit for the coterie of scholars in the room to tear down Paul Preston’s current book, *The Spanish Holocaust* (2012), with their own spin of whether Spain should or should not apply the Holocaust to their own experience of violence. While interesting as an intellectual exercise, I am skeptical of comparative tragedies and the sizing up of traumatic tribulations as a form of engagement with “victim” experience. The strength of a Holocaust subtext is only as great as its power of expression in local and descendant communities and realities.

Yet the language of trauma, PTSD, and the Holocaust slowly became regular exhumation shoptalk that—to borrow the psychologist’s pus analogy—was infecting. By infecting, I mean that the exhumation process and sites, while at times can feel like its own microcosm, are not immune to psychological (or anthropological) input from beyond the grave. Iconical and indexical (Crossland 2009), the ability of the exhumation to take on multiple layers and interpretations (Hodder 2008; Joyce 2008)—such as the Holocaust (Baer 2011)—is one of its strengths. And weaknesses.

While the tool of ethnography seems like an obvious methodological choice to situate questions of death and reburial, I was surprised to find myself having to defend my discipline and prove myself as a medical anthropologist trained in sociocultural theory at the exhumations. In San Pedro, for example, my own methodology, like that of the psychologists’, was put to the test. At a community presentation of my preliminary findings in San Pedro, I presented ethnographic data I had collected on why people—priests, archaeologists, association members, and descendants of the dead—felt exhuming was important to them. The local historical memorial association labeled me as a kind of do-gooder researcher with “candid

methodology from California” for presenting to them a PowerPoint with the priest’s opinions side-by-side with their own. “You know nothing about history,” association members told me later when I challenged their faith in the 22 unidentified exhumed bodies as being Republicans and not, as I suggested, possibly Nationalists or Moroccans. My anthropological diagnosis of exhumation results, like that of the psychologists’ probing of exhumation experiences, was not always well received. It was moments like these that it became clear to me the technical as well as the moral stakes of exhumation practice to interpret the past.



Figure 3: A psychologist fills out a psychological questionnaire with Luisa at the San Pedro exhumation (September 3, 2012 photo courtesy *Psicología sin Fronteras* website, <http://psicologiasinfronteras.wordpress.com/>).

vi. anthropological analysis.

The research I examine in this dissertation draws on ethnographic field work data I collected and analyzed in order to theoretically understand informed judgments surrounding how people deal with the aftermath of war and repression. I conducted 17 months of intensive ethnographic field work and archival analysis in Spain and Morocco in two phases.

The first phase capitalized on six weeks of preliminary field work research conducted in Spain from June 2009 to July 2009. During this time, I established contact and the necessary permissions to conduct participant observation research with my university’s IRB office and, in Spain, the communities and organizations critical for the feasibility of the larger dissertation project. In particular, I conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with representatives of

the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory in Ponferrada (ARMH), the Aranzadi Society of Sciences in conjunction with the University of País Vasco, as well as local and descendant communities dedicated to the exhumations in the regions of Madrid and Castilla y León. Upon arrival to Spain, I lived in the capital of Madrid where I was affiliated with the Spanish National Research Council (ILLA-CCHS-CSIC), the largest public institution dedicated to research in Spain. I later moved to Ponferrada in Castilla y León where I lived at the ARMH apartment for volunteers. I also traveled to Vilar (see Chapter 3), Milagros, and Villafranca del Bierzo where I conducted participant observation on the exhumation process. The preliminary data collected in 2009 greatly informed the development of my research and its concerns with the nature of how the dead are cared for and identified.

In the second phase of my research, I returned to Spain in May 2011 to November 2012. During this portion of the field work, I was based in Santiago de Compostela, Galicia where I was affiliated with the Spanish National Research Council's Institute of Heritage Sciences (INCIPIT-CSIC). In addition to my academic affiliation with INCIPIT-CSIC, I conducted exhumations in connection with ARMH, Aranzadi Society of Sciences, and the Project for the Recovery of Historical Memory in Extremadura (PREMEx) at Tudela, San Pedro (see Chapter 2), Fregenal de la Sierra, Miraflores (see Chapter 4), and Teilan. The exhumations I investigated lasted anywhere between one afternoon to one month, and were attended by as few as five and up to as many as three hundred people. In total, I participated in nine active exhumations across Spain and conducted over 30 interviews at sites prior, during, and/or after their exhumation. By nine exhumations, I mean that I was in nine different locations where exhumations took place. For example, I count the San Pedro exhumation as a single exhumation even though it encompassed several individual exhumations of various gravesites. In addition to working at exhumations, I also conducted extensive interviews with children, students, teachers, and families in regards to the exhumation movement.

Given the lack of legal and institutional support of the Spanish exhumations, there is no one central organization conducting exhumations or collecting historical memory data. My dissertation is not a study of organizations or systems; instead, my ethnographic research was guided by introductions to informants, the passing of relevant literature, invitations to exhumations, etc., through which I established varying connections to local and descendant communities. This very personal engagement with exhumation managers challenges the implicit knowledge structures (Foucault 1979) operating on the ground. At the same time, it highlights the inadequacies of public institutions to dictate agency and narration of contested sites through a focus on alternative life histories (e.g., Scheper-Hughes 1992; Biehl 2005; Petryna 2002; Rose & Novas 2008 for an elaboration on Foucault regarding this point). A detailed on-site evaluation of these two contexts—the local and institutional—from a feminist standpoint perspective illuminates how knowledge is negotiated through various exhumation actors and strategies that conventional conceptualizations of state institutions and governments may overlook.

A comparison across these groups and contexts, selected for their varying professional, ideological, and geographical characteristics, was made with respect to their culturally disparate and shared definitions of ritual, emotion, and exhumation practice. Through participant observation, document and discourse analysis, and semi-structured interviews, I assessed how my informants conceptualized and articulated exhumation knowledge. I developed a

standardized interview schedule covering four broad topics: (1) how local and descendant communities, researchers, and/or historical memory associations communicate, debate, and share with each other their knowledge on the exhumations, (2) what strategies and steps, both practical and personal, are used in the exhumation process, (3) the perceived limitations and roadblocks of the exhumation process, and (4) the expectations of exhuming.

While in the field, interviews were digitally recorded and partially transcribed according to standardized interview guidelines and local systems of communication (Briggs 1986). I took field notes during interviews and afterwards, I would review the notes and recordings and correct or expand them to accurately reflect the content of the interview. I spoke to people in Castilian Spanish, Galician, or English and used a translator for some interviews in Morocco conducted in Berber and Arab.

Data management consisted with the construction of a Journler database that combined data from interviews, field notes, documents, texts, and photos, followed by an analysis of the data. Data analysis entailed textual analysis of my data in order to understand the effects of informed judgments and the complexity of current tensions surrounding the exhumation process and knowledge produced through this process. This involves identifying key words, themes, and findings by using qualitative data management of re-reading and re-evaluating the data over time. Qualitative interviews were transcribed and content analyzed for patterns and interpretation.

i. introduction.

Given the exclusion of Republican perspectives and bodies in the crafting of the recent Spanish past, it is important to examine what emotions and interests are masked in the making of historical and archaeological knowledge. Understanding alternative productions of knowledge is not solely a methodological challenge, but a way to critically examine how emotional force as a practice informs history and nation.

Field notes. September 18, 2012.

“And we’re here recovering *putas fachas*, fucking fascists,” grumbles physical anthropologist Dulce. She is slowly picking away at a *peine*, a set of ammunition nestled on the top right shoulder bone of a military soldier. Dulce, João, and I are exhuming a mass grave of Nationalist soldiers from the Spanish Civil War in Miraflores, a tiny pueblo located in Castilla de La Mancha.

João, the youngest of the archaeology team at 20 years old, looks up from the soldier in front of him and corrects Dulce, reminding her that, “Well, they are Nationalists in the *mili*, military, but they could have had any ideology really.”

As João points out, political ideology and affiliation during and after the Spanish Civil War is not a clear-cut science. The Spanish Civil War was not simply a war of “*las dos Españas*,” the two Spains, or the result of “*un país de Cainitas*,” a country of little Cains and Abels, a clash between leftist and rightist ideals (Figure 1). Against the backdrop of the current European economic crisis, what happened during the war and postwar still resonates with many Spaniards today.



Figure 1: *Duelo a garrotazos* (Fight with Cudgels) by Francisco Goya (es.wikipedia.org).

ii. the argentine exhumation model.

The current Spanish exhumations of Republican mass graves are modeled after those conducted by the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (*Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense*, EAAF) following the Argentine Dirty War (EAAF Annual Report 2005). The EAAF, founded by the late American forensic anthropologist Clyde Snow (*Los Angeles Times* 2014) together with Argentine archaeology students in 1984, conducted the first exhumations to apply archaeology to law, justice, and medicine (Fondebrider 2009; Joyce & Stover 1991). When Argentine forensic anthropologist Luis Fondebrider became part of the EAAF as a student, he recalls that:

none of their professors were involved in the project...The rest of the scientific community—for example, the archaeologists and physical anthropologists—showed no interest for one reason or another...In the academic realm, researchers have shown little interest in developing a forensic line of inquiry – although archaeology and anthropology students have insisted on taking part in forensic projects every time they had the opportunity to do so (2009:48-49).

As in Argentina, it has also been students and semi-professional volunteers who make up the bulk of the exhumation teams in Spain.

The exhumations grew out of Spanish families' need—and the state's negligence—for a just methodology to investigate the disappearance of over 10,000 people from the Argentine Dirty War (1976-1983). During the military rule of Argentina, descendants of the killed were, like in Spain, “discouraged” from trying to locate and rebury their murdered relatives after the war. The Argentine exhumations served to identify *los desaparecidos*, the disappeared, as well as identify potential evidence to be used to bring their murderers to trial.

In particular, the group *las Madres de Plaza de Mayo* raised international awareness of the disappeared by gathering every Thursday in a main square in Buenos Aires with boards bearing the photo, name, and date of disappearance of their missing relatives (Domanska 2005). While some of the Mothers wanted to exhume and give their children a proper reburial (Crossland 2000, 2002), other Mothers saw the exhumations as an acceptance of the disappeared's death and subsequently, an acceptance of the violent past. For these Mothers, the exhumation of the disappeared was a second death that sought to close any further investigation of the Dirty War (Robben 2000, 2005). By refusing to accept the disappeared's deaths and potential exhumations, the Mothers fought to keep open the case of the Dirty War disappeared and demonstrate to the government that legal action needed to be taken.

Unlike in Argentina, Chile (Robben 2014), Guatemala (Manz 2004; Sanford 2003), the former Yugoslavia (Wagner 2008), or Rwanda (Koff 2004) where the main objective is to obtain social justice, the Spanish exhumations have only gradually led to a discussion of human rights justice and legal action (Ferrándiz 2010). That is, exhuming and judicial action are not simultaneous movements in Spain. Rather, the goal of the Spanish historical memory movement (*memoria histórica*) is for the exhumations to provide closure for local and descendant communities, with hopes of later translating this information into legal significance for the future. Legal action is complicated in Spain both by the 1977 Amnesty Law, as well as the United Nations' Working Group on Forced Disappearances that only investigates cases subsequent to 1945 (Silva & Macias 2005). As a consequence of this judicial lag and deferred

action, the hope for justice, truth, and reconciliation have become secondary to the more personal and immediate need to give proper burial to the Republican dead. Rather than provide judicial evidence of crime as in Argentina, the central concern of the Spanish exhumations is to supplement the limitations of history through the care and reburial of the state's undesirable dead.

iii. spanish government response to the republican disappeared.

The Spanish government has made some attempts to respond to the ensuing presence of Republican mass graves. In response to the public's frustration with the socialist government's negligence to address the recent Spanish past, Law 52/2007 was passed by Parliament in 2007. Popularly known as the Law of Historical Memory, the main components of the law address the following: the establishment of reparations for victims (2007, articles 8-12), public facilitation of localizing and identifying disappeared persons (articles 13-16), the removal of commemorative symbols and monuments of the Civil War and dictatorship (articles 17-18), granting of Spanish nationality to political victims (articles 20-21), and support for a central archival collection (articles 22-25). The law signaled the first time in Spanish history that the government had formally recognized the killings of Republican war victims and acknowledged those who allegedly disappeared during and after the Civil War. While a first for Spain, many Spaniards felt that the Law of Historical Memory did not go far enough in condemning the violent acts of the war and dictatorship as crimes against humanity.

Disappointed by the Law of Historical Memory, several historical memory associations and families of killed Republicans sent their demands to Judge Baltasar Garzón of the National Court in 2008. Judge Garzón is well known for his investigation of numerous international human rights violation cases. Judge Garzón's investigations include Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet, Rwandan soldiers accused of mass killings after the 1994 genocide, Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori, Argentine military officers involved in the Dirty War, Guatemalan military presidents and officials, the Tibetan genocide, and more recently, Israeli bombing of Gaza in 1992, and the Bush administration for torture at Guantanamo Bay. In 2010, Garzón was disqualified from judicial activity in Spain for 11 years for a charge unrelated to the Franco era report and as of 2013, the former judge was working as the head of Wikileaks' Julian Assange's legal team.

While Spain's universal jurisdiction over international accounts of violence has been questioned,⁵ the courts have been reluctant to tackle the country's own recent past. In regards to this discrepancy, Garzón in turn submitted a report to the Spanish High Court that would take the Law of Historical Memory a step further. In his report (2008), Garzón declared the violence taking place during and after the Civil War as crimes against humanity, assigned penal responsibility to those who had committed the crimes, nullified the Amnesty Law, and made the state responsible for the localization, exhumation, identification, reburial, and registration of 19 mass graves believed to contain thousands of Republicans from the war and postwar period.

⁵ See Golob (2010) and Ferrándiz (2013) for more information on the international involvement of the Spanish judicial branch. A 1985 reform of the Spanish Constitution permitted extension of jurisdiction over crimes committed outside of the Spanish border by nationals or non-nationals while the creation of the National Court, *Audiencia Nacional*, allowed jurisdiction over transnational crimes.

One month and one day after Garzón submitted his report to the Spanish National Court, however, the right-wing trade union *Manos Limpias* (literally, “Clean Hands”) intervened. *Manos Limpias* questioned Garzón’s power of jurisdiction and interpretation of the Amnesty Law on the grounds that he was not entitled to request government departments to provide him papers from the Franco period. As a consequence, Garzón was suspended from his judicial duties in May 2010 and although he was later acquitted of abusing his judicial powers on the Francoist investigation, the Court set a precedent with Garzón to preserve the 1977 Amnesty Law. When asked why he would attempt to investigate the recent Spanish past at an intimate lunch organized by the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, Garzón responded with, “*Me tocaba*,” meaning “It touched me,” or “It was my turn, it was my duty” (field notes, April 2011).

The impact of Garzón’s report and his subsequent dismissal by the Court respond to a larger conversation taking place in Spain on what kind of responsibility the Spanish state should take with crimes committed during the war and postwar. The Court’s final 2012 ruling on Garzón’s report resulted in placing responsibility on regional governments and not the state, essentially falling back on the socialist government’s failed 2007 Law of Historical Memory. In regards to the presence of mass graves from the conflict period, the investigation and declaration of mass graves as a crime against humanity also became the responsibility of the local courts. In return, the state would provide some financial assistance to the exhumations. As a result, the Spanish exhumations developed into a process that largely allocated responsibility and care for unmarked mass graves and their potential exhumation to local and descendant communities of the Republican dead. On an international level, the Spanish High Court recently rejected Argentine Judge María Sevini de Cubría request to extradite a former Franco-era civil guard accused of torture. The Court stated that the charge of torture is subject to a 10-year statute of limitation. In addition, the Court claimed that torture could not be considered a crime against humanity because it is not “a systematic and organized attack on a group of the population” (*El País* 2014).

iv. the spanish exhumation model.

Confronting the truth that lies in the graves and the legacy it exposes remains a controversial issue that has been largely overlooked by the Spanish government, the church, and the courts (Jerez-Farrán & Amago, eds. 2010). “Politics,” notes exhumation activist Paco González, “cannot be entrusted with the exhumations because the answer is not a political one but a societal one.” After the opening of the military archives in 1999, the movement to recover historical memory began with the first public exhumation of Republicans in 2000 by the Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory (ARMH), a historical memory group co-founded by Emilio Silva and Santiago Macias.

Never before had Republicans been permitted to be exhumed and reburied in Spain. The exhumation of Republicans was thwarted following the end of the war not because of technological shortcomings in science, but rather because of the social and political climate of the Francoist regime that discouraged their proper burial. It was not until the first public exhumation of Republicans in 2000, over 60 years after the war, that families like Emilio Silva’s could begin to search for their killed relatives. Wrote Emilio of that first exhumation in 2000 of

his grandfather, Emilio Silva, and thirteen other civilians in Priaranza del Bierzo, León: “It is necessary to make noise in order to awaken the memory again and abandon this slumber that has remained dormant for so many years” (2000:5). While there have been other movements and exhumations led by locals and descendants of the dead, the year 2000 was the year when “the exhumations, as well as the concept of ‘victim’...[had become so] politically inconvenient that it has begun to [make a] mark and disturb the mainstream,” noted Emilio at the 2012 annual ARMH meeting in Madrid. To exhume the bodies of the Republican dead is, in the words of Emilio, to “recover memory and give those who fought for liberty and democracy a place in History that they deserve” (2000:5). In this manner, the exhumations have emerged as an alternative historical tool to give meaning to the recent past through the recovery of Republican remains for proper burial.

While some advancement has occurred in the last 15 years in regards to public recognition of Republicans as victims, addressing the truth behind the tragedy of the war and dictatorship is still a contested matter. As Spanish archaeologist Alfredo Gonzalez Ruibal put it, “There is no common ground [on this issue]; we still cannot even reach a consensus that what Franco did was wrong.” As the case of Garzón and the Law of Historical Memory demonstrates, the state has taken limited legal action on this matter, allocating responsibility to local and descendant communities. With minimal legal and institutional support—financially or otherwise—recent developments have largely centered on the exhumations of the dead by activists, academics, scientists, and local and descendant communities of the dead.

v. exhumation practice as a historical memory tool.

Given the lack of institutional and legal support for recognizing the atrocities committed during the conflict period, what role do the exhumations play in addressing the past? As in Argentina, exhuming in Spain provides a scientific blueprint and historical framework from which to recognize the history, memory, and deaths of Republicans. This complex collaborative process involves the combined knowledge of investigators, professionals, volunteers and the local and descendant communities of the dead.

Within the Spanish context, the exhumation encompasses history (archives), social anthropology (oral testimony), archaeology (artifacts), physical anthropology (remains), and forensics (identity). The process generally includes an historical investigation of the killing, the use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) technology to localize the grave, prospection of the site, excavation of the grave site, the actual exhumation, archaeological analysis of objects recovered, physical anthropological analysis, and when financially available, forensic analysis which ideally would include DNA identification analysis. Given the lack of available funding and technical expertise to sustain forensic analysis in Spain, forensic examination into the medico-legal cause of these unnatural deaths is not always possible in Spain.

Many anthropological explorations of the social and cultural meanings of exhuming today often involve the collaboration of ethnographers and other heritage managers who provide other, non-technical forms of identification information (i.e., identification of personal items next to bones, historical knowledge of mass grave site and events leading up to the killing). This ethno-archaeological approach contributes to collaborations with local and descendant communities in the managing of heritage. In the case of Spain, the main objective at the Spanish

exhumations is to generate knowledge of the recent past and return identified remains to their descendant and local communities for proper burial.

Yet in Spain, where justice has not been addressed as in Argentina, the exhumation assumes the role of law, society, and history. “We always work in the same manner,” explains physical anthropologist Carmen of her exhumation team. “We have a plan, a process of execution, and the only thing we do is repeat this where we go. The only difference [between one exhumation and another] varies in how much social support” an exhumation receives. As Carmen explains, each exhumation that she and her team work on employs the same standard measurements and procedures to locate bodies as they would at any other mass grave site. Yet in the case of exhuming Republican partisans over 70 years after they were killed, the “social support” of the surrounding local and descendant community—and not the legal support of the justice system—plays a significant role in locating bodies and returning them to their community for reburial. In this manner, the foundation of the Spanish exhumation is based on exhumation practice as well as social support to produce knowledge of the past.

As Carmen notes, the exhumation practices applied to each mass grave site is the same at every site (see Ferrándiz & Baer 2008). What varies in this process then is how society contributes to the exhumation (Verdery 2000) and how this social component will in turn produce a different Spanish history and memory via the material culture of the Republican dead. Carmen elaborates:

The necessity of the exhumation is not just to exhume with the objective to identify, but with the objective to generate historical knowledge of what has happened—not just who has killed but in what moment, why in that social context, the political context, what has happened right after the executions, how has the space evolved, how has time evolved in the space of this materiality that corresponds to the repression.

Where justice has not been served, as in the case of Spain, exhumation practice becomes a necessary tool to generate knowledge that, once limited by regime politics, is now revealed through the material remains of the dead and the historical memory of the living.

The historical memory associations that exhume the unmarked graves of Republicans understand the limitations of their work on a legal level, as well as a practical level. For example, DNA identification of individual bones is hardly an option at the Spanish exhumations because of the cost it places on historical memory associations. As a result, most exhumations must rely on historical evidence, archaeological data, and physical anthropological analysis to determine the individual characteristics of skeletal remains (e.g., age range, sex,⁹ evidence of physical trauma to the body).

Notes visiting Australian forensic anthropologist Michelle on the monetary confines of exhumation work in Spain: “Internationally, there’s some people who criticize the work, but I

⁹ I use the term “sex” rather than “gender” to indicate the skeletal analysis of anatomical traits to determine the biological sex of human remains as understood by forensic and physical anthropologists. This assigning of sex to human remains, however, is limiting because it is conceived within biological binaries and modern constructs that naturalize differences of sex, gender, and sexuality. Compare with bioarchaeological concepts of gender where identifying the sex of skeletal remains draws upon feminist and queer theories (see Little 1994) concerned with the reconstruction of gender identity as a dynamic experience of living in a sexed body that is culturally constructed (Agarwal 2012; Geller 2009).

challenge them to come here and find a solution because you can only do so much with restricted funds. If you don't have it, you don't have it." Elsewhere, Michelle has written that while DNA should be considered in every case in Spain, "the urgency is palpable since the memories are becoming erased and the [living] survivors who continue the search are declining in number" (Etxeberria, ed. 2012) While the historical memory associations work in conjunction with scientific and academic institutions, the limitation in funds means that they cannot promise legal justice, evidence of crime, or DNA identification of Republicans.

Yet even without DNA identification, the Spanish exhumations are able to identify the dead and return them to their relatives for proper burial. Together with archaeologists and local and descendant communities, historical memory associations draw on archaeological and physical anthropological analysis that correspond to historical archives and testimonies in order to identify exhumed bones. For example, at an exhumation in Galicia, the archaeological report notes that:

We were able to secure, during the exhumation work as well as here in this archaeological report, that the recovered body at Villahermosa belongs to David Márquez based on both the robustness of his bones as well as the evidence found that coincide with the testimonies: two perforations produced by firearm in the occipital bone of the skull.

In the final section of the report, the forensic anthropologist further confirms the archaeological analysis with laboratory analysis and data on the sex, age estimation, stature, and trauma to the individual. The forensic concludes with recommendations for DNA and while she does not identify the bones as David Márquez's, the bones are understood by the exhumation community to be Márquez and therefore he is returned to them.

In Spain, forensic anthropology is recognized only at the judicial level when exercised by a medical forensic (Malgosa et al. 2010). Unlike in the United States where forensic anthropologists operate professionally as an independent entity, Spanish medical forensics function as civil servants operating directly with the justice department (see *Ministerio de Justicia* website, Sánchez 2010). For example, at the Gurb exhumation, the forensics are able to reliably identify four of the thirteen skeletal remains as Republican soldiers, with the cause of death of all individuals determined as a consequence of firearm lesions. That is, while the forensics are able to positively identify the skeletal remains and determine their cause of death using rigorous scientific methodology, they are unable to *legally* justify these results since the Gurb exhumation was not conducted by a judicial body. Therefore, in the few cases where DNA analysis is fiscally available and forensically possible, as in the case of the Gurb exhumation, identification is not *legally* recognized by the Spanish state.

The lack of a legal infrastructure poses several problems for proper identification of human remains in the context of the recent Spanish exhumations of Republican partisans. These problems include assumptions of victim identification and the varying courses of actions of their presumed relatives in regards to reburial and remembering (Congram & Steadman 2008). As a result, identification is not a purely objective procedure but one determined by exhumation experts and volunteers of both national and foreign citizenship in collaboration with the local and descendant community. The focus on the collaborative and interpretative practices of exhuming over a more formal legal process in Spain is evident in the much-later establishment

of a national Spanish exhumation protocol (Government of Spain 2011) 11 years after the first exhumation of Republicans took place. The Spanish exhumations draw upon the professional standards of forensic exhumation procedures established internationally (i.e., in particular, the exhumation protocols of Guatemala, Argentina, Chile, and Cyprus) while also functioning to address local needs and rituals.

In addition to providing the dead with a proper burial, the exhumations are also, writes American anthropologist Jonah Rubin, “an occasion to conduct the sort of fine-grained historical analysis and archive building that in other contexts might have been carried out by a truth commission or a national reorganization of state records” (2014:12). At the same time, while this kind of personal identification can provide the local community an acceptable means to memorialize the dead and the site where they were killed—what forensic archaeologist Derek Congram and skeletal biologist Dawnie Wolfe Steadman describe as a kind of “cultural identification” of human remains—such practices can lead to further complications in the future, as has been the case in Chile and Kosovo (Baraybar et al. 2007). With little opportunity for legal action, the Spanish exhumation process is less concerned with DNA identification and justice than it is with producing historical knowledge of the recent past via the exhumation of the Republican dead.

chapter 2: *la escuela sagrada de san pedro*, the sacred school of san pedro: an exhumation creed.

i. introduction.

It still exists and has existed hidden for much time in Spain, invisible but very present...Our post-Francoist generation still has not done exorcism. This idea has come to me many times and each time I think about it, the more it makes sense to me. Franco, with all that he did, is still swarming around the bones of the dead—but also the bones of the living.

Isabel, Spanish artist and activist (personal communication, 2012)

The combined emotions of archaeologists, local and descendant communities, and local historical memory associations drive the practical and symbolic process of exhuming in Spain. Implicit in this collaborative effort is an exhumation ritual reflective of Spanish culture and society. While the exhumations are a technical process of analysis and experiment, it is also a practice produced in the interest of society. The San Pedro exhumation, for example, draws on and departs from a Spanish cosmology of a Catholic tradition revealed in the ritualized process of exhuming.

Bones are not passive receptors of society but real agents. As agents, these bodily remains are “exposed and endangered in the world, faced with the risk of emotion, lesion, suffering, sometimes death...nothing is more serious than emotion, which touches the depths of our organic being” (Bourdieu 1997:140, 142). The reasoning behind exhuming in Spain is motivated by a Catholic ethos that upholds the sacredness of bones and the body of the dead. The sacredness attached to the body is explained in *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (2011), where historian Carolina Walker Bynum traces the origins of contemporary Christian sensibilities surrounding the organization of the body in late medieval Europe. The body, explains Bynum, was theorized to be of holy matter in the same way that stars and stones were. The significance of the body as transformative matter is evident in other religions as well, but particularly in Catholicism that places value in the veneration of relics and the sacramental blessings of everyday objects into holy objects. The power of materiality was in its ability to transform and be a site of holy matter and creation (e.g., the transformation of bread into Eucharist). This historical interest in holy matter plays a central role in the exhumations as well. The motivation to exhume stems from a Spanish Catholic worldview in which bones create social relations that in turn animate how knowledge is produced and what bodies and materials are valued.

The environment in which Republicans were killed and now exhumed reflects a society from which a Spanish Catholic ethos is animated. Saudi Arabian anthropologist Talal Asad (1993) writes that religion and ritual are not simply symbolic activities, but also practical ones reflective of everyday life. In this regard, it is important to understand Spanish Catholicism as a social practice and ideology that draws on religious discourses and practices as well as those contexts that may not be categorized as religious. I do not intend in this chapter to lay out the

historical foundations or contemporary parameters of Catholicism or secularism in Spain. Rather, I develop a critical analysis of the social effects of Catholicism in Spain today as practiced and articulated at the exhumations. In doing so, I connect archaeological ritual with the everyday by examining those emotions and interests invoked in exhuming.

How does Spanish Catholicism connect to the current exhumations of Republican partisans? In Spain, the social and political context of mass grave sites and the various people involved with the exhumations comprise of a collective consciousness reflective of a Spanish ethos. Religion is part of this everyday worldview that considers bones as sacred things to be cared for and not violently left in unmarked mass graves. Drawing upon religious historian William Christian, I approach Spanish Catholic religious phenomena surrounding the exhumations as a social, political process reflective of the context in which it is practiced. In *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain*, Christian (1981) examines the social processes of small town religion—what he calls “sacred ecology”—in regards to its distinct practices and experiences with apparitions in the regions of New Castile and Catalonia of late medieval Spain. The experience of apparitions in these two contexts is reflective of a localized religion. “In Spain, as in the rest of Mediterranean Europe,” writes Christian in *Visionaries: The Spanish Republic and the Reign of Christ*, “the sacred is part of the landscape” (1996:302). At the exhumation in San Pedro, I locate an everyday Spanish Catholic ethos as ritually experienced and expressed in exhumation practice. But first, in the next two sections, I contextualize Spanish Catholicism in regards to Francoism (*nacionalcatolicismo*), and the Valley of the Fallen crypt.

ii. catholicism as a modern technology.

In the context of Spain and the Spanish Civil War, what is Spanish Catholicism? Catholicism—by what I mean the institution, its supporters, and ideology—has been an effective human technology (Foucault 1997[1982]) in modernizing Spain. The application of Catholic knowledge (i.e., beliefs, ideology, and values) during the fascist Franco regime justified the dictatorship as a necessary power to modernize Spain. For Franco and Church, modernization signified purging the country of communists and atheists in order to preserve its Spanish Catholic mores and restate itself as a cultural power reminiscent of *los Reyes Católicos*, its Catholic Kings legacy.¹⁰ In *Spanish Catholicism: An Historical Overview*, American historian Stanley Payne reflects on this legacy, noting that:

[t]he dominant cultural forms of Spanish Catholicism did not take full shape until the sixteenth century, but they endured for four centuries, until the later years of the Franco regime. The broader history of Spanish Catholicism should be seen not merely in the spiritual life of the clergy and laity or in the general expression of their religious culture but also in the interaction with national institutions and society throughout this period” (1984:xiii).

The cultural influence of the Spanish *Reconquista* and the imperial and missionary expansion into the Americas reflect a collective consciousness that was carried into the Franco dictatorship.

¹⁰ Historian Stanley Payne (1984:40) notes that at the time of the “discovery” and conquest of the Americas, the terms “modern” (*moderno*) and “progress” (*progreso*) were first used in Castilian Spanish.

Modernity came quickly with Franco, explains Santiago, a priest I spoke with in San Pedro. We meet after mass in the rectory where he tells me that Spain went from a society of “*alpargatas a 600*.” That is, Spain went from being the peasant wearers of simple fiber sandals, *alpargatas*, to the drivers of the Spanish-made SEAT 600, the first car for many Spaniards (Eslava Galán 2010). Like many clergymen I talked with in Spain, Santiago sees Catholicism in the context of the Franco regime as a modernizing force.

Despite its conventional stance on contemporary Spanish issues during the dictatorship,¹¹ the work of Spanish Catholicism has been instrumental in “modernizing” Spain. Italian Catholicism during fascism, for example:

was essentially modern. It saw itself as a child of the present and even as a ‘primitive’ dimension of the future. Past causes, past theoretical formations and even past experiences, were not as important...as present political ‘action’ (Finchelstein 2008:322).

The politics of the Church during Francoism operated in similar ways. As in Italy, Spanish fascism served as a vehicle for the Church to be politically active and aligned with Francoism. The Church and the regime went hand in hand, constituted in the political-religious form of *nacionalcatolicismo*, or National-Catholicism. Like *fascismo italiano* under Benito Mussolini, *nacionalcatolicismo* under Franco was not dogmatic but had “a special mentality” (2008:322), a “feeling” with a “unique soul” (323) that is untraceable but ever-present; a “mental and practical sacred revolution” (322) entrenched in the everyday.

Father Santiago traces this “sacred revolution” of *nacionalcatolicismo* to the Spanish-Catholic colonization of the Americas:

One thing I said one day in Mexico, a Mexican said to me, ‘*Hombre*, you guys took the gold, the silver, destroyed our monuments,’ etcetera. And I said, ‘Yes, yes, but look: We gave you a culture. We gave you a language, eh? And we gave you a faith, with which you know what you are today thanks to the Spanish discovery of America. If the English had discovered it!? It would’ve been totally different. Or the Dutch?! Well, it would’ve been what happened in South Africa—apartheid forms a part of the Protestant mentality, Jansenism. We were there, and *hombre*, we also exploited the women, this is true [laughs], but thanks to all this we founded a culture, we were not racist, hm? We advanced.

“You all did not even exist, *Californiana*,” Santiago says, referring to me. The Americas, explains Santiago, was a nascent land, devoid of faith and culture until Spanish colonialism.

From the perspective of Father Santiago, the land of the Americas was seen as backwards and uncultured. Likewise, during the Spanish Civil War—referred to by Franco as a “crusade”—leftist ideology was considered a threat to Spanish faith and culture. This resistance toward the political left continues today. Father Santiago, for example, describes to me the current educational system of San Pedro as tinged with atheist, communist tendencies that according to him, maintains town ignorance:¹²

¹¹ Under Franco, public law and church regulations dominated social values in Spain. For example, the illegality of divorce and abortion was an established law in Spain until 1981 and 1985, respectively.

¹² Kira Mahamud (2012) writes of children’s science education during the postwar period as one explicitly linked to Catholic teachings of the time. Natural science knowledge was “used as an aid for religious education, for the construction of a national identity and in the awakening of national pride...The transmission of natural science

The socialists are sucking up the system. No one reads here, no one, pfft, nothing, nothing! This town here is like Atapuerca [the archaeological site where vestiges of the earliest known Hominids in Western Europe have been found]. Not modern-day Atapuerca, but how it was at its origins!

Santiago laughs, drawing a comparison between his parish of San Pedro and pre-Catholic Atapuerca hominids, removed from Catholic faith and culture. For Santiago, the absence of Catholicism in San Pedro is equated with ignorance and antiquated ideologies.

Today, many local and descendant communities of the Republican dead reject the institution of the Church for partnering with Franco. As a result, the current exhumations of Republican partisans are often seen as a rejection of the Church. For example, Santiago views the exhumations in San Pedro as having little to do with the ritual care of the dead, and more to do with socialist politics:

The exhumation of cadavers to give them an appropriate sepulture is great. Of course, it is important to respect the cadavers and also respect the pain of the families. Now, when this is politicized, when this is done for revenge, I find it exquisitely distasteful, to utilize the dead to throw them in the face of one another of what the other has done, I think we're going in the wrong direction.

Described in this way, Santiago views the current exhumations as an invention of the political left that moves San Pedro in a direction away from modernity.

For Santiago, the current exhumations of Republicans are considered anti-Catholic and therefore anti-modern. Santiago elaborates, noting that “they [the Republicans] killed Franco’s people, they killed the others as well, no? They killed five priests and a lot [of people] who are in this photo,” he says, motioning to me a black-and-white photo on the rectory wall of a large group of Catholic youths posed in front of the church. The year is 1934. “But *caramba!* They [the local historical memory association in San Pedro] only do it to make revenge; it’s an elite thing, to throw this in the face of the rest.” The photo of the Catholic youth group on the rectory wall, the space on the bookcase where the town archives should be but aren’t because they were burned by Republicans during the war, a small plaque on a pillar near the main church entrance asking for donations to replace the bells that were stolen in wartime; these are small, everyday reminders that test Santiago’s faith of what has been sacrificed to be “modern” and Catholic in Spain.

iii. *nacionalcatolico* perspectives of the enemy body: the valley of the fallen. People who are uncomfortable with or against the current exhumations of Republicans always referred me to *el Valle de los Caídos*, the Valley of the Fallen. The Valley mausoleum is omnipresent and inescapable: its 500-foot stone cross cuts across the landscape as you enter Madrid and is easily seen from distances of 30 miles away. It is the largest mass grave in Europe with over 33,833 people buried there (*El País* 2011). Franco as well as Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, the founder of the fascist Falange political party, are both buried here, side by side, in

knowledge was such that, far from constituting a danger or a threat to the National-Catholic ideology, it reinforced it. These books were a kind of political-religious catechism” (259). Like the teaching of science education, the current exhumations can also be seen as a political, anti-religious technology used to construct a national identity of Republicans.

modest tombs next to the main altar. Mass is still held in the Basilica, including the Requiem Mass on 20-N, November 20th, to honor Franco's (November 20, 1975) and Primo de Rivera's (November 20, 1936) deaths.

The Valley is also a popular tourist attraction: I have paid admission to visit the site with my father while I was studying abroad in Spain in 2004. Another Californian—former governor Arnold Schwarzenegger—recently visited the Valley in 2013 (Figure 1). The iconic presence of the Valley is a living reminder of *nacionalcatolicismo*; ever present in the Spanish mindset and landscape, it stirs heavy sighs and tsks-tsks from the people of the lost at its mention. I crossed the Valley many a time with the curses of my driving companions ringing through my head as we cut across the basin on our way to an exhumation.

“[People make] a great mistake about the Valley of the Fallen: it's not just the dead of the Nationalists that are here. Many of the mass graves are from battles [that were fought] by both sides,” explains Arturo, a historian from San Pedro. We meet at *Casino*, a cafe that the local historical memory association of San Pedro considers to be a living “*facha*” or fascist institution because it served as the Republican headquarters of the region during the war until it was bombed and taken over by the Nationalists. Like many supporters of the political right and skeptics of the exhuming left, Arturo was of the sentiment that the Valley was constructed for everyone and stood in for all the exhumations that could not be done, Nationalist and Republican. Yet others would contend that when the Valley crypt sealed closed in 1959, heavy with the unidentified bones of the dead, it signaled the closing of a possible Spanish truth and reconciliation commission as well. The space and time for reflecting and producing knowledge of the war period was finite, limited to a *nacionalcatolico* narrative told through the Valley.



Figure 1: Arnold Schwarzenegger selfie (left) and group shots (right) in front of the Valley of the Fallen (*Diario de León* 2013).

In place of a formal truth and reconciliation commission, the Valley of the Fallen became the *nacionalcatolico* solution to the Spanish Civil War and dictatorship. Started in the early 1940s and completed in 1959 by Republican war prisoners, the Valley mausoleum sought to (1) venerate Civil War dead who had “fallen” fighting for Franco and the Catholic faith (i.e., Nationalists), and (2) serve as a deposit for the dead exhumed in those years following the war, first for Nationalist partisans and later for both Nationalists and Republicans. In this way, the Valley was the reconciliation.

Only later was the Valley pronounced by the Franco regime as a place to pardon and pray for the victims of the Spanish “Marxist Revolution.” Anxo, one of the archaeology directors of the San Pedro exhumation, explains the significance of the Valley exhumations on Republican and Nationalist bodies during one of our graveside chats:

What they did [the Franco regime in 1959] was go to mass graves, without any type of registry, take all the bones, and send them to the Valley of the Fallen, where there are as many Republicans as there are Nationalists. All the *paisanos*, the countrymen, who came to the farms with trucks, took the bones and *venga!* to the Valley of the Fallen. It’s unfortunate that this memory is supposedly the signification of people’s memory who fought for democracy.

Without a national truth and reconciliation commission, the Valley exhumations stood to carefully construct the knowledge of the war by locking up the bodies of the dead and silencing the living.

From mass grave to Valley crypt, these “bureaucratic” exhumations (Ferrándiz 2011) ordered by the Franco regime succeeded in further destroying the physical evidence and remembrance of the Francoist repression. Worse yet, notes Spanish anthropologist Francisco Ferrándiz, the bodies used to fill the crypt have over time with the humidity fused into the structure of the building itself, making it impossible to distinguish one body from another. What was believed by the *nacionalcatolico* regime as an honor to all Civil War dead has become a desecration of bones, of both Nationalists and Republicans.

The Franco regime understood the symbolic potential of the disappeareds' bodies for the present and future of Spanish historical knowledge. The Valley exhumations reveal how important it was for the regime to respond to the bloody aftermath of the Civil War (i.e., how are we to care for the dead of our enemies?) and the commencement of fascist rule (i.e., how are we to deal with the living descendants of our dead enemies?). The construction of the Valley mausoleum and crypt are an attempt by the regime to address the moral and ethical aspects of reconciliation through the burial of the dead. Yet rather than provide resolution, the Valley bypasses legal forms of reconciliation through the rite of “forgiveness” that forgives Republicans for their “Bolshevik ideology” during the war and dictatorship. In this way, truth and reconciliation are evoked through the forgiveness of sins and caring of the dead.

It is widely accepted today in Spain that the Valley is a failed attempt to reconcile the burden of the war and repression beyond a *nacionalcatolico* perspective. Few studies document the post-war exhumation of Nationalists, and even less information is known about post-war Republican exhumations, the latter which were often conducted in secret (Serrano Moreno 2012; Maiz Vázquez 2012; <http://parquedelamemoria.org/hemeroteca/Interviu>). Despite the dearth of information on exhumations prior to 2000, my intent here is not wholly concerned in

ascertaining how “Catholic” the Valley exhumations were. Rather, my interest is to understand the social value and practice of *nacionalcatolicismo* placed on the Valley to narrate the present and future of Spain via the dead. In this light, it becomes necessary to examine the exhumation as a ritual reflective of a Spanish Catholic ethos.

iv. a spanish catholic ethos at the current exhumations.

For many people in Spain, the Valley exhumations operate under a Spanish Catholic ethos that compromises the persons and bodies of the lost. As a result, the current exhumations attempt to respond to the Valley exhumations in two ways. Firstly, the current exhumations challenge the haphazard exhumation practices conducted by the *nacionalcatolico* regime through the use of modern scientific methodology. Secondly, the current exhumations counteract restrictions imposed during the postwar period that prevented local and descendant communities from reburial or even paying honor to the killed (e.g., the placement of flowers, the Republican flag, or memorials on unmarked graves). While there is no national mausoleum dedicated to Republicans in Spain, there are several smaller, regional mausoleums and mass tombs that serve to recognize and honor Republicans; in this way, the work of exhuming assumes an important, local role in remembering. The current exhumation community recognizes that reconciliation in Spain may always exist in legal purgatory and that at best, the exhumations provide some answers and solace to local and descendant communities.

How are the current exhumations of Republican partisans (2000-) any different from the Valley reburials (1940s-1950s)? The current exhumations enact a democratic science that under Franco, had not been a feasible “methodology.” Spanish archaeologists Xurxo Ayán Vila and Alfredo Gonzalez-Ruibal describe archaeology in Spain as historically a “‘catholic version of fascism’ (*nacionalcatolicismo*)...In the early post-war years, fascist-styled archaeology proceeded to legitimize general Franco’s aspirations” (2012:94). After the death of Franco and the collapse of fascism in Spain, Spanish archaeology, writes American archaeologist Randall McGuire, became deeply influenced by Marxist and, to a lesser extent, feminist theory, particularly in Cataluña (2008:66-68). McGuire attributes the development of Marxist archaeology in Spain as a “reaction to an entrenched cultural historical approach...and to the Anglo-American New Archaeology” (66). Exhuming in Spain, albeit a rigorous scientific endeavor, is guided by the interests and aspirations of the society and history from where it is practiced.

Mateo, an archaeology student at San Pedro, explains that “the problem with archaeology [in Spain today] is that it is a very new science that has been recently renovated, this time at a local level which has never been done before.” Like Xurxo and Alfredo, Mateo acknowledges that his discipline (like mine of anthropology) stems from a long history of colonialism. As Mateo notes, Spanish archaeology reinvented itself under democracy in order to “liberate the understanding of material that can offer a version totally independent of the document.” Spanish archaeologist Carlos Marín Suarez also writes that archaeology touches on three objectives: the technical, practical, and *un fin emancipador*, emancipator, the latter objective being “to liberate archaeology from its learned chains of historical repression and errors” (2005:20). As the archaeologists above describe (all of whom participated in the San Pedro project), archaeology under Spanish democracy is believed to produce a better kind of knowledge than one under *nacionalcatolicismo*.

Archaeology, like any other form of social practice, is shaped by the political effects of constructing the past, thus making it an object of study in itself. The theoretical school of contextual, or post-processual, archaeology developed in the late 1980s in reaction to the “new archaeology” of the 1960s. In *Processual and Postprocessual Archaeologies: Multiple Ways of Knowing the Past* (Preucel, ed. 1991), the authors argue for a larger vision of archaeology beyond positivism, functionalism, relativism, and objectivism in order to question the notion of objectivity and understand archaeology as a practice that produces knowledge. Drawing on Marxist, feminist, and postcolonial critiques, post-processual archaeology centers on “historical context and change and...social and physical environments; acknowledges the active participant, active material culture, and the active archaeologist in the present; focuses on meaning; and conceives of the archaeological record as text or discourse” (Shackel & Little 1992:6). Whether under Spanish democracy or *nacionalcatolicismo*, it is important to recognize exhuming as a practice affected by the politics and interests of the present in its endeavors to articulate the material past.

A critical study of archaeological practice is also a study of embodied experience, of ethos. The exhumation of Republican partisans is an example of how a Spanish sensibility is crafted in practice and experience with the material reality of the Civil War and dictatorship past. In *Experiencing the Past: On the Character of Archaeology*, British archaeologist Michael Shanks argues for “a sketch of archaeology as an embodied practice of sensuous receptivity” (1992:2) that grounds the scientific and academic practices of archaeology as being one of personal experience, ethics, and aesthetics. These very personal emotions and social interests not only shape the practice and symbolism of exhuming, but also inform which bones emerge from the ground and how knowledge of the dead is produced.

As I have explained in the sections above in regards to *nacionalcatolicismo* and the Valley resolution, the milieu in which bones and knowledge are produced is a consequence of a Spanish ethos. This ethos determines which rituals should be in place during the exhumation process and what objects are valued. My field notes on our first day in San Pedro point to such a Spanish ethos at work in exhuming.

August 8, 2012 Field notes.

We all sit in a circle in the living room of the main apartment where the archaeologists and I will be living for the next month. Some of us sit in chairs, others lay on the cool tiled floor rolling cigarettes as Anxo introduces us to the local historical memory association, the Memorial Association of the Concentration Camp of San Pedro (SANPA), that will walk us through the San Pedro exhumation. On that first day, the association makes it clear to us that they want to do the exhumation their way.

I am surprised to learn that SANPA is not comprised mostly of families of the lost. Rather, the majority of its members are left-wing and are politically active in either the local *IU* party (the United Left) or *PSOE* party (the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party). In fact, most of SANPA did not have family members killed during the conflict period;

some even confessed to me that they were in fact from families of the political right.¹³ Politics were at the heart of SANPA's motivations to exhume, but with time, I found the motivation to be of a more personal involvement rather than a political one.

The mood at the meeting is friendly and cordial, but when historian and SANPA member Andrés speaks, his voice is tense and worried: "The visibility of something is pending, that we do it in the way that we're doing it, ok?" A fan opens sharply; its sound cutting across the hot and stuffy room, it quivers and trembles to keep its bearer cool as Andrés' voice picks up speed and momentum:

We have our own rituals, so we will have a memorial service and bring the Republican flag. We're advising you now so that if anyone has a problem with this, well, they can exit or leave the service, *vale*? We have our own way to re-vindicate what we're doing. You all have a technical point of view, but we have a point of view that we uphold that gives importance to what we're doing...Our association has this point of view that is very important, and at no time are we going to curtail this—this mold, this technique. I'm telling you this [now] because [last year]...we had a problem, and this year, at least for me, I am not going to allow it.

Elsewhere (Gonzalez Ruibal, Ayán Vila, & Ceasar 2015), I recalled this scene as a defining moment in San Pedro. This first encounter marked the beginning tensions between SANPA and the archaeologists, an ire that would divide us and confuse us in the already difficult process of exhuming. What I first characterized as anger in Andrés' exchange with the archaeologists, I realize now was his desire for autonomy: Andrés was trying to vocalize his desire to preserve SANPA's own rituals and techniques at the exhumation. At the time, the archaeologists were taken aback by Andrés and SANPA, fearing that the presence of a Republican flag at the homage would alienate people from attending, particularly those who didn't consider themselves politically aligned with Republican ideology.

The tension that day between the archaeologists and SANPA wasn't solely about the presence of the Republican flag at the homage. Only later did it become clear that SANPA wasn't testing the team's ability to define the "visibility of something [that] is pending," as Andrés put it. Rather, SANPA's desire to preserve their "own rituals" sought to define the exhumation according to their own values (i.e., Republican and leftist). At the same time, SANPA's subscription to a specific political perspective—to claim the homage as a Republican homage—encroached on the archaeologists' desire to maintain the exhumation according to their own worldview (i.e., democratic, plural, and secular). To label the San Pedro exhumation—as Republican, *nacionalcatolico*, secular, or democratic—points to the social and personal interests from which a Spanish ethos is enacted at the exhumations. Given this, it is

¹³ One day, I cut out of my afternoon exhumation shift to accompany Father Santiago and a busload of San Pedro parish elders on a field trip to the beautiful Santa Cecilia Catholic Church. I returned to San Pedro in the evening, hoping that no one from SANPA had noticed my absence on the account that I had abandoned my exhumation post for a religious outing. On the contrary, the members of SANPA already knew that I had been at Santa Cecilia: they asked me if I had met their parents, who were also on the bus with me and had told their adult children that they had been accompanied to Santa Cecilia by a young American woman.

with little wonder that both the association and the archaeology team struggled to uphold their own exhumation rituals and techniques.

...

The following week, Anxo presents an invigorating evening talk about our findings so far to the archaeology team, SANPA, and other community members at the San Pedro *Universidad Popular*, similar to a U.S. community college. Upstairs in a stuffy room under yellow florescent lights, Anxo's archaeological talk is given in an ironic Galician humor that he unleashes onto himself through warm anecdotes of home and the postwar. Very subtly, he gives his listeners a message: to abandon the excavation at the San Pedro concentration camp in order to spend more time at the exhumation of the San Pedro cemetery is to create a hierarchy of knowledge evocative of *nacionalcatolico* tactics used during the postwar that discouraged people of the lost from exhuming.

Anxo was expressing the archaeology team's disappointment with SANPA for wanting to abandon the excavation of the San Pedro concentration camp. The team's efforts had originally been evenly split between the concentration camp and the cemetery exhumation, but SANPA had shifted our attention to the latter, prompting us to reorganize and send only about four people a day to excavate the concentration camp structures and foundations.

The use of concentration camps during the Spanish Civil War was a predecessor to the repressive tactics used during the Second World War. With the reorganization of the Spanish concentration camp system in 1936 and the creation of the Concentration Camp Prisoner Inspection (ICCP) in 1937, the Nationalist military sought to classify and reeducate Republican prisoners. There were over 135,000 prisoners in the camps, many which continued to operate well past the end of the war in 1939. The San Pedro camp, in particular, was an important camp in Extremadura for its strategic location and capacity to hold many prisoners at the end of the war—up to 5,950 prisoners. Today, you can still see the cement base for the cross set up in the camp plaza where prisoners were ordered “to sing *el cara al sol*¹⁴ and the obligatory ‘*vivas a Franco*’ or to hear mass” (González Cortés 2010:9). There is controversy among today's conservatives and liberals as to the function of the camp: conservatives say the camp served as a systematic prisoner internment and classification camp, while liberals consider it to be a repressive site of physical and psychological exploitation.

Although the San Pedro concentration camp is protected as a *Bien de Interés Cultural* site—a Property of Cultural Interest, a status that SANPA had worked to obtain—the site still had an owner. The land owner of where the camp was located would not allow the archaeology team to tear up his land for exhuming because he used it as grazing ground for his sheep. As a result, we were only allowed to dig up the structural foundation of the camp, but not deep enough to try and locate bodies. While both the concentration camp and cemetery are equally and historically important sites, SANPA asked the archaeology team to redirect its efforts to the cemetery where the bodies were located. For SANPA, the business of archaeology lied in finding bones.

¹⁴ *Cara al sol*, or Facing the Sun, was the Falange fascist party anthem under the Franco dictatorship, a hymn sung in support of the Spanish dictatorship.

The importance of the graves over the concentration camp became clear one weekend shortly after the discussion of the Republican flag. The directors of the archaeology team and I were at what we thought was a friendly weekend coffee-and-cake gathering at the home of Andrés and his wife Lily. When Teresa, the SANPA vice-president, causally shows up a bit later to join us, we discover that the get-together is in actuality an SANPA meeting, a reminder to the team that the exhumations are “primordial,” as Teresa told us. That is, the bodies of the Republican dead were considered to have more value than the objects at the concentration camp.

Later that week, in a public response to Teresa and Andrés, Anxo defends the value in excavating the concentration camp at the first archaeological *charla* or chat about the team’s current findings in San Pedro.

August 16, 2012 Field notes.

Tonight, Anxo talks before the team and the association at a *charla informativa*, an informative chat given once a week, every week the month we are in San Pedro excavating. We present preliminary research findings, conclusions, and comparative studies evenings after excavating to an audience largely comprised of the association and ourselves. Aside from our next-door neighbors—a rag-tag group of salvage architects I dubbed “Hippies II” (we were “Hippies I”)—few people came to these public archaeology *charlas*. Some said it was because of disinterest, indifference, or the guilt of the pueblo, but perhaps it was also because many SANPA members had open ties to left-wing political parties that not everyone in town endorsed. Although they made it clear that they were exhuming for families and for justice, their fervent desire to make things right worried many people in San Pedro.

We are not just excavating for the sake of science, to “*sacar cosas bonitas*, to take out pretty things,” Anxo tells us. Archaeology, he explains, is necessary to understand not just bones, but also the structure of the concentration camp. To use historian Caroline Walker Bynum (2011), both materials—body and object—are considered equally valuable matter to Anxo and the archaeology team.

Archaeology is still considered a humanities discipline, as something *bonito*, cute, that is dedicated to things that have no practical interest or application. One of the reasons that we are here, from a scientific perspective, is that we can contribute and objectify something that all the world knows: that the Francoist repression was brutal and that the country was under a regime of terror.

Anxo assures the association that our kind of archaeology is beyond simply mining for data:

The necessity of this kind of project is to arrive in the basement of families where you can find a large part of the history of Spain...Traditional archaeology, the one you study in the university, continues to stick with only objects...but what we’re actually interested in is the function of these sites and these objects, especially the meaning they had within the *machina de terror represiva*, the repressive machine of terror [of Francoism]. Deep down, we’re here simply for a

ethical compromise, deep down it's ethics and morals, nothing scientific of getting out objects *bonitos* to fill up a museum.

It is important to note here that within the context of archaeology in Spain, archaeology of the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent dictatorship is uncommon. Like the British model, archaeology in Spain is housed in the department of history, and within this academic home, archaeology is often seen as an inferior mode of knowledge production in comparison with history. For those historians who located knowledge solely in the archives, archaeology was deemed a kind of “playing in the dirt” practice rather than a serious academic discipline. Even within archaeology, teams like the one in San Pedro were a rarity in academia because the work was on the contemporary, which among some archaeologists, was viewed as having very little value when compared to research on antiquities. And within the contemporary, it was a rare team indeed that could secure academic funding to work on the contested issue of the Spanish conflict period (see Joyce & Stover 1991, for a comparable hierarchy of archaeology on the Argentine Dirty War exhumations).

Although the archaeology team in San Pedro would materialize what everyone already knew about the past, it was an important process for the team, together with SANPA and families of the lost, to go through the ritual of exhuming bones. Weren't there other ways to dignify the cemetery and concentration camp dead that didn't require the tricky process of exhumation? Did not uncovering the structures of camp violence also uncover the spirit and body of the 200 Republicans killed in San Pedro? Couldn't SANPA, continue, as before, to pay yearly homage to the 200 without ever having to excavate at either site? While both acts, excavation and exhumation, affirm the memory association's allegiance to the 200 killed, the exhumation of bodies professes something that excavating structures cannot: bones.

The exhumation process converts bones into the physical being of the person, by which the person's killing is remembered through the act of removing their bones from the dirt. Bones, as Teresa reminds the archaeologists, are the “primordial” impetus for the San Pedro project. Bones animate the exhumation process. The significance of bones in exhumations culture suggests an ethos that approaches bones as relics in need of proper care. The ethical stakes and duty to bones is informed by a Catholic ethos that places value in body matter. This is not simply a symbolic gesture, but a practical one as well: the sentiments and interests invested in bones determine how the archaeological team will carry out their work (i.e., an emphasis on the exhumation of bones in the cemetery over the excavation of the concentration camp) and how knowledge about the past is produced (i.e., the use of the Republican flag to honor the exhumed as Republicans). Physical anthropologist Carmen, who exhumed the previous year at San Pedro, explains exhuming in this way:

[The exhumations] really confront *la realidad más cruda* [literally, the rawest reality], the harshest reality of our history—the killings. This is the easiest way to spread [the information]—you're seeing it with your eyes. To deny this information, as has happened in many occasions here, for me, this is a grand mistake.

The exhumations continue to be a battleground to make and create new meanings of the past. The tension over displaying the Republican flag at an homage to the killed, or the privileging of bones over concentration camp structures point to the need for Spanish society to give meaning and care for these once-unwanted bones and persons. Let us turn to Luisa and

Ana, members of SANPA as well as descendants of the dead, and their experience of the San Pedro exhumations.

v. corporeality of the absent body.

During the Spanish Civil War and subsequent Franco dictatorship, the institutions of Church and regime went hand and hand. For this reason, most of my time in Spain was spent in graves, cemeteries, and churches: the mass graves of the Francoist repression were often located in or around church cemeteries, and the Francoist regime had been legitimized by the Catholic Church (Beevor 2006; Casanova 2002). “Religion and the army,” explains Luisa, “were the two pillars of Francoism.”

Luisa tells me that her father is located in an unmarked mass grave in the San Pedro cemetery. Now in her 70s, she grew up knowing that her father was killed “for his ideas,” as those having leftist leanings are politely referred to in Spain. Luisa knew why, but she did not know how or where her father Martín was killed. To exhume his remains would be testament to his death and evidence of the violence committed against civilians like Martín during the Civil War. “If we ourselves don’t know where he is—there’s nothing to justify [his death], just bones. Just to think this...” She gasps and lets her voice drift into the muggy summer night. “It’s what we have,” she says, referring to the possibility of exhuming his bones. “For all that they excavate, I can’t say that this is mine.”

Luisa, her daughter Ana, and I are sprawled out in the patio while the local historian, Andrés, sets up his camera to film Luisa explaining the killing of her father, grandfather, and uncles by local Franco supporters. I had just washed up from a day’s work of exhuming in the San Pedro cemetery with the archaeology team when Andrés invited me to meet mother and daughter at their home in the outskirts of San Pedro.

From the cemetery, Andrés and I make the drive at dark down a dusty road where two dogs meet us at the gate. Luisa follows close behind; greeting us between slaps and yells at the dogs, she gives us entry into her abode. She is a spry woman in her seventies with big blue eyes and long ash-blonde hair loosely pulled back from her face. She wears an oversized floral cotton tunic that hangs on her thin frame and gives her hands space to animate stories for us, weaving one story into another that she would eventually—to the frustration of her daughter Ana—loop altogether at some end. While Andrés sets up his equipment, Luisa insists we drink something in this heat and is not content until one of her guests finally consents to a cold *caña*, a beer. She politely protests to Andrés’ filming and fussing, to which we playfully tease her with promises of fame. “I don’t want to be famous because they didn’t let me open my mouth,” she replies, and with that she begins her story about trying to find her father, 73 years after he was killed.

“The only thing we have that makes him distinct [from other bodies in the grave] is that in the pueblo, there were few people who wore boots. It’s what we have.” She shows me a photo of her father. “It’s the only one we have, and that’s because I stole it!” Equipped with his photo and the memory of his boots, Luisa, like many daughters of the Civil War period, awaits the body of her father. “*Yo tenía mucha falta de mi padre*, I missed my dad a lot—I don’t know if that happens to all girls.” For many children born during the war, the single, spectral photo of

their relative is a provisional placeholder for the body they cannot find and the person they now only knew (Crossland 2009).

To know where he lies, Luisa and her daughter Ana decided that they needed to uncover who Martín was. The lack of information surrounding his existence reflects the larger silence in place after the war occurring across the nation and in the home. This silence perpetuated in the homes of mixed political sympathies as well. Martín's granddaughter, Ana, explains:

We had our *charlas de cocina*, kitchen chats...With my mother, we first started to talk, to have a kind of dialogue and relationship that we never had had until that moment because in my home, my father was very much a person of the [political] right. It was not an easy topic of conversation. I first started to record my mother and—do you remember, mama, in the kitchen? We would go to the kitchen, with my dad already watching TV, and we would do a kind of questionnaire. *Y bueno, a mi—se entre, me se descubro un mundo tremendo*, And well, for me—it enters me, I discover a tremendous world. Imagine it—it's like you have in your house a room that's been there all your life and the door has never been opened. And one day you open it, and—well, first you discover that there is this room, and later you open it and discover—My God but what is this? I didn't know it existed.

Ana, with the same steel blue eyes and blonde hair of her mother, is the eldest of three siblings. Even after her grandfather Martín was killed, the family was marked as “*roja mala*” or a “bad red,” and eventually had to leave for a better life in the northern industrial port city of Barcelona in Cataluña. The split between their previous life in San Pedro and their new life in Barcelona after the war is evident in Luisa's southeastern accent and Ana's Catalan accent. Ana was a successful graphic artist in Barcelona, and now, weary of the work, moved back home to San Pedro to be with her mother. “With 40 years of age, *o sea, se hice pronto*, the years go by quickly, it's almost a lifetime isn't it?” Ana ponders aloud. Through kitchen chats with her mother and internet forums with others also looking for their lost relatives, Ana discovers later in her life what the Civil War was and who her grandfather Martín is. By opening “the door [that] has never been opened,” Ana contributes to the creation of new knowledge of her grandfather as well as the Civil War. It is in these *charlas de cocina*, or kitchen chats, where the ritual of exhuming in Spain begins and an exhumation ethos starts to form.

“But not to say *nada, nada, nada*, nothing at all?” Andrés, the historian, questions the women about the silence within their family on the disappearance of Martín.

“Why—was it fear?” I ask.

“I think—because I thought about it a lot—I think it was a form of protection,” Ana decides. Although Ana had never met her grandfather Martín, she became what is known in the exhumation community as a *portavoz*, a spokesperson for the dead as well as the living that were silenced. In the role of exhumation spokesperson, Ana pieces together documents of Martín's life and death that recognizes Martín's being well before any archaeological intervention has taken place.

Most exhumations in Spain begin in this way. The ritual recovery of Martín, for example, is driven by archaeological inquiry, but largely personal loss. The remaking of Civil War history—a history omitted by the victorious and recovered in the exhumation of the lost—is

said to be the work of the *nietos*, the grandchildren of the defeated who are able to speak past the forced silences of their parents and grandparents (Silva 2000). The ritual of exhuming then is two fold: it venerates the dead's life history through the work of remembrance, while also actively restoring their body to living memory through the exhumation process.

"I don't know if we noticed that it was floating in the air," Luisa wonders, referring to the simultaneously omnipresent yet ethereal everyday presence of her father Martín in their lives. As a child, Luisa recalls looking for her father in the San Pedro town plaza in the hope that he was still alive since evidence proving his death did not exist:

"I didn't know if he had escaped [prison] or not, I doubt it. I would listen for him at all the benches I passed, to see if I knew [the person]. I kept looking. I believed I would find him at any bench, I believed I would find him. I tell you, I dreamed that they were about to shoot him, and so I would put myself like this before him," she says, extending her thin arms out wide from under her tunic, like a bird spreading its wings. "I had many dreams. I believe it's because—I suffered a lot; we have had no conversation."

Mother and daughter followed a paper trail in order to trace Martín's steps from his arrest in La Sirena to San Pedro, the latter being where he was allegedly killed. Ana tells us of their pilgrimage to find her grandfather Martín, their ultimate goal being to exhume his remains:

I was in the jail in Badajoz [Extremadura] in the penitentiary below where they have the [present-day] common prisoners and [also] store Civil War documentation. What do you think of that?!—in the basement, with rats. *Es una verguenza*, it's a disgrace. It's not easy [to get the papers]: you have to write to the government for authorization. They didn't let me take a single copy. To a family member they don't allow it, but for a researcher, they allow them to take [copies]...It was *una romería*¹⁶ *de busqueda de papeles*, a pilgrimage to find the papers, to be able to understand and study what had happened to the family because she [my mother, Luisa] did not know who they were.

"We are the people who lost," Luisa sums up. The archives of the lost continue to be dominated by the victorious and status quo, making the body a privileged site of evidence and truth. The "disgrace" of Martín's paper existence, as Ana says above, further drives their desire for his exhumation. The body, Luisa notes—it's what we *don't* have: we have the memory of boots but no feet, we have a photograph but no person. In the absence of the dead's body, the living fear that the presence of violence can become absent, unhinged from the bones and persons it has affected. Yet unlike the bodies of asylum-seekers in France whose word is authorized by medical expertise (Fassin with d'Halluin 2005), the exhumation of the lost in Spain is a collaborative process driven by local and descendant communities together with archaeologists and local historical memory associations. In the case of Martín, Luisa and Ana devote their evidence and truth into a body—a body that they may never find, and a corporeality that they must actively maintain into existence. In this manner, the corporeality of Martín's absent body is paid homage by his family and community because to *not* do so would

¹⁶ A *romería* is a pilgrimage that people in Spain, as well as in parts of Latin America, make to certain churches to pray for people in need, particularly those suffering from a physical or mental illness. For example, at the A Mel *romería* I attended, people bought candles in the shape of arms, legs, or small babies to burn in a large bonfire in front of the church in hopes of relieving those in suffering (e.g., a candle of a breast is used to pray for someone who has *cancer de mama*, breast cancer).

be to refute the killings and violence of the war. To freely express that “I suffered a lot” by Luisa after a curtain of silence in Spain is a sentiment that marks the beginning of the exhumation process.

The two women continue their exhumation narrative as we sit and listen in the patio. “All this began because of a genealogical error, because I didn’t know how many brothers my grandfather had or what their names were,” explains Ana of a common black hole in Spanish family timelines from either side of the war. “What we would like, I suppose as families of the disappeared, is to find his remains.” Ana, like many Spaniards who grew up at the end of the dictatorship, uses the human rights term “*desaparecido*” or “disappeared” to refer to her grandfather and other victims killed by the Nationalist army during the Civil War and subsequent Francoist dictatorship (Ferrándiz 2010:163; Ferrándiz 2011). This much we knew: Martín was killed and left in an unmarked grave in the cemetery of San Pedro, an earth so cracked and dry that bones exhumed here pulverized at your touch.

My exchanges with Luisa and Ana inside and outside the grave reveal feelings and interests that may seem irrational to the pursuits of exhuming in Spain. Yet if we are to approach the exhumations in San Pedro as a ritual process reflective of such interests, then what Luisa, Ana, and other descendants of the dead contribute to this process plays an important role in how exhumation is performed. The context of when a grave is opened is contingent on the political climate surrounding the exhumations, as well as the sentiments circulating in Luisa’s home. This means that although the killing of Martín was “floating in the air” and emerged in Luisa’s dreams, his exhumation had not been possible because of the national and familial silence of his existence. The desire to produce knowledge and a body of Martín’s existence points to the varied practical and symbolic interests involved in exhuming. These everyday actions, enacted in the spirit of Ana’s archival work and Luisa’s photos and dreams of Martín, also form part of exhumation praxis and feeling.

“There were two classes of citizens: those that had won the war, and those who had lost. It was like in India—do you know of the caste system? It was the same here,” Ana tells me.

“Because of your religion!” emphasizes Luisa, recalling the memory of her family being forced to go to church as was expected in those days in San Pedro and throughout Spain during the dictatorship.

“The losers were segregated [from the war victors]—they didn’t even go to the same dances together,” adds Ana.

“It was a Nationalist-Catholic regime this Catholicism, so everyone went to mass.” Catholicism in Spain, explain the women, was not just a religion or regime, but part of everyday life. During the war, this habitual part of Spanish society determined who was killed and who wasn’t. In the case of Martín and his brothers David, Fernando, and Alfredo, they were killed not at battle as soldiers, but at home as civilians. They were killed because they were Republican partisans and politicians and did not support Franco’s regime: Martín was killed at the end of the Civil War in 1939, Juan and Jose in a “convent-prison” in 1942, and their father, Francisco, in 1941. Martín was the mayor of San Pedro in 1937-1938 when the town fell in the hands of the Nationalists. His brother, David, was a tribunal judge in San Pedro. Martín’s death is believed to be the result of his removal from prison for mass execution, a common bureaucratic killing tactic used during the Civil War known as *las sacas* (López Rodríguez 2006).

Catholicism, as an everyday practice reflective of the Spanish religion and regime, played a large role in determining who was allowed to let live. It contributed to death during the war, and today, it places value in the exhumed.

The desire to know Martín by obtaining his body is also reflective of this Catholic sensibility. Luisa and Ana's desire for his physical remains takes on a kind of *sacramental symbolism*, or what Basque anthropologist Joseba Zulaika describes as a "concern with certain limiting concepts having to do with life as a whole, the notion of death included" (2000[1988]:xxv). In *Basque Violence: Metaphor and Sacrament*, Zulaika examines sacramental symbolism as an analytic to understand the subjective expression of Basque political violence and terrorism in his hometown of Itziar. Apart from religion, he observes the everyday tension between metaphor and sacrament in Basque metaphors and myths as constituted in nationalist violence and narrated in cultural, psychological expressions of that ritual violence. In the same manner, Luisa and Ana's desire for the body of Martín is reflective of their desire to take back his body and person from a regime and religious ideology that contributed to his death, and "resacramentalize" (2000[1988]:48) that same body and person according to their own values and practices: the exhumation.

The desire to find Martín's remains evokes the Christian process of retaining bones as relics. The importance of the relic cult, together with the doctrine of bodily resurrection, was developed in fourth century Western theology and practice that stressed the wholeness and immutability of the body at death. Later, in medieval Europe (fifth to fifteenth century), the need to preserve the integrity of the body demonstrated that, unlike sixteenth century Cartesian dualism, the "body far more than soul raised technical philosophical questions about identity and personhood" (Bynum 1995:xviii; see also Brandes 2002). In the same way, an important part of knowing who Martín is for Luisa and Ana "as families of the disappeared" is "to find his remains"—his bones. The material presence of bones evokes the presence of the dead in a way that their paper or atomic presence (i.e., archival history and DNA identification) cannot.

Even before the archaeological component of the exhumation begins, the desire for his bones and their significance to Luisa and Ana are primordial; by caring for his once-unwanted bones, Luisa and Ana give meaning to Martín's life and untimely death. The importance of giving Martín a proper burial points to this historical preference in Christianity of wanting to preserve the body for eternity. Following this logic, exhuming solves the problem of the partitioned body by reuniting the bones of killed Republicans for proper reburial and thus, proper continuity of the disappeared's identity and personhood beyond historical documents and DNA identification technologies.

In the Catholic tradition, to care for the dead's bones is to care for the dead's soul in which bones left on earth become a kind of gatekeeper to the soul. In order to preserve the integrity of the body, relics, such as bones, would represent the resurrected body or the saint itself on earth. This same desire to preserve the wholeness of the body is reinforced in the sacrament of the Eucharist. Writes American medieval historian Caroline Bynum on the historical basis for honoring relics:

[D]ecay was not really decay; parts were merely dispersed; even if swallowed, digested, made into alien flesh, excreted, or rotted; they did not finally become anything else. Increasingly, the hope of Christians lay in the promise that scattered bones and dust,

marked in some way for their own bodies, would be reunited...The final change to stasis would come only at the end of time, but the jewellike hardness of the relic (whether it was to the eye of the beholder a part or a whole) could move the tired bodies of ordinary believers a little way toward the resurrection while still on earth (1995:108).

Like bread and wine, bones are also ordinary objects but unlike other objects, they can perish. Through the ritual of death, they are separated from their body and in this process, become sacred. During the exhumation, bones are also cared for as sacred objects even though they are suppose to be approached as “individuals” and not actual persons until identification analysis can be conducted.

In the process of exhuming, including in the case of Spain, the identification of bones does not occur at the exhumation itself. Identification of bones occurs much later—if at all, given the politics in Spain surrounding the exhumation of Republicans—by which then the bones are in the privacy of a lab and consequently, not in view of the family. In the case of San Pedro, the exhumation took place between August 9, 2012 to September 9, 2012; the cleaning and anthropological analysis of the remains (determination of sex, age at death, stature, dentition, pathological characteristics, and perimortem trauma) took place in the laboratory from October 2012 to November 2012. As of date, DNA identification of the remains has not taken place.¹⁹ Identified or not, exhumed bones still possess value for Luisa and Ana well before the technical efforts of exhuming are or can be enacted. The value of the exhumation process lies in bones insomuch as they are a vehicle that confirm the dead’s existence and in turn, become sacred. The process by which bones become sacred stems from a Spanish ethos that locates sacredness in exhuming, a ritual that begins with the living and their desire to know where their dead lie.

Other San Pedro families like Luisa and Ana also wanted to know where their dead relatives were, and by 2005, a local historical memory association had formed to uncover more information about those who were killed in San Pedro. *La Asociación Memorial Campo de Concentración de San Pedro* (SANPA), the Memorial Association of the Concentration Camp of San Pedro composed of local and descendant communities of the Republican dead and came together to investigate their history, organize homages in memory of the dead, and eventually, to exhume.

In August 2011, the exhumations began in San Pedro and continued the following year with funding obtained by SANPA from the Ministry of the Presidency. In August 2012, together with SANPA, an archaeological team, and other families of the killed, we would spend one month searching for Martín and the other 200 persons killed in the San Pedro cemetery. Could one of these bodies be Martín? Later that month, Ana visits the exhumation site where we are working in a section of the cemetery that, during the war, was considered separate from the sacred Catholic grounds; it was here that Republicans were killed and left in mass graves.

¹⁹ An important limitation of this dissertation is the omittance of archaeological information following the conclusion of exhumations. I concluded collecting field data in November 2012 and while I am still in contact with the informants of this study, further research on the aftermath and subsequent analyses of the exhumation sites examined in the dissertation is required for a more comprehensive vision of the current exhumation process in Spain.

Speaking from inside the grave with a cigarette cast to her side (Figure 2), Ana glances down at six exhumed bodies tied together at the wrists with electric cable. “For me, this is the homage,” she says without looking up, referring to the ritual devotion of the exhumation process itself, and not necessarily the identification of individual bones to body. I follow Ana’s gaze at the exposed bones before me and cannot begin to understand what bones and the exhumation process must mean to her and her family.

Luisa and Ana knew that they might never be able to locate Martín’s bones. At most, they could only hope that the exhumation process itself—and not the actual exhumation of his individual bones but of *someone’s* bones—might purge Martín from his current place of violent death and obscurity. By virtue of the exhumation process that begins with their desire to know who he is and have his remains, Luisa and Ana hope to recover some aspect of Martín, for, as Luisa explains, “*Creo que todavía no me ha salido del cuerpo*, I believe it still has not left my body.” The desire to know and feel within her own body as to who her father is via the exhumation is a sentiment embodied by Luisa that in turn animates the exhumation process. As historian Timothy Mitchell writes in relation to the symbolic and emotional significance of Andalusian Holy Week traditions in southern Spain (1990), the ethos motivating Spanish practices and rituals embodies what it means to be Spanish—and to have lost family during the war and dictatorship.



Figure 2: Ana takes a photo of six exhumed bodies, tied together at the wrists with electric wire, in the Castuera cemetery (September 1, 2012, photo by author).

...

Although the war and dictatorship were over and the Catholic Church no longer possessed the political power it had before, Luisa was doubtful of any formal form of reconciliation to take place in Spain in the near future. “*No se cae ni la puerta de la iglesia*, not even the door of the church falls,” she advises me, meaning that the institution of the church does not fall so quickly, the vestiges of its foundation lingering in the Spanish present. With her words in mind, the larger goal of the chapter is to understand how such everyday personal and social interests, particularly those relating to a Spanish Catholic ethos, actively animate the exhumation process. I will return to the significance of bones and their impact on how knowledge is produced by walking you through the rituals of the San Pedro exhumation.

vi. diary of an exhumation: san pedro catechisms.

Catechism

Katēkhizein (Greek) = art, craft. Tech.

why exhume?

August 9, 2012. Field notes.

The archaeological team arrives in San Pedro from Santiago de Compostela, an 8-hour drive, and meets with SANPA vice-president Teresa at the bar of the community swimming pool. From her hands dangle a Republican flag keychain and, later when we walk her to her car, I see she has a Republican flag bumper sticker and a dream catcher swinging from her rearview mirror. The team and I shift uncomfortably in lawn chairs as the head archaeologist Anxo introduces us to her. Right off the bat, he makes it clear to her that the motivation to exhume cannot be to locate family members in the cemetery—this can be impossible to know—but the desire “to make things right.” The team would respond, with the knowledge and technology they had, to find the bodies of the lost; finding persons would have to be left up to SANPA and the families.

As described in Ríos et al. (2012:5), a DNA study of a mass grave and cemeteries is requested when compatible information on (1) testimonies (location of the grave, number of victims buried, identity of victims, age of death of victims), (2) archaeological findings (location of grave, exhumation of skeletons), (3) archives (ages of death, height so victims), and (4) osteological findings (bone analysis, dental analysis) exists. Even with these finds, DNA identification can be difficult: “We have to be cautious about any statement regarding the identification of a group of people (or one person, as in the case presented here) presumably buried together once the identification for one or more of the persons from the group has been proposed. Various events may have transpired between the kidnapping of people from towns and their assassination in the countryside, precluding in some cases a complete coincidence between testimonies and archeological and osteological findings.”

Altogether, we are twelve archaeologists, one sociocultural anthropologist, two psychologists, a handful of families of the lost, and a determined local historical memory association whose aim is to uncover all 200 Republican partisans in San Pedro.

To obtain funding for the exhumation, family members of the lost form a historical memory association (i.e., in this case, SANPA) in order to finance and contract the archaeology team. Yet, as I have mentioned earlier in the chapter, very few SANPA members are also family members of the lost. Teresa's grandfather, for example, was killed during the conflict period, and although he was not killed in San Pedro, part of Teresa's motivation stems from her desire to help others find their relatives. Like other associations in Spain, SANPA's connection to the dead and motivation to exhume is not necessarily determined by kinship or even politics (i.e., as mentioned above, some SANPA members are from right-wing families). In this way, the reason to exhume is tied to reasons beyond blood or political relations.



Figure 3: The author exhumes inside an unmarked Civil War grave while a family behind her cleans off their tombstone in the *nichos*, or nests (September 2012, photo courtesy Xurxo Ayán Vila and guerraenlauniversidad.com).

August 13, 2012. Field notes.

The early morning sun creeps up over the walls of the San Pedro cemetery. On one side of the wall is the sacred cemetery, and on the other is a mess of thorny weeds that will become our temporary toilet. I follow Felipe, our archaeology technician, into the cemetery. He takes off his tattered straw hat upon entering the cemetery, and later again when entering the *capilla*, a small chapel where we will store our tools. Our triumphant early start in the chilly San Pedro morning lasts only a couple of hours until we are sweating and sticky with dirt and debris that is typical of this kind of work in 100 degree weather. We begin to dig and look for the 200 bodies that the association has instructed us to find.

We rip apart the entire cemetery: the front left entrance, the front right entrance, inside behind the chapel and between the trees. Layers of death dominate the San Pedro cemetery, a necrohierarchy in which old forgotten tombs in wooden caskets from long ago sit below manicured *nichos*, little nests with headstones bearing photos and names of their owners. Somewhere in between the stacked *nichos* and the mess of old caskets lie the disappeared; never buried too deep, it is said, because it was less work for the killers but also so that the dead were close enough to the surface for dogs and other animals to dig them up and desecrate them (Figure 3, on page 53).



Figure 4: Examples of Nationalist tombstones in the Castuera cemetery. (August 2012, photo by author).

It's summertime in San Pedro, and the cemetery is busy with city visitors coming home. I am reminded of the opening scene from the Pedro Almodóvar classic *Volver* ("Return") where Penelope Cruz and her family perform the yearly ritual of tending the tombstone of their mother, who, as the story unfolds, is not dead but has been in hiding all these years. In San Pedro, all day, families in t-shirts and tank tops come to wipe clean their tombstones and put fresh flowers, only slightly surprised to find us tearing up the cemetery terrain. When there is a lull in digging, we take a break and walk the cemetery streets to read the epithets, some belonging to Nationalists: died "Year of the Victory, 1939" and "Died for God and Spain" (Figure 4).

It is our first day exhuming in the cemetery. The general goal of the archaeologists and the association is two-fold: to generate knowledge and produce the bodies of the 200 Republican partisans. At the moment, the 200 exist in the “official” archives, a long list of names of defeat, repression, and humiliation. Today, we find no one.

when do bones cease to be bones?

August 16, 2012. Field notes.

Outside the cemetery walls, front left entrance. It was not uncommon to kill and then purposely bury enemies outside of the cemetery walls as a way to blaspheme the bodies and mark them so that even in death, the enemy was at the margins of the cemetery as well as society. The *palista*, atop his bulldozer, skillfully tears up the ground, and as he does, Anxo, Sonia, Jorge, and I keep watch to one side, looking for bone fragments and any other signs of death. Every once in awhile, Anxo and Sonia tell the *palista* to stop so they can jump into the ditch with a trowel to sift through the dirt for closer inspection.

Nothing. They resume their position aside the growing mound of dirt and let the bulldozer continue to pick up dirt, dump dirt, pick up, and dump, over and over again, a form of devotion through steady repetition until a miracle happens and the bones appear. “*Los huesos termina todo, se calman*. The bones end everything, they calm down,” says Jorge on our fourth day with the bulldozer, noting that the discovery of bones would calm down the association. “Yes, it is an antibiotic,” says Anxo lazily under the shade of a cemetery tree as he watches the dirt, intently, for signs of death. The corporeality of the lost would put everything to rest.

Exhausted, I was starting to believe too, given over to the power of exhuming: If we could just exhume a little bit more, we would find them all, we could liberate them from the rightists, the Fascists, the anti-exhumers, the Church, the ones who said that this was just opening up old sentiments and wounds. We could save them.

August 17, 2012. Field notes.

We find bones. But, to the disappointment of the memorial association, they are not “new bones”—they are the bones that the exhumation team had found last year at the end of the project period. How can you tell? Sonia, the physical anthropologist, points out the change in color and compactness of the turned-over earth that has shifted in their exhuming. We stop bulldozing, and start cutting into the dirt on our hands and knees and tiptoes; taking off layers of dirt with small knives and wooden picks, we create small oases around the bones, defining them and giving shape to shadows now saints. Time for a photo: we tidy up the bodies with paintbrushes to get rid of excess dirt around the bones so that they are clean for measurements and markings. We scamper out of the grave and line up on its edge, careful not to let our water bottles slide down into the site. After the archaeologists take their photos, Sonia jumps into the grave and

gives us (and anyone who will listen) a graveside chat on our progress at this particular site so far (Figure 5).



Figure 5: Sonia explains our progress so far to the archaeology team and association volunteers (August 2012, photo by author).

August 23, 2012. Field notes.

It is a surreal feeling to be exhuming while over your shoulder Anita is telling you the story of how her mother, María, was killed in the San Pedro prison by local members of the Falange on May 6, 1939, a month after the Civil War ended (López Rodríguez 2011).²¹ And that perhaps, just maybe, the bones in front of you are hers. It was not uncommon for the archaeologists (including this anthropologist) to break down listening to such personal stories while exhuming, suffocated from within the mass grave by dust and heartbreak.

“When you are there with the *cucharita*, the little spoon [exhuming], what are you thinking?” Anita asks me from above the gravesite (Figure 6). My back is toward her, so I stop exhuming and turn around, telling her that it is not the bones that most affect me but the personal objects that they carry with them: I imagine what decisions had gone into obtaining the spectacles and prosthetic teeth—all things we would find—and the journey they and their owner had taken that ended here. These objects, for me at least, are more personal than bones that, to some extent, look all the same. Yet bones are

²¹ For more information on Anita and her mother, see: <http://brisadeoctubre.blogspot.com/2011/08/memorias-de-Anita-Rodríguez-memorias.html>.

not unlike any other material because they are a person. Until we find that absent body, the person dwells in feelings of hope and despair, in anticipation for body to connect with soul.



Figure 6: Anita visits the exhumation (August 23, 2012, photo courtesy by Rui Gomes Coelho).

Anita had pulled up a white lawn chair at the mouth of the exhumation where Anxo was knelt beside her. “How many more years must we wait?” Anita causally asks Anxo as though she was asking him for the time of day. She arrives at the cemetery at 9am, when the sun is just beginning to crest on our backs and the after-lunch SANPA crowd hasn't shown up yet. Anita would visit us often that summer, always offering us words of encouragement in her airy summer floral prints, her lips frosted pink and a parasol over her head, she looked so cool (Figure 7). She tells us that she is here for her—her mother who they call “*la maestra*,” the teacher—and for all of them.

The team hisses at me to leave archaeology for a moment and “go do anthropology” with Anita. But I don't want to talk to Anita, not now at least. I am dehydrated and emotionally exhausted and I knew it would be a very sad story, one that I would want to sit down with Anita in private to hear and hear good.

Anita, a teacher like her mother, takes me on a stroll around the cemetery and shows me the tombstone of her mother, right by the front entrance. We came from the

exhumation yet here is her tomb, with the words “GRACIAS POR EXISTIR, THANK YOU FOR EXISTING” inscribed below her photo.

If Anita's mother María had a place to rest, what was left to be done then? Although María was connected to the socialist movement (i.e., a non-Catholic political affiliation) at the time of her killing, Anita wants to give her mother a proper Catholic burial: “She has been a memory, an inspiration for the memory...What most people don't know is that when she died, her last words were for God to protect her daughters.”



Figure 7: Anita watches the bulldozer tear open the cemetery in search of Civil War bones (August 2012, photo courtesy Xurxo Ayán Vila and guerraenlauniversidad.com)

According to the Catholic Church, burial is a form of respect for a person's soul, a care not afforded to everyone: “The bodies of the dead must be treated with respect and charity, in faith and hope of the Resurrection. The burial of the dead is a corporal work of mercy; it honors the children of God, who are temples of the Holy Spirit (Catholic Church 2000:Paragraph 2300).²² In this respect, María's large tombstone at the front of cemetery was

²² See also the *Catholic Encyclopedia* on Church law regarding burial: “The last rites of the Church constitute a mark of respect which is not to be shown to those who in their lives have proved themselves unworthy of it. In this way various classes of persons are excluded from Christian reburial...If an excommunicated person be buried in a church or in a consecrated cemetery the place is thereby desecrated, and, whenever possible, the remains must be exhumed and buried elsewhere” (Herbermann, ed. 1908:71-72).

quite a statement. María was killed, they believe, for two reasons. Firstly, she was a teacher by profession and therefore considered a potential threat to Nationalist-Catholic mores. Secondly, she was the wife of a socialist leader—Anita's father. María is registered as having “died” March 1939 for “reasons of war, outside the walls of this town,” according to the “Civil Register Book of Death” (López Rodríguez 2011:870).

Even though María had a grave, Anita expressed the importance of giving her a Catholic burial. During a Catholic burial, a special Mass—*Missa de Requie*, the Mass for the Dead—is offered for the benefit of the living family of the dead, but also for the benefit of the soul of the dead, which in the Catholic faith never dies nor returns to life or its body. The Mass prays for the soul to suffer only temporary punishment for sins committed during its life, in hopes that the soul will rise from a death of sin to a life of grace. Bones left on earth then become gateways to the soul.

For Anita and others concerned about the bones of their relatives, bodily remains become their connection to the person they lost—their personhood, or soul. Without her bones at rest, María's soul could not be at rest either. In the context of the Spanish exhumation, María's body and person are separated, desecrated by violence. The exhumation attempts to remedy this by honoring person and, when found, bones. In this way, the exhumation prepares both the living and dead for reburial, so that bones and person can be unified: the body at rest and the person in grace.

For those who knew her story and death, María had become a kind of saint in the San Pedro exhumation community. According to Roman Catholic teachings, a saint is a dead person formally recognized by the Church as worthy of devotion for their holy ways. Saints are believed to be in Heaven, but sometimes their physical remains, or relics, linger on earth. A saint's bones, for example, are considered a first-class relic because of its corporeal access to the divine. Similarly, even though María is honored with a tombstone in the cemetery where she was killed, it is important for her daughter Anita, along with SANPA and the archaeologists, to find her bones.

In Catholicism, bones, as well as hair, blood, and teeth, are venerated but also serve a more practical purpose by acting as a medium to bring the believer closer to the saint, who can bring the believer closer to God. At the exhumation, what remains to be buried and understood are valued for the information they possess, but also for their evocative ability to recall the emotions and senses of the past. These bones and personal objects of the killed are not unlike historical relics. In *Sacred Relics* (2013), American historian Teresa Barnett's study of nineteenth-century popular relics, particularly from the U.S. Civil War, approaches relics as an important form of historical knowledge providing material evidence on the past in the same vein as scientific specimens or historical documents. Artifacts, such as fragments of Plymouth Rock or Civil War soldier skulls, for example, were considered historical relics in that, like saints' relics, they embodied sentiments and sympathies of the violent past, even in their fragmentary form (see also Kammen 2010). Bones and relics are as sacred and holy as they are shared and everyday. It was for this reason that we had to find María's bones: her bones were at once familial and sacred, embodying a shared consciousness of the personal and larger collective wishes of Anita, the archaeologists, and SANPA.

“They killed three women, so it should be easy to identify her. She was recently pregnant, so this will show,” Anita says, confident that we will know her mother's bones when we see them. Like Luisa and Ana, Anita and her family have the memory, the history, and a tombstone for her mother María. All that is missing are her bones.

Afterwards, I lay out in front of the cemetery to catch my breath in the dry brush and watch a shepherd lead a herd of sheep westward, in the direction of the former concentration camp.

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August 23, 2012. Field notes.

“Bones stop being bones at the moment you open the grave and start to speak about this. The bones become a person that had a life, a family, children...” says Teresa. Guillermo, another association member, adds, “For the representatives of the Church, bones are just bones, it has no significance for them.” In this way, bones only became more than bones depending on one’s politics. And in Spain, politics includes the Catholic Church.

August 22, 2012. Field notes.

Hector, a priest, local historian, and avid blogger argues that the emotions tied to the exhumation process are, “a thing that was artificially promoted.” He is a local, home for summer, and at his suggestion, we meet at *Casino*, the same cafe I had met the historian Arturo. Hector is dressed in a simple black shirt and slacks, with a clerical collar. “Yes, yes, people are concerned about this,” says Hector, referring to the people of the lost who don't know where the bodies of their relatives are:

But realize that we're talking about something that happened 75 years ago. I speak of my own beliefs—I am Christian, I believe in reincarnation, I am concerned about where my grandfather [a Nationalist killed in the Civil War] is buried. But I don't find it dramatic to *not* know where he is. The ultimate state for me is quite secondary.

Many people who are against the exhumation movement shared this same sentiment as Hector: why all the emotions if this—the killing of people for their beliefs and ideologies—happened 75 years ago? Bones for many supporters of the Franco regime ceased being persons long ago; today, they are just bones, their potential materialization a threat to many of the living.

The exhumations, however, are changing this, which worries many people who perhaps had relatives implicated in the violence or who simply do not want to recall the past. The exhumations—and what they uncover—disturb people precisely because the bones were a person, *are* a person. Like Arturo, Hector refers me to the Valley of the Fallen and the Amnesty of 1977 as testament as to why the current exhumations are not necessary:

August 22, 2012. Field notes.

“Here in the surrounding pueblos, they always did their exhumations. And in the current cemetery, there are tombstones from this time,” Hector reminds me, yet his comment only applies to Nationalists who were allowed to be exhumed and placed in tombs after the war.

Hector continues, describing the current exhumations as a “recent phenomenon:” “The exhumations came following behind [*la causa*, the official proceedings of the Civil War], but the political utilization of the exhumations is more recent.” For Hector, exhumations of the “*protagonistas*,” or “*la gente normal*,” the normal people, were conducted to sanctify the dead who fought for Franco; all other non-Catholic-Nationalist exhumations he considered political. “*Si, hombre*, all of it seems *alto científico*, highly scientific, it seems very interesting to me,” he says, glancing over the archaeological report of the previous year’s exhumation (2011) that I brought him. Examining the report as priest and historian, Hector approves of it, satisfied that the exhumations are scientific and protected from personal and political agendas. For Hector, the Valley exhumations were apolitical and purely scientific, whereas he is skeptical of knowledge produced at the current exhumations, the latter which he dismisses as political and therefore not scientific.

Hector’s desire “to *not* know where he is” suggests a relationship with bones that place them as social, personal, and political things. Bones for Hector and many people besides the relatives of the killed are also an emotionally-charged material that possess a potential person.

Likewise, in the case of Anita, as well as for Teresa and Andrés of the association and Anxo and Sonia of the archaeology team, they all must refrain from ascribing personhood to bones if they are dedicated to the exhumation practice. While Anxo and Sonia want to expose the materiality of the regime’s violence at the camp and cemetery to “make things right,” they are limited by what the grave can reveal to them 70 years after the killings. For Teresa and Andrés of SANPA, they also want to conduct the exhumation according to their own desires, but must let the handling of bones be managed by the archaeologists. Even though she has her history and tombstone, Anita still hopes to find the bones of her mother before she herself dies. These various personal and social interests both limit and extend the rite of bones, a consequence of a Spanish Catholic society in which such bones are sacred.

The exhumation reveals a Spanish Catholic ethos in those moments when Anxo and Sonia, Andrés and Teresa, Hector, and Anita’s relationship with bones become entangled in the nuances of the everyday. For example, is the placing of the Republican flag at the homage a political gesture, or is it an assertion of SANPA’s own rituals and techniques at the exhumation? How do we make sense of María’s tombstone with no bones, or Anxo’s intent to find bones for SANPA so that they calm down? These examples point to a Spanish Catholic ethos at instances where the concept of “Catholic” becomes fluid and everyday in the interest of exhuming. Physical anthropologist Carmen explains:

You get to know those bones as a person, [you get to know] their family. I know what it is, if it is a femur or a tibia, left or right, man, woman, tall, short. But later, that bone belongs to a person and later we need to look at what happened to this person in their life, what state of health they had—we are going to see this from the bones, from the teeth. Later, we are going to see their cause of death and later we are going to try to match it with the social context...*Hombre*, man, of course I generate a link to the bodies that you’re analyzing. There also exists a scientific distance, like in every profession. You give [the body] not just an anthropological profile, a death profile, and the possibility of

identification but you also are going to include them in a group, a context, a society...In this way, the circle closes. You generate a link, not just with the body but with the person, with the history, with each of the little particular histories that provides information that permits us to make history.

Neither families nor the archaeologists nor the association nor priests are locked into a certain concept and meaning of bones; these heritage managers all have roots in a Catholic ethos that result in bones as sacred things in contexts apart from what we might usually consider religion and ritual.

...

We joke at our ragtag group of archaeologists—from Ethiopia, Portugal, Galicia, Madrid, the Canaries, Asturias, the Balearic Islands, and the U.S.—and about the complexity of the San Pedro exhumation. You don't learn these things in archaeology school, Anxo tells me, joking that lessons learned here are their own school of thought—*la Escuela de San Pedro*, the School of San Pedro—a sacred institution all its own.

vii. atheist catholics.

August 23, 2012. Field notes.

“First came God, then history, and then archaeology and that is what killed religion.” Mateo, a student archaeologist at the San Pedro exhumation, pauses for a moment, rethinking my question: “If I had to define religion, it would be my mother,” he finally decides. “Being Catholic is part of our culture, it’s not something we can escape. Just like one can’t escape being capitalist,” he says, referring to me, *la capitalista Americana*. Mateo advises me to brush up on my José Saramago, the Portuguese writer and recipient of the 1998 Nobel Prize in Literature who Mateo quotes as saying, “*Nosotros somos ateos-catolicos*, ‘We are Atheist-Catholics.’ This is the same in Spain,” Mateo explains. In this way, exhumation practice and the knowledge it produces is a ritualized process that intersects and reflects the social and personal values from which material culture is found and formed.

These values and interests at the San Pedro exhumation reveal a Spanish Catholic cosmology at work in exhumation practice. With the recent UN investigation of forced disappearances from the Civil War and dictatorship, and the international detention and extradition of four Francoist officials for torture under way (September 2013), I wonder what rituals and techniques will build on and challenge how knowledge surrounding the conflict period will be produced.

chapter 3: *te molesta el moro?* does the moor bother you? berber bodies, moroccan bones, spanish soil.

i. introduction: voids and imaginations.

Republican deputy mayor José Gordillo was slain and left in an unmarked grave in the town of Vilar, just 14 feet away from where a Moroccan mercenary for the Nationalist army was also killed. Today, in 2009, 69 years since their deaths, the Vilar Association for Historical Memory (VAMH) exhumes his body.

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Prior to 2000, local and descendant communities were not allowed to honor or rebury their dead. The families of the disappeared or the lost, as they call themselves, were discouraged and even threatened by supporters of the then-current dictatorship—often their very neighbors—from giving their relatives a proper burial. VAMH is considered the first historical memory association dedicated to the exhumation of Republicans, and while many more groups have sprung up after that first exhumation of 13 people in Priaranza in 2000, they are the most widely known exhumation association in Spain.²⁵ As of 2012, VAMH has conducted more than 150 exhumations of 1,400 people. Tomás, the current vice president of VAMH, explains why the work of exhuming mass graves from the Civil War and dictatorship befalls on them and not the Spanish police or judicial system:

If you find a bone and it appears to be recent, from the last 20 years, it is of forensic interest and the investigation is directed to the police and a judge. If the bone appears to be from 100 years ago, it is of archaeological interest and the investigation is directed to the patrimony. But, if the bone is from 70 some years ago—from the time of the 1930s but before the 1980s [i.e., during the Civil War but prior to the end of the dictatorship]—then the investigation and its interest become a complicated matter, a kind of no man’s land.

“What if I found bones from the Civil War and called the police?” I ask Tomás. It’s been two years since the Vilar exhumation in 2009, and almost two years since I had last seen Tomás and the small, but formidable, group of VAMH.²⁶ The group today consists of Tomás, who at the time of the Vilar exhumation was listed alongside my own name in the archaeological report as a “volunteer;” his girlfriend Marta, an “archaeology auxiliary,” a title she received more so from a summer training program through the *Universidad de Granada* than from her extensive exhumation experience; archaeologist Gabriel also trained at the *Universidad de Granada*; and his girlfriend Diana.²⁷ I journeyed from Santiago de Compostela, from the northwest nook of Spain,

²⁵ VAMH have conducted the most exhumations of any other association or group in Spain, and are widely recognized for their experience. Their notoriety is amplified nationally and worldwide additionally through the news and media; their founder and president, Pablo, is a journalist. See Introduction for a thorough social history of the current Spanish exhumation movement.

²⁶ Although the author made plans to return to Spain for follow-up field work in Summer 2010, a bike injury prevented her from continuing her research there until the following year in May 2011.

²⁷ Eduardo, the previous vice president and co-founder of VAMH, was asked to step down from his position at VAMH in 2011 when he ran and was later successfully elected as a city councilor in his local government. The

with packages of Galician *empanadas* and liquors wrapped in paper under my arms as I made my way by train to revisit the VAMH lab. Since 2009, the lab was located at a public university in the Castilla y León region. Prior to that, the VAMH lab—that is, where storage and archaeological analysis of exhumed bones takes place—was situated in a ceramics studio.

“That would be interesting,” laughs Tomás at my hypothetical question to call the local police should I find Civil War bones hiding under the stone slabs of my Galician apartment. “It hasn’t been done. People just know, not from the bones, but people know why bones in the ground without a tombstone are where they are. They might not say it, but they know where they are.” Locating an unmarked Republican mass grave in Spain is a scientific methodology that begins with “know[ing] where they are.”



Figure 1: Files at the VAMH laboratory containing exhumation requests and documentation of the dead sent in by families of the killed (July 2009, photo by author).

VAMH board did not see it fit that an VAMH officer also hold political office because it would compromise their role as a non-political entity.

VAMH decides where to dig based on the information available to them from family members of the killed. In the VAMH laboratory, large folders organized by region exist with case files containing archives, photos, and letters sent in by family members of the killed requesting for VAMH to exhume (Figure 1, above). At Vilar and at most other exhumations in Spain, the exhumation process consists of archival research, oral testimony, Geographic Information Systems of Farming Lands (GIS or *Sistema de Información Geográfica de Parcelas Agrícolas*, SIGPAC), excavation of the grave site, exhumation of the grave site, archaeological analysis of objects recovered, physical anthropological analysis of bones recovered, and if possible, forensic analysis, which ideally would include DNA analysis should funding and expertise become available.

In the case of the Vilar exhumation, the exhumation process first begins when VAMH received a petition from Jose Gordillo's niece, Patricia, requesting his exhumation. The first step is to localize the grave site through collaborations with the local community, such as the recovery of oral testimonies and archival documentation, and interviews with Patricia and Sergio, who as a child had watched his brother be forced by José's killers to bury him. Once VAMH receives the family's petition to find José's remains and the archival data has been collected, VAMH is able "to ensure that the remains in this location and not in any other are that of: Gordillo (first last name) Negrin (second last name), José (first name), approximate age, 40" (VAMH 2010:3). Next, the geographic localization of the grave site area is conducted with GIS in order to produce a map of the zone. On July 4, 2009, one day prior to the actual exhumation, VAMH conducts a manual trial excavation in order to locate the gravesite and clear the site of vegetation and rocks in preparation for the exhumation on the following day. On July 5, 2009, a machine is used to establish the original vegetation level and excavation continues until the humerus, elbow, and various finger bones are uncovered at 5 feet wide, 9 feet long, and 4 feet deep into the grave site. At this point of uncovering bones is considered when the exhumation begins.

The valiant efforts of VAMH have paved the way for local and descendant communities to recover the bodies of Republicans killed during the Civil War and dictatorship. Although the Civil War ended in 1939, the circumstances of the dictatorship and democracy prevented Republican communities from reburying their dead because of the stigma and danger it involved. As in the case of the Vilar exhumation, VAMH has been instrumental in recovering the remains of Republican deputy mayor José Gordillo for his community to rebury. The work of VAMH since 2000 permits the José Gordillo community to have that right—the right to proper burial and respect—returned to them.

The work of exhuming also decides, via the bones of the dead and the hands of the living, who is allowed to have such rights: the right to death, but also the right to a life beyond death through victimhood. It becomes the work of exhumation associations like VAMH formed of local and descendant communities to humanize the Republican dead by returning to them the personal right to proper burial and national recognition of their victimhood. Although VAMH operates on the grassroots margins and voids of the state, it is still very much part of the larger Spanish state apparatus (Das & Poole 2004), symbolically (e.g., its connection to left-wing politics) as well as practically (e.g., funding from the Ministry of the Presidency). Like all

exhumation groups, VAMH is not immune to the negative, conflictive impacts of knowledge produced in exhuming (Meskell 2002).

With the work of VAMH in mind, I ask in this chapter: Whose rights and histories are made unrecognizable through the ritual of exhuming? Who is allowed to be considered a victim? Who becomes left out of the Spanish exhumation movement? The exhumation bears witness to the impossible deaths and possible reburials of the Republican dead, but it also makes possible certain dead for reburial and victimhood. At the margins of history and space at the Vilar exhumation site, possible burials and potential victims are imagined—as well as excluded.

Throughout the dissertation, I have examined the personal emotions and social interests that animate the ritual of exhumation. If in the previous chapters I sought to reveal the excesses and biographical notes of the Spanish exhumation, then the chapter I present here is a study of the secret subtext of the Spanish Civil War told through those histories and bones that are *not* exhumed. How have historical specifics of not exhuming Moroccan mercenaries affected which voices contribute to the reconstruction of historical memory in Spain and Morocco? I examine the Vilar exhumation as a reflection into the larger Spanish exhumation movement by sketching out what the exhumation defines itself as not. By examining the contexts of meaning and action that go into not exhuming Moroccans, I look to understand how exhumation practice is produced in the interest of society to create new hierarchies of the dead where some bodies are allowed to be remembered and reburied and others are not.

...

In Vilar, a town where the GPS gets confused between the jagged Medulas mountains of Castilla y León and the misty green hills of Galicia, there are two unmarked graves. One grave belonged to the Republican deputy mayor José Gordillo, and the other belongs to a Moroccan mercenary who fought for the Nationalist army. Only one grave, one body was exhumed—that of José, a Republican, a Spaniard, a victim.

ii. background.

What role do colonial institutions and non-governmental programs play in determining who can be a steward (Daehnke 2007), and what can be a material fact (Abu El-Haj 2000)? My interest in the intersection of Spanish-Moroccan heritage and exhumation ethics is informed by a broader ethnographic concern with explicating the personal and social dimensions considered critical in the building of the modern Spanish and Moroccan state via the dead body. In *The Chosen Body: The Politics of the Body*, Israeli anthropologist Meira Weiss (2002) describes the reburials and commemorations of fallen soldiers as representing the national symbols of the collective “chosen body” of Israel. The period between a soldier’s death and the commemorative practices of the state function to preserve the body politic for the collective; that is, the living, nationalized chosen body—the physically strong, perfectly formed young Israeli male soldier of Ashkenazi-descent—is socially reproduced onto the dead body of the soldier and in the memory of the collective (see also Ben-Amos 2000; Brandes 2006; Lomnitz 2005; Verdery 2000; Joyce 2008, on identity and nationalism). Through her ethnographic work on the Institute

of Forensic Medicine in Tel Aviv, Weis examines how the private individual death of a soldier is reconstituted into a living representation of the official ethos of the Israeli nation. Death in Israel becomes a hierarchy of bodies in which the socially superior and legitimate dead bodies of the state (Israeli male soldiers of Ashkenazi-descent) are differentiated from the inferior dead (e.g., non-Ashkenazi Israelis). In this manner, death comes to coexist, even contend with life.

In the case of Spain, the dead are also politically and socially appropriated. While in Spain the nation does not involve itself with remaking the Republican dead as was the case in Israel, a hierarchy of bodies is created through exhuming in which Moroccan bodies are less valued than those of Spanish Republican bodies. Moroccans or *moros* have become politicized as a contemporary cypher for ideological, philosophical, and religious agendas in Spain. By “*moro*,” I refer to the derogatory-yet-colloquial Spanish term²⁹ to describe all Northern Africans, particularly Moroccans. The Spanish term *moro* reflects historical and contemporary legacies between Spanish and Moroccan cultures marked by the *moro* conquest of Hispania (711-718), the *Reconquista* (722-1492), imperialism and Hispano-Moroccan Wars (1859-1860; 1893-1894), colonialism and Rif Wars (1909-1927), the decolonization period and the Forgotten War (1957-1958), and post-colonialism and the Sahara conflict (1958-). As described in Driss Deibak’s documentary on the Moroccan aftermath of the Spanish Civil War, *Los Perdedores* (“The Losers,” 2006), Moroccans “*son los grandes perdedores*, are the great losers” of history.

My field work in Morocco and Spain revealed to me the continual frustration of Spanish colonialism in Morocco.³⁰ In the final months of my research (01/2012-07/2012), public debate erupted over Spanish administrative and military occupation of Northern Morocco (*Maghreb*), a region of Morocco where over four million ethnic Berbers live and where I was conducting my field work. These debates arose alongside the implementation of immigration laws to curb sub-Saharan and Moroccans from entering Spain via the Moroccan coast. The laws were widely interpreted as the Spanish state’s desire to maintain its sovereign stronghold over Moroccan territories (*plazas de soberania*), a political tactic reminiscent of Spanish colonial rule of Morocco in 1912 to 1956. Resistance to this legislation has been led by a variety of Spanish, Moroccan, and Berber human rights groups, including Amnesty International, the Spanish Committee for Refugee Support, and the Regional Commission for Human Rights in Rabat. Also during this time, Berber activists sought autonomous ethnic rights from the ruling Arab Moroccan government with the successful voting of a new constitution that recognized Berber (*Amazigh*, a set of languages spoken by 30% of the Moroccan population) as an official language in 2011. The importance of this new legislation to protect the Berber language from further “Arabization” (*ta’rīb*) is a significant gain for Berbers who, as an ethnically mixed and

²⁹ In Spain and in many Spanish-speaking countries, derogatory terms are used openly by people. Like the term *moro*, it was not uncommon to use *gitano* or gypsy to refer to Roma, *chino* to refer to all Asians, and *negrito* to refer to someone’s dark-skinned sweetheart. During my conversations in Vilar, I repeatedly tried to use the politically correct term, *marroqui*, but my efforts were futile. Since no one understood what I meant, I used the term *moro* as well.

³⁰ For example, the establishment of the Spanish educational system since 1925 to the present permits that only Spanish and Arabic are spoken and taught in Spanish-Moroccan schools. In addition, the Spanish colonial development of Northern Moroccan archaeology was established at the end of Spanish imperial rule in 1898 (*africanista* archaeology) and the beginning of the Franco regime in 1939 (“fascist-styled archaeology,” Ayán & González-Ruibal 2012:94).

geographically dispersed group, are culturally and ethnolinguistically connected through language (see Bounfour 2004; Boukous 2011).

As with language, Berber heritage has also become unspeakable in Morocco. The historical marginalization of Berber culture is further formalized in the Arabization of archaeology, where research on the pre-Islamic period is seen as taboo and a threat to Moroccan nationalism. The management of indigenous Moroccan Berber heritage is complicated because ancient Berber sites are rarely interpreted as being Berber, overlooked in favor of Roman sites, or referred to as purely nomadic peoples³¹ (Hoffman & Gilson Miller, eds. 2010; for an historical overview, see Lawless 1972). As a result, both ancient and contemporary Berber sites maintain a contested status of “the non-present past” (Domanska 2005). While there has been some recognition of ancient sites as Berber, studies on contemporary Berber archaeological sites are limited (exceptions include Fenwick 2008, 2012; Boone & Benco 1999; Pichler 2008; Pichler et al. 2007). This gap in archaeological research is problematic because not only does it contribute to a forgetting of the recent Berber past, but also a forgetting of the living memory of this past in the Berber present that in turn, impacts how Berber heritage and cultural rights are defined today (González Ruibal 2007; Joyce 2001).

Very little research has been conducted on contemporary Berber heritage sites, and even less so on the Civil War graves of Nationalist Moroccan mercenaries in Spain. The colonial relationships between Spain and Morocco, and Arab and Berber Morocco further complicate this exclusion. As foreign mercenaries who fought for Nationalist Spain, Moroccan graves are excluded from the current exhumation movement of Republican graves. As Berbers, there is little incentive in Morocco to investigate Berber remains because they represent an ethnic minority and therefore are a potential threat to Moroccan identity and nationalism. Finally, as Muslims, they do not fit the Spanish Nationalist-Catholic historical perspective of the war and postwar period (see Chapter 2). The formation of Moroccan historical memory organizations and the request by Berbers for Spanish funds to exhume Berber Civil War graves point to the Spanish and Moroccan states’ recognition of, and discomfort with, the diverse ethical and moral dimensions of addressing Spanish-Moroccan-Berber heritage.

In 2007, the Rabat-based human rights organization, the Center for Shared Memory and the Future (*Centro para la Memoria Común y el Porvenir*) formed in order to garner public awareness for the unmarked graves of Moroccan mercenaries, many of whom were Berbers. The Center proposed in 2008 to then-Spanish Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero and former Judge Baltasar Garzón to extend the Spanish Law of Historical Memory to Moroccan soldiers who participated in the Spanish Civil War. While debated by the Spanish exhumation association, VAMH, and leading Spanish-Moroccan historian Maria Rosa de Madariaga, the Center claims that of the 70,000 Moroccans who served in the Civil War, close to 36,000 Moroccans—including 9,000 children—disappeared during the war and the first years of the dictatorship (ABC 2008). The Center requested 56,700 euros from the Spanish government to establish a Spanish-funded investigation and exhumation of Moroccan mercenary graves (*El Mundo* 2010). Although the Center was denied funding, they continue to advocate for the

³¹ The origin of the word *berber* varies: it is believed that Berbers were called Numidians, the Latin word for “nomad” (Ghambou 2010), whereas other sources consider the term to have its own Berber origin (Camps 2007).

recognition of Moroccan and Berber involvement in the Spanish Civil War through cultural activities, academic conferences, and collaborations with historians, archaeologists, and Berber activist groups.

The Spanish exhumation movement, while courageous in its efforts to recover the Republican dead, excludes the 70,000 Moroccans—the majority of them indigenous Moroccan Berbers—who fought in the Civil War while under Spanish colonialism (1912-1956). Despite the incorporation of a certain progressive ethics into the current practice of exhuming mass graves in Spain, the exhumations of the lost draw on a leftist ideology of the Spanish Republican tradition that limits who can be considered a victim and whose heritage is to be protected. As a result, the unmarked graves of Moroccan mercenaries, who fought for the Spanish Nationalist army and died on Spanish soil, have never been exhumed.

iii. two graves, one exhumation, one victim

Given the dearth of information on Moroccan graves in Spain, I begin my analysis of the Vilar exhumation through what has been said and written (i.e., the document) and move toward what has been done (i.e., the ethnographic) to better comprehend the stakes involved in *not* exhuming. French philosopher Michel Foucault's archaeological approach to systems of thought and knowledge is useful in this regard. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972[1969]), Foucault outlines an archaeological methodology to understand how systems of thought and knowledge are shaped by rules that are framed unconsciously by individuals. The method permits the anthropologist to ethnographically examine the boundaries of history defined beyond the consciousness of individuals at a given time. In regards to the exhumations, this approach provides an analytical starting point for understanding the trends and structures set forth by the ritual of the exhumation not necessarily articulated or expressed onsite at the grave, in newspapers, or in reports. I position myself at the Vilar exhumation where I see individual sentiments and social interests materialize and challenge exhumation practices and the access it offers—or denies—to victimhood and reburial.

bone, paper, scissors.

The Vilar exhumation ended as quickly as it began: the VAMH team and I left at 8:00am from the VAMH base of Castilla to make the 1.25 hour drive to Vilar; by lunchtime, 2:30pm, the exhumation was complete. The actual exhumation itself took place on July 4th, 2009 and while there is some discrepancy with dates and responsibilities in the archaeological report, the report notes that the archaeological team had begun digging a trial excavation trench, by hand, the day before the actual exhumation in order to properly localize the site for the following day (*Informe de la Exhumación de una Fosa* 2009:5). The next day at the Castilla lab, the team and I rummage through news clippings, online and in print, to read the coverage of the previous day's exhumation:

July 5, 2009. La Crónica newspaper.

The two were both victims of the Spanish Civil War, although they fought on different sides...the world referred [to the other] as simply 'the moor.' Destiny had it that they lost their lives in the same place, and yesterday [at the exhumation], destiny had it that their bones took on different paths.

Although not clear from the newspaper article or the archaeological report, the Vilar site presented the VAMH team with two graves, two persons, and the exhumation of only one body—that of José Gordillo. If the exhumation movement defines itself as recovering the dead for burial, and only those bodies and bones of victims are exhumed, what exactly do victim bones look like?

From the official archaeological report,³³ compiled on March 18, 2010, I find that Nationalist soldiers and fascists pursued José and another escapee, the former who was “gravely injured... later detained, tortured and finally assassinated” (*Informe de la exhumación de una fosa individual* 2009:3). The archaeological report concludes that “given the poor state of the remains, I [the forensic anthropologist] cannot obtain a biological profile. A consultation is recommended for possible DNA analysis” (2009:24). That is, DNA identification was recommended but not conducted at this time. A body was indeed taken out of the grave and, while not identified by DNA analysis, it became José. In this way, the single grave we opened at Vilar and the fragmented bones we exhumed there became, even without DNA analysis, José. People, as VAMH vice-president Tomás described to me above, *just know*.

When the dead are really dead, their bodies and bones are indistinguishable; underground and undisturbed, bones are just bones. But Civil War bones are not all the same (see Chapter 2): some are Nationalists, some Republican, many died “for having ideas,” others died in battle. Bones move on a timeline such that under Franco, only Nationalist bones could be considered victims (see Verdery 2000). Today, under Spanish democracy (but more so because of the exhumation movement), Republican bones are also victims.

I do not intend to place value on who is and who is not worthy of victimhood. Rather, I examine, through the Vilar exhumation, the social, political, and historical effects that go into determining victimhood. French anthropologist Didier Fassin and French anthropologist and psychiatrist Richard Rechtman, for example, identify “moral judgment” (2009:284) as a system that classifies trauma and decides who qualifies as a victim. There is a bias, argue the authors, that classify victims based on their moral values, erasing personal experience and individual history for a universal label of trauma. Likewise, in Spain, there is a hierarchy of bones for exhumation that dictates victimhood: Spanish and Republican.

Bones, as I described in Chapter 2, are more than symbolic things, but become person through the ritual of exhuming. In the case of the “Other” bones at Vilar, however, who gets to *become* a person is dependent on how victimhood is defined in the social context of the Spanish Civil War as well as the larger context of Spanish-Moroccan history. Someone’s bones were exhumed at Vilar. Yet what is not evident in the documents of neither the archaeological report nor the newspaper article is whose bones they might be.

For most of Spain, Moroccan deaths from the Civil War are black holes, devoid of body, person, and history. The unmarked grave of a Moroccan mercenary in Vilar, exhumed or not, is an uncanny reminder of Spain’s violent colonial history and postcolonial relationship with Morocco. Notes an elderly man who was once a Moroccan mercenary in the *Los Perdedores* documentary (2006), “The fear of the *moro* is part of Spanish heritage.” Moroccan graves share

³³ By “official,” I mean that the report is sent to the Ministry of the Presidency at the end of the year in accordance with the funding process.

the landscape and history with Spain, their remains becoming no more an Other than death itself, “abandoned by God and forgotten by man,” writes Moroccan Berber journalist Ali Lmrabet of Spanish graves where his relatives lie (*El Mundo* 2005). With the exhumation of Vilar in mind, I question how exhumation practice functions as a tool that exposes, but also overlooks and manipulates the social strata of the past to craft a certain kind of heritage and victim for the Spanish present.

ethnography, archaeology, and victimhood.

Which bodies take the form of the landscape, and which take the form of history? The Vilar exhumation suggests that knowledge is indeed socially produced, expressed as the social desire to preserve a certain kind of victim that is frequently perceived as rational and scientific under the current political climate of exhuming in Spain. In this section, I move beyond historical analysis to an ethnography of the Vilar exhumation. The ways in which the unexhumed Moroccan mercenary at the Vilar exhumation is implicated in a Spanish politics of exhuming tells us a great deal about the mechanisms of power reproduced in and within the practice of exhuming and the production of historical knowledge in Spain. Let us now return to the Vilar exhumation.

•••

July 4, 2009. 8:10am.

Michelle, the Australia forensic anthropologist, and I are picked up by the rest of the team from the VAMH volunteer apartment we are staying at in the industrial outskirts of Castilla. Once we're picked up, the van rolls onto the highway, prepped that morning with equipment for exhumation by Tomás, Marta, and Eduardo, the then-coordinator and co-founder of VAMH. We are also accompanied by three other VAMH volunteers: Josep and his father Raúl, and an older gentleman, Marcelo, whose brother had been with José in Vilar, escaped, and then later was killed 7.5 miles away from Vilar. Between quick naps, we make our way through the cracked Medulas mountains until we arrive at Vilar.

Patricia, José's niece, and her husband are already at Vilar, waiting for us in the road with others: two residents from Vilar and two from the bordering region of Galicia. Patricia has come all the way from Cataluña, an 8-hour drive from Vilar, and has been working to find José, the brother of her maternal grandfather, since 2001. She tells me that José was part of a Galician defense group against the Nationalists, and was well known in his Galician hometown where he was an artist. José was also part of an intellectual group working to revive Galician culture, an ethnic region of Spain that throughout history and particularly during the war and dictatorship was discouraged from developing in favor of a unified, centralized Spain.

Once we have all arrived, Sergio leads us to follow him to the exhumation site (Figure 2). Sergio, with his clean and ironed collared shirt and trousers, takes us to his *finca*, or farmland, where José has been located since he was killed in 1939. Sergio was eight years old when he saw his brother, forced by the fascists, to bury José since José was

killed on their land. Once we arrive to the *finca*, Sergio is the first to start picking at the dirt with a metal hook to clear away the initial brush (we discover later that this point is nowhere near the actual grave site). The team gets to work trying to locate José's grave: Tomás pulls out a metal detector while Marta, Josep, and Raúl follow behind and dig where the detector "beeps;" the forensic anthropologist, Michelle, waits for bones, and the coordinator Eduardo and myself organize the work area and chat with the local and descendant community.

Once the exhumation team thinks they have found the grave site, they begin to dig deeper. "*El moro es en el 'flor,' no está profundo,*" Pablo, a local man providing us with the tractor, says to me. He plays with the word *flor*, meaning "flower" in Spanish, that also sounds like the word "floor" in English: "The moro is in the flower/floor, he is not very deep." I can't tell from his joking manner if he means this as a precaution or a warning for us to dig elsewhere.

July 4, 2009. 10:45am.

The exhumation team is deep inside the narrow ditch now. Eagerly, we watch in anticipation of the bulldozer to find bone. We huddle above the ditch as a dog and a basket of fresh-picked cherries weave its way in and out of our small circle of neighbors and VAMH allies.

The CASE-model bulldozer spills dirt out, and in one of these piles, bone fragments are found. The cluster of bodies outside the grave moves in excitedly at the prospect of discovery. "I can't talk right now, I'm at a *fosa*, a gravesite!" Elia shouts into her phone before hanging up. Hopeful, Tomás begins duct-taping a cardboard box together where the body will rest temporarily as it makes its journey from grave to ground again.

Michelle, the forensic anthropologist, walks over to the open grave, twisting her own body in different directions to imitate the various ways José's body could have fallen at death. She tries to figure out which way the body will now go, which way they will now dig. Confident that they have finally found José, Eduardo yells jokingly over to Vilar resident Pablo, suspended over the grave on his bulldozer.

"Let's go for the *moro*, yea?!"

"Who covered him?" asks Pablo.

"The machine!" laughs Eduardo.

"*El moro te molesta? Does the moro bother you?*" Patricia, José's niece, asks Eduardo. I follow her around the exhumation site as we shift from dirt mound to dirt mound on the recently exhumed land. Patricia is the only living relative of José's that I meet at the exhumation. Her question—"Does the *moro* bother you?"—puzzles me: does she refer to the actual presence of the Moroccan Nationalist mercenary at the exhumation of a Republican, and the implications of his presence on what we are doing here in Vilar? Or does she refer to the physical inconvenience of the "*moro*" grave that hovers

somewhere over José's grave? I can't help but wonder if she too is worried about the mixing of Spanish bones with Moroccan bones; that we would exhume a single body symbolic of the tensions of Moroccan-Spanish pasts and presents is not an entirely far-fetched invention of the sociocultural anthropologist.

Eduardo responds, explaining to Patricia the impossibility for VAMH or the Center for Shared Memory and the Future (the Moroccan equivalent to VAMH) to deal with a Moroccan Nationalist mercenary grave:

[They, the Center for Shared Memory and the Future,] invited us [to Tangier] because one part of the Law of Historical Memory says that it has to get out all the victims, and they were 'victims.' Ha, ok, look here—*no*. It was not like that. *Chaval*, look here kid, they were not victims, they were executioners. Because they were in the First World War, and they went to the Second [World War], and they went to all of them: poverty.

"They were the most unfortunate, *los mas desgraciados*," agrees Patricia, nodding.

"What happens is that they were victims of colonization and of poverty, yes, but victims within Spain? No," Eduardo answers firmly.

"You know now they're asking for a *DNI* [*Documento Nacional de Identidad*, Spanish identification card] for those *moros* who were born here [in Spain] when it was a Spanish province [of Morocco]" adds Patricia. Patricia refers to Moroccans in Spain who are trying to claim Spanish citizenship based on having lived in Spain since Moroccan rule of the Iberian Peninsula during the 8th century.³⁴ The ritual of exhuming only reveals what everyone already knows and feels: Moroccans are neither Spanish, nor are they victims of the Spanish Civil War. It is as though Patricia is connecting their non-presence as Spanish citizens to their non-presence in death and war on Spanish soil.

I use the word *presence* because VAMH never attempted to find the other grave, the one believed to belong to the Moroccan mercenary. At no point during the Vilar exhumation on July 4th did we ever actually see any evidence of the Moroccan's existence. Although we didn't have physical contact with his bones, his symbolic presence opened up a discussion about who he was, what it meant to be a Moroccan mercenary during the war, and what that history signifies now in the context of exhuming Republican graves. Ricardo, a Spanish forensic anthropologist who had on occasion collaborated with VAMH at other exhumations, had said it best when I visited him at his lab in Cataluña: "The dead are also human." At the time he said this to me, he was referring to the Spanish exhumations in general and most likely not the exhumation of Moroccans, yet his statement speaks to the humanity of the dead as persons who also are subjected to prejudices.

³⁴ In February 2014, a Spanish-initiated citizenship bill was drafted that would allow Sephardic Jews wanting to acquire Spanish citizenship to do so. Like the Moors, the Sephardic Jews (*Sepharad*, meaning "Spain" in Hebrew) were expelled from Spain by 1492. The draft bill states that it will offer citizenship to anyone, regardless of their Jewish status, who can confirm their Sephardic origins (*New York Times* 2014).

“Of course, they’re nothing now,” surmises Eduardo.

“No, they’re nothing,” sighs Patricia. “That’s the fucked up part of history—they’re nothing. Besides, they’re always getting mixed up in the same tragedies.”

As the VAMH team and their allies reveal above, the figure of the Moroccan looms below them—and there he must remain (Figure 4). In his death, the unexhumed assumes the tragedies of his Moroccan heritage that we cannot in exhuming. The recovery of José’s body for proper burial makes clear that the current exhumation serves to exhume only Spanish Republican victims. Moroccans, on the other hand, are described as victims only insofar as they are also culprits to their own poverty and history. For VAMH, a Moroccan death is untranslatable to the trauma and experience of Republicans who fought for the Spanish Republic and were killed during the Civil War. Moroccans, who fought and killed Republicans in their role as Nationalist mercenaries, can never be Spanish Civil War victims.

Incorporated and assumed in the exhumation process detailed above, the Vilar exhumation of José responds to two important questions I came to learn at the Spanish exhumations: (1) who are *our* victims?, and (2) which bones tell *our* collective story? In the context of the current exhumations of Republicans, the selection of *our* victims and bodies for exhumation become reproduced in the practice of exhuming in Spain. The Spanish exhumation and descendant communities’ perspectives of Moroccans revealed at the Vilar exhumation bring to light the personal and social stakes woven into exhumation practice and ethics in Spain.

In the above conversation at Vilar, the group expresses blame, pity, dislike, and indifference that reflect the sociohistorical choices and limits implicit in exhuming in Spain. In this way, exhuming reveals the very power structures and limits imposed by the violence of the war and post-war: it uncovers certain victims and covers up Others. Unlike other forms of creating meaning of the past (e.g., art, memorials, dance, novels), the exhumation process differs in that it deals with a materiality that already exists (e.g., bones, bodies, DNA). The exhumation then becomes one of the only sites that connect local and descendant communities to the material spectacle of violence and the living embodiment of inhumanity. The various issues and conflicts left submerged underground since the conflict period rise up (although feebly) in the bodies of José and the Moroccan, but also in the practices of exhumation intent in exposing and covering up these very conflicts.

iv. exhuming into existence: a *cojo* biopolitics.

April 20, 2012.

“*Está es la historia de esta país*. This is the story/history of this country,” was how Enrique, the president and co-founder of VAMH, began the annual VAMH meeting in Madrid. I expected VAMH headquarters to be held, in Spanish fashion, in a stately official room with high ceilings and Roman frescos depicting winged cherubs that I had seen in other buildings in Spain. This was hardly the case: the meeting was held on a Saturday morning prior to *Semana Santa*, Holy Week, in a drab office space VAMH shared with another non-profit organization. While the rest of Madrid was still asleep, a small group of 25 people gathered to receive member news, vote on administrative changes, and discuss the state of exhuming Republican mass graves in Spain (Figure 5).

Afterwards, half of us at the meeting drove to a restaurant in Enrique's neighborhood, a dusty residential area dominated by redbrick high-rises. I sat next to Spanish historian Maria Rosa de Madariaga who, aside from being a prominent historian on Spain and Morocco during the Civil War, was also a stark supporter of VAMH and their mission to exhume leftist graves.

"And what of Moroccan graves in Spain?" I ask her cautiously once we sat down and were on our second glass of house wine.

"You have to be very careful with these people," she warns me. "The Center for Shared Memory and the Future, [it's director] Youssef...What they say has no scientific basis, there is no data or resources to what he says."

Aside from my experience at Vilar, I had never heard anyone talk about Moroccan graves in Spain, and it turns out that most Spaniards hadn't either. Even Maria scolded me on two separate occasions when I asked her about it: they had come to Spain as mercenaries and so graves of Moroccans killed outside of battle were not likely, she had informed me. In *The Moros that Franco Brought*, Madariaga writes that Moroccan participation in the war was not coincidental—it was strategic. She explains that Franco's use of Moroccans as a military base during the war aimed to call up images of the Crusades and play on Spanish fears of the *moro* (2002:18). Franco had purposely set up to "revive and entrench its image in the collective memory of the Spanish people as the traditional enemy...a psychological tool against the Spanish pueblo" (11). The circumstances surrounding the history of Moroccans in the Spanish imagination demand placing modes and practices of historical knowledge in connection with various (and often conflicting) perspectives that takes into account a sociopolitically engaged multivocality that challenges dominant structures and interpretations (Hodder 1997, 1991, 2008; Joyce 2002, 2008). It was at this moment that I decided to go to Morocco.

July 2, 2012.

"These people are good people—among themselves." With the crisis in Spain, a middle-aged Moroccan man flies from Barcelona to Nador to do business. I was sitting next to him en route to Meze, the historical and symbolic heartland of the Rif.

"And by *these people* you mean—?" I ask him in Spanish, confused. Wasn't he one of "these people"? I am reminded of a conversation I had back in Vilar with Patricia, José's niece:

There are so many, many, many of them [Moroccans]. There's a kind of barrier because it's very hard for them to learn the language, so they *queda muy cerrados entre ellos*, they remain closed off among themselves. The men have to work so there's a necessity there for them to learn. But the women, it's much harder for them. They're much more *cerradas*, closed off, because of culture, tradition—because of a thousand things. It's very complicated because you take a few in a bunch, and they're excellent people. But as a collective, sometimes *da miedo, da mucho miedo* [they give fear]. It's very scary."

For Maria (and I include myself here), the Other was Moroccan. Yet for the Moroccan businessman living in Barcelona, the Other was Berber: “Yes they’re ok, no problem— but *there*, among themselves,” he tells me, speaking so loudly and freely on what he thought of Berbers that I turned beet red, afraid someone on the tiny aircraft would overhear him.

“Typical.”

Tamrat picks me up from the Nador airport and we drive to Meze (Figure 6). We swerve along the Mediterranean coastline with its virgin beaches and makeshift highway fruit stands, singing to the Buena Vista Social Club. Once we enter the town, Tamrat lowers his voice to update me since my last visit, five months prior: “There is some talk about creating an independent Rif. But I have to be quiet about this. If I make this signal when I’m talking with people, it means to be quiet.” I would be recalled of our conversation later that week when Tamrat kicked me under the table for talking too much about Moroccan Civil War graves with a former military colonel friend of his. There was fear in Morocco as well, and here it was between Berbers and Arabs, as well as Berbers and Spaniards.

I journeyed to Morocco to understand the exhumation process as it was being received, via international news and reports, in Morocco. During my field work there, I worked closely with Youssef, the man that the historian Madariaga had spoken to me about. Youssef was a Berber political activist and teacher who was imprisoned in the 1980s for protesting against the King Hasan II regime. Youssef was the first person in Morocco to garner public awareness for the unknown history and unmarked graves of Moroccan mercenaries, many of whom are Berbers. He was also the first person to set up formal dialogue between Moroccan and Spanish governments through the establishment of a human rights organization, the Center for Shared Memory and the Future.

Although his organization was denied funding from the Spanish government, Youssef’s work provides a contemporary understanding of Moroccan-Berber and Spanish-Moroccan colonial history, as well as insight into how exhuming can inform Berber heritage and cultural rights. Through my work with Youssef and his organization, I collected historical documentation on the colonial history of Berbers, conducted interviews with him about his work, and was introduced to a network of former Berber mercenaries from the Civil War still living today in Meze. Here, in my first meeting with Youssef at a Rabat country club over seafood pizza and Moroccan wine, we discuss exhumations and the Spanish Civil War from the Berber-Moroccan perspective:

January 28, 2012. 9:30pm.

They know, the Moroccan, but they are thinking, ‘What is the cost [of exhuming]?’ When we talk of Spain and Morocco, of Ceuta and Melia, *se salta el problematico*, the problem of sardines [EU-Spain-Morocco fishing agreement], the tomatoes [EU-Spain-Morocco agricultural agreement]...pops up. When we talk of the [Spanish] Civil War, *se salta*, it comes out things that have nothing to do with it...We [Moroccans] start [the Civil War] by saying that everything is good, that the [mercenaries] had participated with Franco. When the war ends, and

when they came back—killed, with a leg, without a leg, in the same poverty or worse...They have lost the war, they have lost their years, love, society—everything. Those that had won the war, naturally, was the apparatus of Franco.

Under the conditions of the Civil War and current exhumations, the Moroccan soldier body—living or dead—is no longer regarded as a piece of property of the Spanish state. Rather, he has become a medium through which power produces knowledge through—a *technique* (Foucault 1997[1982]) or “apparatus of Franco” as Youssef puts it. In war, there are no longer bodies, only apparatuses; likewise, in exhuming, bodies become blurred in the pursuit of reclaiming certain victims for reburial and politics. My conversation with Youssef reminds me of French philosopher Michel Foucault’s notion of biopolitics (2003) in which Foucault traces the historical shift of sovereign power from monitoring processes of life and death to operating control over life itself. While Foucault mainly writes on the social body in Western cultures, the effects of biopolitics apply to the Moroccan dead body as well. The ritual of exhuming uncovers the social, political, and historical apparatuses that exclude certain populations of the dead—Moroccan mercenaries. Without digging deep enough, the controls and motivations in place as to why Moroccan bodies are *not* exhumed also become excluded in exhuming. In this way, the current Spanish exhumation movement can be understood as a biopolitical process that categorizes certain dead bodies as not worthy for death.

July 5, 2012.

I am power-walking on the Meze strand with Lili, her sister-in-law Yalda, and friend Yasmine when I ask them if Franco had provided them—Moroccans, Berber Moroccans, or them specifically—with assistance after the Spanish Civil War. “*That’s what he left us,*” says Yasmine, pointing to a large phallic rock formation emerging from the Mediterranean Sea (Figure 7).

Later, after our regular morning avocado shake, I meet with the Moroccan historian Kay at Lili’s family home where I am staying. Once we are seated, the table is wheeled to meet our stomachs and we have sweet mint tea and pastries. Hovering above us in the living room are two large portraits of Lili’s grandfathers: on one side is her maternal grandfather who was known as the “Loyal Moroccan” by the Spanish for his cooperation with Spain during colonial rule; on the other side is a photo of her paternal grandfather taken in jail shortly after he was imprisoned for fighting for Berber independence from Morocco and Spain.

I ask Kay the same question I had asked Lili and her friends: Had Spain provided repatriations or financial assistance to those Moroccan soldiers and their families who had supported Franco during the Civil War? Kay responds:

No. The *rifeño* has lost everything, they have not done anything with their history...They have seen death, [and as result], *se han dejado de resisitir*, they have given up resistance. The independence is no independence. It was *cojo*, it had no legs.

In the absence of repartitions and exhumations, the recent violent past of Morocco exists only in bits and pieces. As Kay notes, they have given up everything—even their bodies—and are left *cojo*, one-legged. In this underground world where death is excluded, history is calculated, and bodies never materialize, a one-legged body politic is where meaning becomes revealed.

Exhuming, at best, has become a technology to expose those personal and societal interests animated in Spanish exhumation practice: it reveals the power structures imposed by the Nationalists and later Republicans that are carried to the present, demonstrated in the exclusion of certain bodies for exhumation across time. In this way, the exhumation process can also be considered a *constructive* biopolitical process—one-legged but good enough to reveal the biopolitical structures and limitations of the state and institutions to care for the Civil War dead.

Historian Ibn Khaldun wrote that truth stemmed from God who “knows better” and leads “us to a science whose truth we ruthlessly set forth” (2004:40,42). Khaldun contended that such knowledge flows from the logical organization of civilization and its power structures (i.e., religious law and royal authority). In the same manner, I see exhumation practice in Spain as a tool that both obscures and uncovers the production and arrangement of current hegemonic relations and information in Spain. Understanding those emotions and interests at work in exhuming sheds light on how social experiences and interests animate knowledge. The ethnographic approach I have taken here to exhuming in Spain attempts to examine these constructed pasts and interests, such as those of Moroccan mercenaries that have yet to hold our attention, be destroyed, or come into existence (Meskell 2002; Gonzalez Ruibal 2007).

chapter 4: how I learned to love the bomb: pueblo politics, *cariño*, and salvage technologies.

i. introduction.

This chapter considers technologies of exhumation and salvaging as reconciliation practices in post-dictatorship Spain. It reflects on observations and interviews I conducted in central Spain's Miraflores Valley to give a sense of the practical and symbolic complexities of reconciliation efforts in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and subsequent dictatorship (1939-1975). In the case of Miraflores, as in many pueblos in Spain struggling to understand the conflict period beyond the limitations of the state, non-professional and technical excavations of war materials have become a necessary and inevitable form of understanding. As an assistant archaeologist and resident medical anthropologist to a Spanish archaeology team, I closely follow narratives regarding the materiality of wartime within and beyond the domains of the personal and the technological. It is the central argument of this chapter that the interplay of emotion and technology is where a salvaged kind of reconciliation takes place through war materials.

To care for the remnants of war is an active sentiment that has figured prominently in how Mirafloresians understand and create value of neglected war objects and narratives. Through my ethnographic research on the exhumation practice in Spain, I examine how Mirafloresians and archaeologists develop a kind of cosmology around junk metal, or *cacharro*, through excavation. As children and later as adults, Mirafloresians create value in excavating and displaying Civil War bombs and bullets they uncover in their fields. During the difficult postwar years, Mirafloresians sold *cacharro* as scrap metal and later, they used it as decoration in their homes and around the pueblo. Beyond its economical value, *cacharro* also reveals the social and historical importance of Spanish land politics underlying efforts of war and peace. In this way, war bombs and bullets excavated by Mirafloresians come to represent sites of political violence, but also of discovery and survival (Middleton 2011).

In Miraflores, people's connection to the war and dictatorship is animated through the care and collection of *cacharro*. At excavations as well as dinners and patios where bombs and bullets are discussed and turned over, *cacharro* become possible sites for knowledge production in Miraflores. Feelings of love and hatred are also exchanged in these moments that point to social and personal commitments in producing knowledge of the conflict period.

In this chapter, I stress the sensorial together with the technical and link the experience of reconciliation to historical, social, and cultural forms. As a critical ethnographical approach to science and technology, this chapter evokes how excavating war materials—be it by professionals or volunteers—is animated by a cultural force of emotions (Rosaldo 1993[1989]). In this manner, the work on war materials via the human technologies (Foucault 1997[1982]; Whitmarsh 2008) of metal detectors, farm tools, trackers, and exhumation can be read as a practice beyond just creating discursive objects but as a salvaging of war narratives. My particular concern here is to show how technology in this milieu is compelled by local and

technical logics of salvaging—what I call *salvage technologies*—that coincide at the intersection of war and Miraflores life.

ii. background.

In good weather, there are 70 people living in Miraflores (INE 2009), the median age being 65 years old. Once the temperature hits the low teens and the sunflowers begin to turn their heads downward and die, all but eight residents leave the Castilla La Mancha Valley to Guadalajara or Madrid for the wintertime. Aside from an omnipresent electric chime that has replaced the need to manually ring the church bells, time seems to stand still in Miraflores and visitors and residents alike often wondered if the pueblo would still exist in 20 years.³⁵ Yet at roughly 22 square miles, Miraflores also has a luxury rural franchise hotel, two recently remodeled guesthouses, and, curiously enough, a Spanish Civil War museum.

There is a reason why there aren't many Spanish Civil War museums in Spain. For over 70 years, the Spanish government has largely left unaddressed crimes committed during the conflict period. The Civil War began in 1936 when Nationalist forces led by General Francisco Franco and backed by fascists, monarchists, the Catholic Church, and other right-wing officers overthrew the elected left-wing Republican government. In early 1939, the Republic was defeated and Franco began his rule as dictator for the next 39 years until his death. The dictatorship ended with Franco's death in 1975 and, with the help of the appointed monarch, Spain began its transition to democracy. Under this democracy, however, an amnesty was passed in 1977 (*La Ley de Amnistía*) by the ruling left-winged Spanish Socialist Workers' Party government (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español, PSOE*) that exonerated all crimes committed during the Civil War and the dictatorship.

The circumstances of the dictatorship and democracy prevented further investigation of the conflict period from taking place, eliminating the possibility of a national truth and reconciliation commission. This enforced silence by the Spanish government extended to the living as well as the dead: communities wanting to locate and rebury Republican soldiers and civilians killed by Nationalists were discouraged from doing so by the ruling regime. It was not until October 2000, over 60 years since the end of the war and 20 years into democracy, that the first exhumation of a Republican grave took place in Spain (Silva 2000). This exhumation is

³⁵ There are a number of pueblos throughout Spain that, like Miraflores, are at the point of ceasing to exist. In some ways, Miraflores reminds me of how American anthropologist Ruth Behar (1986) described the farm village of Santa María del Monte where she examined the traditional agro-pastoral changes there in the late Franco years. When Behar returns again to this pueblo of 100 people in the late 1980s and early 1990s, she notes that: "the collective readiness for death that I sense among the elderly peasants of Santa María is, sadly, I think, a readiness to die without being reborn in historical memory, to die once and for all. Death, now more than ever before, is the death of memory" (1991:350). Similarly, in Miraflores, there is a strong presence of the past and death but unlike in Santa María, it is a sentiment of sadness but also pride in preserving this past through *cacharro*.

I do not mean to suggest that Miraflores is a timeless culture. The future existence of the pueblo is a question that has been on the people's mind since it was first bombed during the Civil War in 1939 at the Battle of Colusa. I highlight its waning state to point at its constant survival-mode character in light of the European crisis, the failure of agricultural reform, and the subsequent migration to the cities since before the Civil War. As I will develop in this paper, the survival of Miraflores and many other surrounding pueblos in central Spain, was contingent on the buying and selling of *cacharro*. This line of inquiry about the importance of not approaching cultures as timeless owes a debt to Ian Whitmarsh.

considered the first exhumation of a Republican grave to be conducted by a scientific team of archaeological experts.

Today, over 114,000 Republicans (Garzón 2008) are still missing and while exhumations of Republicans are in progress, confronting the material truth that lies in the unmarked graves and the legacy it exposes remains a controversial issue. The physical, social, and emotional presence of these deaths underscores the still tender and everyday wounds of recent history, current in the ongoing debates that have gained new ground in the economic crisis. These physical and emotional reminders constitute a recurring experience of the recent violent past that if not directly experienced, is nevertheless familiar to the preceding generations. The generational experience of the conflict period—from grandparents who lived during the war, to parents who grew up during the dictatorship, to the children of the democracy—has created and negotiated ways of understanding the past through varied personal and collective forms of reconciliation beyond the limitations of the state (Riles 2000; Yurchak 2008) and human rights institutions (Scheper-Hughes 2007). My concern here is how these local and emotional experiences of violence combined with intersecting forms of non-expert and expert technologies come to bear on the present. These reconciliation efforts expose the important personal and social work involved in excavating and comprehending the past through material means that often escape the confines of history and state.

iii. pueblo politics.

It was Fall 2012, 73 years after the war and 37 years after the dictatorship. I was in Miraflores with a team of archaeologists, a physical anthropologist, and a handful of student archaeologists to exhume bodies and excavate trenches from the Civil War. I was also there to interview the archaeological team and the pueblo in order to gain a better understanding of what the war and dictatorship meant for a right-wing town like Miraflores and a progressive group of young archaeologists.

“These are not just *freakies* who try to recreate the war. Some of them are history professors,” explains Jesus to a young couple visiting the Miraflores’ Civil War museum. Jesus is the former mayor of Miraflores and the local owner of the hotel. He is wearing a khaki t-shirt that has “Miraflores: A Walk through History” written on it in stenciled block letters, plummeted by bullet holes. He already knows who I am, turns to me and says, “In your country the reenactments are called ‘living history,’ ” emphasizing the last part in English.

Curiously enough, the intention of the museum is not meant to be historical but rather “ethnographical” I’m told. That is, the purpose of the reenactments, time-period festivals, and film and photo competitions organized by the museum are not meant to be political, but festive (and also commercial, I might add). The museum and many of its associated events are selectively organized to evoke what could be considered the “lighter side” of the war. For example, flags, ammunition, and bombs from both the victorious and defeated are displayed side by side behind glass cases with only so much as a placard noting what the object is, from what year it’s from, and who its local owner is. If by ethnographic Jesus meant apolitical, the museum was a success.

Pueblo politics, however, are made known elsewhere in Miraflores. Miraflores is a pueblo where it is not uncommon to comment in the company of strangers that “things were

better under Franco” than the current democracy and crisis.³⁶ Soccer matches are also fair game for political discussion. While watching a Classics League match between Barça and Real Madrid on the widescreen TV, Barça fans were promptly called foreigners by the bar regulars for supporting a team and region that wanted autonomy from Spain.³⁷

Miraflores, like many other pueblos in Central Spain, is conservative. It still upholds, as the Francoist motto goes, a Spain that is “*Una, Grande, y Libre*,” united, grand, and free (historically, from communism and socialism). Most Mirafloresians earned a living as pastors or farmers and saw the Second Spanish Republic of 1931-1939 and its reforms aimed at reclaiming and divvying up a piece of their hard-worked land to “communists.” As Miraflores grew up, this sentiment stuck. Sergio, a farmer, hunter, inn keeper, and metal detector aficionado, said politics around here is like this: “If you are young and aren’t leftist, you have no heart. But if you grow up and are not rightist, you have no head.” As for what people thought about the Civil War, the gang of afternoon-time elders lounging in front of the museum boiled wartime down to a childhood memory in which “the bad ones—the reds—burned the church and the good ones—the Nationalists—gave us hot chocolate and coffee.”

Miraflores was and is right wing, a pueblo that ended up on the victorious side of the Civil War. Even so, its inhabitants were not entirely spared from the hardships of the postwar period. Miraflores was severely bombed resulting in the evacuation of the pueblo several times during the war. Families were split up into various neighboring pueblos, farms and homes destroyed, and those who went to war were killed or saw others get killed. Although Miraflores was a Franco-supportive pueblo, its inhabitants nevertheless had experienced the traumatic effects of the war and postwar.

In Miraflores, as elsewhere in Spain, understanding pueblo politics informs how a people make their living, where their alliances and ideologies lie, and where they stood on issues regarding the war, dictatorship, and the current economic crisis. Because they were elderly and conservative, because they had supported Franco, and because they ended up victorious after the war, it was hard for Spaniards invested in the historical memory movement of exhuming left-wing Republicans killed during the conflict period to take a pueblo like Miraflores seriously. What made a pueblo like Miraflores right wing, however, stems from their connection to the land, a connection that made them dependent on junk metal, or *cacharro*, for survival.

³⁶ Spain was currently experiencing its worse economic crisis since the dictatorship with 5 million people unemployed and the jobless rate at 52% for university graduates. While not a rarity to hear in 2012 among the Miraflores elders, openly reminiscing about the dictatorship was still a bold statement of one’s conservative leanings.

³⁷ Barça is a Barcelona soccer team that represents the autonomous Catalan spirit so much so that when Barcelona finally fell in 1939, Franco’s troops bombed the building where their trophies were displayed (Sports Illustrated 2012:72). Cataluña, and any other region claiming an identity other than Spanish (e.g., the Basque Country, Galicia), was and still is seen as a threat to the centralized, conservative ideology that Franco had carefully developed during his regime. This particular Barça vs. Real Madrid match was not just a soccer game, but a touchstone of the current discussions taking place that Fall 2012. That same month, 1.5 million Catalonians had filled plazas bearing autonomous flags from the 19th century in anticipation of the early regional elections where a referendum to secede from Spain was on the ballot. The reaction in Miraflores was that if people from Cataluña wanted to become an independent country, the rest of Spain would be wise to put up a “wall like the Berlin Wall so the [Catalans could] sell themselves off however they please and fuck off.”

Exhumations of Republican graves weren't big in Miraflores but excavations of *cacharro* was. There is nothing about a body's bones that tells an archaeologist that they are leftist or rightist. But combined with archival research, testimonies, interviews, and an analysis of personal objects found in mass graves, one can infer the political leanings bones had or may come to have. While we would uncover both leftist and rightist soldiers in Miraflores, exhuming in Spain from 2000 to the present was largely considered a leftist enterprise. And Miraflores just wasn't a leftist kind of town, neither back then nor now.

Throughout the dissertation, I have written on the practical and symbolic practice of exhuming Republican graves as a ritual process. Like American anthropologist Renato Rosaldo (1993[1989]), I approach this process of death as not solely a structured, ritualistic practice but an expression of frustration, care, and emotional loss. This approach holds true for those Spanish deaths, once silenced, now revealed in exhuming. The ritualized act of exhuming reveals deaths—and emotions—that could not be realized at the end of the Civil War and subsequent dictatorship. Exhuming Republicans then follows a symbolic and practical ritual that is at once grounded in the emotional and the technical.

As with exhuming, excavating objects such as *cacharro* is also an emotionally- and technologically-charged process. In Miraflores, this material engagement with the conflict period is between rightists and objects, and not leftists and the dead. At the end of the Civil War, the right were permitted to exhume and give their dead a proper burial, whereas the left were not. The recent historical memory movement of the left, however, attempts to reverse this by demanding recognition of their dead as well as their perspective of the conflict period. As a result, most of what has been written about the conflict period in the last 15 years is from the perspective of the left in response to what the right-wing has been writing since Franco and the Nationalists were victorious in 1939. At the welcomed risk of breaking with this trend, I take here a serious look at affect and materiality from the perspective of people, like Lupe and Manuel below, who do not necessarily support or are tied to the current exhumation movement:

September 19, 2012. Field notes.

"Do you know where the bodies are?" I ask Lupe Lopez.

Lupe, a 70-something-year old woman, giggles sweetly, answering, "If I told you where they are, people will laugh at me!" Her younger brother, Manuel, comes in from outside and I ask him the same question: "What do you think of the exhumations going on here in Miraflores?" Like Lupe, Manuel also chuckles. He didn't see the point of exhuming what he saw as random soldiers' and civilians' bodies from a war that ended over 70 years ago.

We move outside to the cool patio lined with geranium planters and what looks to be bombs, securely cemented onto the wall. "Someone could steal them. They've already taken the grenades," Manuel explains to me when I reach out to touch one of the bombs. "It could fall on someone's head is what could happen. It's a shame to have them in the cement like that," added Lupe. She identifies them for me as 7mms "pineapple

bombs.” Why would anyone want to steal a potentially active bomb left over from the Spanish Civil War (Figure 1)?



Figure 1: A Ferrobellum grenade, or what Manuel and Lupe called their “pineapple bomb,” securely cemented into the wall. (2010, photo courtesy *Guerra en la Universidad* blog).

From the archaeologists’ perspective, the Lopez siblings’ strange affection for *cacharro*—the bombs, bullet cartridges, tools, and other war objects that still litter the Miraflores landscape—was charming. “It’s curious, they find our work *chistoso*, amusing,” noted David, the head archaeologist on the Miraflores project. The project began in 2010 when a history enthusiast from northern Spain had called David to excavate a Nationalist war trench on *El Castillo* hill that overlooked the pueblo. It wasn’t that that the pueblo did not appreciate the work of the archaeologists. Rather, they saw archaeology as a confirmation of their own meaning-making practices to understand the war and dictatorship. While archaeology was a welcomed tool into the pueblo to probe local and national history with, Lupe and Manuel and the other Mirafloresians saw it as simply another way in which knowledge of the conflict period confirmed their own understanding of the past.

From a local perspective, the archaeologists were, as one Mirafloresian put it, “strange—they want to know the life around the objects” rather than the actual object itself. But for Lupe and Manuel, their understanding of the war period through the care of pineapple bombs was less an engagement with the life of objects and more an ongoing practice from childhood of salvaging and caring for their past.

In addition to an archaeology of victims, prisoners, and sites of repression, an important part of the archaeology team's investigation in Miraflores was to conduct an "archaeology of the perpetrators" (Gonzalez-Ruibal & Ayán 2012:8). Similarly, this chapter is a crack at an anthropology of the "victors" (as much as a war can have victors) with no intention of reprimand, sympathy, or glory.³⁸ Without reifying them, what can an ethnographic study of rightists' interests and emotions contribute to a discussion of the Civil War and dictatorship today? What technologies are revealed in excavating that give meaning to the Mirafloresian past?

iv. "it's my memory."

Miraflores has a rich history told through the mementos of the war period. "This one woman keeps telling me to take [our *cacharro*] to the museum but I also like to have it here—it's *mi recuerdo*, it's my memory," Lupe complains to me at her home one day over mugs of Nescafe. Through the personal work of collecting and conserving *cacharro*, as children and now as adults, Mirafloresians gather a memory and transform scrap metal into memorabilia.

The Civil War museum engages in some of this same memory work. One of the ways it does this is through tourism. Aside from its touristic value, there is also a collective interest and active effort to preserve and share the *cacharro* collected by the pueblo and excavated by the archaeology team. *Cacharro* in this manner plays a large role in narrating pueblo history.³⁹ In the postwar period, *cacharro* was gathered from the countryside while people tended their land or flock. Once collected, it sold as scrap metal to the Axis powers during the Second World War at 40 pesetas per kilo, equivalent to one day of work. The collecting and selling of *cacharro* became a side source of income in Miraflores, a way of surviving during the postwar period.

Growing up during the postwar was a very difficult time for the defeated Republican left. It was not an entirely pleasant period for the right-wing "victorious" either. Lupe mentions a house in the main plaza hit by a machine gun during the war. It was not until last winter, over 70 years later, when it was bought by "*un muchacho*, a kid" that it was finally remodeled. Lupe's own family had left the pueblo and when they returned, they found a "15.5[mm] bomb that, like a bull" had entered the house and fell on top of the bed without exploding. Physical markers of the war lingered in the pueblo, but the Mirafloresians came to make these markers their own through *cacharro*.

Cacharro held sentimental and monetary value for the pueblo. It also had historical and social value. This became evident my first morning exhuming in an old *paridera*, a sheep pen, in the Colusa Valle.⁴⁰ The site had been occupied by Nationalist soldiers and later was attacked by

³⁸ The unintentional juxtaposition of rightists who express feelings for objects in this paper, and of leftists who craft agency out of bones (see Chapter 2) does not in any way mean to suggest that the right have more feelings for objects than humans. Rather, the connection between leftists and the dead is a reflection of the hierarchal politics of burial rights: after the war, rightists were permitted to exhume their dead; leftists were not.

³⁹ Noted in the 2010 archaeological report, "The pueblo of Miraflores, gravely affected by the bombings, remained, in practical terms, in no man's land and its inhabitants were evacuated to other localities" (Ruibal-Gonzalez 2010:5) during the war. The war had "converted [Miraflores] into a ghost town, sacked by troops from both bands...The neighbors' furniture and curtains came to decorate the shelters of the *franquista* trenches" (6).

⁴⁰ The only women on the team—Jimena, Dulce, and I—were exhuming along with João, the youngest member of the team at 20 years old. This was not a coincidence. At both of the excavations in Miraflores and San Pedro, women and unfavorable male members of the team were often relegated to what was considered the more

Republicans in early April 1938. We were on a bumpy 15-minute ride from the pueblo and other than the prisoner helpers,⁴¹ a film team, and a few fellow archaeologists visiting from Madrid, we rarely had any company:

September 26, 2012. Field notes.

“Of course, these haven’t been buried,” observed Pedro from over our shoulders. Pedro has a long-time fascination with *cacharro*. Aside from locating graves, he is known to locate, deactivate, and store bombs and other *cacharro* he finds around Miraflores. The museum is filled with placards bearing his name as the owner of helmets, *Mausers*, etc. He is an essential part of the archaeology team and the pueblos’ go-to person regarding *cacharro*.

Dulce, the physical anthropologist, notes that the bones are in good condition, undisturbed after 70 some years in the dry Miraflores earth. We would exhume five individual bodies at this site and excavate hundreds of objects.

“Half of what the people say here [in Miraflores] are lies, almost all are lies. These soldiers were buried during the war because they [the pueblo] haven’t removed anything,” says Pedro.

“Right, they are *enteros*, complete,” responds Dulce, not looking up from her work.

“No, it’s that the people, when they bury soldiers, they remove everything.”⁴²

I hesitate to write that these objects are also just junk, just *cacharro*. Essentially all *cacharro* had once belonged to someone. At this site, however, the connection is made all the more evident when *cacharro* lies alongside its dead owner. The presence of *cacharro* suggests that the soldier had not been discovered, touched, or remembered for many years. With the help of Pedro, the team had found these soldiers the year before through interviews with pueblo elders, metal detectors that sensed the *cacharro*, and manual picking and digging. *Cacharro* revealed how the soldiers were killed, what side of the war they had fought for, and who they were based on the personal objects they carried at the moment of their death (Figure 2). *Cacharro* was knowledge.

What narratives does *cacharro* carry, over 70 years after the fact? What emotions and interests are animated by *cacharro*? As noted by Pedro, *cacharro* unravels an important thread of Miraflores life and death. The narratives revealed through *cacharro* are made possible by the technical labor of exhuming, which has only recently been made available in the last 15 years in regards to the historical memory movement in Spain. Yet before it was socially acceptable to conduct this kind of exhumation, Pedro, Lupe, Manuel, and other Mirafloresians had been digging

feminine, delicate work of exhuming. Men, on the other hand, were most often assigned to excavate because it involved what was thought to involve superior physical strength.

⁴¹ The prisoners helped the team excavate one to two times a week. Their participation in the excavation as a form of social work, helped lessen their prison sentence.

⁴² The archaeologists would later confirm that a neighbor in Miraflores had returned to the site once the war had ended in order to bury the soldiers in the corral of the sheep pen. The archaeologists noted that the bones had been moved and were reburied disjointed. Although we did not know this at the time, Pedro’s observation is still insightful into understanding the pueblo’s relationship with the dead and *cacharro*.

up *cacharro* by their own technical means. Before exhumation practices came to Miraflores, *cacharro* already possessed value and knowledge.

Juana, for example, recalls how she learned to read the stars from her father in order to guide them those nights they slept in the countryside among their flock, *cacharro*, and the Civil War dead. She was fourteen. She would later collect enough *cacharro* to buy a sewing machine. “It was my father who taught us. When we would go work with him and sleep in the countryside, I would go over there with the flock, and thought, ‘Those poor dead kids, no one remembers them,’ and I would leave ‘Our Father’s’ for them.” She would lose an uncle after the war to *cacharro* after a bomb abandoned in the fields exploded on him. She sighed, and then very seriously said, “My knees still tremble when they do the [Civil War] reenactments.”

Lupe, in contrast, proudly informed me that her family didn’t need to sell *cacharro* to survive the postwar period because they had a large flock. Even so, they had at some point found, dug up, and detected enough *cacharro* to decorate an entire wall of their home. There were horseshoes, a horse comb, drills, and other husbandry tools for tending lambs, dogs, and pigs, all from the war period and neatly hung up for display. “Before the countryside was filled with bombs,” her brother Manuel informs me. Lupe piped in, adding “Yes, filled with gourds and...Pero *niña*, if you find a bomb, don’t touch it!” This, I would find out, was a normal life for *cacharro* in Miraflores: it was stored away in people’s homes, took up secondary functions,⁴³ and came to decorate the pueblo.

“There are five bombs on the *frontón*, you would have to be blind not to see them!” exclaimed Manuel to me. Lupe tells him to hush up, telling me matter-of-factly that the bombs are not that big of a deal. She reminds him that I have been excavating the entire day and would see them soon enough: “They’re on top. They’re *piñas* [pineapple bombs]. *Para recuerdo*, to remember.” But they were important, especially since Manuel was the one who had found them: “You’ll have to take a photo of it for when you go back to your country. I found them. I removed them with the tractor while I was farming.” Through the work of his tractor, Manuel contributes to the pueblo’s material and emotional narrative of the war and their survival.

I mention the Lopez siblings because they stuck in my head: what motivated them to seek out and hold onto *cacharro*, transforming it into mementos of the past? Lupe and Manuel illustrate for me a general sentiment of how many people in Spain actively engage with and try to make sense of the war and dictatorship period. I had been to 10 exhumation sites, yet Miraflores stood out, bound up with memories of the land, *cacharro*, and the postwar period. Like many other Spaniards, Lupe and Manuel displayed a similar uneasiness of the exhumations. They were from a right-wing pueblo and were not interested in what the exhumation of mass graves revealed. Those narratives, for familial or political reasons, did not concern them.

Although I had come to Spain to study the exhumations, my interactions about *cacharro* with the Mirafloresians were striking to me. Their feelings of growing up during the war and their

⁴³ For example, bombs became props to hold up walls and steel railings previously used as Republican anti-tank defenses became support beams for a corral.

continual engagement with the conflict period were invested in the collection and care of *cacharro*. In another example of care, Puig de la Bellacasa (2011) explores care as a “living technology” and, in a critique of Bruno Latour’s matters of concern (2004), a better way to ethically engage with, commit to, and study the politics of things. The essence of Miraflores life and death, while only partly animated by exhumation practices, had meaning through *cacharro*. As Martin, the director of the Association for the Friends of Historical Spaces of Miraflores (*Asociación de Amigos de los Espacios Históricos de Miraflores*), put it, “The people here are strange, they have *cariño*, love or affection, for bombs.”

v. *cariño* for *cacharro*: love and affection for junk metal.

Cacharro is not just another object of archaeological study. Like the dead body, *cacharro* is a physical reminder that reveals something powerful about the past. As I have demonstrated throughout the dissertation, the corporeal connection between the dead and the living is evident. Yet, as I have noted with *cacharro*, people can also develop feelings and emotions to nonhuman objects. What is it about *cacharro* that elicits *cariño* from the Mirafloresians?

As João, a young archaeology student excavating in Miraflores, put it, *cariño* for *cacharro* was:

Something normal such that for these people, in an environment of remains and bombs, it forms part of their identity and it forms part of them. Just as people always have *cariño* for their homeland and for their land, these people here, aside from their trees, animals, deer, etc., what you see here as well [is a *cariño* for] weapons and bullets...that forms part of them. It’s curious because we would never do this, have *cariño* for a bomb that you can measure, fill out paperwork on, etc., but these people, they have grown up with it.

Cariño animates *cacharro* in Miraflores because it connects people to a part of themselves, a part that is connected to a past that perhaps is best worked through the recovery and preservation of war objects.

Memory, oral history, and archives do not always permit a proper reconstruction of the past to occur. This was the case during the Francoist period when historical data was altered to conform to dictatorship ideology.⁴⁴ Today, a haze still hangs over what actually happened during the conflict period. In this manner, the past—as well as the future—remains mythical and blocked off from discovery.

Exhuming is one way to recover the past from the realm of the mythical, but there are other ways as well. The technologies used to recover the past in Spain have more recently been through exhumation, as well as metal detectors largely used by history enthusiasts. During the postwar period, however, these tools were not available. Instead, people in Miraflores used their hands or farm tools to recover and care for those objects that they considered to have value, economical or otherwise. Even when *cacharro* no longer had monetary value on the black market, people did not throw them out.

⁴⁴To give you an idea of the ensuing controversy surrounding the history of the conflict period, the pro-Franco revisionist history book, Pio Moa’s “Myths of the Civil War,” was still able to become a Spanish bestseller in 2005.

People's affection for *cacharro* reminds me of a poem Juana taught me. Like *cacharro*, people—particularly the elderly—still carried *pesetas*, the former currency of Spain, even though they no longer had any value:

El monedero español se ha quedado sin pesetas porque se marchan los pobres, se marchan a hacer puñetas. La peseta era más nuestra mas delicada, mas fina y mucha mas feminista.	The Spanish currency has been left without pesetas because the poor are leaving, they're leaving, to hell with it. The peseta was more like ours: more delicate, finer, and much more feminine.
El euro es mucho más fuerte es varón, y es muy machista. pero nos defenderá como buen economista porque tienen mas valor, mas influencia, mas fama, y nos servirá de ayuda para superar el drama...	The euro is much stronger: it is male, and it is very macho, but it will defend us like a good economist because it has more value, more influence, more fame, and it will serve as help to overcome the drama...

Even though the euro “will serve as help to overcome the drama,” the peseta persists. Because it “was more like ours,” people held on to them, personifying them, caring for them. The affective work put into recovering and keeping objects like the peseta or *cacharro* alive help people to connect and make sense of their past. Like the peseta with its euro, *cacharro* resists other dominant ways of knowing about the past. *Cacharro* is loved—by conservative, elderly rightists, mind you—and because of the emotional work involved in caring for it, it persists and pushes back against what is known about the conflict period in ways historical documents do not.

Cacharro is knowledge because it is loved. Even so, the majority of the elderly Miraflores residents believed that digging for *cacharro* nowadays was “time poorly spent that could be better put to use planting tomatoes.” Yet at the open-house weekend of the war museum and the archaeological sites, the residents came out, surrendering buckets of recently picked tomatoes from their orchards in front of the museum steps. Patricia and Alejandro, the self-proclaimed “oldest *living* couple” in town, are the first ones there. They take a seat in front to hear head archaeologist David present the results of the project for the year. Today, Alejandro uses a different cane, one adorned at the hook with a bullet cartridge (Figure 2).



Figure 2: Alejandro with a cane, adorned at the end with a bullet cartridge. (October 2013, photo by author).

vi. the mechanics of salvage technologies: a feeling. “What are you going to do today? Would you like to go to the Altos?” It was Saturday at an hour of the morning when the air felt dry and hollow, waiting for the pueblo to awaken itself into it. Pedro was calling me to accompany him on a search for a dead body so that Dulce would “have her *muertos*, her dead” to exhume come Monday morning. I hopped into his four-wheel drive, passing by a home that still had holes in it from a wartime explosion.

October 1, 2012. Field notes.

“All this zone was Republican,” explains Pedro. “What that means was that all the people weren’t themselves Republican but that the town was Republican. *Porque era que le tocaba*, because it was what they ended up with.” While people play an intricate role in shaping pueblo politics, the land, it would seem, begets politics as well.

The pueblo we drive to, Lomita, is deserted. Even so, Pedro locates Carlos outside his work shed alongside his wife Penelope, filtering honey from their beehives. After exchanging introductions and pleasantries, Pedro informs Carlos that I am part of David's archaeology team. "They are the ones that if they find a bullet, they don't pick it up and take it!" They laughed at the absurdness of finding a bullet and not keeping it. To them, the archaeologists were "strange—they want to know the life around the objects."

If the work of the archaeologists is to "know the life around the objects," what then is the work of Pedro and Carlos when it comes to *cacharro*? Carlos, now 79 years old, had made a living of scanning the countryside for truffles with his dog and for *cacharro* with his farm tools. He had bought a guitar with his *cacharro*, a story people still remember well in Miraflores.

Back in Pedro's car, we drove over some difficult terrain and stopped at Palos Verdes. There Carlos points out a steep golden-red canyon with jagged cuts and crevices where vultures lay their eggs and Republicans had once made their beds in what were war trenches.

"There were Catalans here. They were from Cataluña because they had insignias that I found over there. I remember one badge with the Cataluña shield. The Catalans! Now they don't want to be Spanish! If they want to go, they should go!" exclaims Pedro.

Carlos agrees. "That they go *tomar por culo*, take it up the ass...!"

"*Eso es y ya esta*, that's right, that would do it..." Pedro, curious about the insignias, tries to return Carlos to the topic at hand. "Those badges, you didn't save any did you?"

"I don't know, it's been awhile since I've seen one."

"Just to see how they were."

"*Coñio*, well, they're like the shield of Cataluña! A little tiny rounded badge. *Era tan maja*, it was so pretty!"

Carlos and Pedro were not interested in "know[ing] the life around the objects" in the same way the archaeologists would. But through the careful mechanics of locating, detecting, and digging up *cacharro*, a discussion of the object is brought into their present. Pedro's desire to see a Republican soldier's insignia, for example, brings up a key tenet of the war and dictatorship carried over to the present: what to do with ethnic regions and more currently, what to do about a region that wants to become a separate country from Spain. Through the insignia (which we didn't find), Pedro and Carlos exercise their distaste for the Catalanian regionalist movement in favor for the centralized Spanish government. Yet this did not seem to diminish their *cariño* for that little "*maja*" piece of *cacharro*.

We did not find the body and, out of respect for the archaeological team, all found objects were reburied. That morning, they would find bullets, cartridges, and tin cans of food. Narratives began to take form. Armed with a rusty old trowel and a metal detector, they were committed to these objects that implicated them in a way that was not the same for the

archaeologists (Figure 3). Archaeologically speaking, we had had an unsuccessful day. But Pedro and Carlos didn't seem to think so. They weren't pretending to be archaeologists, and I wouldn't exactly call their fascination with *cacharro* a hobby either, especially if you take in consideration that people had survived off *cacharro* during the postwar period.



Figure 3: Tools of the trade: Using a metal detector and an old farming tool, Carlos and Pedro dig for *cacharro*. In the Alto Molino (September 2012, photo by author).

A closer look at the personal and social experiences masked and animated in the production of knowledge compels an understanding of how technologies—not as a given process but a becoming form—are crafted from narrative. I hesitate to place Pedro's and Carlos' *cacharro* efforts as a kind of amateur archaeology. "Amateur" seems to imply that a lesser form of knowledge is being produced from the pueblo's own technology and expertise. Yet in Miraflores as elsewhere in Spain, technology and expertise is often not available or made accessible. The state has provided little to no support (financial, legal, or otherwise) in investigating the conflict period. In the meantime of 70 some years since the end of the war, people have found their own technologies to make sense of the war and dictatorship. For these reasons, contracting the best experts or technologies is not always an option nor is it always what people want when those resources are made available to them.

In the space of waiting, Spaniards have resolved to their own personal devices to understand the past beyond what history has told them. Through the technologies of metal detectors, farm tools, human hands, and exhumation, the work of *cariño* animates a practical as

well as personal response to state neglect during the war, dictatorship, and current economic crisis. The discovery and care of war materials through these sensorial-technical tools—what I call *salvage technologies*—explores the personal and social mechanics involved in how knowledge is intimately produced and history is actively challenged in Spain today.

Where technology is intimately produced through salvaging, can there be truth in the personal? In “Science as a Vocation,” Max Weber defines science as a technique that “contributes to the technology of controlling life by calculating external objects as well as man’s activities.” (1946:150). Science, he warns, must be disenchanting from the realm of the mystical and transcendental, and abandon its pursuit of true being, art, nature, God, and happiness in order to maintain its rational and intellectual character. In Weber’s conception, subjectivity has no place in science and technology. The modern desire for science and technology to answer questions of value, fate, and meaning is, according to Weber, a futile endeavor.

More recent efforts to examine Weber’s exploration of science and technology are critical of his perspective of it as a practice separate from ethos, and offer important modifications to his theory (see Fischer 2007, Scheper-Hughes 2010). But here, I pursue Weber’s original suggestion regarding the danger to science subjectivity may pose. What if we conceive of “inner devotion” (Weber 1946:137) not simply as a force to be reconciled with, but rather as a thing in itself through which knowledge is animated? What if we saw subjectivity not as a disturbance to science and technology, but rather a productive site of meaning and knowledge? Subjectivity in this light is dangerous: it produces meaning. In the case of the salvaging in Miraflores then, subjectivity in the form of *cariño* is a force that animates technology and informs knowledge.

American anthropologist Michael Fisher suggests for an anthropology of science and technology that will “reconstruct the emergent forms of life already forming around us. No longer can we rest on broad claims about the alienation of the market, the technicization of life, or globalization” (2007:541). But here I pursue French philosopher Michel Foucault’s premise of studying technologies of the self that neither reconstructs nor liberates the self (1997[1982]). To use Foucault, the discovery and care of *cacharro* in Miraflores does not give rise to “a happy human” but rather “paves the way for new power relationships, which must be controlled by practices of freedom” (283-284).⁴⁵ The pursuit of recovering *cacharro* through excavation then is not a liberation of an alienated self, but a working logic and Mirafloresian ethos of love in which the personal is knowledge. Following Foucault’s re-enchantment of the self (Weber 1946), I examine how affect makes life not only meaningful but, as in the context of salvage technologies, how it makes technology meaningful as well as.

My focus on *salvage technologies*—the personal and affective mechanics involved in reconciliation efforts—draws on the relationship between person, technology, and knowledge production in an attempt to build on Michel Foucault’s theory of human technologies (1997[1982]). Foucault defines human technologies as “the different ways in our culture that humans develop knowledge about themselves: economics, biology, psychiatry, medicine, and

⁴⁵Foucault’s examination of the self, couched in an analysis of power, is instructive to understanding the self beyond a reconstruction of the self. However, I am cautious here in a context of reconciliation to simply collapse the self to solely one dominated by power relations. See Alexei Yurchak’s “Necro-Utopia” (2008) for a further critique of the limitations of Foucault’s and Agamben’s analysis of power.

penology...these so-called sciences” (224]). Human technologies expand how knowledge is produced beyond machinery and equipment, and reconsider the boundaries between the self and the material world (Whitmarsh 2008). Technologies conceptualized as such open up ways to think about how *cacharro* is given agency by intimately working on it. *Cacharro* is animated by the human technology of *cariño* and through this work, only then does *cacharro* become a potential site for knowledge production. Salvage technologies then draw on the personal mechanics involved in how knowledge is produced, bundling together archaeologists’ David and Dulce’s desire to know the life around objects as well as Pedro and Carlos’ *cariño* to know how they form part of these objects.

To include Pedro’s trowel or Manuel’s tractor as possible technologies for understanding the war and dictatorship is to include Pedro and Manuel in how knowledge is constructed. Had a proper infrastructure been in place to study the war and its aftermath, perhaps archaeological equipment and expertise would have long ago replaced trowels, tractors, and their users. These tools and their users aren’t necessarily poorer choices of technology but ones that afford a different relationship between user, technology, and how knowledge is produced.

vii. salvage technologies and reconciliation.

In Miraflores, no one actually calls what they do with *cacharro* reconciliation or human rights work. The practices and analysis involved in discovering, collecting, studying, and sharing *cacharro* is common knowledge and therefore a dull topic of discussion. The care of *cacharro* is the kind of *inside out* phenomena that Annalise Riles identifies as resisting “interpretation precisely because they are all too familiar” yet deserving “ethnographic attention because it is equally indigenous to the subjects of this study [inside] and to the tradition of social science of which this study is a part [outside]” (2000:1-2). In Miraflores, the majority of the residents believed that the all-too-familiar study of *cacharro* nowadays was “time poorly spent that could be better put to use planting tomatoes.” *Cacharro* as a thing that could be studied or understood as a form of local and national reconciliation not only bored residents, but they saw it as a waste of time and energy.

The idea that *cacharro* is reconciliation was at the limits of everyday Mirafloresian exchange. At the time, this made for very frustrating ethnography and lackluster interviews. Only later did I realize that to recreate the ethnographic experience of the work of *cacharro* was to write from a humbled position of *not* understanding, one that was equally inside and outside so to speak. *Cacharro*, as they had taught us in our “Introduction to Field work Research” seminar, was such “a shiny bright object” in Miraflores that it paradoxically lost much of its ethnographic luster over the years. To use Riles (2000), a study of the care of *cacharro* in the context of reconciliation is equally at the epistemological limits and beginnings of ethnography. This ethnographic moment of failure (Miyazaki & Riles 2005) to comprehend the comprehensible, where the anthropologist can no longer see neither the structure nor the form, was the site of a Mirafloresian culture of reconciliation (Favret Sa’ada 1990).

“The Real is internally constituted by the gaps in the design,” writes Riles (2004:22). In Miraflores, knowledge about the past is constituted at the site where the state’s failure to formally recognize the human rights violations committed during the war and dictatorship

begin: the material and forgotten vestiges of violence, *cacharro*. These objects, an affective extension of the state apparatus of violence and neglect, both past and present, stand for war precisely because they are war. Here I differ from Michael Taussig (1993) in that I do not see people's investment in *cacharro*, an extension of state violence, as falling prey to an illusion of truth. The material culture of the conflict period is one of the only sites that people can challenge dominant forms of truth (e.g., history textbooks, Amnesty Law of 1977) and confront human rights violations in Spain.

"There is no consensus that what Franco did was wrong, and without this base [of common knowledge], there can be no discussion," was how head archaeologist David summed up the situation in Spain. With no national ethos of forgiveness or justice neither at the end of the dictatorship nor during the transition to democracy,⁴⁶ human rights violations has not been and cannot be a national discussion. *Cacharro* is a "good enough" form of reconciliation (Scheper-Hughes 2007:202) because it is one of the only ways that people can invest their memories and desires into in order to make the past tangible.⁴⁷

The desire to comprehend the violence and make sense of the past becomes mediated into dispersed, local forms of protest, dialogue, and reconciliation. Like Charles Briggs (2006), I follow how violence is narrated, here through the care of *cacharro*. While Briggs examines "how violence narratives in general produce truth, authority, affect, ethics, and often consent" (2006:331), I examine the opposite: how affect animates violence narratives and forensic science to surface via *cacharro* (Wagner 2008). "Instead of finding the single, objective, sweet truth of the moralist," writes Scheper-Hughes of the South Africa Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), people "make do with...a compromise, settling for a crazy quilt of competing narratives, losses, sorrows, halting and incomplete confessions, and contested truths...a 'good enough' truth" (2007:202). Like the South Africa TRC, the discovery, excavation, and care of *cacharro* open up "new social spaces which conversations and interactions that were once unthinkable could take place" (223). *Cacharro*, the embodiment of unwanted history, escapes dominant forms of mediation and circulates in everyday bits and pieces (e.g., war reenactments, museum talks, front yards) to the point of becoming commonplace.

viii. ways of knowing: love.

I have had three objectives in this chapter. Firstly, to seriously engage with an anthropology of the victors grounded in pueblo politics to understand how other perspectives—namely those of rightists—connect and contribute to a discussion of the war and dictatorship period. Secondly, to explore the role a person's emotions and interests, specifically the feeling of love or *cariño*, plays in producing knowledge of the wartime and its aftermath through *cacharro*. Finally, to

⁴⁶In war, all sides suffer, and Spain was no exception. It can be argued that the victors of the war were permitted during the dictatorship to exhume and therefore acknowledge their dead, put up plaques to commemorate important generals and heroes of the war, and return to somewhat normal way of life in the postwar period. The defeated, however, were not able to this.

⁴⁷This is not to say that the reason people care for *cacharro* is to tear back the fetish (Taussig 1993) and liberate the self (Foucault 1997[1982]). There are many reasons why people care for objects beyond a context of reconciliation (e.g., tourism, status symbol, its eBay market potential) but this is beyond the focus of the research presented here.



Figure 4 (From left to right): Small bullets and cartridges on the dining room table; a small bomb used as a support to hold up a wall; a large (and active) bomb in a wall by the stream; the *frontón* tennis court adorned with an aviation bomb and various artillery shells that Manuel had found (September 2012, photos by author).

examine how personal work informs the relationship between self and technology, what I have called *salvage technologies*, in constructing knowledge. In this matter, personal and collective feelings, such as *cariño*, intimately inform technology, challenging what we understand technology to be and how knowledge is produced in post-conflict spaces. In this manner, a focus on salvage technologies shifts the discussion from one on the differences between amateur and expertise knowledge to that of understanding how knowledge is produced in personal and affective ways (Zhan 2001).

The production of historical knowledge through technical means is a personal task for both individuals and nations with significant social, political, and economical implications. Where the state falls short in taking care of its citizens, *cacharro* served as an alternative source of

income as well as care. The Mirafloresians' response to state neglect has been through creating value out of neglected objects. Despite the economical, political, familial, and personal stakes involved, *cariño* for *cacharro* attempts to provide users some kind of understanding of a tragic past. In this manner, having *cariño* for *cacharro* became a way of survival but also an active way to deal with and understand one's personal connection to the war and its aftermath.

Cariño has its own logic and epistemology and this is expressed in both action and theory. *Cariño* helps explain why war bombs in Spain are cared for today and other times were sold for money. What really interests me then when it comes to *salvage technologies* is how *cariño*—the intimate relationship crafted between people, *cacharro*, and their past—produces knowledge. In this manner, knowledge production becomes an engagement with love and affection.

Where stakes are high for subjectivity, it becomes even more important to examine how and where it is being expressed in order to comprehend how it contributes to knowledge produced on the past, present, and future. It is important to understand not only what narratives are being highlighted and abstracted in the production of knowledge, but also to be cognizant as to how subjectivity and technology are being confirmed, contested, and negotiated to create knowledge. My aim here through the mechanics of *cariño* then is for a study of technology that is more conscious of how knowledge is being produced by the personal.

What is lost when subjectivity is cut out of knowledge production, and what can an ethnographic focus on subjectivity offer science and technology? I look at what people say and feel about *cacharro*, how they use it, and the social, political, and ethical rules and regulations surrounding the discovery and care of *cacharro*. That is to say, this is not an ethnography on technology itself. Rather, I use ethnography to focus in on people's personal experience of salvage technologies in which culture, politics, and history are a site of struggle and also an entry point of the self that is read back onto these technologies. My goal then has been to restore the embodied, political, ethical, and affective dynamics of how people engage with salvage technologies to understand their worlds.

An ethnographically-informed study of technology can provide further insight into the division between the personal and knowledge production. By doing so, it examines how a wide range of actors make meaningful or are at odds with official practices as well as their own practices. Further inquiry into alternative productions of knowledge is not solely a methodological challenge for an anthropology of science and technology but a way to critically examine how subjectivity as a practice informs science, technology, and society.

conclusion: possibilities for an emotionally-informed exhumation.

A central component of this dissertation is the idea that our emotions and interests produce knowledge. In the context of exhuming in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent Francisco Franco dictatorship, this refers to how emotions animate exhumation practice in Spain. In the case of Spain, I have analyzed how exhumation practices produce knowledge of the recent past that reveal the present interests and emotions of Spanish society. In doing so, I have charted the symbolic and practical act of exhuming as a ritual process where certain bodies are remembered and reburied, and others are made forgotten. The dissertation examines how the current exhumations of unmarked graves from the Civil War and dictatorship produce new hierarchies of knowledge via the dead that are reflective of the interests and emotions of Spanish society.

By focusing on those social and personal elements often deemed irrational to the production of knowledge, I approach the exhumations in Spain as a kind of death ritual animated by emotions and interests. In the science studies literature, feminist, indigenous, and postcolonial approaches to knowledge production have been critical to debates on knowledge production. American science studies scholars Donna Haraway and Sandra Harding have been instrumental in this regard. Haraway's resolution, for example, lies in "unmask[ing] the doctrines of objectivity because they threatened our budding sense of collective historical subjectivity and agency and our 'embodied' accounts of the truth" (1988:578). Likewise, Harding's notion of strong objectivity (1995) argues for a knowledge that is situated and more capable of producing a "stronger" science than those based on neutrality. As Haraway and Harding point out, the task of unmasking objectivity in science goes beyond simply favoring subjectivity over objectivity. Rather, they advocate for an objectivity that is partial and never fully satisfied in which "the imaginary and the rational—the visionary and objective vision—hover close together" (1988:585). In my own research in Spain, I demonstrate how the personal, emotional aspects of the material recovery of the Civil War and dictatorship past, such as love for bombs or the irritation of Moroccans as war victims, determine how knowledge is produced at the exhumations.

The literature in science studies points to ways in which emotions are challenged in relation to how knowledge is produced. Drawing upon this literature, my dissertation examines the Spanish exhumations as a technical practice to counter historical hierarchies constructed in war and peace. Drawing from Nadia Abu El-Haj (2001), my ethnographic research in Spain reveals exhuming as a knowledge-making practice that uses material culture to verify the natural presence of history on the ground. Abu El-Haj demonstrates how the discipline and expertise of archaeology functions as a nation-building tool in Palestine/Israel to legitimize the Israeli-Jewish state and history through artifacts. In the same manner, I look to exhumation practices in Spain as not a singular, streamlined form of knowledge but one with conflicting, perspectives that are aggregated into a single practice (Hodder 1997). As American science studies scholar Kimberly TallBear (2008) has written in regards to Native American DNA identification, historical hierarchies are not naturally reincorporated into science and technology yet they come to determine how identity and knowledge are produced. As I have shown in the example of an unmarked Moroccan grave in Vilar in Chapter 3, these hierarchies

determine who is exhumed and who is not. Such hierarchies and opinions impact our understanding of how experts and other heritage managers challenge and contribute to knowledge. The production of knowledge is a personal, emotional task—for archaeologists, historical memory activists, and local and descendant communities—that carries significant social and ethical implications.

What might an emotionally-informed study of exhumations tell us about how knowledge of the past and present is produced? The narratives and experiences surrounding the exhumation practices that I examined in Spain illustrate the importance in studying emotions as a force of knowledge (Rosaldo 1993[1989]). To think with emotions, such as love and loss, has the potential to inspire an engagement with knowledge production that can further explore subjective sensibilities as part and parcel to epistemology. A closer look at the emotional rethinks how knowledge is produced by focusing in on how emotions and interests actively inform ways of comprehending the world. Where stakes are high for emotions, such as in the case of the Spanish exhumations, it becomes critical to examine what narratives are being highlighted and abstracted in the production of knowledge. Clearly, there is value in developing further inquiry into the emotional aspects of knowledge.

My commitment to emotions as an analytic in knowledge production has a variety of consequences worth exploring. Firstly, an emphasis on emotions is a difficult research task because it involves an intersubjective awareness of the imponderabilia of practice. To follow feelings of love, and an ethos of sacrament can be tricky because they depart from a structured ritual course of what we expect to happen in the production of facts. This information is expressed and revealed in practice *and* emotion, often in subtle, embodied ways. For example, in Chapter 4, the feeling of love, or *cariño*, is not so much talked about as it is revealed in the care of bombs and bullets of non-professional excavations in Miraflores. I borrow here from medical anthropology analysis and methodology as a way to critically understand the global conjunctures of the lived experience and structured inequalities of human suffering and healing at the Spanish exhumations. This approach to exhumation practice draws upon medical anthropology, in both theory and action, to question conventional and bodily forms of knowledge production as revealed in expression and emotion (Rose & Novas 2005; Petryna 2002).

Secondly, a focus on emotions is also challenging in that it can essentialize emotions and interests to possess a kind of absolute truth beyond the material. A focus on emotions does not mean to privilege or fetishize the physical over the metaphysical, the subjective over the objective. Rather, a serious engagement with emotions seeks to understand feelings, interests, and materials not as given things but becoming forms crafted from multiple narratives (Biehl & Locke 2010; Hodder 2008; Joyce 2008). In Chapter 2, for example, I illustrate how the various and often conflicting perspectives surrounding the cosmology of bones drive the practical and symbolic process of exhuming in San Pedro. In this way, I illuminate narratives that are often considered outside the purview of exhumation practice and knowledge production.

Without glorifying feelings of resistance or power, further inquiry into emotions and interests as sites of knowledge can direct us toward more lively and caring ways to understand how knowledge is produced (Biehl & Moran-Thomas 2009; Puig de la Belacasa 2011; Shanks 1992). It was out of specific emotions and interests revealed at the Spanish exhumations that I

saw knowledge produced. Emotions revealed through the ritual process of exhuming as the desire to preserve the right to proper burial and provide meaning to the violence of the conflict period are frequently perceived as in contradiction to modern history and science. In this way, my dissertation contributes to a perspective of exhumation practice in Spain that examines emotions and interests as meaningful forms of historical understanding and knowledge production. Approaching knowledge production as an emotionally-informed process opens up the opportunity for multiple perspectives to emerge and coexist at the crossroads of emotion, ritual, and practice. Combining these efforts offers an emotionally-engaged study of exhumation practices in Spain a means to explore how emotions and interests animate the production of knowledge. The Spanish exhumations clarify how emotions are brought into perspective with practice and drive the production of knowledge.

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