



NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

DIVISION OF RESEARCH PROGRAMS

Narrative Section of a Successful Application

The attached document contains the grant narrative of a previously funded grant application. It is not intended to serve as a model, but to give you a sense of how a successful application may be crafted. Every successful application is different, and applicants are urged to prepare a proposal that reflects their unique project and aspirations. Prospective applicants should consult the Research Programs application guidelines at <https://www.neh.gov/grants/research/collaborative-research-grants> for instructions.

The attachment only contains the application narrative, not the entire funded application. In addition, certain portions may have been redacted to protect the privacy interests of an individual and/or to protect confidential commercial and financial information and/or to protect copyrighted materials.

The application format has been changed since this application was submitted. You must follow the guidelines in the currently posted Notice of Funding Opportunity (see the Notice posted on the Collaborative Research program page linked above).

Project Title: The Edinburgh Companion to the Spanish Civil War and Visual Culture

Institution: Marquette University

Project Director: Eugenia Afinoguenova

Grant Program: Collaborative Research

Project overview

The images of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)—from propaganda posters and anarchist films to Picasso’s *Guernica*—reemerge wherever fratricidal conflicts and crimes against humanity occur across the globe. Not only the iconic images of the War but also its dominant visual languages—photomontage, surrealism and abstraction mobilized to convey political messages, folk art imbued with ideological meanings, film stills recycled on posters—are enjoying a second life in contemporary painting, propaganda, and advertising. Given that the Spanish Civil War lasted less than three years, such a long afterlife is surprising. Our project finds an explanation for this phenomenon through Visual Culture analysis that regards images as tools of meaning capable of shaping as well as expanding the perception of political events. Now considered a decisive moment in the chain of civil wars in 20th-century Europe, the Spanish Civil War effectively ended the Popular Front’s attempts at building a broad, interclass coalition against Fascism in Spain and France and led to the triumph of war over diplomacy. The proposed coedited, multi-author *Edinburgh Companion to the Spanish Civil War and Visual Culture* argues that on both sides of the conflict the disintegration of political solutions triggered a crisis in the language of ideology that images were then called upon to replace. Recurrent visual reminders of the Spanish Civil War suggest that current political imaginary still depends on ways of seeing that visual technologies of the 1930s launched into circulation. The volume is currently under contract.

Significance and impact

The Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 has a visual presence that still resonates in the 21st century. The British artist Peter Kennard advocates for solidarity with refugees and warns against the threat of global extinction using the language of photomontage, first used in the Soviet Union and the Weimar Republic and perfected by Josep Renau—the artist who became the Minister of Fine Arts of Spain’s Republic in 1936. In his horror and fantasy films set in wartime Spain (“Devil’s Backbone” [2001] and “Pan’s Labyrinth” [2006]), the Mexican filmmaker Guillermo del Toro evokes a surrealist vision, key to the Spanish Civil War aesthetic, that speaks to the profanation of the human body. In Poland, a poster featuring the words “No pasarán” (“They shall not pass”—the war cry of Dolores Ibárruri [La Pasionaria]) advertised a 2021 poetry contest dedicated to the issue of women’s rights. Exemplifying most current political events mediated by the artistic legacy of the War, a recent collective photograph of the wives (only wives!) of the world leaders who gathered in Madrid in June 2022 to discuss NATO’s common policy in Ukraine was staged against the background of Pablo Picasso’s *Guernica*, painted for the Spanish Republic’s pavilion at the 1937 International Exhibition in Paris. What are the reasons for this return to the images and visual languages of the Spanish Civil War in contemporary societies?

As the debates on “fascism” and “antifascism” continue in contemporary politics, historians look back to the Spanish Civil War with renewed attention (Godicheau 2015). There is a growing understanding that, far more than a preface to World War Two, as it has long been acknowledged, the conflict was an essential event in the cycle of revolutions, repressions, and civil wars in 20th-century Europe (Graham 2005 and 2012). While not all civil conflicts of that period have had the international profile of the Spanish Civil War, they share still unresolved issues concerning the misalignment between national sovereignty and transnational interests, the contrast between the rural and the urban worlds, and gendered class and racial inequalities.

In 1935 the leaders of the Communist International (Comintern) realized that these conflicts were causing a threat of Fascism and Nazism in Europe and took a course of uniting all people of good will, without distinction of class. The language of class struggle that had previously dominated the programs of the Euro-American Left was abandoned, and the idea of a dictatorship of the proletariat was replaced with new slogans in defense of humanist values. Public health, universal education, and the defense of culture for all became the program of the Popular Front—a new ideological movement combating the enemy that the Comintern termed “fascism” (Alexander and Graham 1989, Eley 2002, Faber 2002, Ucelay Da Cal 2003, Álvarez Junco 2004, Wolikow 2010). With the victory of the Popular Front coalition in February 1936, Spain became an arena where this policy was tried, merged with attempts of revolutionary collectivization in Catalonia and Aragón, and failed when Italy and Germany supported the Nationalist uprising in July 1936 (Preston 2006, Hochschild 2016). The Popular Front’s peaceful slogans were powerless when the Nationalist coup became a civil war and propaganda and cries for help—not interclass coalition-building—became a matter of urgent necessity for the Spanish Republic. George Orwell (1949) famously called Newspeak the Stalinists’ slippery use of this language of peace in 1937 when, under pressure from Soviet military advisers, the Republic’s government proclaimed that winning the war was a priority and a precondition for a successful proletarian revolution. Scholars of visual culture argue, however, that both before and after the Soviet Union began officially providing military aid to Spain, both sides’ careful coding of their political languages channeled into images ideas that could not be articulated verbally (Lubar 2003, Dell 2006, Afinoguénova 2018). Visual expression was perceived open to interpretation and thus, paradoxically, more meaningful and effective. Images became “image-acts” (Horst Bredekamp’s coinage) that did not represent the world, but rather acted upon the viewers, forcing them to take sides (2010). Unlike Newspeak, images did not lie, but more research needs to be done in order to understand what they meant or how they worked.

The new research on the Spanish Civil War thus not only demands a reconsideration of the visual culture that accompanied the conflict, but also provides all the necessary tools for such an analysis. Reconsidering the visibility of the War in light of these discoveries, *The Edinburgh Companion to the Spanish Civil War and Visual Culture* enriches the discussions of the War with insights from the full range of visual culture, from popular and mass culture to high art. The volume approaches the Civil War paintings, posters, photographs, murals, and films as “image-acts” as well as tools for shaping both sides’ perceptions of the conflict. This makes the art-historical analysis of aesthetic ambiguity (Fraschina 1996, Falasca-Zamponi 2011), the absorption of the spectator (Fried 1988), and the malleability of cultural heritage (Álvarez Lopera 1982, Alted Vigil 1984, Colorado Castellary 2008) essential for understanding the communication practices of the War that brought these images to life, and other civil conflicts that have kept them relevant.

Substance and context

The Spanish Civil War was the first war in history that witnesses around the globe could follow not only through the press and photographic coverage, but also on screen. It marked an unprecedented innovation in visual technologies—the development of portable video and photo capturing devices, the new techniques and equipment of video editing and manipulation of the soundtrack, and the use of art exhibitions to expose and denounce current events (Sánchez Biosca 2007). To date, there is a rich and varied corpus of work focusing on the paintings, sculptures, photographs, posters, films, printed propaganda campaigns, and artistic events in Spain and beyond that document the ways in which the War was perceived at home and abroad (Alix 1987, Greeley 2006, Rodríguez Tranche and Sánchez Biosca 2011, among others). Firmly grounded in this scholarship, our volume goes considerably further, however, arguing that these images and visual technologies *did not merely*

represent the conflict, but rather *provided the tools of meaning-making* at a time when public verbal expression was considered suspect. These technologies, in turn, provided the foundation for the first in-depth visual record of a European civil conflict.

The reconsideration of Visual Culture as a distinct academic field at the turn of the 21st century has been crucial for the consolidation of our project. Nicholas Mirzoeff, the field's leading theoretician, explains that visual technologies and artifacts inform, complement, and expand natural vision, rather than replicate it: "Visual culture is concerned with visual events in which information, meaning, or pleasure is sought by the consumer in an interface with visual technology. By visual technology, I mean any form of apparatus designed either to be looked at or to enhance natural vision, from oil painting to television and Internet" (1999, 3). Hence, this volume moves away from the idea that images convey unitary meanings, arguing instead that images create viewers by conditioning their interpretation—what Mirzoeff and many others call "apparatus." The Visual Culture approach reveals the extent to which artifacts, aesthetic techniques, and visual technologies assigned meanings to the events of the Spanish Civil War and created the communities able to perceive those meanings. The visual legacies examined in this volume thus not only include works of art, but also children's drawings used for psychological healing, illustrated newsletters that wounded soldiers drew in frontline hospitals, and the narratives suggested by the exhibitions about the War in the Soviet Union and across Europe and the Americas.

There have been numerous art-historical studies of the major figures who produced work for the Spanish Republic (Pablo Picasso, Joan Miró, Alberto Sánchez, Julio González) or who thematized the Spanish Civil War in their work (Salvador Dalí, whose relation to the War is examined in depth in this volume). Far less attention has been given to the vast range of visual and material artifacts as mediators of the traumatic events of the War for local communities and international audiences who followed the conflict from afar. The emphasis on visibility as a source of both the meaning and the meaning-making audiences distinguishes *The Edinburgh Companion to the Spanish Civil War and Visual Culture* from the two groundbreaking collections that inspired it: *The Spanish Civil War and the Visual Arts*, edited by Kathleen Vernon (1991) and *Teaching the Representations of the Spanish Civil Wars*, edited by Noël Valis (2007). Like both collections, our volume features a variety of visual mediums from oil painting to poster art to film that experienced a profound transformation during the War. Also like those collections, our contributors' work is shaped by recent scholarship in History, Material Culture and Art History, Cultural Studies, Film Studies, Media Studies, and Memory Studies. Unlike Vernon's and Valis's editions, however, *The Edinburgh Companion* not only goes beyond Spain but also traces the lasting effects of the visual system ushered in by the Civil War in other countries, from China to Chile, and incorporates scholarship in Archeology and Holocaust Studies. Most importantly, our project explains why and how the Spanish Civil War changed the ways in which images were produced, used, and received by diverse communities.

The timing for *The Edinburgh Companion* could not be more appropriate. Scholars are only now unpacking the broader implications of the research that came to light between 2006 and 2014 in conjunction with the 70th and 75th anniversaries of the War's beginning and end. At the same time, increased scholarly interest in visual culture has expanded the range of sources considered relevant for capturing the variety of wartime experience. Not only does *The Edinburgh Companion* feature previously unknown materials from archives in eight countries (Spain, the United States, China, Russia, Germany, Chile, Romania, and Moldova), more importantly, it considers new types of visual sources, from Soviet and Chinese caricature to the photographic documents of US antifascist organizations, whose significance only becomes apparent in the framework of Visual Culture analysis. Since the effects of visual media on creating communities and constituencies is at the center

of this research, our project addresses images produced on both sides of the conflict, taking a wide view that includes the War's visual afterlife in Spain and in exile during the dictatorship (1939-1975), the transition to democracy (1975-1981), and at present.

The opening of the Archives of the Comintern in Moscow in the 1990s changed the debate about its politics toward Spain, and *The Edinburgh Companion* adds to and mirrors these discoveries (Khlevniuk 2000, Kowalsky 2004, Rybalkin 2007, Schauff 2008). Having conducted research in the Moscow archives, Daniel Kowalsky reports the challenges that the War brought to the Popular Front's message. As the Republic's representatives at the Comintern demanded military assistance, their foreign comrades only responded with well-intentioned promises of solidarity rallies in support of the health of Spain's civilians. Images denouncing civilian deaths or, conversely, exalting the peaceful life that needed to be defended became the Republic's cry for help. Still, the politics of the Comintern in the Spanish Civil War has only been examined through textual evidence. Our volume demonstrates how visual culture shaped the message that could channel Spain's needs without breaking with the Comintern's language of accommodation and peace. The contributors to *The Edinburgh Companion* demonstrate how deeply the functions of propaganda and care were intertwined in the War's visual culture, for example, in the posters produced for the *Socorro Rojo Internacional* (an international health organization linked to the Comintern and active in Spain), and in the production and exhibition of wartime drawings by Spanish soldiers and children.

As the coeditors were designing this volume in 2022, the debates in Spain around the Law of Democratic Memory that expanded the 2006 Law of Historical Memory spurred a renewed interest in Spain's case of failed transitional justice (Aróstegui and Godicheau 2006, Faber 2018). Given the numbers of Republican supporters' bodies still unidentified in unnamed mass graves (the most famous of them being the poet Federico García Lorca), the aftermath of the dictatorships in Chile and Argentina provided a fruitful context for this research (Aguilar Fernández 2008). Bringing insights from the field of Memory Studies to the analysis of the Spanish Civil War and its consequences, contributors to the 2008 special issue of *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* edited by Jo Labanyi argued that viewing the footage of the Spaniards' search for their "disappeared" ancestors alleviated the viewers' sense of continuing defeat and created opportunities for sharing their family stories. These articles foreshadowed our volume's Visual Culture approach. Expanding the inquiry into the effects of images on building support for both Nationalist and Republican causes, several contributions to *The Edinburgh Companion* argue that the images of human remains on public display shaped and are still shaping the conversation about the War.

Another productive reconceptualization of the Spanish Civil War emerged in 2012 in Paul Preston's *The Spanish Holocaust*. This and subsequent publications allowed scholars to understand Franco's plans of total extermination of Republican sympathizers and soldiers, even if the former were simply inhabiting the "red zone" during the War and the latter were just following their superiors' orders. Franco's internal Holocaust, moreover, contrasted with the fact that Franco's "New Spain" became both a refuge and a port of hope for Jews escaping from or through France (Calvet Bellera 2015). (At times, refugees would only find a dead-end, however, since the policies toward Jews varied according to the regime's changing interests [Rother 2005]). Relying on theories according to which nations were organic bodies suffering from the racialized internal "other" as a cancer or an infection, Franco was pursuing the "war until a complete victory" despite the Republican government's numerous attempts to negotiate peace. This approach, furthermore, sheds light on the discovery that in Franco's concentration camps Nazi doctors conducted medical experiments on Republican prisoners (Herrman and Brenneis 2020). Still, the Visual Culture evidence, abundant in the studies of the Nazi Holocaust, is missing in the discussion of Franco's internal Holocaust. Our volume closes

this gap, offering an analysis of the racialization of the Republic's supporters as a dark-skinned enemy, contrasting with the "whitening" of the Moroccan mercenaries that fought for Franco. Visual racialization, we argue, was key to establishing a racialized policy in Franco's Spain.

The impactful images of female fighters—the "milicianas"—have always attracted the attention of scholars and a general audience, yet our understanding of the gender politics of the Spanish Civil War experienced a drastic change in 1995 with the publication of Mary Nash's *Defying Male Civilization*. This book opened new avenues for analyzing the Republic's gendering of the War to mobilize women in the rearguard. Long after women lost their right to fight or bear arms, images of armed women were used as metaphors of female liberation and historical agency. Wishing to mobilize their own female supporters, the Nationalists, for their part, crafted complex imagery rooted in religious iconography. Besides enriching this discussion with the notion of ambivalence—in the antithetical figures of Dolores Ibárruri (La Pasionaria), Saint Teresa de Jesús, and the gendered representations of the Moroccan soldiers—the contributors to *The Edinburgh Companion* recognize that even within politically aligned groups there was substantial disagreement about the rightful place of women in the public sphere and focus on the wider processes of visual gendering, feminine as well as masculine, that accompanied the changing rules of participation in public life. Our project's innovative focus on the production of meaning and community-building facilitated by images thus reshapes debates about the Civil War, expanding analyses that rely solely on textual evidence.

Methods and execution

Seeking to expand the field of the Spanish Civil War Studies, the three coeditors—Eugenia Afinoguénova, Robert Lubar Messeri, and Silvina Schammah Gesser—designed *The Edinburgh Companion* as a game-changer for several disciplines. The volume makes its most decisive contribution by reconsidering images as political "image-acts" still affecting the debate about the War and the continuing controversies that it stirs. Achieving such a task requires taking a "long-durée" approach—from the dawn of Spain's Second Republic in 1931 and the victory of the Popular Front coalition in 1936 to the conflict itself, the exile, the dictatorship, the transition to democracy and all the way to the present time. This work, likewise, expands the geographical scope of inquiry far beyond Spain and the better researched diasporic communities in France, Mexico, and the United States. There is no single scholar that could have such an ample knowledge, and hence both the planning and the execution of the project had to become teamwork. For a project such as this, a coedited multi-author volume is the best form of knowledge production and transmission: it gathers broad knowledge in one spot, provides a comprehensive overview of the field, traces the directions of further research, brings together scholars working in different countries, and leaves a lasting memory of their joint work. The enthusiastic response from the Edinburgh University Press's two external reviewers and the editorial board confirms this choice. The text is intended for the general educated audience as well as instructors in the fields represented. We project that the volume will be translated into Spanish soon after the English publication.

The disciplinary boundaries of academia do not support border crossings among art-historical explorations of aesthetics, iconography, and artistic movements; Film and Photography Studies' analysis of the visual "apparatus"; and text-based approaches to history and memory. This interdisciplinary volume, however, brings together contributions by 30 + scholars who undertake historically informed visual analyses. They represent different generations of scholars, accomplished or early-career, who were asked to reflect on the lasting influence of the images, the visual technologies, and the aesthetic findings ushered in by the War. Besides committing to examining images, texts, and political events on a continuum, the contributors also engage with the theoretical

frameworks of Race, Gender, Memory, and Holocaust Studies, among others. The contributors to *The Edinburgh Companion* hail from nine countries (the United States, the United Kingdom, Spain, Germany, France, Romania, Israel, The Russian Federation, and the Czech Republic) and write in English, Spanish, German, Russian, and Romanian.

Making a case for the Visual Culture approach to the Spanish Civil War begins with understanding the current state of knowledge about the War and its visual production, defining the Visual Culture analysis, and outlining the gaps that this analysis can close. These are the goals of the volume's Introduction, written by the coeditors. Besides this broad initial overview, the coeditors will also produce the Introductions for each of the volume's five sections described below. Each of the volume's 31 chapters and 6 introductions will feature 3 black-and-white and 1 color illustrations that contributors and coeditors will submit; all copyright permissions will be negotiated and processed by the coeditors with the help from the project's editorial assistant to be recruited. Chapters not written in English will be professionally translated; the entire volume will be copyedited.

The Edinburgh Companion to the Spanish Civil War and Visual Culture is divided into five sections: (1) Aesthetics Under Pressure; (2) Looking for an International Audience; (3) Exile and Reverberations Abroad; (4) The Civil War Under Dictatorship; and (5) Visualizing the War in Democratic Spain.

I. Aesthetics Under Pressure

When the Spanish Civil War erupted in July 1936, the nation was already racked by ideological strife and internal divisions. As the Popular Front sought to fashion itself as the protector of cultural patrimony and liberal cultural values, the Right looked deeply into the Spanish tradition to construct a discourse of organic continuity and historical legitimacy. Artists were called upon to declare their positions, and visual culture in Spain was indelibly politicized. At stake in a consideration of "Aesthetics Under Pressure" during the Second Spanish Republic and the Spanish Civil War, then, is the question of the reception and recoding of visual traditions within Spain and abroad.

1. Josep Renau's *Función Social del Cartel Publicitario* (1937): History, Design, and Spanish Realism During the Civil War (Jordana Mendelson, New York University)
2. "Colonizing Ourselves": The Redefinition of Racial Boundaries Around the Moroccan Soldier and the Worker in Spanish Civil War Propaganda (Elisabeth Bolorinos Allard, Medieval and Modern Languages, Magdalen College Oxford)
3. Art as Propaganda, Pedagogy, and Therapy in Drawings Made by Children During the Spanish Civil War (Sarah Wright, Royal Holloway, University of London)
4. "This is how we are": Labor Ethics and the Aesthetic Avant-garde in Spanish Collectivized Cinema (1936-1937) (Jorge Gaupp and Dolores Marin, independent scholars)
5. "The Absence of Salvador Dalí" (Robert Lubar Messeri, New York University)
6. Gender and Public Participation: Women and Visual Print Culture During the Spanish Civil War (Michel Otayek, independent scholar)

II. Looking for an International Audience

As Nazi and Italian military support and the ensuing arrival of Soviet bombers and war advisers transformed a failed coup into a civil war with international repercussions, the government of the Republic and its allies abroad faced an urgent need to publicize images capable of disrupting the consensus of non-intervention. Meanwhile, in an effort to legitimize their claims to power, Nationalists at home and abroad were deeply invested in propagating the "red scare" and arguing that

the country had capitulated to Stalin. This section is dedicated to international exhibition circuits, works of art, posters, photojournalism, and films that responded to a range of propagandistic needs, from ushering in the military support for the Republic to the Nationalist recasting of the war as a Crusade.

1. The Visual Culture of the *Socorro Rojo Internacional*: A Vehicle of Mobilization and Antifascist Propaganda in Spain (Laura Branciforte, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid)
2. Defending Freedom: The Republic's Cause in French Visual Culture (Rafael Rodríguez Tranche, Universidad Complutense de Madrid)
3. *La Pasionaria* and Saint Teresa: Revisiting the Spanish Civil War from a Gender Perspective (Miren Llona, Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea)
4. Representing the Spanish People in the Soviet Union (Eugenia Afinoguénova, Marquette University, and Tatiana Pigariova, the Cultural Office of the Instituto Cervantes in Moscow)
5. The Safeguarding of the Prado and the International Protection of Artistic and Cultural Heritage during the Civil War (Arturo Colorado Castellary, Universidad Complutense de Madrid emeritus)
6. From May Day to the Fourth of July: The Visual Memory of Antifascism among Spanish Immigrants in the US (and their descendants) (James Fernández, New York University).

III. Exile and Reverberations Abroad

This section focuses on visual responses to the Spanish Civil War that were *not* specifically aimed at helping Spain. Not a part of the war propaganda effort *per se*, a broad range of works of art, exhibitions, monuments, and publications evoked the Spanish conflict to address the aesthetic quests of their creators and the political aspirations of other nations. As this section will demonstrate, the impact of this “war without borders” on visual culture outside of Spain far surpassed the conflict’s own spatio-temporal limits.

1. Soviet Caricature and Chinese Cartoons-*Manhua* About the Spanish Civil War (Mariia Guleva, Department of Sinology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague)
2. The Spanish Civil War and American Art (1936-1975) (Beatriz Cordero, Saint Louis University, Madrid)
3. Women Exile Artists in the Latin American Refuge (Carmen Gaitán Salinas, Art History Department, Universidad Complutense de Madrid)
4. Memorials to the Spanish Civil War in East and West Germany (Teresa Pinheiro, Chemnitz Technische University)
5. The Spanish Civil War in Eastern Europe's Old and New Media: The Example of Romania and Moldova (Matei Chihaiia, Wuppertal University)
6. The Paths of Spain's Exiled Artists in Chile (Miguel Cabañas Bravo, Instituto de Historia, CSIC)

IV. The Civil War Under Dictatorship

Against a backdrop of physical devastation, poverty, and autarky that lasted through the late 1950s, Franco's repressive state apparatus sought to reshape and regulate heritage criteria as much as aesthetic concerns. How did artists contest, or respond to, the visual legacies of the Civil War in overt and coded ways? What were the possibilities of artistic critique? The 1960s, in turn, brought renewed dissidence and experimentation. The counterculture consecrated the *gauche divine* in Barcelona; the world of comics and cartoons defined a new popular culture; the social realism of

Equipo Crónica in Valencia and the grassroots work of Estampa Popular in Andalusia, the Basque Country, Catalonia, and Galicia all contributed to visual languages that sought to recuperate the memory of the Civil War. By offering insights into how debates about the Civil War were revived within the new regimes of truth and visibility that began to operate during Franco's final days, these images and footage constitute a fundamental part of the visual archive of the transition to democracy and Spain's reckoning with its democratic past and present.

1. Staging the Reconquest: The 1940 "Exposición de la Hispanidad" (Miriam M. Basilio Gaztambide, New York University)
2. Building a New Country: Rural Architecture and the Memory of the War (María Dolores Jiménez Blanco, Universidad Complutense de Madrid)
3. Starting Over. Difficulties in the Recovery of the Avant-Garde in Catalonia and the Basque Country After the War (Ismael Manterola, Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea)
4. "Una, Grande y Libre": Visual Narratives and the Contestation of Power and Memory in Spanish Civil War Comics (Louie Dean Valencia-García, Texas State University)
5. Politically Engaged Responses to the Spanish Civil War in the Visual Art of the 1960s and 1970s (Noemi de Haro García, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)
6. Accomplices in Memory. Radical Imaginaries of the Spanish Civil War and Revolution in the Clandestine Cinema of the 1970s (Lidia Mateo Leivas, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia)

V. Visualizing the War in Democratic Spain

As pressure to democratize Spain during the transition to democracy gave way to a general amnesty and political amnesia, the rich visual culture of the Civil War was conveniently re-inscribed. A newly born Ministry of Culture embraced art and cultural production as a platform for "national reconciliation," sidelining the oppositional role that art had played during the last years of the Dictatorship. In contrast, outside of Spain the visual memory of the War and Francoism provided a language to articulate the experiences of a collective traumatic memory. Beginning with the 1990s, these narratives increasingly converged with other international debates on fratricidal conflicts and genocide, the Holocaust, and post-memory, joining global discourses that addressed state terrorism, mass torture, political kidnapping, ethnic cleansing, post-trauma, and transitional justice and reconciliation.

1. Forensic Vision: Witnessing the Civil War in Post-Dictatorial Documentary Film and Photography (Lee Douglas, Instituto de História Contemporânea – Universidade Nova de Lisboa)
2. Landscapes After the War. Geographies of Remembrance (Carmen Ortiz, CSIC)
3. On the Surface and Above. Picasso's *Guernica* and the Modern Cultural Imaginary in Spain, c. 1992 (Rocío Robles Tardío, Universidad Complutense de Madrid)
4. Post-Nostalgia and the Comics Avant-Garde (Samuel Amago, University of Virginia)
5. Surviving Images: *Nachleben* (post-life) and Traumatic Memory of the Spanish Civil War. An Iconic Journey after Aby Warburg (Miguel Rivas Venegas University of the Basque Country and Freie Universität Berlin)
6. Creating a New Memory: The Missing Role of Public History (Antonio Cazorla-Sanchez, Trent University)
7. Does it Pay to Remember the Spanish Civil War? Visualizing Its Economy of Memory in Contemporary Spain (Silvina Schammah Gesser, Truman Institute, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Bar Ilan University)

History of the project and its productivity

The project began over three years ago when the Edinburgh University Press reached out to Silvina Schammah Gesser, a historian whose numerous editorial projects and publications on avant-garde movements and cultural policy in Spain are well known. She reached out to Eugenia Afinoguénova, an expert in Cultural Studies and the author of an award-winning book on the history of the Prado Museum that includes a section on its evacuation from Madrid in 1936. Afinoguénova, in turn, reached out to Robert Lubar Messeri, a prominent historian of art in Spain and the world's leading expert on Joan Miró.

Schammah Gesser and Afinoguénova have a 15-year history of collaboration at the Association of Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies annual conferences and other professional events. Lubar Messeri's findings have been an inspiration for Afinoguénova's work on Picasso's *Guernica* and Schammah Gesser's publications on Spain's cultural policies, but they only established direct contact over this project.

The three coeditors are superbly experienced transnational collaborators. Schammah Gesser coedited three collected volumes dedicated to the Spanish Civil War, Francoism, and Transition to democracy; wrote an extensively reviewed book on the artistic and political vanguards that preceded the fratricidal conflict; and participated in international research projects funded by Spain's Ministries of Economy and Competitiveness and Science and Innovation. Lubar Messeri is a trustee of the Joan Miró Foundation in Barcelona and the Director of the International Joan Miró Research Project. He enjoyed multiple international visiting appointments and coedited several collected volumes. Afinoguénova is a current and former participant in four research projects funded by Spain's Ministry of Science and Innovation. She coedited two collected volumes and coordinated three digital humanities projects. While working on her book on the Prado, she gained extensive experience with handling the copyright issues in several countries.

Over the span of three years, the three coeditors have had robust discussions about the proposed volume's parameters and contributions. Prior to completing the proposal, they brought to date their knowledge of each other's and additional fields represented in the volume, from Museum Studies and Film and Photography Studies all the way to Memory Studies, Race Studies, Holocaust Studies, and Archaeology, and established or renewed connections with these disciplines' practitioners. Having agreed to provide overviews of existing scholarship in their own introductory sections, the editors reached out to contributors, both early career and established, who were doing innovative research that was not yet known or was not circulating in English. Having worked for many months, the coeditors received and discussed the abstracts of proposed chapters and completed the volume proposal, which received highly positive reviews from the Edinburgh University Press's external evaluators. Designed as an 800-page volume with over 100 illustrations, *The Edinburgh Companion to the Spanish Civil War and Visual Culture* has been accepted for publication; projected publication date is 2025. A contract and a letter of support are included in Attachments. Edinburgh University Press will be responsible for the final copyediting, preparation of galleys, and the galley proofing process. The coeditors have secured that the publisher will cover the costs of preparing the Index when they negotiated the contract.

Collaboration/Work Assignments

As the project's director, Eugenia Afinoguénova will assume the coordination relying on Marquette University's resources: (1) interlibrary loan service, (2) 1 teaching release, and (3) a summer stipend

funded through this grant. Working part-time on the project during the Fall 2023 and in 2024, Afinoguénova will coordinate the editorial work and the translations to English when needed, communicate with the authors, lead the copyright permissions coordination, and revise the volume’s chapters together with the other coeditors. In the summer of 2024, she will also be working part-time on the project, writing her coauthored chapter as well as contributing to and finalizing the six introductions.

As co-director, Robert Lubar Messeri (NYU) will work part-time in the summer of 2024 on writing his own chapter as well as contributing to and finalizing the six introductions, and will work part time without NEH funding during the academic year 2023/2024 revising all submissions.

Silvina Schammah Gesser (Truman Institute, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Bar Ilan University) will serve as project consultant and co-director, working part-time on revising all chapter submissions, contributing to and finalizing the six introductions and producing her own chapter for the volume.

Afinoguénova will recruit an editorial assistant to begin working in October 2023. This will be a self-employed professional editor or an advanced PhD/ABD specializing in rhetoric and writing from Marquette University’s English department. The assistant’s responsibilities will include copyediting all chapters, compiling the List of Illustrations and the Bibliography, and handling a part of the copyright permissions (the other part will be handled by Dr. Afinoguénova).

Afinoguénova will, furthermore, hire translators from Spanish (5 chapters), Romanian (1), and German (1) to translate the chapters not written in English.

Work plan

Pre-grant: Abstracts from authors received; volume proposal created, submitted, and approved; contracts signed. Chapters received, reviewed by the coeditors, revised by contributors, and resubmitted. Research for the general introduction, the five section introductions, and the coeditors’ chapters completed.

Under the grant: Support is requested to fund the translations and the work of the volume’s editor, process and verify the image reproduction permissions required for the volume, assemble and verify the bibliography from 30+ chapters, and ensure that the project director and codirectors are able to dedicate the time to complete the six introductions, write their own chapters, and prepare the volume for submission to the publisher.

Work accomplished	Participants	Institutions
Year 1: October 1, 2023-September 30, 2024		
Translators from Spanish (5 chapters), Romanian (1), and German (1) translate the chapters not written in English.	Translators from Spanish, Romanian, and German	Marquette
Translated chapters revised by the editors, corrected by the authors, and finalized.	Afinoguénova, Lubar Messeri, Schammah Gesser, editorial assistant	Marquette NYU

All chapter revisions undergo a final review.		
Volume Bibliography and List of Illustrations compiled.	Afinoguénova, editorial assistant	Marquette
The general Introduction and the five section introductions completed.	Afinoguénova, Lubar Messeri, Schammah Gesser, editorial assistant to Afinoguénova	Marquette NYU
The chapters written by coeditors completed.	Afinoguénova, Lubar Messeri, Schammah Gesser, editorial assistant	Marquette NYU
Year 2: October 1-December 31, 2024		
Copyright payments and reproduction permissions for illustrations processed.	Afinoguénova, editorial assistant	Marquette
Volume is compiled and submitted to publisher.	Afinoguénova, Lubar Messeri, Schammah Gesser, editorial assistant	Marquette NYU

Final product and dissemination

The Edinburgh Companion to the Spanish Civil War and Visual Culture will be a part of the well-established Edinburgh Companion series: single-volume reference works presenting cutting-edge scholarship in the humanities, particularly those with connections to other disciplines and emerging forms of interdisciplinary research. Edinburgh University Press has a presence in both the United Kingdom and the United States, and it will be responsible for promoting this volume at professional conferences, book fairs, and other events. In 2025 the three co-editors will host an international symposium at NYU in Madrid (funded by NYU) to promote international awareness about the project and the importance of visual culture in the history of the Spanish Civil War. Sessions and roundtables presenting the research collected will be held, furthermore, at the Association of Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies annual conferences in 2024 and 2025, College Art Association' conferences in 2024 and 2025, and other meetings in the volume contributors' fields. The three coeditors will design for their institutions courses on the subjects covered in the collected volume.

The negotiation of the volume final price is underway. The Edinburgh Companions' prices typically range from \$185 for hardcover to \$47 in paperback. Ours is an 800-page volume with 100+ illustrations, of which 37 are in color, driving up the price for the initial hard-cover edition.