

Memorial Patterns in the Spanish State Theatre in Times of Democracy¹

Veronica Orazi
Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia

This monograph collects some of the most relevant results of the first phase of the project PRIN 2022 *Identity Heritage and Cultural Memory. The Elaboration of the Past through the Theatre of Democratic Spain (1975 to the Present)*, funded by the European Union and the Italian Ministry of University and Research, developed by the Universities of Turin, Roma Tre and Pisa and since april 2025 also Ca' Foscari of Venice, whose research Units are coordinated by Veronica Orazi (PI of the project, previously University of Turin and currently Ca' Foscari University of Venice), Simone Trecca (University of Roma Tre) and Enrico Di Pastena (University of Pisa). With the aim of identifying and defining the canon of memory theatre in the Spanish State, the study of memorial dramaturgy in the Castilian, Catalan, Galician and Basque-Navarre contexts was undertaken, both through the research of the project participants and in collaboration with experts from the above-mentioned fields of reference, as demonstrated by the articles gathered here. This specific line of research of the project, based on an intra-state conceptualization, problematization and representation through the stage of the object of study, was designed with a view to future developments, to strengthen and expand the network of scientific synergies on the topic, also with a view to participation in future investigations. Moreover, scientific research is coupled with a solid synergy with playwrights, drama companies and theatres, such as the Palladium Theatre, of the University of Roma Tre, and foresees the dissemination of the results among the wider public and civil society. In this perspective, the dramatised reading of the Italian translation of *Música para Hitler* by Yolanda García Serrano and Juan Carlos Rubio (Rome, Teatro Palladium, 17 March 2024), the staging of *Descarriadas* by Laila Ripoll (Rome, Teatro Palladium, 18-19 March 2024) and *¡Ay Carmela!* by José Sanchis Sinisterra (Rome, Teatro Palladium, 6-8 May 2024), were realized. The Italian versions of the texts were respectively edited by Enrico Di Pastena, Veronica Orazi and Simone Trecca.

The project's objectives are the study of the appropriation and reuse strategies of historical, documentary, (auto)biographical, non-fiction and/or literary sources on which the dramaturgy of memory is based, through theatre production and/or staging within the Spanish State panorama; the progressive definition, consolidation and enhancement of the corpus of memory theatre (1975 to present) within the areas and chronological segment under study; the identification and implementation of criteria and tools for the constant updating of the mentioned corpus; and the analysis of its techniques, practices and aesthetics, that validate or renew canons, models, systems and cultural repertoires, in order to focus on the different forms assumed by contemporary Spanish drama while (re)shaping its identity and memorial paradigm as well as its transmission through the stage. These objectives are being reached developing three complementary lines of research on the Identity Heritage and Cultural Memory in the different nations of the Spanish State through Contemporary Theatre, namely the dramatisation of the experience of the sociopolitical phenomenon of Carlism, the Second Republic, the Civil War and

¹ Publication produced within the framework of the Project PRIN 2022 *Identity Heritage and Cultural Memory. The Elaboration of the Past through the Theatre of Democratic Spain (1975 to the Present)*, Prot. 202285ZT47 - CUP D53D23014880006, funded by the European Union - Next Generation EU, Mission 4, Component 2, Investment 1.1 Research Projects of Significant National Interest, with the supervision of V. Orazi, PI of the project and corresponding author.

Francoism; of the Democratic Transition and the following decades; and of the transnational, epochal and collective events in which Spain and Spanish people were involved.

In order to tackle the planned investigation, it is necessary to consolidate the awareness that the response to collective trauma in a community activates psychological mechanisms such as removal, alteration, distortion but also progressive processing, to restore the memory of the violent event experienced (Caruth). This produces a secondary trauma, or empathic unease, which also manifests itself through literarisation (LaCapra), based on the perception of the traumatic event as a threat to social identity (Alexander 2004; Alexander 2012). So, the process of collective trauma elaboration takes place in the time between the traumatic event and its recovery in the shared memory (Halbwachs; Erll; Erll *et al.*). This makes it clear why the discourse on Identity Heritage and Cultural Memory constitutes one of the central themes of the current international debate, which has experienced a rapid evolution in the last decades. Starting from Halbwachs' studies (1925a; 1925b) on the idea of Collective Memory, focused on the need for social groups to (re)build a shared past as a form of identity, more recently, the New Memory Studies have established other patterns through concepts such as *lieux de mémoire* (Nora), remembering/forgetting and memory/oblivion (A. Assmann 2008, Ricoeur), communicative and cultural memory (J. Assmann), post-memory and affiliative memory (Hirsch; Faber; Sarlo; Schwab; Quílez Esteve), canon/archive/repertory (A. Assmann 2014). These concepts constitute the (re)elaboration of a traumatic past by the generations following those who directly experienced these events and/or an assumption of the memories of the others to build their own discourse and representation. In the actual Culture of Memory, the critical revision of the dominant narrative on the History of the last century, associated with a duty of memory (Ricoeur), features the retrospective gaze; thus, the elaboration of trauma through the remembrance also involves the generations following those who suffered it, in particular the third generation, the so-called *generación de los nietos* (grandchildren generation), and the attribution of responsibility as well as the assumption of guilt become crucial. In this way, in the identity process, the chosen trauma is identified and defined by the whole community, when past violent events lose their traumatic effects and become a reference for the group, that finally makes the (re)construction of collective identity possible.

In Spain, the recovery and reparation of what happened from the fall of the Second Republic, during the Civil War, the Francoism, the democratic Transition and the following decades is still partial, because since the end of the dictatorship the lack of attribution of blame and assumption of responsibility prevented the processing of collective trauma. Therefore, the trauma is retro-fed by the impunity of perpetrators and the insufficient action of governments during the democratisation of the country, which should imply the political replacement of high representatives of the dictatorship and prominent personalities linked to the regime, reparation for what happened, and compensation for the victims and their descendants (López de Abiada & Stucki). This situation generated a feeling of impossibility of redemption and justice and a prolongation of the trauma. That is why in Spain the end of the Second Republic, the fratricidal conflict (1936-1939), the Franco regime (1939-1975), the Moncloa Pacts, the Pact of Oblivion, the 1977 Amnesty Law and the Transition (1975-1982) profile a very specific context in the global scenario.

In the democratic Spain, the reflection on Identity Heritage and Cultural Memory is still in an intermediate phase, and in this specific situation, drama has turned out to be a fertile space for collective reflection on the complex cultural process of rebuilding national identity, that takes the form of ideologic and aesthetic choices as well as the

specific treatment of themes inspired by the recovery of 20th century history, in order to redefine collective identity through the dialogue with the shared memory materialised on the stage.

So, contemporary theatre is contributing greatly to the operation of redemption as well as to the progressive elaboration and metabolisation of a complex past. In the last decades, the memory theatre in Spain has developed in line with the dramaturgical trends of the democratic era and especially of the 21st century. In particular, from the 1980s a paradigm shift has taken place, from the historical realist theatre to the memory theatre, as a reaction to the politics of oblivion (or amnesia) promoted during the Democratic Transition (Floeck 2006). This led to the emergence of some key aspects of the dramaturgy of memory in Spain after Franco's death (Floeck 2019; Floeck & García Martínez), defining its main elements as well as those related to the theatre of the Transition and the democratic Spain (Pérez-Rasilla). Thus, contemporary theatre has materialised different approaches to the recovering the memory of the Second Republic, the Civil War and the Franco's regime through specific trends (Amo Sánchez; Trecca 2016; Trecca 2019; Guzmán; García Martínez; etc.), while the dramatisation of the memory of the Transition is still largely to be studied (Orazi 2022, 2023a, 2023b, 2024, 2025a, 2025b; etc.). Even from these brief considerations only, it is evident that this dramatic production gives Spanish theatre a key position in the practice and theorisation of collective memory (Colmeiro, Gómez López-Quñones, Box, Pasamar Alzuria, Wingeate Pike, Aguilar Fernández & Ramírez Barat and Orazi 2021).

So, the essays collected in this monograph aim to shed new light on the perception, conceptualisation, problematisation and/or dramatisation of the process of redefining identity through the recovery of collective memory. To this purpose, the sources –documentary, non-fiction, memoiristic and testimonial, (auto)biographical and (auto)fictional– on which contemporary theatre production on the topic is based have been identified and critically analysed. This has allowed the participants to determine the techniques, practices and strategies that represent the different formats taken by contemporary Spanish drama on memory, concretising the reflection on the national identity and contributing to its (re)construction and expression on the stage. The research has been developed according to the three different lines mentioned above, which reflect the reality investigated (Second Republic, Civil War and Francoism; democratic Transition; Transnational events and phenomena).

The line of research concerning the Second Republic, the Civil War and Francoism is developed mainly by the University of Roma Tre Unit, that is addressing the mapping of the contemporary theatre of memory on the recovery and (re)elaboration of collective traumas at national level, during the indicated time frame. Plays by authors such as Antonio Buero Vallejo, Alfonso Sastre, José Luis Alonso de Santos, José Sanchis Sinisterra, Gerónimo López Mozo, Juan Mayorga, José Ramón Fernández, Laila Ripoll, Eusebio Calonge, Alberto Conejero, and several others have been catalogued. In parallel, that section of the corpus is being studied to outline a cartography of national memory, by focusing on plays whose action is set in symbolic places from the republican period, the years of the conflict and of the dictatorship, that concretise real places of memory, that have yet to be recognised as such, like for example the Residencia de Estudiantes, the Puerta del Sol, the El Dueso Prison, the Pyrenees, the Paraninfo of the University of Salamanca, the Franco's jails, Gibraltar, Santander, the Alicante harbour, etc. Moreover, it is being built a register of national memory focusing on emblematic and/or controversial figures of the official discourse that inspired contemporary theatre, such as Cipriano Rivas Cherif, Dionisio Ridruejo, Federico García Lorca, Rafael Rodríguez Rapún, Miguel Hernández, Josefina Manresa, Miguel de Unamuno, Victoria Kent, Clara

Campoamor, María Lejárraga, Edmundo Barbero, Melchor Rodríguez, Antonio Vallejo-Nájera (the so called *Spanish Mengele*), and several others. In addition, the study of the linguistic-communicative aspects, aimed at identifying the rhetorical-stylistic strategies concerning the allocutive components, complements this line of research. Finally, a database on Memory and Identity in Contemporary Spanish Theatre (1975 to the present) has been created and is constantly updated, collecting the catalogue entries of the plays included in the corpus.

The investigation of the role of the Transition and the democratisation of the country in shaping Spain's Identity Heritage and Cultural Memory is being developed by the University of Turin Unit, and currently also by Ca' Foscari University of Venice. Despite the commitment of part of civil society, some associations and public figures (politicians, intellectuals, creators, etc.), there is still a need to shed light on what happened and to recover the memory of the transitional process, and that is why telling the story of the forgotten victims constitutes a repair. So, the research is being focused on the perception, conceptualisation, problematisation and representation of the Transition from 1975 to the present day, referring to two complementary levels: the documentary, testimonial, memoiristical, generational, (auto)biographical and (auto)ficcional writing, which forms the basis of literarisation in different genres; and the dramatisations of the memory of the Transition, drawing on the first level, critically strategic as well as aesthetically and technically relevant for the dramaturgical (re)expression of a collective experience. The investigation is being conducted from the critical point of view of gender, since in this kind of attestations the role and representations of women summarise all the complexity of the phenomenon and of the period. Therefore, the first line of research has identified, classified and studied the sources of such dramatisations, represented by the works of the direct witnesses (women actively involved in the society of the time, such as female intellectuals, essayists, writers, journalists, etc.), which emphasised the relative effectiveness of the Transition. The main figures and most relevant works in the field of non-fiction, (auto)biographical-generational and documentary fiction have been analysed, to investigate how this substratum has shaped the dramatisation of the identity and role of women in the Transition. At the same time, the second line of research has explored how these texts and their message have been metabolised and (re)expressed on the stage by playwrights in present-day Spain, in contemporary works in which women are protagonists, co-protagonists or secondary characters.

Finally, the research on Transnational Identity Heritage and Cultural Memory through Contemporary Spanish Theatre is being conducted by the University of Pisa Unit, that has studied the problematisation, conceptualisation and expression of historical traumas of international relevance that inspired recent Spanish dramaturgy, through traumatic events recorded in literary, non-fiction, memoir and documentary production, and consequently the reflection generated by these works, their function as a substratum of transnational memory theatre and the re-functionalisation of these materials in current texts and plays. Therefore, the group has focused on the (re)construction of the vision and literarisation of wartime trauma and expatriation in the actual theatre often based on documentary and archival research, through the definition of the mechanisms that contribute to the (re)constitution of a collective imaginary and transnational memory (re)formulated by the current Spanish stage. This specific line of research is being carried out analysing the functions of key aspects of the thematisation and representation of the conflict and the exile within narrative and non-fiction works and their reception in contemporary theatre. The results confirm the urgency of recovering the figure and experience of many republicans banned by the Franco's dictatorship and almost ignored by the Transition; the research on North Africa as a place of colonial aggression (e.g. Rif

War, 1911-1927) and of reception of republican exiles in the Maghreb countries, based on memoiristic-(auto)biographical and non-fiction material and on theories relating to geocriticism, retrotopia and heterotopia, as well as the analysis of the *operación retorno* (the return operation) through the Spanish theatre of the 1970s and the 1980s, to define the role of exiled intellectuals in their country, through the physical return of the 1939 diaspora and the editorial and scenic recovery of plays banished by Francoism, that has made it possible to map the representations of exile in Spain at that time (Aznar Soler *et al.*; Berenguer & Pérez Jiménez). All this defines the role of the operation of recovering the memory of exile in the (re)configuration of collective identity through the theatre and of the attribution of a testimonial value to the writings on key events of the 20th century –World War II, the Soviet Compromise, the Cold War–, or phenomena such as the Nazism and the Shoah.

With its three complementary lines of research, the project aims to fill a gap and contribute to the advancement of knowledge on the topic, achieved through the systematic mapping of the cases of (re)expression of the Identity and Memorial Heritage, based on a solid and constantly updated corpus that captures its many facets. This is being concretised in the progressive definition and enrichment of a cartography of memory and identity in the theatre production, in order to recognise its dramaturgical strategies and characterising elements; but also by the formulation of an articulated critical reflection, synthesised in publications and other kind of products and activities for disseminating the results of the research, concerning how and to what extent the theatre of democratic Spain recovers and (re)elaborates the Second Republic, Civil War, Francoism, democratic Transitions as well as transnational traumas, something that has emerged with increasing force in the dramatic production of recent years.

According to this perspective, Amy Bernardi, in “*Recluse: apuntes sobre una edición italiana y un proyecto de escenificación de Presas*, de Ignacio del Moral y Verónica Fernández”, focuses on the Italian translation of Ignacio del Moral’s and Verónica Fernández’s play *Presas* (2005), that she has published in June 2025 in the collection *Herencias. Scritture di memoria e identità*. She also examines the staging project of the play for an Italian audience, which premiered on March 27th 2024, at the Teatro Palladium in Rome, directed by Ferdinando Ceriani and featuring by the university theater company Papeles en el tablado. The play is about the life of a group of female prisoners in a Francoist jail in the 1940s-50s and mirrors the prison universe of the time, in which political inmates and common criminals lived side by side, all suffering the same inhumane treatment. Beyond the specific context of the Spain of the regime, the theme is always topical, as its authors stated, because events like these could also take place in any country with a dictatorship today.

Carlotta Paratore, in “Presencia del humor y del grotesco en el teatro de la memoria: retos lingüístico-traductivos en *Las malagueñas* de José Cruz”, analyses a play (2016) based on Antonio Vallejo-Nájera, a Spanish psychiatrist aligned with Francoism and interested in eugenics, and his sadly famous study founded on the senseless thesis on the existence of the “red gene” as a cause of moral degeneration, on a group of fifty Republican women detained in Malaga prison. In particular, the polyphony of voices that intervene in the text is embodied through the colloquial tone, triggering humorous-grotesque effects and challenges in the translation, related to the trasference of memory.

Isabel Marcillas i Piquer, in “Memòries singulars en la dramatúrgia actual d’autora al País Valencià. Els casos de Godofredo Villa, Leoncio Badía i Florencio Pla Meseguer”, bases her reflections on the concept of *singular memories*, linked to the rise of memorial studies and seeks to highlight the individual stories of people silenced or ignored by official history, victims of traumatic and repressive processes resulting, generally, from

a war. The narrative of the singular memories is characterized by avoiding the epic character of war conflicts and emphasizing the humanity of its protagonists. The article studies this trend according to the plays of three female Valencian playwrights: *La vida inventada de Godofredo Villa*, a child who was evacuated to France in 1937, by Sònia Alejo, *El que guarda*, on Leoncio Badia, known as the gravedigger of Paterna, by Mafalda Bellido and *Instruccions per a no tenir por si ve la Pastora*, alias Florencio Pla, whose story is closely related to Franco's repression, by Núria Vizcarro.

Jessica De Matteis, in "Trazos de palabras y memorias: estrategias visuales en *Palimpsesto [Cuaderno de Dinamarca]* de Nieves Rodríguez Rodríguez", analyses the work of the female Spanish playwright mentioned in the title, placing special emphasis on the visual strategies employed to structure the text and convey meanings that enrich the verbal language. The work deals with the theme of childhood Republican exile through the family history of Manuel Rodríguez, the author's grandfather. So, the play is an enquiry into the memory of the children exiled in Denmark in 1937 and is intended as a defense of writing as a political act of resistance, in which the playwright calls on María Zambrano, Ana María Matute, Natalia Ginzburg and Louise Glück.

Antonella Russo, in "*Celia en la revolución* de Elena Fortún: la memoria oculta de la Guerra Civil de la página a la escena", reflects on the recent rescue of the figure and work of Elena Fortún through the writing (1937-1943) and publication (1987 and 2016) of the novel under study and its subsequent theatrical adaptation (2019) by Alba Quintas and Maria Folguera, as part of the activities of the Centro Dramático Nacional and within the framework of a renewed interest in reconstructing the historical memory as well as the production of republican women writers silenced by the dictatorship of Franco.

Francesca Leonetti, in "Traducir *La esfera que nos contiene* de Carmen Losa: desafíos de la traducción en el teatro documental y de la memoria histórica", following the work carried out for her Italian edition of the play, published in July 2024, encounter the challenge of translating a work that aims to reviving and transmitting such specific historical memory. In particular, the play focuses on theatre as a special space for the testimonial value of Spanish school history, recreating the trajectory of teaching in Spain from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century. The playwright, in fact, brings to the stage the teachers who were subjected to persecution and repression by the Franco regime's purge commissions: women and men whose lives were erased by a deliberate oblivion, in a sort of imperative of the Democratic Transition.

Diego Rivadulla Costa, in "«Aínda non nacéramos, mais lembramos»: Vanesa Sotelo e Esther F. Carrodegas, dramaturgas da memoria e a identidade", focuses on two of the most outstanding representatives of the contemporary Galician drama. Their productions have remarkable similarities, as the constant dramatic treatment of memory and identity, and are part of the memory boom in 21st century Galician dramaturgy. The article approaches such themes through four of their plays: *Nome: Bonita*, on the recovering of the memory of Galician women anti-Franco guerrillas, and *A lúa vai encuberta*, on the (re)building of a Galician identity, from the Second Republic to the Democratic Transition, by Sotelo; as well as *Voaxa e Carmin*, on the 1936 coup d'état and its consequences presented from the perspective of the two female protagonists, and *Iribarne*, a satirical recreation of the political trajectory of Manuel Fraga Iribarne, a Franco's minister and then vice-president of the first transitional government after the dictator's death, by Carrodegas.

Francesc Foguet i Boreu, in "Dramaturgia catalana contemporànea e historia immediata: una memoria alternativa de la Transición española", analyses the theatre on the memory of the democratic Transition. His contribution investigates two plays, premiered at the Teatre Lliure in Barcelona, that offer a kind of alternative collective

memory of the Spanish transitional process: *Dictadura-transició-democràcia* (2010), created and directed by Xavier Albertí, Lluïsa Cunillé, Roger Bernat, Jordi Casanovas, Nao Albet and Marcel Borràs; and *23 F. Anatomia d'un instant* (2021), written and directed by Àlex Rigola, inspired in the Javier Cercas' novel *Anatomía de un instante* (2009). These works deal with key events and phenomena of the transitional process as it took shape in the Spanish peninsular context and thus shed new light on a fundamental but still partially unexplored period and its dramatisations.

Veronica Orazi, in “El cuerpo de la mujer en el teatro sobre la memoria de la Transición”, shows that the woman's body was the battleground of Franco's oppression and of the Transition's attempt to get rid of it. Three fundamental axes emerge from the research, concretised by dramaturgical expression of the topic: a specific vision of women as a frustrated/denied political subject, as a repressed/oppressed identity object and as a victim of systematic plundering/annihilation. Such results are exemplified through some key plays on the Transition: Laila Ripoll's *El día más feliz de nuestra vida* (2002-2005) and *Descarriadas* (2017-2018) and the Documentary Theatre trilogy by Ruth Sánchez and Jessica Belda consisting of *La Sección. Mujeres en el fascismo español* (2019), *Españolas, Franco ha muerto* (2020) and *Homenaje a Billy el niño* (2021).

Claudia De Medio, in “Doble moral y Transición a través de las columnas feministas de Soledad Balaguer”, studies six articles by the writer and journalist Soledad Balaguer, published in 1976 in the humour magazine *Por Favor* (1974-1978), specifically in her column titled *Alicia en el país de las maravillas* (1975-1977). Such texts criticize the prevailing double standard of the Francoism but also post-Francoism era through a feminist perspective. The article aims to provide an understanding of the presence of double standard practices affecting women survived the dictatorship during the democratic Transition and in the following decades.

Katiuscia Darici, in “Montserrat Roig y su compromiso con la condición de la mujer en la Transición”, aims to make visible the contribution of women to democratic commitment and to present the figure of Montserrat Roig (1946-1991) as an outstanding intellectual of the Spanish democratic Transition. After exposing the relevance of women's activism in the seventies and of magazines such as *Vindicación Feminista* and *Triunfo*, Roig's commitment to the condition of women in her time is analyzed, with emphasis on the feminist-oriented journalistic press published by the writer and compiled in 1980 in the volume *¿Tiempo de mujer?*

Enrico Di Pastena, in “Un muro al lado de las tumbas. El aliento de la Historia y la superación de las limitaciones individuales en *Père Lachaise*, de Itziar Pascual”, examines how in the play (2003) the playwright draws on the relevant presence of the supernatural world, with some parallels with Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio*, and uses dance as a metaphor for the pacification of the dead, the life drive of the living and, ultimately, the capacity of art to transcend borders and contribute to healing wounds. Pascual thus adds a personal touch to the production of the Theatre of Memory, advocating the resolution of sterile conflicts and the acceptance and overcoming of the past through awareness and self-consciousness, while evoking the sacrifice of the Spaniards who fought for democratic ideals even outside the borders of their country.

Angela Moro, in “Avanzadillas del recuerdo, cartografías del olvido: *Rif (de piojos y gas mostaza)*, de Mariano Llorente y Laila Ripoll” and within the framework of the transnational dimension of the Theatre of Memory, explores the memorial paradigms summoned in the play. Premiered in 2021 on the occasion of the tragic centenary of the Annual catastrophe, it delves into the presence and persistence of the historical trauma that took place in the wake of the Rif War (1911-1927) and the bloody Annual campaign (1921). Despite the breadth and the gravity of the topic, its historiographic investigation

is quite recent and the work of the two playwrights constitutes the first lucid attempt to transpose a still open wound to the Spanish scenario.

Finally, Carlos-Caetano Biscainho-Fernandes, in “*Base de Datos do Teatro Galego 1936-1973: un repositorio da actividade dramática galega no período franquista*”, presents the objectives, the elaboration process and the results of the mentioned database (<https://rptg.gal/busqueda>), created within the framework of the research project *Recuperación do Patrimonio Teatral Galego 4: emigración, exilio y resistencia interior* that collects the network of relationships between the different agents that participated in the Galician theatre production of those years.

As the articles collected in this monograph show, all the works object of the research are inspired by peculiar and strategic aesthetic choices as well as a strong ethical commitment. The treatment of the themes dealt with through the filter of memory and of the literary and cultural sources allows the reader/spectator to engage with sensitive and uncomfortable themes. In this way, past experience can be passed on to address, process and overcome long-standing problems that plague today's society, to encourage reflection, awareness and social action of the audience, favoring the transmission of the message and its potential impact on everyday life through the scene.

Cited Works

- Aguilar Fernández, P. & C. Ramírez Barat. "Generational dynamics in Spain: memory transmission of a turbulent past." *Memory Studies* 12/2 (2019): 213-229.
- Alexander, J. C. "Towards a Theory of Cultural Trauma." In J. C. Alexander, R. Eyerman, B. Giesen, N. J. Smelser & P. Sztompka eds. *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. Berkeley (CA): University of California Press, 2004. 1-30.
- . *Trauma. A Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012.
- Amo Sánchez, A. "Dramaturgias de lo imprescriptible: un teatro para la recuperación de la memoria histórica en España (1990-2012)." *ALEC* 39/2 (2014): 341-369.
- Assmann, A. "Canon and Archive." In A. Erll & A. Nünning eds. *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Berlin/New York: Gruyter, 2008. 97-108.
- . "Transnational Memories." *European Review* 22/4 (2014): 546-556.
- Assmann, J. "Communicative and Cultural Memory." In A. Erll & A. Nünning eds. *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Berlin/New York: Gruyter, 2008. 109-118.
- Aznar Soler, M. et al. eds. *El exilio republicano de 1939. Viajes y retornos*. Sevilla: Editorial Renacimiento, 2014.
- Berenguer, Á. & M. Pérez Jiménez. *Tendencias del teatro español durante la Transición política (1975-1982)*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1998.
- Box, Z. *España, año cero. La construcción simbólica del franquismo*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2010.
- Caruth, C. *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1995.
- Colmeiro, J. *Memoria histórica e identidad cultural*. Barcelona: Anthropos, 2005.
- Erll, A. "Cultural Memory Studies: an introduction." In A. Erll et al. eds. *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008. 1-15.
- Erll, A. et al. eds. *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008.
- Faber, S. "Actos afiliativos y postmemoria." *Pasavento. Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 2/1 (2014): 137-155.
- Floek, W. "Del drama histórico al teatro de la memoria. Lucha contra el olvido y búsqueda de identidad en el teatro español reciente." In J. N. Romera Castillo ed. *Tendencias escénicas al inicio del siglo XXI*. Madrid: Visor, 2006. 185-209.
- . "Hacer memoria desde la Transición. El desarrollo del teatro de la memoria desde los años de la Transición hasta la actualidad." *Orillas* 8 (2019): 469-487.
- Floek, W. & A. García Martínez. "Memoria y olvido entre bastidores: Guerra Civil y franquismo en el teatro español después de 1975." In J. Reinstädler ed. *Escribir después de la dictadura. La producción literaria y cultural en las posdictaduras de Europa e Hispanoamérica*. Frankfurt a. M.: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2011. 97-119.
- García Martínez, A. *El telón de la memoria. La Guerra Civil y el franquismo en el teatro español actual*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2016.
- Gómez López-Quñones, A. *La guerra persistente. Memoria, violencia y utopía: representaciones contemporáneas de la Guerra Civil Española*. Madrid/Frankfurt a. M.: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2006.
- Guzmán, A. *La memoria de la guerra civil en el teatro español (1939-2009)*. Resis doctoral, Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2012.

- Halbwachs, M. *La mémoire collective*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, [1925a] 1950.
- . *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1925b.
- Hirsch, M. *The generation of postmemory. Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.
- LaCapra Dominick. *Escribir la historia, escribir el trauma*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones, 2005.
- López de Abiada, J. M. & A. Stucki. "Culturas de la memoria: transición democrática en España y memoria histórica." *Iberoamericana* 15 (2004): 103-122.
- Nora, P. ed. *Les lieux de mémoire*. Paris: Gallimard. 3 vols. 1984-1992.
- Orazi, V. "Historical Memory and Postmemory in the Pluricultural Peninsular Hispanic Context." *eHumanista/IVITRA* 19 (2021): 118-126.
- . "Detrás de la fachada de la Transición: *Descarriadas* (2018) de Laila Ripoll." International Project ICON-HUMA 22 Conference. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2022. <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1rfOscWegS2GM3obS4eB9gyaopw3MX348/view>
- . "Jessica Belda y Ruth Sánchez, *Españolas, Franco ha muerto* (2020). La (anti)transición (anti)ejemplar según el Teatro Documento." In V. Orazi ed. *Women and Identity. Literary and Artistic Representations in Contemporary Plural and Multicultural Hispanic Context*. Monograph of *eHumanista/IVITRA* 23 (2023a): 200-227.
- . "L'insospettata prossimità della memoria storica: *Descarriadas* (2018) di Laila Ripoll." In E. Di Pastena ed. *Il passato nel presente: memoria storica e discorso letterario*. Monograph of *Caietele Echinox* 44 (2023b): 372-386.
- . "Studio introduttivo." In L. Ripoll ed. *Il giorno più felice della nostra vita / Sbandate*. Studio e traduzione di Veronica Orazi. Pisa: ETS, 2024. 5-85.
- . "Studio introduttivo." In L. Ripoll ed. *Radioteatro (Guernica, l'ultimo viaggio / Il convoglio dei 927)*. Studio, traduzione e note di Veronica Orazi. Roma: Nova Delphi, 2025a.
- . "*Guernica, el último viaje* (2006). Radioteatro di Laila Ripoll." *Ticontre* 23 (2025b). En prensa.
- Pasamar Alzuria, G. V. ed. *Ha estallado la memoria. Las huellas de la guerra civil en la transición*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2014.
- Pérez-Rasilla, E. "La memoria histórica de la postguerra en el teatro de la transición." *ALE* 21 (2009): 143-159.
- Quílez Esteve, L. "Hacia una teoría de la posmemoria. Reflexiones en torno a las representaciones de la memoria generacional." *Historiografías* 8 (2014): 57-75.
- Ricoeur, P. *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*. Paris, Seuil, 2000.
- Sarlo, B. *Tiempo pasado. Cultura de la memoria y giro subjetivo*. Madrid: Siglo XXI Editores, 2005.
- Schwab, G. *Haunting Legacies. Violent Histories and Transgenerational Trauma*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.
- Trecca, S. "Historia y memoria en las tablas. La función de mediación en algunas técnicas metadramáticas del teatro español último." *Cuadernos AISPI* 7 (2016): 79-94.
- . ed. "Los escenarios de la post-memoria en el teatro hispánico último (2000-2018)." *Orillas. Revista d'ispanística* 9 (2019): 385-627.
- Wingate Pike, D. *Españoles en el Holocausto*. Barcelona: Debolsillo Editorial, 2015.