

◆ Chapter 5

Fragments of a Civil War: From “Otros tiempos” to *Estampas 1936*

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Estampas 1936, with drawings by Miguel Navia and a script by Felipe Hernández Cava, is a collection of comics set in the chaotic first year of the Spanish Civil War. Its origin dates back to “El ruido de las sirenas” (The Noise of the Sirens), a single-page collaboration by the authors for *El País Semanal* 2013.¹ After this successful collaboration, they decided to undertake 36 *estampas* (printed images) about 1936. They were already working on the project when they were invited to participate in the new Madrid municipal magazine *M21*. Twenty-nine of the *estampas*, set in the Spanish capital, were published there under the heading “Otros tiempos” (Other Times) between February 2017 and December 2018. Finally, Norma Editorial published the album with all of the *estampas* in May 2020.

The term “estampas,” at its most basic meaning, refers to printed images. This study will maintain the term in Spanish for several reasons: its particular history as a fundamental component of the 19th century illustrated press, where a more complex communication between illustration and written text was established; its function as a key vehicle for a popular graphic narrative; and its expansion—as a metaphor—to the field of literature, to refer to brief chronicles. In the early 20th century, *estampas* books already began to include photographs also. During and immediately after the Spanish Civil War, several *estampas* books were published, with both narrative and graphic content. For example, the widely distributed series of propaganda volumes *Estampas de la Guerra* (War Prints), published by the Editora Nacional in the last years of the war, devoted a few pages to war reports and the vast majority of the volume to photographs with informational and propaganda captions.

The Spanish Civil War is a subject that Hernández Cava skirted in his collaborations with Federico del Barrio: *Las memorias de Amorós* (1988–1993) (Amorós’s Memories), which are four albums set between the years of

the Primo de Rivera dictatorship and the Second Republic, and *El artefacto perverso* (1996) (The Perverse Artifact) in Madrid in the 1940s. These albums predate by a decade a period of great productivity of comics centered on the Civil War, mainly in the graphic novel format; a period that continues to the present and of which *Estampas 1936* forms a part.

The list of recent comics on this topic is long and diverse in subject and graphic options. For expediency, only a few that represent the most important trends will be mentioned here.² First there are the comics that fictionalize the war experience of close relatives, such as *Jamás tendré 20 años* (I Will Never be 20 Years Old) by Jaime Martín (2017), the anthology *Nuestra Guerra Civil* (Our Civil War) (2006), the *Dr. Uriel* trilogy by Sento (2013–2016), *La vida es un tango y te piso bailando* (Life is a Tango and I Step on Your Feet While Dancing) by Ramón Boldú (2015), an important fragment of *Speak Low* by Montesol (2012) and, especially, *El arte de volar* (The Art of Flying) by Antonio Altarriba and Kim (2009)³. Other authors produced texts more geared toward testimony-based denunciation, such as *Cuerda de presas* (Female Chain Gang) by Fidel Martínez and Jorge García (2005) and *Paseo de los Canadienses* (Canadians' Promenade) by Carlos Guijarro (2015). George Orwell's *Homenaje a Cataluña* (Homage to Catalonia)—also testimonial narrative—by Andrea Lucio and Jordi de Miguel (2019) and Javier Cercas's *Soldados de Salamina* (Soldiers of Salamis) by José Pablo García (2020),⁴ are more consecrated texts that have also been translated into comics. Among the recent comics about the Civil War, Paco Roca's *Los Surcos del Azar* (Twists of Fate, 2013) and Carlos Giménez's *36–39 Malos tiempos* (36–39 Bad Times, 2007–2008) stand out, as fictions constructed from both testimonies and solid historical research. This use of real events as material for a fictional story is the technique most akin to *Estampas 1936*.

Each of the publications just mentioned chooses a different handling of comic narrative and expressive resources, and these choices, obviously, carry important reading implications. At the graphic level, stylistic diversity is the hallmark of these comics, for example, the documentary coldness of José Pablo García, the humorous drawing of Ramón Boldú, the expressionism of Fidel Martínez and Montesol, the clear-line style of Paco Roca, and the detail and precision of Navia's drawing.

This essay targets three key areas to explore the workings and implications of *Estampas 1936*. First is an examination of its formal peculiarities, especially the interrelations of text and image and the option for graphic realism (realism as is understood in comics). Second is the study of its publication vehicles, especially its inclusion in the monthly magazine *M21*, which situated its stories about the Civil War within a diverse collection of images that narrated primarily a present-day Madrid. The third element of the study is a

closer look at content; while there is great thematic variety in the *estampas*, the focus here is on their representation of the political violence unleashed in the first months of the Civil War. This violence, depicted in several *estampas*, is revealed to be complex and contradiction-laden, a violence whose justification—even on the Republican side—appears as problematic, especially when the urgencies of the Republic give way to the agendas of political factions. These interconnected elements (form, publication support, and treatment of its themes—violence, in this case) make the book an important and controversial contribution to the bibliography of comics on the Civil War.

Realist Drawings and Text Boxes

Although usually comics are a narration through a sequence of images, each story in *Estampas 1936* consists of a single black and white image that occupies the full page or a double page, an independent scene with different protagonists and locations. The image is always traversed by textbox sequences that reinforce the temporality effect.

Realistic drawing is one of the most obvious formal characteristics of *Estampas 1936*. In comics, this kind of drawing is often defined in opposition to caricature. A caricature is in a broad sense “la tradición de alterar deliberadamente las proporciones del dibujo en relación con aquello que se considera aceptable en una época determinada” (Reggiani 131) (the tradition of deliberately altering the proportions of the drawing in relation to what is considered acceptable at a given time). In contrast, a realistic comic drawing shows “coherencia en la representación de las proporciones de la figura humana” (133) (coherence in the representation of the proportions of the human form).⁵

Another notion often contrasted with graphic realism is that of cartooning. This practice involves simultaneously the emphasis on some essential lines and the reduction or simplification (in quantity and width) of other lines and shadows in an image. As Scott McCloud says, cartooning is “a form of amplification through simplification. When we abstract an image through cartooning, we’re not so much eliminating details as we are focusing on specific details” (30). However, comics graphic realism and cartooning are not opposing notions. As Andrei Molotiu remarks: “even apparently realistic comics . . . are drastically simpler than not only photographic depiction but even many other graphic styles—such as might be seen, for example, in drawings of the Beaux-Arts academic tradition” (153).⁶

Therefore, every drawing in a comic has a level of cartooning, even Navia’s, so detailed and coherent in the representation of the proportions. His images are limited to very sharp black lines and only one gray tone for shading

(always sustained by very consistent lighting), something that gives to this style resonances of the *clear line* and, at the same time, a *noir* expressiveness.⁷ This choice in Navia's drawing lends indispensable legibility to the images.

One of the conditions of a comics' realistic drawing—as Reggiani points out—is that “siempre sufre una sanción relacionada con la verdad, no solo con la belleza” (it always suffers a sanction related to truth, not just beauty) (135). As previously mentioned, *Estampas 1936* narrates fictions placed in a concrete space and time—stories constructed from both testimonies and careful historical research—by means of highly detailed realistic drawings. In order to achieve credibility, this style requires an especially careful and faithful reconstruction of the environments in which the artist places his characters. In Navia's drawings there is not only fidelity to still existing spaces, such as the Gran Vía or the vestibule of Juan Ramón Jiménez's house; there is also exactitude in the representation of spaces that no longer exist, sites that are only verifiable through photographs, such as the façade of the Granja del Henar café. As realistic comic drawing, Navia's adjusts well to a verifiability imperative; as Reggiani asserts, this kind of drawing has to submit “por un lado, a la comparación con la imagen fotográfica, y al juicio de calidad resultante, sin dejar de separarse siempre de la fotografía por el trazo y las decisiones estilísticas” (135) (on the one hand, to a comparison with the photographic image, and to the resulting quality judgment, while never ceasing to distance itself from the photograph through the pen strokes and stylistic decisions).

Navia's graphic attention to detail is also key for producing verisimilitude in fictitious spaces, such as room interiors. Thus constructed, these spaces define the characters beyond their features, gestures, and postures. Each one appears in a suitable setting, built through painstaking documentation: clothing, furniture, ornaments, etc. *Estampa 27*, for example, presents a bourgeois man sitting in the dark next to a radio, a clandestine act in the middle of Republican Madrid.⁸ The text describes his situation:

Ha decidido convertir su proceder en todo un rito. De manera que se viste con su mejor traje y su mejor abrigo, y se coloca su mejor sombrero, ninguno de los cuales puede lucir en la calle, so pena de arriesgarse a tener un serio disgusto con lo que él califica como “la canalla.”

(He has decided to turn his behavior into a ritual. So, he dresses in his best suit and coat, and puts on his best hat, none of which can be worn on the street, lest he risk serious run-in with what he calls “the riffraff.”)

The drawing rounds out the construction of the character; it surrounds him with the external trappings of his class: his collection of old weapons, the hunting prize, the ornate staff, the tapestries of the armchairs, the carpet, etc. Through all these elements, the character invokes the previous order of things.

The precision of the drawing style also allows the *estampas* to be filled with stories, beyond those indicated by the written text. Many characters are actors in a potential story. For example, in the foreground of the first picture, two women meet next to the Puente de Ventas and go—one on a donkey—to the hard-water spring pictured in the background to fill some bottles. Some images are loaded with possible stories, such as the impressive view of Gran Vía in *Estampa 17*; an abundance of detailed characters circulate through it: two heavily armed militiamen on the far right, a handsome man who walks with his girlfriend and holds his pistol drawn, a militiawoman in blue overalls and a raised fist, turning to look curiously at an international volunteer, etc. The meticulousness of the drawings demands looking at everything that is happening; there are exchanges of glances, movements, which suggest situations to discover and / or imagine. It is this care in the presentation of the “extras” in street scenes, which underlines their role as actors (more than just props, or context for credibility), each one as the tip of an iceberg. With this, Navia places himself in a tradition that encompasses authors as diverse as Carlos Giménez and LPO—Luis Pérez Ortiz (in Madrid) or Alfredo Pons and Nazario (in Barcelona), among others.



Fig.1. *Estampa 17-M21 1.*

Although the narratives embedded in the *estampas* do not use standard speech bubbles through which the characters speak “directly,” the texts in boxes play a fundamental role and establish a dynamic relationship with the images. These, instead of occupying a single space in the *estampa*, like a block, are distributed in abundant squares that force a displacement through the image, from one to another and thus introduce a temporal factor into the *estampas*, transforming contemplation into reading. The narrative voice is almost always focused on only one of the characters; his or her personal story, in the middle of a complex drawing loaded with actors. Although the page may show a crowd, the texts point toward a single individual. Thus, they allow us to enter more deeply into a subjectivity that images only allow us to glimpse.⁹

The narrative voice keeps the reader active by surprising them with frequent changes in their relationship with the image. Sometimes the protagonist of the story corresponds to the most visible character in the image, in the foreground or favored by the composition. However, other times the “voice over” requires the reader to search among several—sometimes many—characters for the one on whom it is focusing. As was already mentioned, for example, in the picture that opens the collection the most visible characters are two women in the foreground. However, the text is focused on another character: the poet García Lorca. This forces the reader to search for him on the page. Without the text, there would be no motivation to look more closely inside the gray truck that crosses the bridge in the background and recognize Lorca as the—also gray—passenger, dozing with his head tilted to one side. That is, the text is what identifies the protagonist, regardless of the figures emphasized by the image. Sometimes they coincide, but this tension between the protagonists of the image and those of the text enriches the reading of the *estampa*.

Jan Baetens affirms that “though it is possible to read the linguistic information of a comics page in a random order, the sequential, consecutive structure of text is much more constrained than that of visual information (after all, words form ‘strings’)” (195). The sequence of text boxes is sometimes a route for reading the image, as in the aforementioned view of Gran Vía in *Estampa* 17, where the texts guide the reader to the protagonist, who walks through the crowd.¹⁰

Although the moments in which image and text “occur” are always very close in time, their synchrony is variable. The text can be located at the same time as whatever is shown as well as in a previous or later one. For example, *Estampa* 28 shows how a militiaman generates a violent reaction by making fun of a Soviet film hero in the middle of a screening. The image does not represent him at that moment, but minutes later, bloody, carried by two men armed with pistols, most certainly on his way to death. *Estampa* 4 shows a worker hurriedly walking—along with others—up the boulevard; the text

covers much more: it narrates his awakening at five in the morning, the aforementioned walk, and his death in Plaça Catalunya.

In short, the image and the written text delimit and expand each other. The image (complex and precisely drawn) shows and suggests other unwritten stories or extends the possibilities of what is already written. The text reveals the unseen, that which is difficult to see, but—nevertheless—is there. It takes the reader beyond the instant depicted and opens their mind to a before or an after of the image.

Other Times

A peculiarity of the *Estampas*, compared to contemporary comics about the Spanish Civil War, is that they have been published in two formats: first in a magazine that was distributed free of charge at more than 400 points across Madrid, and then in a hardcover album, sold in bookstores and specialty stores. Each vehicle implied a form of circulation and a different way of thinking about its images. This section explores the implications of the first form of distribution of the *Estampas*: the illustrated monthly magazine.

Publishing an episodic series in a monthly magazine for later compilation into an album was a common formula during the comic book magazine boom of the 1980s. This model made it possible, while the series was being written and drawn, to publicize it and give access to the public. It also provided a means to measure the interest of the readers and to receive critical feedback. This publishing model permitted authors to finance the writing / drawing process of their work without the need for advances and other support, a second consideration as important as the first. On the other hand, in every issue a magazine integrated many comics into a whole, one much less coherent than that of an album, but sometimes more surprising, since it revealed confluences and tensions between the stories. This was the situation of Navia and Hernández Cava's *Estampas* in *M21*, where they were published monthly under the title "Other Times."

The *M21* magazine was the result of the efforts of the artist Enrique Flores, the management of Jacobo Rivero, and the support of various cartoonists. *M21*'s mission was "contar la realidad de la ciudad de Madrid a través del dibujo" (Flores) (to tell the reality of the city of Madrid through drawing). The idea was that the stories "reflejasen la diversidad de un Madrid múltiple en su personalidad y con una historia propia" (Rivero 3) (would reflect the diversity of a Madrid multiple in its personality and with its own history).

M21 was a free magazine, of large circulation and large dimensions, and at the same time downloadable in PDF. It was subsidized with funds from the Madrid City Council and linked (while the *estampas* were being published)

to the municipal radio school, also called *M21*. The content of *M21* magazine was organized in established sections by subject: architecture, sports, maps, markets, music, inhabitants, remembrances, gardens, etc. These spaces were rotated among a team of multigenerational and multigenre cartoonists, who had wide freedom over the content of their page.

Due to the centrality of the image in its content, *M21* was easily located in a tradition of Madrid-illustrated magazines spanning almost two centuries, all the way up to the avant-garde *Madriz* (1984–1987).¹¹ The parallels with the latter were evident: in both, Madrid was intentionally a theme and main stage; in both, the comic was a favorite expressive medium for transmitting information.¹² Moreover, veteran cartoonists from *Madriz* collaborated in *M21*: LPO, Victoria Martos, Javier Vázquez, Raúl Fernández Calleja, Federico del Barrio and Víctor Aparicio, among others. For his part, the presence among the *M21* collaborators of Hernández Cava, *Madriz's* founder and artistic director, strengthened the symbolic link with that publication. Enrique Flores recognizes this link, however, he also underlines clear differences: “De *Madriz* nos diferencia nuestra voluntad documental. Me chirría el término ‘periodismo dibujado,’ pero con ese sentido entendí que deberíamos contar Madrid. *Madriz* contaba la ciudad con más cabida para la ficción [que *M21*]” (Our documentary spirit differentiates us from *Madriz*. The term “drawn journalism” bothers me, but with that meaning I understood that we should narrate Madrid. *Madriz* narrated the city with more room for fiction [than *M21*]).

The magazine *M21* published in its section “Other Times” twenty-nine of the *estampas* by Navia and Hernández Cava, between numbers 1 and 21, two pages a month (two one-sided stories or one two-sided one) and without chronological linearity. This is interesting; in this context, as habit could lead the reader to try to read two independent *estampas*, facing each other on two sides, as a whole, or to look for links of communication and contrasts between them. Although this was most likely not the intention of the authors, it sometimes worked. The two *estampas* on *M21* 7, for example, were an invitation to contrast. On the left, in the middle of a mass of people and thus protected by it, a man hoped only to obtain the missing piece of his weapon in order to launch himself into personal revenge. In the other, a girl, isolated in a school kitchen, prepared to defend the city from the impending invasion with the only weapon she had at hand: boiling cooking oil.

The name “Other Times” for this space was significant. The stories from this section of the magazine were situated in the past, unlike the vast majority of the magazine’s pages, which detailed the present of the capital city.¹³ In a publication like *M21*, characterized by a “documentary will,” “Other Times” was an exception only because of its fictional thread. It fully participated in the “documentary spirit,” basing its stories on true anecdotes heard by the

authors. Immersed in a river of reports and real stories, the fictions of “Other Times” joined the flow of Madrid stories in *M21* and its characters were incorporated into the current of Madrid’s people (present and past) that surrounded them in the various sections of the magazine.

A particularly strong documentary aspect of the series was the remarkable representation of urban spaces and interiors, akin to the section on architecture. Through Navia’s—already mentioned—precise and well-researched drawing, “Other Times” emphasized how war changed everything, even (sometimes, especially) spaces. The *estampas* presented spaces repurposed by the war: the Sevilla metro station, converted into a bomb shelter (*M21* 11); the Madrid Casino turned into a field hospital (*M21* 10), or the Zabálburu Palace requisitioned as the headquarters of the Alliance of Antifascist Intellectuals (*M21* 19). They also presented spaces damaged by the bombs, like Calle Mayor, with ruined buildings and abundant debris (*M21* 16). The exterior views also included spaces now lost, such as the Florida Hotel (*M21* 2), the Granja del Henar café (*M21* 10) or the perspective of Alberto Aguilera Street at its junction with Princesa Street, with the statue of Agustín Arguelles that today is neither in the same place nor does it retain the same base (*M21* 9). For the local reader—target of *M21*—these views allowed them to get (re)acquainted with the place, its mutations, their own space loaded with history and stories, a place radically different from their own experience and yet the same.

Some of the issues of *M21* were monographic (jazz, cycling, women’s month, etc.), in which the various sections adapted their content to the theme, as far as possible. Issue 5 of the magazine was dedicated to LGBT pride. Near the pages that LPO dedicates to Miguel de Molina, and Francisco Delicado to Gloria Fuertes, Navia and Hernández Cava dedicated theirs to the journalist and writer Antonio Hoyos y Vinent (1884–1940), aristocrat, anarchist, and homosexual. In the setting of a snow-covered dilapidated street in late 1936, Hoyos and Vinent poses for a photo, gun in hand, hugging a young hustler around the waist and fantasizing about their next sexual encounter.

In short, in *M21*, the fictions of “Other Times” contributed to the mapping of Madrid and the critical reflection about it by incorporating an awareness of the Civil War, and a renewed knowledge of it as a vulnerable space; they gave a place to the wounds of the war among the hallmarks of the capital.

However, the publication of the *estampas* in *M21* also had consequences of a very different nature. Despite its tenaciously defended independence, the magazine, being financed by the municipal administration of Manuela Carmena, was affected by partisan political tensions in the country. In a context of enormous pressure from the Spanish right toward this particular administration, *M21* and—incidentally—“Other Times” became targets. For example, a news item from the newspaper ABC entitled “Carmena uses her

radio magazine for partisan purposes” uses “Other Times” as an argument to support the politicization of *M21*. The article thus quotes the councilor of the Ciudadanos party in the Madrid City Council, Sofía Miranda:

Aparentemente [*M21*] es una revista inocente, pero la temática tiene una ideología concreta. Se habla de huertos ecológicos, por ejemplo, y todos los meses hay un cómic dedicado a la Guerra Civil [. . .] El franquismo y la Memoria Histórica no pasan página en esta revista. Dos de las hojas centrales llevan un cómic que narra episodios ficticios enmarcados en la Guerra Civil. [. . .] Es aparentemente inocente, pero va goteando una ideología, vivir y entender [*sic*] la ciudad de una forma determinada. (Rivas)

(By all appearances [*M21*] is an innocent magazine, but the subject matter has a specific ideology. It talks about organic gardens, for example, and every month there is a comic dedicated to the Civil War [. . .] Francoism and Historical Memory remain front and center in this magazine. Two of the center pages display a comic that narrates fictional episodes framed within the Civil War. [. . .] It appears innocent, but it steadily leaks an ideology, living and understanding [*sic*] the city in a certain way.)

Statements like these allow us to see, in the sectors of the right, a displacement of the symbolic position of the Civil War. The time when those who considered themselves heirs of a faction disputed the story, and its “moral bonus” remains behind. The Civil War has gone from being an object of dispute to being considered by the political right to be a flag of the left, no matter how it is narrated. The mere existence of narratives about the Civil War is considered ideological propaganda.

When the next municipal administration came to power (June 2019), —a coalition of the PP, Ciudadanos and the far-right group Vox—, the team that created and administered *M21* was fired, the publication was focused on promoting the city’s cultural billboard and, among others changes, the Civil War became a forbidden subject.

Estampas 1936: Problematizing Political Violence

In addition to the comics from “Otros tiempos,” *Estampas 1936*—published as an album in 2020—included some additions: seven more *estampas* (five of which were not located in Madrid) and seventeen brief quotes interspersed between some pages. In addition, the sequence of images was reorganized to give them greater chronological coherence.

If the album format favors reading the set of *estampas* as a whole, the added quotations help to see more clearly their directions and points in common. Unlike the anonymity and fictitious character of most of the protagonists of the *estampas*, the citations belong to well-known characters of the time: Salvador de Madariaga, Julián Marías, Arturo Barea, Clara Campoamor, Julián Besteiro, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, Manuel Machado, José Moreno Villa, Gregorio Marañón and Manuel Chaves Nogales. These personalities can be included in what has lately come to be called the “third Spain,” a notion popularized by Paul Preston’s award-winning 1998 book *Las tres Españas del 36* (*The Three Spains of ’36*): “those men who vainly attempted to bring peace to Spain—a crime for which some lost life or liberty and others lost fatherland and livelihood” (¡Comrades! 440).¹⁴ Later, the writer Andrés Trapiello expanded the “third Spain” definition as:

aquella que hubo de elegir bando a la fuerza, sin que ello significara que de haber elegido el contrario estaría también a gusto en él. La tercera España es la que acabó sometida a cualquiera de las otras dos, y en definitiva, la silenciada, la mayoritaria. (28)

(the one that had to choose a side by force, without this meaning that if he had chosen the opposite side he would also be at ease in it. The third Spain is the one that ended up being subjected to either of the other two, and ultimately, silenced, and constituted the majority.)

Seen this way, this concept has the defect of homogenizing a great variety of experiences in a kind of equidistance between sides (neither with one nor with the other), a center. This, for example, does not help to categorize Manuel Chaves Nogales or Juan Ramón Jiménez, considered two of the most famous members of that “third Spain,” and who strongly supported, from the beginning, the Republican side and harshly criticized the military uprising. Rather, the characteristic of the authors cited in *Estampas 1936* was their coherence

and perseverance in a critical attitude, even toward the side they supported, something that in most cases ended up endangering their lives and forcing them to go into exile. The critical gaze of these authors is, in the *estampas*, a model of approach to the Civil War.

It is impossible to cover in one article the thematic variety of the thirty-six *estampas*. It is enough to remember that among the great variety of protagonists—ordinary people who suffered (and, sometimes, produced suffering)—there are a car washer, a nurse, Moroccan and Republican soldiers, children, a prostitute, a poster artist, an international volunteer, a kidnapped bourgeois and a clandestine one, a photojournalist, a rural teacher, a landowner, a group of show girls, a Soviet agent, and more. Four well-known writers also appear as common characters, with their nostalgia, desires, and fears. Each one stars in a different story: another topic, another place. This option for common characters corresponds to the one that Viviane Alary finds in recent comics about the Civil War: “Esos nuevos relatos van a cuestionar las visiones consensuales o binarias, fijadas por la memoria colectiva y su tendencia a mitificar acontecimientos o personalidades políticas convertidas en iconos, que impiden un examen minucioso del pasado” (361) (These new stories will question consensual or binary visions, fixed by collective memory and its tendency to mythologize political events or personalities, turned into icons, preventing a careful examination of the past).

Given the limited space and the great thematic variety of *Estampas 1936*, this study will explore just a few, interconnected in their treatment of the same subject, one which is key to the album: the political violence of the summer of 1936, especially on the Republican side, which appears mainly in the first *estampas*.¹⁵

Michel Matly summarizes the trajectory, in the comics, of the topic of violence against civilians in the Civil War:

Un número notable de obras trata del tema, primero de forma genérica, sin citar responsables, o con evocaciones simultáneas de la violencia de una parte y de la otra, como una manera más de condenar la barbarie de la guerra y empujarla hacia el pasado. Más tarde con la diferenciación de los actores republicanos, la violencia republicana se va a evocar imputando sistemáticamente su responsabilidad al otro (al anarquista por parte del comunista y viceversa) mientras se denuncia también más explícitamente la violencia franquista contra los civiles . . . (“La representación” 37)

(A notable number of works deal with the subject, first in a generic way, without citing those responsible, or with simultaneous evocations of violence on one side and the other, as one more way of condemning the barbarism of war and pushing it into the past. Later, with the differentiation of the Republican actors, Republican violence is going to be evoked by systematically attributing its responsibility to the other [to the anarchist by the communist and vice versa] while also more explicitly denouncing Franco's violence against civilians . . .)

In *Estampas 1936*, the complexity of the images, the texts and their interrelations make it difficult for the collection to fit in the trends indicated by Matly. To this must be added the abundance of stories, which—one by one—add new perspectives and conflicts to the subject.

Consistent with the chronological organization of *Estampas 1936*, the first two *estampas* function as a suitable prologue to the collection. The first one takes place on a date before the war: April 1936. García Lorca arrives in Madrid in a truck from the Barraca theater company and crosses the Puente de las Ventas; it is a single first and last glimpse of one of the important cultural initiatives that emerged within the Republic. In the *estampa*, the war only appears as a premonition of Lorca, presented by means of the text boxes. These narrate a vision of the poet: a herd of wild black pigs tears a lamb to pieces. The text ends with a question: “El poeta seguía preguntándose si aquello había sido una premonición. ¿Era la República el cordero? ¿Era España? ¿Era él?” (The poet kept wondering if that had been a premonition. Was the Republic the lamb? Was it Spain? Was it him?) Without a doubt, it was all three; a foreboding of the brutal slaughter about to take place.¹⁶

The second *estampa* imagines a moment on a sunny July 20 at the Bilbao roundabout. The scene is dominated by a stopped tram, around which a group of people looks in the direction from which some cannon shots are coming. The texts present individual phrases with which the characters comment on what is happening: “Parece que vienen como del Palacio Real / O del Cuartel de la Montaña” (It seems like they are coming from the Royal Palace / Or from the Montaña Barracks). The *estampa* creates suspense and expectation about what is going to happen and ends with the significant phrase “Nothing will ever be the same again.” The rest of the *estampas* will focus precisely on the different ways of “not being the same as before” that war brings. In the next two *estampas*, everything is about to begin.

The *Estampa 3 (M21 7)* presents a steep view of Luisa Fernanda Street, full of people. The frowning protagonist, easily located in the center of the image, is climbing a lamppost, waiting for the assault on the nearby Montaña

Barracks, where he can get a bolt for the rifle he holds in his right hand. The character's thoughts appear in the first person in the text boxes and his expectations about taking over the barracks are entirely personal: "iba repasando todos los insultos y las injurias de las que había sido objeto en mi vida. E iba fijando rostros: mi patrón, mi casero, mi vecino . . ." (I was going over all the insults and injuries that I had been subjected to in my life. And I was fixating on faces: my boss, my landlord, my neighbor . . .).¹⁷ The rifle, once functional, will be his own private instrument of justice, a personal revenge facilitated by war.



Fig. 2. Estampa 3- M21 7.

Another character full of expectations stars in *Estampa 4*. This image shows a perspective of the Rambla de Barcelona looking toward the intersection with Carrer de Sant Pau. A group of characters runs up the Rambla to confront the rebel soldiers. To the right of the image, in the foreground, the protagonist of the text, dressed in overalls, is the only unarmed character: “Su objetivo era llegar hasta el hotel Colón y subir a su terraza para contemplar desde ahí el parto de una nueva Barcelona. ‘Adiós a los burgueses’, se decía” (His objective was to get to the Hotel Colón and go up to its terrace to watch the birth of a new Barcelona. ‘Goodbye to the bourgeoisie,’ he said to himself). In the face of what is beginning, his hopes center on the arrival of the social revolution and with it, the disappearance of a class whose space *par excellence* is, precisely, the main background of the scene: the Liceu theater.

Among other sources, the *estampa* is based on Agustí Centelles’ photographs of those events. To the right and in the background of Navia’s drawing, one of the assault guards depicted corresponds to the protagonist of two famous (staged) photographs from that day; in one, he takes cover and shoots from behind some dead horses. The *estampa* references that photo when it mentions that the worker, already on the ground, dying, is reflected in the eye of a fallen horse.

As mentioned above, regardless of the text, the pages with multiple characters contain multiple possible stories, thanks to the gestures and animation of these characters, and the precision and dynamism of their staging. *Estampa 3* is an excellent example, with its characters standing in circles immersed in discussion, its young enthusiasts raising their fists, and its active old men. If the text personalizes the protagonist and differentiates him from the crowd, the drawing shows that each character in that crowd could be the protagonist of another story (but not the same one). So, although he participates in the scene, it is not correct to consider the protagonist as a representational character: he does not embody the crowd. His idealism is his; his hatred is his; it is an inner world of its own where the urgencies of the present and the character’s personal life and private burdens are blended. In the series, there are no representative characters; each one represents her or himself. The main character is not lost in the whole. By singularizing him with the captions, the *Estampa* emphasizes not only his individuality but also that of each person in the crowd. They are so precisely portrayed that any one of them could have had a caption, which highlights the potential agency of each of them (their individual responsibility). Writing about Spanish narrative fictions on the Civil War published between 1997 and 2002, López Gómez-Quiñónez notes that: “Las acciones de los personajes implicados en la Guerra Civil no forman parte de una masa indefinida que repite y obedece incesantemente unas órdenes, sino que emanan de la voluntad de una conciencia” (178) (The

actions of the characters involved in the Civil War are not part of an undefined mass that incessantly repeats and obeys orders, but rather they emanate from the will of a conscience). However, unlike the protagonists of those fictions, in *Estampas 1936* the conscience of the characters (knowing why, when and in what way they act) does not guarantee fair and balanced violence (see López Gómez-Quiñónez 196).

Thus, in *Estampas 3* and *4*, together with the many reactions that the images show, there are two main characters who perceive what is beginning as the arrival of a longed-for opportunity. The sequence of *estampas* makes it possible to connect the impulses of these characters and the priority they give to the elimination of (what they identify as) the enemy, with the pages that follow, concentrated on brutal violence already unleashed.

Estampa 6 shows the nave of a sacked church in Barcelona, with mummified corpses on the left side of the page and objects piled up on the right: images, chandeliers, frames, boards, etc. From a text box, a child voice narrates: “Los adultos habían prendido fuego a la iglesia dos días antes . . .” (The adults had set fire to the church two days before . . .). The Church, seen as a traditional ally of the ruling classes, was an easily identifiable target for revolutionaries in the summer of 1936. The destruction of churches and the looting of religious graves in the Republican zone at the beginning of the war was one of the most macabre episodes of the period, widely documented and intensely exploited internationally by the nationalist press and, later, by the Franco regime. *Estampa 6* does not reproduce (or translate) any of the well-known and publicized photos of the corpses exhumed and exhibited during the mentioned lootings. However, it is obviously based on them; as in many photos, the scene shows the desiccated skeletons displayed, leaning against a wall, standing one next to the other.¹⁸

In *Estampa 6* the voices showcased by the text boxes focus on the children moving along the rubble. The older one amuses himself by pulling the hair of the corpses; a girl on top of the pile of objects takes a figure of baby Jesus; the youngest, in contrast, covers his mouth and looks at the mummified remains as if paralyzed with fear. Not only the mummies frighten him, but also the power with which that whole world had been invested: “las imágenes de todos esos santos y santas a las que su madre hacía peticiones cuando alguien estaba enfermo” (the images of all those sainted men and women to whom his mother made requests when someone was sick). The older one, with a slightly mocking gesture, says to him:

–Vamos, no seas tonto, nadie te va a castigar. ¿A quién le tienes miedo?
¿A Dios? Dios se ha ido para siempre [. . .]

—¿Y el diablo?

—También. Según mi padre, si uno ha desaparecido no tiene sentido que exista el otro.

(—Come on, don't be silly, no one is going to punish you. Who are you afraid of? God? God is gone forever [. . .]

—And the devil?

—Him, too. According to my father, if one has disappeared, it makes no sense that the other exists.)

Estampa 6 does more than just remember these atrocities. The choice of a group of children as protagonists of the scene invites us to think about the situation from positions not yet burdened by the rhetoric of the warring factions. On the one hand, it presents the fear of a world that is still perceived as charged with power and threats. On the other hand, it shows the (perhaps new) absence of that fear in the gesture—at the same time innocent and atrocious—of pulling out the long hair of the mummies or in the act of taking possession of the representation of the child Jesus and transforming it thus from the remoteness of the sacred to the proximity of the toy (desacralization and at the same time re-enchantment); actions of children without God or devil, as the text says. The *estampa* is not didactic; it does not resolve the clash between positions. Although it contains a liberating reading, the image is still macabre.

Estampa 5 (*M21 21*) narrates, in a completely different way, another atrocious moment of revolutionary violence at the beginning of the war. In the image, a character contemplates from his balcony a group of armed militiamen heading to the front; he is shown standing, with a glass of wine in his hand and a worried face. In the text, he remembers when days ago he saw other militiamen pass by with the head of a general stuck in a bayonet, as if it were a trophy from a battle, although in reality he had been taken from a hospital to be shot.¹⁹ This reminds the protagonist of a scene from Chateaubriand's memoirs in revolutionary Paris, where the author witnessed a mob of shirtless men carrying two disfigured heads on pikes.

Unlike *Estampa 6*, where the grotesque is presented in the foreground of the image, here the grotesque is presented in writing, by a Chateaubriand quotation: “El ojo de una de las cabezas, al que habían hecho saltar de su órbita, caía sobre el oscuro semblante del cadáver; la pica atravesaba la abierta boca, cuyos dientes mordían el hierro” (An eye in one of those heads, gouged from its socket, hung over the dead man's darkened countenance; the pike came through the open mouth so that the teeth bit down on the metal).²⁰ As an observer, the protagonist

is almost the opposite of the children in *Estampa 6*, who see the looted church as a new world, which scares and excites them. The protagonist thinks about the scene of violence that he saw (not the one shown in the image) from a learned position; in it, he finds resonances of a historical moment that he knows from readings: the French revolutionary terror. Julián Casanova finds resonances of this terror in the anarcho-syndicalist urgency to put a drastic end to the remainders of the ancient regime; as he says: “en los discursos, en las acciones, aparecían las herencias jacobinas, de los revolucionarios decimonónicos, de la revolución rusa” (63) (in the speeches, in the actions, Jacobin inheritances appeared, of the 19th-century revolutionaries, of the Russian revolution). However, we must not forget that the force of militiamen observed by the protagonist in the *estampa* is marching to the front. The murder of unarmed officers and the fight against the enemy on the battlefield can coexist in the same characters.

The violent acts referred to in *Estampas 5* and *6* are similar in the visibility and vulnerability of their victims, in the lack of impediments to carrying out the destructive purpose, and in their symbolism as acts of destruction of the old order, but also in their utter uselessness in advancing the Republican cause. This violence persists and even expands in the following days, as stated by Clara Campoamor in the quote included just before *Estampa 25*:

Al principio se persiguió a los elementos fascistas. Luego la distinción se hizo borrosa. Se detenía y se fusilaba a personas pertenecientes a la derecha, luego a simpatizantes, más tarde a los miembros del partido radical de Lerroux, y luego—error trágico o venganza de clase—se incluyó a personas de izquierda republicana . . .

(At first fascist elements were persecuted. Then the distinction blurred. People belonging to the right were arrested and shot, then sympathizers, later members of Lerroux’s radical party, and then—tragic error or class revenge —people from the Republican left were included . . .)

Estampa 8 (M21 6) fictionalizes one of these cases. It shows, on a double page, a looted bourgeois apartment and, seen in the reflection of a window, the narrow perspective of a street through which a vehicle is driving away. Its text marks it as the story of a *paseo* (kidnapping ending in murder). The first-person voice is that of the owner of the apartment. The character narrates the raid on his apartment by some anarchists, who raze it until they find a rosary and a copy of the ABC, which they consider irrefutable evidence: “El

soplo era bueno, es un fascista” (The tip was good, he is a fascist). The text boxes follow a path that starts from the portrait of the owner, so illuminated and central in that space that the voice seems to come from it. The sequence of texts reaches the moving car and thus indicates that the character is taken in it. He continues to narrate beyond what is shown, he tells how the car has already passed the Ventas bullring, “brinca por el descampado y se detiene” (it jumps through the open field and stops); murder is imminent.

The *estampa* underlines the absurdity of the situation, perfectly possible in that period: because of a very poorly verified accusation, the protagonist is taken to his death, without trial. For the anarchists in the story there is no longer a difference between fascism and a conservatism of which the rosary and the monarchical newspaper ABC could be signs. This is a time of radicalization, but also of arbitrary simplification of positions. For one side, all opponents become “red,” for the other, “fascists,” with no interest on how well these labels fit them. As Campoamor affirms in another quote, facing *Estampa 5*: “la división tan sencilla como falaz hecha por el gobierno entre fascistas y demócratas, para estimular al pueblo, no se corresponde con la verdad” (the division as simple as it is fallacious made by the government between fascists and democrats, to stimulate the people, does not correspond to the truth.) The fictional voice of the protagonist of *Estampa 8* keeps him from being lost among the thousands of people who met a similar fate; it constructs him and gives him density through many details, not only his voice in the first person: the portrait, the space on the desk with his books, letters and typewriter, and the impulse, which he himself recognizes as absurd, to put on a jacket to go out in summer.



Fig. 3. *Estampa 8- M21 6*

The detail in the portrait of the ill-fated protagonist, elegantly dressed with gloves and a cane, is fundamental to the story: it is a style that can be interpreted as a symbol of the old social hierarchy. It recalls the image of Juan Ramón Jiménez in *Estampa 9*, in the vestibule of his building, recovering from the terror of being shaken in the street by an anarchist who mistook him for another person, and in the end having to show his teeth, like an animal, as proof of his identity. Jiménez at that time had already been falsely accused of having belonged to Acción Católica (Catholic Action) and had gone through another dangerous situation because his “apariencia pulcra y atildada lo hacían sospechoso a los ojos de algunos milicianos, quienes creían que su barba era de cura” (Alarcón 347) (neat and dapper appearance made him suspicious in the eyes of some militiamen, who believed that his beard was that of a priest). The issue of appearance is also fundamental for the character in *Estampa 27*, for whom wearing his most elegant suit and hat is a clandestine act, a ritual in which he, alone, revives the old hierarchies, finding solace in the message of anti-republican violence on the radio broadcasts of Queipo de Llano, quoted on the page.²¹ For all three characters, their clothes function as a symbol of their class sufficient to turn the wearer into a target.

Estampa 10 is the first one located in the Nationalist zone, probably in Extremadura, and the only one in the album that shows fatalities in the foreground: it is a group of at least twelve people shot and lying on the ground in a grove; one is especially visible due to his white shirt. The person directly responsible for the crime is a landowner, a “señor” whose land was expropriated by the peasants in March and who memorized the faces of their leaders and then took revenge on them one by one. This reminds us of the protagonist of *Estampa 3*, who—from the other side and another experience—also mentally reviews the people who will be the object of his revenge.²² Although the “señor” owns the voice of the story, he is in the dark, in the back seat of a car on the extreme right of the image. In the foreground, the bodies of the victims dominate the space of this *estampa*.

In contrast to the protagonism of the bodies of the victims, in *Estampa 16* (*M21 17*) neither the crime, nor the owner of the narrative voice that has participated in it or witnessed it, is visible in the image. The brutal massacre of Paracuellos appears elliptically materialized only in the trace of fear left by its victims on the buses that carried them to their death: a certain smell, which the old car washer on whom the narrative voice is focused identifies: “olor como a sudor picante que no desaparece por más que pase el cepillo y el agua por el interior de los autobuses” (a smell like spicy sweat that does not disappear no matter how much the brush and water pass through the interior of the buses)²³. The political commissar in the background, next to a car with the initials PC (Communist Party) and UHP (Union of Proletarian Brothers)

rebukes the old man for his comment on the smell. The commissar is inevitably linked to the perpetrators, this time already inserted in the state apparatus. On the other side, the victims are humanized by their own fear, materialized in smell, and—in his own way—the car washer becomes a witness (perhaps that explains the commissioner's anger).

Thus, in the *estampas* mentioned here, violence produces horror, and at the same time, it is potentially liberating. It manifests both in criminal acts and in the defense of the city; it is a violence in which it is not easy to separate personal, class, or state motivations. These aspects of violence are made even more problematic by the variability—from one *estampa* to another—of the protagonists, who range from perpetrators, victims, and witnesses to characters who are simply there, experiencing an event in their own way.

On the subject of violence, Gómez López-Quiñónez affirms that in the stories he analyzes:

La violencia resulta justificada porque unos personajes desean una realidad nacional de perfiles más justos y de contenidos más democráticos. En la implantación fáctica de dicha realidad, la violencia se vuelve tanto una herramienta útil y voluntariamente escogida, como un modo de legítima defensa ante los que quieren destruir estas ilusiones políticas para imponer las contrarias. (176)

(The violence is justified because some characters want a fairer national reality with more democratic content. In the factual implementation of this reality, violence becomes a tool both useful and voluntarily chosen, as a form of legitimate defense against those who want to destroy these political illusions in order to impose the opposite.)

The position of violence is more complicated in *Estampas 1936*. Among its many characters, those who loot churches, kidnap and murder bourgeois, or shoot political prisoners also want a fairer national reality and believe that their actions are a way of implanting this reality. As José Carlos Agüero explains about another war:

El revolucionario creía que tenía el conocimiento para adjudicarse el uso responsable de la violencia. La que era necesaria racionalmente. Que

poseían moral y juicio para decidir en nombre de otros, de casi todos, cuándo, cuánto y cómo debían matar por el bien. (83)

(The revolutionary believed that he had the knowledge to claim the responsible use of violence. The one that was rationally necessary. That they had the morals and judgment to decide on behalf of others, almost everyone, when, how much, and how they should kill in the name of the [common] good.)

Hannah Arendt contributes some ideas for thinking about this situation. When contrasting power and violence, she argues that:

Power springs up whenever people get together and act in concert, but it derives its legitimacy from the initial getting together rather than from any action that then may follow. Legitimacy, when challenged, bases itself on an appeal to the past, while justification relates to an end that lies in the future. Violence can be justifiable, but it never will be legitimate. Its justification loses in plausibility the farther its intended end recedes into the future. No one questions the use of violence in self-defense, because the danger is not only clear but also present, and the end justifying the means is immediate. (52)

For the Republican side in 1936, the specific and immediate imperative was (or should have been), precisely the defense of Madrid and the military defeat of the enemy. In this sense, the actual or potential violence of some characters in the *estampas* is justified, characters such as the international volunteer who comes to fight against fascism, the girl who prepares to defend Madrid armed with a pot of boiling oil, or the young peasant militiaman who shoots in the university town while thinking about his family (*Estampa* 23). Instead, the political violence that marked the first months of the war on the Republican side appears negatively sanctioned by the *estampas*, where its destructive character is narrated or meticulously shown. Even when its perpetrators could have been sure of being fighters for freedom and justice, it appears as unjustified violence: lootings and killings that have nothing more than a skewed relationship with the effort for the triumph of Republic.

Hernández Cava affirms in the postface of *Estampas* that they are partly born out of concern for the “interpretación simplista de aquel pasado en

muchos de nuestros jóvenes” (simplistic interpretation of that past in many of our young people). The complex treatment of violence is one of the ways *Estampas 1936* avoids simplistic interpretations of the past and shows—as Carmen Moreno-Nuño states when referring to Javier Marías’s novels—“que la mejor manera de enfrentarse con la nunca fácil memoria del pasado es rendirse a las contradicciones que la conforman. No hay, por tanto, una solución simple para la representación de la Guerra Civil [. . .]” (284) (that the best way to deal with the never-easy memory of the past is to surrender to the contradictions that constitute it. There is, therefore, no simple solution for the representation of the Civil War [. . .]).

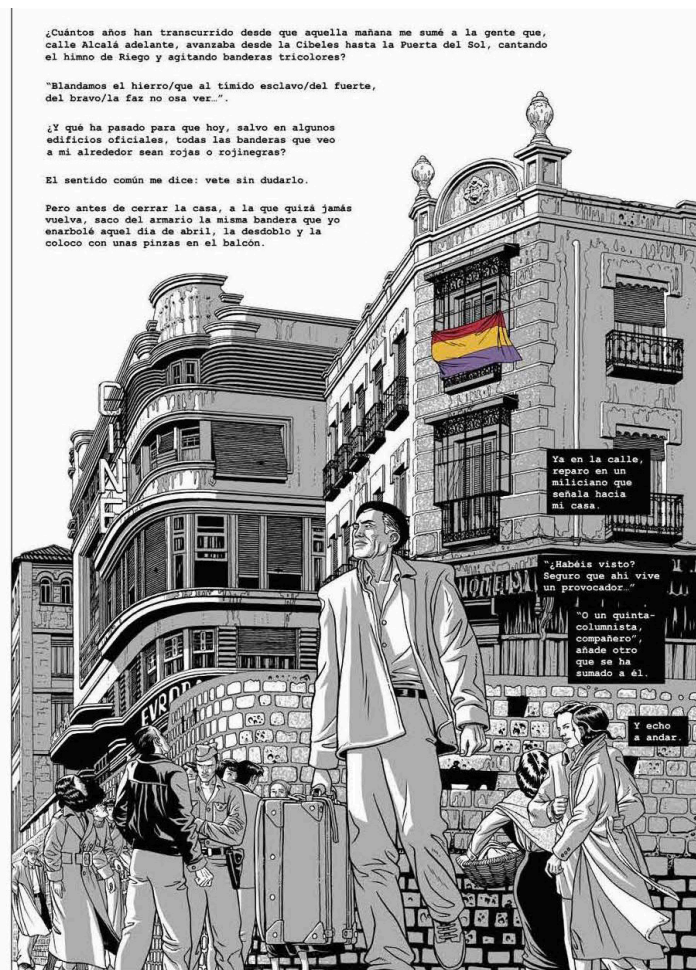


Fig. 4. Estampa 36- M21 12.

Going Away

This study will conclude with a look at *Estampa 36* (M21 12), which closes the book. It presents a character—the protagonist of both the image (foreground) and the texts (first person)—who is leaving Madrid where he no longer finds even traces of the Republic, which had been so enthusiastically received: “¿Y qué ha pasado para que hoy, salvo en algunos edificios oficiales, todas las banderas que veo a mi alrededor sean rojas o rojinegras? El sentido común me dice: vete sin dudarlo” (And what happened so that today, except in some official buildings, all the flags that I see around me are red or red-and-black? Common sense tells me: go, without hesitation). As he leaves, he hangs his Republican flag—red, yellow, purple—on the balcony.

This flag is the only colored object in the whole book, which makes the position taken by *Estampas 1936* very clear. Well-aligned with the “third Spain” authors, it consciously takes a firm stand for the Republic, both as an institution and as a collection of ideals. A subtler affirmation of this position is also in the fact that the protagonist of *Estampa 36* (identifiable as part of the “third Spain”) is the only one in the set depicted with a slight low angle, which somehow magnifies him.

There is another important element in this vindication of the Republic: by the end of the first year of the war, its flag is no longer in sight. As Michel Matly affirms: “[durante la guerra] la ausencia casi total de la bandera tricolor en el cartel republicano encuentra su reflejo en la ausencia casi total de la bandera en la historieta republicana” (*El cómic 372*) ([during the war] the almost total absence of the tricolor flag in Republican posters is reflected in the almost total absence of the flag in Republican comics). As *Estampa 36* shows, this flag has become so unfamiliar on the streets that the display of it is seen as a provocation; at least five characters look in the direction of the balcony; two comment: “¿Habéis visto? Seguro que ahí vive un provocador . . .” / “O un quintacolumnista, compañero” (Did you see that? Surely an agitator lives there . . . / Or a fifth columnist, comrade). Plain Republican affiliation has no place amidst political radicalization in a party-dominated city; it has become suspicious. *Estampas 1936* shows the Spanish Republic internally overpowered by communists and anarchists, each with their own flags and agendas.²⁴

Gómez López-Quiñónez affirms that, in the narrations he studies, the utopian revaluation of the defense of the Second Republic has been “un ingrediente ennoblecedor que ha rescatado aquella violencia del sinsentido, del caos o de la irracionalidad para otorgarle un marco interpretativo bastante más asertivo y favorecedor” (108) (an ennobling ingredient that has rescued that violence from senselessness, chaos or irrationality to give it a much more assertive and flattering interpretive framework). In the *estampas*, instead, the

manifest extinction of the Second Republic—its power and the ideals it represented—makes it difficult for there to be meaningful violence.

Notes

1. Published in *El País Semanal* on May 19, 2013, in the section “The weekly vignette” and incorporated into the album as *Estampa* 13.
2. A broad and exhaustive study of the production of comics on the Civil War, including this period, can be found in Michel Matly’s *El cómic sobre la Guerra Civil (The Comic on the Civil War)*.
3. The most important precedent for these comics is probably *Un Largo Silencio* (A Long Silence) by Miguel Ángel Gallardo which collects his father’s memories and adapts parts of them to the comic strip (and coincides in time with *El artefacto perverso*).
4. More in the vein of an introductory manual, José Pablo García has also translated to the comic strip—with great commercial success—two key books by Paul Preston: *The Spanish Civil War* (2016) and *The Death of Guernica* (2017).
5. This was the predominant style in adventure comics for most of the last century and was linked to the “entrada [desde los 1930s] al mundo de la historieta de estilos de dibujo gestados en la ilustración en los libros, las revistas y la publicidad, y [. . .] en el acceso a la educación artística formal y el contacto con las artes plásticas reconocidas” (Regianni 132) (entry [since the 1930s] into the world of comics of drawing styles developed in illustration in books, magazines and advertising, and [. . .] by the access to formal artistic education and contact with the recognized plastic arts).
6. While a traditionally trained artist might render facial features through variations in charcoal or ink-wash shading, indicating the play of light on a nose or brow, even the most naturalistic comic strip artists have historically been restricted to a relatively small number of lines for depicting the shape of a character’s nose and nostrils, say, or for outlining an eye and its eyelid (Molotiu 153).
7. If there is an expressive factor used within realism, it is the shadows. It is worth remembering that each of the authors has had their own path through *noir*, with its characteristic elements of hard realism, black and white and—precisely—the expressive use of shadows.
8. Neither *M21* nor *Estampas 1936* have page numbers. When talking about an episode of “Other Times” I limit myself to mentioning the *M21* issue where it was published. To refer to the album *estampas*, I have numbered them successively (as in this case: “*Estampa* 27”).
9. Note that even first-person texts appear in text boxes, not balloons. This implies not giving rise to the testimony: what is read in the boxes is not presented as something spoken.

10. The protagonist is also recognizable in the crowd by his privileged place in the composition and for being the only one walking toward the reader.
11. “The tradition of illustrated magazines published in Madrid dates back to 1835, the year *El Artista* appeared, where Madrazo published. It continues with *Madrid Cómico*, *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, *Blanco y Negro*, *El mono azul*, *La Codorniz* and *Hermano Lobo*, among dozens of others, until this tradition reaches *Madrid* (1984–1987)” (Pérez Ortiz 39).
12. “Its contents were committed to illustrating the party, fashion and bars of that festive 1980s Madrid and discovering intimate stories in which they poetically showed the different moods that paper heroes had been hiding for so long” (Dopico 344).
13. Another exception that is worth mentioning is the section “Así era Madrid,” dedicated to the memory of the city, where cartoonists and illustrators—preferably from an older generation—narrated some memory of the city, sometimes nostalgically, to sometimes acidic. “Other Times” presented, in contrast, an undesirable past that had to be remembered but did not deserve any nostalgia.
14. In ¡Comrades! [sic] *Portraits from the Spanish Civil War*, the English version of *Las tres Españas del 36*, Paul Preston explains his contribution: “Although prior to the publication of *Las tres Españas del 36* there had been recognition of the extent to which there were at least three Spains, rather than the two monolithic antagonists of Franco’s rhetoric, it had tended to be confined to indisputable neutrals. The classic cases were individuals such as Salvador de Madariaga and the philosopher José Ortega y Gasset, who refused to take part in the war. [. . .] *Las tres Españas del 36* endeavored to widen the concept of the Third Spain from a narrow group of wartime exiles to embrace large segments of both sides in the Spanish Civil War. There were others who suffered in various ways, at the hands of both left and right, for their moderation” (442).
15. We must not lose sight of the fact that its publication in *M21* forced the *estampas* to emphasize the capital, which was a Republican zone during 1936.
16. Pablo Neruda describes and comments this scene in his *Memoirs*: “Three months before the civil war, when he told me this chilling story, Federico was still haunted by the horror of it. Later on I saw, more and more clearly, that the incident had been a vision of his own death, the premonition of his incredible tragedy” (124).
17. In this picture it should be noted that the use of the first person does not prevent an asynchrony with respect to the image: the voice narrates in the past tense; the image is in the present.
18. Julián Casanova says about the anticlerical violence in the Republican zone: “You don’t have to look around too much to take stock: more than 6,800 ecclesiastics, secular and regular clergy, were assassinated; a good part of the churches, hermitages and sanctuaries were burned, or they suffered looting and desecration, with their art and worship objects totally or partially destroyed. Cemeteries and burial sites were not spared from anticlerical action, where the desecration of priests’ tombs and the exhumation of the skeletal remains of friars and nuns abounded” (115).

19. This refers to the real assassination of General Eduardo López Ochoa, in early August 1936.
20. I am taking this translation directly from an English version of *Memoirs from Beyond the Grave* (Book 5, Chapter 9).
21. The paraphrase of a brutal speech by Queipo de Llano is distributed on the page in three paragraphs: “Nuestros valientes legionarios y regulares han enseñado a los cobardes de los rojos lo que significa ser hombre . . .” / “. . . Y, de paso, también a las mujeres. Después de todo, estas comunistas y anarquistas se lo merecen . . .” / “. . . “Ahora, por lo menos sabrán lo que son hombres de verdad y no milicianos maricas. No se van a librar por mucho que forcejeen y pataleen.” (Our brave legionaries and regulars have taught those red cowards what it means to be a man . . .” / “. . . And, also to women. After all this, these communists and anarchists deserve it . . .” / “. . . Now, at least they will know what real men are and not queer militiamen, however much they struggle and kick).
22. In the center of the image, illuminated by the car’s headlights, soldiers excavate a ditch to bury those shot. The story contrasts the landowner’s desire for revenge with the mechanical following of orders by the soldiers, who refuse to give him the coup de grace, for not complying with the ordinances.
23. The massacre of Paracuellos, occurred between November 7 and December 4, 1936, during the siege of Madrid, after the transfer of the Republican government to Valencia. Thirty-three extractions of prisoners from Madrid prisons were carried out, and twenty-three ended in the murder of the prisoner including, among others, members of the military, conservatives, monarchists, religious people, and Falangists.
24. It is important to insist that, although *Estampas 1936* shows scenes of political violence within the Republican sector, it never loses the awareness that the Nationalist faction “ha planificado, ejecutado y finalmente ganado esta guerra y tiene que asumir el peso principal de sus consecuencias” (has planned, executed and finally won this war and has to bear the main burden of its consequences) (Alary and Matly 21). In a collection of stories mostly set in Madrid and its surroundings, it is not surprising that the *estampas* about nationalist violence focus on the African army that besieged Madrid (in three *estampas* at least) and, especially, on the destruction inflicted by bombings. There are also two *estampas* located out of Madrid that depict nationalist violence: one is the aforementioned *Estampa* 10 with the peasants who were gunned down, the other one is 11, showing a female rural teacher, beaten, shaved and with a stomach full of castor bean, walked through the town under the rifles of two Falangists.

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