the antisemitism of the regime, Jews were also an intended target of the denaturalization policy. However, as Zalc shows, disenfranchising Jews was complicated initially by the lack of a consistent way to identify them. In some cases, particularly in the occupied zone, a file might indicate race, but otherwise agents had to rely upon informants or make assumptions about surnames that "seemed Jewish." Over time, the antisemitism of Vichy found its way through the different branches of the administration, and the identification of alleged Jews became more prevalent in the naturalization files.

Zalc concludes by examining the consequences of being denaturalized and whether there were protests about these policies. She determines that the denaturalizations played a role in the murder of Jews in the Holocaust. She argues that while the denaturalization policy was open to interpretation as written, the implementation of it changed over time as pressure from the Germans increased to focus on denaturalizing Jews. While some *rapporteurs* and judges took on the task of stripping Jews of citizenship as part of their everyday duties, others chose to delegate these decisions rather than protest. Thus, Zalc demonstrates another form of complicity in the Holocaust that would otherwise be unseen. The book successfully illustrates the complexity of interpreting an imprecise policy in a bureaucracy across time and space. The book's strength is also its weakness. It is hard to put all of the details together, and perhaps that is the intention. The reader is left with an unsettling glimpse into the inner workings of Vichy administrators and the devastating consequences wrought by them.

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*Spaniards in Mauthausen: Representations of a Nazi Concentration Camp, 1940–2015*. By Sara J. Brenneis. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2018. Pp. xii + 365. Cloth €84.00. ISBN 978-1487501334.

In 2003, Jorge Semprún, the communist resistance fighter, writer, and minister of culture in democratic Spain, gave the Holocaust commemoration speech in the German Bundestag. Having been a "red-Spanish" prisoner in the Buchenwald concentration camp, the experience of political persecution stood at the center of his talk, which at the same time paid tribute to the ten thousand Spanish internees in German concentration camps, of whom more than half did not survive. It is precisely due to the magnificent literary works of Semprún that European historical consciousness has been well aware for decades of the suffering of Spanish antifascists in Buchenwald, while the Mauthausen camp, where the great majority (seven thousand) of them were incarcerated, has not received the same attention. This is the starting point for Sara Brenneis's extensive research on the memory and representations of their fate from wartime to the present day.

Given the impressively wide array of sources—photographs and films, archival material and printed press, memoirs and novels, theater plays and social media narratives—the author wisely opted for a strictly chronological order of presentation. This, at the same time, allows her to build up a strong argument that focusses on the twisted roads of memory production and to point out its lacunae, detours, and repetitions. The first

chapter offers a fascinating account of the production of evidence of Nazi crimes in the Mauthausen camp, of resistance and solidarity networks among the Spanish prisoners, and finally of their testimonies in the first postwar trials. To give but one example: it is not common knowledge that much of the photographic material that Alain Resnais used in his famous 1956 documentary film *Nuit et brouillard* (*Night and Fog*), which for decades marked the visual memory of what would later be called the Holocaust, stemmed from Spanish prisoners in Mauthausen. And it might not be by chance that he chose precisely this title for his film, which some years earlier had served as the title for the first fictional account of the Spanish Mauthausen experience, written by the young exiled Catalan writer Mercè Rodoreda (*Nit i Boira*, Mexico 1947). Hers and other nonfictional testimonies were published right after the war, but circulated only among the Spanish Republican exiles, or sometimes were read in secret inside a country ruled by a fascist dictator who after World War II—and to the horror of his democratic opponents—was left in power by the Western Allies due to Cold War political reasoning.

There is a certain inherent political logic, then, that it was only in the last years of Franco's waning regime that the topic of Spanish prisoners in Nazi camps came to the forefront, firmly embedded in the context of anti-Franco and pro-Catalan national resistance. It was with Llorenç Soller's documentary *Sobrevivir in Mauthausen* and, most of all, with Montserrat Roig's seminal study on Catalans in the camps that this small, but significant chapter of Spanish history in the twentieth century became known to a wider Spanish public. This development was again followed by prolonged silence about almost everything related to the Civil War, which marked the first decades of Iberian democracy, until the memory of Mauthausen became part of the wider field of Spanish politics of memory, which has produced a new wave of memoirs, films, and controversies starting in the late 1990s.

It is not quite clear why Brenneis, who in other chapters extensively and eruditely discusses her various sources, mentions only in passing the one book that presents a fictionalized contribution to this fierce debate: Javier Cercas's 2014 interpretation of the fake Mauthausen survivor (and president of the Mauthausen Amical organization) Enric Marco. Maybe this is because the basic argument of Cercas's multilayered novel—the political pitfalls of memory politics—is too close to Brenneis's own strictly academic reasoning, but maybe the reasons lie deeper. Cercas's book is also a political statement about the complicated Spanish dealing with its past—a topic that Brenneis is very much aware of but is not at the core of her interpretation. Her explicit aim is to reinscribe the Spanish Mauthausen experience into a wider history of the Holocaust or, more precisely, of Holocaust memory—thus her convincing, detailed analysis is very much informed by the relevant literature from the field of memory studies. But at the same time, she misses the political dimension of her story, which, to start with, was never really forgotten if we consider the memory and history writing of European communism and communist resistance. A certain danger may exist that by focusing on the different layers of memory, one tends to gloss over the deep political divisions at play—divisions that are still very much with us today.

To be clear: this critique is not an argument against an inclusive and empathic memory of all victims of persecution in its various forms, as proposed, for example, by Michael Rothberg—on the contrary! But just as it is important to precisely define the specificity of the German murderous attack on all Jews, it is just as necessary to keep in mind its political foundation: an exclusive, anti-Enlightenment, and anti-equality ideology that first had to destroy its political opponents, first and foremost the workers' movement within

Germany, and then subsequently within occupied Europe, before it could carry out its genocidal program. Its Spanish variant could concentrate on the annihilation of the political enemy because the Jews had been expelled from Spain centuries before. The entanglement and the differences between the various victim groups of German fascism were something that the Spanish prisoners in Mauthausen were well aware of, as Sara Brenneis shows repeatedly in her important reading of their cultural heritage.

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*Ghost Citizens: Jewish Return to a Postwar City*. By Lukasz Krzyzanowski. Translated by Madeline G. Levine. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020. Pp. 352. Cloth $35.00. ISBN 978-0674984660.

Lukasz Krzyzanowski spent years poring over documents and interviewing Jewish survivors who returned to the Polish city of Radom after the war. His goal in writing this book was ambitious and contributive: to demonstrate that Holocaust survivors were not passive victims, but fought to reestablish their communities after an unprecedented catastrophe. Beyond this clear purpose, there looms a larger goal, one both etiological and ethical: to situate Jewish experiences as establishing a context for understanding the relative homogeneity of present-day Polish society. By means of this referential relationship, the book belongs to the thriving New School of Holocaust Studies in Poland, which, according to David Engel, approaches Jewish history in a way that addresses questions of Polish identity and current "historical policy" ("Scholarship on the Margins: A New Anthology about Jews in the Warsaw District under the Nazi Occupation," *Yad Vashem Studies* 37, no. 1 (2009): 179–92).

Apart from the immediate postwar research on the Jewish minority by Irena Hurwic-Nowakowska, recent contributions in this subject area include books by Anna Cichopek-Gajraj and Monika Rice. In her comparative analysis of the return of Jewish survivors to Poland and Slovakia, Cichopek-Gajraj insisted on the necessity to look "beyond violence" in order to understand the postwar experience of Polish Jews, a methodological objective that Krzyzanowski wishes to further. Rice's book discussed how different geo-political contexts influenced the ways in which postwar encounters with Polish neighbors would be remembered.

Krzyzanowski's focus is on a medium-size city—a potential model for other localities that still await a study of postwar Jewish life. His reading of local sources—for example, fortuitously preserved documents from a District Jewish Committee—is deepened by an intimate familiarity with the topography and history of his hometown.

To discover how the survivors coped in their postwar situations, Krzyzanowski originally hoped to consult early postwar diaries and letters of Radom Jews. An apparent lack of ego sources has critically influenced the kind of book he eventually wrote: he could not document and relate the story of the emotional experiences that accompanied the return of the Jews to their hometown just as they experienced them. He could, however, interview the survivors or, at least, listen to their recorded testimonies, and he has used this possibility to