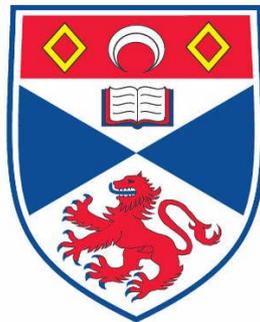


**The Displaced I:
A Poetics of Exile in Spanish
Autobiographical Writing by Women**

Jennifer Cadman



Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
at the University of St Andrews

September 2012

ABSTRACT

Literary responses to Republican exile are diverse and autobiographical works have emerged as a significant modality of this exilic literature. Utilising poetics as a mode of inquiry, this thesis aims to examine some of the complex and nuanced ways in which exile has shaped autobiographical writing by both first and second-generation female exiles. To this end, I trace a poetics of exile in a selected corpus of nineteen autobiographical works by twelve authors: Constanca de la Mora, Isabel Oyarzábal de Palencia, Silvia Mistral, Clara Campoamor, Victoria Kent, Luisa Carnés, Remedios Oliva Berenguer, Francisca Muñoz Alday, Angelina Muñoz-Huberman, María Rosa Lojo, María Luisa Elío and Arantzazu Amezaga Iribarren. These texts were published across a seventy year period (1939 – 2009) in a number of geographical locations and written in a variety of circumstances. Exilic autobiographical texts are not homogeneous and relatively few have adhered to traditional models of autobiography. As such, the works examined are drawn from a variety of autobiographical sub-genres including propagandistic autobiographies, diaries, political essays, hybrid texts, autofiction, memoirs, childhood autobiographies, more experimental semi-autobiographical texts and a film. The main body of this thesis presents six aspects of a poetics of exile — the notion of the addressee, generic hybridization, polyphony, the propagation of collective memory, postmemory, and retroprogressive representations of childhood — and adopts a multi-disciplinary approach that draws upon a number of fields. This thesis aims to offer an illumination of the breadth and difference of women's exilic autobiographical writing as highlighted in the identification of six very different aspects of a poetics of exile.

DECLARATION

1. Candidate's declarations:

I, Jennifer Cadman, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 80'000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2008 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in September 2008; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2008 and 2012.

Date Signature of Candidate

2. Supervisor's declaration:

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date Signature of Supervisor

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Date Signature of Candidate Signature of Supervisor

*In loving memory of
my brother Michael.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has been with the love, support and dedication of my dear Beth, my mum Jessie, my dad Ian and my Granny Maureen that this thesis has been possible. I am extremely grateful to be surrounded by people who provide such incredible support and encouragement in all aspects of my life. I am deeply grateful to Beth who not only ensured that I crossed the finish line but also engaged with all of my work with such kindness and enthusiasm. And to my Mum for her constant support, reassurance and love, and to my Dad who has always generously supported my goals and kept me calm, and to my Gran for all her food parcel deliveries and words of wisdom.

I feel privileged to have completed the PhD process under the guidance of my supervisors, Professor Nigel Dennis and Dr Ricardo Fernández. I will always be grateful to Professor Dennis for his invaluable help, advice and insightful comments over the past years. Likewise, to Dr Fernández for introducing me to the study of autobiographical writing during my MLitt, and who forever took time to explain and discuss it with me. I sincerely thank both of them for all of their efforts in helping me to reach this point and also for a positive PhD experience.

I am also very grateful to my examiners, Dr Helena Buffery and Professor Will Fowler for all the time and energy they invested into engaging with my thesis. I very much enjoyed the discussion we had together and I valued the opportunity to hear their thoughts and advice.

I will always be indebted to the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland who kindly provided me with the funding for my research. I hope to one day be able to contribute towards the same experience for another student.

Having been both an undergraduate and postgraduate student in St Andrews, this town that became my home has provided the beautiful setting for rich academic and personal experiences. I have been extremely fortunate to learn from dedicated and inspiring staff in the School of Modern Languages and Department of Spanish and to have met fantastic people throughout my time here. So finally, thank you to my friends who have all helped me along the way: Naomi, Leticia, Soledad, Eduardo, Daniela, Melissa, Rosie, Bea, Salomé, Kate, Jonny, Grainne, Rachel, Becca, Iain B, Heather, Aly, Iain N, Sofia, Jonathan, Kylie, Alison, Claire, Kenny and John. Thanks too to Auntie Mo, Katie, Mark, Dean and to my Grannie Elsie and Grandad Bill.

And to Dusty and Mike, always by my side.

ABBREVIATIONS

Please note that references to primary sources will take the following format:

Amezaga Iribarren, Arantzazu

- *Memorias de Montevideo* (San Sebastián: Saturrarán, 2009a) [MM: page number]

Campoamor, Clara

- *La revolución española vista por una republicana*. Trans. Eugenia Quereda Belmonte. Ed. Neus Samblancat (Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2002) [LR: page number]

Carnés, Luisa

- *El eslabón perdido*. Ed. Antonio Plaza Plaza (Sevilla: Renacimiento, 2002) [EP: page number]

Elío, María Luisa

- *Tiempo de llorar y otros relatos* (Madrid: Turner, 2002a) [TL: page number]
- *Cuaderno de apuntes* (Madrid: Turner, 2002b) [CA: page number]
- *En el balcón vacío guión original de María Luisa Elío* (Archived in the Toulouse branch of El Instituto Cervantes) [BV: page number]

Kent, Victoria

- *Cuatro años en París, 1940-1944* (Madrid: Gadir, 2007) [CA: page number]

Lojo, María Rosa

- *Canción perdida en Buenos Aires al oeste* (Buenos Aires: Torres Agüero, 1987) [CP: page number]
- *Una escritora de dos mundos: Mínima autobiografía de una “exiliada hija”* (2002) [UE: page number]

Mistral, Silvia

- *Éxodo: Diario de una refugiada española*. Ed. José Colmeiro [ED: page number]
(Barcelona: Icaria, 2009)

Mora, Constanca de la

- *Doble esplendor* (Madrid: Gadir, 2004) [DE: page number]
- *In Place of Splendor* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., [PS: page number]
1941)

Muñiz-Huberman, Angelina

- *De cuerpo entero: el juego de escribir* (Mexico City: [DC: page number]
Ediciones Corunda, 1991)
- *Castillos en la tierra* (Mexico City: Ediciones del [CT: page number]
Equilibrista, 1995)
- *Molinos sin viento* (Mexico City: Editorial Aldus, 2001) [MV: page number]

Muñoz Alday, Francisca

- *Memorias del exilio* (Barcelona: Viena Ediciones, 2006) [ME: page number]

Oliva Berenguer, Remedios

- *Éxodo: Del campo de Argelès a la maternidad de Elna*. [EE: page number]
Trans. Emilia Sancey. (Barcelona: Viena Ediciones, 2006)

Oyarzábal de Palencia, Isabel

- *Smouldering Freedom* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1946a) [SF: page number]
- *I Must Have Liberty* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., [IL: page number]
1940)

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INTRODUCTION

0.0 Introduction

More than half a million people were forced to flee Spain as a consequence of the Spanish Civil War. Scattered across the globe, these communities of Republican refugees were unable to return to home soil due to the subsequent and prolonged dictatorship. The members of this first generation of exiles were compelled to carve out a new life in their respective host countries, both for themselves and also for the children of exile: those expelled from Spain in 1939 at a young age and those born after that date far from their families' motherland. Research into the impact of this experience on post-war Spanish literature has increased enormously following the death of Franco in 1975 and has shown that exile is a complex condition that gives rise to a wide variety of literary responses. Autobiographical writing provides a particularly rich and suggestive body of material for an understanding of the ways in which this collective and individual trauma was experienced, represented and assimilated.

This thesis aims to examine how exile has shaped autobiographical writing pertaining to first and second-generation female exiles. To elucidate this, I trace a poetics of exile utilising a selected representative corpus of nineteen autobiographical texts by twelve different authors. Later in this chapter I explain why this study is centred on women's writing. Poetics is a productive conceptual framework for approaching such a rich and diverse body of literature and its conceptualisation by Bordwell is particularly appropriate to the purpose of this thesis. He proposes poetics as a principal mode of inquiry that enables a fruitful open-ended analytical approach to texts:

[Poetics] doesn't constitute a distinct critical school, so it isn't parallel to any of the doctrinally defined methods. It has no privileged semantic field, no core of procedures for interpreting textual features, and no unique rhetorical tactics. Although interpretations don't lie outside its province, the status of interpretation isn't quite what it is in the doctrine-driven approaches. (2008: 12)

Approaching texts from the perspective of poetics facilitates close scrutiny of how texts are *constructed*, illuminating their craft and the processes — creative and otherwise — that underlie the texts and drive them. He states:

Poetics derives from the Greek word *poiesis*, or *active making*. The poetics of any artistic medium studies the finished work as the result of a process of construction — a process that includes a craft component (such as rules of

thumb), the more general principles according to which the work is composed, and its functions, effects, and uses. Any inquiry into the fundamental principles by which artifacts in any representational medium are constructed, and the effects that flow from those principles, can fall within the domain of poetics. (12)

The objective of drawing critical attention to this autobiographical corpus is to illuminate key aspects of a poetics of exile identifiable within the texts. The purpose of such an investigation is to stake out new ground in research into the historical phenomenon of exile, specifically Republican exile, and particularly to outline the mechanisms by which exile impacts autobiographical writing. The focus is therefore on the influence of exile on the craft component of women's writing — with a testimonial, autobiographical slant — within the general context of recovering experience of the past and exploring different facets of self-representation. The analysis corresponds to the overarching research question; how does exile shape autobiographical writing? The aim therefore is to trace a poetics of exile, and in turn illuminate the ubiquitous, complex and wide-ranging influence of exile on the creative process of my selected corpus. This thesis seeks to contribute towards a critical understanding of how first and second-generation women utilise autobiographical texts as a vehicle to negotiate and assess their exilic condition, to consolidate and project an image of the self in exile and, specifically, how exile influences the process of construction of their respective texts.

The following sections will provide an overview of the thesis structure, a contextual literature review and an outline of primary sources and critical material.

0.1 Thesis Structure

The configuration of this dissertation reflects the organic process of textual inquiry and the tenets of poetics as a mode of inquiry utilised throughout this thesis. From a wider corpus of autobiographical material available to the author, the nineteen primary sources ultimately selected were chosen due to the relevance of specific aspects of a poetics of exile apparent within the texts. The texts were then grouped according to the presence of a common integral element, creating six chapters based around each aspect of a poetics of exile. Thus, this grouping of texts is governed by the initial process of textual analysis, rather than forcing a particular reading via pre-determined

theoretical material. Following from the use of poetics as an overarching conceptual framework, the approach to textual analysis in each chapter was varied according to the specific texts and theoretical material was sought to illuminate key dimensions of the texts in question. This strategy has enabled productive use of material relevant to each particular autobiographical text, specifically, to appreciate critically the aspect of a poetics of exile manifest in the texts under review. Thus, the framework is built on the principles of poetics as a mode of inquiry and enhanced by notions and theories borrowed from a range of fields and disciplines including autobiography studies, exile studies, memory studies, literary and genre theory, gender studies, Holocaust studies, sociology and philosophy. However, ultimately it is the needs of the primary sources that have fruitfully sparked and controlled these choices and emphases at the individual chapter level.

Although the justification of the six aspect based pairings will be returned to in more detail in 0.3, it is pertinent to announce here to which textual grouping each of the proposed aspects of a poetics of exile belongs. The first half of the thesis is an analysis of autobiographical texts written by first-generation Civil War female exiles. I identify three key aspects of a poetics of exile: the notion of the addressee, generic hybridization and polyphony. **Chapter 1**, ‘Ethics, Propaganda and the Notion of the Addressee’, analyses the propagandistic autobiographies of Constanca de la Mora and Isabel Oyarzábal de Palencia. The discussion of *In Place of Splendor* (1939), *I Must Have Liberty* (1940) and *Smouldering Freedom* (1945) illuminates the notion of the addressee as a key aspect.¹ **Chapter 2**, ‘Generic Hybridization in Urgent Exilic Texts’, examines works by Silvia Mistral (*Éxodo: Diario de una refugiada española*, 1940) and Clara Campoamor (*La révolution espagnole vue par une républicaine*, 1937) as generically-hybrid autobiographical texts. In **Chapter 3**, ‘Polyphony, Genre and Gender in Exilic Autofiction’, polyphony is highlighted as a key aspect in Victoria Kent’s *Cuatro años en París* (1947a) and Luisa Carnés’s *El eslabón perdido* (2002). These texts are considered as works of autofiction.²

The second half of the thesis is an analysis of autobiographical texts written by

¹ The dates provided in this section refer to original publications.

² Autofiction is a transgressive autobiographical text that adheres neither to the autobiographical or the fictional pact. A full theoretical definition is located in 3.2.

second-generation female exiles.³ Similarly, three further aspects of a poetics of exile are identified: the propagation of collective memory, postmemory, and retroprogressive representations of childhood. **Chapter 4** is an analysis of recently published memoirs by Francisca Muñoz Alday (*Memorias del exilio*, 2006) and Remedios Oliva Berenguer (*Éxodo: Del campo de Argelès a la maternidad de Elna*, 2006) and is entitled ‘Memoirs, Exilic *lieux de mémoire* and the Propagation of Collective Memory’. **Chapter 5**, ‘Negotiating Postmemory and Identity’, scrutinises a number of autobiographical texts by Angelina Muñoz-Huberman (*De cuerpo entero: el juego de escribir* [1991], *Castillos en la tierra* [1995] and *Molinos sin viento* [2001]) and María Luisa Lojo (*Una escritora de dos mundos: Mínima autobiografía de una “exiliada hija”* [2002] and *Canción perdida en Buenos Aires al oeste* [1987]). Postmemory is identified as a key aspect. **Chapter 6**, ‘¿Quién soy? Identity and Retroprogressive Representations of Childhood’, examines autobiographical texts by María Luisa Elío — *Tiempo de llorar* (1988) and *Cuaderno de apuntes* (1995) — and Arantzazu Amezaga Iribarren’s *Memorias de Montevideo* (2009a). To enhance the discussion of this final aspect of a poetics of exile, its relevance to Elío’s autobiographical film *En el balcón vacío* (1961) is also considered. For the convenience of the reader who may not be familiar with the chosen authors, a biographical outline and a synopsis of their texts has been provided. These are located in the appendix so as not to detract from the discussion. Given the importance of each author’s exilic experiences and their individual circumstances, the appendix serves to better contextualise each of the primary sources.

Although this thesis draws upon material from a range of disciplines to examine women’s exilic autobiographical writing, it is exile — as the determining factor that propels the creation of the autobiographical works selected — that constitutes the principal focus of analysis. It is relevant to note that gendered concerns are not considered to be the driving forces behind these texts and, as such, gender is not the focal point of my analysis. Implications of gender are, however, considered in relevant cases. As I tease out the implications of exile in these works the rationale will be clarified with regard to my decision to trace a poetics of exile *in* Spanish autobiographical writing by women as opposed to a poetics *of* women’s exilic autobiographical writing.

³ There is some debate as to the precise meaning of this term. I use it to refer to both children and youngsters exiled from Spain and also to those born in exile.

0.2 Contextual Literature Review

The general parameters within which the contribution of this thesis is located fall within a wider frame which comprises three main areas: Republican exile studies, autobiography studies and women's autobiographical writing. Considered as three lenses through which the more specific subject matter is approached it is thus pertinent to provide a brief contextual literature review. Furthermore, as 0.4 will explain, I have decided to locate additional chapter-specific review material primarily at the beginning of each chapter. This structure is considered particularly appropriate to a methodology underpinned by poetics as a conceptual framework.

A wealth of relevant literature within the context of Republican exile studies informs this research. This is a vibrant field that profits from significant contributions into numerous and complex facets of Republican exile by a vast range of scholars and research institutes, both in Spain and elsewhere. Government-funded projects in Spain complement the labours of productive institutes such as GEXEL (Grupo de Estudios del Exilio Republicano), and regional organisations including Hamaika Bide Elkarte, providing a myriad of stimulating resources. This is an extremely fruitful area, to which the number of conferences per annum is testament, and relevant publications and conference proceedings are referred to throughout this thesis. Given the breadth of material that falls under this first lens, it is useful to further sub-divide relevant critical literature into the following categories: contextual, approaches to exile literature, Republican women in exile, women's writing in exile as well as studies carried out relating to specific issues and topics.

Knowledge of the wider historical, political, cultural and social contexts of Republican exile is imperative to this research. Numerous and comprehensive publications by a range of scholars and institutions have provided this basis. These include studies on significant aspects of Republican exile carried out by Abellán (1983) and Caudet (1997). Alted Vigil's *La voz de los vencidos* (2005) offers a comprehensive overview of exilic experiences in specific destinations: France, Mexico, North Africa, the Soviet Union, as well as additional host countries in Europe and the Americas. Further research into host-country specific contexts was also consulted to gain understanding of the milieu in which the twelve authors were located.

The field of Republican exile is also concerned with the second generation, as exemplified by the recent 2009 GEXEL hosted conference "El exilio republicano de

1939 y la segunda generación”.⁴ However, studies on the children of exile are, to date, less abundant. An influential work in this respect is *Los niños de la guerra. Literatura del exilio español en México* (1996) by Eduardo Mateo Gambarte. Although his text addresses the specific context of literary figures in Mexico, it is a comprehensive work including prolific considerations particularly regarding the relationship of the second generation to the first generation, to the homeland and the host country, and identity. Gambarte’s assertions are relevant and could fruitfully be extrapolated to other contexts. This study will be referred to in detail in the second half of the thesis.

In addition to publications and conference proceedings published by numerous institutions, there exist a number of monographs that provide guidance to approaching exilic literature in Spanish, in general. One such text is *Shifting Ground: Spanish Civil War Exile Literature* (1989). In his analysis of works by Max Aub, Luis Cernuda and Juan Goytisolo, Ugarte proposes that the ‘experience of exile gives rise to certain literary tendencies and questions which are inherent in any attempt to duplicate a real experience in writing’ (x).

As this thesis addresses women’s exilic writing, a body of literature concerning Republican women in exile has also been considered. Rodrigo’s *Mujer y exilio 1939* (2003) includes over twenty biographical sketches of women and is a particularly useful insight into the first generation. *Defying Male Civilization: Women in the Spanish Civil War* (1995) by Nash is an informative study of women’s experiences and their role in war. Nash’s exploration of women and the organisations they were involved in before and during the war is particularly relevant to an understanding of the activities of the first-generation authors studied in this thesis. Scholarly investigations related to particular contexts have also been consulted. A number of studies that focus on specific individuals have been carried out, including Josebe Martínez’s *Las santas rojas. Exceso y pasión de Clara Campoamor, Victoria Kent y Margarita Nelken* (2008). With regard to second-generation women, publications are fewer. However, as the aforementioned 2009 GEXEL conference highlights, the general area is benefitting from increased scholarly and cultural interest, and relevant material has been consulted. It is also productive to venture out into other historical contexts within exile studies such as Holocaust Studies. Useful information within the more general field of exile studies is

⁴ I was fortunate to attend this conference held in Bellaterra and Collioure 15-19 December 2009. The conference proceedings have recently been published (eds. Aznar Soler and López García 2011).

extracted from collected volumes of essays including *Female Exiles in Twentieth and Twenty-first Century Europe* (eds. Tobin Stanley and Zinn 2007a).

In addition to relevant material from conference proceedings (generally focussed on the exilic literary works of a single female author or small group), studies of women's writing in exile have also been consulted. One recent monograph is *Exiliadas. Escritoras, Guerra civil y memoria*, in which Josebe Martínez recovers and interprets the thinking, actions and literary works of first-generation exiled women, focussing her analysis on Margarita Nelken, Isabel Oyarzábal de Palencia and Luisa Carnés (2007: 11).⁵ In *Memories of Resistance: Women's Voices from the Spanish Civil War* (1995), Mangini's consideration of oral testimonies, diaries, autobiographical works, letters and prison memoirs as "memory texts" constitutes a fruitful examination of women's status, function and experiences in the Republic, and also during and after the war. The fourth section of her book, 'Exile as Memory', includes an analysis of creative and autobiographical texts by a small selection of exiled women (151-174). Finally, a 2009 volume of twelve essays, *Mujer, creación y exilio (España 1939-1975)*, offers a productive and varied consideration of a group of female writers. Furthermore, in their prologue, the editors (Jato, Ugalde and Pérez) call for further study of women's exilic writing. A unifying factor of the women addressed — poets, playwrights and authors that cultivated other literary and autobiographical genres — is how journeys, predominantly those into exile, instigated a process of identity negotiation (9). As the following chapters will discuss, this process is of considerable importance in autobiographical texts. Evidently, the field of Republican exile is inextricably linked to the wealth of material on the general phenomenon of exile. Critical and theoretical material from the wider field of exile studies is utilised by scholars of Republican exile, and indeed is referred to throughout the following six chapters.

The second contextual area of study that informs this research is autobiography studies. Scholarly investigation into this field has been particularly productive — notably in France and the United States — from the early twentieth century and pioneering studies from a variety of contexts have been considered. Texts specifically from autobiography studies in Spain also form part of this broader lens. These include Romera Castillo's (2006) panoramic study of a variety of autobiographical texts *De*

⁵ Her illuminating study of these figures and selected works is wide-ranging. However, gender is a more predominant concern than in my dissertation. Martínez also includes relevant comments on some autobiographical works, though these are not one of her main foci.

primera mano. Sobre escritura autobiográfica en España (Siglo XX). The *Suplementos Anthropos* special edition *La autobiografía y sus problemas teóricos. Estudios e investigación documental* (1991b), coordinated by Loureiro, contains numerous insightful articles by scholars from various contexts and schools of thought translated into Spanish. Loureiro includes his particularly useful bibliographical sections entitled ‘Bibliografía selecta sobre teoría de la autobiografía’ (1991a: 137-142) and ‘Bibliografía general sobre la autobiografía española’ (142-143). Within Spain institutes, such as that at the UNED, organise seminars and occasional conferences. Relevant material from conference proceedings on Spanish autobiographical texts is also referred to, including those of the notable 2001 international conference — held by the Área de Teoría de la Literatura y Literatura Comparada (Universidad de Córdoba) in collaboration with the Unitat d’Estudis Biogràfics (Universitat de Barcelona) — *Autobiografía en España: un balance* (eds. Fernández Prieto and Hermosilla Álvarez 2004).

The field of Spanish autobiographical studies in general is, however, not specifically concerned with exile. Evidently, critical material on exilic autobiographical texts was also sought. One particularly useful publication is Loureiro’s *The Ethics of Autobiography: Replacing the Subject in Modern Spain* (2000). His innovative study of the autobiographies of Joseph Blanco White, María Teresa León, Juan Goytisolo and Jorge Semprún particularly informs my approach to the autobiographies discussed in my first chapter, as I will explain in 0.4. In her panoramic study of exilic literature ‘La literatura del exilio’ (1996: 317-515) Grillo includes a summary of autobiographical texts by writers exiled in the Americas (425-446). In addition, a number of papers and articles have been published that generally address exilic autobiographical works by a single author. The recent 2009 conference “El exilio en primera persona”, which I was also fortunate to attend, highlights a growing interest in exilic first-person writing. Held by the Universidad de Deusto and Hamaika Bide Elkarte, two volumes of conference proceedings have recently been published: *Sujeto exílico: epistolarios y diarios. Exilio en primera persona* (ed. Acillona 2010b) and *Testimonios del exilio. Exilio en primera persona* (ed. Acillona 2010c).

In theoretical discussions on autobiography, traditional critical emphasis has often focussed on whether a text may be classified as autobiography or not. Similarly, numerous polemical discussions have centred on distinctions between autobiography and fiction. In the midst of these ongoing polemics, some critics felt dissatisfied and

considered prevailing investigation into autobiography too strict and limited to arguments of generic identification and classification. More recent studies have considered the constant evolution of the genre and are thus concerned less with status and more with the diverse aspects of autobiographical writing. In this vein, new approaches to autobiography have flourished, considering not only *bios* but also its *autos* and *graphia* elements.⁶ One study that considers these aspects in conjunction is Eakin's *Fictions in Autobiography: Studies in the Art of Self-Invention* (1985) in which he investigates the process of storytelling — the 'drive toward narration of the self' (6) — and proposes the autobiographical act as a mode of self-invention. He states:

I view the rhythms of the autobiographical act as recapitulating the fundamental rhythms of identity formation: in this sense the writing of autobiography emerges as a second acquisition of language, a second coming into being of the self, a self-conscious self-consciousness. My study of the fictions that structure autobiography, then, is finally intended as an exploration of the relation between narrative and the fundamental structures of consciousness, for I believe that the impulse to write autobiography is but a special, heightened form of the reflexive consciousness which is the distinctive feature of our human nature. (9)

Furthermore, particularly in recent decades, sub-genres of autobiography have received increasing levels of scholarly attention. Notably, in *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (2001), Smith and Watson highlight the value of an inclusionary approach:

Autobiography [...] is a term for a particular practice of life narrative that emerged in the Enlightenment and has become canonical in the West. While *autobiography* is the most widely used and most generally understood term for life narrative, it is also a term that has been vigorously challenged [...]. Privileged as the definitive achievement of a mode of life narrative, "autobiography" celebrates the autonomous individual and the universalizing life story. Its theorists have installed this master narrative of the "sovereign self" as an institution of literature and culture, and identified, in the course of the twentieth century, a canon of representative life narratives. But implicit in this canonization is the assignment of lesser value to many other kinds of life narratives produced at the same time and, indeed, a refusal to recognize them as "true" autobiography. Thus, a growing number of postmodern and postcolonial theorists contend that the term *autobiography* is inadequate to describe the extensive historical range and the diverse genres and practices of life narratives and life narrators in the West and elsewhere around the globe. Indeed, they point out that autobiography, celebrated by an earlier generation of scholars [...] as a

⁶ Sidonie Smith provides a brief summary of the principal movements and texts relating to these elements (1987: 3-7)

master narrative of civilization in the West, has been defined *against* many coexistent forms of life narrative. (3-4. Emphasis in the original)

They go on to chart the critique of the limitations of the concept of ‘autobiography’, as the ‘preeminent version of life narrative’ as well as ‘situate it throughout in terms of many other genres and practices of life narrative to suggest the terms in which a new, globalized history of the field might be imagined’ (4). The value of traditional autobiographical theory is not dismissed and evidently informs the necessary background knowledge to my discussion. It is, however, relevant to highlight that my research falls broadly within this inclusionary line of thought. As will be discussed in 0.3, it is considered productive not to limit study to autobiography but, in fact, to draw most examples from numerous fertile autobiographical sub-genres. As such, secondary material on the sub-genres examined in this dissertation (including diaries, hybrid texts, autofiction, memoirs, childhood autobiographies as well as more experimental sub-genres) is engaged with and referred to where appropriate in the relevant chapter.

This shift in focus from texts conventionally defined as autobiographies to the re-evaluation of works that are unstable from a traditional, generic point of view is especially apparent in the field of women’s autobiography studies. Particularly from the late 1970s a myriad of theoretical material critically responds to and departs from the androcentric canon and field in order to reshape approaches to and ideas about reading and writing women’s lives. One significant aspect of work within this field has been the recovery and (re-) evaluation of female-authored autobiographical texts that were not considered of critical value and were often dismissed for being overtly feminine or personal. Pioneering scholars in this field include Jelinek (1980), Mason (1980) and Stanton (1984). Two texts that have illuminated feminist approaches to women’s autobiography are *Women, Autobiography, Theory: A Reader* (eds. Smith and Watson 1998b) and Smith’s *A Poetics of Women’s Autobiography: Marginality and the Fictions of Self-Representation* (1987). The former is a comprehensive volume of essays preceded by the editors’ informative guide to the field, ‘Introduction: Situating Subjectivity in Women’s Autobiographical Practices’ (1998a: 3-57), as it has evolved and which also groups essays around key issues in scholarship. In the latter study Smith (1987) proposes a feminist theoretical framework, through which she then offers readings of historical and contemporary autobiographical works by Margery Kempe, Margaret Cavendish, Charlotte Clarke, Harriet Martineau and Maxine Hong Kingston.

Aspects of these studies are referred to but it is pertinent to reiterate that although the implications of gender are, of course, considered throughout the entirety of this thesis, my approach is not a feminist one nor one entrenched in gender studies. My study does, however, profit from relevant aspects drawn from the wealth of material within women's autobiographical studies. Indeed, it is scholars within this field that have illuminated generic instability and non-linear non-standard autobiographical texts not as negatively problematic but as something to be embraced, its difference deemed particularly fruitful for study. This inclusionary approach to autobiography is extremely productive for approaching women's writing in general and, as will be apparent, autobiographical texts composed in exile.

In *El gran desafío: Feminismos, autobiografía y postmodernidad* (ed. Loureiro 1994b) a number of feminist essays also included in Smith and Watson's 1998 volume are translated into Spanish. The essays are preceded by a critical introduction 'Diferencias feministas' by Loureiro (1994a: 9-32), although in it he does not address Spanish women's autobiographical texts. Within Spain, a number of works approach the study of autobiographical texts by Spanish women. For example, in his panoramic study Romera Castillo provides a comprehensive list of well-known women's autobiographies, memoirs and diaries published between 1975 and 1991 (2006: 127-141), and includes a number of exilic works. Masanet's *La autobiografía femenina española contemporánea* provides an analysis of works by María Campo Alange, Clara Janés, Rosa Chacel and Mercedes Salisachs, highlighting their difference from masculine traditions (1998). Implications of gender are central to her argument; exile is not a feature of the primary texts selected by Masanet and as such does not feature in her analysis.

Studies of women's exilic autobiographical texts fall mainly into two broad categories: author and context based. The majority of papers and articles generally address works by a particular author or small group. Other publications have explored specific features.⁷ In addition, the aforementioned works on women's exilic writing by Mangini (1995) and Martínez (2007) and the collective volume (eds. Jato *et al.* 2009) include extremely useful analyses of a selection of autobiographical texts.

⁷ For instance: Acillona, 'La casa y la memoria en los textos autobiográficos de las escritoras del exilio' (2010a: 303-329) and Taillot, 'La Patria en los escritos en primera persona de las escritoras republicanas exiliadas' (2010: 103-117).

Despite this wealth of material, the study of women's exilic autobiographical texts is still fairly limited and has been identified as an area of study that ought to receive more attention. In 'La memoria histórica de algunas mujeres antifranquistas' (2009: 175-188), referring to women's autobiographical writing, Romera Castillo states: '[a]ñadiré que, en nuestra historia, el cultivo de lo autobiográfico por las mujeres merece una atención más profunda' (176). Acillona also highlights how many exilic autobiographical works by women have remained unpublished and in many cases are only finding their way into print in Spain three to five decades after their production (2010a: 306). She states: '[y] sólo en los últimos años se ha desplegado una investigación, no una mera reseña, sobre los mismos' (306). It is testament to this gap in the literature of overlapping fields that the study of women's exilic autobiographical texts has, in recent years, been gaining momentum.

The research undertaken during the writing of this dissertation draws upon the aforementioned publications and is intended to contribute to these general research areas. More specifically, as already indicated, it aims to illuminate how exile has shaped autobiographical writing. As will be explained throughout this chapter, in an attempt to contribute to addressing this gap this thesis will endeavour to trace a poetics of exile in women's exilic autobiographical texts. There is no systematic study to date of a multi-author corpus of first and second-generation autobiographical texts that draws upon various critical and theoretical materials to illuminate a poetics of exile.

0.3 Primary Sources

The nineteen texts selected for analysis to explore this gap are fascinating examples of exilic autobiographical writings selected from a wider corpus. The term 'exile' suggests, problematically, a simplified view of an historical experience (see Ferrán 2007: 144, 318): it is not limited to geographical isolation and the literary responses to the condition of exile are hugely complex. As part of these responses, the production of autobiographical writing as a key modality of the literature of exile increased exponentially as first and second-generation individuals strove to assimilate and express their respective experiences. In this sense, exilic autobiographical production constitutes one of the most significant and productive waves of autobiographical literature in Spanish. Exilic autobiographical texts are not homogeneous and relatively few have adhered to traditional models of autobiography.

In line with the inclusionary approach favoured, in the proposal of a poetics of exile it is profitable to consider sub-genres pertaining to the wider body of exilic autobiographical texts. Those examined in this thesis are propagandistic autobiographies, diaries, political essays, hybrid texts, autofiction, memoirs, experimental semi-autobiographical texts and childhood autobiographies. The majority of the texts in my corpus are ‘unstable’ from a traditional autobiographical point of view, indicative and representative of the wider corpus. The fact that the configuration of these texts is profoundly shaped and affected by the conditions and realities of exile also enables productive analyses of the poetics of exile.

As the principal factor that influences their process of construction, exile provides the overarching coherence of my selected autobiographical corpus. Although the primary sources are grouped into pairings based on different aspects of a poetics of exile, it is prudent to highlight that this thesis does not attempt to generalise across texts or on the subject of exile. Exile is an untransferable experience and the case of each author is considered carefully and any risk of oversimplifying has been consciously avoided. Instead, a comparative analysis of individual texts within each grouping was favoured; paired as they complement each other within the individual chapter. Furthermore, it has been of imperative concern to appreciate the diverse implications of exile within these texts, considering exile as a complex and multi-faceted condition.⁸

The chosen narratives reflect the uniqueness of each individual’s exilic experiences but they also exhibit similarities, on numerous levels. All of the texts are autobiographical in nature and are anchored in lived, real individual and collective experience. Common issues that emerge in all of the chosen texts include: the Republic in exile, self-representation, identity and memory. Furthermore, autobiographical writing provides the medium through which the individual authors can negotiate elements of their exilic experience and address specific issues that emerged in their own exilic present.

Intrinsically linked to this is the ultimate aim, or ends, for which individual autobiographical works were composed. These ends are considered as important, in

⁸ In the introduction to *The Dialectics of Exile: Nation, Time, Language and Space in Hispanic Literatures* (2004), McClennen repudiates the oversimplification of the term ‘exile’, and highlights that the exile’s existence cannot be understood as free from the ‘repressive nature of nationalism’ (1). She states: ‘I found that in many scholarly works the term “exile,” having lost its reference to a painful state of being, was empty of history and an association with material reality’ (1). She goes on to posit that ‘the literature of exiles contains a series of dialectic tensions revolving around central components of the exile’s cultural identity: nation, time, language, and space’ (3).

their own way, as part of the process of construction. The first-generation texts studied are inherently different (their three respective aspects of a poetics of exile are not inter-related). However, they are linked by their ultimate aim — evident or understated — as fuelled by particular concern for the collective exiled population and for the future of the Republic in exile. The selected second-generation texts are also fundamentally different and again the three aspects identified are not inter-related. Nevertheless, their ultimate aim is concerned with engaging with memory, the (re)negotiation of a coherent identity profile and addressing their relationship with a severed homeland.

The suitability of these autobiographical writings to the critical exploration of the negotiation of both collective and individual traumatic experience is two-fold: both for their historical value as first-hand accounts and as suggestive literary texts in which an emerging poetics exclusively related to exile can be investigated. The analysis of this corpus aims to illuminate how first and second-generation female exiles writing in an autobiographical mode offer a profound insight into the condition of exile.

It is relevant to establish what factors controlled the final selection of primary sources and provide additional contextual information on the authors and texts. As previously delineated in 0.1 it was the presence of key aspects of a poetics of exile that governed the ultimate corpus and their respective textual groupings. The texts selected are thus considered to be the most pertinent examples as well as being fascinating examples in themselves of self-representation in exile. It was considered appropriate to select autobiographical texts that had previously received limited or no scholarly attention. Additionally, I sought to centre on a balanced mixture of well-known, public figures as well as members of the exiled population who were not prominent or public figures, nor professional writers. It was decided to limit the study to women. Firstly, women are considered to be an overlooked portion of an uprooted population (Tobin Stanley and Zinn 2007b: 2). Roig advocates: ‘[c]uando se habla del exilio, ¿quién se acuerda de la mujer exiliada?... En el mundo del exilio también ha ocupado el segundo lugar’ (1980: 214, in Ferrán 1998: 485). Furthermore, as highlighted in section 0.2, the study of women’s exilic autobiographies has been established as an area that merits further attention.

A brief contextualisation of the authors alongside their respective aspect of a poetics of exile based chapter grouping follows. Constanza de la Mora (b. 1906) composed *In Place of Splendor* in 1939 in New York whilst representing Negrín’s government. She translated this text herself and *Doble esplendor* was published in

Mexico in 1944. The other texts analysed in **Chapter 1**, those by the Republican diplomat Isabel Oyarzábal de Palencia (b. 1878), were also published in English: *I Must Have Liberty* (1940, New York) and *Smouldering Freedom* (1945, New York; 1946, London). Their propagandistic autobiographies were composed for a foreign public with a specific aim: to publicise and plead the Republican cause. Due to the specific context of their intended readership, the notion of the addressee is particularly significant.

The texts by Clara Campoamor and Silvia Mistral discussed in **Chapter 2** were limited in circulation and have only recently been republished in critical editions in 2002 and 2009 respectively. Campoamor (b. 1888), a well-known political figure and lawyer, compiled *La révolution espagnole vue par une républicaine* (1937, Paris) while in voluntary exile in Switzerland. Mistral (b. 1914), a little-known author, published the final version of *Éxodo: Diario de una refugiada española* in Mexico in 1940. Composed the previous year, its entries are dated from 24 January 1939 (from when she prepares to leave Barcelona for France, where she was interned in the women's camp at Argelès and in a women's refugee centre) to 8 July 1939, the date of her arrival at the port of Veracruz. These works — ostensibly a political essay and a diary respectively — are two of the earliest autobiographical texts written by Republican women immediately subsequent to leaving Spain and are marked by a sense of urgency and immediacy, a factor which contributes to their generic hybridization.

The primary sources examined in **Chapter 3** are considered as examples of autofiction. The notable lawyer and political figure, Victoria Kent (b. 1892) wrote *Cuatro años en París (1940-1944)* whilst in hiding in Paris under an alias during the Nazi Occupation. The writer and journalist Luisa Carnés (b. 1905) composed *El eslabón perdido* between 1957 and 1959 in exile in Mexico. It was recently retrieved from the family archive by Antonio Plaza and published for the first time in 2002. These texts are particularly concerned with the future of the Republic in exile and with the collective exile population, and an examination of their polyphonic voices illuminates the authors' concerns with the relationship between gender and nation in exile.

Chapter 4 addresses the works of Francisca Muñoz Alday (b. 1926) and Remedios Oliva Berenguer (b. 1918); both were exiled in France at a young age and have remained there. Neither are professional writers and the 2006 publication of their memoirs was facilitated by the Arxiu de la Memòria Popular de la Roca del Vallès. *Memorias del exilio* (composed between 1978 and 1994) and *Éxodo: Del campo de*

Argelès a la maternidad de Elna (composed 1970-2004) form part of a wider recent trend of exilic memoirs that display an urge to propagate collective memory.

The second-generation writers examined in **Chapter 5** are academics and have each published a short autobiographical text explaining how exile has influenced their lives and a proportion of their literary works. These inform my analysis and are summarised in section 5.0 of the Appendix. The two semi-autobiographical texts (*Castillos en la tierra* [1995] and *Molinos sin viento* [2001]) by Angelina Muñiz-Huberman (b. 1936, France) were composed in exile in Mexico, where she has resided since 1942. María Rosa Lojo was born in 1954 in Argentina, where she composed the semi-autobiographical text *Canción perdida en Buenos Aires al oeste* (1987). These works are a part of the authors' respective engagement with postmemory in order to ultimately negotiate a coherent identity profile.

Finally, **Chapter 6** considers representations of childhood. The actress María Luisa Elío was born in Pamplona in 1926, exiled to France in 1938 and resided in Mexico from 1940 until her death in 2009. Her film *En el balcón vacío* (1961), autobiographical text *Tiempo de llorar* (final version published 1988) and *Cuaderno de apuntes* (final version published 1995) constitute a complex autobiographical project in which childhood is of central importance. Elements of this project were composed at times of acute distress and psychological imbalance after several decades in exile, particularly after visiting Spain in 1970. *Memorias de Montevideo* (2009a) is the recent autobiographical text of the second-generation Basque exile Arantzazu Amezaga Iribarren, and is primarily focussed on her childhood years in Uruguay. Born in Argentina in 1943, residing in Uruguay (1943-1955) then in Venezuela, the retired civil servant and author moved to Euskal Herria in 1972, a move that was not without difficulty. Like Elío, the long-term effects of her condition as a second-generation exile prompted a necessary autobiographical engagement with her childhood past in order to reconfigure a fractured identity profile.

As this section 0.3 highlights, my corpus of first-generation sources includes texts written after numerous decades in exile as well as contemporaneous accounts (some of the earliest exilic autobiographical texts written, works composed in precarious situations and autobiographies written in a foreign language for a specific non-Spanish audience). My corpus of second-generation texts includes recent memoirs by two of the faceless youngsters who crossed the French-Spanish border in 1939, experimental semi-autobiographical texts by academics born outwith the 'homeland'

and severed from a Republican Spain they never knew, and childhood autobiographies composed by an actress and a civil servant at a time of difficulty later in life. As the forthcoming chapters aim to illuminate, this corpus provides a rich texture for discussion: not only in terms of the sub-genres these texts belong to, the textual content and the aspects of a poetics of exile that are manifest in them but also with regard to the various circumstances they were composed in by these twelve fascinating women. It is relevant to note that in Chapters 1, 3 and 4 — and to a certain extent in 2, 5 and 6 — the texts also belong, or are argued to belong, to the same categories of autobiographical sub-genre.

0.4 Critical Material

The body of autobiographical texts is diverse and the secondary material chosen has been selected following the principles of poetics as a mode of inquiry. This enables engagement with individual aspects of a poetics of exile in a productive way. As such, it is by marrying a range of appropriate theoretical material and critical approaches to the texts, within the scope of the wider methodological framework, that the objective of illuminating integral aspects of a poetics of exile is facilitated. The selection of secondary material and critical approaches is ultimately based on the content of the primary sources. As the primary corpus is highly differentiated, this sets the parameters of the thesis and therefore there is not one cohesive theoretical corpus. Additionally, the primary corpus chosen raises a whole host of issues including the historical experience of exile, the Republic in exile, self-representation, identity negotiation, genre, gender as well as subsidiary multi-faceted issues such as memory. It is through the careful examination of each aspect, utilising the most appropriate approach, that these broader issues are also considered in the most productive manner. As highlighted in section 0.2, additional material relevant to each constituent chapter discussion is located primarily at the beginning of the six individual chapters. There I justify the use of secondary sources, discuss critical approaches, and delineate the way in which I analyse the primary texts. My approaches are tailored to each chapter, its primary sources and its aspect of a poetics of exile. The main secondary material for each of the six groupings is introduced here.

Chapter 1. In *The Ethics of Autobiography: Replacing the Subject in Modern Spain*, Loureiro suggests that a fruitful examination of autobiography should consider

the ‘links between issues involving referentiality, rhetoricity, discursivity and address’ (2000: 4). His ethical framework of autobiography is underpinned by Levinasian ethics, in which the ethical conception of the self originates as a response to the call of the other, facilitating the tracing of complex interplays between the ethical, political, rhetorical and discursive dimensions of autobiography. Autobiography is a genre that is ‘deeply marked by its addressees’ (2000: xvi). De la Mora’s and Oyarzábal de Palencia’s autobiographies are considered as honed examples of Republican propaganda, for which the foreign addressee is astutely guided in order to best engineer a particular reading. Purposely seeking the reader’s political and moral support, as each page is shaped by the propagandistic response to the call of the foreign addressee, these texts present a fitting opportunity to contemplate the complex relationship between the ethical dimension of autobiography and a concrete, propagandistic mission.

Chapter 2. Mistral’s and Campoamor’s early literary response to exile is characterised by a sense of urgency. Given the lack of temporal perspective, the immediacy of lived experience is inherent in the text, yet it is this essence that is of special interest in the analysis of its effects on the creative process. The raw tension of their exilic experience is reflected not only in the content but even more tellingly, in the form. A detailed examination of how exile has conditioned the creative process of these literary texts highlights their complex and conflicted literary response. A question emerges concerning how the immediacy of exile influences the transgression of generic boundaries. Each work is purported to pertain to a particular sub-genre but an approximation to others is evident. These hybrid texts display an ostensibly paradoxical selection of public and private material, but which is ultimately indicative of an underlying necessity to contribute to collective testimony. In *Shifting Ground: Spanish Civil War Exile Literature*, Ugarte reflects on exile writing and seeks to ‘understand how an experience of exile might be linked to the unfolding of any creative process’ (1989: 18). His work and secondary material relating to genre is engaged with.

Chapter 3 is an exploration of polyphony as a key aspect of a poetics of exile in two texts by Victoria Kent and Luisa Carnés that utilise a male narrator/protagonist as the dominant focaliser. Ostensibly, this would suggest that *Cuatro años en París* and *El eslabón perdido* appear to conform to generic expectations associated with fiction. However, to consider these texts as fiction, or even as autobiographical novels, would overlook significant elements of their works. A closer and significantly more fruitful examination of these multi-faceted texts illuminates them as suggestive examples of

autofiction. Drawing on Alberca's theoretical definition of autofiction in *El pacto ambiguo: de la novela autobiográfica a la autoficción* (2007), this chapter posits that these works are two complex examples of autofiction in which polyphonic voices are present, ultimately necessitating an examination of the complex relationship between genre, gender and nation.

Chapter 4 explores the propagation of collective memory as a key aspect of a poetics of exile. Alday's and Oliva Berenguer's memoirs display an impulse to record memory through literature, and constitute part of a corpus by an exile population whose texts have not been widely distributed or studied. Through memoirs, exiled individuals who were not in the public eye and non-professional writers can publically record and offer an alternative set of memories to a readership. I engage with the sociologist Halbwach's exploration of the social construction of memory in *On Collective Memory* (1992) and also draw upon and develop Francie Cate-Arries's pioneering approach to exilic concentration camp literature in *Spanish Culture Behind Barbed Wire: Memory and Representation of the French Concentration Camps, 1939-1945* (2004). She considers the cultural historian Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire* in order to suggest how camps were transformed through discourse as places of memory enabling the rebuilding of the nation in exile (2004: 15). Nora's concept is particularly relevant to my analysis of the representation of sites (including but not limited to concentration camps) collectively experienced by Muñoz Alday and Oliva Berenguer. My chapter considers the effects of collective frameworks of memory and dates of composition, as well as the manner in which memory is represented and implicated in expressions of exilic identity.

Chapter 5. The exilic autobiographical texts by María Rosa Lojo and Angelina Muñiz-Huberman offer a fascinating insight into the particularities of the exilic condition experienced by the second generation, especially with regard to inherited memory of the past, the complex relationship with the first generation and the problematic nature of identity formation. A close reading of their works in terms of Hirsch's notion of postmemory enables a deeper understanding of issues the authors have delineated as inherent in their works.⁹ The relationship between memory, literature and identity is explored. The analysis of the authors' representation of dimensions

⁹ Particular reference is made to Hirsch (1996, 1997 and 2008). Although this concept derives from Holocaust Studies, a parallel can be traced, in some respects, between second-generation Holocaust survivors and second-generation Republican exiles as they share a number of formative issues. Postmemory is a particularly productive and transferable notion and associated literature provides a fruitful resource with which to approach issues not fully explored yet in the Republican second generation.

conditioned by postmemory offers an elucidation of formative issues and experiences of the second generation. To understand how the authors negotiate a fortified identity, the multi-faceted relationship between space, identity, postmemory and writing is explored.

Chapter 6 explores representations of childhood with regard to identity negotiation. In addition to critical works on childhood autobiographical texts, I draw upon elements of a productive conceptual model proposed by Fernández (2007) in *El relato de infancia y juventud en España (1891-1942)*, applied to first-generation exilic autobiographical texts. Utilising Fernández's retroprogressive model as a departure point to approaching selected works by Arantzazu Amezaga Iribarren and María Luisa Elío, I consider variables particular to second-generation exile to ascertain how they influence representations of childhood and resulting aspects of the retroprogressive autobiographical identity project.

In summary, exploration of exilic autobiographical texts by women is a vital area of study and a stimulating and multi-faceted topic. Exile is a major historical phenomenon of the twentieth century and a focal point for theoretical reflection (Bammer 1994 in Suleiman 1998b: 2). As previously highlighted, study of exilic texts thus far has been more focussed on writing by men. This thesis seeks to contribute to the reclamation of women writers whose works have not been sufficiently studied and also to the wider post-androcentric effort of approaching women's autobiographies.

This introductory chapter has framed the scope of this thesis: what it addresses and does not address. What this thesis offers is an illumination of the breadth and difference of women's exilic autobiographical writing as highlighted in the identification of six very different aspects of a poetics of exile. It presents different sets of problems and critical dimensions. The six chapters elucidate aspects that all relate to the overarching research aim of tracing a poetics of exile. The separation of these aspects into six chapters is a logical and necessary one as, evidently, they are not found in juxtaposition in the exilic autobiographical texts. Of course, all texts display multiple areas of interest and other aspects are present to a certain degree (relevant attention is drawn to specific instances). Although this study does not exhaust the subject, this thesis aspires to contribute to an understanding of how exile shapes autobiographical writing.

CHAPTER I:
ETHICS, PROPAGANDA AND THE
NOTION OF THE ADDRESSEE

1.1 Introduction

As highlighted in 0.2, in theoretical discussions on autobiography traditional critical emphasis has centred on generic classification. Additional polemical debates have focussed on cognition and strategies of self-knowledge, self-creation and even the question of whether autobiography may be considered as a credible literary genre. Some theoretical works deconstruct the cognitive and restorative dimension of autobiography. For example, as Loureiro (2000: ix, 17-22) highlights, in ‘Autobiography as De-Facement’ (1979) Paul de Man argues that restorative attempts are undermined by privative workings of rhetoric at the moment of writing to the extent that the subject is disfigured. At the other end of the spectrum some critics discount plausibility as arbitrary, instead valuing the genre’s performative facets, fuelling perpetual discussions about the problematic relationship between performativity, referentiality and truth. Within the field of women’s autobiography feminist scholars have explored the discursive construction of female subjectivities yet, despite illuminating approaches to interpreting women’s subjectivity in autobiography, interaction with other elements of the genre has not been duly analysed.¹⁰

Concerned with the limitations of approaches of autobiographical theory that left important dimensions of the genre unexplained, Ángel Loureiro published the seminal study *The Ethics of Autobiography: Replacing the Subject in Modern Spain* (2000). He suggests that a productive examination of autobiography should address the close ‘links between issues involving referentiality, rhetoricity, discursivity and address’, and need not be bound to verifiable truth. He states:

Neither a true expression of the writing subject nor a mere textual construction deprived of any referential power, autobiography might best be apprehended not as re-production of a life but as an act that is at once discursive, intertextual, rhetorical, ethical and political. (4)

The productive ethical framework of autobiography that Loureiro proposes is underpinned by Levinasian ethics, in which the ethical conception of the self originates as a response to the call of the other. The philosopher Emmanuel Levinas defines ethics as the domain of the other and proposes that the other antecedes the subject, thus

¹⁰ See Loureiro (2000: 2).

displacing the subject from its position of centrality.¹¹ This position does not imply a diminishment of obligation or responsibility. Indeed it is the responsibility toward the other that initially constitutes the subject which lies at the core of the ethical domain (Loureiro 2000: xi). As Loureiro explains, ‘in opposition to ontological formulations of the self’ (6), for Levinas ethics constitutes the ‘primary bearings of the subject’ (x): as *prima philosophia* preceding ontology and politics (6). Loureiro proffers the ethical framework as an approach which opens onto investigation, enabling the tracing of complex interplays between the ethical, discursive, political and rhetorical dimensions of autobiography. Considering autobiography as an ‘ethical gesture’ (20) provoked by the call of the other, the ethical framework departs from privative considerations of rhetoric by returning to classical definitions of rhetorical figures.¹² He proposes:

In order to go beyond a complacent, unexact conception of referentiality and to escape the apparent quagmire of a disfiguring rhetoricity, autobiographical studies should counterbalance their concern with cognition with an attention to the multiple ramifications of an ethical conception of the self as an entity that originates as a response to the other’s address. (4)

This fruitful approach avoids a restrictive understanding of autobiography’s multifaceted layers of meaning: the autobiographical text may be considered as both an attempt at cognitive self-reconstruction and a ‘performative, other-directed, ethical act’ that ‘supersedes autobiography’s cognitive pretensions’ (30), elucidating dimensions of personal writing that other restrictive theoretical analyses leave unexplained (xi). Given that the subject originates as a response to the call of the other, the laws of the genre of autobiography are deeply marked by its addressees. The addressee is ubiquitous: ‘[t]he other-addressed, future-directed quality of autobiography [...] manifests itself through the presence of textual addressees, always present in autobiography, either implicitly or

¹¹ See Levinas (1991). Loureiro pertinently draws attention to the Levinasian definition of other as differing from the concept of the ‘Other/other’ in cultural theory. For Levinas, the other is an ethical priority that precedes any subject (Loureiro 2000: 193n. 35).

¹² Rhetoric frames the structure of address in all autobiographies, of which the rhetorical figure of *prosopopeia* plays a constitutional role. *Prosopopeia* has been interpreted, by contemporary theorists, as a restorative figure that by giving face and voice to an absent entity unavoidably disfigures the phantasmic re-presentation of an absence, thus destroying any attempt at cognitive, epistemological restoration. See de Man (1979). Loureiro’s return to Quintilian definitions suggests that *prosopopeia*’s primary function, in fact, dramatises the relational dimension of the self and its dialogical structure. In the ethical framework it is the figure of *prosopopeia*, representing the other-directed makeup of consciousness, which enables a dialogical presentation of the self. A second rhetorical figure, *apostrophe*, enhances the function of *prosopopeia* by foregrounding its dialogical dimension, simultaneously revealing the self’s alterity and its fundamental makeup as response to, and responsibility for, the other. The act of saying constitutes a legacy and response to the other, thus displaying the future-orientated ethical nature of rhetoric. See Loureiro (2000: 16, 20-24).

[...] even explicitly' (24). In the case of the autobiographical tradition in Spain, critics have identified a relative abundance of formulaic autobiographical narratives.¹³ To these, Loureiro attributes a refusal to take responsibility (185) and it is when the subject is dispossessed that conditions have provoked a nascent ethical impetus — the subject self-reflexively engaging with the nation and its history — producing 'the most compelling Spanish autobiographies' (185).¹⁴ The complex literary response to Republican exile includes the exponential increase in the composition of exilic autobiography, one of the most significant and productive waves of Spanish autobiographical writing. Within this emerging body of literature, the consideration of autobiography as an ethical gesture elicited as a response to the other highlights the notion of the addressee as a key aspect of a poetics of exile. The addressee is of primary importance and provokes a variety of responses, such as an address to the homeland, Republican Spain, the enemy, fellow exiles, second-generation exiles and compatriots lost during the Civil War.¹⁵ In women's exilic autobiographies, a common feature of the response to the addressee is that of an overarching contribution to an 'urgent voice of collective testimony'.¹⁶

For the purposes of this chapter, I have selected three texts in which the addressee is particularly specific. Constanca de la Mora's autobiography *In Place of Splendor* and Isabel Oyarzábal de Palencia's two autobiographical volumes *I Must Have Liberty* and *Smouldering Freedom* were all created specifically for a foreign audience in order to plead the Republican cause before the American public. These texts are examples of finely tuned Republican propaganda. They were composed to counter Nationalist propaganda in the American press, raise awareness of crimes against democracy and, consequently, legitimately appeal for aid. As such, the foreign addressee is carefully guided with subtle instructions for the texts' interpretation. The notion of the addressee is an integral aspect of a poetics of exile in autobiography and the study of how propaganda may not only shape emphases in the text, but also

¹³ See Loureiro (2000: 184-186) and James Fernández (1992: 1-20).

¹⁴ Loureiro refers primarily to case of Spanish Civil War exiles but he also alludes to examples by nineteenth-century exiles (184). James Fernández suggests numerous autobiographies by Spaniards affected directly or indirectly by exile throughout the nineteenth century were excluded from a 'certain canon of well-wrought, apparently disinterested, complacent life narratives' (1992: 4).

¹⁵ The significance and influence of the addressee in other texts in my primary corpus is signalled in relevant instances throughout the following chapters.

¹⁶ See Mangini (1991: 173) and (1995) for a study of the voice of collective testimony in women's memory texts. Her line of inquiry is unrelated to Loureiro's ethical framework. A desire to contribute to collective testimony is prevalent in a number of my selected first-generation autobiographical sources as will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

purposefully obscure, merits attention. Explicitly seeking the moral and political complicity of the reader, given that the entirety of their respective autobiographical texts is shaped by the propagandistic response to the call of the foreign addressee, these compelling works are characterised by a unique specificity, providing an exceptional opportunity to scrutinize the complex relationship between the ethical dimension of autobiography and a concrete, tangible, propagandistic mission in support of the Republic.

Each of the following sections will investigate elements of this relationship: (1.2) To Whom It May Concern: Self-fulfilled Prophecies of Unified Youth; (1.3) Propagandistic Tensions in *In Place of Splendor*: Self-censorship, Authorship and Scribes; and (1.4) Looking to the Future, Ethical Responsibility: Return to Sender.

In Levinasian ethics the ethical origination of the subject is isolated, functioning beyond history. Foundational ethics is based on an asymmetric relationship solely between the self and the other following the latter's address.¹⁷ However, Loureiro suggests that a departure at this point from Levinas is necessary as the ethical originary dimension of selfhood does not, in reality, exist outside socio-political reality. This transition from ethical to political takes place when the ethical subject enters into a reciprocal heteronomous relationship with the other: '[t]he call of the nonsimultaneous, untotalizable other originates language as vocative and selfhood as responsibility for the other, but the appearance of the "third" takes us beyond the ethical and into the political' (2000: 9). The presence of the third party, which mobilizes the transition 'from the ethical perspective of alterity to the ontological perspective of totality'¹⁸, results in two fundamental consequences: 'the apparition of self-consciousness and the need for justice' (2000: 9).¹⁹ He explains:

Consciousness and self-consciousness cannot appear in the relation between the self and the other because the responsibility for the other antecedes all questions; however the apparition of a third party that will be an other for the other dislocates the one-on-one relationship between the self and the other and converts the self into an other for the other, i.e., into a self-consciousness. (9)

¹⁷ See Levinas (2006) 'Is Ontology Fundamental?' pp.1-11, 'The *I* and the Totality' pp. 11-34, and 'Dialogue on Thinking-of-the-Other' pp. 173-179. See also Loureiro (2000: 4-15).

¹⁸ Loureiro cites Levinas. See Richard Kearney (1984) in Loureiro (2000: 8).

¹⁹ Loureiro cautions that for Levinas, justice is the need to compare and evaluate and is not conceptualised with regard to legality (9).

Whilst the asymmetric relationship is characterised by responsibility and debt, the reciprocal relationship between self-consciousness and the other is personal, political, social and historic and ‘could be characterised as violence to the other, the need for justice, the prevalence of reason, the illusion of (self) knowledge, [...] in sum all human, philosophical, epistemological, and political beliefs and fabrications’ (9). Once the relationship becomes political — foregrounded by the ethical — the nascent autobiographical self-consciousness enters into a self-reflexive process of constructing subjectivity, selecting appropriate discourses. The exploration of the discourses that shape subjectivity is of particular importance in feminist approaches to autobiography, yet Loureiro argues this is limited since it fails to consider other integral aspects of the genre (2-3). In terms of the study of women’s exilic autobiography, my methodological approach fosters a link between the ethical dimension of autobiography and some feminist approaches to women’s subjectivity in this chapter. Drawing on the ethical framework determined by Loureiro and elements of Sidonie Smith’s theories on the autobiographical manifesto (1993: 154-182), the final section of this chapter, (1.5) Restaging Subjectivity, seeks to examine the relationship between propagandistic ethical gestures and subjectivity, and how the addressee conditions Constanca and Isabel’s receptiveness to certain discourses in their restaging of subjectivity.²⁰

1.2 To Whom It May Concern: Self-fulfilled Prophecies of Unified Youth

To Whom It May Concern,

Who writes? [...] To whom is the text addressed?

What kind of reader is inscribed in the text? Perhaps more than any other literary genre, autobiography forces us to deal with these questions concerning both the historical conditions and the literary stagings of textual production and reception. (James Fernández 1992: 21)

The addressee is of paramount importance in the conception of an autobiographical text: ‘[n]o other genre’s thematics and strategies are so dependent on, and determined by, its addressees’ (Loureiro 2000: xiii). In order to explore the notion of the addressee as a key aspect of a poetics of exile, this section examines how a trajectory of identity is framed when the autobiographer’s response to the call of the

²⁰ Loureiro laments that descriptive analyses of the discourses that participate in the construction of subjectivities have overlooked probing how and why subjects embrace the discourses that constitute them. He proposes that ‘[o]nly an ethical consideration of the subject can begin to explain the subject’s passionate attachment to certain discourses’ (2000: 2-3).

other is created purely for the purposes of propaganda. The autobiographies of de la Mora and Oyarzábal de Palencia aim urgently to convince the Anglophone public of the atrocities committed against Republican Spain, in the hope of obtaining political and humanitarian aid. Thus, the manner in which they present their identity must be carefully crafted by selecting appropriate autobiographical strategies and models. Within the entire corpus of exilic autobiographical texts discussed in this thesis, *In Place of Splendor* and *I Must Have Liberty* are the most traditional in terms of the autobiographical model and strategies adhered to. Both women favour autobiographical strategies where the driving concept is the idea of progress and continuity, as they aim to project a seamless, logical and chronological narrative that would affirm the coherent, unified identity of the individual from childhood to adulthood. This corresponds to the majority of modern autobiographies in the Western world where the impression of logical factual truth in the linear narrative suggests a credible identity.²¹ This approach proffers readability, authority and legitimacy provided by a reliable Republican. Given the propagandistic nature of their autobiographical venture, it is understandable why both authors would wish to afford the addressee a clear linear narrative provided by an autobiographer who is not only an authoritative Republican spokesperson in exile, but has also been affected by an innate social conscience from birth. In the quest to exhibit an identity which is sufficiently unified, injecting credibility into the autobiographer's response, it must be carefully orchestrated.

Representations of childhood in autobiography commonly portray the figure of the child as the 'encarnación de una forma superior' (Ricardo Fernández 2007: 9) in which the autobiographer endows themselves with the constants that they desire as constitutive of their own individuality. Fernández proposes that it is possible to trace two conceptual models in autobiographies that address the period of childhood and adolescence; 'el relato progresivo' and 'el relato retroprogresivo' (50-59). The first model is most common in autobiographies that adhere to traditional autobiographical strategies. The second model differs from the first in that it is characterised by a traumatic rupture that precipitates a spiral-like return to childhood (retro) in order to heal the rupture and build a continuity, albeit convoluted, (progress) that does not exist prior to the composition of the autobiographical text.²²

²¹ See Weintraub (1978).

²² These texts are an attempt to suture and to restore an identity that is lost, interrupted or destroyed in the present. See Fernández (51). The retroprogressive model will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Exilic autobiographical texts are characterised by a nostalgic retroprogressive introspection for a yearned for idyllic childhood past.²³ Most exilic autobiographies conform to the retroprogressive model (Fernández); however, *I Must Have Liberty* and *In Place of Splendor* adhere to the progressive model. Unlike other exilic exemplars, nostalgia is completely absent and their representation of childhood is far from idyllic. The exilic rupture is barely present and Fernández explains that:

en los relatos progresivos esa fractura [entre el pasado y el presente] apenas es perceptible, domina la continuidad, que en la mayor parte de los casos es buscada afanosamente por el autor. Suele ser la explicación del estado actual al que el escritor ha llegado. (53)

Given that the propagandistic ethical gesture to the foreign addressee inescapably shapes the autobiographical identity purported by the respondee, both Isabel and Constanca superimpose a seamless trajectory of their identity from childhood to adulthood. Their childhood is conveyed as plagued by ostracism from their family and peers as they seek to exhibit an instinctive Republican identity that is diametrically opposed to the individuals typical of the traditional right-wing, privileged aristocratic class they were born into.²⁴ Their description of childhood as a period marked by isolation due to their innate sense of rebellion towards societal and theocratic institutions functions as a mechanism that corroborates the evolution of the unified identity projected in a coherent chronological structure.

The opening paragraph of *In Place of Splendor* would suggest that Constanca's precocious social conscience exists from birth and that she was already acutely aware of the class divisions on the other side of her mother's bedroom window:

It was cold in Madrid that January day in 1906 when I was born. The beggars squatting on the steps of the Church of Las Salesas in the beautiful Square of the Palace of Justice, just in back of our house, shuddered under the cold wind coming in from the Sierra. [...] But my mother's bedroom was close and warm. My father's house was one of the few in Madrid with central heating. Draped curtains of heavy, stiff, blue brocade kept the Sierra winds from my mother. [PS: 3]

²³ Fernández further qualifies these conceptual models to two corresponding 'modelos vitales': the retroprogressive model linked to 'el modelo del exiliado' and the progressive model linked to 'el modelo de la formación del artista' (59-71). See also (71-89).

²⁴ Capdevila-Argüelles states that in reading Oyarzábal de Palencia's autobiography 'asistimos a la problemática socialización de una mujer que se sabe disidente y que disfruta siéndolo' (2008: 57).

The newborn Constanica immediately took a dislike to her mother's opulent 'Louis XV' style bed [PS: 3]. Within moments of the infant opening her eyes, the addressee receives the first textual indication that her childhood would be characterised by rebellion against her privileged origins, omnipresent throughout the first chapter 'Childhood in Old Spain'. Similarly, in *I Must Have Liberty* the first chapter, 'A Little Rebel', evokes alienation and rebellion. The opening paragraph alludes to the familial and class expectations the young Isabel would not adhere to:

I have a very early and definite impression that we, that is, my sister María de la Asunción, my brother Juan and I, were disapproved of. Most children have, of course, that impression at times, but in most cases the disapproval is expressed by outsiders and not by usually doting grandmothers and close relatives. The impression of mine soon worked out into a conviction that Malaga Society with a capital S was afraid that the new generation of the Oyarzábal family [...] was going to work havoc with a long-established good reputation for strict and faithful observance of the Malaga proprieties. [IL: 1]

The affluent families of both women each owned a country estate. On their encounters with peasants there both girls profess a deep sense of ignominy which serves to further validate the credible emergence of their budding social conscience. In La Alhaurín the young Isabel innocently inquires after the family of one of the peasants whose response that they were resigned to hunger, given that their daily income of fifty *céntimos* working the land of an absentee landlord only stretches to a plate of *gazpacho* once a day, ignites a shameful awakening: '[it] suddenly made me realize the existence of many people who were left out of everything. [...] I looked at him with astonishment. I had never before realized that hunger could be something more than a passing discomfort' [IL: 48-49].²⁵ The estate of the de la Mora family is located at La Mata, which originally belonged to the Crown of Spain. The young Constanica recalls it being patrolled by a steward and the *Guardia Civil* to ensure 'not a drop of milk from the cows went anywhere else but to my parents' house where it became whipped cream and butter and thick and rich milk for the children of the landlord' [PS:40]. When some tyres belonging to her grandfather go missing a civil guard tortures a shepherd boy, close to her age, for information. This brutality traumatises Constanica and she fruitlessly tries to stop the attack: 'The screams lasted nearly an hour and they echoed in my heart forever' [PS: 41].

²⁵ Mangini refers to this as an 'epiphanic moment' (1995: 14).

The illiterate peasants are mocked by Constancia's uncle, yet when she takes her English friend Ann to visit a peasant family she is shocked to find that they were unaware there were other countries in the world besides Spain and of the existence of other languages. This visit rouses a sense of responsibility in the privileged girl who frequently spent time in England. She states: 'although I did not know quite why, I felt that my family and I were somehow responsible for this tragic ignorance' [PS: 70]. The peasants take pity on Ann assuming her silence is due to being deaf and they insist on sharing food set aside for the winter with her. Constancia, who until then had accepted poverty and ignorance as the norm, exclaims: 'Now suddenly, I saw these peasants as people, human beings, and in a rush of feeling, I understood their sorrow, their universal melancholy. I felt ashamed, deeply ashamed' [PS: 70].

Young girls in upper-class families were encouraged to undertake charitable endeavours on behalf of church organisations. These organisations administered aid and education in exchange for a guarantee that the beneficiaries complied with the Church's demands. Isabel's account of her initial reaction to these pseudo-charitable works as spurring candid reservations towards Church institutions and a genuine empathy with lower classes serves to emphasise the ever more perceptive nature of her burgeoning social consciousness. She recounts an episode in which she visits an impoverished bereaved husband who had been forced to sell the little furniture he had in order to buy bread for his children. Isabel personally transports mattresses and bedclothes, provided by her father. When the man refuses to receive the priest, Isabel is ordered by a member of the charitable organisation to remove them but the compassionate young girl insists on leaving them. Her father later reproaches her for her actions stating "“You may take all you want from the house for anyone who needs it [...] but you must take care not to encourage people who are undisciplined. That man is probably a socialist”" [IL: 56].

For the purposes of the propagandistic prophecy of unified identity, this episode is posited as the crucial moment in which the precociously socially aware young Isabel begins to convert her empathy with the lower classes into an initial concrete identification with the political ideology she will adhere to in adulthood. She decrees that this was the first time she encountered the word socialism and that it prompted her to write clandestinely in her bedroom a novel in which the protagonist is a socialist: 'I made the hero of my story a socialist, I thought this justified my making him and his daughter do and say everything that I should have liked to do and say myself if I had dared' [IL: 66]. Isabel projects onto the protagonist the liberty she wishes she could

have had to genuinely assist the lower classes if she had not been stifled by the hypocrisy of the charitable organizations and the panoptic eye of the Malaga aristocracy. This interest in socialism, alleged to have been activated as a result of this thwarted charitable endeavour, would increase exponentially as she would eventually be one of the *Partido Socialista*'s candidates for parliament in 1931.

Similarly, Constanica's description of her discomfited reaction to the pseudo-charitable endeavours which the schoolgirls in her convent were expected to carry out serves to illuminate the hypocrisy of the Catholic Church. She recalls an annual charitable event in which the pupils visit the convent's neighbouring 'charity school' to administer comestibles. The nuns warn: "These children are bad [...] Their parents are all liberals, and they will be condemned to eternal punishment because they do not believe in the King" [PS: 44]. Constanica reiterates her unified autobiographical identity in opposition to the nuns' pharisaical condemnation of the poor, stating:

But I hated this annual ceremony. I did not quite know why, but I felt miserable under the silent looks of the charity children, and I shuddered when they carefully thanked us in the servile words they had been made to learn and say by the nuns. I felt their hostility, but more than that, I felt ashamed. [PS: 45]

Furthermore, both Isabel and Constanica's depictions of convent schools illustrate a stifling, solemn environment in which education is severely limited. Isabel states: 'At the end of my first year at school I seemed to have forgotten the little I knew and to have learnt nothing else' [IL: 33-34]. Constanica started school in 1915 after English governesses in Madrid left due to the World War I. For this purpose the newly formed *Colegio de las Esclavas del Sagrado Corazón* opened its doors 'for the daughters of the rich and great [...] but the education the children received within its walls was anything but modern' [PS: 15]. Aware of the limitations of their education, at a young age both girls maturely dedicate a significant amount of time to teaching themselves. This is not a self-indulgent activity as both women, on leaving school, are desperate to seek employment and escape the gender constraints at the time on young women of working age belonging to an affluent family. This intrinsic work ethic is coupled with an intense rebellious desire to gain financial independence and its associated liberties.

After much deliberation of how to convince her family to allow her to work, Isabel was granted permission to au pair in Sussex, and the earnings she amassed

‘[were] not just pounds, shillings and pence to me, but something that meant much more. It was, I thought, the proof that I could earn my living, it was the key to my future’ [IL: 67]. De la Mora’s subsequent schooling in a Cambridge convent school was scheduled to end in 1923 and the adolescent Constancia was acutely aware that her impending *début* in Madrid society would plunge her into an even more rigid, tedious milieu than the Madrid of her childhood and simultaneously extinguish any possibility of gaining employment. As her return loomed, her *début* weighed on her ‘like a prisoner going to his execution’ [PS: 51]. Encouraged by meeting other upper-class women working in England, she tenaciously seeks employment and obtains a job as an apprentice in a dress shop where she plans to amass skills for pursuing a career in Spain on her eventual return. However, Constancia’s appointment causes uproar in the de la Mora family and she is ordered to return to Spain. Both women rebelliously persevere, and in adulthood eventually go on to apply the inherent work ethic emphasised in their prophecy of a unified identity to work industriously in the service of the Republic.

In both *In Place of Splendor* and *I Must Have Liberty*, the family home, estate, convent schools and peasants’ homes serve as a platform from which to project early instances of an innate social awareness and instinctive Republican identity. This trajectory, which begins in childhood, continues into adolescence.²⁶ Their social awakening is purported by both authors as a shamed awakening, characterised by a rebellion against rigid class, familial and institutional norms.²⁷ Rebellion and alienation are embraced by the autobiographical subject and are utilised in the chapters pertaining to adulthood in order to provide a seamless account of precocious social awareness becoming consolidated in a concrete political awareness. Constancia’s rebellious streak constantly shocks her aristocratic peers and continues consistently into adulthood, eventually ousting her from upper-class circles on confirmation of her Republicanism. The English title *In Place of Splendor* alludes to how her identity is formed in opposition to her aristocratic, conservative peers: giving up privileges and instead pledging herself to living in accordance with her own Republican values.

²⁶ Fox notes that in Constancia’s text more space is devoted to her pre-war experiences as her youth was emphasised for the ‘sole purpose of crafting a dramatic story’ (2007: 5), ultimately cast to ‘sway[ing] American public opinion’ (6) and that she would have her readers believe that her Republican sympathies were something she was born with (30).

²⁷ Mangini highlights that both authors describe their personal development alongside their intellectual and political awakening (1995: 15). Martínez proposes that Oyarzábal de Palencia’s text portrays not only the evolution of a person, but also of ‘un pueblo’ (2007: 132).

Both authors criticize conservative Spain, a formative environment that ultimately provoked the establishment of a nascent, socially conscious, discerning collective of young females, whom both Constancia and Isabel go on to meet (as described in the subsequent chapters of their autobiographies pertaining to adulthood). The autobiographical project of constructing identity functions not only at a personal level, but also with and against collective groups. In adulthood, the youthful rebellious autobiographical subject joins a politically conscious community of women, establishing the dialectic between the coherent identity of the author and the corrupt right-wing society and hypocritical institutions their autobiography seeks to discredit, as part of a wider propagandistic gesture. Playing to their audience, the seamless unified identity trajectory of the autobiographical subject legitimises their position as eligible spokespersons for the Republic who offer a credible propagandistic apologia to the foreign addressee.

1.3 Propagandistic Tensions in *In Place of Splendor*: Self-censorship, Authorship/Scribes

Ultimately influenced by the addressee, in the obsessive quest to provide narrative coherence and a delineation of identity as unified, the ethical gesture may be subject to tensions in the propagandistic response. A Republican figurehead who was from a good Catholic, aristocratic family made an ‘ideal and disarming spokesperson’ (Fox: 5) for Republican propaganda directed at the wealthy, democratic, American public. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that the identity exhibited to the specific addressee of *In Place of Splendor* is intriguing in terms of its partial account of Constancia’s ideology and political activity.²⁸ She purposefully conceals her affiliation to the Spanish Communist Party, despite her allegiance lying therein. When considering this propagandistic example of self-censorship, it is important to bear in mind Fox’s assertion: ‘[t]he American reader who approached the subject of the war in Spain may have been sympathetic to democracy, but would have been wary of Communism and the violent anti-clericalism that was rumored to have swept through Republican zones’

²⁸ In *Constancia de la Mora in War and Exile: International Voice for the Spanish Republic* (2007), Soledad Fox explains Constancia was ‘more complicated than the person portrayed in her book’ (3). Through interviews and by amassing a range of sources she provides a critical biography that ‘complete[s] the portrayal of the woman in *In Place of Splendor*’ (3). She also addresses, for the first time since its publication, the ‘enigmas’ surrounding the text and a woman who had been largely forgotten (3-4).

(5, see also 38). On Constancia's untimely death in 1950, the diametrically opposed obituaries which were published in the *New York Times* and *Mundo Obrero* respectively attributed two disparate references to Constancia as 'Señorita de la Mora' and 'Camarada Constancia de la Mora' (Fox: 168). This highlights the ideological distance between her true political identity and the identity created in *In Place of Splendor*. At no point does she mention a dinner she and her husband had with Stalin, an anecdote present in Hidalgo de Cisneros's autobiography.²⁹ Further omissions, included in Fox's text, include Constancia's involvement with procurement of Soviet armaments (80) and knowledge of José Robles' assassination (68): '[j]ust as she had removed inconvenient information from the articles approved by her Foreign Press Office, she omitted any mention of her communist affiliation from her own story' (36).

It is for the American addressee that her autobiography is created, the propagandistic obscuring of her political ideology being completely intentional. Fernández Prieto argues that, particularly in women's autobiography, social and moral codes delimit what can and cannot be said: '[e]sta presión puede explicar autocensuras, inhibiciones, autojustificaciones, y restricciones a la publicación' (2004: 421). In the case of Constancia's autobiography these codes are dictated by the specific foreign addressee. Thus, to ensure the propagandistic text maximises its potential to gain the moral and political complicity of the reader, a partial self-censored representation not only of herself but also of left-wing Spain is entirely necessary. To demarcate her side in the war, Constancia only employs two relatively neutral predicates: Republican and democratic (Fox: 102).

The fact that her autobiography was composed in English is entirely fitting for the Republic's multilingual spokeswoman. Nevertheless, it is pertinent to take into consideration that de la Mora was not the sole author of her autobiography, though this detail is little known. *In Place of Splendor* was composed with the aid of the American journalist Ruth McKenney. Constancia would eventually have to defend her autobiography from criticism and suspicion that it was not solely composed by her and 'kept the pretense up until her death' (Fox: 101). Little is known about the true origins of the text as '[n]either Constancia nor Ruth McKenney ever made their collaboration a matter of public record' (Fox: 94). Consequently, it is difficult to know the degree of manipulation that the final manuscript may have been subjected to by a single (or

²⁹ Ignacio Hidalgo de Cisneros, *Cambio de rumbo* (2001). See Fox (77). For further examples of her communist activity see Fox (38-39, 60-62 and 167-168).

potential team of) American scribe(s). However, given that Constancia later translated the original text into Spanish herself, it is possible to identify extremely subtle omissions and additional particularities in the translated text.³⁰

The differences in the text are minute. We can deduce she was aware it would not be prudent to reveal anything substantial, given that by this point, she had fallen out of favour with the White House and her relationship with the journalist Jay Allen had become strained.³¹ On first reading, the differences appear only to correspond to superficial conversions from miles to kilometres, currency conversions and the removal of geographical information included for the American reader. Yet a close comparative study of the English and Spanish versions exposes underlying tensions regarding partial representations of political convictions and justifications of authorship. Although Constancia possesses full artistic autonomy in her Spanish translation she cautiously does not reveal her affiliations to the Spanish Communist Party, though there are a few veiled allusions to her political ideology. On 4 March 1939 the military and fascist uprising at Cartagena revealed traitors in Republican ranks. Constancia's description of the subsequent government meeting in Alicante, at a critical moment in the final stages of the war, reveals a covert admiration for the assiduous Communist ministers:

Mientras que los ministros de Agricultura y Trabajo, Uribe y Moix, pertenecientes al Partido Comunista, se oponían a abandonar el terreno a los traidores, los restantes ministros carecían de opinión y solamente sentían los mayores deseos de salir lo antes posible de aquel territorio, en donde sus vidas peligraban. [DE: 546]

This paragraph is not present in the English version, bearing witness to the influences of the subjective hand of an American scribe constantly filtering out details that would not have been appropriate for the foreign addressee, but that Constancia may have wished to include.³²

A second veiled revelation of communist partiality is present in reference to the events of the 1909 *Semana Trágica* in Barcelona. She recounts that the burning of thirty-six churches and disinterred corpses from the convents being taken out into the street occurred in retaliation against enforced military conscription (for workers who could not afford to buy themselves out). In the English version, Constancia states:

³⁰ *Doble esplendor* (1944).

³¹ Numerous factors underlie the breakdown of these relationships. See Fox (127, 133).

³² Additionally Fox located a letter to Jay Allen in which Constancia requests immediate feedback regarding how she framed an anecdote from her time in the Press Office (92).

‘Pictures taken in Barcelona in 1909 were widely used by the Franco Rebel Junta to “illustrate” atrocity stories in 1936 and 1937’ [PS: 23]. Conversely, in opposition to this ostensibly politically neutral version, a subtle difference is perceptible in the Spanish text as Constanica reveals this was an endeavour she personally undertook to prove that these photographs did not date from the Civil War, nor were the acts committed by ‘rojos’:

Es curioso, como yo he podido comprobar por medio del archivo fotográfico de un periódico de Barcelona, que la junta rebelde de Franco utilizara en los primeros meses de guerra fotografías de la Semana Trágica para ilustrar sus historias de asesinatos y crímenes de los “rojos”. [DE: 29]

Another tension that emerges in a close comparison of the English original and the Spanish translation is the loaded justification of sole authorship. The hand of the scribe at work *In Place of Splendor* must not be perceptible for it would damage Constanica’s credibility for the addressee and undermine the entire propagandistic purpose. There are two instances of textual justifications of Constanica’s proficiency in the English language. The first is her ability not only to speak the language perfectly but take on a variety of accents. As a child under the tutelage of her governess Miss Nora, she claims to speak ‘with a pronounced Irish brogue’ [PS: 46]. As an adult in 1931, upon meeting Jay Allen and spending time with other Americans, she takes to their accent ‘like a duck to water and a few months later an Englishman told me he was sure I learned English in Kansas’ [PS:136].³³ The second textual justification describes her linguistic prowess in the Press Office compared to her boss who struggles to ‘understand one word the American correspondents, with their Kansas rather than Oxford accents, and their journalese slang, said’ [PS: 287]. This final example is in the Spanish version but Constanica omits the first two examples as the Spanish reader does not require authorial justification; the original addressee that provoked the ethical gesture is none other than the American public. Furthermore, this early encounter with Jay Allen is curiously erased from the Spanish version, giving rise to suspicions of a scribe’s superimposition of anecdotes in the English text that would suggest to the American public an extended friendship between Constanica and the respected figure of Allen.

³³ Fox perceives this as a mechanism of self-defense to justify the fluent English in her book (93).

The extent of collaboration in her English text currently remains a mystery, though Fox suggests ‘its shape, language, tone and structure bear the mark of an experienced writer, and of an American writer’ (93). *In Place of Splendor* may not wholly adhere to Lejeune’s autobiographical pact.³⁴ Nevertheless, as rallying initiator, translator and re-translator, Constancia’s dedication to her autobiographical project cannot be denied. Rather than considering her autobiography as ‘bearing the marks’ of an American writer, it is more profitable to contemplate how *In Place of Splendor* bears the marks of the American reader Señorita de la Mora was so desperate to convince.

1.4 Looking to the Future, Ethical Responsibility: Return to Sender

Although both these books were written in exile neither refers significantly to the negotiation of their exilic condition. De la Mora was separated from her husband and daughter; however, the autobiographical voice is only that of a positive, unified subject whose personal exilic experience is of secondary importance to securing aid.³⁵ Her true experience of exile is reduced to a repressed ghost-like entity, hidden behind a rigid mask placed by the hand of the scribe, in the endeavour to produce a finely tuned example of propaganda. Reference to exile is completely absent from Constancia’s autobiography, and in *I Must Have Liberty* only the final chapter is dedicated to Isabel’s exilic situation in Mexico City. Despite having arrived with nothing, optimism characterizes Isabel’s description of the new house:

The first morning I opened my eyes in our new home I did not see the bare floors and walls nor the empty rooms. I saw only the Mexican sky lit up by the rising sun and being turned into a gem of many colors. [...] I have had this same sensation every day since. It has never failed me nor have I grown weary of it. I expect it never shall. [IL: 466-467]

Any negativity is shrouded in order to express publicly her gratitude to Mexico for its commendable humanitarian gesture to Republican Spain. In the closing paragraphs of her first autobiographical volume, Isabel issues her final propagandistic response to the

³⁴ Lejeune delineates the pact as a legalistic contract between the narrator, reader and publisher in which the formal mark of commitment is that the identity of the author, narrator and protagonist share the same name (1975).

³⁵ Mangini draws a parallel between *In Place of Splendor* and Dolores Ibárruri’s *They Shall Not Pass: The Autobiography of La Pasionaria*: ‘[g]iven their role as public and political women [they] tend to mitigate the dramatic nature of their testimonies’ (1995: 61).

call of the foreign addressee, endorsing Mexico's exemplary actions in the hope that the United States follow suit:

War is destructive in many ways: disillusion is one of them and our young people had every reason to have lost their faith in the virtue of civilization and progress — they had served to destroy our Spain. Besides their attitude after the war was over was another disappointment. With the exception of Mexico no country in the world had respected international law in the Spanish question. [IL: 469]

The true experience of exile is obscured because *In Place of Splendor* and *I Must Have Liberty* are not primarily personal autobiographical projects.³⁶ The selfless autobiographical identity does not seek the addressee's compassion for their personal exilic condition but seeks to generate a credible patriotic project. In war and exile both women accept being separated from their husbands, putting the needs of the Republic before their own family's unity. Curiously, both women make reference to Dolores Ibárruri's speech on this very subject [IL: 235 and PS: 272]. Constancia even entitles her fourth chapter 'Widows of Heroes Rather Than Wives of Cowards' after a famous excerpt of Ibárruri's speech (Fox: 34). Ultimately conditioned by their specific addressee, at the culmination of their autobiographical trajectory, both autobiographical subjects issue a propagandistic patriotic plea from exile as eligible spokespersons for the legitimate Republic who put the nation before their own personal negotiation of exile in autobiography.

Throughout their texts both de la Mora and Oyarzábal de Palencia assiduously seek the political and moral complicity of the addressee in order to maximise the effectiveness of the overarching propagandistic patriotic project. This is a dual process. As discussed in section 1.2, both authors select appropriate autobiographical strategies and models to ensure that their autobiographical identity is seamlessly constant, even at the expense of tensions and omissions. The second aspect is to appease any doubts the foreign audience may have had concerning the rumours fascist propaganda had disseminated in the international press, such as branding the 'Republic' as being synonymous to 'Reds' and 'Communists' as well as smear campaigns involving accusations of violent anti-clericalism. To alleviate suspicions of a Communist agenda in the Republican government, both authors provide the addressee with a full English

³⁶ As Martínez affirms in reference to Oyarzábal de Palencia's text '[e]s parte de su proyecto patriótico' (2006: 810).

translation of *Los Trece Puntos del Gobierno de Negrín*.³⁷ Negrín was the then Premier of the Spanish Cabinet and the thirteen points articulated are the official programme of the Republic. They are described by Constanica as ‘full, complete, and truthful’ [PS: 361]. Having successfully concealed her own Communist allegiance, she explicitly assuages doubts the foreign addressee may have by citing Negrín: ‘Here was our answer to the liars in London who called us “Communists”’ [PS: 361]. She introduces the thirteen points by stating: ‘[t]his is for what we fought and for what we still fight’ [PS: 362]. In *Smouldering Freedom*, in addition to Negrín’s Thirteen Points [SF: 30], Isabel refers to the pronouncement made at the last session of the Cortes held in Spain on 1 February 1939. She provides the addressee with direct quotations of Negrín’s speech and gives a critical synopsis of its main points. She compels the foreign addressee to reconsider the defective binary of “Communism vs. Nationalism”, and then quotes Negrín directly to urge the reader to consider a more pertinent binary: “the hegemony of a totalitarian, brutal, despotic imperialism on the one hand, and the survival of the democratic countries on the other. This is a dispute between two civilizations” [SF: 33]. Isabel warns that this threat is not limited to Spain. A subsequent chapter, ‘The Struggle for Spain’, forewarns of the consequences of any appeasement policy towards Franco, one example being the potential dissemination of Nazism to Ibero-America [SF: 166].

Moreover, both authors pointedly counteract Nationalist smear propaganda concerning the burning of churches in order to reassure the foreign addressee that the accusations of violent anti-clericalism were false. Constanica assures:

There were instances of churches being burned, yes — but only those where stores of machine guns and rifles were found. The people felt that an altar behind which bullets were hidden to kill the people of Madrid was no longer sacred. [PS: 245]

In addition, as a practicing Catholic, Isabel highlights her perplexity regarding the actions of the Spanish Church hierarchy. She includes a reminder of the Vatican’s position, citing the Sovereign Pontiff who had forbidden ‘Catholics to join the movement against the government [as] no Catholic had a right to rise against a legally constituted authority’ [IL: 216].

³⁷ Issued on 1 May 1938.

Having mitigated the addressee's potential reservations regarding the Republic, in a patriotic project above and beyond a personal quest, not only do both autobiographical subjects display a coherent, unified identity, they are also rounded, eligible spokespersons of a fair legitimate government. Having sought the moral and political complicity of the American reader, in terms of their ultimate quest of obtaining aid, both authors have maximised the viability of their propagandistic, ethical gesture. The ethical dimension of autobiography does not terminate when the addressee closes the final page:

By signing an autobiographical text, an author performs a very complex operation which appears, and in most cases pretends, to be cognitive but that in reality is an ethicopolitical gesture that entails a double responsibility: in the first place, by signing, the self is responding for itself before the other; and in the second not only the signature responds to the other's injunction to speak, but that same logic of alterity implies that the signed text is also a legacy to an other that not simply receives it but has to cosign it and thus take responsibility for it. Autobiography comes from the other and is for the other. (Loureiro 2000: 24).

A comparative study of the English and Spanish versions of de la Mora's autobiography illuminates certain underlying tensions. There is no doubt that *In Place of Splendor* is not completely truthful yet this is irrelevant as the ethical framework of autobiography considers the ordinary dimension of the self being provoked by the call of the addressee. The concealed elements are not relevant to Constancia's rallying cry for aid. In terms of returning definitive responsibility to the American addressee she has crucially achieved maximum efficiency in her propagandistic response, whereupon she issues a convincing rallying cry to the assuaged American audience:

And now, more than ever, I know that Spanish democracy is not dead — but still lives — and will always live. Franco had executed thousands. Even as I write these words, the firing squads are still shooting men and women who believe in democracy, at the rate of one every nine minutes, for twenty-four hours of the day. Thousands more still live in French concentration camps, hungry, suffering in forced idleness and misery. [...] The fascists cannot make Spain fascist. We are a democratic people. We shall always be a democratic people. I know that Spain will soon again be free. Nothing can prevent it — for the united people of Spain will make a democracy with their blood and their courage. *Viva la República!* [PS: 426-427]

As previously mentioned, Isabel's propagandistic response in *I Must Have Liberty* commends Mexico's exemplary actions. The second instalment of her

complementary autobiographical volumes is *Smouldering Freedom: The Story of the Spanish Republicans in Exile* and this propagandistic text injects renewed vigour into her patriotic autobiographical project.³⁸ Published in 1945 in New York and 1946 in London, given the chronological distance from the publication of her first autobiographical text, there is an evolution in the aid sought for Republican Spain. She now seeks that democratic nations renounce their tacit acceptance of Franco's regime. In order to maximise her potential Anglophone audience the text commences with a concise prologue entitled 'A Summary of the War', reinforced with evidence taken from American and British sources such as the Duchess of Atholl's text *Searchlight on Spain* (Stewart-Murray 1938). Isabel's purposeful consideration of American and British texts regarding the question of Republican Spain displays a careful engagement with her addressee. Simultaneously, this provides the bibliographical details of the texts at the addressee's disposal should he or she choose to take the responsibility implied in the ethical framework. The subsequent text is divided into twenty-one succinct chapters each of which analyses an aspect of the outcome of the Civil War. These include an examination of the extreme situation of Republicans in fascist Spain, in prison, and the abhorrent treatment of exiles in France and French concentration camps. Others address the activity of Spanish *maquis*, *guerrilleros*, extradition, and exiles in other countries. The ex-diplomat's narrative is at times not dissimilar to a political document. The recourse to statistics, facts and figures obliges the foreign addressee to receive the propagandistic message packaged in a number of striking vignettes. In the sixth chapter, 'Life in a French Concentration Camp', she poignantly includes statistics such as death rates, describing the conditions in Argèles-sur-Mer as so atrocious that 'thirty-five infants died in one single day' [SF: 67]. The chapter ends recounting how a young boy was tortured (by sleep deprivation) for humming the *Internationale*. In his delirious state he was shot by a Senegalese guard for walking too near the camp's wire boundary. Oyarzábal de Palencia describes his body which lay at rest under the searchlight 'bathed [...] in a white ethereal refulgence [...] on the French soil he had thought, when he left Spain, was going to be a "land of liberation"' [SF: 74]. Pointedly seeking their complicity, Isabel grants the foreign addressee privileged access to information omitted from the American and British press regarding the painful consequences of Non-Intervention. In the closing paragraphs she issues the foreign addressee the final explicit

³⁸ Mangini states its 'exclusive purpose was to inform people abroad [...] of the situation in Spain' (1995: 167).

propagandistic instruction: urging the American and British public to lobby their governments to sever relations with Franco's illegitimate fascist regime. She states:

I am often asked what Spain would like other countries to do in her favour. In some sectors of opinion it is feared that the Republicans want foreign armed intervention on their behalf, but they are very much mistaken. [...] What is demanded is the minimum to which we have a right — what nobody with an elementary sense of justice can deny. Simply this. That those countries that call themselves democratic do not maintain relations, diplomatic or commercial and economic, with an openly declared enemy of democracy, and that a well-deserved recognition be granted to the legal constitutional representatives of Republican Spain. *Nothing more.* [SF: 187. Emphasis in the original]

All three texts analysed constitute an ethical gesture in which both the textual proclamation of identity, and the propagandistic message is directed to the future. Having appropriately framed their response and maximised its potential impact on the American public, in the closing lines their finely tuned propagandistic message is issued and handed to the addressee who must now, as implied in the ethical framework, ultimately take responsibility for the subsequent outcome of their respective patriotic propagandistic ventures.

1.5 Restaging Subjectivity

As elucidated in 1.1, nascent self-consciousness and the subsequent construction of subjectivity are conditioned by the call of the addressee; thus, the textual negotiation of subjectivity within de la Mora and Oyarzábal de Palencia's autobiographical texts is integral to the propagandistic response. Before analysing the relationship between the notion of the addressee and subjectivity in the texts, it is first necessary to summarise Sidonie Smith's delineation of autobiographical strategies and her conceptualisation of the 'autobiographical manifesto' from her seminal text *Subjectivity, Identity and the Body* (1993: 154-182). Smith has published extensively on women's autobiographical strategies and practices and their problematic relationship with the assertion of political empowerment, categorizing these strategies into two main groups: mimesis and self-fragmentation (155-156). Smith suggests that the application of either strategy is not without flaws. When the autobiographer favours mimesis she positions herself as the subject of traditional autobiography. Smith argues that miming the subjectivity of universal man 'proffers authority, legitimacy and readability' yet, if mimesis is

‘[u]nselfconsciously embraced’ it propagates the ‘maintenance of subjection to the self-definitions that bind’, thus thwarting the potential ‘escape from an exclusionary configuration of subjectivity’ (155). This is not the case in *In Place of Splendor* and *I Must Have Liberty*, as discussed in 1.2, since both authors purposefully select this strategy to aid their quest to provide the addressee with a uniform, credible identity which also proffers readability.

However, Smith suggests that despite the potential flaws in autobiographical strategies the genre plays a significant role in emancipatory politics in terms of providing a literary terrain for ‘restaging subjectivity’ (156). In texts which Smith terms ‘autobiographical manifestos’, the autobiographer succeeds in laying out ‘an agenda for a changed relationship to subjectivity, identity, and the body’ (157). In these ‘self-consciously political autobiographical acts’, the reader is witness to a ‘call[ing] for new subjects’, the text providing the ‘arena in which the revolutionary subject can insist on identity in service to an emancipatory politics’ (157). She states: ‘[p]urposeful, bold, contentious, the autobiographical manifesto contests the old inscriptions, the old histories, the old politics, the *ancien régime*, by working to dislodge the hold of the universal subject through an expressly political collocation of a new “I”’ (157). Although it is prudent to distance ourselves from the feminist priorities in Smith’s argument, given that issues of gender are not the principal concern in Constanca and Isabel’s texts, elements of the ‘autobiographical manifesto’ are extremely relevant for a reading of the exilic autobiographies selected for this chapter. This is especially true in terms of the manifesto’s aims of restaging subjectivity, breaking cultural repetitions, resisting the impositions on women’s identity by an oppressive generation, and its generative and prospective thrust for the constitution of a future history (1993).

In Oyarzábal de Palencia and de la Mora’s texts self-consciousness, the construction of subjectivity and the notion of the addressee are inextricably linked. For the purposes of their autobiographies, the discourses adhered to form part of a wider autobiographical patriotic project as their restaging of subjectivity does not lie strictly within the realm of women’s emancipation but rather within the emancipated woman’s role in the Republic. Accordingly, they select appropriate discourses above and beyond a feminist agenda. Both authors propose that women have a significant role to play, thus their restaging is not a personal quest but as women seeking liberty to position themselves as a subject both of Republican Spain, and that serves the Republic from exile. Their restaging of female subjectivity is a crucial component of the ethical gesture

and in the textual product a locus is provided for the foreign addressee to witness the new subject's generative and prospective thrust for the constitution of a future history, employing patriotic discourse. Smith characterizes autobiographical manifestos as 'a revolutionary gesture poised against amnesia and its compulsory repetitions' in which an alternative subjectivity is offered (1993: 182).

One constituent element of the manifesto, delineated by Smith, is '[t]o appropriate/to contest sovereignty' (157). By doing so the autobiographical subject 'confronts the ghost of the identity assigned her by the old sovereign subject, what Paul Smith terms the ideological "I," a fixed object position representing culturally intelligible and authorized performances of identity' (158).³⁹ In de la Mora's restaging of subjectivity, the period relating to the beginning of the Second Republic is depicted as a time of plenitude both for Constancia and for Spain. Newly separated from her first husband Bolín, she returns to Madrid but not to live in her old oppressive family home. Despite admitting limited prior political knowledge, she embraces the new utopian space of the capital as an enlightened citizen:

I knew almost nothing about the contemporary history of my country. This sounds strange, and yet I was no different from most Spanish women of my background. I had lived in the home of political intrigues and never once heard politics discussed at the dinner table. [...] And now suddenly, everything was changed. Overnight I became a citizen of Spain. I think I could not have had four political discussions in my entire life until I returned to Madrid in March — and a week later I was talking nothing else. [PS: 125]

Shortly after her arrival in Madrid she visits the Marchioness Arriluce, who had been like a second mother to her. Having equated Constancia's separation and desire for independence with Republicanism, the Marchioness refuses to embrace Constancia, holding up a gloved hand before asking her outright if she was a Republican. Until this moment, Constancia had not yet articulated this to herself but the frosty reception at the Arriluce house filled her with rage and marks the point at which she recognises her political awakening had become an ideology. She articulates the discourse to which she would now adhere:

I heard myself [...] almost shouting. "If being a Republican means to sweep away all the corruption of my country, then I am a Republican. If being a Republican means justice for those who have never tasted justice, then I am

³⁹ Sidonie Smith refers to Paul Smith (1988: 106).

indeed a Republican. [...] If being a Republican means food for peasants who starve while they grow food for others, then I am". [PS: 133-134]

The liberating Republican urban space is a catalytic environment in which to appropriate sovereignty as a woman who had been stationed at the margins of society and excluded from political discourse. In (re)locating herself as a Republican subject, Constancia leaves behind the gendered, aristocratic, conservative discourses which had confined her former subjectivity. As a subject of a legitimate Republic, in her final propagandistic message Constancia vitiates the fascist's illegitimate sovereignty over the physical space of Spain. Utilizing Republican discourse she announces patriotically to the addressee from exile that she, alongside twelve million others, will always be a resilient Republican subject: 'Franco cannot shoot the twelve million. [...] The fascists cannot make Spain fascist. We are a democratic people. We shall always be a democratic people' [PS: 426].

Another constituent element of the manifesto is '[t]o speak as one of a group, to speak for a group' (Smith 1993: 161). She posits that '[i]n the manifesto group identification, rather than radical individuality, is the rhetorical ground of appeal. During her public performance the manifesto speaker positions herself expressly as a member of a group or community' (161). Oyarzábal de Palencia assumed this role in her political and diplomatic activities and also in her involvement in the *Asociación de Mujeres Españolas*, *Consejo Supremo Feminista de España* and the *Lyceum Club Femenino*.⁴⁰ However, despite her significant involvement in women's groups, in her autobiographies reference is limited to a few passing remarks. She does not emphasize these activities because they are not relevant to the specific aims of her autobiographical volumes. Conditioned by providing the addressee with a clear propagandistic message with regard to her appeal for aid, the professed autobiographical subject relegates feminist agendas to a secondary sphere as her subjectivity revolves, first and foremost, around her role as a Republican subject. She speaks on behalf of a non-hegemonic group, that of exiles, as a loyal subject of the Republic. Isabel's negotiation of subjectivity as a patriotic project is incongruous with traditional norms of women's autobiography. As Martínez highlights:

⁴⁰ For a comprehensive exploration of contemporaneous feminism and Oyarzábal de Palencia, see Capdevila-Argüelles (2008: 53-94).

I Must Have Liberty está escrita por una mujer, en tiempo de hombres. Tampoco cumple el precepto de encerrarse en sí misma y olvidar su circunstancia de acuerdo con el común de las autobiografías femeninas, sino que nos proporciona, con gran detalle, su inclusión en la época que trata; inserción llevada a cabo mediante sus escritos y sus intervenciones políticas, cosas ambas que tampoco abundan en los trabajos de mujeres. (2007: 132)⁴¹

A diplomat assuming the role of spokesperson for the Republic, Isabel is thus well qualified to emphasize through patriotic discourse a propagandistic plea for aid. Both de la Mora and Oyarzábal de Palencia's restaging of subjectivity is firmly embedded in the patriotic future-orientated project. On closing the final pages of *In Place of Splendor, I Must Have Liberty* and *Smouldering Freedom* the addressee is now duty-bound to assume responsibility for the propagandistic ethical gesture, and they are also the recipient of the autobiographical manifesto. As such, they must decide whether to take on board the pleas issued by these exemplary subjects in texts which 'offer fascinating performances of the revolutionary subject' (Smith 1993: 182).

Conclusion

The ethical framework enables productive analyses of the complex interplays between the ethical, political, rhetorical and discursive dimensions of autobiography of which the addressee is of primary importance. The specific nature of de la Mora and Oyarzábal de Palencia's response to the call of the foreign addressee provides a superb example for exploring the notion of the addressee as a key aspect of a poetics of exilic autobiographies. The consideration of the subject's receptiveness to selected discourses shows how the discourses adhered to are a crucial component in the constitution of a tailor-made, finely-tuned, propagandistic, ethical gesture offered by a unified, selfless, credible autobiographical identity and a loyal subject of a legitimate Republic.

⁴¹ For an illuminating study of Oyarzábal de Palencia, see also (125-66).

CHAPTER II:
GENERIC HYBRIDIZATION IN
URGENT EXILIC TEXTS

2.1 Introduction

As posited in 0.3, in the tracing of a poetics of exile it is profitable to adopt an inclusionary approach and consider sub-genres pertaining to the wider body of exilic autobiographical texts. Two relevant sub-genres worthy of consideration are diaries and political essays. The texts examined in this chapter constitute two of the earliest autobiographical texts composed by Republican women immediately subsequent to their displacement from Spain: Silvia Mistral's *Éxodo: Diario de una refugiada española* and Clara Campoamor's *La revolución española vista por una republicana*.⁴² It is relevant to note that relatively few exilic diaries have been published: '[a] pesar de la abundancia de textos autobiográficos concebidos a raíz del exilio republicano, pocos diarios personales de la experiencia de los primeros días del exilio han visto la luz' (Colmeiro 2009a: 249).⁴³ Although during the Second Republic there was a marked increase in women's involvement in politics, political essays published by women are rare. Only recently re-published, these texts are of great historical relevance and provide a unique opportunity to examine personal responses to the initial stages of Republican exile. However, it is also pertinent to analyse these texts in terms of their literary value. More specifically, it is of particular interest to examine the synchronic relationship between the authors' early experience of exile and the composition of their text, in order to ascertain how the immediacy of their exilic situation impacts on their autobiographical text. In his 1989 study Ugarte proposes an analysis of exile literature which endeavours to comprehend how 'an experience of exile might be linked to the unfolding of any creative process' (18). The consideration of this approach unveils key issues central to the creative process surrounding the composition of literary texts in exile. He posits that:

Perhaps the most illuminating feature of exile literature is that its characteristics underscore some of the most pressing issues of literary analysis. As one begins to unravel the problems common to a variety of texts written as the result of some sort of displacement, one becomes increasingly aware of the mechanisms through which any literary text develops. The particular nature of exilic experience (displacement, the importance of correspondences and relations, comparisons, temporal and spatial disunity, self-duplication and division) leads the writer, perhaps unwittingly, into a dialogue with him or herself on the very

⁴² Originally published in 1937 in French as *La révolution espagnole vue par une républicaine* (Paris: Plon). My references are to the 2002 Spanish translation.

⁴³ Other women who have published diaries include Carlota O' Neill, Rosa Chacel and Zenobia Camprubí (see Bibliography).

nature of writing and on the problems that arise from an attempt to record reality. [...] exile literature lays bare the workings of literature itself. (19)

Mistral's and Campoamor's works were composed during the first stage of their exile and thus their literary response is characterised by a sense of immediacy and urgency. Martínez alludes to this in her reference to Mistral's text as an example of a 'narración de urgencia' (2007: 177), as does Colmeiro (2009b: 22). Cate-Arries refers to Mistral as an 'early chronicler of exile' (2004: 46) and Mangini notes that 'Mistral's style emphasizes the urgency of the moment' (1995: 166). Similarly, Samblancat highlights the 'acentuada inmediatez' (2002: 39) of Campoamor's 'análisis de urgencia' (1997b: 183). Due to the lack of temporal perspective, the immediacy of lived experience is omnipresent in the text, yet it is precisely this that is of particular interest in the analysis of its effects on the creative process. The raw tension of their exilic experience reverberates both in the content and form of their literary response. The titles locate each text within the parameters of their respective sub-genre and, ostensibly, the texts appear to be executed as such. Mistral's work even features 'diario' in its title. The title of Campoamor's text situates it as a political essay. However, a deeper analysis of these literary works is necessary in order to ascertain how exile influences the creative process behind these texts. This chapter will argue that exile profoundly conditions this process and in fact produces a dense, complex and conflicted literary response. As highlighted in 0.2, women's autobiographical works are characterised by their departure from generic moulds. Nevertheless, as the following discussion will show, it is not gender that prompts generic ambiguity in this instance.

For the purposes of this chapter, I have selected two remarkable autobiographical texts which enable the exploration of how the immediacy of exile conditions the transgression of generic boundaries: between those of the sub-genre to which the texts are purported to belong and in relation to further sub-genres. Although diaries and political essays are by no means homogenous, it is necessary to consider their defining generic features in order to assess to what extent the aforementioned immediacy prompts an assimilation of ostensibly incongruous generic characteristics. Central to these generic tensions is the problematic relationship between personal and public testimony. In the case of Mistral, her diary is notably devoid of personal material that a diary typically contains, as Colmeiro has noted (2009b). The generic status of Campoamor's political essay is called into question if close attention is devoted to the

impact of the second (very personal) appendix located at the end of its twenty chapters, which Samblancat argues resituate the text within the realms of the egodocument (2003: 127).⁴⁴ If the texts are read according to conventions that their own titles propose then the associated generic expectations are disappointed. The assimilation of attributes belonging to alternative genres gives rise to hybridization and thus a productive reading of these works is as examples of hybrid texts.⁴⁵ In *Modern Genre Theory*, generic hybridization is defined as ‘[t]he process by which two or more genres combine to form a new genre or subgenre; or by which elements of two or more genres are combined in a single work’ (Duff 2000c: xiv). Reading these texts as such enables a better appreciation of omissions, incongruities, conflicts, multiple voices and thus, provides a unique opportunity to appreciate a direct rendition of the tensions of exilic experience into a creative literary work. Generic hybridity is present to a certain extent in some of the other exilic autobiographical works in my corpus but in the texts by Mistral and Campoamor it is particularly apparent and concentrated. Conditioned by urgency, these texts question the limits and borders of first-person writing, highlighting the constant tension between public and private testimony as a crucial facet of the exile’s complex condition. Theoretical definitions of diaries and the political essay, how Mistral’s and Campoamor’s texts diverge from them, and the justification for considering these texts as examples of hybridization will be discussed in (2.2) Generic Hybridization.

The analysis of both texts as exilic examples of hybridization raises a series of pertinent questions. What is unveiled regarding the author’s response to the lived experience of exile and what are the resulting discursive implications in the text? These works resist conventional forms of literary categorization and the generic tension between the professed and actual textual production accomplished is a fruitful paradox which lays bare the creative process specific to exilic writing. Generic expectations are indeed upset and this chapter will explore how the raw hybridization in the textual form and content uncovers the essence of the relationship between the literary response to the lived experience of exile. The compelling tension of these urgent hybrid texts highlights an ostensibly paradoxical selection of public and private material, but which is

⁴⁴ The term egodocument was coined by Presser (1958). Dekker offers the following definition: ‘[a] mediados de los años cincuenta del siglo XX el historiador Jacob Presser introdujo una nueva palabra: egodocumento, término que venía a significar las autobiografías, memorias, diarios, cartas personales y otros textos en los cuales el autor escribe, explícitamente acerca de sí mismo, de sus propios asuntos y sus sentimientos’ (2002: 13).

⁴⁵ As will be apparent, other readings of Mistral’s and Campoamor’s texts have signalled their hybridity, particularly Colmeiro and Samblancat respectively.

ultimately indicative of an underlying necessity to contribute to collective testimony. As suggested by Ugarte:

The independent nature of exilic experience, its position both in collective and specific realms of human thought and conduct, informs one of the most constant features of exile literature: the propensity for testimony, even when the writer's apparent intention is otherwise. The I of exile needs evidence for having experienced something, and it is the nebulous nature of this evidence, the fact that it is a linguistic creation, that gives exile literature its characteristic tension. (1989: 20)

In order to explore how the dichotomy between public and private testimony is negotiated in the creative process and expressed textually, it is necessary to analyse closely the use of language. As complex literary responses to the immediacy of a complex situation, these spontaneous yet sophisticated hybrid texts illuminate the writer's particular relationship to the Republic and to fellow Republicans. The permeable generic borders of these works expose a fundamental preoccupation to contribute to collective testimony. The specificities of their creative process create a unique forum for ascertaining how these urgent hybrid exilic texts display an overarching necessity to contribute, through collective testimony, an alternative version of a facet of exilic Republican history. Considering hybridization as an integral aspect of a poetics of exile, these issues will be discussed in the sections below: (2.3) Language and Discourse and (2.4) Collective Testimony and Contributions to Alternative History.

2.2 Generic Hybridization

Despite the limited critical attention devoted to these texts, their generic classification has been subject to significant variation. Mistral's work has been classified disparately as a 'diario' and 'crónica histórica' (Colmeiro 2009a: 258), a 'diario convertido en crónica personal de guerra' (Samblancat 2000: 162), a 'diary-memoir' (Cate-Arries 2004: 49), a 'novel' (Ugarte 1989: 98), a 'novel[a] testimonio' (Grillo 1996: 445), and a 'diario' and 'narración de urgencia' (Martínez 2007: 177). Campoamor's text has been referred to as an 'ensayo', 'un conjunto de reflexiones políticas', a 'relato autobiográfico' and an 'ego documento' (Samblancat 2003: 125-7), a 'crónica histórica' (Samblancat 1997b: 185), a 'crónica de guerra' (Samblancat 1997a:

5), a ‘testimonio’ (Martínez 2008: 105), an ‘análisis histórico’ and a ‘testamento político’ (Español Bouché 2009: 34). This variation is indicative of the presence of multiple generic attributes that contribute to the heterogeneous nature of these texts. In order to assess to what extent these autobiographical texts resist a singular generic definition, it is useful to consider first the defining attributes of the respective sub-genres these texts purport to belong to. Judging these texts according to a certain criteria of categorization is necessary in order to illuminate tensions, absences and incongruous material. This is not a hierarchical approach to generic classification. Modern genre theory sees fluidity as positive and is open to diversity and the proliferation of new genres: ‘the perception that literary genres are dynamic rather than static entities — that they change or ‘evolve’ across time — is the single most important factor separating modern from earlier genre theory’ (Duff 2000b: 232).

The diary is differentiated from other autobiographical texts by the definitional practice of classifying a series of entries by date. Lejeune and Bogaert highlight that the day-to-day recording of personal information within these entries is of paramount importance:

La base du journal, c’est la *date*. Le premier geste du diariste est de la noter en tête de ce qu’il va écrire. [...] On appelle “entrée” ou “note” ce qui est écrit sous une même date. [...] La datation peut être plus ou moins précise ou espacée, mais elle est capitale. (2006: 23. Emphasis in the original)

Theoretical discussions of the diary genre have been mostly undertaken by French critics.⁴⁶ With reference to the myriad forms that the diarist’s entries may take, Lejeune and Bogaert state: ‘[l]a forme des entrées, enfin, est libre: assertion, récit, lyrisme, tout est possible, comme aussi tous les niveaux de langage et de style, selon qu’on écrit juste pour aider sa mémoire, ou avec l’intention de séduire autrui’ (2006: 25). They also argue that a uniform stylistic model would be paradoxical, given the extraordinary diversity of the genre’s form:

Y a-t-il un style propre au journal? Des modèles qu’on suivrait? Ce serait un paradoxe, puisque le journal est par définition complètement libre. De fait on est frappé par [...] l’extraordinaire diversité des journaux, qui ne ressemblent guère entre eux, même s’il ya des grandes familles. (120)

⁴⁶ See Leleu (1952), Girard (1963) and Didier (1976). Within Spain, three studies include Alberca (2000), chapter 3 of Romera Castillo (2006) and also Trapiello (1998).

They also list a series of reasons that prompt the creation of a diary: ‘garder mémoire, survivre, s’être épanché, se connaître, délibérer, résister, penser, écrire’ (25-34). The reasons for writing a diary are many. Equally, the stylistic formats it may take are limitless. However, the content of a diary is firmly rooted in the personal experience of its author and, aside from using dated entries, this is the diary’s defining content feature. In 1963 Girard published a significant analysis of the genre’s characteristics, of which it is relevant to highlight the following four generic expectations:

- En el diario, el autor está presente personalmente. El autor es el centro de observación o centro de convergencia.
- El diario, para ser íntimo, debe abordar el lado privado de la vida del autor, más que la vida exterior, de relaciones.
- La intimidad de un diario no está destinado al público. Es al propio autor a quien se dirige. Se trata de una actividad privada.
- En el diario íntimo, el autor pone el acento sobre su propia persona. Ni los otros, ni la sociedad, ni el mundo tienen para él existencia propia. La introversión es la nota característica de este tipo de textos.⁴⁷

Theoretical discussions in Spain also highlight that the diary is regarded as the autobiographical sub-genre that is most centred on the individual: ‘[l]a noción del yo es fundamental en la literatura autobiográfica en general, y en el diario en particular’ (Cedena Gallardo 2004a: 51n. 43). Romera Castillo regards the diary as ‘la quintaesencia de la literatura íntima’ (1981: 46, in Cedena Gallardo 2004a: 50) and the modality ‘más narcisista e individualista de la escritura autobiográfica’ (2006: 344). The entries written contemporaneous to lived experiences thus become manifestations of ‘memoria escrita estrictamente personal y peculiar’ (1981: 46, in Cedena Gallardo 2004a: 50).

The generic expectations delineated are thus centred on strictly personal dated entries and are generally regarded as non-literary. However, if the diarist wishes to publish then the original text may undergo a significant reconstruction. Cedena Gallardo draws attention to the textual alterations a diary may receive when a private text is published and offered to a reading public:

aparecen numerosos problemas o circunstancias que pueden alterar el estatus de esta modalidad de escritura. Un diario íntimo, evidentemente deja de serlo [...] en el momento en que el escritor lo lleva a cabo pensando en su publicación, o

⁴⁷ These characteristics outlined by Girard (4), amongst others, are translated into Spanish in Cedena Gallardo (2004a: 55).

cuando es consciente, se publique o no, de que tarde o temprano acabará leyéndolo otra persona. La sinceridad, la verdad, la honestidad con que se escribe inevitablemente sufren algún tipo de alteración en el deslizamiento de lo privado a lo público. (2004a: 49)

In the case of Mistral, she confirms in private correspondence almost sixty years later that her diary was not initially composed with an intention to publish:

Desde luego como dice usted, se nota lo inmediato y directo los datos [sic], las impresiones que iba escribiendo en un cuaderno rayado de tipo escolar. Tenía entonces, 24 años. Dadas las condiciones en que vivía nunca pensé que podía ser editado, ni siquiera publicado.⁴⁸

Its first three entries — ‘El Buen Amor’, ‘Noche’ and ‘La fuerza y la razón’ — conform to the generic expectations delineated above. These entries, dated 24 and 25 January, are composed in familiar locations (the family home and her partner’s study) as she prepares to leave Barcelona on the next available means of transport. Within these inherently personal entries she records her feelings and worries, as to be expected in a diary: ‘Mistral’s heartrending separation from her family and everything dear to her is eloquently expressed in this unabashedly tender portrait of the excruciating pain of exile’ (Mangini 1995: 166). Nevertheless, conditioned by her exilic reality upon leaving the family home, it seems Mistral subsequently came to regard the initial version of her diary as an official piece of work and recalls her journalistic training advice: ‘[c]uando yo comenzaba a escribir o mejor dicho a publicar, el director de *El día gráfico* me recomendó — entre otros consejos profesionales — no mezclar nunca los problemas emocionales con el trabajo oficial’.⁴⁹

In line with her training, personal information is henceforth minimised in her diary. As she joins the crowds on their way to the French border the subsequent entries are witness to a crucial evolution: her diary becomes a place of collective, rather than individual testimony. Mangini asserts that ‘Mistral focuses on the forced right of passage that the war and the flight from Spain would represent in her life, as she tells us when her “trifles” disappear [during] her flight to France’ (1995: 166). On the treacherous journey she loses her luggage: ‘No encuentro mis libros, mis artículos, mis

⁴⁸ Her letter was addressed to Anna Caballé and dated 8 January 1996. It is located in the Archivo de la Memoria, Unidad de Estudios Biográficos, Universidad de Barcelona. This fragment is cited in Samblancat (2000: 161).

⁴⁹ Letter of 8 January 1996 to Caballé. This fragment is included in Samblancat (2000:161) and Colmeiro (2009b: 19).

pequeños objetos de arte, y esa pérdida parece separar mi vida en dos etapas' [ED: 78]. Cate-Arries notes that the loss of material possessions, as a crucial indication of the beginning of exile, is a frequent image in exilic texts: '[t]he loss of personal belongings is one of the material markers that divides forever the exile's life into the two distinct temporal realms of "before exile" and "after exile"' (2004: 29). The lost belongings signify her assimilation into the masses. Mistral equates this turning point with taking on a duty to speak for these masses in her diary. Thus, she henceforth limits personal material, renouncing her position as the protagonist and addressee of her own diary. Although the entries of the diary genre are characterised by a myriad of stylistic possibilities, the diarist tends to maintain his or her own 'uniform' format throughout (Lejeune and Bogaert 2006: 120). It is rare for the entries to evolve stylistically, as they explain: 'le diariste, une fois qu'il a choisi un certain style, s'y tient *mordicus*, coulant toujours ses entrées dans les mêmes moules. Rares sont les journaux qui évoluent notablement' (2006: 120. Emphasis in the original). Yet, at the moment when Mistral identifies with the community of fellow exiles, she ceases to record overtly personal information and her style of entries changes from intimate to journalistic. Her personal exile is consciously subsumed into a collective exodus and henceforth, she regards her diary as a site in which to record the experiences of others. Samblancat explains why Mistral's and other exilic diaries take on a journalistic dimension:

en el caso de los diarios de exilio — y en un sentido lato en el género testimonial surgido a raíz de la guerra civil — esa sujeción temporal que cose o inscribe lo que se escribe en el día a día se enmarca en un tiempo histórico anómalo, de desarraigo, que sujeta inexorablemente lo individual a lo colectivo. De este modo, la voz íntima de la estricta regularidad cotidiana se transforma, a menudo, en la crónica de una experiencia personal convirtiendo el diario en sede del reportaje, dimensión periodística tan ligada de otro lado al propio género. (2000: 157-158)

Mistral was interned in the women's division in the Argelès concentration camp and subsequently in the refugee centre in Les Mages. It is the collective experience of the women in these sites that assumes primacy in the entries of her hybrid text: 'su diario personal se transforma en testimonio colectivo' (Colmeiro 2009a: 255). A plethora of information is recorded here in journalistic fashion with reference to the inhumane conditions they are subjected to as a collective group:

Como bestias, tras los alambres, los españoles, sin mantas, sin comida, sin sol; heridos, moribundos, son lanzados al desierto de arena. Un poco de paja sobre ella sería un lujo. Las órdenes son feroces. Dan una lata de sardinas, cada veinticuatro horas, para quince personas. Dos o tres niños se mueren cada día. [...] Mis compañeras buscan caras amigas, sus familiares. [ED: 82-83]

Despite being isolated from male compatriots, Mistral endeavours to include in her testimony records of the hardship experienced by men in other concentration camps. She cites information she receives via letters from an anonymous ‘Él’, and other sources:

El viento prosigue, invariable, y a tal punto nos hemos acostumbrado a él que cuando entramos en una barraca, se pierde la gravitación y nos falta espacio. X... llega a tener tantos piojos que cuando no haya sitio en su cuerpo por donde correr, se pelearán entre sí. [ED: 114]

In a diary, as Cedena Gallardo highlights, ‘la inmediatez genera espontaneidad y, en cierto sentido, mayor sinceridad y reflejo más cercano y exacto de las cosas’ (2004a: 53). The brief time between the composition and publication of Mistral’s diary maintains the immediacy of her experiences. Colmeiro notes that the scant personal information in the published version of her diary is recorded ‘de manera tangencial’ (2009b: 17). As the principal generic expectation of the diary genre is the omnipresence of personal material, the paradoxical absence of references to the author’s own past and political ideology is significant. Furthermore, any allusion to her husband Ricardo Mestre is presented covertly through the use of the pronoun ‘Él’. Whereas Naharro-Calderón speculates that Mistral ‘[r]echaza el ser determinada por una presencia masculina’ (1998: 318), Colmeiro suggests that this pronoun is used deliberately to maintain Mestre’s anonymity (2009b: 18). Mistral explains in private correspondence that covert reference to her partner was determined by her estimation of her diary as an official piece of work in which she consciously chooses to minimise personal information: ‘Fue por ese principio literario que decidí no escribir sobre mi problema personal; por eso puse EL [sic] que era Ricardo Mestre’.⁵⁰ Furthermore, references to her family are restricted to the diary’s initial entries in which she reveals that her only brother had been recently killed in action: ‘A él, lo enterró vivo la explosión de un obús

⁵⁰ This fragment of the letter of 8 January 1996 to Caballé is reproduced in Samblancat (2000: 161) and Colmeiro (2009b: 19).

y pocos días después — ¿cómo y dónde? — moría en cualquier hospital de sangre’
[ED: 65]. Colmeiro notes:

A pesar de su significativa muestra de dolor, sólo menciona un par de veces a su hermano menor muerto a los diecisiete años en el frente republicano, o a los padres que quedan atrás en Barcelona, sin dar ningún otro detalle explicativo. (2009a: 253-254)

The anonymization of her partner and the absence of personal and familial information are purposeful as this information assumes second place to the enormity of collective experience:

Un resultado de esta estrategia de ocultamiento (una forma más o menos consciente de *self-effacement*) es que los datos personales, los nombres y las afiliaciones políticas parecen no tener tanta importancia, pasando a un segundo plano, al lado de la magnitud de la experiencia trágica colectiva. (Colmeiro 2009a: 256)

The raw exilic experience at the time of composition, carried over into the text’s later publication, means that generic expectations are indeed disappointed. Yet these tensions, omissions and ostensibly incongruous information are ultimately conditioned by the urgency of her exilic situation. This conditioning thus offers a fascinating insight into the unique effects of exile on a creative process. Indeed, the tensions that emerge between the true features of the text and the generic classification suggested by its own title is the fruitful paradox of the work. Following Mistral’s assimilation into the masses and her conscious decision to record in her diary a collective testimony, her diary as a textual site of personal testimony evolves to become a diary paradoxically written about and for others. Her view of her diary as a ‘trabajo oficial’ is of crucial importance in its process of hybridization as the addressee evolves from self to other. This modification alters the text from its original generic status and it becomes a journalistic response of collective testimony addressed to a public audience. Although *Éxodo* still adheres to a model involving a series of first-person dated entries, a hybrid text is produced that melds together the private and the public, fusing individual and collective testimony.

A further element of the text’s hybridization is evident in the published version. The diary genre is generally considered as non-literary, unless the diarist purposefully

wishes to make use of literary artifice.⁵¹ Although Mistral's published diary maintains the immediacy of her exilic experience, it is evident that before its publication in 1940 it underwent a clear literary re-elaboration. This is not an arbitrary process, as she regards this as a facet of her responsibility to her potential readership. Its purposes are two-fold. Firstly, to a particular audience, this serves to enhance the text's appeal in order to disseminate the collective testimony of her Republican compatriots. Secondly, by incorporating material such as poems by significant Republican writers including Antonio Machado, Mistral not only pays homage to but also highlights the shared experience of Republican exile in France.⁵² She devotes an entire entry, 'La muerte del poeta' dated March 3 1939, 'in order to pay homage to Machado, juxtaposing his fate to that of thousands of Spaniards suffering in refugee camps' (Cate-Arries 2004: 45-46). Furthermore, in order to facilitate the addressee's engagement each diary entry is given a title and all the material included in other languages is translated:

El paso de lo privado a lo público se señala primordialmente en el texto a través de la titulación de los fragmentos, como si de breves capítulos se tratase y la traducción a pie de página de textos reproducidos en la lengua original, catalán y francés en su mayoría, a fin de facilitar la comunicación con el posible lector. (Samblancat 2000: 159-160)

Martínez posits that as a writer, Mistral feels an obligation to her potential readership:

A pesar de narrar lo privado no deja de ser un compromiso con la historia, y hasta cierto punto una responsabilidad pública, desde el punto de vista de la conciencia que se crea como escritora y de su evidente afán literario. Hay pruebas de intencionalidad lírica y plástica. (2007: 177-178)

Her re-elaborated testimony is offered to the reader enhanced with literary value. Her diary incorporates features of other literary and journalistic genres and thus the borders between the public and the personal are redefined in a 'propósito a la vez lírico y documentalista' (Colmeiro 2009b: 20). The generic tensions between what Mistral's text purports to be and the final hybrid product highlight a series of unique fusions. The

⁵¹ This is especially evident in fictional diaries. For a study of women's diary fiction see Lombardi (2002). León Felipe's prologue to Mistral's text contains the following statements: 'Usted lo cuenta bien, porque, ahora sí, no hay razón para afinar el artificio' and 'Las mujeres saben ustedes contar bien y con sencillez' [ED: 53]. Colmeiro contests this by stating 'hay mucho de artificio literario' (27) in the published text. See (2009b: 24- 33).

⁵² To this end amongst others, as Colmeiro highlights, Mistral also refers to works by other writers including Lorca and to relevant ideas of writers and philosophers such as Seneca, Unamuno, Goethe, Bécquer and Salinas (2009b: 28).

private and the public, the personal and the historical, the present and the past, and the literary and the testimonial ‘se entrecruzan y se articulan indivisiblemente’ (Colmeiro 2009a: 257). This combination within an overtly personal diary constitutes a ‘sede del reportaje’ (Samblancat 2000: 158). This textual collage, conditioned by the urgency of the situation in which it was written, becomes a literary document of resistance: ‘y justamente es esa función testimonial, de voz veraz contra la amnesia individual y colectiva con una clara pretensión denunciadora, la que emerge del diario-reportaje de Silvia Mistral’ (158).

In September 1936, at the beginning of her self-imposed exile, Campoamor began *La révolution espagnole vue par une républicaine*, dedicated ‘A los republicanos españoles’ [LR: 68]. Composed rapidly, with a clear reader in mind, this exilic text provides one of the first political analyses of the Civil War and female-authored exilic testimony. Her autobiographical text differs from the others analysed in this thesis in that the first-person singular narrative voice only appears in a brief appendix.⁵³ Within the text’s main body Campoamor primarily employs the impersonal third-person narrative voice and the *nos colectivo* for referring to the Civil War, for the provision of vivid descriptions of Madrid at the beginning of the war and also for posing the questions answered in the analysis. The configuration of these voices creates a hybrid text that is neither purely autobiographical nor a political essay. Their separation in two distinct textual instalments makes explicit a division between its public and private dimensions. However, whilst this may pose difficulties in terms of generic classification, these are inherently complementary and provide a unique insight into the underlying creative process of the text, conditioned by the immediacy of Campoamor’s exilic situation in Switzerland. The first instalment is the main body of the text and is ostensibly an essay comprising twenty chapters which formally assess the first forty days of war, and include a series of political reflections regarding the causes of the military uprising, the excesses and failures of the Popular Front, revolutionary fervour and a considered prediction of the outcome of the Civil War. Samblancat summarises:

⁵³ Other exilic autobiographical texts which feature multiple voices include María Martínez Sierra’s *Una mujer por caminos de España* (1989), María Teresa León’s *Memoria de la melancolía* (1998), Victoria Kent’s *Cuatro años en París, 1940-1944* (1947) and Luisa Carnés’ *El eslabón perdido* (2002). Polyphonic voices in the latter two texts will be examined in Chapter 3. In Campoamor’s text the configuration of multiple voices is particularly pronounced as the first-person voice is located outwith the text’s main body, apart from one instance in which she recounts a conversation in July 1936 with a representative of Unión Republicana whose then leader was Martínez Barrio [LR: 69].

Desde esta conciencia de perdedora, Clara Campoamor analiza en su obra, a través de un nos colectivo o una tercera persona, formalmente objetiva, el caos, la desorganización y la división de las fuerzas republicanas y la debilidad del propio gobierno para hacer frente a la rebelión militar, además de pronosticar el probable final de la contienda: dictadura del proletariado o dictadura militar. (1997b: 183-184)

The voices within the twenty chapters appear to be de-personalised and formally objective and thus would appear to adhere to the generic expectations of the political essay. The dominant third-person narrative voice corresponds to the urgent evaluation of historical events and political interventions, party and ministerial decisions preceding and at the onset of war. These penetrating chapters could stand alone as political speeches, evaluating strategic and political errors of various parties. The titles clearly announce their theme, for example ‘Los errores de los republicanos’ and ‘Causas de la debilidad de los gubernamentales’. In the latter she assesses the fallibilities of the prevailing political system and identifies what she considers to be the three main causes of failure. The chapter begins: ‘Tres de estas causas eran visibles y fueron decisivas desde el comienzo: ausencia de técnica, falta de disciplina y desánimo de los republicanos causado por el terror en la retaguardia’ [LR: 121]. Campoamor then elaborates on each of these in turn, positing that extreme left political parties ‘han hecho ostentación, a menudo, de un profundo desprecio por [...] la técnica “burguesa”, la única que lógicamente podía existir en el país en el momento de la llegada de la República’ [LR: 121]. She cites Azaña as having stated “‘No tengo confianza en el técnico ni en el intelectual. Sólo confío en el hombre sencillo e ingenuo de la calle’” [LR: 121n. 1] and warns, at length, that the government should not invest all its faith in revolutionary fervour and enthusiasm.

In the same vein as *In Place of Splendor*, Campoamor directs her text to a foreign reader. Whereas de la Mora’s autobiographical intent was propagandistic, with the text being addressed to an international audience in order to obtain aid, the primary intention of Campoamor’s twenty chapters is to openly raise awareness outwith and within Spanish borders of what she perceived to be errors of political judgement by parties and figure-heads at a time when opposing fascist and military forces were galvanizing. She states:

El Frente Popular había reagrupado a todos los partidos de izquierda. Las consecuencias de esta armonía imposible, ya se habían dejado sentir duramente

con motivo de los numerosos conflictos obreros que habían estallado después de la victoria electoral de febrero de 1936. [LR: 71]

It is indeed not only a vehement critique of political judgement but also, given her astute political vision, a prediction of a military or proletariat dictatorship:

Una vez pasado el primer momento y restablecido el orden, ¿se va a seguir manteniendo al país — con la esperanza de impedir luchas ideológicas — bajo un régimen de hierro que corre el riesgo de enredarse en sus propios errores porque no cuenta con opositores clarividentes y libres para expresarse? [LR: 189]

Unlike *In Place of Splendor*, in which for propagandistic purposes de la Mora paints a polished picture of a unified Republic against a Fascist coalition along a simplistic binary, Campoamor reflects on the dangers of Republican ‘fervour’. Her portrayal of the Popular Front is far from complimentary, as she considers that constituent groups fail to see beyond their own ideology:

Y si hacemos tan mal la política es, a fin de cuentas, porque nos implicamos por completo. De todas las ideas generales que mueven al ser humano o que son apreciadas por las diferentes sociedades: la solidaridad, la compasión, la fraternidad, será siempre la idea política, la pasión política la que prevalecerá en el español, aplastando a las otras si es necesario. [LR: 202]

Her political essay may appear hugely pessimistic yet, in her portrayal and detailed analysis of the nation’s inherent flaws, she stresses the importance of controlling revolutionary fervour and consolidating working relationships between political parties. She offers suggestions of how policy ought to be altered, and a warning that she hoped would resonate with other countries faced with the growing menace of totalitarianism of any kind. She warns that without controlled, collaborative, unified action this ‘conduciría al mundo a una guerra sin cuartel y sin tregua hasta que un régimen totalitario absorbiera totalmente al otro’ [LR: 183].

Within these twenty focused chapters, Campoamor’s political analysis soberly adheres to the generic expectations associated with the formal essay. Nevertheless, to merely classify her text as such would be to ignore the crucial significance of its second appendix. Whilst Español Bouché declares: ‘[I]a obra de Clara Campoamor es esencialmente moderna. No se anda por ramas más o menos líricas porque esa jurista, política, historiadora, traductora y poeta siempre evitó mezclar los géneros’ (2009: 34),

the validity of this assertion is undermined by careful consideration of the appendix's significance. A more fruitful examination of the entire text as an example of generic hybridization highlights how the immediacy of Campoamor's exilic situation conditions the creative process behind her text. Samblancat draws attention to the 'hábil juego de voces narrativas' (2002: 40) present in the text: as previously stated, the twenty chapters feature the 'nos colectivo' and the impersonal third-person form. The first-person voice is located only within the second appendix and used by Campoamor to refer to her personal exilic experiences from when she left Madrid for Lausanne. The co-existence of these respective voices once again highlights the dichotomy between public and private testimony. Referring to her journey into voluntary exile in 1936:

Dejé Madrid a comienzos de septiembre. La anarquía que reinaba en la capital ante la impotencia del gobierno, y la falta absoluta de seguridad personal, incluso para las personas liberales — sobre todo, quizá, para ellas — me impusieron esta medida de prudencia. [...] ¡Yo no quería ser uno de esos detalles sacrificados inútilmente! [LR: 209]

Samblancat's estimation of the text's appendix is much more productive as she proposes that, as a 'relato autobiográfico' reflecting Campoamor's personal tragedy, it resituates the textual discourse in an autobiographical space which 'participa de las funciones de autodefensa, autojustificación y autoexculpación', converting the overall text into an 'ego-documento' (2003: 126-127). She proposes that the overall work is an example of 'literatura de frontera' that displays 'una singular novedad: un entrecruzamiento de géneros' and is thus 'un texto configurado como discurso híbrido a medio camino entre la confesión personal y el documento de guerra' (2002: 40-42). Whereas Español Bouché considers Campoamor's text as a pure, generically untainted example of 'análisis histórico' and 'testamento político' (2009: 34), the integral generic significance of the appendix resituates the first-twenty chapters as a 'preámbulo histórico' (Samblancat 1997b: 184) for an 'autoexculpación personal ante una encrucijada histórica' (185). Configured as an example of a hybrid discourse, Campoamor closes her text with a final self-justification legitimising her right to survive (Samblancat 2002: 44). The high-calibre political figure explains her decision to leave Spain. As Samblancat highlights '[e]ste relato autobiográfico refleja [...] la tragedia personal y el tormento que en esos momentos debía causar a la ex diputada Campoamor tomar una decisión de tal calibre que, por sus propias palabras, siente como definitiva' (2002: 43).

Campoamor's chapters not only constitute a perceptive essay, but also an unparalleled example of ostensibly depersonalised material utilised as a necessary first instalment of an autobiographical hybrid text. The immediacy of her situation propelled Campoamor to engage her analytical skills as she was determined to offer an account of the political climate that forced her voluntary exile. The necessity to record her reasons for leaving Spain for posterity is thus a fundamental urge of an ultimately autobiographical text. Furthermore, although she left Spain as a voluntary expatriate, this status was subsequently altered. On her arrival in Genoa her precarious situation intensified: she was temporarily detained following a tip-off from the Falangists who had in fact planned to throw her overboard.⁵⁴ The politically-charged first instalment coupled with the deeply personal appendix situates the overall text as a vehicle to project a 'justificación vital' in a 'marco histórico' (Samblancat 2002: 44). The text's resistance to facile classification enables a penetrating insight into the creative process embedded in the immediacy of her exilic situation. The complementary voices of this hybrid autobiographical text simultaneously record the ostensibly depersonalised analysis of the political situation in Spain for a foreign reader and the personal self-exculpative voice of an exiled woman.

Analysing the creative process behind Mistral's and Campoamor's texts, it becomes apparent that these exilic works conditioned by immediacy are distinguished by both their variability of form and fluidity of generic parameters. Therefore, critics' diverse generic definitions of these texts draw attention to the presence of the characteristics of multiple genres. Consideration of these works as hybrid texts is productive as the term hybridization is apposite to both texts' polymorphous internal constitution. Urgent texts have the propensity to take on other generic forms, and these works are a unique vantage point to assess how the immediacy of exile has influenced a creative process. The generic amalgamation illuminates the dichotomy between public and private testimony as a crucial facet of the exile's experience. As linguistic creations, to further examine how this dichotomy is negotiated in the creative process of Mistral's journalistic diary and Campoamor's essay/egodocument, it is necessary to analyse closely the language and discourse utilised.

⁵⁴ Martínez also highlights that sectors of the Popular Front had ordered her arrest (2008: 106-7).

2.3 Language and Discourse

Hybridization, as an integral aspect of a poetics of exile, is firmly centred on the consideration of the creative process. Language and discourse are utilised in the texts' respective approximation to divergent sub-genres: both in the reformation of Mistral's private diary to a journalistic piece of public testimony and in the reconfiguration of Campoamor's public essay to a personal egodocument. The loss of material possessions marks the departure of *Éxodo: Diario de una refugiada española* from its generic definition as a private diary. In exile, displaced from the home and stripped of one's possessions, the body comes to be the sole entity that belongs entirely to the self. Martínez posits that exile writing becomes an extension of the writer's body, and mirrors the expression of the exile's physical and mental state: '[s]u pluma es concisa, documental, y espontánea; claramente su escritura es el único espacio propio en un lugar ajeno, es la expresión de su estado físico y mental, una prolongación de su propio cuerpo' (2007: 178). Thus, in the creation of her hybrid text, Mistral renounces the only thing that wholly belongs to her as her body also becomes a public site of collective testimony. When her body, and by extension the bodies of the other women she represents, are threatened it is presented as a violation of the exile's national space.

Women were often subjected to vaccinations and gynaecological controls and this invasive process is well documented in other female-authored exilic works, including Neus Catalá (1994). Naharro-Calderón suggests that in Mistral's text the female body in exile 'se convierte en la extensión del espacio nacional violado, algo que Neus Catalá subraya cuando habla de los controles ginecológicos: "Quelle répugnance et quelle trouille! C'était une torture supplémentaire imposée à notre condition de femme"' (1998: 318). These methods of control converted the body into a vulnerable space that may be abused, presented as an extension of the vulnerability of the Republican body in exile. Mistral records these forced vaccinations by the French authorities as an injury to Spain:

A las mujeres nos han vacunado, sin delicadeza alguna, en la vía pública, ante la ansiosa mirada de cincuenta marineros del buque de guerra "Cyclone". [...] Para que nadie pudiera evitarlo, desalojaron las cuerdas. [...] Los marineros miraban con anteojos para no perder detalle [...] La aguja se clavaba con furia en la carne española. [ED: 86]

In one of the few occasions in which Mistral records personal information, she recounts the pain that she suffered from a resulting infection:

los niños pasan la noche llorando y yo soy devorada por la fiebre. La vacuna se infecta y mi pierna se convierte en un montón de pus. [...] [E]l dolor me hace gritar. [...] Caigo, desesperada, sobre la almohada, no sé si loca o cuerda. [ED: 92-93]

The depiction of such episodes of harassment and callous vaccinations in the French camps and refuges exposes women's vulnerability. Their bodies, sexualised, are subject to abuse: '[p]or ello, sobre el diario planea la continua amenaza del abuso corporal que llega a plasmarse simbólicamente en una vacunación a modo de violación-prostitución que acarrea una infección: la pus discriminatoria de una vejación sexualmente marcada' (Naharro-Calderón 1998: 318). Although this is material expected to be recorded in a personal diary, this piece of personal information takes on collective significance as the body of the author and other women come to represent the social body of the nation in exile. As suggested by Martínez:

El cuerpo de la autora, el cuerpo de lo narrado, y el cuerpo social se confunden, se mezclan, se superponen, se limitan y espacian dentro de *Éxodo* en una dinámica que sólo puede crearse en el destierro, cuando uno es su único lugar. (2007: 178)

It is in 'civilized' France, a 'nación que supuestamente acarrea el estandarte de los modernos valores ilustrados' (Colmeiro 2009b: 36), that the female body — and by extension the body of the Republic in exile — is subject to multiple levels of abuse. Mistral records that 'Somos prisioneras de una "nación amiga"' [ED: 84]. She also recounts one woman's reaction to this abuse in France as worse than her experience of the Civil War: '¿Es eso vida? [...] Alguna me dice: —Si ésta es la paz que tanto anhelábamos, prefiero la guerra o, por lo menos, la emoción de la "segunda línea". Nunca creí que llegaría a sentir la nostalgia de la guerra' [ED: 94]. When Mistral successfully secures a place on the *Ipanema*, prejudiced French people ridicule the boat's destination of Mexico, suggesting it is uncivilised: 'México —habla despectivamente— es una nación "inferior"' [ED: 136]. Due to a technical problem the boat stopped for several days in Martinique where the exiles are received extremely positively. Despite the Martiniquais' lack of wealth, they offered fruit and toys for the

children. When a colonial French guard violently attacked a Martiniquan fruit vendor Mistral recounts how an exiled Republican movingly defended her:

–¿Por qué maltrata a la negra? Es una mujer como todas las mujeres, como las inglesas y como las francesas; quizás mejor que ellas, más humana, más sencilla, más buena. Su risa es franca, su mirar, sincero; su gesto, tranquilo, ¿por qué la enseña a odiar? [ED: 159]

Mistral juxtaposes the corporal abuse suffered by the Republicans and the Martiniquan woman in order to contest the Western perspective on civilization and barbarism parroted by the French before they left.⁵⁵ In reference to the abuse inflicted on their bodies Naharro-Calderón suggests that:

Es a partir de esta violencia que Mistral plantea la deconstrucción de la ecuación civilización/barbarie y dignifica la otredad ejemplificada por el cuerpo de los republicanos españoles o los martiniqueses afroamericanos contra los que se mueve represivamente el espíritu del universalismo racionalista. (1998: 318)

Mistral proposes that the female body of the nation may once again be liberated in Mexico, posited as a utopic space in opposition to the cold prejudice of the threatening French camps and refuges: ‘Estamos al fin de una etapa y en el pórtico de una vida nueva, que renace, el alma se dilata en una emoción nueva’ [ED: 167]. Language and discourse relating to the body as an abused national space is crucially employed once more on their arrival to Mexico. On arrival in Veracruz, Mistral receives a medical examination by an official doctor and her body is treated respectfully. This emphasizes the barbarity of the camps and the unfoundedness of the French’s opinion of Mexico as barbarous:

Las delegaciones sanitarias y migratorias despachan rápidamente el pasaje.
 Cuando el doctor me pregunta si estoy vacunada, por toda respuesta le muestro
 las tres enormes cicatrices que se hunden en mi pierna.
 –¿Fue un médico o un bárbaro? —me dice.
 –Fueron los bárbaros —respondo. [ED: 167]

In this hybrid text the private diary is reconfigured as public testimony. Through the extended use of language and discourse relating to the body as a site for representing the

⁵⁵ For a detailed analysis of the negotiation of civilization and barbarism, and allusions to utopian societies based on respect in Mistral’s text, see Colmeiro (2009b: 35-39).

nation, Mistral's body, the female body and the nation in exile are positively liberated from the barbarous treatment received in France.

The depersonalised voices which correspond to the first instalment of *La revolución española vista por una republicana* are overtly formal, in line with the generic expectations of the essay. The language is precise and the discourse within Campoamor's political analysis is presented succinctly. However, the text's approximation to private testimony is centred on the discourse of her confession. The first-person voice used in it also serves to relocate her ostensibly depersonalised text as an egodocumento firmly rooted in the personal. Romera Castillo suggests that, in the analysis of the language and discourse of autobiographical texts, each different grammatical person encompasses its own significance: '[d]esde la óptica lingüística también es preciso detenerse en el uso de las personas gramaticales (yo, tú, él—ella, nosotros y formas impersonales) en los textos confesionales, porque cada una de ellas adquiere un determinado valor literario' (2006: 34). The language utilised in the first-person appendix serves to humanise the entire political discourse that precedes it. Campoamor achieves this by cultivating an image of herself as a carer, an exile and at risk of death, thus conveying to the reader the difficult circumstances that surrounded her personal decision to enter voluntary exile. Mangini notes that the voice of political women in their texts is often stoical and devoid of intimacy — 'political women tend to mitigate the dramatic nature of their testimonies because of their public roles' (1991: 177) — as is the case in the first instalment of Campoamor's text. Yet, in the final appendix, 'Fanatismo contra fanatismo', she reveals her position as a carer for her elderly mother and young niece: 'No quise irme sin embargo sin llevar conmigo a mi anciana madre de ochenta años de edad y a mi sobrinita, únicas personas que estaban a mi cargo' [LR: 209]. This serves to project a facet of her identity beyond her formal role as a political figure. Mangini suggests that if this facet is displayed 'often their voices as women, mothers, and wives reveal the truth of Carol Gilligan's theory that "women not only define themselves in a context of human relationships but also judge themselves in terms of their abilities to care"' (1991: 177).⁵⁶

The exhibition of personal information regarding Clara's role in protecting her family locates both her political and private life, in the respective instalments of her hybrid text, in the wider context of her Spain and its people. In addition, she recounts

⁵⁶ See Gilligan (1982: 17).

that when she and her family were destined for Switzerland via Genoa on a German boat, five Falangists were on board in order to carry out her assassination: the plan was impeded by the boat's captain. News of this planned homicide reached her accompanying family and Campoamor once again humanises her discourse, emphasising her position of responsibility not only for the family's safety but also for their emotional welfare: 'el noble proyecto de asesinarme fue malintencionadamente comunicado a la señora mayor y a la niña que me acompañaban, de manera que los pocos días de su triste viaje de exilio los pasaron envueltas en una inquietud moral' [LR: 210]. She includes a fragment of an article published in the Carlist newspaper *El Pensamiento Navarro* in December 1936 on this thwarted attempt, written by one of the perpetrators:

Supimos que Clara Campoamor estaba en el barco... Esa misma noche, otros cuatro falangistas y yo, nos decidimos a tirarla al mar. Pero después de consultar al capitán del barco, éste nos hizo renunciar a nuestro proyecto que podía tener consecuencias comprometedoras para él. [LR: 210]

This fragment not only corroborates the assassination attempt but also serves to further situate the autobiographical subject in her historical specificity, and thus the appendix redefines the political essay as a personal text: '[e]ste juego de perspectivas y de materiales incluidos en el último capítulo de este apéndice corrobora, desde un punto de vista externo, lo narrado; precisa la cronología definitivo del texto y lo redefine en un nuevo campo: el personal' (Samblancat 2002: 43). The language and discourse of her appendicised confession humanises Campoamor as an individual, influencing the reader to reconsider the ostensibly depersonalised discourse pertaining to the hybrid text's first instalment. The reader is now made aware that 'el texto está escrito con los ojos empañados aún por las imágenes de la guerra' (Samblancat 2002: 39) which, given the immediacy of her situation, condition its generic hybridization. Therefore, negotiating the dichotomy between public and private testimony, the appendix endows the political analysis conducted in the first instalment with 'una nueva dimensión al ensayo al convertirlo en su quiebro final en un egodocumento que inserta en un marco histórico una justificación vital' (Samblancat 2003: 127).

2.4 Collective Testimony and Contributions to Alternative History

Samblancat suggests that autobiographical exilic texts are characterised by an attempt to propose an alternative history:

Cuando la mujer exiliada [...] toma la pluma para contar su vida, lucha desde la barricada de la memoria para ganar la guerra. Este deseo de consignar otra Historia, a través de la palabra, de luchar en contra de la realidad objetiva de una guerra perdida es, [...], uno de los rasgos unificadores de estos testimonios de guerra en sus diversas modalidades: autobiografías, memorias, diarios, crónicas o novelas personales que como resaca después de tormenta la Guerra Civil arrojó al “género del yo”. (1997a: 5)

Mistral and Campoamor, in their respective texts, display an overarching aim of proposing an alternative history through the collective testimony of the particular collective Republican group each author identifies with. As hybrid texts, their definitive textual creation draws upon the ‘ideological functions’ (Duff 2000a: 18) of diverse genres. The proliferation of new generic forms in an individual text imbues it with an inherent power. Duff suggests that this power is ‘so often a product of the interaction of *different* generic elements’ (19. Emphasis in the original), and consequently the ultimate ideological function of their communicative act is a powerful one.

As reflected in the text’s hybridization, with Mistral’s assimilation into the masses, her experience of exile is solely conveyed as part of a collective group. Exile, as a personal drama, is removed from this hybrid literary palimpsest and is purposefully presented as part of an epic collective exodus. Colmeiro suggests that biblical references, although devoid of their religious content, are a recurring leitmotiv in Mistral’s text:

El caso más obvio se encuentra en el propio título del diario, *Éxodo*, con una clara referencia al éxodo de los judíos y la busca de la tierra prometida del Antiguo Testamento. Se hace hincapié en la idea de un pueblo injustamente perseguido y obligado a abandonar su tierra. Lo que interesa aquí del lenguaje bíblico es su carácter hiperbólico y mítico que realza la dramática y desesperada experiencia del destierro colectivo de los exiliados republicanos y la búsqueda de una nueva tierra de acogida. (2009a: 268)

There are multiple comparisons between the collective experience of Republican exiles and the departure of the Israelites, as told in the Old Testament book of Exodus. Ugarte draws attention to a further similarity: ‘[t]he Jews’ biblical assimilation of exile is

founded on an ethical imperative' (1989: 24). The origins of the term Diaspora are associated with the sixth century BC Jewish Diaspora outside of Israel (following exile to Babylonia and subsequent dispersal) and, as McClennen explains, references to diaspora are in abundance in exilic texts and theory (2004: 19), as in the case of Exodus. Mistral's presentation of Republican exile as a collective exodus, like the Jews' territorial displacement, is indicative of her desire to record an alternative history that encompasses the scale of exiled Republicans treading wearily to France:

Los soldados, desbandados, sin mandos y sin disciplina, agotados por las caminatas y el hambre, hacen "cola" –fila india de esperanzas derrumbadas. [...] hubo otro bombardeo. [...] Y nuevamente a andar. Nuestra vida parece un eterno viaje, en invierno y en la noche. [ED: 70]

On this epic journey, food and water are scarce and when a river is found where the Republicans can drink, Mistral refers to it as 'las aguas de un nuevo Jordán' [ED: 71]. Colmeiro notes: 'resulta también harto frecuente la descripción de la experiencia del viaje del exilio como peregrinación, vía crucis, o penitencia, que siempre recuerdan el calvario y agonía de Jesucristo' (2009a: 269). A reference frequently employed by Mistral to describe the Republican collective journey is *Vía Crucis*, a representation of the fourteen stations in Christ's journey to Calvary.⁵⁷ The biblical depiction of Christ's journey is characterised by extreme suffering and, in Mistral's textual proposal of alternative history on behalf of the Republican exiles, she captures the essence of collective suffering in her frequent references to the stages of their journey as stations of the *Via Crucis*. On arrival to France the gendarmes callously separate families, exacerbating their suffering at this particular station of their journey:

En la carretera [...] unos gendarmes nos colocan en grupos, separadas de los hombres. Era inútil declarar que eran padres, esposos, hermanas o hijos. Implacables, herméticos, los gendarmes arrancan a las familias de su unidad. [...] Entre nosotros hay una sorpresa dolorosa. Muchas familias llevan años de separación y ahora, en el éxodo [...] les quita lo único que puede subsistir para todos: el amor familiar. Continúa el vía crucis. [ED: 77]

The suffering recounted in the concentration camps locates these as further stations. The first station recorded in Matthew 26. 57-58 is when Jesus is condemned to death at the Sanhedrin Trial. The first piece of information recorded regarding the

⁵⁷ References are located throughout the New Testament. It is also known as The Way of the Cross.

collective Republican arrival in Argelès-sur-Mer refers to the Senegalese guards ‘a los que se ha dado un fusil y un uniforme y una orden de matar’ [ED: 82]. The second is that the prevailing weather conditions are so intense that ‘Por la mañana algunos amanecen secos, congelados por el frío’ [ED:82]. With no control over the elements or the guards’ gunfire, the Republicans too are condemned to death. Furthermore, another station is alluded to within the barbed wire of the camp: the tenth, when Jesus is stripped of his garments. The camp officials seek to strip the Republicans of their possessions, digging up areas of sand where they speculate exiles had hidden their few remaining items of worth: ‘Algunos gendarmes hacen excavaciones en la arena. Pensé que irían a enterrar algún cadáver. Me quedé estupefacta cuando supe que buscaban oro, ORO’ [ED: 83].

The use of biblical myths and symbols is especially apparent in exilic poetry.⁵⁸ With particular reference to concentration camps, Samblancat has traced further examples in addition to Mistral in autobiographical texts by Federica Montseny and Felisa Gil: ‘un conjunto de términos asociados a una onomástica del transtierro y del dolor: *vía crucis*, *reo o juicio errante* dará cuenta de las condiciones infrahumanas de los campos de concentración’ (2000: 162-163).⁵⁹ Following an extended period of hardship Mistral joins other compatriots aboard the *Ipanema* and their suffering in France is rewarded with hope, a biblical trope of the Passion of Christ. This is a common feature of exilic texts:

Tanto Federica Montseny como Victoria Kent, Constanca de la Mora o Silvia Mistral consignarán en los epílogos de sus obras su ideal y esperanza, su sueño libertador, o su victoria final cuyo alcance último ha generado (y generará) primero un tiempo de sufrimiento y destrucción. Un reguero de metáforas que tienen como base semántica la noción de pasión en sus diversas vertientes — sacrificio, dolor y muerte — sacude las páginas de estas memorias que ya desde sus propios títulos se revisten de una simbología religiosa que asocia la pasión de Cristo a la del combatiente republicano. (Samblancat 1997a: 7)

Nevertheless, the consequent liberation from this suffering is presented as a double-edged sword: hope and guilt. Given Mistral’s identification with her collective exiled compatriots, although her personal suffering in French camps has come to an end and she may now enjoy the possibilities afforded by Mexico, she feels an intense guilt

⁵⁸ For an interesting informative study on biblical language in exilic poetry see Jato (2004).

⁵⁹ The works referred to are Montseny (1950) and Gil’s *Recuerdos pretéritos* located in her 1960 collection.

towards those left behind: ‘Cuando emprendo ruta, bajo el cielo del puerto jarocho, hay una intensa emoción en mi corazón y un recuerdo hacia los que aguardan, en los campos inhóspitos de Francia, el horizonte de una nación libre’ [ED: 167]. Penitence is another recurring feature in exilic texts resulting from the guilt that arises from leaving compatriots behind: ‘Los que se quedan tendrán un día, supremo derecho, que agitar una bandera desconocida y un verbo distinto contra los que —Caín contra Abel— bañan en oro su mirada, abandonándolos en las playas de desolación’ [ED: 144]. To describe the resulting situation, Mistral employs the biblical archetype of fratricide. Cate-Arries suggests this particular instance also contains apocalyptic allusions: ‘Mistral [warns] of a Judgement Day when the truth will out; bound now for Mexico, she guiltily leaves behind the hordes of refugees teeming in the camps and imagines the inmates’ day of reckoning’ (2004: 226). These multiple examples of biblical references, in all its symbolic magnitude, serve to consolidate an alternative version of history through the collective testimony of Republican exodus.

Campoamor’s confession is not an indulgent self-exculpation as the language employed in the appendices enables the overall text to transcend the generic constrictions of its respective instalments. The hybrid nature of *La revolución española vista por una republicana* humanises her political analysis. In this way, it prompts the reader to reconsider the ostensibly depersonalised essay as an analysis carried out by an accessible spokesperson of the people and politics she represents. Clara ‘es de vieja estirpe republicana, y así lo dicta’ (Martínez 2008: 60) and having witnessed the political atmosphere recorded first-hand, her contribution to collective testimony is the analysis of the fervour of both the Fascists and the members of the Popular Front, by a credible, measured Republican. As a spokesperson of those who also promote both unity between parties and a considered approach to the relationship between ideology and political action, her ultimate intention is to communicate to the reader this particular facet of the Republic. Horton and Baumeister suggest that ‘[o]ne area in which literature and politics are often closely related concerns the construction of a national identity’ (1996: 18). The alternative history Campoamor seeks to record in her hybrid text is that of the collective testimony of the particular national identity she not only possesses, but also endorses. The foreign reader is urged to thus consider this version of Republican national identity, and its corresponding ideology that is not transmitted in the foreign press. The dissemination of national identity in exile is a crucial facet of the exile’s concerns:

the description of what exactly constitutes national identity is also political. [...] For the exile, a sense of both nationalism and national identity are necessary. [...] Yet, the exile's nationalism is usually contrary to the versions of nationalism and national identity fostered within the nation's borders. [...] nationalism tends to be an artificial construct generated by those who hold power in the nation-state. [...] The exile commonly provides an alternative to these official positions. (McClennen 2004: 26)

Campoamor simultaneously challenges the versions of national identity proposed by the ideologies of both the Fascists and the Popular Front. The title of this sophisticated hybrid text is thus instilled with a telling message. The use of the noun and adjective 'La revolución española' is thus representative of zeal and blind patriotism at both extremes of the political spectrum. This is 'vista por una republicana' who credibly offers to the foreign addressee her representation of the true Republic, diametrically opposed to any degree of totalitarian fervour. The alternative version of history that materialises in the creative process of her hybrid text, conditioned by urgency, is a 'reedificación de un pasado personal y colectivo' (Samblancat 1997b: 178). Her work is not simply a political essay coupled with personal appendices; it is also a sophisticated hybrid text that makes a valid, credible contribution to the urgent collective voice of Republican testimony.

The contributions to collective testimony in Mistral's and Campoamor's texts are inherently different. They are representative of two diverse facets of Republican exile: the exodus of Republicans of undefined political ideology, and — on behalf of the 'vieja estirpe republicana' — the testimony of a voluntary exile of a political figure ostracised from the Republic she once represented. Yet, the alternative versions of history proposed and recorded in their hybrid texts are a valid attempt to prevent these respective versions from being cast into oblivion; '[p]orque en último término lo que anuda estas obras, en sus varias aproximaciones, al género del "yo" es su lucha contra el olvido, contra el vacío de una guerra perdida en las armas, ganada en las barricadas de la memoria' (Samblancat 1997a: 12).

Conclusion

Éxodo: Diario de una refugiada española and *La revolución española vista por una republicana* ostensibly conform to particular generic expectations, but the

immediacy of exile ultimately renders this impossible. Urgency conditions their creative process, necessitating what becomes an apparent negotiation of the dichotomy between public and private testimony. As such, the language and discourse utilised are manifestations of how exile provokes their texts' assimilation of other sub-genres. Their ultimate contribution to alternative history through collective testimony highlights hybridization as a key aspect of a poetics of exile: as a reflection of the exile's situation in a creative work, ultimately conditioned by the immediacy of exile and its synchronic relationship to the text.

CHAPTER III:
POLYPHONY, GENRE AND GENDER
IN EXILIC AUTOFICTION

3.1 Introduction

As discussed in 0.2, academic interest in women's autobiographical writing increased significantly following the publication of pioneering texts in the 1970s and 1980s including *Women's Autobiography: Essays in Criticism* (1980) edited by Estelle Jelinek, and Mary Mason's essay 'The Other Voice: Autobiographies of Women Writers' (1980).⁶⁰ The preface and introduction to Jelinek's anthology highlighted the marginalisation of women's autobiography: excluded from the androcentric autobiographical canon and also perceived as lacking credibility as literary texts appropriate for theoretical discussion (ix-xii, 1-20). In response to this prevalent and devaluing consideration of women's autobiography, Jelinek states that the essays selected for inclusion sought to readdress this reductive marginalisation: '[i]n choosing these essays, my overall intention was to gather critiques that viewed autobiographies primarily as literary works' (xi). This collection prompted communication between a growing number of academics working in the nascent field of women's autobiography, generating numerous studies emanating from disparate areas of study including feminist scholarship. Smith and Watson (1998a) indicate that preliminary theoretical material in the field can be classified into two stages, elements of which I will summarise briefly below.⁶¹

Pioneering theorists were united by a necessity to revise dominant theories of autobiography, build up an archive of women's autobiographical material (1998a: 5) and called for 'expanding the literary canon of autobiography or establishing an alternative canon of women's writing' (9). Autobiography was appropriated by some as a 'source for articulating feminist theory', and considered as a 'previously unacknowledged mode' which enables formerly invisible subjects to become visible (5). These early first-stage approaches tended to be 'based on experiential models' that opposed 'all women to all men', essentializing women (10) and rendering gender as a mere reflection of biological sex. These models 'set up a structure of resistance and self-

⁶⁰ As discussed in Chapter 1, adherence to traditional models of identity is uncommon in women's autobiography. In his 1956 essay, 'Conditions et limites de l'autobiographie', Georges Gusdorf proposes that the model of identity in autobiography is emphatically individualistic, and representative of achievement and separate and unique selfhood. Mason questioned this model as autobiography's sole legitimate model of identity considering women's perception of their identity as relational. See Eakin (1999: 46-53).

⁶¹ For an excellent critical summary of the emergence and evolution of theoretical material on women's autobiography see Smith and Watson (1998a).

authorization through collective critique and political action based on assumed universal subordination' (10).

However, second-stage scholars called for a revision of the gender essentialism prevalent within first-stage approaches to women's autobiography. Smith and Watson summarise that these second-stage critics 'argued, in different ways, that theorizing in women's autobiography should not simply invert the exclusionary logic of the dominant tradition, but, instead, map women's dialectical negotiations with a history of their own representation as idealized or invisible' (10). Similarly, Smith and Watson highlight Domna Stanton's 1984 essay 'Autogynography: Is the Subject Different?' which postulated the innovative nomenclature of 'autogynography' for 'the separate genre of women's autobiography' (1998a: 11). Considering autogynographic writing as a self-assertive process in which to constitute a non-essentialised female subject Stanton states:

autogynography [...] ha[s] a global and essential therapeutic purpose: to constitute the female subject. In a phallogentric system, which defines her as the object, the inessential other to the same male subject — that *The Second Sex* had proved beyond a doubt — the *graphing* of the *auto* was an act of self-assertion that denied and reversed woman's status [as object]. (1987a: 14. Emphasis in the original)

Research into the emerging body of Republican women's exilic autobiographical texts has ultimately invited reclamation of records of female experience of the Civil War and exile. During the Second Republic the status and social condition of women was markedly improved. Nash enumerates a variety of reform legislation that 'constituted undoubted advances in the overall situation of women' (1995: 41). She also suggests that the 'social upheaval of the Civil War' was an 'invigorating context', which 'in some fields acted as a catalyst to accelerate social and gender changes' (42). Exile truncated the social progress women were beginning to benefit from, and indeed promote in the case of Kent and Campoamor. This rendered many Republican women as spectators, negatively impacting their social, political and economic position. Through the composition of autobiographical texts, many Spanish women were able to address issues which were embedded in the realities of forced expatriation, thus giving a voice to women through literature.

In her 1991 article which also examines autobiographical works and her 1995 monograph on "memory texts", Mangini assesses a number of female-authored texts

which address the experience of war, prison and exile.⁶² She highlights a number of characteristics: the authors have a propensity not to see themselves as ‘main characters in their own life stories’ and include accounts of many other people, utilizing what she calls ‘the urgent solitary voice of collective testimony’ (1991: 173). Many of the works considered in her monograph are characterised by an overarching contribution to collective testimony (1995: 58). Highlighting the validity of autobiographical texts as sites in which the reader may assimilate the historical value of women’s first-hand accounts, she states:

The strength of these female autobiographers and many others is that they speak both as individuals and as part of a collective consciousness that was deprived of its dignity, its democracy, its freedom, its country. [...] Their voices form a unique chorus: no other historical, sociological, or literary source has provided us with such insights into the lives of Spanish women and the impact of the civil war on their lives. (1991: 186)

These voices do indeed form a ‘unique chorus’, increasing the visibility of women’s concerns. Female memory texts also ‘provide a unique opportunity for reconceptualising and reappraising the definition of genre when dealing with the immense lacuna between Western man’s autobiographical practice and the outlaw voices of collective testimony’ (1995: 66). It is productive to assess exilic autobiographical texts beyond their undeniable value as first-hand accounts, as suggestive literary works in which an emerging poetics exclusively related to exile can be investigated.

For the purposes of this chapter, I have chosen two fascinating exilic autobiographical texts which pose significant questions concerning generic boundaries and representations of gender. In Victoria Kent’s *Cuatro años en París* and Luisa Carnés’s *El eslabón perdido* both authors renounce their own female authorial voice in favour of a male protagonist, transcending expectations of genre and gender. It is relevant to note that second-stage theorists also commenced a continuing debate as to ‘how narrowly or broadly to construct the field of [women’s] autobiographical texts’ (Smith and Watson 1998a: 11).⁶³ The degree of variation in women’s autobiographical strategies imbues their writing with a characteristic breaking of generic moulds, which

⁶² Mangini states that the label “memory texts” permits her ‘to subsume under it both testimonials and written texts’ (1995: 188n. 19).

⁶³ As expressed in 0.2 and 0.3, an inclusionary approach is considered productive for tracing a poetics of exile.

has been well documented. However, women's autobiographical texts which feature a male protagonist or narrator as the chief focaliser are particularly uncommon, given that women's autobiographical writing is often a textual space of self-assertion in which to constitute the female subject, amongst other ends. The texts by Kent and Carnés thus go against the generic and theoretical grain. Superficially, the presence of the male focalisers would suggest that *Cuatro años en París* and *El eslabón perdido* appear to conform to generic expectations associated with fiction. However, if they are considered simply as fiction, or even as autobiographical novels, significant elements of these works would be overlooked. An ultimately more productive examination of these sophisticated texts illuminates them as suggestive examples of autofiction. The sub-genre of autofiction gives the author a creative liberty to oscillate between the genres of autobiography and fiction, playfully and purposefully reaping the benefits of each. A theoretical definition of autofiction, and the justification for considering these selected texts as examples of this sub-genre, will be given in (3.2) Autofiction.

The analysis of both texts as works of autofiction raises a series of pertinent questions. What does the authors' conscious generic choice enable the texts to achieve? What are the resulting dialogical implications? In a monograph on the novels of the writer Nuria Amat, Capdevila-Argüelles postulates '[w]hen a female author produces texts that escape conventional narrative moulds, the relationship between gender and genre is summoned to the scene with all its critical impact' (2002: 11).⁶⁴ A consideration of the texts by Kent and Carnés as works of autofiction, that purposefully transcend the conventions of autobiography and fiction, dramatically unveils the complex presence of polyphonic voices within the text.⁶⁵ As will be discussed, it is fruitful to consider interior and exterior spatial articulations of polyphony in the specific locations of the house and the respective cities of Paris and Mexico. Considering these exilic works as sophisticated examples of autofiction, enriched by the polyphonic possibilities this hybrid genre affords, makes them a unique forum for a gendered reading of this genre. This chapter considers the authors' ostensibly ironic renunciation

⁶⁴ Her monograph is not a study on autobiography but provides an interesting exploration of the relationship between gender and genre (and their 'representational domain[s]') through the consideration of Amat's works. Capdevila-Argüelles establishes an approach, a 'blend of feminism, psychoanalysis and narratology [...] so that the generic and gender expectations, challenged and transcended by Amat, can be elucidated'. Amat's books are considered as 'situated halfway between the language of theory and the strategies of fiction' (viii).

⁶⁵ Bakhtin initially posited his theories on polyphony, considering Dostoevsky as the creator of the polyphonic novel, in *Problemy tvorchestva Dostoevskogo* (1929). He published a revised edition in 1963. The translation consulted is *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (1984).

of a female authorial voice in favour of polyphony as purposeful. This necessitates an examination of the relationship between genre, gender and nation, given that the texts share an underlying aim. As highlighted in 0.3, they are fuelled by a particular concern for the collective exile population and for the future of the Republic in exile. Ultimately, a gendered reading of these exilic texts as works of autofiction in which polyphony manifests itself as a key aspect of a poetics of exile poses three questions. How are these texts situated in relation to women's autobiographical texts that are characterised by their aspiration to validate women's voice in order to achieve the constitutive self-assertion of the female subject? Would they merit inclusion in an archive/canon of women's autobiographical writing? Thirdly, is it possible for a polyphonic voice to contribute to the 'unique chorus' and 'urgent voices of collective testimony' referred to by Mangini? These issues will be addressed in (3.3) Spatial Articulations of Polyphony and (3.4) Polyphony, Genre, Gender and Nation.

3.2 Autofiction

In the prologue to *Fils* (1977), Doubrovsky coined the neologism 'autofiction' in response to a question posed by Philippe Lejeune in *Le Pacte autobiographique* regarding the ambiguous genre's tangible or potential existence (1975: 28-32). Lejeune includes a nine-box table. Adjacent to the vertical columns he lists the fictional pact, an absent pact and the autobiographical pact. Above the horizontal rows he lists three possibilities regarding the name of the principal character as either not equal to the name of the author, not named, or equal to the author's name (28). Lejeune argues that of the nine combinations only seven are possible. Concerning the eighth combination, that Doubrovsky subsequently termed autofiction, Lejeune states:

Rien n'empêcherait la chose d'exister, et c'est peut-être une contradiction interne dont on pourrait tirer des effets intéressants. Mais, dans la pratique, aucun exemple ne se présente à l'esprit d'une telle recherche . [...] [S]i la contradiction interne était volontairement choisie par un auteur, elle n'aboutirait jamais à un texte qu'on lirait comme une autobiographie; ni vraiment non plus comme un roman; mais à un jeu pirandellien d'ambiguïté. A ma connaissance, c'est un jeu auquel on ne joue pratiquement jamais *pour de bon*. (31-32. Emphasis in the original)

It is now widely accepted that it is possible to classify a significant number of literary texts, preceding *Fils*, as autofiction. Theoretical discussions of autofiction have been

mostly undertaken by French critics.⁶⁶ In Spain Manuel Alberca has made a significant contribution to the study of this curious hybrid genre in Spanish and Spanish American literature, and whose generic definition forms the theoretical basis for considering *Cuatro años en París* and *El eslabón perdido* as autofiction.

The principal characteristic of autofiction is that of an ambiguous synthesis of autobiography and fiction:

Aunque la autoficción es un relato que se presenta como novela, es decir como ficción, o sin determinación genérica (nunca como autobiografía o memorias), se caracteriza por tener una apariencia autobiográfica, ratificada por la identidad nominal de autor, narrador y personaje. Es precisamente este cruce de géneros lo que configura un espacio narrativo de perfiles contradictorios, pues transgrede o al menos contraviene por igual el principio de distanciamiento de autor y personaje que rige el pacto novelesco y el principio de veracidad del pacto autobiográfico. (Alberca 2005-6: 115-116)

Before explaining the ambiguous pact to which autofiction pertains, it is necessary to acknowledge defining attributes of the autobiographical and fictional pacts. Lejeune delineates *autobiography* as a ‘[r]écit rétrospectif en prose qu’une personne réelle fait de sa propre existence, lorsqu’elle met l’accent sur sa vie individuelle, en particulier sur l’histoire de sa personnalité’ (1975: 14). ‘L’identité du nom (auteur-narrateur-personnage)’ (26) is shared. It adheres to the autobiographical pact: the textual affirmation of this identity. Lejeune explains that the forms of the pact are diverse but all manifest ‘l’intention d’honorer sa *signature*’ (26. Emphasis in the original). The pact is a contract between author and reader in which, as Franklin highlights, ‘the autobiographer commits him- or her-self not to some impossible historical exactitude but rather to the sincere effort to come to terms with and to represent his or her own life’ (11).

The pact inherent in *fiction* is that the protagonist or narrator is not the author and that the textual material is invented. Although a fictional work may contain autobiographical material the text is never offered as an autobiography.⁶⁷ Adhering to neither pact, ‘[l]a autoficción, es [...] un cruce de pactos narrativos distintos, que en principio entendemos como antagónicos y excluyentes’ (Alberca 2004: 242). Oscillating between these opposing pacts, the author embarks on a beneficial and transgressive game, utilising textual indications that signal a deliberate interplay

⁶⁶ See Lecarme (1993), Colonna (2004), Gasparini (2004) and Vilain (2009).

⁶⁷ For a detailed analysis of the fictional pact see Alberca (2007: 70-78).

between the two. In his 1996 article 'El pacto ambiguo', Alberca provides a table in order to define the purposefully ambiguous counterpact to which autofiction adheres (12).⁶⁸ Firstly, the author appears to present the reader with a text that adheres to the fictional pact but it also mirrors the element of the autobiographical pact that dictates that the narrator-protagonist shares the author's name. However, its crucial divergence is that the author of autofiction does not offer their text as 'truth', but as an indissoluble combination of fictitious and autobiographical elements (2005-6: 123).

Shared nominal identity between the author and the narrator/protagonist is considered a constituent aspect of autofiction. As Kent and Carnés have opted for a male narrator/protagonist as the dominant focaliser, the nominal identity of the respective protagonists, Plácido and César, does not match their own names. Therefore, these texts superficially appear to be autobiographical novels.⁶⁹ Alberca concedes in certain cases, such as the use of a pseudonym or an anonymous 'personaje-narrador', if there is a tacit identification 'a través de otros datos exclusivos del autor, como nombres familiares, fecha de nacimiento, títulos de obras, etc., que inequívocamente remiten al autor que firma el texto', the texts may be considered as examples of autofiction (2004: 237, 241). In his extended 2007 study, Alberca affirms that even when the narrator-protagonist does not share the author's name, paratextual information such as interviews or public declarations are sufficient indices to resolve the issue of non-homonymous or absent nominal identity (224-250 [249]).

In terms of the nominal identity of Plácido, it is pertinent to consider the specific political circumstances in which Kent composed her text. She was on the blacklist given to the Vichy government by Franco's authorities and was living in hiding, unable to leave France. Pursued by the Gestapo, she purposefully obscured her identity in a pseudonym in the event of the manuscript being located. In the 1978 prologue, Kent explains the pragmatic concerns underlying the role of Plácido and choice of principally third-person narration:

⁶⁸ Reproduced in (2005-6: 119).

⁶⁹ The strategy afforded by the autobiographical novel is a mask behind which the author can purposefully be camouflaged. As Alberca explains 'la novela autobiográfica es un relato que esconde primero, para mostrar disimuladamente después, la relación entre la verdadera biografía y personalidad del autor empírico y la biografía y personalidad del narrador o del protagonista ficticio' (2007: 113). This reading is fruitful, yet limiting for Kent's and Carnés's texts as their rich dialogic implications suggest the relationship between the authors and César and Plácido is more complex. For Alberca's detailed examination of key aspects of the autobiographical novel see (99-113).

Sólo diré por qué, hasta el luminoso día en que salieron de París los alemanes, al anotar yo el largo transcurrir de aquel tiempo según iba pasando, fui poniendo la historia en tercera persona, el imaginario Plácido. Ingenua precaución ante el temor de que aquellas páginas — estas páginas — cayeran, tal vez antes que yo misma, en manos de la policía nazi y que ésta las pasara a los agentes de Franco. Esto podría suponer — imaginaba yo — que, aparte un mayor riesgo para mi propia persona, por el hilo se sacara el ovillo y se llegara a descubrir y pedir cuentas al noble diplomático o funcionario consular que hizo llegar hasta mí el aviso salvador. [CA: 7]

In the case of *El eslabón perdido*, textual indices imply a tacit identification between Carnés and the protagonist César Alcántara. Antonio Plaza highlights in a number of footnotes members of César's family that correspond to Luisa Carnés's family, for example: 'Una vez más, se trata de un personaje real. Los recuerdos infantiles de la autora renacen a través de la abuela materna, Anastasia Aparicio Silva, que convivió con Luisa y su familia entre 1910 y 1920' [EP: 183 n.186]. Furthermore, the geographical, historical and social situation of César Alcántara corresponds entirely with that of Carnés. In reference to the duration of his exilic experience in Mexico, César states: 'Dieciocho años no son nada en la historia, pero en una vida son muchos años' [EP: 81]. This corresponds chronologically to the number of years Luisa had spent in Mexico upon the text's composition in 1957. *El eslabón perdido* was completed in 1962 and was not published until 2002, after her death. Thus, unlike *Cuatro años en París*, there are no paratextual indices regarding Carnés's generic classification of her text or justification for resolving non-homonymous nominal identity. However, at the time of composition Carnés was an experienced writer reaching what Plaza considers the mature peak of her literary career (2002: 13). Given the perception of autobiography at the time as a primarily masculine genre, it is possible that Luisa was aware the composition of an autobiography risked a negative reception. Stanton elucidates this historical issue: "autobiographical" constituted a positive term when applied to Augustine and Montaigne, Rousseau and Goethe, Henry Adams and Henry Miller, but [...] it had negative connotations when imposed on women's texts' (1987a: 4).

By acknowledging these textual and paratextual indices, it is valid to consider these works as autofiction. If these texts were to be studied as autobiographies, fiction or autobiographical novels this would overlook both Kent's and Carnés's purposeful transgression of respective generic limitations. Alberca highlights the innovative possibilities afforded by autofiction's characteristic hybridity:

Estos relatos autoficcionales desplazan los límites estables que separan la autobiografía de la novela o la ficción de la historia, para establecer puentes y fusiones entre estos territorios, que de manera solapada o discreta señalan un campo de posible innovación. (2004: 239)

Autofiction provides an ideal ambiguous textual terrain in which to exploit the benefits of autobiography and fiction in order to achieve a higher artistic truth. The authors' decision to centre their texts on a male protagonist is not one governed solely by pragmatic reasons, as the protagonist-narrator of autofiction is imbued with a complex, ambiguous identity:

La propuesta y la práctica autoficcional [...] [es] confundir persona y personaje o en hacer de la propia persona un personaje, insinuando, de manera confusa y contradictoria, que ese personaje *es y no es* el autor. Esta ambigüedad, calculada o espontánea, constituye uno de los rasgos más característicos de la autoficción. (Alberca 2007: 32. Emphasis in the original)

As they do not desire to provide a cohesive identity, Kent and Carnés sought to find a way of writing their autobiographical texts without generic constraint. They are explicit in their ambiguity, providing the addressee with a form of identity that is not possible in autobiography. In the case of Kent's text, further information confirms this. On its first publication in Spain in 1978, she would have to defend before her editors at Bruguera the validity of Plácido's presence in the text. This particular publication corresponded to a growing interest in Kent as an eminent figure of the Republic in exile, thus the editor-in-chief Jorge Gubern Ribalta proposed that the text be renamed *Cuatro años de mi vida* in order to maximise its autobiographical appeal.⁷⁰ The editors also asked her to eliminate Plácido from the book and change the narrative to the first person only. The considerable generic implications of these two requests elicited a furious response from the author:

No modifico nada del libro, allá el Sr. Giner con sus observaciones, que casi son mandatos. Plácido es la expresión más fiel de nuestra naturaleza, fuerte — sin miramientos — en ocasiones y sensitiva y dulce cuando la ocasión es propicia. Y así ha de quedar o no publico esa segunda edición en Bruguera.⁷¹

⁷⁰ In Gubern Ribalta's letter to Kent, dated 10 April 1978. This fragment is included in Gutiérrez-Vega (302).

⁷¹ In Kent's letter to Consuelo Berges, dated 25 July 1978. This fragment is included in Gutiérrez-Vega (304).

Therefore, the essential presence of Plácido as a male protagonist commands a reading of *Cuatro años en París* beyond the limits of autobiography or fiction. To superimpose these modifications onto Kent's text would imply a cohesive authorial identity and thus undermine its intentional distance from autobiography and fiction and would eliminate the dialogical implications made possible through its configuration as a work of autofiction.

Carnés, as an exiled woman, may pragmatically bestow agency onto César Alcántara, yet to consider her text as an autobiography or an autobiographical novel would be reductive as it is precisely its configuration as a hybrid text that permits the underlying complexity of the polyphonic voices. Approaching these transgressive texts as autofiction elucidates a creative, artistic motive, beyond pragmatic justifications of selecting a male protagonist. In these unique exilic texts, the presence of César and Plácido pushes the boundaries of this hybrid genre even further in terms of its dialogic implications. In both texts the voice accorded primary importance is ostensibly that of the male protagonist/narrator, yet a productive gendered reading of these texts as autofiction highlights the complexity of the polyphonic voices as a key aspect of a poetics of exile. Polyphony is a crucial component in the authors' realisation of their text's purpose, an endeavour which is firmly anchored in their exilic reality. Through the tracing of this aspect, the influence exile has on the creative process is again illuminated.

3.3 Spatial Articulations of Polyphony

Bakhtin employs the term polyphony to describe a dialogical text which 'incorporates a rich plurality and multiplicity of voices', as opposed to a monological text which depends on the 'centrality of a single authoritative voice'.⁷² With reference to the 'ideological facet' Rimmon-Kenan explains:

This facet, often referred to as "the norms of the text", consists of "a general system of viewing the world conceptually", in accordance with which the events and characters of the story are evaluated. (Uspensky 1973, p.8). In the simplest case, the 'norms' are presented through a single dominant perspective, that of the narrator-focalizer. [...] [T]he ideology of the narrator-focalizer is usually

⁷²See entry in Henderson and Brown's web-based *Glossary of Literary Theory*.
<http://www.library.utoronto.ca/utel/glossary/Polyphonic_novel.html> [last consulted 19/02/12].

taken as authoritative, and all other ideologies in the text are evaluated from this 'higher position'. (82-83)

He goes on to explain that in more complex cases, 'the single authoritative external focalizer gives way to a plurality of ideological positions. [...] Some of these positions may concur in part or in whole, others may be mutually opposed, the interplay among them provoking a non-unitary, 'polyphonic' reading of the text' (83).

In the consideration of *Cuatro años en París* and *El eslabón perdido* as works of autofiction, it is possible to trace the presence of a masculine and a feminine voice in a gendered stratification of polyphony, which can be appreciated in clear spatial articulations. The systematic analysis of spatial articulations of polyphony in interior and exterior spaces such as the house and the city reveals a communication of masculine and feminine voices in the consciousness of Plácido and César. In his study of Dostoevsky, Bakhtin considers his novels as characterised by '[a] plurality of independent and unmerged voices and consciousnesses, a genuine polyphony of fully valid voices' (1984: 6). In both Kent's and Carnés's texts the masculine and feminine polyphonic voices are fully valid but they come to converge in their respective protagonists/focalizers. An analysis of the spatial articulations of these polyphonic voices illustrates how in Plácido and César these voices are primarily in problematic juxtaposition at the level of their consciousness. Within this multifaceted communication these gendered voices remain in conflict until the culmination of a complex spatial trajectory, at which point the voices harmoniously merge in the genesis of an androgynous voice, embraced by the focaliser.⁷³ The generic possibilities afforded by autofiction illuminate the genesis of a fully valid androgynous voice which has undergone a dialogical interaction with polyphonic masculine and feminine voices, fundamentally questioning received and essentialist notions of gender.

The physical location and exilic condition of both authors at the time of composition situates *Cuatro años en París* and *El eslabón perdido* in a concrete socio-political context. The literature of exile is, by nature, imbued with a complex textual

⁷³ For an interesting discussion of the significance of 'androgyny' in the study of literature see Furness 'The Androgynous Ideal: Its Significance in German Literature' (1965: 58-64). Highlighting the elevation of hermaphrodites to a desired paradisiac state of harmonious unity in Plato's Symposium, Furness advocates that 'androgyny is a state of perfection, that the androgyne is a harmonious entity in which all dissonances are resolved, that separation and differentiation are a curse and fusion and similarity a blessing - [and that] these beliefs are deeply rooted in literature, philosophy and religion' (58). He further states that this privileging of the 'androgynous condition' can be traced throughout the history of literature, representing the potential for 'all differences, including that of the sexes, [to be] transcended' (58).

negotiation of space as the physical space of exile is permeated by confinement and literary space allows for a socio-political negotiation and analysis of this condition. The principal spatial location in *Cuatro años en París* is that of enclosed interior spaces, first a residential room in the Mexican embassy and latterly the secret Parisian flat. On first reading, the masculine voice of the dominant focaliser Plácido appears diametrically opposed to that of feminine solidarity typical in other female-authored exilic autobiographical texts. Mangini states: ‘Kent philosophizes in a coldly analytical fashion about war and destruction’ (1991: 173). She attributes this to her training as a politician: ‘Kent was not a writer by trade, [...] her style is analytical, as befits a political figure’ (1995: 157). However, there is textual evidence that suggests otherwise. In the consideration of Kent’s text as a refined example of autofiction, the analysis of spatial articulations of polyphony highlights how Plácido’s masculine voice is purposefully subverted over four chapters. He goes through a steep learning curve induced by a polyphonic feminine voice; simultaneously his voice becomes increasingly feminized. Close textual study suggests this voice emerges questioning Plácido’s gendered observations.⁷⁴

Kent thus sets up a subversion of the subordinate feminine perspective of exile by inverting masculine and feminine experiences of space. By placing the exiled male Plácido within the four walls of the clandestine residential room and flat Kent creates a dialogue that questions the voices and identities associated with gender binaries and space. In these enclosed interior spaces, the masculine voice typically associated with the mind, reason and rationality finds itself colliding and melding with feminine spaces of the body, home and imagination. In the opening paragraphs of the first chapter, ‘Las cuatro paredes’, Plácido learns he can no longer walk freely in Paris and must go into hiding due to which he expresses ‘infinita tristeza’. Trapped in a feminine room, he strives to remain rational in his internalised discourse when assessing his situation:

⁷⁴ The philosophically dense nature and complexity of Kent’s text is reflected in a number of diverse critical interpretations and generic classifications. See Gutiérrez-Vega, Pacheco (2001a), Samblancat (1997a), Mangini (1991 and 1995), Villena, Cate-Arries (2004), Ramos (1998 and 1999). A number of these consider Plácido to be Kent’s alter ego: Gutiérrez-Vega, Samblancat (1997a) and Villena. None of the listed analyses approach the text as autofiction. My interpretation of it as a work of autofiction focuses on the implications of the polyphonic voices. In this regard, Ferrán’s paper ‘*Cuatro años en París*, de Victoria Kent: la “doble voz” en la escritura femenina del exilio’ (1998) is particularly interesting as it identifies a number of voices and usefully does not consider Plácido to be an alter ego. Ferrán’s analysis of the interaction between Plácido and a feminine voice informs elements of my discussion of Plácido’s approximation to this feminine voice, but our theoretical approaches and conclusions are different. My analysis diverges crucially in that I do not share the view that the feminine voice is attributable to Kent, nor is Plácido merely a symbol of patriarchy. Neither Plácido’s voice, nor the feminine voice, nor the androgynous voice is equal to Kent’s voice, as will be argued.

‘Plácido se sentía sereno y quería ordenar delante de sí mismo, mirándolos de frente, los acontecimientos que pudieran sucederse, quería establecer una serie de hipótesis y deducir soluciones posibles. Era necesario, urgía ver claro’ [CA: 14]. The room, decorated with floral wallpaper, is presumed to have initially belonged to a woman and had not been altered, the presence of feminine objects and furniture intensifying its incongruity: ‘Pero ¡aquella habitación tan grande! Él no necesitaba una habitación tan grande, ni aquellas butacas, ni aquellas cortinas ni azules ni verdes, indefinidas, ni aquellos espejos’ [CA: 14]. The specific reference to the room’s mirrors is significant, as the presence of mirrors in autobiographical writing is threatening, symbolic of revealing a higher truth: ‘Qué absurdo, estarse viendo siempre, tener constantemente delante de sí su imagen y no poder olvidarse nunca de sí mismo’ [CA: 14-5]. The mirrors project an image onto him of being incarcerated in a house, which he considers a woman’s place, threatening his ability to remain rational in a feminine space:

quería perseguir sus razonamientos, pero quedaba cautivo en el umbral de un juicio y éste se descomponía en imágenes. Todo era tan extraño en aquella habitación, que no podía asir su pensamiento que corría sin descanso de un ángulo a otro. Aquel mobiliario le producía verdadera perturbación. [CA: 15]

His reflection provokes a destabilising effect on these attempts. It is at this point that a polyphonic voice, that we later learn to be a female voice, simultaneously enters the spatial location: ‘Mientras tanto, los acontecimientos posibles mostraban su perfil detrás de las butacas, de las cortinas del espejo. En aquel silencio casi absoluto entraban y salían ruidos habituales, voces extrañas’ [CA: 15].

Plácido slowly becomes accustomed to his surroundings, influenced by a feminine polyphonic voice at the level of his sub-consciousness. He begins to redefine what he first considered a suffocating feminine space as an open space which facilitates imagination rather than rational reflection:

Yo era un hombre libre. ¿De dónde viene, pues, esta sensación de libertad que se adueña de mí desde hace unos días? Mi mundo lo constituye esta habitación que sería pequeña si tuviera otra para establecer una comparación; como ella constituye toda mi vivienda, cada día toma para mí proporciones más respetables. [...] [E]s para mí un mundo sin límites esta habitación; en esta habitación me encuentro libre y este nuevo estado de mi espíritu me sorprende. [CA: 31]

In the following chapter, he periodically, at risk, enters the exterior space of the city. On one occasion he hires a bicycle and loses his identity card during the excursion. Ferrán considers this to be a pivotal episode that witnesses Plácido losing the signifiers of his identity, particularly with regard to the paternal line (1998: 492-493). He ceases to be concerned by the logical implications of the loss of his identity card. Instead, its loss represents the possibility to ‘desarrollar una nueva identidad, o identidades’ (493). His euphoric statement is symbolic of his willingness to embrace feminization:

Te llevaba imprudentemente, como se lleva en el bolsillo un revólver sin el seguro. [...] el resultado es que estoy más libre sin ti que contigo. ¡Adiós, *récépissé*; buen viaje! Soy un recién nacido a quien el papá no ha inscrito todavía en el registro civil: estoy a tiempo de elegir mi nombre. [CA: 81]

This process is not facile and linear. For example, Plácido subsequently attempts to locate his original masculine voice to analyse in the rational, logical fashion that characterised his initial entrance into the clandestine room. Yet, once again a feminine polyphonic voice pollutes his train of thought and now enters into an explicit dialogue with him:

trataba de encauzar su pensamiento, buscaba claridad, precisión. [...] Pero esta vez la otra persona que llevaba dentro, que de vez en cuando le jugaba malas pasadas, reía irónica y reticente: “Tú ¿qué eres desde que no tienes un papel, una cifra, un nombre? Si nada de eso posees y te ves obligado a decir quién eres, ¿qué dirás?”. [CA: 86]

Although Mangini correctly states ‘there is practically no action’ in the text (1991: 179), Ferrán rightly posits that Plácido’s feminization is a valid subplot: ‘[e]sta trama alternativa es la que traza un desarrollo progresivo del personaje de Plácido. Es la trama que presenta una especie de transformación en que el personaje se va identificando más y más fuertemente con imágenes típicamente femeninas’ (1998: 488). Careful tracing of this underlying plot reveals how Plácido’s masculine, analytical voice is feminized in a polyphonic dialogue. The essentialist masculine-feminine binary set up by Kent in which men and women are diametrically opposed by reason and imagination may seem contrived to contemporary readers, yet we must not fail to appreciate prevailing norms and her experiences as a woman during the short democracy and subsequently in exile. An analysis of spatial articulations of masculine and feminine polyphonic voices suggests the deconstruction of gender binaries in the principal

protagonist is indeed the essential underlying plot for the understanding of a key dimension of Kent's political and philosophical message. It is relevant to consider here Plácido's evolved observation regarding men's and women's experience of exile:

Por lo que respecta a la mujer, creo que ha llegado el momento de que se la haga justicia en este terreno. Poco a poco se le hará; en esto, como en tantas otras cosas, confío en el futuro. Se ha dicho que el exilio es un dolor más profundo para el hombre que para la mujer, porque para la mujer la patria es su hogar y su hogar va con ella. No hay que decir que esta y otras opiniones son opiniones masculinas; en general, de hombres desterrados. [CA: 70].

Towards the end of the final chapter, there is a shift in the narrative from the third to the first person. Ferrán suggests:

Con la liberación de París al final de la novela, la voz narrativa del texto también “se libera”, y en ese preciso momento surge una voz femenina en primera persona que, en una inversión del juego metaficticio Unamuniano de *Niebla*, le deja saber al protagonista masculino que ya no le necesita para seguir contando su historia. (1998: 486)

Ferrán argues that this female voice is Kent's and also suggests that Plácido's voice is no longer relevant. However, Kent's political ethos advocated that political and social change is only possible by means of education and a gender-collaborative effort. Considered in this light, bearing in mind the transgressive possibilities autofiction permits, it is evident that the masculine and feminine polyphonic voices, in fact, merge to create a third androgynous voice. This androgynous progressive voice exploits the first-person plural 'nosotros': 'hablemos de nosotros' [CA: 169]. Following the articulation of what Plácido and the female voice have learned from each other, it is relevant to consider this statement:

Tú y yo somos una sola persona, ya lo ves, es lo irremediable, y tan perfecta es esta unión, que yo comencé hablando por ti y tú terminas hablando por mí, sin que ni tú ni yo nos hayamos dado cuenta. [CA: 171]

The androgynous voice created by the deconstruction of gender binaries is symbolic of the educative and gender-collaborative policies Kent supported. The attainment of an intelligent, sophisticated, and responsible understanding between men and women, which could potentially lead to political progress and women's liberation, is a message that has as its source the strategies she employed as a politician. This affirms that the

initial masculine voice pertaining to Plácido is not incongruous but purposefully created in a specifically creative endeavour. In this autofiction, polyphony, as a key aspect of a poetics of exile, challenges Plácido to reconsider essentialist notions of gender.

The feminine voice must engage with Plácido over a long period of time to achieve these desired results. However, it is crucial to note that Plácido is not a unidimensional character and is far from a simple symbol of patriarchy. His philosophical observations on war, peace and liberty are articulate and he is a valuable interlocutor in his own right. As such, it is clear that a reconsideration of essentialist notions of gender is only one dimension of Kent's message. The feminine voice must not only challenge Plácido's stance on gender, it must also learn from his voice. Neither voice is effective in isolation with regard to the health and longevity of the Republic in exile. For Kent, gender-collaboration is a pre-requisite to this larger issue. As such, this chapter argues that Plácido is not Kent's alter ego. It also considers that neither the masculine, nor the feminine nor the androgynous polyphonic voice is wholly equatable to Kent. Elements of each fully valid voice are mutually important and necessary in the ambiguous presentation of identity that is crucial to autofiction, and equally crucial to comprehending Kent's stance concerning gender and nation in exile. A cohesive unified identity would provide a prescriptive message and would not engage the reader in the way Kent desires him or her to extract her implicit multi-faceted message, hence her refusal to impose it and rebuttal of the editor's requests. The ideological facets of all three voices are of equal importance. Although the androgynous voice echoes Kent's message and political identity, it is not wholly attributable to Kent. It is, and is not, the author. The dialogical implications of *Cuatro años en París* are purposefully complex, as only its reading as autofiction can clarify.

Since *El eslabón perdido* was composed eighteen years after Kent's work, an analysis of spatial articulations of polyphony must consider the chronological implications of the first-generation exile's geographical and psychological relationship with interior and exterior spaces. Said states:

exile, unlike nationalism, is fundamentally a discontinuous state of being. Exiles are cut off from their roots, their land, their past. [...] Exiles feel, therefore, an urgent need to reconstitute their broken lives, usually by choosing to see themselves as part of a triumphant ideology or a restored people. (1990: 360)

For César Alcántara, his exilic condition as a first-generation exile is aggravated by the generational conflict that has arisen in his family. In the eighteen exilic years in Mexico, he has witnessed how his children's memories of Spain have faded and simultaneously his own have become more acute: 'En ellos, los recuerdos son menos crueles, y casi se han extinguido. Ésa es una de las muchas cosas que nos separan. Estamos juntos, pero nuestros pensamientos siguen distintos derroteros' [EP: 82]. In addition, his children consider themselves Mexican and are uninterested in their heritage, the Republic and Republican values, thereby increasing César's psychological distance from the homeland:

Ellos le tienen apego a todo esto. [...] El maíz de América se ha sumado a su sangre y los ha hecho suyos. Hemos engendrado hijos para una patria ajena. Hemos criado hijos, que se han hecho hombres y le vuelven la espalda a su padre. [...] Los veo ya casi devorados por el monstruo que me ha respetado durante muchos años: América. [...] Mi raíz en el aire, tantos años desprendida de su tronco, no ha fructificado fuera de su tierra. [EP: 82-83]

César is the sole living parent as his wife died in a bomb attack during the Civil War. As a widower, he experiences a need to perform the roles of both maternal and paternal figures. In a study of the construction of gender roles as delineated in manuals and texts corresponding to the first-generation exile's formative decades, Nash explains that:

the prevalent model of gender prototypes [...] still presented an acute differentiation between the sexes. Thus, reason, logic, reflection, analytical and intellectual capacity, and creativity were said to be the prerogatives of men, while sentimentality, affectivity, sensitivity, sweetness, intuition, passivity, and abnegation were exclusive characteristics of women. (1995: 13)

In terms of its assimilation into family life this 'proposed gender model, was, of course, extremely effective in reinforcing the view that women were naturally apt for complete dedication to the home and family' (13). In *El eslabón perdido* the masculine and feminine polyphonic voices reify these received notions of gender and are problematically juxtaposed in the divided consciousness of the chief focaliser, César. In the absence of his wife, César 'como padre y madre de familia' [EP: 239] internalises his assimilation of received notions of gender. The death of his children's mother does not signify the death of a feminine voice in the family as it augments the femininity in the figure of the father rendering his own masculinity, and articulations of his masculine

voice in the home, problematic. As César himself alludes to: ‘Era difícil hacer de padre y madre a la vez con los pequeños’ [EP: 99].

The first chapter begins with a description of the house César inhabits with his children Pepe and Amparín:

Todo es agradable, forma parte de mi vida, pero no lo amo. Nada de lo que hay en el cuarto ha echado raíces en mí. Lo siento ajeno. Aquí está mi trabajo de muchos años. Aquí están mis arrugas, mis canas, mi cansancio. Pero no está mi alma. [...] Me siento huésped interino de estos muros. [EP: 81]

Given the family’s geographical isolation from Spain, César’s house is located in treacherous liminality, further exacerbated by the physical absence of his wife. Pérez Firmat (xiii-xiv) explains that modern discussion of liminality originates from van Gennep’s (1909) consideration of the liminal moment as the interstitial stage — ‘an ephemeral moment destined for supersession’ — in the ‘three-step process of ritual initiation (separation, margin or limen, and reaggregation)’ (xiii). He further explains that Turner (1969) adjoined a synchronic dimension, considering liminality as not only a ‘transition between states’, but also as a ‘state in itself’ (xiii). Pérez Firmat argues that liminality is in fact a position: ‘the liminal entity [...] is one that in a given situation takes up a position of eccentricity, one that occupies the periphery in relation to a contextually determined center’ (xiv). In exile, the liminal entity of César’s house takes up a position of eccentricity in his attempts to create a femininized space. He attempts to generate in his house a microcosm of Republican Spain through which to transmit his roots and matrilineal Republican values through his conscious assimilation of a polyphonic feminine voice.

Echoing received notions of femininity, César adopts the role of the carer and sentimental nurturer to connect the home to the “Madre Patria” [EP: 143]. In the first reference to his experience in Argelès-sur-Mer, he decisively compares the loss of the homeland to the loss of a mother: ‘Abasolo y yo preferimos quedarnos quietos [...] como dos niños que no se hacen a la muerte de su madre’ [EP: 120]. As posited by Kaminsky:

For the Spanish speaker, the grammatical femininity of the word *patria* makes it possible to ignore the semantic connection in favour of the morphological one. Shifting the meaning of *patria* from masculine to feminine can be a powerful discursive tactic. (6)

The homeland is allegorized as female, imbued with maternal tropes of Republican Spain, and in the feminized microcosm of the house, César attempts to emulate motherhood as a powerful bond. This is incongruous with patriarchy. Byron highlights: ‘[the] transformative trope of motherhood links personal and national allegory, yet is virtually ignored in the patriarchal family structure of revolutionary history’ (156). As a feminized son of the ‘Madre Patria’, César emphasizes the role of female genealogy in the preservation of Republican lineage and ideologies making frequent reference to his grandmother Anastasia Aparicio Silva.⁷⁵ He will not risk bringing another woman into his house in the event that his microcosm is shattered. He considers Mexican women as diametrically opposed to the matrilineal lineage to which he belongs:

jóvenes muy compuestas, cuya fotografía no hubiera hecho mal papel en cualquier revista de modas francesa, que fumaban y nada tenían que ver con las madres de mis años mozos, a las que yo recordaba con especial ternura, porque así era la mía, y a las que soñaba se asemejase algún día mi Amparín. [EP: 156-157]

Preferring to imitate the enigmatic example of his wife, mother and grandmother, César justifies: ‘¿No es la criatura producto de aquello de que se nutre?’ [EP: 151].

The actions of his children, however, make him aware that the microcosm is not sustainable: ‘Mi influencia sobre mis hijos es débil, no traspasa la puerta de la calle’ [EP: 133]. Within this liminal space, the celibate César self-feminizes through the assimilation of characteristics culturally associated with femininity. His children question their father’s feminized voice, and by extension his masculinity, and encourage him to seek a partner. César concedes that his children perceive him as outmoded: ‘Mis hijos me ven al pasado’ [EP: 182] and that, in order to heal the generational conflict, he feels obliged to reaffirm his masculine voice in exterior spaces outside the family home. In an attempt to reassert his masculine bond to the nation he takes his children to a party held by Santacana, a compatriot he met in Argèles-sur-Mer. He hopes, in turn, to strengthen his children’s weakening bond with the homeland. César adopts an assertive, protective, almost disciplinary, masculine voice:

Mis hijos son españoles, y siempre lo serán. Yo defiendo mi derecho a conservarlos míos y de la patria. Por más que digan, unos años fuera de la tierra natal no son bastante para destruir lo esencial en el hombre, aunque la ausencia y la distancia debiliten o borren las imágenes percibidas en la primera edad. Mis

⁷⁵ Anastasia Aparicio Silva is Luisa Carnés’s grandmother and was an extremely influential figure to her.

hijos, nuestros hijos, no pueden ser ajenos a esa fuerza, no pueden sustraerse a esa ley natural. Son nuestros y de España. No podemos perderlos. Debemos luchar por conservarlos. Es nuestro deber de padres y de españoles. [EP: 152]

César anticipates the event as a vital opportunity for his children to meet his male Republican peers: ‘Me sentía casi feliz. Por vez primera desde hacía años había salido de casa con mis hijos’ [EP: 191]. However, their arrival at the gathering is an ominous indication in that the exterior space in which he aspires to reaffirm his masculine voice with his compatriots will not provide the desired setting and his efforts will be thwarted: ‘Cuando el taxi que abordamos en el centro de la ciudad nos dejó frente a la casa de Santacana nuestra primera impresión fue habernos equivocado de número, tan suntuosa era’ [EP: 191-192]. When César is introduced to Santacana’s wife, her bejewelled hand is indicative of her lineage:

Al presentarme a su señora le dijo: “Un amigo de los viejos tiempos, nena”. Ella sonrió y nos tendió la mano llena de pulseras y medallas de oro, entre las que brillaba una medalla grande con la efigie de la Guadalupe orlada de brillantes. [EP: 192-193]

César soon realises that the gathering is not a Republican one, but an opulent celebration of Santacana’s financial success:

La fiesta era un tributo a él, al refugiado convertido en gachupín, a su hambre de ayer y su hartazgo de hoy. [...] [H]abía sufrido la zafiedad y transigido pacientemente con los viejos residentes franquistas, a cuya benevolente protección habíase acogido y entroncado, finalmente, con una familia de la “hache colonia”. [EP: 195]

Additionally, his children view the occasion as a social opportunity to meet children of the emergent bourgeoisie. Far from providing an opportunity to meet with other committed Republicans, César finds himself in the suburbs, a symbol for the aspirations of men who were once his compatriots. Whilst his children queue for a buffet of Mexican delicacies, César has a flashback to the queues for basic provisions distributed by the International Brigades. This augments the incongruity that has emerged between the first-generation exile and not only his children but also now his compatriots. In addition, several bourgeois suitors express an interest in his daughter and César realises he is unable to protect her in interior or exterior spaces: ‘Temía que en el futuro el matrimonio con un mexicano arraigara a mi hija más aún en México’

[EP: 193]. In the city, he hoped to find echoes that would reaffirm his Republican masculine voice: “‘La felicidad para mí sería el regreso a mi tierra y el triunfo de los ideales a los que consagré los mejores años de mi juventud, y por los que tantos españoles cayeron’” [EP: 204]. Yet, for his compatriots the city has become a space of financial conquest. His masculine voice is once again incongruous with his spatial location: ‘Me sentía sumamente débil. [...] Consideraba profundamente herida mi dignidad. Mi presencia [...] me confirmaba que quedaban pocos exiliados fieles a nuestra causa’ [EP: 222].

Problematic feminine and masculine polyphonic voices permeate César’s consciousness. An analysis of their spatial articulations confirms that these voices are in conflict. As César himself affirms:

Soy un cuerpo dividido. [...] [N]o veo la forma de poder unir las dos mitades que habrían de completarme. Y lo peor de todo es que estoy perdiendo a mis hijos, si es que ya no los he perdido del todo. [EP: 227]

The internal conflict of these opposing gendered voices that César has articulated in vain in an attempt to resolve his family’s generational conflict has resulted in a crushing impasse:

Eso era. Incapaz de alzar la voz a nadie, de adoptar una actitud decidida en ningún momento. Marchaba a la defensiva por la vida. Hasta mi pasión patriótica, muy viva, era estéril. No sabía extraer de ella nada positivo susceptible de favorecer a mi pueblo. Los perdía, pero nada hacía por recobrarlos. Me sentía impotente para luchar en contra de las fuerzas que, poco a poco, me los arrebataban. [EP: 229]

His daughter proceeds to marry the bourgeois Manolín, who ironically she met at the party her father took her to, signifying the shattering of the feminised Republican microcosm he had created: ‘Nuestra casa se llenaba de polvo y de tristeza, hundida en un abandono que ella parecía no ver’ [EP: 241]. The link César attempted to foster between himself, his children and the homeland is severed: ‘A mi tronco vital le habían arrancado una de sus ramas; mi hija’ [EP: 273].

César’s spatial trajectory, however, initiates a reconsideration of received categories of gender. The harmonious amalgamation of the masculine voice he attempted to articulate in exterior spatial locations with the feminine polyphonic voice that he adopted in the home has relevance beyond the microcosm with new

interlocutors. In the final spatial location of the text, the *Café Español*, César is summoned to meet with a group of second-generation exiles who belong to ‘un grupo filial’, the Movimiento de Solidaridad de 1959:

Era éste el primer brote político formal surgido entre los hijos de los refugiados españoles. Los muchachos llegados al país, hoy hombres, sentían alentar en sus corazones el amor a España, y trabajarían [...] por restaurar en ella la libertad de que carecía, y ayudarían desde México a los que luchaban en el interior. [EP: 300-301]

Unlike his own children, these youngsters:

amaban a México, su país de adopción, pero se sentían ligados a la raíz de la patria perdida, sentían el dolor de España, reflejo del amor por la patria en que sus padres se consumían. [...] Al llegar a la edad en que el hombre siente la conciencia de serlo, su inclinación más profunda los ligaba a la patria mater, esclavizada, a la que volvían sus corazones como a los primeros brazos que estrecharon su cuerpo. [EP: 301]

In opposition to his peers, César values the equal importance of feminine consciousness in the preservation of memory and representing the Republic in exile and is able to synthesize the once-conflicting masculine and feminine polyphonic voices in a unified androgynous voice. Invited as a valued interlocutor to their meetings, the harmonious amalgamation of the polyphonic voices of César’s consciousness reinstates his considerable worth as a parent to an extended Republican family:

Aquellos muchachos a los que apenas conocía me resultaban de pronto entrañables, los sentía unidos a mí como cosa propia. [...] Esta llamada era la que yo sentía en mí, la que sentí desde que traspuse la frontera de España en el año 1939. [...] Mi generación no había luchado en vano. El eslabón extraviado en la vorágine del destierro se reintegraba a su lugar. [EP 301-302]

3.4 Polyphony, Genre, Gender and Nation

The systematic analysis of spatial articulations of polyphony highlights the dialogical implications afforded by the generic mechanisms of autofiction. As such, these hybrid texts provide a unique literary forum in which to explore the relationship between genre, gender and nation. Kent and Carnés utilise and subvert the ‘representational domain of genre’ (Capdevila-Argüelles 2002: 13) in order to question

the place of gender in the preservation and longevity of the Republic and its identity in exile. *Cuatro años en París* and *El eslabón perdido* are inherently disparate in terms of their exilic content, yet revelatory spatial articulations of polyphony subtly expose an ideological and patriotic agenda framed by gendered concerns. The synthesis of an androgynous voice that questions received notions of gender emerges from a purposefully transgressive navigation between the limits of fiction and autobiography. The complex spatial trajectory which culminates in the harmonious merging of masculine and feminine polyphonic voices, endows the dominant focaliser with the opportunity to strip his body of essentialist understandings of gender identity. Plácido and César embrace this androgynous voice that challenges and destabilises preconceived understandings of sex, body and gender in order to issue a collaborative promulgation of Republican ideals. The authors' gender-collaborative ethos is embodied in Plácido's and César's emergent androgynous subjectivity. As exiled women, Kent and Carnés are acutely aware of the normative framework of gender at the time and the dangers of perpetuating it: '[m]odels of femininity transmitted through the symbolic representation of women in gender discourse can become a decisive manifestation of informal social control in the channelling and maintenance of women in gendered roles' (Nash 1995: 48). Therefore, in the crafting of their texts as autofiction they utilise these culturally-intelligible models by assigning essentialist gendered stratifications of masculinity and femininity into conflicting polyphonic voices, before merging them harmoniously in the protagonists. Kent and Carnés thus pre-empt and transcend second-stage theorists' call for non-essentialist understandings of gender.

The disconcerting role of Plácido is highlighted by the disparate classification of Kent's text as a 'novela autobiográfica' (Ferrán 1998: 486), 'páginas autobiográficas' (Ramos 1998: 549), 'especie de diario novelado' (Villena 2007: 165) and 'autobiographical novel-essay' (Mangini 1995: 157). Although it is an ambiguous text that poses difficulty at the level of generic classification, its analysis as a sophisticated example of autofiction verifies its oscillation between the pacts of autobiography and fiction as purposeful. This reading affirms its value as a suggestive literary text in which polyphony, as a key aspect of a poetics of exile, is suggestively utilised to synthesise Kent's political ethos. She perceived herself as 'separate' from received notions of gender (Mangini 1995: 33). She was considered a 'virile woman' by both male and female colleagues, 'equipped' to negotiate with 'the patriarchy in which she was

immersed' (34). She did not define herself as a feminist but displayed a deep sensitivity to women's rights and role in the Republic. As Balaguer affirms, citing Kent: "“hay que ser femeninas conscientes de nuestra labor, no agrías feministas.” Y en ese sentido ella se define como republicana, liberal, demócrata y federalista' (2009: 26). In opposition to Campoamor's stance on women's suffrage, Kent warned that should women be granted immediate enfranchisement to vote, they might be coerced given their lack of education on political matters. Her Krausist-influenced beliefs valued education and collaboration between genders. The initial feminization of Plácido is but a dimension of an identity trajectory within which gender binaries are deconstructed to unmask the educative and collaborative effort Kent advocates as an essential pre-requisite to the future of the Republic in exile.

Luisa Carnés's pre-exilic and exilic literary works are populated almost exclusively by female protagonists. Martínez observes that Carnés 'puebla sus obras de protagonistas femeninas que, curiosamente, se corresponden, no ya con el sentir, sino con la edad de la autora en los años en que son escritas' (2007: 212). Plaza considers *El eslabón perdido* 'una obra plenamente madurada' (2002: 65) and that:

puede ser visto también como una obra de síntesis, tanto en la dimensión personal como en la creativa, donde la autora, a través del protagonista, revive su propia existencia, recorriendo el pasado — la España anterior a 1939 — y el presente — representado en México — a lo largo de la novela. (69).

The choice of a male protagonist for a text composed at the culmination of her literary career and comprising much autobiographical material may be considered paradoxical. However, the text's dialogical implications highlight this choice as purposeful. Spatial articulations of the conflicting masculine and feminine polyphonic voices in César's consciousness unveil these voices functioning in mute isolation, symbolic of the plight of both the male and female first-generation in exile as missing links between the nation and the subsequent generation: 'Es verdad que nuestra generación es en la cadena de la historia de España un eslabón perdido, pero ese eslabón reaparecerá algún día y podrá ser unido de nuevo a la cadena, ocupar en ella su lugar de origen' [EP: 230]. Both these voices are fully valid, but it is not until they are harmoniously merged that César's voice is finally perceived. In order to find interlocutors for this androgynous voice to promulgate maternal and paternal Republican ideals, César must consider his family beyond his own house in the context of an extended national family. Over the course of

his eighteen years in exile, he tirelessly attempts to preserve Republican lineage and ideologies and his dedicated persistence is eventually rewarded in his valued contribution to a nascent, youthful Republican consciousness. César's assiduous determination to find a valid voice echoes that of Luisa Carnés in exile:

El exilio político implicaba para una militante comunista la dedicación a la causa: la vida y obra de Luisa Carnés manifestarán no ya claramente, sino exclusivamente, esta militancia, que exige el sacrificio de cualquier otra actividad y temática que no sea la conectada estrictamente con el problema político. (Martínez 2007: 211)

The synthesis of César's androgynous polyphonic voice reinforces Communist ideology in terms of its Marxist position on gender. Carnés, as a female Communist, does not identify with bourgeois feminism and thus women's issues are incorporated into larger societal ones.⁷⁶ Within the context of the national family, both men and women must contribute in equal measure to its preservation through a collective revolutionary consciousness which must operate beyond received categories of gender.

In the renunciation of a female authorial voice in favour of a masculine protagonist *Cuatro años en París* and *El eslabón perdido* would appear to collide with those female-authored autobiographical texts characterised by their aspiration to validate women's voice in order to achieve the constitutive self-assertion of the non-essentialised female subject. However, it is fruitful to consider how these autofictitious texts complement and go beyond the more typical autogynographic texts, as Kent and Carnés elucidate in a male focaliser the renunciation of gender as an essentialist construct. The authors transcend the limits of autobiography and fiction to synthesise an androgynous polyphonic voice that both destabilises and challenges received notions. Unlike Constanca de la Mora and Isabel Oyarzábal de Palencia, Kent and Carnés do not intend to provide the reader with a cohesive autobiographical identity. The addressee of *Cuatro años en París* and *El eslabón perdido* is not issued a prescriptive propagandistic message but accompanies Plácido and César on a complex spatial and identity trajectory in which clashing polyphonic articulations necessitate and inform the synthesis of a coherent androgynous voice. The subject that emerges from this polyphonic dialogue is a credible interlocutor not only in terms of their sophisticated understanding of gender beyond essentialism, but also in terms of what this

⁷⁶ For an exploration of the perception of gender in the Partido Comunista Española and how Dolores Ibárruri regards women's role in contributing to the goals of the national family see Byron (99-120).

androgynous voice offers for the nation and the promulgation of Republican ideals in exile. Therefore, these texts not only merit consideration for inclusion in any archive or canon of women's autobiographical writing but they also illuminate an accomplished use of the representational domain of genre as a textual site in which to assertively challenge the representational domain of gender of ultimate benefit to the nation.

Mangini argues that central features of women's "memory texts" are their contribution to a 'unique chorus' and utilization of the 'urgent solitary voice of collective testimony' (1991 and 1995). Their authors display a need to 'denounce the injustice perpetrated not only against them, but also against many other people, especially other women. Herein lies the power and the empowerment of the memory texts: the political exigency of protest, a unified, primordial scream of solidarity' (1995: 57). Kent's and Carnés's unique strategy to centre their autobiographical text on a male protagonist thus represents a dual contribution to collective testimony. Not only do they record their own personal experience as exiled women in an appropriative act of self-assertion but the dialogical dimension of their complex polyphonic texts simultaneously contributes an empowering androgynous deconstruction of the essentialist notions of gender that are paralyzing both for women and the nation in exile.

Conclusion

The consideration of polyphony as a key aspect of a poetics of exile facilitates exploration of the relationship between genre, gender and nation. This chapter has argued that *Cuatro años en París* and *El eslabón perdido* are exceptional examples of autofiction that, in addition to the author's textual negotiation of their exilic condition, challenge through an androgynous voice essentialist notions of gender. As such, these texts emphasise the validity of an inclusionary approach on two levels. Firstly, in terms of the construction of the field of women's autobiographical texts, the extraordinary contribution of these hybrid polyphonic texts merit *androgynographies* to assume a place alongside *autogynographies*. Secondly, this approach is fruitful for tracing a poetics of exile in order to comprehend how exile influences a creative process. Polyphony simultaneously voices and challenges concerns couched in the authors' exilic reality.

CHAPTER IV:

**MEMOIRS, EXILIC *LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE*
AND THE PROPAGATION OF COLLECTIVE
MEMORY**

4.1 Introduction

As discussed in 0.3, in the tracing of a poetics of exile it is fruitful to undertake an inclusionary approach and assess sub-genres pertaining to the wider body of exilic autobiographical texts. A relevant sub-genre worthy of critical consideration are memoirs. The Arxiu de la Memòria Popular de La Roca de Vallès is one example of numerous initiatives across Spain that have conferred agency to civilians by publishing their memoirs.⁷⁷ There is, at present, an interest both in collating and investigating popular memoirs.⁷⁸ The work of recovering popular memory specific to Republican exile in France follows a wider project of archiving and disseminating historical sources by organisations and institutions.⁷⁹ Notably, there is extensive involvement at a local level that complements the work carried out nationally.

Memoirs, as a sub-genre, enable exiles who were not prominent or public figures, nor professional writers, to publically record and offer an alternative set of memories to a wider reading public. Francisca Muñoz Alday's *Memorias del exilio* and Remedios Oliva Berenguer's *Éxodo: Del campo de Argelès a la maternidad de Elna* form part of a wider cultural memory of an exile population whose texts have not been widely circulated or studied. Caudet highlights the importance of incorporating for analysis wider examples of exilic culture:

habría que empezar por plantearse la validez de la tendencia, que todavía predomina entre quienes nos dedicamos a la historia y crítica literarias, a centrar la atención primordialmente en productos literarios — poesía, novela, teatro ensayo... — , olvidando que esos productos en absoluto representan toda la cultura, ya que por tal hay que entender otras manifestaciones, otras concreciones. Ferrándiz Alborz recordaba, en 1957, [...], 'que junto con los [sic] intelectuales, se expatrió una multitud de personas más humildes, obreros y labradores, que también representan una merma sensible para la nación'. (1997: 480)⁸⁰

The memoirs selected for analysis in this chapter describe the experiences of two ordinary women who, at a young age, formed part of the collective masses forced into

⁷⁷ Information regarding the *Arxiu* is included in section 4.0 of the Appendix.

⁷⁸ One such example is the Red de Archivos e Investigadores de la Escritura Popular. Founded in 2004, it is comprised of a team of academic researchers working in conjunction with numerous associated centres, including the Arxiu de la Memòria Popular de La Roca del Vallès. For a full delineation of the project's aims see 'Memoria Annual 2004-5'. <http://www.siece.es/pdf/investigacion/red_de_archivos/Red_memoria0405.pdf> [last consulted 27/04/12].

⁷⁹ For a full panorama see González Quintana (1996).

⁸⁰ The article referred to is '¿Qué será de España?'

exile in France in early 1939. Unprepared for the magnitude of this Republican exodus, Daladier's French government eventually opened the country's border on 27 January, initially to women, children, the elderly and the infirm (Alted Vigil 2005: 65). In exilic testimony recurring themes regarding their reception in France include hostility, the separation of families, persecution and disillusionment. Ugarte illuminates how France's humanitarian duty was undermined by multiple facets of discrimination:

The Spanish refugees who fled to France collectively experienced the ultimate effects of exile, since in the land of liberty, fraternity, and equality they found another form of the tyranny they had been trying to escape. Exiled from fascist Spain as they crossed the border they suffered inner exile from fascist France, this time the ostracism of the internment camp. In the many texts written as a result and a reminder of this experience, the dominant sentiment is that the second exile is not only worse than the first, but that it intensifies the first. The condition of exile here is considered absolute, immutable. (1989: 76)

Exilic autobiographical texts centred around this experience represent a collective experience and, Ugarte suggests, '[t]he exilic need for compensation, like the Jewish concept of atonement, is again the motivation for texts which seem to deny the very possibility of compensation, given the gravity and horror of the situation' (76). This need for compensation is exacerbated by double censorship. An emergent history of Republican exile was truncated during an extended period by censorship imposed during Franco's dictatorship and subsequent state-sanctioned oblivion. Additionally, France, where a large proportion of Republican exiles took up permanent residence, minimised any public or official recognition or commemoration of the period. Alted Vigil highlights: '[d]urante varias décadas los historiadores franceses apenas abordaron este aspecto [el tema de la acogida], o bien trataron de minimizar sus consecuencias, a la vez que se procuraba justificar la postura del Gobierno francés en un deseo de descargarle de responsabilidad' (2005: 64). Through memoirs and other forms of literature, exiles attempt to record for posterity the human experience behind depersonalised statistics and historical accounts of Republican exile in France. Grillo states:

Datos, fechas, números del exilio son bastante conocidos: muy poco se sabe, en cambio, de la terrible experiencia de los españoles en los campos de concentración y de trabajo en Francia. [...] En estas circunstancias 'el impulso de

escribir, de recordar, de grabar algo para la generación venidera o simplemente para luchar contra el olvido es una fuerza primordial y humana'. (1996: 444)⁸¹

The impulse to record memory through literature, in order to counter the Republic's truncated history, is a recurring element across the varied genres utilised, regardless of the time at which the text is composed. It is, however, of particular interest to examine more specifically the temporal relationship between the authors' experience of exile and the actual composition of their text, in order to ascertain how this affects the portrayal of a collective exilic consciousness. Both authors composed their memoirs a significant period of time after their initial arrival in France, Muñoz Alday between 1978 and 1994 and Oliva Berenguer between 1970 and 2004, respectively. A productive analysis of these recently composed memoirs centres on the propagation of collective memory, as a key aspect of a poetics of exile, ultimately governed by a longstanding urge.

In *On Collective Memory* (1992), an exploration of the social construction of memory, the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs provides an analysis of collective memory that is of particular relevance to the study of these exilic memoirs, with special reference to three salient points. Firstly, whereas it is an individual who carries out the act of remembering, Halbwachs posits that memory operates within social frameworks particular to a social environment:

it is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize and localize their memories. [...] It is in this sense that there exists a collective memory and social frameworks for memory; it is to the degree that our individual thought places itself in these frameworks and participates in this memory that it is capable of the art of recollection. (1992: 38)

He proposes that the collective framework of memory is not merely the sum of individual recollections of many members of the same society. As such, as Coser explains in his critical introduction to the text, collective memory 'is not a given but rather a socially constructed notion' that is strengthened by the act of remembering carried out by individuals who belong as group members to a coherent body of people (22).

Secondly, Halbwachs is the 'the first sociologist who stressed that our conceptions of the past are affected by the mental images we employ to solve present

⁸¹ Grillo cites Ugarte (1991: 49).

problems, so that collective memory is essentially a reconstruction of the past in the light of the present' (Coser: 34). To illustrate this Halbwachs draws a distinction between dreams and consciousness. It is only when dreaming that an individual's mind is removed from society and social frameworks and, as such, dreams are characterised by a lack of continuity and direct relevance to the present. The effects of the present on the memory of the past are thus explained:

it is necessary to show that, outside of dreams, in reality the past does not recur as such, that everything seems to indicate that the past is not preserved but is reconstructed on the basis of the present. It is necessary to show, besides, that the collective frameworks of memory are not constructed after the fact by the combination of individual recollections; nor are they the empty forms where recollections coming from elsewhere would insert themselves. Collective frameworks are, to the contrary, precisely the instruments used by the collective memory to reconstruct an image of the past which is in accord, in each epoch, with the predominant thoughts of the society. (Halbwachs 1992: 39-40)

As a consequence of the bearing of present concerns on remembering the past, memory is thus subject to a certain degree of well-meaning reconfiguration ultimately governed by social frameworks of memory at both the level of the individual and, most tellingly, the collective:

Society from time to time obligates people not just to reproduce in thought previous events of their lives, but also to touch them up, to shorten them, or to complete them so that, however convinced we are that our memories are exact, we give them a prestige that reality did not possess. (Halbwachs: 51)

The third salient idea posited by Halbwachs is that the collective memory of a particular generation is 'largely influenced by their life experiences at a relatively young age' (Coser: 30). Coser highlights the 'Halbwachsian notion that crucial public events leave deep imprints in the minds of direct participants, especially when they are young people in the early stages of forging an adult identity' (30).

It is profitable to consider these three elements of Halbwach's study in this analysis of how collective memory, as a key aspect of a poetics of exile, is propagated in exilic memoirs. Muñoz Alday's and Oliva Berenguer's texts emerge from a desire to sustain collective memory where history has been truncated. Additionally, the possibility to record these memories collectively is threatened by the constant reduction of the exile population. As senior members of the only remaining generation to have directly experienced Republican exile in France, the authors assume an ethical duty to

sustain and propagate this collective memory for posterity. Furthermore, not all members of the second generation identify so strongly with a Republican identity.⁸² This generation is comprised of political exiles who have not been directly involved in its causes, unlike the first generation who, as Gambarte explains, ‘han luchado por una causa, por un ideal, y se van con la convicción de la victoria moral o con la creencia de que habían hecho lo que pudieron por la República y España, que en algo mitiga el vacío de la expatriación’ (1996: 65). If second-generation exiles go beyond a superficial identification with the Republic, and consider themselves firmly and proactively within that collective group, this is indicative of the ethical component of their identification. Gambarte argues:

Entre las características fundamentales de esta generación, cabría resaltar su componente ético. Por este componente, y en la vertiente social, asumieron las justas causas del grupo social al que pertenecían. En su vertiente individual se manifiesta como formalizadora de la persona humana como tal en el compromiso contraído con uno mismo de realizarse y proyectarse en una labor creativa. (1996: 65)

The shared exilic experiences of Francisca’s and Remedios’ formative years are so momentous that ultimately, much later in their life, they spur them to write their memoirs and put into written form their recollections and expressions of that experience within a community. Alted Vigil has charted the fundamental role of the children affected by war and exile in their own historiography:

Han desempeñado un papel importante los propios “niños supervivientes” a través de una doble vía: recuperación por ellos mismos de su memoria, a partir de una articulación de experiencias individuales, y colaboración con los historiadores que se acercaban a estos temas al aportarles sus testimonios, fotografías y otros documentos personales. (2002: 70)

The multi-faceted ethical role assumed by the second generation may be considered as a mechanism to alleviate a sense of invisibility and of not being part of history. Gambarte suggests that exile involves a violent rupture from normative experiences of time and history: ‘[e]l tiempo, más que el espacio, es la gran condena del exilio. Ese es uno de los problemas básicos del exilio: que no deja acceder a la atemporalidad orgánica, es decir, a la integración del hombre en un *continuum* histórico’

⁸² I consider Muñoz Alday, and Oliva Berenguer members of this generation based on Gambarte’s assertion: ‘[l]as características mínimas que posee esta generación son las siguientes: nacen en España y salen al exilio acompañando a sus padres y están todavía en la etapa de formación’ (1996: 63).

(1996: 72). Located on the margins of history the second-generation exile is not permitted a natural integration into historical continuity and thus by extension, a collectivity. As Gambarte explains:

Esto lo sumerge en una temporalidad congelada, en un presente de individualidad. Es decir, el exilio, por muy masivo que sea, por obra y desgracia de esta imposibilidad de liberarse del tiempo sitúa al hombre al margen de la historia, y no olvidemos que ésta es la que integra al individuo en la colectividad. Este aislamiento histórico, es decir, la no integración en la colectividad, revierte al exilio en maldición de individualidad. De ahí que pueda afirmarse que la tragedia del exilio es que se convierte en un problema personal y a los exiliados en átomos centrífugos de una colectividad de circunstancias, que no sólo no tiende a la continuidad (historia), sino todo lo contrario, a su destrucción. (1996: 73)

As such, the second-generation exile may attempt to counter the resulting collective vacuum, symptomatic of being displaced from time and space, through a conscious identification with their counterparts in both the first and second generation:

Este proceso de entropía, que se desarrolla sobre todo en exilios masivos como el presente, aviva en los exiliados la necesidad de soporte, de rellenar ese vacío de colectividad. De ahí que esa necesidad obligue a las individualidades a la creación de una fuerte apariencia de tribu, al *ghetto*. (Gambarte 1996: 73)

For certain second-generation individuals the need to record a consolidated Republican collective memory is particularly acute. Francisca and Remedios wish not only to record this memory but also to display in their memoirs an attempt to disseminate to future generations the Republican values instilled in them in their formative years in France through the collective frameworks of memory. The bearing of their present concerns on their recollection of the past endows their memoirs with a certain prestige with regards to the representation of Republican memory of exile in France. Halbwachs' notion regarding the reconfiguration of memory as governed by social frameworks is particularly concentrated in these individuals who so actively attempt to sustain and perpetuate these frameworks for posterity.

The content of both authors' memoirs is firmly grounded in their experiences in France, particularly in specific physical sites including the border, concentration camps, refuges, a maternity hospital and latterly work camps and other places of employment in French towns. In the analysis of the propagation of collective memory, in terms of its literary ramifications, it is relevant to consider how these sites are represented in their

memoirs. In *Spanish Culture behind Barbed Wire: Memory and Representation of the French Concentration Camps, 1939-1945*, Cate-Arries proposes a productive approach for an analysis of literature centred around exilic experiences of concentration camps in France. She states:

Carrying forever the signs of an exilic identity, the Spanish exiles initially tell their story of displacement through the tropes of loss, orphanhood, dispossession and death. It will be their task to reconfigure, to recreate the signs of a political and cultural identity in exile, in order to establish new symbolic ground capable of nurturing and sustaining the expression of a collective memory and a national history outside of Spain. This book examines how Spanish Republicans in exile begin to construe a sense of nationhood through the unlikely discursive vehicle of the French concentration camp (2004: 33).⁸³

Pierre Nora defines a *lieu de mémoire* as ‘any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community’ (Nora 1996a: xvii). Cate-Arries draws upon Nora’s concept in order to suggest that ‘the barren place of the camps is transformed through discourse as a fecund “place of memory” that grounds the Spanish exile community’s initial processes of nation-building’ (2004: 15).⁸⁴ Nora’s concept of *lieux de mémoire*, ‘where memory crystallizes and secretes itself’ (1989: 7), is particularly relevant to my analysis of the representation of the sites collectively experienced by Muñoz Alday and Oliva Berenguer.⁸⁵ As second-generation exiles that composed their memoirs with a specific aim to transmit collectively remembered values at a time of concern that this memory is threatened, their role as individuals is of paramount importance. Nora asserts ‘when memory is no longer everywhere, it will not be anywhere unless one takes the responsibility to recapture it

⁸³ Although Cate-Arries analyses representations of concentration camps in the principally imaginative literature written in the 1940s by first-generation exiles her study provides a useful point of departure. Elements of her approach and thematic structure are incorporated and adapted accordingly to suit a focussed reading of the recently composed memoirs by Alday and Oliva Berenguer, members of the second generation. The implications of generational difference and the much later date of composition are central to my analysis of these memoirs.

⁸⁴ The term was first posited in Nora’s 1984 introduction to a multi-volume history of French culture ‘in order to describe the material manifestations of collective memory — with their attendant symbolic and emotional connotations — that a nation uses to represent itself’ (Cate-Arries 2004: 23). *Lieux de mémoire* (sites such as architectural landmarks, war memorials, commemorations and public festivals) serve to ‘codify, condense and anchor... national memory’ (Nora 1989: 25), and are usually state-sanctioned (Cate-Arries 2004: 23). Particular reference will be made to the translation of Nora’s introduction ‘Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*’ (1989) and to Nora’s chapter ‘Generation’ (1996b).

⁸⁵ As will become apparent in my analysis of these memoirs collective memory and *lieux de mémoire* are not fixed entities and are constantly evolving and interpenetrating.

through individual means. The less memory is experienced collectively, the more it will require individuals to undertake to become themselves memory-individuals' (1989: 16). Although their contribution is an individual one it is prudent to indicate that this chapter considers that this contribution always functions within a collective framework and moreover, it is susceptible to a certain degree of reconfiguration. In the same vein as Halbwachs' assertion regarding how the present affects our reconstruction of the past, Nora states:

Memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present [...]. Memory, insofar as it is affective and magical, only accommodates those facts that suit it; it nourishes recollections that may be out of focus or telescopic, global or detached, particular or symbolic — responsive to each avenue of conveyance or phenomenal screen, to every censorship or projection. (1989: 8)

Nora goes on to explain that *lieux de mémoire* 'are simple and ambiguous, natural and artificial, at once immediately available in concrete sensual experience and susceptible to the most abstract elaboration. Indeed, they are *lieux* in three senses of the word — material, symbolic, and functional' (1989: 18).

For the second-generation exile, the interlinked relationship between memory and history is particularly complex. Nora states '[t]he quest for memory is the search for one's history' (1989: 13). The second-generation's exilic condition, truncated from history as previously postulated, has at its core a necessity to defend, even somewhat artificially, collective memory. Consequently, in their memoirs Francisca's and Remedios' identity is firmly secured around embellished representations of particular physical exilic sites reconfigured in light of present concerns, as *lieux de mémoire*. In order to counter decades of censorship exacerbating their truncated history, these sites are afforded protection in their memoirs, not only as individual texts grounded within collective social frameworks, but also as part of a wider preservation project at the Arxiu de la Memòria Popular. In the absence of access to a historical continuum, identity is galvanised in and protected through the specific sites depicted. A protective impulse is at the heart of *lieux de mémoire*:

Lieux de mémoire originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory, that we must deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries, organize celebrations, pronounce eulogies, and notarize bills because such activities no longer occur naturally. The defense, by certain minorities, of a privileged memory that has retreated to jealously protected enclaves in this sense intensely

illuminates the truth of *lieux de mémoire* — that without collaborative vigilance, history would soon sweep them away. We buttress our identities upon such bastions, but if what they defended were not threatened, there would be no need to build them. (Nora 1989: 12)

Ultimately conditioned by the collective frameworks of memory negotiated by second-generation exiles at the time of their texts' composition, the accounts recorded within specific sites in France as Republican exilic *lieux de mémoire* prompts discussion of particular questions. Specifically, regarding the representation of memory, and especially the manner in which it is reconstructed in their memoirs and involved in identity negotiation.⁸⁶ The first site configured in both authors' memoirs as an exilic *lieu de mémoire* is the French–Spanish border. Cate-Arries, informed by Di Febo's (1998) consideration of the border as a place of memory, highlights that the border is a physical demarcation of a country's boundaries, a 'metaphorical marker of separation' and is a crucial part of the 'collective imagination and the historical memory of Spanish exile' (2004: 24). As such, it is productive to analyse representations of the border's symbolic impact. Reference will be made to Di Febo's article in which she refers to 'el sentido que asume la frontera como elemento que activa el binomio memoria-identidad' (1998: 468). As with representations of all the exilic *lieux de mémoire*, the historical accuracy of these accounts is not of concern. The disparity between the actual border crossing and subsequently remembered crossing at the time of the memoirs' composition highlights how the authors' present concerns condition its telling. Di Febo argues 'el impacto con la frontera francesa se transforma en reelaboración de la memoria teniendo presente el carácter de creación y re-creación de la misma frente a la experiencia real y al tiempo' (468). Representations of the border will be discussed in (4.2) The French-Spanish Border as an Exilic *lieu de mémoire*.

Nora opposes dominant and dominated *lieux de mémoire*. In public memory, the most numerous are the former and 'generally, imposed — either by a national authority or by an established interest, but always from above' (1989: 23). The physical sites that constitute *lieux de mémoire* in these exilic memoirs are examples of the latter: '[t]he second are places of refuge, sanctuaries of spontaneous devotion and silent pilgrimage, where one finds the living heart of memory' (23). The camps, refuges, maternity hospital and workplaces are thus not only dominated *lieux de mémoire*, but also, given

⁸⁶ The complex relationship between memory, literature and identity will be further discussed in Chapter 5 and 6, taking into account the sociological diversity of the second generation.

their location in France, are beyond the periphery of the former Republican state. They are also transient and have disappeared from the landscape with little public recognition. Nevertheless, these sites provided an opportunity to instil Republican identity and values that ultimately form the basis of the social framework governing the collective memory of second-generation exiles. Furthermore, they have become fertile *lieux de mémoire* that give tangible form to collective memory, are a rich resource, and reinforce an exilic social framework for memory.

Cate-Arries highlights the ‘constitutive function of the refugee camps as figured in the symbolic terrain of the exiled national imaginary during the years when world war raged: as a place of collective memory; as grounds for political legitimacy and moral authority; as the site of creative resistance and cultural renewal’ (2004: 15). She carries out textual analyses of fiction, poetry, memoirs, poetry, drama and oral testimonies which constitute a ‘rich legacy of cultural works that dramatically demonstrate how a displaced political community began to reconstitute itself from the ruins of war, literally from the sands of exile’ (15). Following the exile’s crossing of the border, ‘an annihilating moment of cultural rupture’, she examines how literature has appropriated the camp as a ‘discursive vehicle’ in which the process of cultural reconstruction ‘begins behind the barbed-wire perimeter of the camps themselves’ (15).

Her findings are specifically concentrated on four themes; firstly, the textual construction of sites such as Collioure as a place of ‘suffering, sacrifice and commemoration’, and how this ‘functions as a generative matrix for the cultural codes and values of the nation in exile’ (16). Secondly, the camps as ‘grounds for moral authority’ and legitimacy diametrically opposed to collaborationist France (16). Thirdly, the camps as ‘construction site[s] for the nation in exile’ in which Republican exiles began ‘to inscribe a new national history’ (16-7) in a formerly negative ‘transitional zone’ (22), thus encoded as ‘places of subversion, resistance and agency’ (16-17). Fourthly, she examines Mexico in the internee’s imaginary, the camp as a ‘battleground of emigration’, and the idealistic portrayal of those left behind (17). The first three themes will facilitate a productive analysis of the representation of the camps and other sites in Francisca’s and Remedios’ texts. Ultimately governed by the authors’ aim to sustain and propagate collective memory, the literary negotiation of these formative spaces of second-generation Republican exilic consciousness will be examined in (4.3) Camps, Refuges, Maternity Hospitals and Workplaces as Exilic *lieux de mémoire*.

Considering the propagation of collective memory as an integral aspect of a poetics of exile, the literary configuration of memory in Muñoz Alday's and Oliva Berenguer's memoirs creates a unique forum for ascertaining how the specificities of the second generation's exilic situation shape their creative response. Their aim of contributing to creating reserves of memory within their generation for posterity is undertaken in order to prompt and sustain future generations' engagement. The collective legacy which emanates from this generation merits the consideration of the generation itself as an exilic *lieu de mémoire* which is diametrically opposed to their corresponding counterparts within Spain. This proposal and the generation's lost youth as a sacrifice to the Republic will be discussed in (4.4) The Second Generation as a Functional Exilic *lieu de mémoire*: Lost Youth, Sacrifice and the Propagation of Collective Memory.

4.2 The French-Spanish Border as an Exilic *lieu de mémoire*

The magnitude of the Republican exodus that made its way to the French-Spanish border has come to form a fundamental part of the collective imaginary of Republican exile:

El éxodo de enero y febrero de 1939 [...] se ha transformado en narración debido a las condiciones extremas en que se desarrolló. Aquella masa humana que invade los puestos fronterizos [...] esperando poder pasar a Francia ya es parte fundamental del imaginario colectivo y de la memoria histórica del exilio español. (Di Febo 1998: 467)

Muñoz Alday and Oliva Berenguer, accompanied by their parents, formed part of this significant contingent. To describe its volume, Francisca employs an extended metaphor describing this collective mass of defenceless civilians as a swarm of ants. The opening line of the first entry of her memoirs 'El éxodo' commences:

Desde el cielo, la columna podía parecerse a una hilera de hormigas que, entorpecidas por su carga, se apresuran lentamente hacia una remota madriguera. Así debían de verla los que volaban por encima de ella a bordo de aviones extranjeros. Y así, como quien da un puntapie en el hormiguero, soltaban algunas bombas para ver la formación descomponerse y las hormigas alocadas correr sin rumbo, hasta caer de bruces en el campo encharcado. [...] Algunos cuerpos quedaban cara al barro, pero ¡bah!, ¿qué es la vida de una o de varias hormigas para quienes las ven desde tan alto? En la columna no se notaban huecos. Cada vez más ancha, cada vez más densa —cada sendero agregaba

nuevos fugitivos —, seguía su triste y penosa marcha hacia la frontera, hacia el exilio. [ME: 13]

The road taken by Remedios to the French border is remembered as so densely congested that it is recalled not only as the main route to France, but collectively remembered as a symbolic route of exodus: ‘Nos fuimos por la carretera general, era la carretera de Francia y también la del éxodo’ [EE: 21].

Given the political circumstances that forced this mass exodus, Di Febo notes that the border is no longer a place of mobility: ‘asistimos a una cancelación de la frontera en términos [...] de movilidad y a su transformación en área de conflicto rígidamente reglamentada y normativizada, en línea divisoria que marca [...] una polivalencia de rupturas y de separaciones afectivas, políticas, culturales, sociales’ (469). Every individual forced to the border joins a collective mass that no longer inhabits Republican territory. The passing of its boundaries signifies a series of ruptures: ‘[e]l paso de la frontera es la primera cesura política, existencial y afectiva para una masa humana que se separa de su tierra no por libre elección sino por haber sufrido una derrota traumática’ (472).

Despite the border signifying a concrete rupture, the site is positively appropriated in their memoirs consolidating its place as an exilic *lieu de mémoire*. As previously stated, in the analysis of the authors’ attempts to propagate collective memory, it is prudent to be sensitive to how the act of recalling is governed by a longstanding urge. The impingement of present concerns motivates Muñoz Alday and Oliva Berenguer to superimpose upon the physical site of rupture an emblematic function: the foundation of an exilic consciousness⁸⁷ that would go on to sustain Republican collective memory. It is at Le Perthus, a small border village, that Francisca first records this genesis. She entered here as a Republican citizen, to undergo a harsh realization: ‘El paso de la situación de ciudadanos a la de parias fue manifiesto en Le Perthus, cuando surgieron los primeros uniformes extranjeros aullando órdenes en un francés que no era exactamente el de mis libros’ [ME: 19]. Similarly, at the border beyond Portbou Remedios recalls the reception by French police and the ignition of an exilic consciousness, the first manifestation of which is guilt and acute distress for abandoning her homeland:

⁸⁷ See Cate-Arries (2004: 23).

Y despacito, inquietos, asustados pero con paciencia, llegamos a la frontera. [...] Bueno, ya estábamos en Francia. Ya no temíamos los aviones ni los barcos. Sin embargo, recuerdo que se me encogió el corazón, me pareció que estaba abandonando la tierra donde había nacido. [EE: 35]

Francisca and Remedios record an awareness that the Spain left behind is no longer Republican, and their resulting duty is to sustain the Republic in exile. The border marks the polarisation of the Spanish people: '[I]a frontera es donde se materializa la separación de una parte del pueblo español — el vencido — de los vencedores que van ocupando un territorio que ya no es republicano' (Di Febo: 472). The accuracy of their representation of the border's initial impact is not relevant as it is the effects of its place within collective exilic social frameworks of memory over time that root 'the border' as an exilic *lieu de mémoire*. The physical crossing breaks the temporal continuity of Republican history. Yet, although the border does represent a truncation of Republican history, by representing it in their memoirs as the foundational site of Republican exilic consciousness Francisca and Remedios are able to utilise the collective memory centred on this exilic *lieu de mémoire* to transcend this rupture and superimpose a temporal, historical continuity. Nora highlights: '[m]emory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects; history binds itself strictly to temporal continuities, to progressions and to relations between things' (1989: 9). In their autobiographical texts, the collective memory inherent in this *lieu de mémoire* is utilised in order to bridge the gap between memory and history. Recording an alternative version of Republican history through collective memory affords the exile entry into an alternative historical continuum. Although this exilic *lieu de mémoire* is not state-sanctioned, it enables a degree of the historical continuity so necessary to the narrative of a nation's identity.

In *Imagined Communities* Benedict Anderson notes, in a section entitled 'The Biography of Nations', that when temporal continuity is problematic, national identity relies, at the very least, on a narrative of its identity:

As with modern persons, so it is with nations. Awareness of being embedded in secular, serial time, with all its implications of continuity, yet of 'forgetting' the experience of this continuity — product of the ruptures of the late eighteenth century — engenders the need for a narrative of 'identity'. (2006: 205)

Despite its peripheral location the border, a prolific exilic *lieu de mémoire*, constitutes a site from which a narrative of exilic Republican identity commences. As Cate-Arries

shrewdly notes: ‘Anderson has commented in his classic study of national identity as an “imagined community,” contestatory versions of national history — and, I argue, “sites of memory” — simultaneously erupt along the periphery of the dominant official discourse’ (2004: 23). She continues:

Anderson has stated that one cannot pinpoint the moment that a nation comes into being. [...] In the case of the exiled nation, however, their collective sense of deterritorialized identity may be located at the place of this crisis scene of the border crossing. (31)

Inscribed in the history of Republican exile as its earliest terrain of collective identity, the border is reappropriated in collective memory to reinstate temporal continuity, ultimately enabling the beginnings of a narrative of exilic Republican national history.⁸⁸

The collective group is subjected to discrimination not only by French forces but also by French citizens: ‘[t]he emigrants who cross the border realize the extent of the demonization of Republican Spain through the responses of French onlookers, many of whom line the streets to see the public spectacle of crowds of refugees passing by’ (Cate-Arries 2004: 31). Historically, as Stein notes, the south of France has frequently been a destination both for Spanish economic migrants and Spaniards seeking refuge as a consequence of political unrest. He further states that the reception of the latter has always been marked by antagonism: ‘[l]os exiliados políticos siempre han sido considerados como una especie diferente de aquellos españoles que entran en Francia en busca de trabajo, bien sea de temporada o permanente’ (1983: 21). The hostility displayed towards Republicans was not limited to adults. French children, influenced by their families and the media, had profound misconceptions regarding the political reasons behind the Republican exodus. Direct experience of the French people’s prejudiced understanding of the Civil War is recalled by both authors. Remedios evokes the aggression of the French people who would peer at the internees through the barbed wire of the Saint-Cyprien camp:

Aunque todos los días nos parecían iguales, los domingos eran distintos porque al otro lado de las alambradas venía mucha gente para ver el campo. [...] Recuerdo un día [...] nos miraban un hombre y una niña; el hombre hablaba y la niña exclamó en voz alta: ‘Me decías que eran diablos rojos, no tienen rabo, son

⁸⁸ As discussed in Chapter 2, collective identification taking place specifically at the border is also apparent in Silvia Mistral’s autobiographical text. Indeed it is her assimilation into the masses that gives rise to the text’s generic hybridization. It is at this point that she no longer considers herself the protagonist of her own diary.

como nosotros'. El hombre, apurado, le dijo que callara y enseguida se fueron. Esas palabras nos ofendieron, aunque las pronunció una niña. Sabíamos que nos llamaban 'rojos', pero no 'diablos'. Éramos miles de republicanos que rechazábamos la dictadura franquista. [EE: 67]

As a young girl herself, Francisca was particularly sensitive to the hostility displayed towards her by French children. In Briançon, a French girl insulted Francisca's father who was a commanding officer in the Republican army:

–¿Tu papá ha ido a la guerra?
 –Claro que sí.
 –¿Es miliciano?
 –No. Comandante.
 –¿Comandante de milicianos?
 –¡No! de soldados. ¿Por qué de milicianos?
 –Porque vosotros no tenéis soldados; tenéis milicianos. Lo ha dicho mi papá que lo ha leído en el periódico. [ME: 42]

Although Francisca had great respect for the CNT and International Brigades militia, it was the negative way in which the Republican army was described in the French media that causes her distress:

Yo también lo había leído. [...] Yo no tenía nada contra los milicianos, todo lo contrario. Incluso quise una muñeca vestida de miliciana, con mono, alpargatas y gorro de borla. [...] Recordaba haber visto también, en Albacete, otra clase de milicias; eran los voluntarios de las Brigadas Internacionales. [...] Con su ayuda, generosa y eficaz pero limitada, el ejército republicano había combatido, durante dos años y medio, a un enemigo apoyado, con fuerzas y armamento, por dos potencias extranjeras. ¿Cómo hubiese podido vencer? Por eso, a pesar de no formularme claramente todas estas razones, me molestaba enormemente ese apelativo de 'miliciano' que me resultaba insultante bajo la pluma de periodistas franceses. [ME: 42]

In addition to a geographical and psychological rupture, the border also marks a linguistic one. Remedios and Francisca left their native Spain abruptly. Their limited prior knowledge of French leads to a sensation of being incommunicado. Lloréns, in 'El desterrado y su lengua. Sobre un poema de Salinas', refers to the particular exclusion that results from living in linguistic isolation:

El desterrado en país de lengua ajena es un ser que se encuentra sin posibilidad de comunicación humana cuando más la necesita; apenas se abre para él un nuevo ámbito de vida, la extrañeza del idioma le intercepta el paso. Situación

penosa y desconcertante que le obliga a recluirse en sí mismo y a enmudecer.
(2006: 155)

Remedios recalls her first linguistic difficulty as she arrived in Argelès-sur-Mer. In the absence of toilet facilities, before the camp was sealed off with barbed wire, Remedios calls at the door of a town resident:

¿y para hacer nuestras necesidades? Era un problema cotidiano. Cada uno se las arreglaba a su manera. Yo llamé a una puerta; aunque me avergonzaba, tenía que atreverme. Dimos con gente comprensiva, pero no nos habíamos parado a pensar en aquel primer enfrentamiento con el idioma francés. [EE: 39]

Francisca evokes how this linguistic isolation intensifies the exile's sensation of geographical rupture and disorientation. Unable to pronounce the name of the French town her family were transported to, she was unable to orientate herself geographically and struggles to recall it: 'Me costó trabajillo pronunciar — y conservar en mi memoria — el nombre de aquel pueblo: L'Argentièrre la Bessée' [ME: 25].

In spite of the aforementioned ruptures, linguistic isolation, discrimination and inner exile that they are subjected to on French soil, subsequent references to the border in their memoirs are bound up with a determination not to cross back to the Spanish side whilst it remains under Fascist rule. Francisca and Remedios record numerous instances of pressure exerted by French authorities to send Republican exiles back to Spain. From as early as the arrival of the first wave of refugees in late August 1936, the French government maintained a policy of enforcing and encouraging repatriation.⁸⁹ On 5 May 1939 forced repatriation was prohibited. However, this in turn was followed by an instruction to convince Republican refugees to opt for repatriation, coupled with the dissemination of Fascist propaganda. As Dreyfus-Armand explains:

la primera preocupación del gobierno francés, deseoso de librarse de la carga financiera que le ha caído encima tan rápidamente, es incitar a los refugiados a que regresaran a España. [...] [E]l ministro del Interior se vio obligado a prohibir, el 5 de mayo de 1939, las repatriaciones forzosas. Recalcó el carácter voluntario de los retornos, pero sugirió dirigirse a los indecisos con 'tacto y firmeza' para convencerles de volver a España si no tienen nada que temer. (35)

⁸⁹ For a historical analysis of the various waves of Republican exiles in France, the French government's policies and subsequent migratory movements within and beyond France see Dreyfus-Armand (2003).

When the Préfet of Hautes-Alpes visits the Pont la Dame camp where Francisca was detained, he offers transport back to the border. The exiles interned there employ the limited French they have assimilated to make their position on voluntary repatriation clear:

- ¡Hace *fruá!* ¡Los *petís* tienen *fruá y fem!*
- Eh bien, revenez chez vous, en Espagne, ma brave femme. Là vous serez bien!*
- ¿En España? ¡No! Franco *mesán*; Franco *tuer muá!*
- Mais non! Franco est très gentil, vous verrez...* [ME: 105]

Coded correspondence from family members in Spain makes the exiles aware of the fascist regime's brutality. Francisca shares with the reader some examples of the codes utilised:

Efectivamente, la crónica necrológica ocupaba una parte importante en la correspondencia que íbamos recibiendo. [...] Algunos recibían avisos disuasivos, como: 'Tus amigos vienen a menudo a preguntar por ti. Les gustaría saber si vas a volver para invitarte a tomar una copa en casa de Rodríguez' (Rodríguez había muerto o estaba encarcelado y el destinatario de la carta lo sabía). [ME: 37]

Remedios also recalls how information gleaned from coded letters deterred her family from returning home:

los familiares nos proponían ir a vivir con Fulano o Mengano, personas que sabíamos que habían fallecido mucho tiempo atrás. De ese modo supimos lo que era el régimen franquista. Nos enteramos de la muerte de familiares y amigos, fusilados o encarcelados. Si bien algunos estaban metidos en política, para otros no había ningún motivo. [...] De modo que, mientras no hubiera una verdadera amnistía, no pensábamos volver. [EE: 49]

At this time, fear of execution or incarceration naturally meant that Francisca and Remedios refused voluntary repatriation. In their texts however, the border is reconfigured as the foundational site of exilic consciousness and as such, is emblematic of a desire to continue the narrative of Republican identity, and history, in exile. As Cate-Arries suggests, the exiles' 'resistance to repatriation [...] is a powerful act of emplacement that both accords agency and identity to the displaced refugees and engenders the first chapter of their collective history in exile' (2004: 158). Given that repatriation would have signified the end point in their identity as (exiled) Republicans and the Republic's national history, their refusal to cross the border back into Fascist Spain is a crucial component of exilic collective memory. Ultimately governed by a

longstanding urge to propagate collective memory, the authors exhibit to their memoirs' readership a positive representation of this collective refusal that reinforces the border as a foundational exilic *lieu de mémoire*.

4.3 Camps, Refuges, Maternity Hospitals and Workplaces as Exilic *lieux de mémoire*

The collective refusal is offered to the reader as an act of extreme loyalty, sustaining Republican identity and its truncated national history in exile. As Cate-Arries highlights: '[t]he refusal to leave the camps is generally inscribed as a moment of maximum defiance of French and/or Francoist authority and as an occasion for a display of loyalty to the ideals of the Spanish Republic' (2004: 161). As a crucial component of their collective memory, the exilic consciousness born at the French-Spanish border is shown to reverberate within the physical sites Muñoz Alday and Oliva Berenguer subsequently experience. The reconfiguration of the memory of these sites — the concentration camps, refuges, a maternity hospital and places of work — enables their consideration as dominated *lieux de mémoire*.

As highlighted in 4.1, it is appropriate to consider more specifically three of the themes Cate-Arries advocates as being present in the literary depiction of concentration camps. In the analysis of Muñoz Alday's and Oliva Berenguer's memoirs my exploration of these themes will not be limited solely to an examination of the camps; but will also consider how the authors represent other significant, formative sites. Furthermore, it is pertinent to consider how the authors' ultimate aim of propagating collective memory (as second generation exiles) colours the literary representation of these sites, as dominated exilic *lieux de mémoire*. Indeed, it is their experiences of these physical sites that form the basis of the exilic social frameworks that govern their collective memory. This factor, coupled with the weight of present concerns at the time of their memoirs' composition, has a profound impact on their representation.

The 'textualization' of these physical sites 'transforms the places of suffering, sacrifice' and commemoration 'into powerful, enduring sites of memory, thereby creating a generative matrix for the cultural codes and values' of the Republican nation in exile (Cate-Arries 2004: 35). Although collective memory and *lieux de mémoire* are a selective reconstruction of the past, that is not to say that the authors' representation of these Republican ideals is distorted. The authors are not consciously deforming

memory, but employing it in a profound attempt to sustain and propagate Republican collective memory that is firmly anchored in Republican values. Therefore, in all of the *lieux de mémoire* described, individual refugees display not only an impulse for their own survival but also reserves of strength in assisting their compatriots.

Sacrifices made for and by other Republicans, both acquaintances and strangers, abound in all of these sites. Oliva Berenguer was interned in the women's camp at Argelès after giving birth and, due to food shortages, she was unable to request the extra provisions she required when nursing her son. Despite their perpetual malnourishment, anonymous counterparts gave up their own share. This act is represented as indicative of the codes and values of the Republican nation in exile, and duly commemorated in her text:

A las ocho, por turno, traíamos el desayuno de la cocina con palanganas. La comida seguía igual de mala. [...] El caldo era malo e insuficiente, tocábamos a un cucharón por persona. [...] Yo criaba a mi hijo y tenía siempre buen hambre. Me ponía contenta cuando alguien me decía: '¡Remedios, tómate mi ración!'. [EE: 95]

Similarly, Muñoz Alday records numerous sacrifices. One such example is of a man named only as el Rubio who was interned with the young Francisca in Pont la Dame before he was transferred to the Clairfont camp. There, he worked in the camp office and was thus aware of the imminent danger of the inmates being deported. Putting himself in grave jeopardy, he illegally altered numerous people's documentation and assisted them in leaving the camp clandestinely:

–El sello se puede borrar; lo del fichero corre de mi cuenta. Con un producto 'chupatintas' y mucha paciencia hizo desaparecer toda señal de estampilla. Luego, como la cartulina verde había quedado decolorada en la parte atacada por el líquido, la frotó contra el suelo hasta hacerle tomar el aspecto de un documento que ha rodado por muchos bolsillos. [ME: 131]

He was soon caught and transferred to a harsh punishment camp. One of the men he had previously assisted was Francisca's father, and she duly commemorates his sacrifice: 'El Rubio, [...], fue trasladado al campo de Le Vernet, de siniestra memoria, y no se vio libre hasta la liberación de Toulouse, en agosto de 1944. Libre, pero enfermo y con pocos años de vida por delante' [ME: 132].

Remedios also commemorates suffering and death. When she is made comfortable in the maternity hospital she feels an intense guilt towards those who have sacrificed their lives and others who are still suffering:

En los primeros días tras el parto, vino una ola de frío tan fuerte que tuvieron que hacer fuego en la habitación de las madres. [...] Nosotras no pasábamos frío, pero en el campo, ¿qué iban a hacer? Me figuraba que se quedarían acostados enroscados en las mantas del ejército, en sus tristes barracas. ¿Cuándo acabaría esa vida de pesadilla? ¿Y cómo? [EE: 87]

When Muñoz Alday's family spends a brief period in the SERE refuge near Perpignan, the opportunity arises for them to sign up for a place on a boat to Chile. However, their passage never came to fruition as another family masquerading as them took their place. Although this is tangibly a selfish act by the 'imposter family', the reaction of Francisca's parents displays how interlinked sacrifice and solidarity are in the exilic consciousness formed within these sites:

el barco se fue y nosotros seguimos sin recibir el menor informe sobre el asunto. Supimos, casual y oficiosamente, mucho más tarde, que otra familia había viajado en nuestro lugar, usurpando, sin duda, nuestra identidad. Mis padres se consolaron pensando que debía de tratarse de gente más significada políticamente que nosotros y, por lo tanto, más perseguida. [ME: 116]

The remembrance of these acts and sacrifices form integral parts of the second generation's collective memory. The assimilated codes and values were initially transmitted by the first generation, who also laid the foundations for exilic social frameworks of memory. It is as a poignant homage to what this generation endured that the authors perpetuate collective memory. Through their embellished representations of these sites their function is sustained as a generative matrix of the codes and values of the nation in exile, as *lieux de mémoire* thus contributing to the propagation of collective memory. Displaying an ethical contribution to promulgate an exilic legacy, these commemorative texts aim not only to reinforce a sense of solidarity between the first and second generation, but also to encourage subsequent generations to recognise and identify with the collective memory of their predecessors.

Given the young age at which Francisca and Remedios were exiled, neither were directly involved in immediate post-war politics. Nevertheless, both women uphold the moral authority and legitimacy of the Republic and its people as this is a significant part of their collective memory. In their literary representation of the camps, refuges and

workplaces, the authors render them an exilic domain of moral authority and legitimacy that fed their exilic consciousness founded at the border. Specifically within these sites, Republicans are remembered as the ‘harbinger of passionate ideals, spiritual and moral fortitude’ (Cate-Arries 2004: 16) diametrically opposed to the hypocrisy, ignorance and cruelty displayed by French police, employers and some civilians. Cate-Arries posits that a recurring theme is that ‘the true squalor of these catastrophic times resides not among the dirty, malnourished Spanish internees, but rather with the collaborationist activities of French government officials and the blitheful [sic] ignorance of the French citizenry’ (16).

The conditions in Pont la Dame are particularly adverse and the scant resources make it inhospitable. In addition to the lack of light, heat, electricity or gas, Francisca describes how the internees are denied basic decency and dignity. In a section entitled ‘Los enemigos’ she recalls the filthy surroundings:

En aquellos caserones medio desvencijados, abandonados hasta nuestra llegada y muy sumariamente ‘rehabilitados’ para albergarnos, medraba, además, la fauna propia de esa clase de lugares: arañas, lagartijas, escarabajos... ¡Ratones! [...] Otro enemigo, también difícil de combatir pero contra el cual ganamos la batalla, eran los piojos. [ME: 60-61]

However, trapped by the ubiquitous barbed wire, their real enemy is the French police that oversee the camp. Indeed, even the children are subject to horrific cruelty. Francisca recalls an occasion when a bar of soap, courtesy of an aid agency, was distributed to every resident by the gendarmes. When one officer observes a young boy re-join the queue to obtain another bar he is beaten: ‘Un guardia lo sacó a bofetones sin tener en cuenta los gritos de indignación de las mujeres’ [ME: 79]. A woman called Maruja steps in to defend him ‘—¡Oiga tío bruto, ya podrá con él! ¿No ve que es un crío, que ni siquiera tiene madre para defenderlo? ¡Bestia, más que bestia!’ [ME: 79]. Maruja is then taken to the police station at the camp entrance for punishment. The women rally together to protest, which results in almost the entire camp’s population being held at gunpoint:

El vocerío, clamores lanzados por centenares de gargantas, se acercaba. Los manifestantes desembocaron en la explanada, desplegándose frente a la gendarmería. [...] Toda la población del campo, solidaria y amenazadora, plantaba cara a los gendarmes que apuntaban con sus fusiles. [...] Los gendarmes parecían indecisos. La vida de un refugiado no tenía mucho valor, pero abrir fuego sobre un grupo de mujeres, niños y ancianos era poco glorioso y habría

podido causarles problemas si el asunto trascendía a otras esferas. Por otra parte, ¿quién sabe lo que habría ocurrido si hubieran hecho ademán de disparar? [ME: 80-81]

The women stood firm until the gendarmes agreed to release Maruja: ‘Éramos muchos, éstabamos unidos y dispuestos a todo’ [ME: 81].

A further display of the internees’ moral fortitude occurs when an innocent boy bore the brunt an officer’s ill-humour and was locked in the station’s basement. A woman dares to speak through a skylight to ask him if he is being fed. She is caught and ‘Decían que la habían hecho poner de rodillas en un rincón de la gendarmería’ [ME: 86]. They are threatened with imprisonment unless they pay a fine. The internees’ reaction to their immoral and illegitimate treatment by the gendarmes is one of compassion and solidarity, and a decision is made for everyone to contribute to bailing the pair out:

¿Cómo iban a tenerlos aquellas criaturas? Doscientos francos era, para cualquiera de nosotros, una pequeña fortuna. Pero ¿quién iba a consentir que dos de nuestros compañeros pasasen dos meses en una cárcel francesa por un delito que nadie se explicaba claramente? Se abrió una suscripción en la que cada cual participó según sus posibilidades, y se llegaron a recaudar aquellos cuatrocientos francos que hubieran sido mejor empleados en comprar los artículos de primerísima necesidad de que tantos carecían. [ME: 87]

Similarly, Remedios recalls the cruelty with which the refugee workers were treated in the Izeaux military uniform factory. As resigning would mean a return to a concentration camp, she perceptively remarks how her employer abused their limited options by deducting a substantial portion of monthly wages for alleged meals and the inflated costs of the makeshift beds provided:

llegó el día de cobrar el sueldo. ¡Vaya desilusión! En mi sobre sólo venían cincuenta francos y una nómina incomprensible. Debía un mes de cantina por mi madre y por mí. Sólo habíamos comido allí una semana. Con esas cuentas y la cama de hierro, había trabajado un mes y seguía debiendo más de doscientos cincuenta francos. A todas nos pasaba lo mismo. Cincuenta francos y deudas. [...] Quise protestar, pero comprendí que el director tenía el poder y nos trataría a su antojo. Él sabía muy bien que esa libertad engañosa era mejor que el campo de concentración. [EE: 114]

In contrast to the greed displayed by the exploitative employers, Remedios describes how, having accepted the working conditions with dignity, some workers formally

approached the factory's director on behalf of the Republican workforce. This display of passionate ideals and moral fortitude resulted in these workers being beaten and their wages withheld. A crucial function of the women's memoirs is to transmit to the reader the collective memory of the moral authority that prevailed, regardless of the adversity of these sites. Herein, the exiles have claimed negative space and made it superior by displaying the passionate Republican ideals, and spiritual and moral fortitude that coexisted alongside the cruelty and greed of the French gendarmes and employers.

Furthermore, in these exilic *lieux de mémoire* located on French soil, France as a nation is depicted as fractured. In contrast to the moral integrity of their blossoming exilic consciousness the image of France as a pioneer of liberty, freedom and equality is broken down. The conviction of Republican ideals is contrasted with the hypocrisy surrounding the commemoration of the events that are purported to signify the French nation's values established in the 1789 *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen* and in the storming of the Bastille on 14 July 1789. The *Déclaration* is the fundamental text of the French Revolution and the commemoration of its 150th anniversary on 24 June 1939 is succinctly devalued by its juxtaposition with Francisca's recounted arrival to Pont la Dame:

Nos hicieron apearse del vehículo y ponernos en fila, nos contaron y recontaron, luego el autobús se marchó, la puerta alambrada se cerró tras él y nosotros nos quedamos presos. Era el 24 de junio de 1939. Un día hermoso. Francia celebraba con gran solemnidad el 150 aniversario de la Declaración de los Derechos del Hombre. [ME: 48]

Likewise, on 14 July 1939, *La fête nationale* is celebrated in Saint-Cyprien and the refugees attend a party and a meal organised for Marshal Pétain's visit. Remedios highlights the insincerity of this celebration:

Visitaron el campo, las cocinas; sin duda se llevaron una buena impresión puesto que aquel día, hasta los refugiados parecíamos contentos. [...] En realidad, todo era un engaño. Acabada la fiesta, al anochecer, otra vez estábamos en la barraca, sin luz, [...] acostados sobre una manta tendida en la arena. [...] Nada más. [...] Pero por encima de todo, había alambradas y aquella falta de libertad. Unos días después se dio una orden que hacía patente nuestra condición de prisioneros: se mandó que al anochecer nadie circulara por el campo. [EE: 58]

Remedios also alludes to a fractured police force at the time of France's capitulation to Nazi occupation, which resulted in the constant ominous threat of being returned to a

camp, depending on the stance of the officers they encountered. Whilst her husband Joan was working in the Grande-Combe mine, the family were in the process of obtaining the necessary documentation they were entitled to. However, during this lengthy process she explains: ‘Bastó con un comisario de policía colaboracionista y odioso para frenar los trámites’ [EE: 133].

The Republican exiles’ solidarity is fundamental as ‘bonds of fraternity and friendship will provide the source of spiritual strength and renewal’ (Cate-Arries 2004: 191). Within these immoral sites, an exilic consciousness is nurtured and imbued with moral and political legitimacy, thus sustaining Republican ideals and the narrative of Republican identity beyond its original borders. Transcending the harsh conditions, the exilic consciousness born at the French border is shown to triumph. The sites as exilic *lieux de mémoire* are reinforced as such through these positive reappropriations, thus solidifying the collective memory the authors wish to sustain. Collective memory of these sites is transmitted in their memoirs, ensuring their reader does not share the ignorance of Republican ideals displayed by the French citizens referred to.

The continuity of an alternative exilic narrative of Republican history begins from an abyss. The physical locations are initially ‘devoid of meaning’ and are ‘precariously predicated on their radical disconnection to prior systems of signification’ (see Cate-Arries 2004: 145). However, these negative sites were appropriated and encoded by first-generation inmates and writers as places of ‘subversion, resistance, and agency’ (148). Without denying the physical and emotional hardships experienced in the arduous months Muñoz Alday and Oliva Berenguer spent in these locations, both authors document the conviction to subvert them as emergent construction sites for the Republican nation in exile in which Republican exiles began to inscribe a new national history. This forms a fundamental part of their collective memory. Cate-Arries highlights:

The internees’ ability to crudely transform the material limitations of their world into a more habitable environment in turn prepares the terrain for symbolic representations that skillfully inscribe the concentration camps as an emergent place capable of sustaining the Spaniards’ being-in-exile. (17)

The actual and symbolic reappropriation of the physical terrain of the refuges and concentration camps, as exilic *lieux de mémoire*, is firmly rooted on the reinstatement of the Republican pedagogical and cultural ideals truncated by the Civil

War. Both authors highlight how areas are transformed into cultural and educational centres, and thus the first-generation exiles are able to transcend their dispersal by sustaining their education and attachment to the homeland. Alted Vigil highlights how the safeguarding of cultural identity was an important feature of Republican exile in France:

Para combatir la desesperanza, el aburrimiento y el embrutecimiento físico y moral, se organizaron actividades políticas y culturales. [...] Con respecto a las manifestaciones culturales, se concibieron como medio de salvaguardar la identidad de una República que había utilizado la educación y la cultura como instrumentos de dignificación popular. Estudiantes, profesores y artistas llevaron a cabo una importante labor de difusión de la cultura entre los miles de antiguos combatientes con los que convivían. Se organizaron barracones en donde se desarrollaban diferentes actividades culturales y de ocio: se impartían clases, se formaron bandas de música, se organizaron exposiciones [...] competiciones deportivas. (2005: 72)

The education afforded the children of exile by leading first-generation intellectuals in Mexico has become part of the exilic collective social imaginary. Gambarte cites Enrique de Rivas's unpublished article,⁹⁰ which highlights how the education and transmission of Republican values was based on the first generation's imperative desire to preserve the Republic in exile:

‘Crecimos, pues, en tiestos hechos para nosotros, es decir, en ambientes familiares reconstruidos en función principalmente de lo que había que preservar, en colegios hechos para nosotros, con maestros para nosotros, envueltos en una mitología que nacía, como todas, de la observación de las catástrofes naturales: la mitología de una religión de libertad y de ideales nobles, de la República que había sido en España.’ (1996: 63-64).

This drive for education also occurred in the camps and refuges as far as was possible. In Pont la Dame, Francisca recalls how an area was turned into a school where young and old internees were encouraged to take lessons in literacy and numeracy. These classes were co-led by a young woman named Anita, for whom Francisca had a great deal of respect as well as interest in her former involvement in the Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas. Anita took her voluntary post extremely seriously:

Los más estudiosos de los ‘confederados’ tomaron por su cuenta eso que, en tiempos, fuese una iniciativa comunista: las Milicias de la Cultura. Formaron un

⁹⁰ ‘Destierro: ejecutoria y símbolo’, p. 2.

grupo ‘docente’ al que se sumó Anita, obtuvieron permiso para utilizar el comedor como aula de estudios. [ME: 83]

This countered the educational void that the camp initially signified. The ambition displayed to provide learning opportunities is afforded a place in the collective memory Muñoz Alday wishes to disseminate as this project is indicative of the first generation’s wider commitment to laying the foundations of a new national history that will be sustained by children educated in the face of adversity.

Additionally, a desire to maintain cultural continuity is evident in exilic *lieux de mémoire*. Utilising culture as a means of self-expression is apparent in Oliva Berenguer’s depiction of the concentration camp. She describes how inmates danced and wrote songs and poems to bolster morale. Cate-Arries illuminates how in other texts, examples are given of the lyrics of certain songs, for example, being altered to insult French and Fascist institutions (2004). Remedios states that she remembers one from the Argelès camp some forty years later: ‘Una de ellas se difundió en el campo, todos la tarareaban y cuarenta años más tarde todavía suena en mi cabeza’ [EE: 54]. As Cate-Arries highlights: ‘gestures of fraternity and empathy, the impulse towards beauty and self-expression, are affirmative forms of humanity that those internees who can, cling to like the last proof of human identity and spiritual integrity that they have left’ (2004: 193).

Education and culture were embraced by the youngsters, contributing to informing their exilic consciousness and protecting their own identity. Initiatives were carried out by the first generation, regardless of their own education, due to the honourable responsibility they undertook towards protecting and providing for the young exiles. Alted Vigil highlights:

El nivel educativo entre los exiliados de primera generación era bajo, lo que no impidió [...] que desarrollaran una rica actividad cultural. Hay que señalar como estos refugiados se esforzaron por dar a sus hijos estudios medios o superiores para que pudieran progresar en la sociedad que les había acogido. (2005: 103)

The culture and education afforded them is fully assimilated by both authors, and is indicative that these small-scale efforts to bolster morale were not futile and were indeed extraordinary achievements in intolerable conditions. Francisca and Remedios commemorate these acts as they wish to incorporate these little known efforts into the wider collective memory of Republican exile in France. These negative sites that

became fertile locations (that fed the second-generation exilic consciousness founded at the border) are safeguarded in literature as *lieux de mémoire*, physically and symbolically contributing to the narrative of Republican history in exile.

In the depiction of meaningful locations, Francisca and Remedios give priority to the three themes discussed. A particular exilic consciousness — a crucial part of their ever evolving exilic identity — is presented to the reader, perhaps slightly idealistically, as being formed within these sites where particular values appear to have been maintained against all odds. This identity is not unreliable but, given the authors' concerns at the time of writing, emanates from their own collective memory that is galvanised by its crystallisation in these *lieux de mémoire*. Societies at certain times actively preserve traditional values that are deemed to have relevance in the present. Halbwachs suggests:

we remain attached to formulas, symbols, and conventions, as well as to rites that must be repeated and reproduced, if we wish to preserve the beliefs that gave them birth. Through this attachment to traditional values, the society of yesterday and the successive periods of social evolution are perpetuated today. (1992: 120)

The social beliefs taught by the first generation are particularly vulnerable given the cumulative effects of censorship, state-sanctioned oblivion and disinterest and misinterpretation of the past. Aware of this vulnerability and of the ephemerality of the physical sites, the authors' concerns when composing their memoirs inevitably colours the representation of exilic collective memory. Muñoz Alday and Oliva Berenguer venture to counter truncated history through recording and disseminating collective memory of the camps, refuges and workplaces. They retrospectively confer onto these sites a narrative of exilic consciousness and thus contribute to engineering a degree of temporal continuity necessary to the alternative narrative of Republican exilic history. These authors confirm a new symbolic ground was indeed created, and continuously recreated, that has ensured the expression of a collective memory and national history. In order to protect the collective memory from oblivion, its further dissemination is mobilized through exilic *lieux de mémoire*. As Nora indicates: 'the most fundamental purpose of the *lieu de mémoire* is [...] to block the work of forgetting' (1989:19) and their depiction in these memoirs enables these second-generation authors to achieve their multifaceted aims.

4.4 The Second Generation as a Functional *lieu de mémoire*: Lost Youth, Sacrifice and the Propagation of Collective Memory

El franquismo ahogó la memoria de los derrotados en la Guerra Civil y, durante varias décadas, la historia de la guerra se construyó a partir de la visión que de la misma dieron quienes la habían ganado por la fuerza de las armas. (Alted Vigil 2005: 16)

The literary configuration of memory in *Memorias del exilio* and *Éxodo: Del campo de Argelès a la maternidad de Elna* creates an exceptional forum for ascertaining how the specificities of the second generation's exilic situation condition their literary response. The authors' transmission of the Republican values bestowed upon them in these sites by the first generation symbolically maintains the continuity of the exilic consciousness founded at the French-Spanish border. The authors emphasize Republican values, solidarity and collective perseverance; important elements of the social exilic framework of memory. As displaced defenders of the Republic, both in time and space, their textual rendition of collective memory has an idealistic function: to recover and consolidate the legacy not only of the previous generation, but also of their own. Both authors demonstrate a protective awareness that memory of their own generation is also under threat, in both France and Spain. Furthermore, not only is their generation continuously decreasing in size, it is also only partially engaged. Gambarte highlights:

Es una generación muy poco politizada. [...] La mayor parte se disocia de los esfuerzos de los mayores, más por desilusión que por desinterés hacia la problemática española. En general, se desentienden de sus afanes y empresas políticas. Pocos son los que toman parte activa en las asociaciones culturales y cada vez, con el paso del tiempo, menos. (1996: 75)

The collective legacy that emanates from the second generation merits the consideration of the generation itself as a *lieu de mémoire*. Nora states: '[t]he emergence of a "generation" in its pure, intransitive state revealed the sovereignty of the notion's retrospective explanatory power, thereby constituting it, from its inception and in a primary, purely temporal sense, as a *lieu de mémoire*' (1996b: 500). Although members of the second generation have been denied normative experiences of time and history, this factor instils in them an even greater desire to explain their past. Nora also posits that a historical generation, as a *lieu de mémoire*, is not only material, but also functional and symbolic:

it is material by its demographic content and supposedly functional — since memories are crystallized and transmitted from one generation to the next — but it is also symbolic, since it characterizes, by referring to events or experiences shared by a small minority, a larger group that may not have participated in them. (1989: 19)

As an exilic *lieu de mémoire*, it is this generation's functional element that is most relevant as it is 'dedicated to preserving an incommunicable experience that would disappear along with those who shared it' (1989: 23).

These second generation authors attempt to share and transmit their experiences in crystallized form. As such, collective memory is disseminated to the reader with particular guidance for its interpretation. Francisca and Remedios scatter several instructive admonitory comments governed by their concerns at the time of composition. One such example in *Memorias del exilio* is in reference to the Spanish language and its inherent mutual relationship with Republican identity. Language is an indispensable component of both an individual's and a nation's identity. As Gambarte highlights: '[q]ue la lengua es uno de los componentes principales de la identidad lo prueban sin ir más lejos el propio nacimiento de ellas y el hecho de que se hayan convertido en símbolo y soporte de identidades colectivas' (1996: 117). Francisca expresses concern that in the dissemination of collective memory by second-generation exiles a language barrier exists, as subsequent generations of many exiled families do not speak Spanish:

Los refugiados pudieron volver a España y algunos lo hicieron. Otros, generalmente los de mi generación, habían echado raíces en el país que los acogió, al que, según la bíblica fórmula 'creced y multiplicaos', han dado una multitud de franceses que se llaman Álvarez, Domínguez, Díaz, Fernández, García, Gómez, González, Jiménez, Martínez, Navarro, Núñez, Pérez, Rodríguez, Ruiz, Sánchez... Muñoz... Algunos ni siquiera hablan ya español y apenas si recuerdan haber oído contar que sus abuelos pasaron la frontera un triste día de invierno, huyendo de unos enemigos que eran sus propios hermanos. [ME: 152]

After sharing some particularly sensitive memories Remedios includes several short comments in order to reinforce to the reader the importance of sustaining the collective memory recorded. In reference to threats of repatriation, re-internment, and harassment by the French gendarmes, largely concealed in French history, she states 'Esos momentos no se pueden olvidar' [EE: 134]. Additionally, Francisca inserts a further

gloss that highlights how the second generation ought to take on the duty to preserve an exilic experience that would disappear along with those who shared it. The history of Pont la Dame, like many of the lesser known camps, has never been formally archived. Now a holiday camp, even its employees or neighbouring residents are unaware of the site's former use. Francisca states how she recently returned to commemorate those departed in a silent pilgrimage only to find no trace of its history and no former internees still alive that she knew:

¿Qué efecto me hacía el encontrarme allí? Tontamente, lo primero que se me ocurrió pensar fue: '¿Cuando les cuente que estuve en el campo!' Pero ¿a quién se lo iba a contar? Mi madre, recientemente, había abandonado este mundo. Pilar, pocos años antes. [...] ¿Quién se acuerda de aquello! Los que lo hemos vivido, desde luego, pero ya vamos siendo pocos. Después... Los narradores, en las sociedades primitivas, tenían la misión de conservar en la memoria y transmitir oralmente la historia de la tribu. Nuestra 'tribu' dispersa — y asimilados sus miembros a los países de asilo — cuenta con pocos narradores. Nuestra época de superinformación padece, a veces, de amnesia y es de temer que la tragedia del exilio de varios centenares de miles de españoles figure entre los 'olvidos' de la historia. [ME: 154-155]

Her return to Pont la Dame is indicative of the wider necessity 'to exorcise the specters of exile by giving them their place in history' (Cate-Arries 2004: 287). In her memoirs Francisca attempts to bridge the gap between history and collective memory of the Republic in exile, and within these admonitory comments she reinforces her encouragement directed at the reader not to succumb to amnesia or indifference.

Naturally both authors allude to the loss of their childhood and youth as a result of the Civil War and the harsh realities of exile. Remedios states: 'Aquellos años de campos de concentración y nuestra primera situación de refugiados han permanecido en nuestra memoria como una pesadilla. Y lo cierto es que esos años de nuestra juventud nos han faltado como si nos los hubieran robado' [EE: 135]. Poignantly, Francisca recalls the night she is told she must leave her home and select only one doll to take with her:

Tenía doce años cumplidos y hasta entonces había sido una niña mimada. [...] [T]enía — por derecho propio, creía yo — un hogar, el cariño de una familia unida y una vida holgada, lo que me parecía tan natural como indispensable puesto que no había conocido otro modo de vivir. Hasta aquella noche... [...] —¿Adónde vamos? ¿Cuándo volveremos? ¿Puedo llevarme mis muñecas? —Una, nada más. En el coche hay poco sitio y es mejor llevarnos cosas útiles. A tus años deberías comprenderlo. [ME: 13-15]

However, the loss of youth is appropriated by these members of the second generation as a willing sacrifice. This is indicative of the generation's functional and symbolic capacity, as an exilic *lieu de mémoire*. Both authors describe an element of this sacrifice as prompted by their parents' projection of the future they hoped for themselves onto their child, making the youngsters mature even more quickly still. Gambarte highlights how first-generation parents:

al carecer de futuro, ve[n] en sus hijos la única posibilidad del mismo. De ahí que los atraiga hacia su mundo con desesperada conciencia de perpetuación de sus ideales, de sus modelos. Esto hace que a los niños se les asigne quizás involuntariamente una mayoría de edad prematura. (1996: 73)

Francisca's family never left France and they had to work extremely hard to re-establish themselves financially. She worked from the age of thirteen in exile to help support her family. In 1959 the family were eventually able to purchase a house of their own again. She states:

Mi madre contemplaba, satisfecha y orgullosa. [...] Habíamos conseguido reconstruir el hormiguero, con métodos que no nos eran propios, en una tierra que no era la nuestra... Pero ¡a qué precio! A costa de veinte años de sacrificios, veinte años de nuestra vida. ¡Mi juventud...! [ME: 150]

Remedios also recalls how her parents' health declined rapidly in France and she was obliged to assume the position of head of the family and follow the brave example they had set her on their way to the French border as she navigated the family through occupied France by train two years later: 'yo también dormitaba, pero poco me duraba el sueño. Me despertaba sobresaltada, angustiada [...] A mis veintiún años, me sentía responsable de lo que nos ocurriera a los cuatro' [EE: 108].

Yet, considering the second generation as an exilic *lieu de mémoire*, it is evident that their lost youth is reconfigured, in collective memory, as a willing sacrifice. A sacrificial responsibility is integral to the fabric of their adult identity, and stems from their experiences in their formative years in the camps, refuges and workplaces, as well as laterally and temporally strengthened by and through exilic collective memory. They do not cross back over the border where their exilic Republican consciousness was born to live in a Fascist Spain. When Francisca eventually visits Spain, she deems it unrecognisable. She is dismayed to find childhood friends are now part of:

esa pequeña burguesía, eminentemente conformista, que salía de la era del Biscuter para entrar en la del SEAT seiscientos, [...] en la que los hombres, con bigotito recortado, estilo Franco, zapatos bicolors, [...], y perfumados con Varón Dandy, ejercían, frecuentemente dos empleos; o ‘hacían negocios’, [...] en la que las mujeres [...] muy maquilladas y alhajadas, manifestando un interés moderado por todo lo que pudiese ocurrir en el mundo, fuera de la vida y milagros de las grandes figuras de la *jet set*. [ME: 149]

As a second-generation exile, she cannot relate to her counterparts who had stayed in Spain, even those who were originally left-wing: ‘La gente de mi generación me resultaba, en su gran mayoría, franquista, incluso (yo diría, sobre todo) si la familia había sido tildada de “roja”’ [ME: 149].

She is also shocked to learn of their partial and ignorant understanding of the Civil War, and concerned by their misinformed displays of nationalism:

‘Ultranacionalistas sin haber, muchos de ellos, pasado una frontera, proclamaban que España era lo mejor del mundo (gracias, naturalmente, al Caudillo que la había salvado del caos marxista), puesto que los extranjeros se volcaban en las playas mediterráneas’ [ME: 149]. Francisca states that although she lost her youth in France, having inherited her Republican values in the formative years of her life that she spent in the camps and refuges she is proud to sustain these values in her house in France. Diametrically opposed to the values she witnessed when she visited Spain, her house in France ‘continuó siendo un ‘trocito de España’ —de la España de ‘antes’, la nuestra. Se seguía hablando en castellano, se guisaba cocina hispana, se escuchaban zarzuelas...’ [ME: 151]. Furthermore, in her formative years she has been afforded an education and has developed an understanding of international politics. She is shocked to learn how oblivious those who have been educated in Fascist Spain are, not only to their own history, but also to that of Europe:

Hablaban de la guerra que había puesto a sangre y fuego a la mitad de nuestro planeta — y hecho temblar a la otra mitad — como si se tratase del último *western* y en él los nazis no eran forzosamente los ‘malos’. ¿La represión bárbara, las torturas? Cosas de guerra; a saber lo que habrían hecho los otros. ¿Los campos de muerte? ¡Ah sí! Una embajada aliada había puesto películas. Horrible; pero se decía que todo aquello era propaganda. [ME: 150]

The second generation, as an exilic *lieu de mémoire*, is considered a bastion of Republican values inherited from their admirable forebears who encouraged them to sustain this exilic consciousness. They give tangible form to collective memory formed

within exilic social frameworks and ensure further secretion and perpetuation. In terms of values, the results of their sacrificed youth are contrasted with the impact of a fascist dictatorship on some Spaniards who remained in Spain. Through the propagation of exilic collective memories in their memoirs, the authors aim not only to reach subsequent generations but especially to challenge those who are ambivalent, ignorant or who possess distorted assumptions of what the Republic really signifies. This ethical urge in their texts is ultimately founded upon what this generation inherited:

ésta es una generación de herencias. Se les traspasa el exilio, se les traspasa el imperativo de mantener su espíritu y, en cierta medida, la obligación moral de demostrar con su obra que la razón estaba de su parte, se les traspasa ese intento de ningunear la España real ya que, en un principio, todos los españoles de dentro eran o traidores o cobardes. (Gambarte 1996: 66)

Conclusion

The consideration of the propagation of collective memory as a key aspect of a poetics of exile in these memoirs enables productive analyses of the complex interplays between the representation of memory and notions of exilic identity. Governed by a longstanding urge to protect exilic collective memory, these works also provide a unique opportunity to examine how the specificities of the second generation's exilic situation influence their literary response. Furthermore, it is evident in their texts that not only physical sites but also their own generation can be fruitfully considered as exilic *lieux de mémoire*. The exilic consciousness born at the French-Spanish border that reverberates in representations of camps, refuges and workplaces is considered as a contribution to a narrative of exilic identity. From this literary platform, in which collective memory is consolidated and propagated, Muñoz Alday and Oliva Berenguer offer a partial and crucial contribution to recovering a hidden narrative of Republican exilic history in France.

CHAPTER V:
NEGOTIATING POSTMEMORY AND IDENTITY

5.1 Introduction

As discussed in 0.4, in the tracing of a poetics of exile it is profitable to consider the concept of postmemory specifically in selected second-generation texts. In addition to a biographical outline, section 5.0 of the Appendix provides a brief summary of Muñiz-Huberman's *De cuerpo entero: el juego de escribir* and Lojo's *Una escritora de dos mundos: Mínima autobiografía de una "exiliada hija"*. These autobiographical texts are considered as essential companions to approaching these authors' semi-autobiographical works in this chapter. Section 5.0 highlights how their exilic condition has had a polyvalent effect on the writers and their literary works. The issues described respectively by Muñiz-Huberman and Lojo are inherently linked to the past, the second generation's particular relationship to the first generation and the transmission and assimilation of their memory. The centrality of their exilic condition in their autobiographical and semi-autobiographical texts highlights a complex relationship between memory, literature and identity. Overshadowed by historical events predating their birth, both authors are concerned with their cultural heritage, a commitment to the first generation, the inherited world of memory and its problematic relationship with the realities of the present inhabited in their respective host countries, Mexico and Argentina. An analysis of *Castillos en la tierra*, *Molinos sin viento* and *Canción perdida en Buenos Aires al oeste* taking into account Hirsch's notion of postmemory facilitates a fuller understanding of issues the authors have delineated as inherent in their works and enables a focussed consideration of particularities of their second-generation exilic condition.

The conceptualisation of postmemory was developed within the context of Holocaust Studies by Marianne Hirsch, the daughter of refugees from Czernowitz. Like the children of exiled survivors addressed in her work she never knew her parents' native homeland and knowledge of the Holocaust is amassed through the postmemorial generational structure of transmission. She explains:

Postmemory is a powerful and very particular form of memory precisely because its connection to its object or source is mediated not through recollection but through an imaginative investment and creation. [...] Postmemory characterizes the experience of those who grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth, whose own belated stories are evacuated by the stories of the previous generation shaped by traumatic events that can neither be understood nor recreated. (1997: 22)

Formative issues that second-generation Holocaust survivors and second-generation Spanish Civil War exiles share include being indelibly marked by events occurring before their birth and being exiled from a world that no longer exists. Furthermore, their adolescence is impacted by deeply affective intergenerational dialogues, inherited trauma and the transmission and negotiation of inherited memory. They also share a resulting ethical commitment to the first generation and must also negotiate a disjunctive identity, subject to dual influences. Postmemory is a productive and transferable notion. As Hirsch herself asserts: ‘I have developed this notion in relation to children of Holocaust survivors, but I think it may usefully describe the second-generation memory of other cultural or collective traumatic events and experiences’ (1996: 662).

Hirsch posits that photographs ‘in their enduring “umbilical” connection to life are precisely the medium connecting first- and second-generation remembrance, memory and postmemory’ (1997: 23).⁹¹ Utilised by the first generation within a familial context and subsequently by members of the second generation, both within their successive familial contexts and in a wider collective and institutional one, photography is a potent ‘medium of transgenerational transmission of trauma’ (2008: 103).⁹² Hirsch states ‘[t]hey affirm the past’s existence’ (1997: 23) and their utilisation is indicative of a strong ethical commitment to the first generation. Yet, they are not the only cultural text which demonstrates an engagement with postmemory. Indeed there are numerous examples of literary and autobiographical texts produced by second-generation individuals, emanating from a range of European and international instances of trauma, which are impacted by postmemory. Gratton suggests ‘although purely non-visual forms of representation take a back seat in Hirsch’s analysis, her notion of postmemory clearly invites consideration as an innovative literary mode in so far as, [...], she describes its connection to the past as mediated “through an imaginative investment and creation”’ (2005: 40).

Through an analysis of Lojo’s and Muñiz-Huberman’s semi-autobiographical texts, this chapter seeks to explore how postmemory does not condition a singular dimension (that of imagining the past); it also profoundly conditions multiple

⁹¹ The idea of the umbilical cord was posited by Barthes in *La Chambre claire* (1980). See Barthes (2000: 80-2). For a critical analysis of responses to images of war and atrocity see Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2004).

⁹² For an interesting examination of photographic exhibits displayed at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum see Hirsch (1996).

dimensions of the present realities of the second generation's physical and mental existence in the host country. Hirsch suggests the children of Holocaust survivors' own 'belated' stories are 'evacuated'. In reference to Hirsch's definition, Köver highlights how postmemory 'engages the subject in a practise of centring and decentring, clearing one's own mind of memories to make room for its infiltration by the mediated experience of one's family, community or society' (2008: 2). For the second-generation Civil War exile, the imaginatively mediated assimilation of both the traumatic memory pertaining to the individual's family and that of the wider Republican collective does indeed decentre the second-generation subject and minimize the importance of their own exilic stories relating to their own lived experience. However, Köver advises:

The ease with which the concept of postmemory can be hijacked, filling the void of identity and personal memory with collective hand-me-downs, invites further critical reflection. Allowing second-hand memories to anchor where no lived experience could develop proves the essential meaninglessness of the notion of postmemory, when taken to its logical extreme. (9-10)

This is not to undermine the value of postmemory in its collective, public, institutional context nor its influence in a personal familial one. The second-generation exile's connection to the past does indeed require imaginative investment and it is omnipresent in this 'rememorative' dimension. However, even dominated by narratives that preceded their birth, second-generation exiles do retain their own stories. For Muñoz-Huberman and Lojo, these stories are not 'evacuated' but are in fact conditioned and partly displaced by postmemory. As such, it is pertinent to consider postmemory as a central and defining component of the second-generation's exilic condition and to assess the ubiquitous reach of postmemory on multiple dimensions. The first dimension is the site where transmission is most concentrated: that of the family house. The second is made up of the myriad sites of the host country, the Mexican and Argentinian spaces that must be encountered each day.⁹³

The delineation of each of these two physical dimensions, conditioned by postmemory to varying degrees, is centred on the dichotomy which emerges for the second-generation exile encountering diametrically opposed loci on a daily basis. As will be considered, within these interpenetrating physical dimensions, normative experiences of space and time are distorted for the second-generation exile: "[I]a

⁹³ This second dimension is located beyond the family house and other key sites of transmission such as Republican schools and *tertulias*.

migración forzada modifica radicalmente las coordenadas espacio-temporales del sujeto” (Grupo Colat, y Baraudy [1982: 100] in Gambarte 1996: 48). Before exploring how this is experienced and negotiated, it is appropriate to consider a useful criterion for determining whether an exile belongs to the first or the second generation: ‘es la diferencia sustancial entre haber sido protagonista o no de la propia historia y, por ende, de las causas del exilio’ (Gambarte 1996: 61). Not having been a direct participant in the political causes which preceded mass Republican exile is a factor of significant consequences, particularly within the context of postmemory, as will be discussed. Some theorists propose a general distinction between *exiles* and *ethnics*. As Vásquez explains, Rivero (1985) demarcates *exiles* as ‘those who pass into exile and who remain defined by the culture whence they have come, learning to make a path in the new one but with the homeland often predominant in their thoughts’ (2007: 15). *Ethnic* is proposed for the children and grandchildren of exile, ‘who posses[s] a dual identity made up of two very distinct and often conflicted parts and who must negotiate, on a very individual basis, a hybrid identity’ (Vásquez: 15). Although Rivero’s assertion — that the identity profile of these individuals is problematic — is a useful one, some maintain that the term exile should not be denied to the generation in question.

Gambarte argues:

diría que lo son más incluso que los de la primera generación. Escúchense estas palabras de Angelina Muñiz que hablan por sí solas de la dramática situación vivida por estos hombres y mujeres: “Huyendo de guerra en guerra escogiste como país propio aquel en que no naciste y en donde no habías vivido, ni habrías de conocer”. (1996: 63)⁹⁴

Furthermore their exile is exacerbated by a lack of direct involvement in the Republic’s causes and often of direct experience of their parents’ native Spain. This country may nevertheless be projected onto them as their true country of origin. Gambarte asserts:

Este exilio, desde mi punto de vista, es doble exilio, porque asumen las consecuencias sin haber participado en las causas. La generación mayor se va al exilio con el dolor de una derrota, pero con una obra hecha, sobre todo una obra humana. [...] Cuando menos, participaron en sus causas. En cambio, los de esta generación no han hecho ni tienen nada. Es, por tanto, un exilio de la nada, que no deja de ser una de las variadas paradojas en que se sumergirá esta generación. (1996: 65)

⁹⁴ He cites Muñiz Huberman (1985: 98).

An indirect and paradoxical relationship to the past is endemic to postmemory. Although Gambarte does not refer to postmemory he includes statements by Nuria Parés and José Pascual Buxó that illuminate key elements of how postmemory conditions second-generation exile. Parés highlights how inherited memory of the traumatic events of the Civil War transmitted by the first generation means that her own generation's connection to it is mediated not through recollection but through an imaginative investment: “Podíamos contar cosas que no habíamos vivido”.⁹⁵ Furthermore, there are expectations projected on to them that provoke inter-generational tension. Some members considered their existence as constituting less than a mere (potentially unrealizable) dream of the first generation. Parés states: “Somos menos que el sueño de una generación, vivimos de prestado” (Gambarte 1996: 65). Buxó alludes to another key facet of postmemory: that of the generation's own belated stories being displaced by the stories of the previous generation. He states: “Algunos quisimos declarar nuestra historia [...], una breve historia de deseos, añoranzas o frustraciones; nuestra pasión por los sueños y nuestra posible actividad. No logramos mucho, confirmamos en todo caso nuestra propia insatisfacción...”.⁹⁶

Hirsch examines the ‘role of the family as a space of transmission’ (2008: 103):

The language of family, the language of the body: nonverbal and non-cognitive acts of transfer occur most clearly within a familial space. [...] [C]hildren of those directly affected by collective trauma inherit a horrific, unknown, and unknowable past that their parents were not meant to survive. (2008: 112)

The family home is the principal site of verbal and non-verbal transmission. This dimension is characterised by a concentrated link to the past. The degree to which postmemory conditions the family home is not without tension. Some members of the first generation naturally attempted to form a spatial and temporal continuum with Republican Spain, to which there was the ongoing expectation of an imminent return. Gambarte alludes to the children of exile inhabiting a fossilized situation:

El círculo familiar extiende sus ramas al del exilio formando un *continuum* que pretende imponerse a la realidad. En ambos el anhelo utópico, el sueño, la quimera del retorno dan vueltas en torno a la noria de una situación petrificada. El pasado se impone al presente y trata de llenar el futuro truncado. (1996: 71)

⁹⁵ Parés, in a personal interview with Gambarte (1996: 65).

⁹⁶ Buxó (1962: 7) in Gambarte (1996: 65).

As chronological time passed and historical events raised and dashed hopes of returning, the children of exile were coming of age. Seeking employment in the host country and meeting partners who were not fellow exiles gave rise to a degree of dissociation from the first generation's efforts to preserve a continuum. These factors provoked generational conflict in numerous families. Gambarte states:

Esta mutua incomprensión va más allá de la típicamente generacional. [...] El caso es que cuando la nueva generación empezó a manifestarse los mayores se sintieron defraudados. Había quien asumía las experiencias de los mayores y había quien pasaba de ellas y se dedicaba a los imperativos de la edad. (1996: 74)

Numerous second-generation exiles were educated in Republican-administered schools. In addition, social activities were organised within the exiled community and many youngsters were sheltered within a 'ghetto' (Gambarte 1996: 42) formed under the premise of preparing them for returning to Spain. These sites function within a similar spatio-temporal context to the imposed continuum fostered within the family home. Nevertheless, when the second-generation exile encounters the innumerable sites in Mexico and Argentina beyond the dimension nurtured and controlled by the first generation, they are often faced with the realisation of being other. For the older generation the Civil War 'ha supuesto el fin de una trayectoria personal y colectiva; para los jóvenes, el no poder empezarla y la transferencia a unos terrenos que son prestados' (Gambarte 1996: 101). The awareness of being other in these borrowed territories, within which their sheltered milieux are geographically located, involves an unsettling realisation of an alternative system of references to which they are strangers. Gambarte suggests:

La gran experiencia configuradora comienza para estos juveniles ojos que escudriñan a su alrededor aprendiendo un nuevo sistema de referencias, en unos casos, y el primero, en otros, con un idioma que hay que acomodar y unas evocaciones de débiles reminiscencias. (1996: 101-102)

As previously highlighted, within the dimension comprising the family home and other Republican sites located in the host country, space and time are centred around 'la conversión de ese pasado en presente absoluto' (Gambarte 1996: 102). Beyond these sites, however, the children encounter an alternative culture pertaining to a dimension which functions on diametrically opposite spatio-temporal coordinates. As

Gambarte explains: '[e]l joven exiliado se enfrenta a un nuevo medio social y cae en el biculturalismo, si por cultura entendemos todo lo que, consciente o inconscientemente, habita en la memoria individual y colectiva de un determinado grupo humano' (1996: 102). Encounters with these Mexican or Argentinian spaces are not always positive, heightening the sense of otherness and estrangement. This situation may strengthen or render incongruous their relationship with Spain as well as complicate adaptation to the host country. This conflicting reality and alienating encounters with the host country are confronted on a daily basis:

Las consecuencias de este enfrentamiento variarán según sean las circunstancias que lo rodeen: rechazo, manifiesto o larvado, por parte de la comunidad que los acoge — y me refiero a la cotidianeidad de los momentos, no a los grandes manifiestos — , y las reacciones de sus mayores frente a las dificultades inherentes a su condición de exiliado. (Gambarte 1996: 102)

Positive encounters are also recorded and members of the generation have stated that their understanding of the host country and its culture augments over time, facilitating association with it. An analysis of Muñiz-Huberman's and Lojo's texts highlights that underlying their experiences of the host country is the ubiquitous presence of postmemory and a related commitment to the first generation. Being simultaneously entrenched in a fossilized situation within the family home and one of strangerhood outwith it, forces a negotiation of two dimensions positioned on opposing spatio-temporal coordinates, both of which are ultimately conditioned by postmemory. This situation means that the children of exile are 'condenados a la esquizofrenia de un pasar dividido entre la calle, la vida concreta y las gentes de México, y ese ambiente familiar y del exilio que desvivía la realidad en el recuerdo' (Gambarte 1996: 71).

This split reality is where they are consigned to attempt to form an identity.⁹⁷ Furthermore, geographically removed from a Spain they never knew but which 'ought to have been' their birthplace, they are exiled from what Fresco calls the 'completed time which would have been that of identity itself'.⁹⁸ As Hirsch posits: '[t]his condition of exile from the space of identity, this diasporic experience, is characteristic of

⁹⁷ Identity formation is not considered as a linear, chronological process. Its negotiation is in a constant state of flux. However, as will be discussed, in the texts under review childhood, adolescence and young adulthood are formative periods of identity crux and potentiality.

⁹⁸ Fresco refers to children of exiled Holocaust survivors (1981: 211). Cited and translated in Hirsch (1996: 662).

postmemory' (1996: 662). Identity formation beyond clear, established origins is problematic:

The Republican exile women [...] amid the sorrows, bitterness, and triumphs, great and small, of their exilic lives, would at least always know who they were, their Spanish identity having been fully formed to adulthood before their need to leave the land of their birth. For the children of exile parents who remained outside the Peninsula, on the other hand, identity would often prove a vexing dilemma. (Vásquez: 19)

Aware they are exiled from what ought to have been the formative space of their identity, the children of exile may seek to locate or create a further dimension in which to articulate and negotiate the disjunctive identity that beleaguers them. One such cathartic dimension is that of writing and a significant number have composed literary texts to voice aspects of their exilic condition. This creative endeavour provides solace:

La impresión mas generalizada entre los jóvenes es que hubo muy poco apoyo; incluso que hubo desconocimiento y una cierta indiferencia por parte de los mayores. Por éste, por otros más importantes desencantos de la primera generación y por el arduo aclimatamiento a un nuevo país, esta generación pierde la idea de que la literatura sea esencialmente condena política o de otro tipo para convertirse en bálsamo y búsqueda. (Gambarte 1996: 76)

Gambarte asserts that the genre most cultivated by members of the second generation in Mexico is that of poetry. He suggests that this is partly because poetry is not dependent on time or space, issues that have been identified as problematic:

La poesía [...] [n]o necesita espacio ni tiempo, mientras que la novela y el teatro tienen una mayor dependencia de las coordenadas espacio temporales en las que inscribirse y proyectarse. Están más unidos al enjuiciamiento, son más discursivos. (1996: 126)

However, there are instances when these genres provide an appropriate forum for negotiating certain issues, especially those embedded within non-normative experiences of space and time. This is not to undermine poetry's cathartic value. Indeed, Muñiz-Huberman reflects in an interview with Gambarte: “¿Dónde sacas todos tus dolores, todas tus pasiones, etc...? Creo que por eso hay menos narrativa, y que la narrativa se está desarrollando después” (1996: 126). Ryan explains that a symptom of postmemory manifests itself ‘in a sense of confusion in regard to temporality and

identity' (2010: 325).⁹⁹ Issues of spatio-temporal distortion are omnipresent in the negotiation of identity that takes place within the physical dimensions of the second generation's dichotomous reality. Literature can, therefore, be utilised as a medium in which the authors can seek a resolution of the symptoms of postmemory as they are in control of plotting their text's multiple spatio-temporal coordinates. Within these semi-autobiographical texts, Lojo and Muñiz-Huberman generate a literary, creative dimension in which to record and represent the physical dimensions conditioned by postmemory that they encounter on a daily basis and to thus (re)negotiate their identity within a creative space that wholly belongs to them. This cathartic literary space is indirectly conditioned by postmemory too but provides a site which allows multiple dimensions, and their own displaced stories emanating from these to converge in the semi-autobiographical text. The dichotomous physical dimensions delineated are represented in the texts by their transcription into concomitant spaces in the literary text, namely in representations of the family home and Mexico and Argentina. The autobiographical depiction of these conditioned by postmemory will be analysed in (5.2) Postmemory and the Family Home and (5.3) Postmemory and the Host Country.

Within the physical dimensions described, second-generation exiles may have to constantly shift their body to make it conform to the particular cultural frameworks — that is the realisation of inherited schemes that are embodiments of memory — propagated in the family home and in the host country. Counsell highlights how by the mid-twentieth century 'there was already a theorised understanding of the body as a vehicle for extant cultural meaning, its forms and actions a mnemonics of what had gone before' (2009: 1). Counsell advocates that all acts are embodiments of memory:

Even acknowledging the operation of will, affect and individual desire, it is evident that the bulk of our behaviours are socially constructed. Manners and etiquette, deportment, vestimentary codes, the constraints of propriety and conventions for expressing sexuality, gender and power – all predate the particular act, are the realisation of inherited schemes. In this sense they constitute embodiments of memory. (1)

The related schemes inherited by the second generation in the family home are crucially affected by postmemory. It is pertinent to consider the inter-generational transmission of postmemory as a central structure of control exerted over the second generation, which functions paradoxically by being projected onto a corporeal subject that has been

⁹⁹ Ryan refers to Hirsch (1997: 244).

deprived of normative experiences of space and time, and of reality. Gambarte highlights:

si bien en un principio el exilio de esta generación era un exilio de patria, acaba siendo un exilio de la realidad. Ese exilio de la realidad supone de alguna manera una tesitura de distanciamiento, no de realidad española o mexicana o china, sino de la realidad misma, de la realidad sin adjetivos. (1996: 69)

Counsell explains that in *Gender Trouble* (1990), Butler argues ‘subjects in reality enact an identity via existing corporeal codes’, and that ‘identity [...] is itself the product of somatic shaping’ (2009: 3).¹⁰⁰ It is ‘the cultural coding of the *soma* and its behaviours, the way it reproduces, modifies or challenges inherited formulations’ (2009: 1) that is the subject of Counsell and Mock’s edited volume *Performance, Embodiment and Cultural Memory*. For Muñiz-Huberman and Lojo, the articulation and negotiation of their disjunctive identity within a performative literary space becomes entirely necessary.

The cathartic effect of these semi-autobiographical texts is inextricably linked with the rationalization of their own experiences that are conditioned by postmemory. In order to establish a fortified identity the authors display a necessary engagement with the effects of postmemory on multiple dimensions. Identity and memory are strongly interlinked. As Ryan asserts: ‘social identities are malleable, as their sub-component of memory is constantly being revised and contested’ (2010: 326). The indispensable task of working through this (post)memory and, particularly, its symptoms to negotiate a coherent identity takes place in the interpenetrating spaces that converge in these semi-autobiographical texts. This forum provides the opportunity to acknowledge postmemory but also to crucially bring their own displaced stories to the foreground. This is not to suggest that Muñiz-Huberman and Lojo renounce ethical commitment to the first generation. Their works acknowledge both this commitment and a coming to terms with their own postmemorial condition, which ultimately serves as an impetus for negotiating a fortified identity that is not at odds with an exilic Republican consciousness.¹⁰¹ As Ferrán suggests ‘[m]emory plays a central role in theoretical issues

¹⁰⁰ Counsell notes that Butler focuses primarily on gendered and sexual identity but that her conclusions are relevant for other aspects of identity. He summarises ‘[a]lthough embodiment is the medium of received constructions of selfhood, for Butler it is also the arena in which these can be contested’ (2009: 3).

¹⁰¹ In contrast to two older members of the generation, Muñoz Alday and Oliva Berenguer — whose experiences of the Civil War and the initial journey into exile were direct and whose memoirs are firmly

such as the discursive construction of identity' (2007: 15). She also highlights that Ricoeur (1999) 'explains the importance of narrative and narrativization for this process of working through memory' (2007: 58). She goes on to elucidate that narrative texts can 'embody [...] a healing of memory' (58). Autobiographical narratives that acknowledge postmemory and/or work through its symptoms are not only useful at the individual level for the identity of a child of exile, but also at the collective level of the generation.¹⁰²

It is relevant to note that the texts selected for analysis are not simple to classify generically. Indeed, eschewal of generic categories is prevalent in second-generation literature. Gambarte asserts: 'la propia indefinición de los géneros que en muchos casos practican es un hecho, sobre todo en la narrativa' and as Muñiz-Huberman affirms to him in an interview:

"En mi caso no están definidos [mis textos]. Aunque aparentemente son cuentos o novelas, no lo son. Entonces estoy también borrando fronteras en este sentido. Porque creo que lo que también nos hizo el exilio fue no poder definirnos por entero: con norte, sur, este y oeste. Y eso se nota al escribir". (1996: 134)

Muñiz-Huberman refers to her texts as 'seudomemorias' and Lojo describes her text as semi-autobiographical. Although these texts are not purely autobiographical in their construction they provide a unique forum for articulating and negotiating a disjunctive identity and a resolution of symptoms of postmemory. They are works that fruitfully combine autobiography and fiction, a generic amalgamation that enables the critical negotiation of multiple spaces: that is, the transcription of their concomitant dimensions firmly embedded in reality into corresponding spaces in the literary text. The fact that Lojo and Muñiz-Huberman create semi-autobiographical texts, in addition to a text that adheres to Lejeune's autobiographical pact, is indicative of this necessary generic elision. The creative healing process embedded within the semi-autobiographical narrative facilitates further healing. These interlinked processes serve

centred on their ethical commitment to the first generation — the commitment displayed by Muñiz-Huberman and Lojo is present to a lesser degree in their semi-autobiographical texts in order to work through symptoms of postmemory and afford their own stories centrality.

¹⁰² For an interesting study of the resolution of postmemory (achieved via the conflation of individual and national memory structures 'so as to enable the confused individual to make a coherent memory narrative from his fragmentary inherited post-memory' [325]) in texts by Alfons Cervera, a child of the dictatorship, see Ryan (2010). In this chapter I consider, rather, resolution of symptoms. For a study of Spanish meta-memory texts (suggested to be 'models for a process of working through memory which Spanish society as a whole must adequately learn to undertake' [268]), see Ferrán (2007). One chapter addresses postmemory in selected works by Antonio Muñoz Molina.

to fortify an identity that was disjunctive within the physical dimensions of reality represented.

The analysis of the authors' representation of dimensions conditioned by postmemory enables a focussed magnification of the formative experiences of the second generation. The multi-faceted relationship between space, identity, postmemory and the necessary resolution of its symptoms is key to understanding how the authors negotiate a fortified identity as well as maintaining the testimonial chain embedded within the ethical dimension of postmemory. Bearing in mind the particularities of this relationship, and considering their autobiographical and semi-autobiographical writing as complementary elements to a wider constructive creative project, these issues will be discussed in (5.4) Postmemory, Identity and Autobiographical Texts.

5.2 Postmemory and the Family Home

Hirsch posits that the 'idiom of family' (2008: 115) underlies postmemorial works and she stresses that 'postmemory is not an *identity* position but a *generational* structure of transmission' (114. Emphasis in the original). The family home is the site where intimate knowledge of the past and homeland is transmitted, and the representation of this dimension enables an examination of intergenerational dialogues in order to explore how it has been transmitted, experienced and communicated. Furthermore, the analysis of the effects of this transmission illuminates a childhood and adolescence decisively affected by familial memory. In this dimension, Muñiz-Huberman and Lojo are assigned the role of keepers of inherited memory, a role which involves an ethical commitment. In literature, this commitment manifests itself in various ways. For example, it has motivated the composition of numerous texts by children and grandchildren — both of exiled Republicans and Republicans that were unable to leave Spain — that narrate traumatic events of the Civil War and its aftermath, and are furnished with indirect memories pertaining to the previous generation. This creative endeavour involves imaginative investment. Hirsch explains:

Postmemory describes the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they "remember" only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to *seem* to constitute memories in their own right. Postmemory's connection to the past is thus not actually

mediated by recall but by imaginative investment, projection and creation. (2008: 106-107. Emphasis in the original).

Within the Spanish context, this commitment is interlinked with current memory politics. Ryan elucidates: ‘the control of memory has passed to the younger generation, and is consequently informed by the universal ethical mnemonic paradigm which now regulates memory politics’ (2010: 330). Fictional works, often informed by material recounted to the authors in childhood and adolescence, have proliferated. Leggott states:

The younger generation of Spanish writers [...] are generationally removed from the trauma that they narrate, yet they nevertheless grew up under its consequences, often experiencing a childhood and adolescence dominated by the effects of earlier historical events and becoming aware of the stories, often unvoiced, of their relatives who were Republican survivors of the war. (2009: 28)

However, as posited in 5.1, postmemory does not solely condition one dimension: that of imagining and narrating the transmitted past. It also deeply conditions the family home in exile, a dimension experienced first-hand by the second generation. As Hirsch affirms, there are examples of postmemorial work that display an engagement with familial issues that emerge in the aftermath of traumatic events: ‘[s]econd generation fiction, art, memoir, and testimony are shaped by the attempt to represent the long-term effects of living in close proximity to the pain, depression, and dissociation of persons who have witnessed and survived massive historical trauma’ (2008: 112). In Muñiz-Huberman’s and Lojo’s semi-autobiographical texts, specific recounting of postmemory of the Civil War is generally limited but they provide a unique opportunity to analyse its *transmission*, and thus to perceive how the family home is conditioned by postmemory and what the effects are of growing up under its symptoms.

Before analysing the effects of assuming the role of guardian of the family’s memory, it is relevant to consider how memory is transmitted within the home and to highlight how certain objects are employed by the first generation to reinforce this transmission. In *Castillos en la tierra* and *Molinos sin viento*, the child-protagonist Alberina refers to numerous occasions when her parents would pass on fragments of their memories of Spain, the Second Republic, the Civil War and of their extended family. It is possible to trace formal, informal, voluntary and involuntary moments of transmission. Every evening Alberina’s parents formally imparted memories:

La vida de Alberina se compone de muchas vidas ocultas. Vidas que son suyas o vidas que pertenecen a la familia que se quedó en España. Después de la guerra civil solamente sus padres y ella salieron al exilio. La familia que no ha conocido o que recuerda vagamente es el tema nostálgico por excelencia. [...] En la noche, después de la cena, cuentan sus historias como tres conjurados. [...] Alberina queda en el medio: es la depositaria, la escucha, la guardiana. [CT: 103]

Similarly, in the chapters of *Canción perdida en Buenos Aires al oeste* pertaining to Miguel, Irene and Luis — all three children of the Neira de Loxo family — there are abundant examples of voluntary and involuntary transmission of memories pertaining both to Juan Manuel, their Galician father and former Republican soldier, and their Catholic right-wing mother Carmen. Irene recalls that every Sunday the children would gather round and listen to his stories of Spain and the war. Over time, and faced with the impossibility of return, these became a source of tension between the children and their father. She highlights the nostalgia etched on his face:

los ojos de mi padre, tristes de mar, empañados de tiempo recorrido. La mesa del domingo, cuando comíamos callados y mi padre, sólo mi padre recitaba, tácitamente, casi para sí: “Donde yo me he criado...” Y ya no escuchábamos; lo demás se perdía en la bruma nebulosa de un mito siempre repetido, desesperado y patético como una plegaria inútil. La única plegaria que papá se permitía decir. Yo me miraba las manos y me sentía infeliz, por no haber nacido verdaderamente en ningún sitio. [CP: 81]

Hirsch elucidates family photographs as a primary medium of postmemory, both within the family and beyond in its contemporary appropriation by public archives and institutions (2008: 115). Alberina’s parents and the Neira de Loxo parents utilise photographs to aid the transmission of memory. Alberina’s parents keep an album containing images of their family in Spain, both deceased and alive, and of the Spanish landscape. It is shown to her often and she is encouraged to engage with its contents:

En el armario se guarda el álbum de fotografías. Esas fotografías de color sepia. Insospechadas. Con historias sin acabar. De vidas interrumpidas. A las que habrá que otorgar continuidad, regalar invención. Imágenes que son explicaciones en sí: suposiciones: restauraciones. Lo artificial y lo real vueltos pasivos. La gente muerta: viva. Los viejos: niños. Casas, calles, murallas, campos, montañas, inexistentes. Los orígenes de Alberina remontados a los padres, a los abuelos, a los tíos, a los primos. Alberina, que vive sin familia en México, se confecciona una de papel sepia. Conoce tan bien a quienes están retratados, que repite sus nombres, habla con ellos, juega, se escapa a los

campos. Su prima preferida se llama Esperanza: la saca del álbum y se la lleva a deambular por el Bosque de Chapultepec. [CT: 38]

In Lojo's text the children are similarly acquainted with photographs and portraits of their extended family in Spain, particularly with those of their mother's side and also of the man to whom she was engaged who was shot by Republican soldiers. These photographs are imbued with such importance, and their associated memories are so efficiently transmitted, that the album Miguel has of his own childhood appears to him as insignificant. As an adult, he is unable to connect his own lived memories to the photographs of his childhood in Argentina, exacerbating his depression. In the opening paragraph of the first chapter Miguel states:

Estaban los retratos en su marco de corcho, la huella ardiente de un cigarillo sobre el almohadón, el álbum de la infancia revisado inútilmente en busca de no sé qué desciframiento, de qué memoria. Estaba yo, solo, hecho de huesos y de carne mortal y de una pasión olvidada peor que toda pasión presente. Y ese olvido me despojaba por entero. [CP: 13]

Hirsch suggests photography is the 'family's primary instrument of self-knowledge and representation' and that it mediates the continuation of family memory, and thus the perpetuation of familial ideology (1997: 6-7). The photographs utilised by the first generation enables the partial construction of a narrative of family history and ideology. They hope their children will protect and perpetuate this in exile, to the extent that these inherited memories displace the stories of the second generation's lived experiences from the family's narrative given their physical location in the host country.

Additionally, each set of parents utilises a chest filled with objects from Spain to aid transmission, particularly in an attempt to solidify their children's relationship to the country they consider ought to be regarded as home. Alberina's parents attempt to perpetuate a bond with a Republican Spain that no longer exists by regularly showing her its contents:

quizá de principios de siglo, bien cuidado y sólido, guarda muchas y diversas cosas. [...] Mapas antiguos y viejos papeles. [...] Una pistola y la bandera de la España republicana. Todo envuelto con esmero y primorosamente atado con cordones de seda torzal. Hay encajes y tules antiguos, de abuelas o bisabuelas, levemente amarilleados, que han viajado quién sabe por cuántos lugares. Sombreros, de verano y de invierno, que no se usan en México y que se quedarán inútiles. [...] [C]osas que [...] servirán para alegrar las añoranzas. Saldrán, simplemente, para ser vistos, para ser recordados. [...] Para que

Alberina se lo grabe todo en la memoria para cuando llegue el momento en que, finalmente, se desvanezca. [CT: 37-38]

In the Neira de Loxo household each parent keeps a separate chest, symbolic of the fragmentation that plagues the family. In addition, Juan Manuel plants a tree outside their Castelar home (which he hoped would grow like the one that sheltered his Galician house), which is a site where he would transmit vivid memories of his native Galicia. Miguel recalls:

Cruzamos el patio y caminamos hasta el castaño.
 –En casa había uno como éste, pero mucho mejor, más grande. [...] En este clima de mierda nada crece como debiera crecer. Donde yo me he criado... [CP: 18]

The transmission of memory that takes place within each family home is not a passive one as the parents specifically expect the children to actively assume custodianship. Furthermore, they are constantly subject to further instalments. It is useful to consider how memory is transmitted at particular chronological stages in exile, and its related effects on the children's evolving role as its keepers. In the initial stages of Alberina's exile in Mexico, the transmitted memories are concentrated around the war and the Republic's legitimacy in order to prepare the young girl for returning to Spain and to lay the foundations for an identification with the Republican cause. This is a microcosmic example of exiles' efforts to safeguard the Republican cause and present it to an international audience in the hope for intervention.¹⁰³ As Ryan suggests: '[m]emory and power function in a reciprocal relationship, complementing and indeed consolidating the discourse of the other in order to achieve a common objective, namely the consolidation of political power' (2010: 328). There are multiple examples in *Castillos en la tierra* of the effects of these memories transmitted early in Alberina's childhood which echo those delineated in Muñiz-Huberman's autobiographical text *De cuerpo entero: el juego de escribir*. Alberina engages in games fuelled by postmemory in which she personally fights Franco, accompanied by imaginary horses and her 'hermano-muerte'. In the family home there is a room which for Alberina is 'el cuarto de las herencias' [CT: 42], where she goes alone to stage these battles:

¹⁰³ As discussed in Chapter One this endeavour underlies the composition of two members of the first generation's — de la Mora and Oyarzábal de Palencia — propagandistic autobiographical works.

Este cuarto vacío, [...], le sirve a Alberina para continuar las historias de sus juegos. Lo ha cruzado al galope. [...] [H]an escalado por las rocas hasta encontrar la guarida. Han entregado el mensaje y todos se preparan para la lucha contra los soldados de Franco. Otras veces, el cuarto es el cielo abierto y Alberina, con su gorro de aviadora y el fusil, dispara desde el aire y mata el enemigo. [CT: 41]

Alberina acknowledges her role to faithfully preserve the memories transmitted to her but is also aware that, when it comes to recounting them, her representations may not be wholly accurate: ‘Alberina ya no posee una memoria sino la historia de una memoria’ [CT: 50]. Latterly, as the prospect of an immediate return fades, her parents focus on memories of Spain and her Spanish family. *Molinos sin viento* narrates a time period relating to Alberina’s later adolescence and includes mention of her mother’s reiteration of her daughter’s role as the guardian of familial memory, an echo of Muñiz-Huberman’s own mother’s warning recorded in *De cuerpo entero: el juego de escribir*. She attempts to memorize everything she is told regarding Spain and the past as well as everything she experiences first-hand, though it is the pressure not to forget the former that causes deep anxiety:

Los contempla como si los memorizara: ahora todo lo memoriza: desde que su madre le dijo severamente en Chachalacas que ya tenía edad de guardar todo en la memoria. [...] [D]ebe recordar cada cosa y cada instante: sería una falta olvidar: sería algo peor: un pecado: un delito imperdonable. Sí: su madre no se lo perdonaría: está condenada a recordar uno por uno los actos de la vida y de la muerte: a recibir la herencia de los recuerdos. No olvides: no olvides: ha repetido su madre: no olvides. No olvides la muerte de tu hermano: eso en primer lugar. No olvides España: pero si no la conozco: no importa: no olvides. [MV: 49-50]

In this dimension conditioned by postmemory the young Alberina is anxious not to forget but constantly going over their details is also traumatic. On Saturdays she chooses to go to a quiet room, instead of playing with friends or accompanying her mother shopping, to devote time to her role:

Pero con tal dolorosa tristeza que elige, en su lugar, el abatimiento. Recuerda una por una las pérdidas: su hermano: siempre su hermano. [...] La familia que sólo conoce por fotos. Los cuentos que podría oír de los abuelos, que nunca oír. Los juegos con sus primos, que nunca jugará. Hablar el mismo idioma: el mismo idioma íntimo. Y es por eso por lo que se echa a llorar. [MV: 43]

In *Canción perdida en Buenos Aires al oeste* all the children have reached adulthood. The first-person chapters include a composition date (all in the 1980s), and the transmission of inherited memory does not cease. For first-generation parents, as decades pass, the need to pass this on intensifies. In Luis's chapter, comprising letters to his sister Irene, he explains that as the only sibling now at home, his situation has become intolerable. The continued non-normative experience of space and time in the family home at a time when he is trying to commence his life as a young adult in Argentina provokes profound tension. He states:

Irene, me quiero ir con ustedes. Si me quedo en esta casa me voy a morir, y no con una muerte de persona, que dentro de todo sería tolerable, sino con una muerte de cosa, con una muerte de papel amarillo, de casa vieja. Voy a ser como la mancha de humedad en una pared. [...] Porque en esta casa, Irene, ya no vive nadie, y hay mayores posibilidades de convertirse en almohadón gastado, en el felpudo que usa la perra para calentarse, que de ser hombre. [CP: 71]

Irene's relationship with her father had broken down as he was immensely disappointed with her marriage to a third-generation German immigrant from Argentina, rather than waiting with her family for the possible return to Spain. Juan Manuel perceived her union with Alberto Krieger as the excision of the Republican identity he had tirelessly attempted to form in exile in his Castelar house, believing with this that his memory and aspirations to maintain a Republican lineage and ideology would perish. Carmen's complicity in his decision to never see Irene and Alberto nor to meet his grandchildren is a further source of tension between mother and daughter. No longer able to physically transmit memory to her, she records a tape before her death addressed to Irene, the transcript of which forms the entirety of Carmen's chapter. In her address, she includes further memories regarding her own childhood, the war, her family in Madrid and her first partner: 'Irene, hija. Me veo obligada a recurrir a este medio para decirte todo lo que te quiero y debo decir' [CP: 99]. She also reiterates her desire that Irene assume guardianship not only of familial memory but also of her mother's own personal and painful memories regarding the fate of her deceased right-wing sweetheart and family members:

Ahora estas notas gastadas vanamente por mis ojos son tuyas, Irene, junto con las joyas que fueron de tu abuela. Acaso eres tú la única capaz de conservar y dar sentido a esos mensajes. [CP: 113] [...] Y a tí, Irene, a tí porque al cabo eres mi única hija mujer, aunque todo en nosotras sea disímil, a tí te toca la infortunada herencia de reunir esos pedazos rotos. [CP: 115]

The perspective of the child-protagonist in Muñiz-Huberman's semi-autobiographical representation of this dimension places the reader in an optimum position to comprehend the effects and symptoms of postmemory on childhood. Additionally, the analysis of this dimension illuminates how the second-generation exile negotiates non-normative parameters of space and time from the viewpoint of a child. Both sets of parents attempt to create a microcosm of Spain within the family house. This environment, coupled with the transmission of memories and references to the country the children are being prepared to return to, has the power to 'displace and derealize' (Hirsch 1996: 660) the children's own 'immediate childhood world' (660) in Argentina and Mexico. The inherited memories of a place they have never experienced are projected upon them to the extent that Spain embodies the idea of home. The family house may be a pivotal part of their positive identification with Spain but given the non-normative parameters of time and space that it promulgates, entering and leaving can be unsettling. Alberina's parents need not only for their daughter to know this past world but also to perpetuate it. However, as Hirsch articulates, the children of survivors 'live at a further temporal and spatial remove from that decimated world' (1996: 662) and as 'home' is always elsewhere they 'remain in perpetual temporal and spatial exile' (1996: 663). During her early childhood, Alberina regarded her vivid postmemory of Spain as being precious and safe in the family house, and the family are united at this time waiting acquiescently to return to Spain. However, fossilised in this dimension she recalls that during this period leaving this house is a traumatic experience for her: 'Al descender el último escalón llega a la calle y la casa ha quedado atrás, al fondo. Al cerrarse la puerta ha dejado un mundo a sus espaldas: su propia intimidad. Ha concluido un fragmento. Ha terminado algo. Cada día' [CT: 48]. Gambarte states: '[e]s fundamentalmente la conversión de ese pasado en presente absoluto lo que no sólo estorba los citados olvido y superación, sino que los imposibilita' (1996: 102). The conversion of the past into an absolute present obstructs the overcoming of numerous difficulties.

An analysis of the perspectives of multiple protagonists, from both the first and second generation, enables a deeper understanding of how postmemory conditions the dynamic of the family home. Lojo's text illuminates interrelating problems that emerge in a house impacted by it. The Neira de Loxo house remains entrenched in non-normative spatio-temporal parameters, which leads to its members experiencing

isolation and eventually to relationships breaking down. The narrative of the parents' experiences overrides Irene, Miguel and Luis's own childhood experiences. Like Miguel's, Irene's chapter is written on her thirtieth birthday and begins with her contemplating her lonely childhood in Castelar:

Pensaba en el desamor que lo dividía todo y nos lanzaba al mar, flores podridas, camalotes errantes, islas despreciables donde ningún naufrago podría ya hacer pie. [CP: 81]. [...] Y yo sentiría, sentiría solamente. El ahogo, el temor y el deseo del mundo abierto, la claridad rajante y sin sentido que abría las ventanas, la ausencia, el hueco, la maravilla oculta del amor negado. [...] Sentenciados a existir nosotros éramos, sin que se nos hubiese dado la fuerza suficiente. [...] Que la mano de un Dios me haga de nuevo, que la mano de un Dios me reconstruya. Esa era mi única oración. [...] Así pasaban los días de aquella, mi vida, descarnada y expuesta, riesgosa y dolorosa, en un mundo inhumano y sobrehumano. [CP: 82]

Furthermore, within this oppressive situation, the parents construct parameters of behaviour they deem appropriate for their children as second-generation exiles. When these expectations cease to be realized, family members are subject to guilt. When Irene marries she is no longer welcome in the family house. Subsequently, she attempts to distance herself psychologically from it and from the immediate effects of postmemory on her adult life. Nevertheless, having assumed the role of guardian of the family's memory, this is not a sustainable solution. Embedded in Irene's chapter are two short stories; the second, 'Invocaciones a la dama del espejo', addresses her mother and relates to the breakdown of their relationship. Irene states:

Yo no soy tu heredera pero soy tu heredera, yo reniego tu raza pero llevo su sello. Yo he alzado los ojos para ver a la madre que me tenía de la mano, intensa y blanca, con un rigor de luna; pero la madre ya no estaba y la mano me había crecido. Era una mano de mujer y en el lugar de madre nadie había. Y ahora se ha cortado la cadena de las generaciones. [...] Madre. No quiero tu legado pero lo tomaré. [CP: 93]

In the transcription of her tape recording Carmen expresses regret for not having reasoned with her husband on his drastic measures taken following their daughter's wedding:

Claro, todo sería más fácil si el energúmeno de tu padre no fuera como es. Tú podrías venir a casa con tu marido y tus niños (que estarán preciosos, ¿verdad?) y entonces hablaríamos de todo lo que en casi diez años hemos callado. Yo sé, o bueno, lo imagino, que tú me guardas un poquito de rencor. Creerás, sin duda,

que yo podría haberme puesto más firme para que tu padre aceptara tu matrimonio, que podría haberlo convencido para que te recibiera. Por desgracia, siempre fui bastante débil de carácter. [...] Pero te extraño mucho, Irene. [CP: 99]

This tape was never sent and was only discovered after Carmen's death and Juan Manuel's suicide. The semi-autobiographical representation of the exiled Neira de Loxo family is an intricate portrayal of a family home and history. The splintered voices that converge in the seven chapters of the text illuminate the tension, guilt and solitude that affect both the parents and children in exile. In the textual representation of this dimension conditioned by postmemory Lojo and Muñiz-Huberman are able to confront how the transmission of their parents' memory has shaped the spatio-temporal parameters of their home and to work through the symptoms of postmemory that have affected not only their childhood and adolescence, but also their adulthood.

5.3 Postmemory and the Host Country

Tobin Stanley and Zinn assert that the first generation of any exiled community naturally attempts to sustain structures of the homeland:

Both inner and outer exiles often bring with them the awareness of linguistic and cultural dislocation, resulting in mourning for lost dimensions of self, shattered communities, and disrupted traditions. The outcome is a rebuilding of structures reminiscent of the former "there": a place, a family, or a home. (2007b: 2)

Cultural and linguistic structures are primarily perpetuated within the family home, but also in other Republican exilic sites. Gambarte refers to the conglomerate of these sites as 'ghetos' and that within them 'no hay una verdadera integración con el nuevo medio de acogida', which contributed to the 'espíritu de foraneidad' (1996: 42). This is prevalent amongst second-generation exiles, especially in childhood. As the epicentre of transmission, postmemory deeply conditions this dimension. However, the symptoms of postmemory extend beyond its boundaries into the host country and inform the second generation's relationship with it. It is pertinent to consider how postmemory conditions experiences of the host country both in childhood and adulthood in the representations of this dimension in Muñiz-Huberman's and Lojo's texts.

The child's postmemory of the idealized homeland that awaits them and their parents' criticism of the host country evidently colours initial relationships with the

latter. As a child, Irene was dissatisfied in Argentina as it could not compare with the vivid descriptions of her father's native Galicia. This sentiment is echoed in Lojo's *Una escritora de dos mundos: Mínima autobiografía de una "exiliada hija"*. In Muñiz-Huberman's *seudomemorias* even the imparted traumatic memories of the Civil War would galvanize in Alberina a nostalgic longing to 'return' to Spain. The memories transmitted in early childhood were so centred on her family's wartime experiences that she did not feel at ease in Mexico simply because it was not at war. She feels frustrated at not being able to contribute to the Republican cause and wishes she could be in Spain to form part of the resistance, or indeed in any war:

Le hubiera gustado ir a la guerra, pero aquí, en México, no se pelea. Cuando sea mayor podrá ir a la guerra. Las guerras no se acaban. Sus padres sólo hablan de guerras. Podrá escoger a cuál ir. Con esto se contenta. [CT: 20]

Her precocious sense of duty to fight for just causes is a symptom of her deep engagement with postmemory. It also illuminates that, since the children of exile are not direct participants of the traumatic event, their understanding of its outcome is limited and their exilic situation is bound up in frustration. These circumstances also limited initial acclimatization to the host country:

Estos jóvenes, con las pequeñas raíces dejadas al aire, son pacientes de una historia en la que participaban de espectadores anonadados, pues nada entienden de la trama y menos todavía del desenlace. De ahí que se produzca el desarraigo [sic] y un grado mayor de frustración. En el trasplante se tardó demasiado en que hincaran sus raíces en la nueva tierra. (Gambarte 1996: 67)

Furthermore, postmemory and the associated responsibility that emerges from their role as heirs of their family's memory and Republican ideology provokes certain tensions when they encounter elements of Mexican and Argentinian national culture, fundamentally impacting interactions in spaces outside the family home. The young Alberina attended a Mexican school. As she considers an element of her identity as rooted in historical events that occurred one generation earlier, she finds it incongruous that she has to sing the Mexican anthem every day. This echoes an anecdote recalled by Muñiz-Huberman in *De cuerpo entero: el juego de escribir*. For Alberina, attending this school causes consternation as it is a time-consuming distraction from engaging with inherited memory and staging imaginary battles against Franco with her 'hermano-muerte':

Si se enfermaba, el colegio era interrumpido. [...] Alberina recupera la tranquilidad de las horas perdidas. Puede seguir con sus historias al quedarse sola y olvidar los malos momentos del colegio. [...] [L]e agradaba estar enferma. Era [...] abrir las puertas de la mente: que es la libertad más preciada. Donde se fraguan los diálogos y las historias. [...] Donde empuña el fusil y pelea en España. [CT: 75]

In the Mexican school her teachers make her feel different from her Mexican classmates. They single out her pronunciation: ‘ha descubierto que le hacen pronunciar las palabras con ce o ese para no equivocar la ortografía, ya que ella habla con acento español’ [MV: 31]. A maths lesson on division is particularly traumatic as she is taught a method of division that is different from the Spanish one her father teaches her. The former makes more sense to Alberina but she feels torn and duty-bound to honour her father’s method, a symbol of the family’s heritage:

Un principio de la decepción en el seno familiar fue el estudio de la aritmética. [...] Pero dividir es una auténtica división: el método europeo de dividir de su padre es distinto al americano. ¿Quién tiene la razón? Alberina desea que sus maestros estén equivocados y trata de aprender al modo de su padre. Imposible. Cada vez se enreda más y confunde los dos sistemas. Su padre insiste en que divida a la europea. Pero un día, entre lágrimas, Alberina decide que es mejor el sistema de sus maestros. [MV: 33-34]

She is inherently aware of being different and many of her friends are Jewish exiles. Relationships with Mexican children and those of long established Spanish emigrants were often strained, and Gambarte notes that some regarded exiles with indifference or fear (1996: 45-46). Reactions to the exiled other were unhelpfully aggravated by the media. Gambarte highlights that Mexican right-wing newspapers published numerous disparaging articles reporting an influx of ‘rojos’ (46).

In adulthood, this dimension continues to be conditioned by postmemory. Tensions emerge for second-generation exiles as they come of age and attempt to forge a path in the host country. Gambarte asserts that they are subject to

inseguridades también concretas: económica, afectiva... Con el destierro, no sólo has perdido la patria, sino también la seguridad económica, el no saber qué harás con tu futuro, miedo a muchas cosas, alejamiento de muchos afectos y de otras muchas cosas que dan seguridad y en las que, si eres niño o joven, te puedes apoyar para ser fuerte. (1996: 68)

The typical insecurities that perturb young adults are exacerbated by their exilic condition and the tensions that emerge as symptoms of postmemory. Seeking permanent employment is a source of conflict in the family home, as highlighted in the chapters pertaining to Luis and Miguel in Lojo's text. An uneasy oscillation emerges at this time between maintaining commitment to their parents and respecting their father's yearning to return to Spain as well as acceptance by their Argentinian peers, resulting in unavoidable ignominy and contempt in one or both dimensions. Although Luis maintains an empathetic relationship to his parents' wish that he considers himself only as Spanish and not Argentinian, he serves with the Argentine army in the Falklands War. Like his Argentinian friends he feels a sense of duty: 'Quiero hacer algo por el país en que nací' [CP: 72]. Gambarte highlights that as the possibility of returning to Spain diminished:

Consciente o inconscientemente, el exiliado sabe que ha entrado en una vía muerta en el trazado de la historia de la que es prácticamente imposible salir. Por tanto su tarea consiste en solucionar ese estado antitemporal, antihistórico. De ahí que a la larga el exiliado tenga que intentar desesperadamente asirse a la realidad que tiene bajo sus pies. (1996: 87)

For Luis this adaptation to the host country included a necessary engagement with Argentinian politics, but Juan Manuel considers him to be relinquishing the familial and ideological affiliation to Spain he had attempted to foster in the Castelar family home.

Conversely, even when Luis's brother Miguel secures employment with an Argentinian company, his vivid postmemory of Spain, the formative events of his childhood and the generational expectations projected onto him prompts a desire to seek another job in Spain. However, he is also aware that there too he would be regarded as a stranger. Gambarte asserts:

Es ésta una generación de complejo encuadramiento y en sus componentes individualmente subyace igualmente la sensación de no pertenecer a ninguna historia y de un estar repartido. Ellos son de aquí y son de allá, los demás los ven como del otro lado. (1996: 80)

Although Miguel's aspiration satisfies his parents it causes tension with his colleagues and his Argentinian girlfriend. His parents' inability to adapt to the host country filters

down to him and as such he is always regarded as a stranger.¹⁰⁴ This contributes to the profound depression Miguel suffers in this dimension, ultimately conditioned by postmemory. In his non-adherence to the cultural frameworks of his birth country, Miguel is stigmatised in any space outside the family home. His girlfriend states: ‘Vos naciste equivocado, entraste en el mundo con el pie izquierdo. Sos un vagabundo, un mal parido. No tenés lugar donde pertenecer’ [CP: 41].

5.4 Postmemory, Identity and Autobiographical Texts

An analysis of how postmemory has conditioned the family home and the host country highlights a dichotomous reality that, as the formative space that the second-generation exile inhabits in childhood and adolescence, ultimately condemns the individual to a disjunctive identity profile. The inherited schemes that are transmitted within each of these physical dimensions govern the somatic practices of which identity is, in part, a product. Diametrically opposite codes, that emanate from the cultural frameworks of each, impacted by inter-generational transmission of (post)memory are a central structure of control exerted on the second generation. As discussed, there are numerous examples of socially constructed behaviours within the representations of both of the physical dimensions analysed but one of primordial importance for Muñiz-Huberman and Lojo is that of language.

Language is dependent on a cultural system of values and, as Gambarte suggests, language in itself is an identity marker: ‘[t]odo tipo de grupo o comunidad que quiera unificarse y diferenciarse de otros lo primero a lo que tendrá que recurrir es a la creación de un lenguaje propio’ (1996: 116). Some members of the second generation were exiled in host countries where the native tongue was very different. However, even in Argentina and Mexico communication in Castilian Spanish and/or Argentinian or Mexican Spanish would further problematise the negotiation of a coherent identity. Gambarte argues:

¹⁰⁴ The concept of strangerhood was posited in Simmel’s 1908 essay ‘The Stranger’. See Simmel (1964: 402-407). As Dessewffy explains, this ‘stranger’ is ‘the other who arrived today and stays tomorrow’, as opposed to the transitory encounter with the tourist, traveller or wanderer and as such the stranger’s presence is more than a temporary disturbance (1998: 353-354). For an examination of dimensions of strangerhood beyond ‘spatial movement’, including ‘strangerhood in social, sexual, and cultural behavior patterns that carry the stigma of otherness’ (354), see Dessewffy (1998).

La lengua, el uso, no sólo tiene una función de comprender el mundo, de expresar cualquier cosa, sino, y con importancia pareja, de comprenderse a sí mismo, de expresarse a sí mismo, de autoconstruirse y recrear el mundo desde el yo, es decir, la propia visión del mundo [...] [L]a lengua se torna un problema de identidad de primera magnitud para el exiliado. (1996: 118)

A pertinent example of the disjunctive identity profile that emerges for the Neira de Loxo children is code-switching, a phenomenon that is subsequently articulated in *Una escritora de dos mundos: Mínima autobiografía de una “exiliada hija”*. Outside the family home Irene, Miguel and Luis use the ‘vos’ form, diminutives and vocabulary that is particular to Argentinian Spanish, though this is kept secret from their parents even in adulthood. In the house they strictly adhere to Castilian Spanish, honouring the connection to the homeland that their parents have fostered. Eppler’s oral history study observes the tensions of language use between two generations of Austrian Shoah exiles in London. The daughter of the family interviewed is reluctant to ever speak German and, drawing on Kristeva (2000), Eppler highlights ‘the abandonment of a native tongue is a symbolic matricide’ (2007: 213). Evidence of tensions around language-use is also present in representations of these dimensions in Muñiz-Huberman’s texts and, as stated in her autobiographical text and reiterated by Alberina, an attempt was made to utilise a neutral version of Spanish in everyday communication.

The corporeal codes disseminated by the inherited schemes of the family home and the host country (and their ramifications for identity formation) exist in non-normative experiences of space and time. However, the textual reappropriation of language enables both authors to articulate the disjunctive identity inherent in physical dimensions within a literary space (spatio-temporal coordinates here being completely within their own control). As such, a forum is created to acknowledge the ubiquitous reach of postmemory on multiple dimensions. Furthermore, as memory is deeply entrenched in identity-negotiation, an engagement with its effects in a literary dimension (that is not directly subject to embodiments of memory) enables the authors to contest and challenge existing formulations. By working through postmemory, and specifically its symptoms (essential to the healing process), this creative space provides the opportunity to bring their own displaced stories to the foreground, constituting an essential contribution to the negotiation of a fortified identity.

Evidently, this and the necessary resolution of symptoms is not a uniform process. Palpably, the authors’ experiences in childhood, adolescence and adulthood are

varied and they are not the same age. Furthermore, at the time of the composition of their semi-autobiographical texts, the authors display varying concerns and objectives: not only with regard to identity negotiation but also in terms of honouring the postmemorial ethical commitment. Furthermore, Muñiz-Huberman's trilogy is centred on a child-protagonist, and Lojo's text on an entire family, all of its members having reached adulthood. As such, it is relevant to consider in turn the specificities of each writer's process of resolution and fortification, considering their semi-autobiographical text within the wider context of previous and subsequent works.

Manifestations of a disjunctive identity profile are prevalent in the chapters pertaining to the Neira de Loxo children. In *Una escritora de dos mundos: Mínima autobiografía de una "exiliada hija"*, composed fourteen years after *Canción perdida en Buenos Aires al oeste*, it is evident that Lojo has achieved a fortified identity which includes an identification with the host country that is no longer at odds with the Spanish identity her parents attempted to instil within the family home. She explains how she has been able to engage with the culture, history and literature of her birth country of Argentina, facilitating identification with it. This endeavour is interlinked with her efforts, subsequent to the publication of her first semi-autobiographical novel, to produce further literary and academic works that are centred on Argentina. Furthermore, she explains how she was able to achieve a degree of resolution for her condition as an 'exiliada hija'. This was aided by visiting Spain, in homage to her parents' memory, and would lead her to consider the universality of exile:

¿Volver?... Sí que "volví", después de todo, a ese país en donde nunca había estado. Pero no para siempre. No para hacer otra vida (la *vrai vie*) en el mundo ausente. Reemplacé la trascendencia por la inmanencia. Encontré, del lado de acá, mitos para deshacer y nuevos mitos para construir, desde la ficción y la poesía. No desoí el llamado del origen: me puse a buscarlo por los caminos de la Historia, pero en la tierra donde había nacido, que en este siglo también produjo, desdichadamente, sus exiliados propios, y que es hoy, la tierra donde se limpian los huesos de mis muertos. [...] Volví para rendir homenaje a la memoria, no para quedarme; me acompañó, gustosa, la familia argentina: mi marido y tres hijos. [UE: 7]

She concludes her autobiographical text by stating how eventually she came to positively accept her aporetic situation and an identity which is both Spanish and Argentinean, the legacies of each having had a rich influence on her literary and academic works:

No renuncié a ninguna de mis tierras, a ninguna de mis historias. He aceptado plenamente mi doble identidad, así como mi doble ciudadanía. La escisión, la ambivalencia iniciales, se han convertido en intrincada riqueza. Puedo mirar a España desde la Argentina y a la Argentina desde España. [UE: 7]

It is the articulation of a disjunctive identity and displaced stories conditioned by postmemory in her earlier semi-autobiographical text that forms the necessary first step to achieving resolution and fortification. Furthermore, although it displays an ethical commitment to the first generation, it also provides an opportunity to criticise the projection of asphyxiating elements of postmemory onto the children of exile. As described previously, Irene's chapter includes two short stories addressed to her parents that challenge the actions which provoked the fragmentation of the family.

The second generation are not only the inheritors of the first generation's traumatic past; their own exilic experiences too are traumatic. They were also denied access to a physical dimension that ought to have been the space of coherent identity negotiation. The reader of Lojo's and Muñiz-Huberman's semi-autobiographical texts acts as a 'confirming witness' (Bal 1999: x) to a painful past conditioned by postmemory that further thwarted normative experiences of space and time. By articulating and sharing the memories of their own displaced stories, the narrative is simultaneously involved in a multi-layered and propelling healing process. The reader plays an important role in this process:

The recipients of the account perform an act of memory that is potentially healing, as it calls for political and cultural solidarity in recognizing the traumatized party's predicament. This act is potentially healing because it generates narratives that "make sense". To enter memory, the traumatic event of the past needs to be made "narratable". (Bal 1999: x)

Chronologically, Muñiz-Huberman's *seudomemorias* trilogy follows the publication of *De cuerpo entero: el juego de escribir* in which she states 'España y México. Son mis dos países' [DC: 21], suggesting by 1991 that she had negotiated a coherent identity profile. In reality, the first instalment of the trilogy, *Castillos en la tierra*, was already completed and *Molinos sin viento* was a work in progress at this same time. It is valuable to consider interviews and information in her autobiographical text referring to these and other projects to illuminate how the resolution of symptoms and ultimate fortification of identity is achieved. Although by this stage Muñiz-

Huberman is able to positively accept an aporetic identity profile, she describes an underlying necessity to simultaneously carry out realisations of the ethical commitment and honouring of her promise to her mother to be the guardian of the family's memory — symptomatic of postmemory —, and the articulation of the disjunctive identity profile of her childhood and adolescence. In reference to the former, she states:

En este momento de mi creación, aquilato las enseñanzas recibidas y decanto las historias que se me confiaron. Retomo los orígenes y se me vuelve presente ese afán de mi madre de señalarme lo que podría convertirse en objeto literario. Descubro que lo que creía olvidado o lo que no le había dedicado la atención justa se guardaba en un pozo que ahora se me desborda. [DC: 38]

In reference to the latter, in an interview with Jorge Luis Herrera, she states that the trilogy provides the forum in which to engage with aspects of her childhood and explain how the young Alberina's identity and personality were formed, a protagonist she states is heavily predicated on her own childhood identity: 'Pensando que moriré pronto recogí diversos aspectos de mi infancia, época que resume el futuro de cualquier ser humano, con el deseo de reafirmarme ante la vida. Pretendía explicar cómo se formó la identidad y personalidad de Alberina, la protagonista' (2004). The trilogy is ultimately an attempt to reconcile and organise postmemory and her own displaced stories relevant to identity formation, which is an effort that accompanies the overarching efforts of her writing to gain a deeper understanding of her exilic identity that is not at odds with her ethical commitment:

El hilo de la memoria se rompe, se anuda o se enreda. Frágil o inventado. Se desliza sin tiempo. Muchos, muchos años después Alberina confunde y mezcla sus recuerdos. Quiere establecer un puente entre las dos orillas: ayer y hoy. Quiere entender. Quiere abarcar. [CT: 17]

The particularities of the negotiation of second-generation exilic identity render this a complex ongoing process and elements of this endeavour continue in Muñiz-Huberman's and Lojo's subsequent works, both literary and academic. However, this chapter has argued that the selected semi-autobiographical texts are pivotal in the inter-linked processes of resolution and fortification.

Conclusion

The semi-autobiographical texts analysed in this chapter, considered in light of the autobiographical works published by the respective authors, offer a compelling insight into exilic issues facing the second generation. The consideration of postmemory as a key aspect of a poetics of exile in *Castillos en la tierra*, *Molinos sin viento* and *Canción perdida en Buenos Aires al oeste* facilitates an exploration of the complex interplays between memory, literature and identity. The analysis of the authors' representation of dimensions conditioned by postmemory — namely the family home and the host country — offers a concentrated examination of the second generation's experiences, and how they spark and profoundly shape a creative, constructive process. A consideration of the complex interconnections between space, identity and postmemory is crucial to understanding how María Rosa Lojo and Angelina Muñoz-Huberman negotiate a fortified identity aided by autobiographical writing.

CHAPTER VI:***¿QUIÉN SOY?* IDENTITY AND
RETROPROGRESSIVE REPRESENTATIONS
OF CHILDHOOD**

6.1 Introduction

The range of literary responses composed by the second generation, conditioned by the particularities of their exilic situation, highlights a complex relationship between memory, literature and identity. Autobiographical writing functions as a platform from which to examine aspects of identity and attempt to negotiate a coherent identity profile, and various sub-genres are well suited to this task. As discussed in Chapter 4, for Muñoz Alday and Oliva Berenguer memoirs serve to align an identity profile firmly embedded within a collective Republican exilic consciousness and concomitant perpetuation of collective memory. Chapter 5 explores how Muñiz-Huberman and Lojo utilise experimental semi-autobiographical texts that form part of a broader project, addressing and attempting the resolution of symptoms of postmemory in a creative endeavour to build a coherent identity. Chapter 6 highlights a further sub-genre that houses an attempt to assimilate elements of exilic experience in an effort to reconfigure a fractured identity profile: autobiographical texts that address childhood.

Schlumbohm explains that by the late eighteenth century autobiographical texts were no longer solely written in a religious context and came to be of interest in empirical psychology (1998: 32-33). He states:

The formation of one's own individuality became the core topic of autobiographical accounts, and childhood was accorded crucial importance. Moreover, specific patterns of narrating and explaining the genesis of an individual's personality were created [...], which have been influential well into the twentieth century. (31)

Representations of childhood and adolescence have come to form an abundant autobiographical sub-genre; the textual retrospective 'search for an underlying continuity of the self' (32) constituting a prolific element of autobiographical writing across the globe.¹⁰⁵ Baena indicates:

no siempre se ha creído que este periodo tuviera suficiente entidad temática por sí mismo como género autobiográfico. [...] [P]odemos ver el desarrollo de la autobiografía de infancia como algo propio de la sociedad contemporánea en la que se da una gran importancia al periodo de la infancia, tanto de lo que *allí* ocurrió como de la *perspectiva* propia del niño, lo cual provoca la aparición del género. Esto sucede a partir del siglo XIX. (2000: 481. Emphasis in the original)

¹⁰⁵ For a bibliographical list of works published in Spanish, see Fernández (2007: 277-285).

In recent decades, a number of studies have addressed such works.¹⁰⁶ From an analysis of an international corpus of six hundred texts, Richard Coe (1984) notes archetypal childhood experiences and themes. Denominating these texts ‘Childhood’, as Baena explains, he charts characteristics with regard to ‘leyes internas, convenciones y estructuras’ (2000: 479). Davies laments the lack of ‘any firm or insistent psychological or cultural-analytic line’ (1987: 54) in Coe’s text but acknowledges his shrewd observation that ‘the typical Childhood ends not at the point of the author’s final and positive integration as a member of society, but at a point of total awareness of self as an entity’ (55). Baena highlights ‘[u]na de las características centrales del género es que su amplitud abarca las vivencias del yo desde la primera consciencia hasta que se alcanza cierto grado de madurez, normalmente cubriendo un periodo de 15 a 18 años’ (480-481). Baena argues that this is accompanied by the child’s often painful departure from youthful experience of time:

la infancia parece situarse, de algún modo, más allá del tiempo. Es por esto que los *Childhoods* terminan cuando el individuo entra en el mundo adulto de un tiempo cronometrado, frecuentemente señalado por algún recurso narrativo que indique que ha finalizado la etapa de la infancia: abandono del hogar, el primer trabajo, romper con la familia, abandonar la escuela, ir a la Universidad, graduación, compromiso o matrimonio, publicación del primer libro o escribir el primer poema, emigrar del país. En la mayoría de los casos, se trata de una experiencia traumática, un *punto y aparte* que señala que algo ha cambiado de modo irreversible. (481. Emphasis in the original)

This chapter seeks to examine the literary ramifications of the traumatic experience of exile on this autobiographical sub-genre. The condition of exile, whether endured as an adult or as a child, has significant repercussions for both the first and the second-generation exile’s representations of childhood. More than a nostalgic impulse, the telling of childhood is a complex and intimate discourse, shaded by the voice of the adult, which allows a new manner of reconstructing fractured identity. An essential theoretical text for the analysis of childhood autobiographical texts, of both exiled and non-exiled writers, is Ricardo Fernández’s *El relato de infancia y juventud en España (1891-1942)* (2007). Representations of childhood in autobiography are the most common preliminary element of a greater autobiographical project. The figure of the child often symbolizes the ‘encarnación de una forma superior’ (9) in which

¹⁰⁶ Additionally, studies of fictional representations of childhood within a Spanish context include Cabo Aseguinolaza (2001) and Torres Bitter (2002).

autobiographers endow themselves with the constants that they desire as constitutive of their own individuality. As previously specified in Chapter 1, Fernández proposes two conceptual models for autobiographies that address the period of childhood and adolescence: ‘el relato progresivo’ and ‘el relato retroprogresivo’ (50-59).¹⁰⁷ The second model evolved from the philosopher Pániker’s collection of retroprogressive essays (1982). It differs from the first in that it is characterised by a traumatic rupture that precipitates a spiral-like return to childhood (retro) in order to heal the rupture and build a — albeit convoluted — continuity (progress) that does not exist prior to the composition of the autobiographical text. Whereas the first model corresponds to the ‘Model of the Artist’ (exhibiting the public personality of the young artist), the second corresponds to the ‘Model of the Exile’ and thus provides a comparative framework for the study of childhood autobiographies by exiled and non-exiled writers.¹⁰⁸ Fernández conceives the retroprogressive model from the analysis of a range of autobiographical texts composed between 1891 and 1942. The spiral-like process involves a simultaneous salutary movement towards past origins, separated by a rupture, and a complex future. He explains:

En este tipo de estructura la noción de ruptura entre el pasado infantil y juvenil y el presente, en el eje temporal de la autobiografía, es fundamental, pues el texto se proyecta como un intento de sutura que a través de lo textual pueda restaurar una identidad perdida, interrumpida o destruida en el presente, de modo que mediante esta operación se inicia un fantasmagórico proceso de restitución, un viaje al pasado que hace de la infancia el depósito sobre el que edificar una identidad mejor. (51)

Ugarte observes that ‘[t]he existential need to recover something lost (a land, an identity, a place of origin) results from the absence of an integral part of one’s being — a fact which causes the exile to perceive of him or herself as something less than human, as the Spanish word, *destierro*, suggests’ (1989: 20). As Eakin suggests, autobiographies which respond to an existential imperative are ‘practicing an art of self-invention in order to create a space in which the self can live and move in response to its

¹⁰⁷ A detailed description of the first model is located in 1.2.

¹⁰⁸ The ‘Model of the Artist’ is not limited to artistic professionals. The progressive model is most common in texts that adhere to traditional autobiographical strategies which emphasise the continuity and linearity of the autobiographer’s identity, and is not common in exilic autobiographical texts. As discussed in Chapter 1, in the case of Constanca de la Mora and Isabel Oyarzábal de Palencia the superimposed progressive model is governed by propagandistic aims. These models are not dogmatic and can be applied flexibly, and can indeed co-exist in the same autobiographical project. One such example is Alberti’s *La arboleda perdida*. See Fernández (247-264).

own volition' (1992: 71). These concepts are at the heart of the aims of the retrogressive autobiographical text as the writer embarks on an identity project. As Fernández suggests: 'la identidad, [...] no es previa sino el producto del propio proceso literario que inaugura y representa el texto, es considerada como el rastro de una identidad posible' (30). The retrogressive work is thus an attempt to reconstruct an intelligible identity for the fractured self in exile, both for and in front of others (30). The journey undertaken within the text is not a nostalgic representation of childhood. It is an essential identity project that draws upon the restorative elements of the retrogressive autobiographical text in order to attempt the rebuilding of the self through the act of narration. The anticipated aims of the autobiographical identity project are, thus, to heal. The remedial properties derived from and through the retrogressive voyage to childhood contain attributes that aid the binding of existential, geographical, temporal and psychological ruptures. As Fernández posits:

El viaje que lleva a cabo el autobiógrafo no es un viaje circular. El escritor no regresa de sus orígenes, sino con una infancia "otra", transfigurada, de acuerdo a su operatividad, en el presente. De este pasado el escritor llega a un presente igualmente afectado por este proceso, un presente en el que despliega una nueva identidad. Ésta no es simplemente la del adulto, o al menos no es la identidad previa al proyecto autobiográfico sobre la infancia y la juventud, sino una identidad enriquecida, transfigurada también por los valores rescatados del pasado y que se pretenden añadir al yo insatisfecho que escribe. El proyecto de identidad de este tipo de textos es más una identidad perseguida, deseada, que historiada, en muchos casos. (51)

The anticipated restorative property of the retrogressive autobiographical project departs from the autobiographer's desire to positively emerge from their current 'posición de inferioridad con respecto a un pasado mejor y frente a un presente peor' (55). Fernández explains that this position — resulting from a rupture, often as a consequence of exterior social conflict — is a source of tension with regard to identity (57). The exiled autobiographer responds to the all-encompassing question '¿quién soy?' (80).¹⁰⁹

They may be, at the time of writing, paralysed in *destiempo* that emerges from the spatio-temporal rupture suffered. The exile model, as Fernández indicates, 'resalta la infancia, especialmente, como un espacio y un tiempo perdidos y ansiados, del que el

¹⁰⁹ In contrast, the question underlying the mechanisms of the progressive model is '¿quién he llegado a ser?' (78).

autobiógrafo se siente exiliado, desplazado, o con respecto al cual mantiene una relación de exiliado' (62). Childhood is represented as a lost paradise (a typical feature of retrogressive texts [71-76]) to which time the author locates an idealized stable personality, but an entity whose potentiality, as Fernández posits, was severed by rupture:

En su configuración más grave y nostálgica, el transterrado vive el “destiempo” como una parálisis que impide todo progreso vital. Esta parálisis determina, al adentrarse el transterrado en la escritura de la memoria, una escritura que tiende hacia una configuración estática de los hitos biográficos que componen la entidad que quedó en el allá, del lado perdido. Es decir, la memoria tiende a elaborar un retrato, una personalidad relativamente estable, que al haber quedado sin suelo nutricional en el que seguir desarrollándose ha quedado cerrada. (67)

The autobiographer attempts the necessary continuation of their truncated life, only possible through the autobiographical act: ‘el exiliado intenta proyectar su vida, salir del destiempo, intentando volver a ser el que fue; proyecto imposible que solo puede cumplirse mediante la escritura nostálgica sobre ese pasado’ (68). By contextualising childhood as a lost paradise — severed in real time and space but fundamental in the spatio-temporal axes of the retrogressive text — memory serves a crucial function. Fernández argues:

llegamos al interesante momento en el que el proceso autobiográfico no es solo un inventario, sino un proyecto autobiográfico, en el que la memoria, paradójicamente en apariencia, contribuye a crear más vida, a sentar las bases de un futuro, mediante el relanzamiento de una nueva o renovada identidad. (73)

The following sections will explore the identity project pertaining to autobiographical works, in which representations of childhood — a key aspect of a poetics of exile — are engaged with retrogressively in order to heal multiple ruptures and a fractured identity profile. Fernández studies texts by numerous first-generation exiles, including Benavente, Marquina, Alberti and Cernuda.¹¹⁰ Utilising his retrogressive model as a productive departure point, it is necessary however to consider certain variables specific to second-generation exile: in order to ascertain how they condition representations of childhood and resulting aspects of the retrogressive autobiographical identity project. What are the psychological and literary ramifications of a childhood ending abruptly due to the Civil War, severance from the family home

¹¹⁰ See in particular (225-276).

and subsequent exile? Or, indeed, for a member of the second generation who is born in exile, isolated from a distant country that is proffered as their homeland?

Additionally, it is relevant to examine not only the specificities of the authors' exilic experiences and their respective repercussions on the retrogressive text, but also to simultaneously consider the anticipated aims articulated by Elío and Amezaga regarding their autobiographical texts. These aims emerge from concerns at the time of composition. As such, in the analysis of retrogressive childhood autobiographical works it is vital to consider Elío and Amezaga's extratextual reality. This does not merely impinge upon a text's retrogressive mechanism but is, in fact, the motor at a time of crisis. Extratextual reality drives the autobiographical gesture that the author anticipates will enable a transition towards a new stage of life, in an effort to resolve the aforementioned ruptures and reconstruction of their identity. As Fernández explains:

El relato del autobiógrafo, contemplado a modo de actuación, de gesto autobiográfico, como acto literario, es un elemento que el escritor usa dentro de un proceso de crisis o tránsito hacia una nueva etapa vital. Considerar el valor performativo del relato de infancia y juventud supone reconocer que en tanto que acto autobiográfico reúne dos zonas distintas: la extratextual (la realidad donde tiene lugar el acto autobiográfico) y la textual. Entender el relato de infancia en este contexto es considerarlo como la interacción de estas dos zonas, que quedan de este modo interpenetradas. Por lo tanto, el lugar en la realidad extratextual, su funcionamiento, las circunstancias que rodean la producción del relato autobiográfico de infancia y juventud son aspectos inseparables del espacio autobiográfico que se crea en el mismo. (84)

As such, Aims and Extratextual Reality (6.2) elicits information amassed from paratext, interviews, and articles specifically regarding extratextual reality, concerns, and anticipated aims of their project. Their resulting effects upon its generic fabric are also considered.

As the two previous chapters have discussed, for members of the second generation, childhood and adolescence are frequently rendered atypical and formative spaces are often subject to non-normative spatio-temporal parameters. A complex relationship to memory, to the first generation, the home and host countries, as well as a range of ethical and existential concerns problematizes a clear conception of self. As the other texts analysed attest, particularities of the second generation's exilic condition render identity a delicate and ubiquitous issue. Representation of 'home' is complex in the case of Amezaga and Elío. The former grew up in a multitude of formative spaces in several host countries and physically isolated from a then unknown but significant

‘homeland’ of the Basque Country, of which her knowledge was amassed indirectly. Elío’s childhood in the safe formative space of her native Pamplona came to a dramatic end at the age of nine, before her subsequent exile in France and Mexico. Furthermore, the lost paradise is a topos of retroprogressive texts and, bearing in mind author and generation-specific issues, it is pertinent to consider its complex delineation in their texts. As such, representations of formative spaces and the complexities of the notion of home with regard to the retroprogressive identity project will be discussed in (6.3) *Paradise Lost, Tensions and Retroprogressive Representations of Formative Spaces of Childhood*.

Both Amezaga and Elío are children of Basque nationalist fathers, and yet within their autobiographical project their respective identifications displayed with a Basque identity in exile differ substantially. Furthermore, the authors display complex layerings of identification with regard to their family, the first generation, their second-generation peers, the host country and the homeland. The final section (6.4) *(Re)constructing Identity: Realisations of Retroprogressive Aims* seeks to examine to what extent these are achieved, with regard to the negotiation of a coherent identity profile.

6.2 Aims and Extratextual Reality

An introspective engagement with childhood is a common element of multiple facets of identity negotiation in a wide range of autobiographical works.¹¹¹ Representations of childhood in exilic retroprogressive texts respond to a necessary identity project, composed at a time of crisis and which emerges from the autobiographer’s complex and problematic extratextual reality. As such, it is fruitful, where possible, to be aware of this and of anticipated aims.

There are two common elements of the authors’ extratextual reality preceding the composition of their text. Both experience the death of an influential family member, shaping elements of their retroprogressive identity project. Amezaga’s father died in exile in 1964 and she lost her husband in 2008. In ‘Éxodo vasco. Una reflexión’

¹¹¹ Although not applicable to *Tiempo de llorar* and *Memorias de Montevideo*, Masanet (1998) provides an interesting analysis of childhood in women’s autobiography. Her study focuses on works where the authors’ aims correspond to ‘la toma de conciencia de la identidad femenina’ (16). In her study of Campo Alange, Janés, Chacel and Salisach, Masanet suggests ‘La niñez aparece como un poderoso recurso de introversión que la mujer elige para iniciar su autoconocimiento, su propio descubrimiento’ (16).

(2009b: 2) she states how various losses have pushed her towards the composition and publication of *Memorias de Montevideo* — which had been a longstanding need for the author — and another work: ‘Con la edad y las pérdidas, uno se vuelve melancólico, y así es que se llega al momento de escribir’.¹¹² Similarly, Elío’s mother died in 1955, a hugely traumatic event that exacerbated her already delicate mental state in exile. Her mother’s death is omnipresent in all of her works and, in an interview, she confesses that a deep fear of being without her had plagued her since her schooldays in Mexico:

mi madre es mi pasión, es *mi* pasión y sigue siendo mi pasión. [...] [L]o único que quería era llegar a casa para ver a mi madre. Era lo único que me interesaba en este mundo. [...] Toda mi vida me preocupó. Pero lo que sentía era que la quería ver. Nunca la veía, en la guerra no la había visto, y ahora estaba todo el día trabajando. No la veía. Yo quería ver a mi madre, quería estar con ella. (Emphasis in the original)¹¹³

Secondly, the fragility of both authors’ identity profile is exacerbated by the return to the Basque Country/Pamplona in late adulthood. The return for each is complex and impacts their texts, albeit from different perspectives. Elío returned in 1970 and composed the first draft of *Tiempo de llorar* during this trip and immediately thereafter. She arrived in Mexico at the age of 13 and the entirety of her exile there was spent waiting for the return, a journey she hoped would soothe tensions inherent in her extratextual exilic reality. As the following sections will discuss, her return to visit Pamplona in adulthood instead throws her deeper into despair. She states in the aforementioned interview:

Lo que pasa es que me había ido extraordinariamente mal en la vida y si me quejaba, era con razón. Era un desastre cómo me había ido. Pero el mayor desastre sobrevino después, al volver por primera vez a España. Al escribir *En el balcón vacío* no había vuelto aún: imaginé cómo sería volver. Y la experiencia resultó como me la había imaginado, si no, quizá, un poco peor, tal y como intenté explicar al escribir *Tiempo de llorar*. [...] La primera línea [...], que no tenéis por qué recordarla, pero yo la recuerdo muy bien, es escrita en el balcón de mi departamento un día antes de tomar el avión. Dice: “Ahora me doy cuenta que regresar es irse”. Y esa es la historia de *Tiempo de llorar*. Es imposible el regreso. El regreso es imposible. No se regresa a ninguna parte. Nunca. (375-376)

¹¹² The article is located at <<http://www.hamaikabide.org/pdf/libroMes0910.pdf>> [last consulted 30/03/11]. Her husband’s death influenced her to write *La txalupa de Radio Euzkadi: una semblanza de Pello Irujo Elizalde* (2009d). Section 6.0 of the Appendix provides further information.

¹¹³ This interview was carried out by Paloma Ulacia and James Valender in August 2003 in Mexico City and is transcribed in Ulacia and Valender (2004: 368).

Amezaga ‘returns’ to Euskal Herria to assume residency in 1972, simultaneously a time of plenitude and discovery of her inherited homeland and one of tension.¹¹⁴ In 2009, in reference to leaving Latin America she states: ‘Que no se piense que es cosa fácil. Tanto cuesta volver como no hacerlo. El desgarró interior es inmenso, y da lugar a esta dualidad que nos conforma: somos americanos y vascos, vascos y americanos’ (2009b: 2). In Euskal Herria tensions emerged for the adult Aranzazu as she felt compelled to completely align her identity with her Basque ethnicity, and felt obliged to repress aspects of her identity that were rooted in Uruguay. Additionally, she recalls a hesitancy to express her longing for the host country. In a recent Euskonews television interview she explains:

Yo dejé llorando Uruguay y llorando dejé Caracas, porque veía lo que dejaba, y lo apreciaba. [...] [C]uando llegué en 1972 y venía con treinta años de América en mis espaldas, con mi añoranza de mi padre ya fallecido y la de mi propia familia Irujo, muy importante en mi vida, yo tenía que ser vasca del todo. Pero no podía ser, porque el país no te deja completar esa otra fase de tu personalidad.¹¹⁵

Furthermore, Amezaga highlights in the acknowledgements page of *Memorias de Montevideo* how she was for a long time reluctant to physically return to visit Uruguay, given that her 1955 departure from the country where she lived her childhood is also regarded as a traumatic rupture. She co-dedicates her text to her husband for having encouraged and accompanied her to visit the Uruguayan streets, houses and spaces of her youth [MM: 9]. For both authors, these returns conjure up new tensions and, in some aspects, further problematize their exilic identity profile. As such, it is crucial to consider their significance in order to fully appreciate the aims of their retroprogressive endeavour.

In Amezaga’s prologue it is evident that the articulation of a dual ethical debt, to exiled Basques and also to Uruguayans, is a clear aim and interpenetrating element of her identity project.¹¹⁶ She announces:

¹¹⁴ Amezaga’s family consider themselves to be Basque. Euskal Herria comprises various areas, as explained in section 6.0 of the Appendix.

¹¹⁵ Amezaga (2010), ‘La vasca es una sociedad en debate continuo’, interview with Josemari Velez de Mendizabal Azkarraga aired 10/12/2010. <http://www.euskonews.com/0558zkb/elkar_eu.html> hosts both the interview and transcription.

¹¹⁶ Ethical concerns are present to some degree and form in many of the autobiographical texts analysed in this thesis. For example, Chapter 1 considers the ethical gesture elicited as a response to the other in

Es mi deseo que, a través de estos recuerdos íntimos, coloreados por mi nostalgia, pueda transmitir parte del doloroso conflicto que padecieron nuestros compatriotas que durante siglo y medio tuvieron que abandonar el lugar de sus raíces, desenterrándola del viejo lar vasco, para llevarla trabajosamente sobre la espalda, volviéndola a sembrar, tal cual retoños del árbol de Gernika, en la pampa inmensa de hierba verde, al amparo de la luz plateada de la estrella del sur. [MM: 16]

She also acknowledges the efforts of Basque Civil War exiles and organisations that enabled her generation to maintain ‘el cordón umbilical con su país’ [MM: 21]. She also expresses gratitude to previous waves of migrants and political exiles who promulgated Basque ideals in exile and contributed to her inherited knowledge of Euskal Herria. These efforts facilitated her integration into a Basque exilic community and subsequent identification with her heritage. She states:

Tuve la oportunidad de palpar el corazón de la vieja guardia de emigrantes vascos. Eran vidas levantadas en Uruguay con el paciente y tesonero esfuerzo vasco, rescatadas de las tragedias vividas pero que llevaban prendidas, como un largo fleco, la nostalgia por un país y una familia que fueron abandonados por causa de conflictos atroces. [MM: 15]

In the 2010 Euskonews television interview, Amezaga says: ‘Viví trece magníficos años en Uruguay. He escrito el libro *Memorias de Montevideo* donde expongo mi agradecimiento por haber vivido en libertad’. This second ethical debt is articulated in the prologue with regard to the hospitality and respect Basque exiles received from the Uruguayan government and nation, and also to Uruguayans who made a significant impact on her childhood. She states: ‘Los vascos recibimos comprensión para nuestra causa, solidaridad en nuestro reclamo, trabajo para nuestro mantenimiento y satisfacción para nuestro honor. A tantos dones, repartidos generosamente, se añadió uno mas: fuimos tratados con amor’ [MM: 15]. The text is co-dedicated to specific Uruguayan individuals and, crucially, ‘A todos los uruguayos y vascos uruguayos’ [MM: 11]. Later she writes: ‘Siento agradecimiento por todos aquellos uruguayos y vasco [sic] uruguayos que rodearon el círculo de mi infancia, que lo hicieron provechoso y mágico’ [MM: 16].

propagandistic autobiographies created for a foreign audience. Chapter 4 highlights how Muñoz Alday and Oliva Berenguer’s ethical duty to the first generation configures their memoirs as a tool to perpetuate collective memory. Chapter 5, an analysis of Muñoz-Huberman’s and Lojo’s texts, highlights that underlying their experiences in the host country is the ubiquitous presence of postmemory and a related ethical commitment to the first generation.

Amezaga's text is not, however, a mere acknowledgement of individuals that enabled her to form a Basque identity in exile. This is a necessary contributory element of an overarching aim to negotiate a coherent identity in adulthood that can only be achieved through the retroprogressive project. As such, her text also corresponds to a crucial necessity to reconstruct and assimilate aspects of her Uruguayan experience. These formative experiences 'envueltos en la neblina del río de mi infancia' [MM: 22] have been separated by what is also considered a traumatic rupture. Having repressed these Uruguayan aspects of her identity in childhood and in adulthood, particularly since her return to Euskal Herria, they are finally voiced in the autobiographical text. Amezaga proclaims:

En mi más que modesta obra de *Memorias de Montevideo*, [...] trato de explicar mis vivencias iniciales en tierras americanas. [...] Vivíamos en una cuerda floja, entre el muy variado sentir de esencias nacionales que nos rodeaban. [...] [H]ablo del dolor padecido cuando hubimos de partir y sabíamos que para siempre, de la tierra de Tabaré y Artigas, para enfrentarnos a una nueva, la de doña Bárbara y Simón Bolívar. Y siempre, presidiendo, ese telón de fondo del trasiego viajero, la Euskadi de Axular y Sabino Arana. (2009c)

The articulation of the imperative for this personal textual journey (finally carried out in her sixties) — rooted in Amezaga's tense extratextual reality — opens the section 'Préambulo. Ecceidad'. She states:

No tienen el mayor interés, cierto es, las cosas que me sucedieron en el tiempo de mi infancia, pero me siento responsable de unas vivencias que desbordan el límite de mi personalidad, para convertirse en parte de esa neblina grande que es, a veces, el Exilio Vasco en América. [MM: 13]

In relation to this, in 'Éxodo vasco una reflexión' Amezaga cites an assertion made by the Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó:

cada uno de nosotros, en palabras del pensador uruguayo Rodó, somos sucesivamente no uno, sino muchos, y estas personalidades sucesivas, que emergen las unas de las otras, suelen ofrecer los más raros y asombrosos contrastes. Esto es cierto para los vascos e hijos de vascos, que crecimos siendo americanos sin dejar de ser vascos. Por eso destapé la tapa de ese hirviente caldero de recuerdos que es para mí, mi infancia, transcurrida en Montevideo, Uruguay. (2009b: 2)¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ She refers to his *Motivos de Proteo* (1928). A direct quotation precedes *Memorias de Montevideo*'s prologue.

Ultimately, Amezaga confesses that, after her return to Euskal Herria in 1972, for several decades her longing for Montevideo and Caracas was kept a painful secret.

These tensions are at the heart of her retroprogressive identity project:

Una vez, en una charla informal familiar, después de largas deliberaciones, pude decir aquello que era como un secreto doloroso: Cada día de mi vida, desde que dejé Montevideo y después Caracas, me levantaba pensando en ambas ciudades, que encofraban recuerdos inolvidables y preciosos, y siempre cada mañana, me dolía por ello el corazón. Así que para calmar esas sensaciones, y las mucho más dolorosas que ocurrieron después con la muerte de mi esposo y compañero en ese derrotero, decidí hacer de los recuerdos, niebla espesa en el alma [...] un fluido río de palabras. (2009c)

In the case of Elío the aims of *Tiempo de llorar* are ostensibly framed less by ethical concerns. The atrocities suffered by her parents during the Civil War and exile indelibly marked the young María Luisa and are reflected throughout her works, but a consideration of the universality of exile is not so apparent. Initially composed without any motivation to publish, it was not published until eighteen years later. Her project initially emerged from intense mental anguish that grew in exile (provoked by the shattering dissolution of her family in exile and the young María Luisa feeling abandoned in her family home in Mexico) and was exacerbated by her mother's death, and reached an unfortunate climax when the return to Pamplona did not provide the relief she desperately hoped for. Indeed, as will be discussed, the autobiographical film *En el balcón vacío* (1961) predicted the impossibility of recovering the lost paradise of her youth that was centred on the unity of her family. The optimism nevertheless staked on her physical return in 1970 corresponds to a ubiquitous desire to reconnect with her severed pre-exilic identity. However, this very visit to Pamplona confirms her fears, prophetically articulated in the film, and her hopes are thereupon shattered by the outcome of the trip. The anticipated aim of this trip and the initial version of *Tiempo de llorar* are thus considered to be a significant, yet thwarted, attempt to negotiate a coherent identity profile, crucially at a time of extreme extratextual tension. In the aforementioned interview, Elío states that her trip confirmed her prophecy: that any return is impossible, although she is guarded in her response to the interviewers' questions regarding other facets of the text. Unfortunately, in no other interview does Elío articulate the underlying anticipated aims of *Tiempo de llorar*. Gambarte suggests:

Departir con el propio vacío y verlo materializarse en el viaje que la esperanza pretendía, si no llenar cuando menos pacificar, no es sólo complejo sino doloroso y aterrador. Se necesita un ejercicio admirable de honestidad para recorrer la memoria sin veladuras idealizantes. [...] A quien escribe sobre su propia vida con una elemental verdad, y más cuando esta no es precisamente un camino de rosas sino una tragedia, puede acarrearle tal empeño serios problemas de imagen y de descrédito social. Lo que escribe María Luisa Elío va más acá de lo literario, o más allá, nunca se saben las intenciones inconfesables de uno mismo. Probablemente su obra fuese buscando una catarsis no encontrada. (2009: 109)

As will be discussed, it is in this context that Gambarte and others have illuminated *Tiempo de llorar* as a raw autobiographical text, containing elements that display an approximation towards a travel diary, as a chronicle that charts the disappointment of the trip.¹¹⁸ Her trip confirms to her that any physical return to a time and place that no longer exists is an ontological impossibility. However, as the final section (6.4) will argue, it is also productive to consider the journey to childhood in its representations in the *published* version of the text as another attempt to return, this time in the autobiographical space of a retrogressive identity project. In this sense *Tiempo de llorar* is argued to be not only a composition that charts the disappointment of the trip and chronicles a completely fractured identity on several levels, but also as a publication that houses a retrogressive project within a previous retrogressive project that attempts again to finally negotiate a coherent identity profile. Knowledge of each author's extratextual reality and aims at the time of their text's composition/revising enables the reader to better comprehend not only the retrogressive identity project but also the mechanisms governing its generic fabric.

Although this chapter focusses on Elío's *Tiempo de llorar*, reference will be made to *En el balcón vacío* and *Cuaderno de apuntes*. These works are considered as instalments of a wider retrogressive autobiographical identity project that spans several genres: autobiography, film and short stories. *Tiempo de llorar* has a complex, atypical structure. It comprises numerous sections, written predominantly in the first-person. Some pertain to representations of childhood, others correspond to the adult Elío's return to Pamplona. It also includes letters to her sisters composed during this trip, as well as other sections where the 'return' to childhood merges with adult María Luisa's accounts of the physical return to Spain. It is, at times, difficult to ascertain which María Luisa the narrative perspective belongs to. This fusion highlights the raw

¹¹⁸ Gambarte also notes identity (re-)construction is an important theme (2009: 120).

nature of the text, and for this reason its generic construction is complex given that Elío's tense extratextual psychological reality and anguish at the time of the text's initial composition increasingly seeps into its fabric. It is not uncommon for sections pertaining to the autobiographer's present reality to feature in a retroprogressive text but in *Tiempo de llorar* the normative corresponding spatio-temporal distinctions become blurred, as the voices and perspectives of the young child and the adult María Luisa returning to Pamplona merge and interfere, as will be discussed. The forthcoming analysis considers how generation-specific variables and those particular to each author's complex exilic condition and extratextual reality intersect in their autobiographical retroprogressive project.

6.3 Paradise Lost, Tensions and Retroprogressive Representations of Formative Spaces of Childhood

Elements of the five chapters preceding the presence of the young Arantzazu in *Memorias de Montevideo* serve to describe the social reality that first-generation Basque exiles inhabited in the Southern Cone in the early 1940s, the formative space that she would enter. Amezaga details her parents' experiences from their arrival to her birth in 1943. The recounting of the assistance they and the wider influx received from political and voluntary organisations and Eusko Jaurlaritza (Basque government) delegations highlights how Basques strove to facilitate acclimatisation to the host country, integration into a Basque exilic community and maintain the spirit and culture of the homeland.¹¹⁹ She states: 'Son estos reductos activos [...] los que les abren las puertas y les otorgan la esperanza para rehacer sus vidas' [MM: 16]. Amezaga's mother and father quickly evolved from beneficiaries, to assuming duties and spearheading aspects of various programmes.¹²⁰ Her parents' activities and friendships in Uruguay lay within this Basque community, whose members are not limited to fellow Civil War exiles but include former waves of Basque migrants, exiles and their descendants. Her parents identified strongly with Basque nationalism previous to exile and it is clear they

¹¹⁹ Eusko Jaurlaritza and organisations including La Liga Internacional de Amigos de los Vascos, Laurak Bat, Emakume Abertzala Batza, Centro Vasco de Argentina/Eusko Etxeak, Euskal Erria de Montevideo and Euskaro-Español are referred to throughout Amezaga's text. Her 'Glosario vasco' provides explanatory information [MM: 389-392].

¹²⁰ Her father gave lectures and co-organised *Montevideoko astea* for example. He was secretary of Eusko Jaurlaritza in Uruguay from 1945 to 1955. Mercedes Iribarren was particularly involved with the Laurak Bat.

considered that Arantzazu's national identity ought not to emerge from her birth country, Argentina, nor the host country of her childhood, Uruguay, but from Euskadi.¹²¹ In the prologue Amezaga exalts the virtues of the Estatuto de Autonomía del País Vasco and applauds:

En ese breve tiempo de autogobierno en el que, sin embargo, se gesta una vida humana, el pueblo vasco se rehace como país: forma un gobierno con su *lehendakari* Agirre a la cabeza; ordena una población civil recibiendo los numerosos grupos que desde Gipuzkoa, Alava y Navarra escapan de la ocupación militar. Planifica, debido a los bombardeos de Bilbo y al bloqueo que le impide recibir alimentos, la evacuación ordenada de su parte más débil, los niños; organiza un ejército, *Gudarostea*, e incluso tiene tiempo de fomentar la creación de *ikastolas*. El viejo sueño nacional vasco, pese a la contienda, parecía adquirir vigorosa consistencia. Esos meses fueron heroicos en hazañas y, entre ellas, no fue la menor la tenaz resistencia que se opuso a los organizados ejércitos de Francisco Franco, Adolf Hitler y Benito Mussolini. [MM: 20-21]¹²²

Evidently this information is amassed not first-hand but through the postmemorial structure of transmission. She echoes her kin's sentiments regarding Basque autonomy 'tantas veces reclamado a lo largo de los cinco años de vida republicana' [MM: 20]. As an adult living in Navarra, Amezaga expresses her desire to see it, Iparralde and Vascongadas — territories divided by different administrations — integrated into an independent Euskal Herria.¹²³

The delineation of formative spaces in *Memorias de Montevideo* is centred on the dichotomy which emerges for the second-generation exile encountering diametrically opposed loci on a daily basis. As observed in Chapter 5, normative experiences of space and time are distorted. In Amezaga's text two key physical dimensions are identified. The first corresponds to Basque exilic spaces and comprises sites pertaining to numerous Basque organisations in Montevideo, and the family home. The second corresponds to open outdoor spaces she was taken to by the Uruguayan domestic assistant Lucinda, as well as the kitchen during her working hours.

In the analysis of retrogressive representations of the formative spaces that the young Arantzazu inhabits, it is of paramount importance to consider how Basque identity was constituted and perpetuated in the host country. The sixth chapter

¹²¹ Her parents refer to the homeland as Euskadi and are in full support of autonomy.

¹²² Amezaga uses both Basque and Castilian spellings throughout her text.

¹²³ She discusses her views in the aforementioned 2010 interview and a 2003 interview 'Herrialdeen Europa gustatuko litzaidake niri' with Koldo Larrea. <<http://www.euskonews.com/0219zbk/elkar21901eu.html>> [last consulted 30/03/11].

‘Nacimiento’ describes her birth as if the entire scene is observed by the infant. Her father was determined that his new-born daughter would have a name of Basque origin and scoured Buenos Aires until he eventually found a Virgin in one of the city’s churches by the name of Arantzazu.¹²⁴ As he shares the news with his wife the midwife intervenes. Their reaction is testimony to how they plan to raise their child, and crucially is heard by Amezaga within hours of her birth:

- ¿No será difícil de pronunciar en Argentina?
- Ella vivirá en Euskadi, cuando termine la guerra y ganen los Aliados –aseguró tajantemente Benjamín. En sus palabras latía una absoluta determinación que iluminaba el azul de sus ojos. [...]
- No esté tan seguro de esas cosas, señor Iturrieta. Los alemanes son, hoy, dueños de Europa. [...]
- Regresaremos -afirmó obstinado Benjamín.
- Mi hija crecerá con los suyos. Sus hijos y sus nietos, toda su generación, serán vascos -acotó Mercedes. [MM: 111-112]

It is clear they consider ethnicity and identity as interpenetrating and defined by heritage, birthplace being irrelevant and transient. As such, Basque values, culture and memory are transmitted and propagated within the family home. In order to enhance their daughter’s identification with Euskadi, Arantzazu spent much of her childhood in numerous Basque exilic institutions. These played a crucial role in preparing exiled children for the return. In *Identity, Culture, and Politics in the Basque Diaspora*, Gloria Totoricagüena describes ‘diaspora Basques individually and collectively with regard to their persistent connection to Basque ethnic identity and to their transnational diaspora linkages’ (2004: xii). She examines identity construction and why it is that the convictions articulated by fourth-generation Uruguayans, fifth-generation Argentineans, first-generation Australians and second-generation Belgians converge: “‘We are Basques who live outside the homeland, but that does not make us any less Basque’” (2004: xiii). Totoricagüena poses the question ‘[w]hy then was there so much homogeneity and consensus in their views towards ethnonationalism and ethnic identity maintenance when their host societies are so different from one another?’ (xiii). In the chapter ‘Basque Ethnicity Affirmation and Maintenance’ (120-154), she posits that the numerous centres and organisations founded and managed by Basque collectivities over a sustained period of time are a crucial factor. These enabled facets of Basque culture to

¹²⁴ Birth registration regulations in 1943 did not permit names not already in existence in Argentina.

endure outside the homeland: gastronomy, sports, music, dance and festivals. They also preserve traditions, provide *euskera* lessons and promulgate Basque values.

The young Arantzazu took part in numerous activities and embraced the values instilled in her. Solidarity and involvement with other Basques is a recurring feature in Amezaga's textual representations of childhood. She adopted a deep sense of responsibility to engage with elderly exiles and Amezaga duly commemorates them, devoting entire chapters to their memory. One is dedicated to her surrogate *amiña* (grandmother) in exile, Ludovina. Other sections are devoted to the Basque priest Pedro Goikoetxea, and women of the Laurak Bat, alongside eminent Basque political figures and the descendants of previous waves of migrants who made financial and cultural contributions to the centres they too benefitted from in their youth, pointing to the universality of the Basque diaspora. She depicts how even in the extreme circumstances of exile at times of financial difficulty, compassion and selflessness prevailed within the community. Amezaga intertwines the little-acknowledged fraternity and resilience displayed by anonymous people that contributed to the perpetuation of Basque spirit and values in exile. She followed her father's activities with pride:

los niños compartían la intensa vida social de sus padres en el Euskal Erria. Se sucedían, a ritmo vertiginoso, las fiestas, partidos de pelota, días de Navidad con su reparto de cestas para los ancianos vascos del asilo, el recibimiento de los líderes vascos que llegaban al aeródromo de Carrasco: el *lehendakari* Agirre, Manuel Irujo, Jesús de Leizaola, Francisco Javier Landaburu. [MM: 165-166]

Evidently, her parents' desire for her identification with Euskadi deeply conditions the family home. As discussed in Chapter 5, the family house may play a pivotal part of the children of exile's positive identification with the distant homeland but can also be an unsettling source of tension. However, unlike María Rosa Lojo's text, Amezaga's representations of it are generally favourable and there is textual evidence that the generational structures of transmission in the Amezaga household are significantly more positive than those in the isolated, fractured Neira de Loxo family home in Buenos Aires. She states: 'Fueron años de luces en todos los aspectos' [MM: 15].

However, this first physical dimension delineated does not exist in isolation. It is when the young Arantzazu is exposed to the rich culture, traditions and history of Uruguay that enjoyment and tensions relating to a nascent identification with the host country simultaneously erupt. Ironically, it is in the family home that a cultural

exposure to Uruguay of considerable impact occurs. When the family's financial situation improved they employed Lucinda, who would come to be an influential figure in Arantzazu's childhood and 'que terminó siendo la embajadora del alma uruguaya en el hogar' [MM: 159]. From the north of Uruguay, her matrilineage was descended from the Charrúa Indians, she introduced Arantzazu to different varieties of *mate*, Uruguayan history, landscapes and song: 'Lucinda era hija de la pampa. [...] Mantenía [...] la naturaleza reservada y arisca de sus antecesores charrúas. [...] Toda su persona exudaba un fragante olor a ka-á o yerba mate' [MM: 159-160]. Every day, on arrival, she sang songs to prevent evil spirits from menacing the Iturrieta household [MM: 160]. She secretly introduces the young girl to local food and considers it her duty to teach the Amezaga children the Uruguayan national anthem:

–Les voy a enseñar la Canción de la Patria que todo ciudadano bien nacido debe tener aprendida. No hay niño en la Banda Oriental del Uruguay a quien su mamá, siendo chiquito, no se le cante en la cuna, ni viejo que no muera recitándola. [...] [P]ara eso mandó Dios a esa casa de vascos empedernidos, a la tata Lucinda, con su cometido a esta casa, para que les instruya en las cosas que son la sal de la vida nacional. [MM: 175]

She tells superstitious stories and myths, which created friction with the children's mother. In spite of this, Vicente and Mercedes are aware that she cares deeply for the family and that she and Arantzazu had formed a strong bond. She respectfully considered herself as their surrogate Uruguayan mother.¹²⁵ Tensions on Lucinda's side emerge from Arantzazu's parents continuously hoping and waiting to leave Uruguay to return home: 'Lucinda no entendía a los vascos. Opinaba que seguían siendo demasiado extranjeros' [MM: 160]. She immensely feared their departure. Unable to locate Euskadi on her map Lucinda confides to her partner: 'No podía ser. Ese país no existía y entonces el señor Iturrieta... ¿De qué hablaba? ¿Es qué [sic] pensaba llevarse a sus niños al abismo de la nada?' [MM: 169].

Arantzazu adores Lucinda's company and particularly her stories from Indio-Uruguayan mythology. However, this enjoyment is laced with guilt for the youngster. The analysis of the retrogressive representation of the effects of Basque identity transmission in exile illuminates a childhood and adolescence decisively affected by familial memory, inherited cultural frameworks, and the tensions that emerge with

¹²⁵ Lucinda was raped in her teens and complications during emergency surgery led to a hysterectomy. She looked upon Arantzazu and her brother as the children she could never have.

regard to her identity profile. As Lucinda's stories became unwelcome in the family home, she told them in outside spaces that she explained once formed Paraná Guazú.¹²⁶ Pointing to the 'bichitos de luz', Lucinda imparts a moral lesson:

–Son los almas de los charrúas que brillan con el verde de la inmortalidad. Ustedes deben reverenciarlos porque son buenos con quienes no engañan, ni mienten, ni codician, ni violan. Esos fueron los defectos de los hombres malos que arrasaron a esa humanidad. [MM: 165]

From this point, invisible *dioses charrúas* are given to Arantzazu to keep in the palm of her hand to protect her whenever she is apart from Lucinda. She gratefully receives them, promising to keep them with her at all times. But, when she next goes to the Euskal Erria centre with her parents, dressed in her *baserritarra*, the young girl is consumed with guilt and fear of her parents' and other Basques potential reaction. She is also extremely anxious about appearing disrespectful to Uruguayans: 'Había algo que inquietaba a la azorada Arantzazu. Y era dónde se podían ocultar, sin que nadie lo advirtiese, ni vascos ni uruguayos, el lote de dioses indios que llevaba con ella por orden expresa de Lucinda' [MM: 166]. She is instructed to hold them in her palm so that they do not fly away. On arrival she decides to place them in a sealed pot for safekeeping until it is time to leave. However:

Tenía sus dudas sobre si no se enfriarían a falta de fuego verdadero o que, impacientes, empezaran a revolotear como murciélagos por el salón para espanto de las señoras que merendaban su té con pastas, o que al escuchar las canciones vascas, creyendo que eran en lengua guaraní, que decían que se parecía tanto a la vasca, comenzaran a bailar de gozo, provocando un alboroto. [...] Arantzazu no podía decir nada de estas cosas a sus padres pues de saberlas, las reprobarían con severidad. [MM: 167-168]

Representations of her childhood experiences in all of these formative spaces are largely positive and the pleasurable aspects of both physical dimensions in Uruguay constitute a configuration of a paradise lost. The Basque centres are enriching, the family home is generally agreeable, and enjoyable times with the 'embajadora del alma uruguaya' Lucinda are spent both in and outside the house. However, the retrogressive representations of these spaces highlight some tensions that emerged for the young Arantzazu, particularly regarding aspects of Uruguayan identity and

¹²⁶ The meaning of Paraná Guazú — her book's subtitle — is explained as 'Guaraní: Río grande como mar. Nombre original Río de la Plata' in Amezaga's 'Glosario Criollo' [MM: 386].

culture that she could not help but embrace yet had to maintain hidden. Addressing these tensions that further problematize her adult identity profile is particularly important to Amezaga. The extratextual information in 6.2 illuminates how this repression was sustained and intensified in adulthood. The perspective of the child-protagonist enlightens the reader with regard to the effects and symptoms of inherited frameworks and familial expectations on childhood.

In Elío's *En el balcón vacío* and *Tiempo de llorar* a parallel emerges in terms of expulsion from childhood and expulsion from Spain. The particular trauma surrounding the involuntary departure from childhood inevitably affects the representation of the paradisiacal past in Elío's and Amezaga's texts and has important implications in the analysis of the retrogressive autobiographical identity project. In 1936, the nine-year-old María Luisa is plucked from the *locus amoenus* that was her family home. One evening, from her balcony, she notices a man hiding on a ledge from the police. She quickly averts her gaze but a woman shouts and points him out from her window. In the thirteenth sequence of *En el balcón vacío*, the girl runs and tells her mother: 'Mamá... mamá oye... la guerra ha venido, la guerra mamá... la guerra ha venido por el tejado' [BV: 6].¹²⁷ This incident is elaborated further in *Tiempo de llorar* and days later, she explains, her father was arrested. She soon realises that her life would change beyond recognition from the safe childhood formative space hitherto enjoyed:

No comprendo por qué han detenido a papá, siempre oí decir que era muy bueno. También había oído decir que era de izquierdas y que eso no se lo perdonaban. No es que supiera yo muy bien lo que eran las izquierdas o las derechas, pero sí empezaba a darme cuenta. Me di cuenta al ver cómo perseguían a aquel hombre por los tejados, me di cuenta cuando se escondió y una mujer gritó diciendo en dónde estaba. También me doy cuenta ahora que quieren matar a mi padre. ¿Matar a papá? Entonces en mi cabeza de niña se hizo claro quiénes eran los buenos y quiénes los malos. [...] Yo creo que entonces ya lo sabía todo, y sabía muy bien que nunca volvería a ser lo que era antes, que la risa de mamá sería siempre distinta, que mis hermanas estarían calladas a su lado y que, si volvía a ver a papá, nunca sería el de antes. [TL: 61-62]

Prior to these events the house was characterised by its continuity and positive ambience with all family members living harmoniously. Here time for the young María Luisa is marked by daily rituals:

¹²⁷ Quoted from a copy of *En el balcón vacío guión original de María Luisa Elío*, donated by Elío to El Instituto Cervantes in 1990. It is currently stored at its Toulouse branch. Interestingly, it contains her handwritten alterations. Two copies of the film are held in its Toulouse and New York libraries.

Mamá haciendo punto y papá oyendo la radio mientras fuma una pipa larguísima que antes ha preparado con mucho cuidado. Me gusta ver su cara inclinada sobre el frasco de cristal oliendo el tabaco, y ver con qué cuidado lo cierra después poniendo la gruesa tapa de madera encima, y ver a mamá sonreírle. [...] Mamá por las mañanas canta las canciones más bellas del mundo. [TL: 39]

Even as a young child she felt aware of her good fortune to be surrounded by loving, supportive parents who provided stability: ‘Me dan pena las otras niñas que no tienen ese padre ni esa madre’ [TL: 39]. Days after her father’s arrest, her mother received a parcel of blood-stained clothes appearing to confirm reports of his death. He had actually managed to escape and went into hiding, later sending a messenger warning them to leave Pamplona. His whereabouts were not disclosed as his family were constantly interrogated by fascist agents. Further reports of his death reached the family in exile. Elío’s departure from childhood is accompanied by a premature and tragic consciousness of the chronological time of the adult world. Her concept of time dramatically evolves from being structured by daily rituals (in a year by birthdays, holidays, saints’ days and Christmas) to the painful new significance of time: in hours, days, weeks, months and years since she had seen her father and been severed from her lost Pamplona paradise. About to be reunited with him in Paris she states:

El día avanzaba y él no aparecía. Por la tarde ya nadie tenía esperanzas. Así pasó un día más. Su no llegada era más importante de lo que puede parecer, aunque no debía importar un día más después de llevar más de tres años esperando, por eso mismo 24 horas eran una eternidad. [TL: 90]

In her analysis of *En el balcón vacío*, Cate-Arries highlights that Elío’s husband García Ascot ‘introduces the motif of identity and self-representation through a pair of reflecting surfaces that belong to two distinct temporal realms, before and after the displacement from the home’ (2003: 210). She notes that immediately before finding the blood-stained parcel, the girl traces her outline in the reflection of a mirror, notices the package, and runs out of the house in fright ‘leaving behind as an incipient memory the mirror’s earlier reassuring reflection of both a safe, secure home, and of her own identity as complete’ (2003: 210).

Ricardo Fernández notes that first-generation exilic representations of a lost paradise are often charged with an ideological stance.¹²⁸ It is relevant to explore how Elío's representation of her paradisiacal youth goes beyond that of typical retroprogressive texts. Firstly, this ideological urge is absent. She refers simply to 'los buenos' and 'los malos' [TL: 62]. Gambarte regards the innocent perspective of the child as one of *Tiempo de llorar*'s virtues:

el haber hecho una obra partidista habría dado el traste con todo el sentido que acabamos de alabar de la obra: la mirada inocente de la niña. La ingenuidad infantil no puede llegar a diferenciar más allá de bien y mal. (2009: 198)

Ugarte posits that '[e]xilic speech [...] reveals a morally defensive tone in the midst of a struggle between the official voice of the home and that of a distant critic whose defense often becomes a lesson in conduct' (1989: 24). This is true in Amezaga's *Memorias de Montevideo*. Concerns are voiced regarding fascism in Europe, juxtaposed with the recounting of Basque values through the child's eye. In *Tiempo de llorar* or *En el balcón vacío*, this is not the case. Alted Vigil praises the affective and evocative nature of the girl's innocent perspective in the film, as she experiences the atrocities of the Civil War and journey into France.¹²⁹ This perspective is a key narrative technique in Elío's retroprogressive project. It enables her to illuminate the life-changing personal implications of a conflict that she did not understand but which provoked her simultaneous expulsion from Pamplona and her childhood paradise, into exile. Such works offer a penetrating insight into how second-generation childhood is deeply conditioned by exile. For Elío the effects of war and exile are presented particularly within the microcosm of the family. Her text does not take the form of an outburst, vehemently criticising fascist Spain, but is the tragic representation of the effects on a young girl suddenly wrenched from childhood: never to know again safety nor stability and converting her native pre-war Pamplona into a lost paradise that the adult Elío would desperately try to re-enter, both in her autobiographical projects and in physical reality.

¹²⁸ One pertinent example is the first volume of Alberti's *La arboleda perdida* (1999). The lost grove is depicted as a lost paradise tainted by oppressive familial and institutional forces, symbolic of the right wing. For a detailed analysis of the first and second volumes see Ricardo Fernández (247-265). See also (71-76).

¹²⁹ Alted Vigil has published extensively on children's experiences of the Civil War. In '*En el balcón vacío* o la confluencia entre escritura fílmica y escritura histórica', she states: '[s]i nos acercamos a la historiografía sobre acontecimientos bélicos del siglo XX, nos percatamos enseguida de que los grandes ausentes de la misma son los niños' (1999: 131).

In fact, it is the manner in which Elío — writing in Pamplona in 1970 — problematically comes to perceive the salutary return to the space of her childhood identity which results in *Tiempo de llorar* differing crucially from other exilic retroprogressive examples. The autobiographers are always cognisant that the positive formative spaces of childhood are completely separated in time and space and, as such, the textual journey is undertaken with a complete awareness of its impossibility in reality. However, in *Tiempo de llorar*, it is evident that this past separated by a rupture, for Elío, began to simultaneously co-exist on some level throughout her exile in Mexico until 1970 and particularly during her heightened state of anxiety throughout the present of her trip to Pamplona. Her obsession to return in 1970 to the pre-war family home in Pamplona, as if it were logically possible to re-enter a formative space temporally located in 1936, emerges from adult psychological sequelae of childhood trauma. These are a manifestation of distorted psychological processes and, during the course of the trip and composition of the original version of the text, they lead to a situation that is both frightening and dangerous. The retroprogressive model relies crucially on the authors' awareness of a marked rupture between past and present (Fernández 2007: 53). As highlighted above, at the age of nine Elío is aware of this rupture and its defined spatio-temporal boundaries. However, as the trauma surrounding the initial rupture from her lost paradise is aggravated by the breakdown of her family unit in Mexico, she is subject to the appearance of troubling psychological episodes in her daily life in adolescence that would contribute to her ever more complex longing for her *locus amoenus*. The growing adversities of her exilic condition and reality are forever contributing to complicating an already fractured identity profile.

Representations of formative spaces of her youth in Mexico are completely absent from the film and from *Tiempo de llorar* as they do not form part of the paradise lost that she attempts to enter both textually and physically in 1970 in her coherent-identity-negotiation quest. As Gambarte suggests, because of 'la fractura interna de su ser' the 'rechazo del mundo exterior no es sino una manifestación de la negación de una parte del ser de la autora por sí misma' (2009: 111). He later suggests that the life she lives is regarded as the negation of the life that she searches for (119). This cinematic and textual omission of experiences based in the host country is indicative of the magnitude of Elío's obsession with her paradise that came to dominate her life in exile, particularly after her mother's death in 1955.

Forming part of a wider autobiographical identity project, in both *En balcón vacío* and *Tiempo de llorar* the traumatic rupture from her lost paradise and the obsessively imagined and pursued return to childhood constitute the focus of the narrative. Her desire to return evolves to become a neurotic urge to close the wound incurred in 1936 that was deepened by traumatic events in Mexico. In *En el balcón vacío*, without yet having physically returned to Spain, there is an awareness of the illogical nature of her desire. Yet, despite having implicitly acknowledged the limitations of an attempt to physically re-enter her lost childhood paradise in the 1961 film, in 1970 she nevertheless attempts it. The 1970 composition of *Tiempo de llorar* is considered a dramatization in space of what she was trying to do in time in Pamplona. However, the desired salutary return in 1970 to the lost paradise of 1936 Pamplona is no longer contemplated rationally, and is undertaken as a now compulsive obsession by María Luisa at the age of forty-one. Her imagined and physical reaction to this journey are profoundly impacted by the aforementioned adult sequelae of childhood trauma. Multiple traumas marked Elío so decisively that in the extremely tense extratextual reality of 1970 she suffered from further distorted psychological episodes, in addition to the obsession and anxiety attacks previously experienced. Apparent in the text, episodes during the trip include: dysfunctional behaviour, inappropriate responses, hysteria, delirium, paranoia, and hallucinations. Gambarte applauds the honesty displayed in *Tiempo de llorar* and considers it as a raw autobiographical text, situated beyond literary norms (2009: 109).

The attempt to *live* both selves diverges from normal practice in retroprogressive autobiographical texts. With so much banked on the 1970 physical return — with regard to identity reconstruction, for example — in the author's extremely tense extratextual reality in Pamplona the logical division erodes and these two times and spaces (separated by the 1936 rupture) menacingly merge and come to co-exist for her. The disturbing episodes that emerge from this induce visual and auditory hallucinations that are represented both within the text and prophetically in the film. In the film's end sequence, the adult María Luisa passes her child-self three times on the stairs that lead to the Pamplona family home. As recounted in the text, in 1970 the concierge does not permit her entry as the house now belongs to an unknown couple who are on holiday in Madrid: “¿Es usted familia de los señores?” “No señor, vengo desde México sólo para verlo, ¿entiende usted? Desde México. Yo viví aquí de pequeña, vivía en ese departamento, ¿entiende?” “No señorita, yo soy portero aquí desde hace dieciocho

años” [TL: 49-50]. Consequently, she can only see it from outside. She laments its uninhabited appearance and watches it from the street on numerous occasions every day. As tensions mount and one of the crucial purposes of her trip — to enter it — is thwarted, she suffers a traumatic hallucination perceiving her family as they were in 1936 through the windows:

Las luces de la sala y el comedor están encendidas. Puedo ver a papá con toda claridad, de espaldas, sentado en un sillón. Se distingue parte de su cabeza, el hombro y el brazo; sin que se pueda ver bien, se nota el movimiento de su mano. Mamá, junto a él, se levanta, corre las puertas de la sala, entra al comedor y vuelve al momento para tomar el mismo lugar cerca de mi padre. De ella lo que mejor se aprecia es la figura y la misma forma clásica de su pelo. [TL: 82]

It is at this point that her endeavour collapses in reality. The pressure that emerges from simultaneously living both of these spaces and times results in the adult María Luisa falling into the depths of a nervous breakdown. Similarly, in the final scene of *El balcón vacío*, after passing her child-self in hallucination on the stairs, she enters the empty house, crying out for her family as if they were playing hide-and-seek as in 1936. Screaming, the sobbing adult pleads:

¿Dónde estáis? ¿Dónde estáis todos? ¿Por qué os escondéis? ¡Ya no quiero jugar! [...] No esconderos, no esconderos, jugar conmigo... volver por favor... volver a estar en casa... Venir, ayudarme... Ayudarme, ayudarme, que yo no sé por qué he crecido tanto... cuándo he crecido tanto... ¿cuándo? [BV: 46-47]

Evidently, there is no reponse and the closing sequence pans out with her crying uncontrollably alone. Her awareness of her fragile state of mind in Pamplona prompts her to bring forward the planned return date to Mexico. The concluding paragraph of *Tiempo de llorar* describes her back in Mexico, lying in her sister’s house, surrounded by her sisters frantically trying to calm her. Tears running down her face, she cries out: “¡Mamá! ¡Mamá! ¿Por qué te has muerto?” [TL: 98]. These episodes correspond to the nervous breakdown the adult Elío suffered following the tragic realisation of the impossibility of realising her hopes. She overdosed on sleeping pills shortly after her return from Pamplona and subsequently was admitted to a psychiatric hospital.¹³⁰

Tiempo de llorar illuminates the tragic consequences of exile on her family unit and the disturbing urges and episodes that occur in Elío’s reality. The manifestations of

¹³⁰ For further information see section 6.0 of the Appendix.

her altered psychological state that spiralled out of control are mirrored in the fused narrative perspectives of María Luisa as adult and as child. The analysis of retrogressive representations of home in *Tiempo de llorar* highlight not only the fragility of Elío's exilic identity in 1970 but also the difficulty of the attempt to restore it in an individual subjected to continuous ruptures and traumas.

6.4 (Re)constructing Identity: Realisations of Retrogressive Aims

In *Memorias de Montevideo*, Amezaga simultaneously constructs her retrogressive autobiographical project and articulates an ethical debt both to Basques and also, crucially, to Uruguayans. Her complex relationship with Uruguay — both a host and now distant 'home' country — necessitated negotiation long after moving to Euskal Herria in 1972. The anticipated aims of her retrogressive identity project are achieved by simultaneously affirming her identification with the Basque Country and positively articulating repressed elements of her Uruguayan identity. The significant *dioses charrúas* episode already recounted encapsulates the tensions that emerged for the young girl living entrenched in two cultures. At a 2003 conference in San Sebastián Amezaga gave a paper describing her parents' exilic experiences. She includes a short section on her childhood in Uruguay in which she mentions these *dioses charrúas*. Arantzazu shares with the audience that the *dioses* have provided long-term solace: 'consoladores de mi aflicción por ser de tantos mundos e igual no pertenecer a ninguno' (2004: 74). She admits having kept these *dioses* hidden for some time: 'No podíamos decir nada a nuestros padres de estas cosas pues de haberlas sabido, las hubieran reprobado con severidad. [...] Como no había sitio mejor en el mundo para ocultarlos, los coloqué en mi corazón. En su mero centro' (2004: 74). Some fragments of the paper match verbatim *Memorias de Montevideo*, strongly suggesting she had already completed a significant draft, later published in 2009. At the paper's close she states:

Ahora, si se me permite, abriré mi mano, después de contar hasta diez al revés, para que los dioses vuelen hacia el mundo de agua de las cataratas de Iguazú al cual pertenecen. [...] Mis entrañables, poderosos y ácidos dioses indios han cumplido su misión de protección y remembranza. (2004: 87)

The retrogressive identity project pertaining to *Memorias de Montevideo*, despite being at that time a work in progress, enabled Arantzazu to articulate the significance of

the *dioses charrúas* in her life, past and present. She is hence able to let them return to Uruguay as the rupture is addressed and her identity profile is at last coherent.

In contrast, ostensibly it would appear that no salutary or restorative properties result from the composition of *Tiempo de llorar*. Several critical interpretations would appear to confirm this: Pérez states ‘la novela termina con un grito patético’ (1999: 745); Rica Aranguren proffers that ‘[l]a lectura de *Tiempo de llorar* confirma que cualquier intento de reconstruir los hitos de una formación al final resulta vano’ (302). Jato considers the text as a failed retroprogressive endeavour: ‘[i]mprecación y pregunta constatan, por tanto, que la sutura entre el pasado y el presente no ha podido ser subsanada’ (2009: 159-[161]). It may appear then that *Tiempo de llorar* is an example of a retroprogressive autobiographical text that can only result in failure and complete dissipation of the aim to negotiate a coherent identity profile. Jato states: ‘[p]aradójicamente [...], todo este complejo y doloroso proceso de rememoración desencadenará la propia anagnórisis del yo exiliado’ (2009: 147). Referring to Guillén (2007: 88), she suggests:

La dualidad o sensación que el sujeto tiene de estar viviendo “en varios niveles de temporalidad, presentes y pretéritos, sin distinguirlos bien” prefigura, [...], la experiencia del “destiempo” que impide la conquista del espacio perdido cuando el regreso se hace realidad. (2009: 151)

Jato goes on to utilise theory from the field of Holocaust testimony to suggest that the two parallel and incompatible worlds Elío perceives are regarded not as a sequence but simultaneously (156-157).¹³¹ As such, the house in Pamplona ‘a la que no se puede entrar y que jamás será habitada, testimonia la orfandad de la protagonista, su identidad dispersa, la mutilación del ser en el exilio’ (159). In Pamplona, Elío does indeed come to live two spatio-temporal dimensions at once, and as 6.3 highlights, its results are tragic and frightening. Jato’s argument is illuminating, especially with regard to Elío’s distorted perceptions of space and time. However, her conclusions regarding the failure of the project are based on the assumption that the final 1988 published version of *Tiempo de llorar* matches that of the original version composed in 1970 during and immediately after the trip. Jato concludes her argument positing that the only continuity possible is a flow of tears:

¹³¹ She refers to van der Kolk and van der Hart (1995: 177).

La ausencia de la madre, matriz del paraíso de la infancia, hace insalvable las distancias y prolonga una única continuidad posible en este espacio de derrotas y abandonos: las lágrimas, la continuidad en el *tiempo de llorar*. Es cierto, el único regreso posible es hacia dentro, no hacia atrás; este viaje circular por la tristeza certifica su orfandad, el permanente exilio de su palabra: su identidad. (2009: 161)

Whilst Jato's analysis productively explains reasons why the physical journey and its corresponding autobiographical project fails in 1970, it is fruitful to consider the significance of the published version of *Tiempo de llorar* being subject to subsequent rumination and editing by Elío given that the final page is in fact dated 'México 1979'. Furthermore, it can be ascertained from the pragmatic information recorded by Roberto Pérez and Eduardo Mateo Gambarte that Elío re-worked the text on at least two occasions. From his personal correspondence with her, Pérez notes that in 1971 she transferred her original notes composed in Pamplona to a new notebook (1999: 744) and that '[f]ue mucho más tarde cuando el texto adquirió forma novelesca, hasta publicarse en 1988. Resulta difícil pensar que en su primera redacción este diario fuese escrito como un texto publicable' (748). He considers the original version to be written for herself, given that it was not published until seventeen years later (747). As highlighted in 6.2 Elío states in the 2003 Ulacia and Valender interview that the first page of *Tiempo de llorar* was composed the day before she left Mexico, but Gambarte highlights syntactical evidence to suggest this section was in fact written after the rest of the book. He states:

No importa que ella en la entrevista [...] asegure que esas palabras están escritas el día anterior a salir de México para Pamplona. En la obra no hay nada que nos haga pensar en ello. En cambio, sí que se sienten y actúan como colofón y cierre. (2009: 114)

Evidently the text undergoes various stages of editing and as discussed previously, in the evaluation of the identity project carried out in a retrogressive text, Fernández highlights the importance of considering an author's extratextual reality. As the final page is in fact dated 'México 1979', in order to fully comprehend the retrogressive identity project carried out in the published version of Elío's text, it is crucial to note that this takes place in an extratextual reality that has changed significantly from that of the text's original composition in 1970. As such, it is vital to consider key events between 1970 and 1979. Soon after her return to Mexico, Elío was

admitted to a psychiatric hospital. During a period of convalescence that continued after leaving it, she worked through the adult psychological sequelae of childhood trauma that climaxed in Pamplona and led to her nervous breakdown. During the seventies she attempted not only to finally negotiate a coherent identity profile but also admirably endeavours to achieve good mental health, and this is indeed reflected in the 1979 modification of *Tiempo de llorar* and in a number of short stories. This chapter contemplates both the original and the 1979 version of the text as instalments of equal value, that both contribute to the eventual realisation of a coherent identity profile, within the context of the wider autobiographical retroprogressive project. This project commenced with *En el balcón vacío* (1963) and continued to 1979, during which time Elío composed further instalments. The instalments in question are some of the salutary, cathartic short stories, later published in *Cuaderno de apuntes* (1995). Indeed, Gambarte recommends ‘deben ser entendidos como un único libro en dos partes’ (2009: 117).

Gambarte highlights that *Cuaderno de apuntes* is characterised by ‘una escritura con el corazón al desnudo, más espontánea, menos elaborada’ (2009: 111). ‘Locura’ oscillates between the first and third person and the past and present tense as she considers why she has been admitted to hospital, and the issues underlying abnormal psychological episodes. Its beginning is characterised by bewilderment. She is undergoing electroconvulsive therapy (ECT): ‘Tengo tal terror que he logrado olvidarme del miedo. Estoy en una casa de salud —así llaman a los manicomios, [...]— no comprendo nada, no sé por qué estoy aquí tirada sobre una cama’ [CA: 105]. She expresses feelings of emptiness and incompleteness:

Al llegar a este lugar uno se rompe, ya no se es nada, uno deja de ser para cualquier gente, médico o enfermera; ante alguien o algo que antes era uno (yo, en este caso) no se es nada: ni manos, ni piernas, ni ojos, ni voz — nada —.
[CA: 109]

Her thoughts positively evolve to assess the distorted psychological processes that induced her breakdown (Gambarte 2009: 64). The following fragment illuminates Elío’s realisation of the pernicious effects of obsessively pursuing her lost paradise of 1936 in reality and living outside logical dimensions of space and time:

En todas las historias hay un punto en que aparece lo imposible, y ese punto logra hacer que el resto se rompa. Calculo que la realidad es saber notar la diferencia, y que ése es el motivo por el cual puedo estar ahora escribiendo.
[CA: 111]

Another fragment includes the positive affirmation: ‘El otro lado está muy cerca de éste, no hay más que alargar un brazo, y ahí está, se toca’ [CA: 113].

Retrogressive representations of formative spaces in the host country are absent from the film and from *Tiempo de llorar* as they do not form part of Elío’s lost paradise. However, they are included in the subsequent instalment of her identity project in *Cuaderno de apuntes*. She endeavours to give a literary form to experiences in formative spaces of her youth in Mexico, particularly the broken family home. She bravely articulates several episodes of abnormal behaviours from her adolescence, which in their entirety contribute to the cathartic voicing not only of problems she experienced as a second-generation exile but also those that were early manifestations of her fractured psychological profile. In ‘En el cuarto’, Elío describes an occasion in her childhood when she obsessively searched for a pearl in an empty room of a house they had recently moved to in Mexico. Unable to find it, she combed the room with a clothes pin, this behaviour frightening her mother. After almost losing all hope, when she finds the beautiful pearl she cries, this time tears of joy and she articulates the importance of hope: ‘Pero ahora os puedo decir que es malo perder la esperanza’ [CA: 132]. The pearl is a metaphor as it represents both a pearl and her son, as Pérez suggests (2000: 70): ‘Preciosa perla, niña perla mujer perla sal, mi niño mi precioso niño sal’ [CA: 132]. This story is notably dedicated to her son Diego and is indicative of how she attempted after her breakdown to realign her identity as a strong maternal figure, who is now aware of the negative aspects of obsession and promises to maintain hope. Other stories address issues suffered in adulthood. ‘El botón’, for example, portrays her putting obsessive searching before eating. In another untitled story she describes periods of depression, apathy, paranoia, auditory hallucinations, hysterical fears of entering a door behind which she perceives a menacing buzzing ‘animal’ noise that follows her, and also the attempt to maintain a facade of wellness. Other sections form part of a delayed grieving process for her mother.

Referring to *Tiempo de llorar* and *En el balcón vacío*, Naharro-Calderón considers that ‘[a]quí no se ha buscado legitimar la imagen de un yo unívoco e histórico sino su íntima provisionalidad’ (1995: 211). His assertion is worthy of consideration with regard to my analysis of the 1979 version of *Tiempo de llorar* as a successful retrogressive project. This version maintains the raw nature of its original version: the traumatic nature of the trip to Pamplona is not minimised, for Elío’s 1979

legitimation of her provisionality now corresponds to a dual recipient. The first is herself, as she crucially works through and articulates a cathartic voicing of the issues that led to a dangerous unstable psychological state. This endeavour is also addressed to her son, to whom the ethical debt that drives the 1979 version corresponds. Indeed, its published version is dedicated ‘A mi hijo Diego’ [TL: 17]. The 1979 version is not a circular journey, nor does its identity project end in failure. As previously discussed, the aim of the retrogressive journey is to achieve ‘una identidad enriquecida, transfigurada también por los valores rescatados del pasado y que se pretenden añadir al yo insatisfecho que escribe’ (Fernández 2007: 51). Elío does positively reconstruct her fractured identity, and the retrogressive representations of the formative spaces and lost paradise of her own childhood do indeed enable Elío to carry forward, on some level, ‘las supuestas riquezas de la infancia’ (Fernández: 51). It is precisely the values of her lost Pamplona paradise that Elío longed for so tragically in 1970, safety and stability, which contribute to the reconfiguration of her renewed identity. Furthermore, it is their implementation — now carried out logically by a sound mind in the present — for the other, her son Diego, that is the manifestation of the suture between the past and her present. The Pamplona trip confirms the impossibility of personally experiencing again her own *locus amoenus*, but she can instil those values in the present for Diego.¹³²

Gambarte highlights ‘[t]enemos en *Tiempo de llorar* la presencia de un destinatario interno, su hijo’ (2009: 111). He could be considered as such merely because he accompanies her in 1970. However, sections of the 1979 version suggest Diego to be the addressee of a cathartic retrogressive project in which she explains, for herself *and* for him, what led to her nervous breakdown. Several indicators of her cathartic confession to Diego, purposefully highlighting the lack of understanding and hence control of her abnormal psychological profile in 1970, are embedded in the text, for example: ‘Me levanté y le di un beso, le pedí perdón sin saber por qué’ [TL: 54]. The text also includes manifestations, presumed to be superimposed in 1979, of her cathartic apology and pledge to provide a safe and stable formative space for him. She states: ‘Era malo empezar a enfadarse con el niño, pero inevitablemente cuando quería

¹³² The extent to which Elío’s identity is aligned with Basques, Navarre, Republican Spain or Mexico is not the emphasis of any of her works. She does, however, articulate the importance of her family to her identity. In the Ulacia and Valender interview she refers to the effects of her family’s disjointedness in 1950s Mexico, as well as highlighting her love for Diego and her grandchildren in Mexico, and her duty towards them. She also states that she no longer identifies with the protagonist of the film. She also refuses to express any ideological identification and vents frustration regarding discussing political aspects of exile (2004).

librarme del dolor la única manera de lograrlo era transformando éste en rabia, y sólo podía enfadarme con quien tenía cerca' [TL: 50]. In the plane back to Mexico Elío anxiously states: '¿Cómo darle la impresión a mi hijo de que yo era algo en donde él se podía apoyar?' [TL: 94]. Referring to a day trip to Quinto (rural Navarre) with Diego and a family she meets in Pamplona, and where she went as a child, she states: 'Qué felices hemos sido el día de hoy. La alegría de Diego no se puede contar. Debía uno vivir siempre en un sitio así' [TL: 56]. As highlighted in 6.3, Elío's obsession to re-enter pre-war Pamplona in 1970 dominates a period of her life and is reflected in her autobiographical works. Gambarte suggests:

A ella sólo le interesa el pasado, el recuerdo se vuelve centro de su vida y nos da la clave para entender la construcción de su obra, que no es otra cosa que una idea fija, una obsesión. Los temas desarrollados en estas dos obras no resultan ser el motor de las mismas, sino que el motor es la obsesión. (2009: 113)

Whilst Gambarte rightly posits that obsession plays this role, my chapter argues that the published version of *Tiempo de llorar* is a retroprogressive project within a (previous and wider) retroprogressive project. It is also the conscious articulation and explanation to a dual recipient of how this obsession had dominated her life, especially between 1955 and the early seventies.

The dramatic fusion of the explicit split narrative allows the reader of *Tiempo de llorar* to acknowledge the discourse of rupture, as a metaphor for what was Elío's own incoherent identity, provoked not only by deterritorialization but also by the psychological difficulties that emerged from *destiempo* and other traumatic experiences in exile. In the composition of *Tiempo de llorar* Elío exposes an open wound. In her subsequent reworking of this text she airs not only the original wound incurred in 1936 but also deeper psychological wounds, a key step in her steadfast identity-negotiation. In voicing how this original wound was aggravated by subsequent psychological ones she is eventually able to share this with the reader-recipients, a process which aids in the healing of multiple wounds and the eventual reconciliation of a renewed coherent identity. In terms of the realisation of the anticipated aims of the wider retroprogressive identity project, Elío achieves these aims to some degree in all its instalments. Each instalment, considered in its extratextual reality, houses a contributory endeavour. The 1979 version of *Tiempo de llorar* coupled with sections of *Cuaderno de apuntes* determines my interpretation of the identity project, as an autobiographical act that does

not end in failure. Elío's extratextual reality illuminates not only the complexity of her task, but also her courageous attempt to undertake it. By 1979 she is wholly conscious of the impossibilities of previous intentions and bravely highlights these in a now public forum. This crucial reworking is cathartic. She finally achieves a coherent identity profile, ultimately made possible, in part, by all of the retroprogressive instalments (textual, cinematic and revisited) that make up the momentous wider autobiographical project carried out by María Luisa Elío.

Conclusion

Retroprogressive representations of childhood are considered to be a key aspect of a poetics of exile in *Memorias de Montevideo*, *En el balcón vacío*, *Tiempo de llorar* and *Cuaderno de apuntes* highlighting the linkages between exilic extratextual reality and the purposes of autobiographical writing. The analysis of the textual journey to childhood formative spaces traces how Amezaga and Elío attempt to heal multiple ruptures, fractures and wounds. Their retroprogressive identity project offers an important insight into second-generation experiences and enables productive analyses of the complex interplays between memory, literature and identity.

CONCLUSION

Exile is both a major historical phenomenon and a complex condition, and has prompted a wide range of literary responses. Within the context of Republican exile, autobiographical works are a key modality of exilic literature. Autobiographical writing, in its rich diversity, constitutes a stimulating resource for an exploration of the ways in which this individual and collective trauma was experienced, assimilated and represented. Furthermore, the study of exilic autobiographical works — particularly those by women, a historically overlooked portion of an uprooted population (Tobin Stanley and Zinn 2007b: 2) — is garnering significant interest.

This thesis has analysed how exile has shaped autobiographical writing by both first and second-generation female exiles. Existing critical material on exilic autobiographical texts has productively explored numerous areas of interest, using a variety of approaches. However, to contribute to this general area, this study has addressed an overarching research question — how does exile shape autobiographical writing? — utilising poetics as a mode of critical inquiry. Poetics is a productive conceptual framework which enables the construction of an open-ended response. As such, this thesis offers a set of findings, showcasing the primary texts analysed. The central body of this thesis has examined a variety of autobiographical works written during a seventy-year period in a number of geographical locations and circumstances. The aim of each chapter has been to trace a key aspect of a poetics of exile, bringing to light some of the mechanisms by which exile impacts particular autobiographical works by first and second-generation female exiles. These findings primarily constitute a contribution to a poetics of exile.

The perspective offered in this thesis has focussed on a carefully chosen sample of nineteen works by twelve authors. Yet, even within these parameters, exilic autobiographical writing has been shown to be a necessarily nuanced and complex response to the lived experience and multi-faceted condition of exile. The breadth and difference of such literary responses have been explored and an original edge given to the discussion through the inclusion of previously understudied and recently published or re-published works. Similarly, in order to enrich the discussion, a balanced selection of women writers and their works from different ages, times, contexts, professions, generations and both recent and contemporaneous texts was chosen.

The first chapter has argued that the notion of the addressee can be examined as a central aspect of a poetics of exile in the propagandistic works of Constanca de la Mora and Isabel Oyarzábal de Palencia. The examination of these texts as a response to

the call of the foreign addressee offered a focussed consideration of how a particular exilic situation and role in exile shapes autobiographical writing. Chapter 2 examined how two early literary responses to exile are characterised by a sense of urgency. The immediacy of lived experience was shown to result in generic hybridization in the works of Silvia Mistral and Clara Campoamor. Moreover, this aspect of a poetics of exile is, in this case, indicative of the author's underlying need to contribute to collective testimony. The third chapter posited polyphony as a fundamental aspect of a poetics of exile in the works of Victoria Kent and Luisa Carnés. The examination of how exile influences the creative process of these works of autofiction has framed the issue of the relationship between gender, genre and nation.

The second half of the thesis (chapters four to six) considered works by second-generation authors. Chapter 4 analysed the propagation of collective memory in two recent memoirs by Francisca Muñoz Alday and Remedios Oliva Berenguer. The effects of collective frameworks of memory particular to their exilic situation, as well as the dates of composition, were shown to have particular implications with regard to the representation of memory and exilic identity. A focussed examination of particular second-generation experiences, and how they demand and shape a creative, constructive process was offered in Chapter 5. Postmemory was argued to be a central aspect of a poetics of exile in selected works by Angelina Muniz-Huberman and María Rosa Lojo, enabling an exploration of the complex interconnections between space, identity, postmemory and writing. The sixth and final chapter explored the linkages between exilic extratextual reality and the purposes of autobiographical production in the case of Aranzazu Amezaga Iribarren and María Luisa Elío. It demonstrated that retrogressive representations of childhood are a key aspect of a poetics of exile in these autobiographical identity projects.

The six very different aspects identified — the notion of the addressee, generic hybridization, polyphony, the propagation of collective memory, postmemory, and retrogressive representations of childhood — have illuminated the ubiquitous, complex and wide-ranging influence of exile on the creative process. These six aspects constitute a poetics of exile in women's autobiographical writing in my selected corpus, providing in this thesis new perspectives and readings of a range of first and second-generation texts. The poetics of exile proposed in this thesis aims to enhance particularly the understanding of the myriad ways in which exile can shape these literatures. By systematically studying a multi-author corpus of autobiographical exilic

texts by first and second-generation women, utilising an eclectic range of critical and theoretical material and based on the tenets of poetics as a mode of inquiry, a contribution to a wider poetics of exile has also been offered.

Each chapter has raised different but central aspects of the general phenomenon of exile and how it conditions autobiographical writing. However, a number of other compelling issues are manifest in the primary sources and these have been discussed in a manner relevant to the research aims of this thesis. These include different dimensions of self-representation, such multi-faceted issues as memory, identity and identity negotiation, genre, gender, ethical concerns, the role of writing, and relationships with the Republic and fellow exiles, the homeland and host countries.

Utilising poetics as the principal mode of inquiry, this study was ultimately governed by the content of the primary texts. Following from this open-ended analytical approach, this thesis offers an original overview of a rich corpus that includes little-known authors and works, and draws upon diverse ideas from numerous fields to generate new research. This study does not claim to exhaust the subject of how exile shapes autobiographical writing, nor does it provide a totalising account of the poetics of exile. I have identified important dimensions in the texts selected. However, adopting poetics as a conceptual framework offers many potential avenues for future inquiry. Firstly, many more potential writers could be read in the same contextual frame. For example, the six aspects identified in this study could be fruitfully explored in other texts. Furthermore, the poetics of exile in women's autobiographical writing can be further developed by tracing additional aspects in a wider corpus.

This presents an exciting opportunity for future research as exilic texts are already abundant and the potential corpus is still growing. Many texts currently await study, and many more remain undiscovered in archives yet to be brought to the attention of a wider readership. For instance, *El eslabón perdido* was not published until 2002 when it was recovered from the Carnés family archive. Some original works were limited in circulation and have only recently been republished, such as Silvia Mistral's *Exodo: Diario de una refugiada española* (2009). Additionally, members of the second generation continue to compose and publish autobiographical works as the example of Aranzazu Amezaga Iribarren's *Memorias de Montevideo* (2009a) highlights. Referring to female exiles and works that are not well-known, Pérez states: 'no parece impropio traer de vez en cuando algunos de estos nombres al horizonte de nuestras lecturas para recuperar registros poco frecuentes en nuestras letras' (1999: 749).

This study has sought to trace a poetics of exile in women's autobiographical writing where it is evident that exile is the determining factor that propels the creation of the autobiographical works selected. The aspects of a poetics of exile identified are not particular to women's writing but I have remained attentive to the implications of gender. While my interests in this thesis have centred squarely on women's writing, works by male authors could also be productively explored. Furthermore, it could be interesting to explore a focussed text group where gendered concerns play a more prominent role.

Ultimately, this thesis has aimed to offer an innovative overview of how people writing in an autobiographical mode negotiate the complex condition of exile, and a new perspective on how exile shapes this literature. The systematic study of these authors may be viewed as a contribution to the study of Republican exile within the context of recovering experiences of the past, to current interest in the reclamation of women's exilic autobiographical writing, and ideally constitutes a preliminary step to tracing further aspects of a poetics of exile.

'El exilio, antes que nada, es fuente de creación'

(Angelina Muñiz-Huberman 1998: 57)

APPENDIX

1.0 Constanca de la Mora and Isabel Oyarzábal de Palencia

Constancia de la Mora was born in 1906 in Madrid. She was the grand-daughter of former Prime Minister Antonio Maura who was also head of the Partido Conservador from 1905 to 1913. Her family was conservative, aristocratic and monarchist and she was brought up in a familial and cultural environment typical of the class she was born into. She received a traditional Catholic upbringing and education. Her youth and adolescence were dictated by rigid social norms and tedious etiquette, both in the Jesuit Colegio de las Esclavas del Sagrado Corazón and at home. The partial freedom that she experienced between 1920 and 1923 in a Cambridge convent school sparked a strong independent spirit that inspired her to seek employment in a dress shop. This initiative was much to the family's distaste and she was immediately summoned back to begin preparations for her *début* in Madrid society. She was constantly chaperoned by her mother and this period is marked by a strict adherence to monotonous protocol: attending functions in the Spanish Court, making formal calls and assisting in charitable works run by associations such as the Hermanas de la Caridad and the Jesuit organisations Congregación de Marías del Sagrario and Damas Católicas. In 1926 Constanca married Germán Manuel Bolín and, until their separation, the couple resided for periods in Malaga, Torremolinos and briefly in Madrid. Once separated from her opportunistic husband in January 1931, she took up permanent residence in Madrid with her daughter Lulí and gained employment in the Arte Popular shop owned by Zenobia Camprubí. This more independent existence marked Constanca's political awakening, which further estranged her from her family. She was among the first women to take advantage of the divorce laws passed by the Republican government, enabling her to marry in 1933 the committed Republican and future Commander in Chief of the Estado Mayor de las Fuerzas Aéreas Ignacio Hidalgo de Cisneros. Her political commitment to the left intensified during the period leading up to the Civil War. From August 1936 she was not only heavily involved in evacuating children from Madrid to Alicante, but also in coordinating the administration of children's refuges. By early 1938 Constanca was a militant and energetic Republican, investing her language skills in her post as director of the Oficina de Prensa Extranjera and assisting in Spain's appeals to the League of Nations in Geneva.

In February 1939 Constanca was selected to carry out a diplomatic mission representing the Negrín government in New York. It was her friend Jay Allen, an

American journalist, who suggested shortly after her arrival that she compose an autobiography in English that would ‘create a platform by writing a book which would reach the maximum number of sympathetic Americans and plead the cause of the Spanish Republic’ (Fox: 89). Her autobiography was composed very rapidly to be offered for public scrutiny in order to expose the illegitimacy of the military uprising against Spanish democracy, primarily in an attempt to lobby the White House to lift the arms embargo and obtain aid and food. However, during the composition of her autobiography the war ended. Constanca’s rallying objective turned to discrediting any ‘perception of the legitimacy of Franco’s victory’ (100) and to seek aid for Republican prisoners and refugees in French concentration camps (see Fox: 89-105). The manuscript of *In Place of Splendor* was completed in July and promptly published by Harcourt and Brace benefitting from a considerable publicity campaign (Fox: 99). The text is divided into four chapters, each one covering a specific consecutive time period. The first chapter ‘Childhood in Old Spain’ covers the period 1906-1923 and the second ‘Marriage: The Life of a Spanish Woman’ corresponds to her début, first marriage and separation. The third chapter ‘Spanish Awakening’ addresses her political awakening and the Second Republic. The final chapter ‘Widows of Heroes Rather than Wives of Cowards’ covers the Civil War until her departure to America and is followed by the epilogue: ‘¡Viva la República!’. Her autobiography was later published in Spanish in 1944.¹³³ She spent the remainder of her life in exile in Mexico and died in what Fox has described as ‘mysterious’ circumstances in Guatemala in 1950 (169).¹³⁴

Isabel Oyarzábal de Palencia was an intellectual, writer, journalist, public speaker and diplomat. She was born in Malaga to an affluent upper-class bilingual family in 1878. Her father Juan Oyarzábal was from a prominent family of staunch Roman Catholics and thus, the family were obliged to adhere to these principles (her Scottish Protestant mother Ana Smith Guthrie eventually converting to Catholicism). Between the ages of seven and fourteen Isabel was a boarder in Malaga’s strict Convento de la Asunción. After the death of her father, she spent a period working in Sussex as an au pair. On her return, she was granted a trial as an actress in the Madrid theatre company of her future mother-in-law María Tubau. Much to the distaste of her

¹³³ Constanca de la Mora, *Doble esplendor* (Mexico: Atlante, 1944). Further translations into French, German, Italian and Romanian are included in the bibliography.

¹³⁴ In addition to de la Mora’s autobiography, the following sources have provided information relevant to this biographical outline: Bravo Cela (2000), Fox (2007), Mangini (1991 and 1995), Josebe Martínez (2007 and 2008), Rodrigo (2003) and Samblancat (1998).

family and their social circle, Isabel moved to Madrid with her mother for this opportunity. Theatre remained an interest but she carved a career as a writer. She co-edited Spain's first magazine produced exclusively for women, *La Dama* which was first published in 1907 in collaboration with Raimunda AVECILLA. Isabel then took up the post of Spanish correspondent for the London agency Laffan News Bureau and covered news for the London newspaper *The Standard*. She also contributed to *El Sol* under the pseudonym of Beatriz Galindo, and published a significant number of translations and works on a variety of topics including child psychology. Isabel married Ceferino de Palencia in 1909, giving birth to her son Ceferinito in 1910 and daughter Marisa in 1914. She continued working and the income amassed from her varied occupations supported the family home. In her biographical outline of 'Isabel Oyarzábal', Antonina Rodrigo highlights her considerable involvement in politics and women's groups; in 1920 she assumed presidency of the Asociación de Mujeres Españolas, attended international conferences on women's suffrage as secretary of the Consejo Supremo Femenista de España, and assumed vice-presidency in 1926 of the Lyceum Club Femenino alongside Victoria Kent and María de Maeztu (2003: 261-281). By 1929, now a specialist in international law, Isabel took on positions including the Spanish section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. From August 1936, she liaised with the Ministries of War, Industry and Commerce on behalf of the Comisión de Auxilio Femenino and acted as a delegate in the XVII Assembly of the League of Nations on 21 October 1936 (Rodrigo 2003: 274).

On 23 October 1936 Isabel was appointed by the Ministry of State plenipotentiary Minister to Sweden. Before departing for Stockholm, she carried out a fifty-three day diplomatic mission touring Canada and America raising public awareness of the realities of the political situation in Spain. In December 1937 she was also appointed to the same position in Finland. She left the embassies in April 1939 after the Scandinavian countries granted recognition to Franco, subsequently travelling to New York and then Mexico where she would remain in exile until her death in 1974. Whilst passing through New York, arrangements were made for her to return in the autumn to give a series of lectures, in order to appeal for aid for Republicans who were unable to leave Spain and for refugees in the French concentration camps. Her autobiography *I Must Have Liberty* was published in 1940 by Longmans, Green & Co. following a request from the editor during the same twelve-day period she spent in New York. The contract for the book's publication was signed on 2 May 1940 (see Martínez

2006: 808). Given the international political situation at the time, Martínez suggests the editor's request implies a demand in the American market for texts of this nature which highlights a growing interest and popularization of the Spanish anti-fascist cause (809). The text depicts personal experiences from childhood to adulthood, her political activities and aims to 'mostrar en el exterior la verdadera historia [...] del conflicto español', 'sustentar la legitimidad del régimen republicano' and expose the involvement of Italian and German fascist forces 'amparadas en la política de no intervención promulgada por Inglaterra, Francia y Estado Unidos' (Martínez 2006: 810). It is divided into thirty chapters that adhere to a chronological structure. *Smouldering Freedom: The Story of Spanish Republicans in Exile* is the second instalment of her autobiographical endeavour for aid. She carries out an informed analysis of the period 1939-1945, highlighting the predicament of Republicans following the outcome of the Civil War and the consequences of non-intervention in an international context. Published in New York in 1945 by Longmans and in London in 1946 by Victor Gollancz Ltd, this text is more impersonal than *I Must Have Liberty* yet it is fruitful to consider them as complementary volumes that constitute a patriotic project. These texts were both initially published in English and later translated into Swedish, and have recently been translated into Spanish.¹³⁵

2.0 Silvia Mistral and Clara Campoamor

Silvia Mistral was the literary pseudonym of Hortensia Blanch Pita, born in 1914 in Havana in Cuba. Her mother was Galician, and her father a Catalan anarchist. As Colmeiro (2009b) explains, due to issues resulting from her father's political associations, the family spent significant periods of time in both Galicia and Cuba, before taking up residence in Barcelona in 1931 at the beginning of the Second Republic. Mistral's education was hampered by a need to work as her family had severe financial difficulties. Her working life was characterised by holding numerous jobs at once, whilst devoting any remaining hours in the day to independent learning and her keen interest in literature. Her first place of employment was a cigarette paper factory and from 1931 she worked as a volunteer collaborator for the newspaper *Las Noticias*.

¹³⁵ Details of these translations are included in the bibliography. In addition to Oyarzábal de Palencia's two texts, the following sources have provided information relevant to this biographical outline: Ballesteros García (2002), Capdevila-Argüelles (2008), Mangini (1995), Josebe Martínez (2006, 2007 and 2008), and Rodrigo (1998 and 2003).

From 1933-1936 she was employed by the film distribution company Paramount and simultaneously wrote literary articles for *El Día Gráfico*. Between 1936 and 1939 she contributed articles to *Solidaridad Obrera*, *La Vanguardia* and *Umbral*, a Confederación Nacional de Trabajo publication.¹³⁶ Mistral was an anarchist and collaborated with anarchist intellectuals during the Civil War but this information is omitted from her diary. She was also a member of a CNT syndicate, but she stated in an interview that above all she considered herself a liberal Republican and did not have political aspirations.¹³⁷ During the Civil War she presented for Radio Oficial Republicana. She married her partner Ricardo Mestre before being forced to leave Barcelona in January 1939 to seek refuge in France.

Éxodo: Diario de una refugiada española (1940) is one of the first exilic literary testimonies ever published in Mexico. The text is ostensibly a diary and corresponds to a series of entries ‘concebido a modo de cuaderno de bitácora’ (Samblancat 2000: 159). The first entry of the diary is dated 24 January 1939 as she prepares to leave Barcelona. The last entry is 8 July 1939 and details her arrival in the port of Veracruz aboard the *Ipanema*. Mistral records months spent in exile in France, where she was a short-term resident in the women’s camp at Argelès and subsequently in a women’s refugee centre in Les Mages, as well as the period spent on the *Ipanema*. A brief version of her diary was published just months later in serialized form, in late 1939 in the Mexican weekly magazine *Hoy*.¹³⁸ In February 1940 her text was published in Mexico City by Minerva, a publishing company founded by her husband. The text is preceded by a prologue by León Felipe, but despite this accolade the text has received limited critical or popular attention. Colmeiro suggests that the reasons for this are that Mistral was not a known figure in either literature or politics. Due to her family’s particularly difficult financial position, Mistral never had the opportunity to establish herself within literary circles in Spain. Likewise, her career in journalism was cut short by the Civil War (2009b: 8-9). In exile, Mistral did publish another literary work *Madréporas* which is illustrated with drawings by Ramón Gaya.¹³⁹ She published a significant number of further works

¹³⁶ For a detailed biographical outline see Colmeiro (2009b: 13-17).

¹³⁷ This biographical information is taken from interviews with Mistral carried out by Enriqueta Tuñón between February 1988 and January 1989 for inclusion in the Archivo de la Palabra, Refugiados españoles, based at the Instituto Nacional de Antropología in Mexico, and a personal interview in 1995 with Mistral carried out by Josebe Martínez. Sections of both are transcribed in Martínez (2007: 169-183). In addition to this and Colmeiro (2009b), the following sources have provided information relevant to this biographical outline: Samblancat (2000 and 1997a).

¹³⁸ For information regarding the serialized version see Colmeiro (2009b: 41-46).

¹³⁹ *Madréporas* (Mexico City: Minerva, 1944).

including children's books, a collection of short stories and some novels. However, their composition was propelled by financial necessity and are thus configured to suit the market's demand for low-brow romantic novels, described by Colmeiro as 'una literatura alimentaria de supervivencia' (2009b: 9-10). Furthermore, the dissemination of *Éxodo: Diario de una refugiada española* was limited and copies of this original version are held in only a handful of libraries (2009b: 9). No subsequent editions of the text were published until 2009 when it appeared in Colmeiro's illuminating critical edition. In Mexico, Mistral contributed to *España Libre* and *Arte y Plata* and collaborated in a number of magazines and newspapers. From the late-sixties she visited Spain but was never a permanent resident. Nonetheless, her link to the homeland was proudly maintained in an educational and cultural project co-founded in 1978 with Mestre. Martínez, who visited the 'Biblioteca Social Reconstruir' which was intended for second and third-generation exiles, highlights its popularity (see 2007: 169-170). Mistral died in August 2004 in Mexico City.

Clara Campoamor Ródriguez was born in Madrid in 1888 into a liberal and progressive family. Her father Manuel Campoamor was an accountant and her mother, Pilar Ródriguez Martínez, was a seamstress. Her father died when Clara was young and after leaving school, in order to financially support her mother and sibling, she was unable to pursue further study. She held numerous jobs as a shop assistant, dressmaker, telephonist, secretary and a typing instructor before it was financially possible to attend university. She graduated with a law degree in 1924 and the following year she became a member of Madrid's Colegio de Abogados. She led an accomplished legal career, especially in law relating to women and children's rights and was influential in the approval of the Second Republic's divorce law. A staunch feminist, Campoamor was involved in a number of women's groups including the Lyceum Club and the Liga Femenina Española por la Paz. From 1928 she chaired the Juventud Universitaria Femenina and was a co-founder of the Federación Internacional de Mujeres de Carreras Jurídicas (see Samblancat 2002: 24-27). Her political career is also prolific: she was a member of the Consejo Nacional of the Acción Republicana group, she joined the Partido Radical and in June 1931 she gained a seat as a deputy in Parliament. From 1931 to 1933 she served as a delegate of the Republican government in the League of Nations. Furthermore, she became the 'outstanding defender of female suffrage under the Spanish Second Republic' (Mangini 1995: 8). As Martínez (2008) and Mangini (1995) explain, she founded the Unión Republicana Femenina to work towards

women's suffrage, and was prepared to distance herself from her political party to pursue this. Campoamor considered women's vote a human right and she spearheaded this campaign and women were granted the right to vote in December 1931. Following the results of the 1933 elections, in which the success of conservative parties was attributed to women's votes, Campoamor was ostracised from the political front lines and not re-elected to Parliament (Mangini 1995: 27). She pursued other roles, proposing amendments, specific votes and law proposals. She was named Directora General de Beneficencia y Asistencia Social but she resigned from this post and her party 'after observing the devastation inflicted by the government during the Revolution of Asturias in 1934' (Mangini 1995: 28). From 1935 she led the Pro-Infancia Obrera organisation, also known as the Comité Mundial de Mujeres contra la Guerra y el Fascismo (Rodrigo 2003: 273). Her numerous attempts to join Izquierda Republicana and be granted involvement in the Popular Front via Unión Republicana Femenina were all rejected. As Mangini explains, Clara attributed this rejection to the stagnant attitude of male politicians towards her self-proclaimed mortal sin: the tireless defence of women's suffrage (1995: 28). Clara believed that the exceptional feminist stance that she had upheld throughout her political career had rendered her a scapegoat (Mangini 1995: 28). In response to this she published in May 1936 *Mi pecado mortal: El voto femenino y yo* in which she 'recorre su vida (selectivamente) para demostrar que ha sido una carrera limpia, de espíritu republicano, y leal a la causa' (see Martínez 2008: 104).¹⁴⁰

Ostracised, Campoamor was now vulnerable to pressure from the left and the right and she left Madrid in September 1936 to go into voluntary exile in Switzerland, where she resided with her friend Antoinette Quinche. In Lausanne she rapidly composed *La révolution espagnole vue par une républicaine*. Clara was fluent in French and her original notes in Spanish were translated into French with Quinche's assistance. Its publication in Paris in 1937 is accompanied by a brief prologue by Antoinette outlining and applauding Clara's political career. The text has only recently been translated into Spanish in 2002 in a critical edition by Neus Samblancat.¹⁴¹ The main body of the text consists of a political analysis of the period from July 1936 to 1937. She expresses her disillusionment with the Republican government, the Popular Front and narrates the first forty days of the war: '[r]econstruye conversaciones,

¹⁴⁰ Clara Campoamor, *Mi pecado mortal: El voto femenino y yo* (Madrid: Librería Beltrán, 1936).

¹⁴¹ Clara Campoamor, *La revolución española vista por una republicana*, trans. by Eugenia Quereda Belmonte, ed. by Neus Samblancat (2002). This is the first critical edition in Spanish and is an accurate translation. Another recent edition in Spanish was published by Español Bouché in 2005.

intervenciones en la cámara u opiniones políticas, valora decisiones ministeriales o actuaciones de partidos. Inserta, con temblor literario, algunos pasajes de guerra' (see Samblancat 2002: 39). Two further chapters are included as appendices and in the second, Campoamor includes personal material relating to her exile. In 1938 she left Switzerland for Buenos Aires. She worked as a translator, delivered lectures and wrote prologues and newspaper articles. She was never able to legitimately return to Spain due to a pending trial for her earlier accused involvement with the Freemasons. In 1955 she returned to reside with Quinche in Switzerland, where she died in 1972.¹⁴²

3.0 Victoria Kent and Luisa Carnés

Victoria Kent was born in 1892 in Malaga into a liberal family of Irish, Italian and Spanish heritage. Within the family home her father José Ken Román and mother María Siano promoted the value of education and, by home-schooling and private classes, Victoria was prepared to commence her teacher training at the Escuela Normal de Málaga. Here she developed a keen interest in Krausist philosophy and *krausismo*, a movement that advocated education as the prerequisite to Spain's regeneration.¹⁴³ In 1916 she took up residence in Madrid's pioneering Residencia de Señoritas, directed by María de Maeztu. During her studies as a law student she represented the Unión Nacional de Estudiantes Españoles. In 1924 Kent became a lawyer, graduating with a doctorate in law from Madrid's Universidad Complutense. She joined Madrid's Colegio de Abogados on 5 January 1925. In June 1931, as a member of the Partido Radical Socialista, she was elected to parliament. On 18 April of this year she was named Director-General of prisons. She initiated radical reform and advocated prisons as educative correctional institutions equipping them with fully-trained staff and the provision of library facilities. She was a member of numerous organisations including Juventud Universitaria Feminista, the Unión de Mujeres Españolas, the Liga de

¹⁴² The following sources have provided information relevant to this biographical outline: Español Bouché (2009), Fagoaga and Saavedra (1986), Mangini (1995), Martínez (2008), Nash (1995), Rodrigo (2003), Samblancat (2002, 2003 and 2006).

¹⁴³ Josebe Martínez observes that two influential teachers, Teresa Aspiazu and Suceso Luengo, initiated Kent in Karl Krause's pedagogical ideals, which would subsequently inform her political philosophy (2008: 125). For a detailed biographical outline see Martínez (2008: 119-188). For a specific examination of Kent's teacher training see Rivera Sánchez (1997). The following additional sources have provided information relevant to this biographical outline: Balaguer (2009), Mangini (1991 and 1995), Villena (2007), Ferrán (1998) and Gutiérrez-Vega.

Derechos del Hombre and the Asociación de Mujeres Antifascistas and co-founding vice-president of the Lyceum Club.

On 4 August 1936 the Junta Nacional de Protección de Huérfanos de Combatientes Muertos por la República was formed under Kent's leadership. She left for Paris upon her appointment as secretary of the Spanish embassy in July 1937, with a mission to administer provision for evacuated children. After the Nazi invasion, Kent took refuge in the Mexican embassy in Paris from October 1939 where she spent nine months undercover. For the next four years, under the alias of Madame Duval, she resided clandestinely in a flat near the Bois de Boulogne. She was 'tenaciously pursued' by Franco's police and the Gestapo (Mangini 1995: 157). On 31 July 1941 Franco's government issued a committal for trial, which would have resulted in a thirty-year prison sentence had she been located. In 1944, following France's liberation, she co-founded the Unión de Intelectuales Españoles. In 1950, after a period of three years in Mexico, Kent took up permanent residence in New York until her death in 1987. In exile she maintained her dedication to the Republic, serving from 1952 as a Minister without Portfolio and the official representative of the Republican government in the United States. In 1953 she founded the anti-fascist magazine *Ibérica por la libertad*, published in Spanish and English.

This biographical outline highlights her profound interest in education and equality. Her well-documented stance on the women's suffrage debate emphasises her opinion of the former as a pre-requisite to the latter. As Mangini explains, in opposition to Clara Campoamor, Kent argued against immediate enfranchisement given her belief that the majority of Spanish women were not sufficiently educated to vote. Concerned that these women may be coerced at the ballot box by local priests or family members, she lobbied for the dissemination of information and educational opportunities in lieu of immediate enfranchisement (1995). The entry in the biographical encyclopaedia *Mujeres en la historia de España* highlights exemplary independence, feminist consciousness and political diplomacy as characteristic elements of the progressive Kent: 'si bien nunca se consideró feminista, tanto su vida como su actividad fueron ejemplos de independencia femenina y de compromiso político' (2000: 554).¹⁴⁴ She considered herself staunchly Republican and her stance on suffrage highlights her

¹⁴⁴ Cited in Balaguer (2009: 26). The encyclopaedia is listed in the bibliography under its main editor, Martínez López.

profound awareness of steering women's issues in a diplomatic, measured fashion of benefit to the Republic.

Cuatro años en París corresponds to the four years Kent spent living clandestinely in Paris. This generically ambiguous text is divided into four chapters: 'Las cuatro paredes' (1940-1941), 'En la calle' (1941-42), 'Gotas sobre el zinc' (1942-43) and 'Hacia la libertad' (1943-44). These chapters are mainly located within the walls of the secret embassy room and flat. The principal protagonist is a male character named Plácido and the text is primarily narrated in the third person. However, it is subsequently marked by a narrative switch to the first-person singular and plural, and also includes a series of diary entries. There are few secondary characters. Mangini states that it 'resembles a philosophical essay' (1991: 178) and '[t]here is practically no action in *Cuatro años*; it is a record of mental processes: ruminations on war and destruction' (179) and 'her observations of exiled Spaniards, the Nazi occupation of France, and especially the Jewish extermination camps' (178). Gutiérrez-Vega highlights its themes as 'el idealismo democrático, el amor a la paz, a la libertad y a la verdad' (304). In the 1978 prologue, Kent refers to her publication as a 'especie de diario' and states '[e]ste supuesto Plácido da quizás al relato cierto cariz de divagación literariofilosófica, y la historia toma aires de novela' [CA: 7-8]. It was originally published in Paris (in French) and Buenos Aires (in Spanish) in 1947 and thirty-one years later in Spain under the title of *Cuatro años de mi vida*.

The author, journalist and playwright Luisa Carnés was born in 1905 to a modest family in Madrid. Her father Luis Carnés was a barber and her mother Rosario Aparicio was a laundress. Until the age of eleven Luisa attended a religious school run by the Hijas de Cristo, when the family's economic difficulties necessitated her taking employment in a hat workshop. In his biographical outline of Carnés, Antonio Plaza states that as a young girl she was an avid reader who took refuge in literature and writing from the frustrations of daily life, activities that accordingly enabled her to overcome the limitations of her education (19).¹⁴⁵ In 1928 she gained employment in the Compañía Iberoamericana de Publicaciones publishing house. This post enabled her to make the necessary contacts in the sector to gain further employment as a journalist for *Estampa* and eventually publish her own work. Whilst working for CIAP as a typist,

¹⁴⁵ For Plaza's illuminating biographical outline, synthesis of her literary works and informative introduction to *El eslabón perdido* see (11-72). An additional source that has provided information relevant to my biographical outline is Josebe Martínez (2007: 209-229). She also outlines a number of Carnés's literary texts and discusses in detail *Juan Caballero* (1956).

she met the artist Ramón Puyol who was then employed as a graphic designer. Puyol was an active contributor of artistic and propagandistic material on behalf of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE). In 1931 their son Ramón was born and the family moved to Algeciras for two years before returning to Madrid. During the Republic, Carnés wrote for magazines and newspapers including *La Voz*, *El Sol* and *Estampa*. The couple separated in 1936. However, her relationship with Puyol initiated an interest in Communist ideology. She joined the Unión de Juventudes Comunistas and around early 1937 she joined the PCE. She was also a member of the Alianza de Intelectuales Antifascistas para la Defensa de la Cultura. During the war her affiliations with the PCE and its publications increased significantly; she worked assiduously contributing to *Mundo Obrero*, *Altavoz del Frente* and *Frente Rojo* from locations including Madrid, Valencia and Barcelona. On 26 January 1939 Carnés crossed the French border, where she was interned for two months in La Boule. With the assistance of Margarita Nelken she was reunited with her son in Paris. They stayed there until obtaining the necessary documentation to go to Mexico via New York aboard the *Veendam*. They arrived in Mexico on 23 May 1939. She resumed writing and, in addition to her literary works, made regular contributions to *Romance*, *España Peregrina*, *Reconquista de España*, *Juventud de España* and *España y la Paz*. She also wrote for the Mexican newspapers *La Prensa* (from 1943) and *El Nacional* (from 1947). Between 1951 and 1957 she was the Director of the magazine *Mujeres Españolas*, the publication of the Unión de Mujeres Españolas en México. Luisa Carnés died in exile in Mexico in 1964.

Martínez explains that in exile Carnés became an increasingly militant Communist and that this ideology permeates her exilic texts in addition to the social consciousness exhibited in her pre-exilic works (2007: 209-11). She was a well-known author in Spain before the Civil War yet, despite their significant number, the majority of her literary works composed in exile have not yet been published. *El eslabón perdido* was recovered from the family archive by Antonio Plaza, facilitated by Carnés's son, and published for the first time in 2002 by Renacimiento. Plaza estimates that the text was composed between 1957 and 1959 (65). In *El eslabón perdido*, Carnés recounts the concerns of the first-generation exile living in 1950s Mexico. The first-person narrator and protagonist César Alcántara, an exiled teacher and father of two, considers the generational conflict that has emerged after eighteen years of exilic residence in Mexico. The text comprises fourteen predominantly chronological chapters centred in Mexico that include flashbacks of César's memories of the Republic, the Civil War and

the French concentration camp. In addition to generational conflict, aspects of the first-generation exilic condition addressed include the negotiation of rupture, integration, the (impossible) return, memory, language, reconciliation with the past and the relationship with *gachupines* and the Mexican bourgeoisie.¹⁴⁶ Plaza suggests that Carnés relives her exilic experience through César (69), and includes at the end of his edition its possible thematic antecedent *Salmos al adolescente desterrado*, composed in 1946 for her son Ramón on his fifteenth birthday.

4.0 Francisca Muñoz Alday and Remedios Oliva Berenguer

Francisca Muñoz Alday was born on 16 August 1926 in Ceuta.¹⁴⁷ Her family lived for a brief period in Valencia before taking up residence in Barcelona. Francisca was in her second year at high school when she was forced to leave Barcelona in January 1939 at the age of twelve, due to the aerial bombings that took place in the city. With her mother and brother she travelled to Camprodon where they spent a few days and, upon learning of the fall of Barcelona, they commenced their journey to France. Her father, a commanding officer in the Republican army, accompanied the family as far as Figueres. On 31 January 1939 Francisca crossed the French border at Le Perthus whereupon the French authorities callously herded the family on to a train destined for the Briançon refuge located in the Alps, paying no heed to their own arrangements. Here, she learned of her father's internment in the Saint-Cyprien concentration camp. On 24 June 1939, Francisca and her mother and brother were forced into the little-known concentration camp, Pont la Dame. They were interned there until spring 1940 when her father managed to secure a place in a SERE refuge in the Pyrenees. Subsequently, her father accepted a post in an aeroplane factory in Toulouse and her mother also gained employment there in a military uniform factory. Her parents obtained the necessary documentation to live and work legally in Toulouse but, following the signing of the armistice between the French government and the Nazi invaders on 18 June 1940, the factories ceased production and without employment the family's documentation expired. Her father was taken to the Clairfont concentration camp. Meanwhile the family continued living clandestinely in Toulouse, subject to

¹⁴⁶ Plaza explains *gachupines* are 'los españoles procedentes de la vieja colonia' (67).

¹⁴⁷ Biographical information for both Francisca Muñoz Alday and Remedios Oliva Berenguer was obtained from their memoirs.

harassment by the French police. Her father left the camp with forged documentation and the family took up residence in a small town in Haute-Garonne, where her father worked illegally as an agricultural labourer and her mother as a seamstress. From 1942 to August 1944 this area was under occupation. Although the family had hoped that the end of the Second World War would prompt intervention to end the Fascist dictatorship in Spain the family's stay in France became permanent. They did not apply to obtain French nationality, preferring to maintain their status as political refugees. After spending more than ten years in this rural town Francisca returned to Toulouse where she studied for an accounting diploma. In 1959 she obtained French nationality and was permitted to visit Spain as a tourist.

In 1976 Muñoz Alday graduated from the Université Toulouse-Le Mirail with a degree in Spanish philology. Two years later she completed her *tesina* entitled 'Poblaciones civiles en la guerra de España y en el exilio', aspects of which were informed by the then unpublished versions of her memoirs. In 1993 she visited the site of the Pont la Dame concentration camp and discovered that the residents of the town were completely unaware of its past. Composed between 1978 and 1994, the publication of her memoirs, *Memorias del exilio*, was inspired by the impact of this pilgrimage. In homage to her parents and all Republican exiles in France now forgotten, the first edition was published in 2006 and was a finalist in the 2004 Premio Romà Planas i Miró de Memorialismo Popular. In 1989 she officially recovered her Spanish nationality. She is now retired and resides in France.

Remedios Oliva Berenguer was born in Barcelona on 29 September 1918. After leaving school she worked as a seamstress in Badalona where she also met her future husband Joan Oliva, a soldier in the Republican army. She left her hometown in January 1939 with her parents Rafael Berenguer and Remedios Maqueda, passing through Figueres on their way to the French border, where they crossed near Portbou. She was first interned for six months in the concentration camp at Argelès-sur-Mer, at which time she fell pregnant. On 10 July 1939 the family was moved to the camp in Saint-Cyprien. In early December 1939 she was taken to a maternity hospital in Elna, founded by Elisabeth Eidenbenz for Republican exiles and administered by the Swiss Red Cross, where she gave birth to her son Rubén. She left Elna in early February 1940 and joined her parents in the women's section of the Argelès camp, where her father was permitted to stay due to poor health. In May 1940 Remedios gained employment in a military uniform factory in Izeaux and also secured work for her parents as childminders for the

workforce's children. During this period Joan was interned in a work camp in Yonne. In July 1940 the Isère region fell under German occupation and the uniform factory ceased production, before reopening again with a reduced workforce. During this time the workers were constantly threatened with being returned to concentration camps. At this time, Joan secured employment in La Grande-Combe mine near Alès and the family were invited to join him. The associated administration and travel costs were generously loaned by the owners of the farm at Izeaux. On 12 August 1940, after travelling clandestinely by train, the family were reunited. They resided for three years in a hut at Camp des Nonnes, constantly subjected to harassment and threats by the French gendarmes. They relocated to Nîmes after eventually receiving official documentation in November 1943. Like Francisca Muñoz Alday, she never makes her specific political convictions clear to the reader, but both identify as Republicans. Remedios has returned to Spain only for brief periods and now lives in Gap, close to her children and grandchildren. Her husband Joan, to whom her memoirs are dedicated, died at age sixty-two from silicosis caused during his time working in the mines.

Oliva Berenguer was approached by the academic Assumpta Montellà, who was conducting oral interviews as part of her research into the Elna maternity hospital. Montellà explained to her the basis of her research, and states in her prologue to Oliva Berenguer's text:

la recuperación de la memoria histórica es importante para recordar nuestro pasado, porque es la única forma de combatir el silencio y el olvido. No podemos olvidar a todos aquellos que no regresaron. Recuperar los testimonios de aquellos hechos, poniendo sus vidas negro sobre blanco, aunque cueste, es perpetuar su recuerdo y garantizar que el paso del tiempo no lo borrará. Esto es lo que ha hecho Remedios con su libro de memorias. (2006: 12).

Collating parts of her memoirs composed between 1970 and 1980, the full text *Éxodo: Del campo de Argelès a la maternidad de Elna* was completed in 2004. Recipient of the Premio Romà Planas i Miró de Memorialismo Popular 2005, the text was published in 2006.

The Arxiu de la Memòria Popular de La Roca del Vallès aided the publication of Muñoz Alday and Oliva Berenguer's memoirs. As Miquel Estapé i Valls, the *Alcalde* of La Roca del Vallés, states in his prologue to Oliva Berenguer's memoirs, it was established in 1997 with the vocation of conserving and diffusing '[m]emoria colectiva, popular' in homage to 'todas aquellas personas que, anónimamente, con tenacidad, han

querido dejar testimonio de los hechos que componen nuestra historia' (2006: 9) The archive aims to preserve the testimonies and 'ser la sede de los recuerdos de todas aquellas personas que, sin saberlo, han sido los protagonistas de nuestro pasado' (2006: 9) as well as weaving these into the wider fabric of a complementary nationwide project. In addition, the archive manages debates, exhibitions, assists non-funded publications and the compilation of future works. It is also responsible for convening the Premio Romà Planas i Miró which awards annually €1, 202 to the successful author as well as covering publication costs.¹⁴⁸

5.0 María Rosa Lojo and Angelina Muñiz-Huberman

María Rosa Lojo was born in 1954 in Argentina. From birth until her marriage she resided in the Castelar suburb of Buenos Aires with her siblings, her exiled Galician father Antonio Lojo Ventoso and her mother María Teresa Calatrava, who was from Madrid. Her family's aspirations to return and live in Spain never came to fruition and her parents died shortly after the end of Franco's dictatorship. Lojo has subsequently visited Spain but has maintained permanent residence in Argentina. She married Oscar de Beuter, a third-generation German immigrant also from Argentina, and they have three children. Lojo is an acclaimed writer and has published numerous volumes of poetry and fiction and a semi-autobiographical text. She has received several literary prizes and has been described as 'una de las escritoras argentinas más destacadas de la actualidad' (Tezanos-Pinto, Arancibia and Filer 2007: 9). She is also an academic whose principal areas of research include literary criticism, Argentinean and Spanish literature and Argentinean history. Elements of the latter are reflected in a number of her postmodern historical novels including *La pasión de los nómades* (1994).¹⁴⁹ Her first full-length literary text *Canción perdida en Buenos Aires al oeste* (1987) is a semi-

¹⁴⁸ For further examples of the archive's activities see Section IX 2 Arxiu de la Memòria Popular de La Roca del Vallès, in 'Memoria Annual 2004-5'.
<http://www.siece.es/pdf/investigacion/red_de_archivos/Red_memoria0405.pdf> [last consulted 27/04/12].

¹⁴⁹ This work — containing exilic, migratory themes as well as a consideration of civilization and barbarism — is centred on the contemporary encounter of an exiled fictional Galician fairy Rosaura Dos Carballos with the ghost of the nineteenth-century Argentinean historical figure Lucio V. Mansanilla (1831–1913) in Castelar and their subsequent pilgrimage to Ranqueles. This fictional journey takes place over one hundred years after the composition of Mansanilla's commentary on civilization and barbarism *Una excursión a los indios ranqueles* (1870).

autobiographical text and comprises seven chapters pertaining to each member of the Neira de Loxo family who live in exile in Castelar.¹⁵⁰

Angelina Muñiz-Huberman was born in France in 1936. Her father Alfredo Muñiz was a journalist for *Heraldo de Madrid* until going into exile with her mother and older brother. They left France in 1939 and resided for three years in Caimito de Guayabal, Cuba. The family then moved to Mexico, firstly to Veracruz before settling permanently in Mexico City in 1942, where she has remained. She has visited Spain several times, the first visit taking place in 1989. In Mexico she grew up surrounded by other Republican exiles and she studied both in Spanish and Mexican schools. She is a member of the group known as ‘hispanomexicanos’.¹⁵¹ She has been writing from a young age, and was encouraged by Arturo Souto who was her teacher at the Hispano-Mexicana academy (Gambarte 1992: 65). Muñiz-Huberman considers exile not only to have shaped her literary works, but also as a source of creativity: ‘El exilio, antes que nada, es fuente de creación’ (1998: 57). She has published many works of poetry, novels and short stories. She has also published two semi-autobiographical texts, *Castillos en la tierra* (1995) and *Molinos sin viento* (2001) which form part of a trilogy, comprised of works she terms *seudomemorias*. The third instalment, *La pluma en la mano*, is as yet unfinished. She is also an academic and is currently employed at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). Her research interests are varied and several are inspired by her heritage. She has researched areas of Jewish culture, exile and history, an interest that stems from her mother’s revelation of her Jewish ancestry. She has also published on Mexican literature and on the subject of exile, Republican exile and exilic literature.¹⁵²

Additionally, both authors have written a short autobiographical text which explains how exile has influenced a proportion of their literary works as well as motivating particular areas of academic research. Muñiz-Huberman’s *De cuerpo entero: el juego de escribir* (1991) and Lojo’s *Una escritora de dos mundos: Mínima autobiografía de una “exiliada hija”* (2002) provide a unique autobiographical declaration of issues pertaining to exilic reality, and serve as essential companions to

¹⁵⁰ The following additional sources have provided information relevant to this biographical outline: Cazaubon Hermann (2002), Cebrelli (1997), Lojo (2002), Pérez and Crespo Buiturón (2007), Filer (2005) Crespo Buiturón (2007) and López (2007).

¹⁵¹ This term was conceived by Arturo Souto. See Rico (2005: paragraph 1 of 20).

¹⁵² The following additional sources have provided information relevant to this biographical outline: Filer (2001), Muñiz-Huberman (1991 and 2004), Becerra Zamora (2000), Rodríguez and Zamudio (1998), and Payne (1997a and 1997b).

approaching representations of their experiences and their second-generation exilic condition. Given that elements of these exilic themes are negotiated more fully within the semi-autobiographical texts selected for analysis in Chapter 5 — *Castillos en la tierra*, *Molinos sin viento* and *Canción perdida en Buenos Aires al oeste* — it is relevant to provide a brief summary of the aforementioned short autobiographical texts.

Muñiz-Huberman's *De cuerpo entero: el juego de escribir* begins with a chapter entitled 'La Muerte' in which she explains an obsession with death which has accompanied her since childhood: 'La muerte es la primera experiencia de la que parto. Compañera mía desde la infancia' [DC: 7]. This stems from the tragic death of her eight-year-old brother in exile in France. As a child she maintained a constant dialogue with him: 'Me acostumbré a hablar con mi hermano-muerte y a que me contestara' [DC: 7]. The young Angelina believed she embodied both herself and her brother: 'Mi desdoblamiento interno no era hacia un tú ficticio, sino hacia la presente realidad de un ser vivo mentalmente. [...] Adquirí la posibilidad de ser yo y mi hermano a la vez. Actuaba en ocasiones como yo, y en otras, como él' [DC: 7]. Her childhood secret was to include her deceased brother in games of her own invention. She confides that surviving her eighth year was a milestone that she feared she would not reach: 'Despertar en la oscuridad y no estar segura si estaba en un ataúd' [DC: 8]. Her profound awareness of death is exacerbated by her knowledge of war: 'Y las guerras. Las insoportables guerras. Crecí con dos guerras de fondo. La Civil Española y la Segunda Mundial. Donde los muertos eran millones' [DC: 9]. Although she did not experience the Civil War directly, the memory she inherited from her parents regarding the legitimacy of the Republic and the traumatic events provoked by the military uprising intensely affected her childhood. The games she played with her 'hermano-muerte' are imbued with an imaginative investment in this traumatic past and revolved around personally fighting Franco: 'Mis juegos eran bélicos. Me había convertido en guerrillera: un fusil de madera y un casco de aviadora eran mis juguetes preferidos y con mi hermano partía a pelear contra Franco' [DC: 9].

She then explains how the relationship between death, memory and exile has a significant bearing on her writing. Entire texts are dedicated to the preservation of both inherited and individual memory as without guardianship, death would cast these memories into oblivion: 'pensé que sólo siendo escritora podría lograrlo' [DC: 10]. She recalls her mother warning her as a young girl that she must memorize everything she sees and is told:

En la playa, una extensa y vacía playa, mi madre me habló con seriedad y me dijo que a partir de ese momento, yo debería observar el mundo a mi alrededor y grabármelo en la memoria, trazo por trazo. [DC: 10]

She considers herself the guardian of her family's memory, a duty that influences *Castillos en la tierra* and *Molinos sin viento*.

She goes on to explain: 'Intensamente ligada a la muerte, la marca del exilio nunca ha podido abandonarme' [DC: 10]. Her formative experiences are so marked by exile, both positively and negatively, that she declares it will always have a profound impact: 'Si bien el exilio es obsesivo, tampoco se me convirtió en una carga negativa. Me acompaña y me acompañará siempre. Es tan parte mía que ya no se me desprende, a la manera de miembro del cuerpo' [DC: 11]. Having lived in exile in France, Cuba and Mexico she states that this constant movement resulted in her creating her own interior world: 'Ese ir de país en país creó mi propia morada interior' [DC: 10]. Growing up in Mexico as a refugee would also have an intense effect on the young Angelina: 'Ser una niña refugiada era pertenecer a un grupo peculiar' [DC: 12]. She stresses her already complex relationship to Mexico was further complicated by the first generation's covert criticisms of it:

Una duplicidad más del exilio era la libre crítica en familia — entre refugiados — de lo mexicano, a la vez que se exhibía la máscara del agradecimiento hacia fuera. Estas cosas me hacían guardar silencio y dejar de creer en el mundo al que afloraba. Forzosamente me retraía y mi contacto con el exterior iba cerrándose. [DC: 14]

This exilic situation would have a particular impact on the process of identity negotiation which is connected to an intangible past in Spain and also to the host country. In the chapter entitled 'España y México' she states:

Son mis dos países. De los cuales nunca podré separarme. A España no la conocí sino hasta hace dos años. Es decir, viví sin haber puesto pie en ella nunca. [...] Sin embargo, aparece en el trasfondo de mis primeras novelas. [...] Soñaba con el regreso y me pintaba mi vida desde cuál sería mi colegio, mi casa, mi ciudad, mis amigos, mis enamorados. Era un vivir y no vivir en México. [DC: 21]

Furthermore, memory and her heritage, of her immediate and extended family and that of her Jewish predecessors, are profoundly linked to this process. She states: 'Me

conocía a cada uno como si nunca me hubiera separado de ellos. Y sobre todo, sus historias' [DC: 17]. Much of this knowledge was amassed from her parents' stories and their photograph albums:

Cuando vivía en el ámbito paterno-materno, reducido, como he dicho, a un estrecho triángulo (toda mi familia quedó en España o Francia), gran parte de las conversaciones eran sobre los parientes lejanos. Repasar las hojas del álbum fotográfico era tarea divertida. [DC: 17]

Language became an obsession resulting from her exilic condition: 'Habiendo perdido la tierra propia me aferré a la tierra de las palabras' [DC: 14]. She states: 'Sé que, por el exilio, me creé un habla particular. Un habla neutra. Deseché modismos españoles y mexicanos, menos aquéllos que son verdaderamente insustituibles. También al escribir aspiré a una expresión universal' [DC: 13]. She aspired from a young age to become a writer:

me empeñé por defender mi propia expresión y por el derecho a mis palabras. Pensaba que algún día me liberaría. [...] El hecho de que decidiera ser escritora desde los nueve años — cuando pasé la edad límite de la muerte de mi hermano —, provocó la división de mis padres. [DC: 18-19]

In a chapter entitled 'El juego de escribir', reproduced from excerpts of a conference paper,¹⁵³ she explains how when writing — a profession taken immensely seriously — she is immersed in a solitary world and granted the privilege to engage with language and memory:

Mi mundo como escritora ha sido un mundo rico en soledades. Me aparté y me encerré, porque algo ganado a pulso: el derecho a escribir, es un privilegio que ni aun todas las palabras de todos los lenguajes pueden expresar. [DC: 31-32] [...] Escribir es un absorbente gozo de los sentidos y del alma: de la memoria y del tiempo. [DC: 33]

She then goes onto explain how the exilic themes delineated and her heritage, the stories and memories she has been told, for example, have inspired many of her literary works.

It is in this chapter that she announces what was at the time a forthcoming trilogy, to which *Castillos en la tierra* and *Molinos sin viento* belong:

¹⁵³ Presented on 20 May 1990 at the UNAM conference "Ruptura y diversidad: narrativa mexicana de fin de siglo".

Mi quehacer actual y hacia un futuro cercano es una trilogía de nemoficción que recoge la vida de los exiliados españoles de la década de los años cuarenta, vista por una niña. [...] Estos libros me están sirviendo para rescatar del olvido lo que parecen experiencias únicas, pero que pertenecen a un grupo. Aquellos rasgos, gestos, manías de lo perecedero que pueden atraparse por la palabra escrita. [DC: 37]

It is the problematic nature of identity and memory in exile and her role as the guardian of her family's memory that underlie the impetus for writing the semi-autobiographical trilogy. Concern that memories, be they personal or collective, may fall into obscurity compels its composition. These texts are written from the point of view of a young girl, Alberina, heavily predicated on her own childhood identity (Muñiz-Huberman 2004).

In the opening lines of *Una escritora de dos mundos: Mínima autobiografía de una "exiliada hija"*, María Rosa Lojo succinctly illustrates her perception that the second generation should not be considered merely as 'hijos de exiliados' but as 'exiliados hijos'. She states:

"Exiliados hijos". No, meramente, "hijos de exiliados". El exilio en primer lugar, como articulación sustantiva de la vida, como ubicación fundadora de la existencia. Una ubicación paradójica, por cierto: para estos hijos hay dos dimensiones del espacio: la real-aparente, que pisan con sus pies, y la real-esencial, que ni rozan los pies ni ven los ojos vivos: mítico reino del Origen, fuente primordial, donde se ha hecho la materia de la sangre, donde se oculta la raíz de la memoria. Así pues, aunque muchos de nosotros seamos vástagos de socialistas agnósticos o de comunistas ateos, estuvimos — desde nuestro azaroso nacimiento en tierra extraña — condenados *ab initio* a la Metafísica. Vivir en el tránsito. Mirar la vida desde un "no lugar" donde toda huella amenaza desvanecerse como una marca en el agua. Vivir sobre el agua, yendo y viniendo, flotando en la marea de la historia ajena que sin embargo se impone como la más propia. Desde estas contradicciones — que pueden devenir en aporías — se dibuja un conflictivo perfil identitario. [UE: 1]

She goes on to explain how her own complex genealogy exacerbated the already problematic task of identity negotiation as a second-generation exile living in Argentina. Her proudly Galician father was a firm defender of the Republic, fought in the Civil War, was subsequently imprisoned and narrowly avoided execution before going into exile. Aboard the boat to Buenos Aires he met his wife-to-be. In contrast to the predecessors of her atheist father, in her mother's conservative family priests and nuns abounded, as well as 'el terror a la "barbarie roja"' [UE: 2]. Her mother's previous fiancé was shot by Republicans during a search of his house where he had been protecting priests. Lojo states: 'Sufrió las consecuencias de esa extraña pareja. En casa la

guerra civil nunca se terminó completamente' [UE: 2]. Each parent attempted to instil in their children their opposing values. When her mother succeeded in sending her to a religious school, her father took her aside and warned: “‘Tu madre y tu abuela se han empeñado en que vayas a ese colegio. Pero tú no seas tonta hija mía. No creas en lo que te dicen las monjas’” [UE: 2]. It is her complex heritage and second-generation exilic condition that led her to seek solace in writing and use it as a tool with which to negotiate her own identity. She states: ‘El doble mensaje familiar no me condujo, como acaso hubiera sido previsible, a la esquizofrenia, sino a la locura literaria, algo más benigna’ [UE: 2]. She articulates that although her father’s stance enabled her to evade certain things, as an ‘exiliada hija’ she could not escape the impact of the mythical status of Spain and an idealized Galicia that was imparted to her: ‘Si los exiliados hijos escaparon a menudo a la “religión oficial”, no pudieron en cambio — como dije — escapar a la Metafísica, ni al Mito. Mi padre trajo con él su Paraíso Perdido’ [UE: 3]. The transmission of his memories of Galicia would go on to have a profound effect on the content and settings of several of her literary works.¹⁵⁴ She states:

Ningún elemento del legado materno: la Gran Vía madrileña con sus cafés, el Paseo de la Castellana, la Cibeles, ni siquiera el Museo del Prado, podían competir — al menos para mí — con la belleza secreta de ese mundo arcaico y por lo tanto inmortal y seguramente mágico, porque en él había quedado presa el alma de mi padre. [UE: 3]

A further consequence of her father’s idealization of his homeland led to a criticism on his part of Lojo’s birthplace, Argentina. She also recalls how her father showed her and her siblings objects that he had brought over from his native Galicia:

en la infancia, en la sobremesa de los domingos, nos instruía sobre su colección preciosa de objetos míticos. [...] La luz que emanaba de estos objetos desacreditaba en los seres de la tierra inmediata toda posibilidad de autónomo valor. Para el exiliado hijo el lugar de su nacimiento tiene a menudo la dudosa calidad de las copias platónicas, es un mundo “de segundo grado”, en tono menor, a punto de desvanecerse, deslucido e insuficiente. De la historia y la geografía argentina, hasta entonces, sólo me habían hablado los libros de escuela, incapaces de alcanzar el esplendor de la memoria viva y el peso candente del extrañamiento. [UE: 3-4]

¹⁵⁴ One such example is the prevalence of Galician myths and magic in *La pasión de los nómades* and its fictional Galician exiled fairy protagonist Rosaura dos Carballos, who also appears as a minor character in other works.

Lojo also draws attention to how the language she learned in the family home led her to feel like a stranger in her birthplace:

Tanto mi padre como mi madre se aferraron a la lengua “del otro lado” y me educaron en ella escrupulosamente. No fue esta lengua el gallego, porque mamá no lo hablaba, sino un correctísimo castellano peninsular. [...] [L]o cierto es que en la vida cotidiana, antes de ir al colegio, yo hablaba con “ces” y con “zetas”, de “tú” y de “vosotros”, como si acabase de pasar por la Aduana. Extranjera en mi propia tierra, fui un objeto de fascinada curiosidad los primeros días de clase. [UE: 4]

She recalls using two versions of Spanish on a daily basis:

Por supuesto, pronto me aclimaté, y me convertí — lingüísticamente — en una argentina más. Pero sólo de puertas afuera. En la intimidad de la casa perduraron, hasta la muerte de mis padres, el “tú” y el “vosotros”, el léxico de la Península. [...] No fui el único caso de “doble identidad” idiomática: ésa era una de las marcas habituales del “exiliado hijo”. [UE: 4-5]

This was a constant reminder of her parents’ conception of their children’s heritage, nationality and identity having absolutely no connection to Argentina: ‘[c]on el ancla de la lengua se nos recordaba, obsesivamente, un mandato: el “deber ser” españoles, el nacimiento argentino como una mera cuestión de azar’ [UE: 5]. They carefully attempted to cement a relationship to the homeland they were waiting to return to. Furthermore she was only permitted to read Spanish literature:

Emanada de la lengua, una tradición literaria se me imponía también como entrañable e indefectible, a contra corriente de lo que las élites argentinas letradas anglófilas y francófilas, consideraban en el primer rango de legados y de valores. [...] [E]l molde ya estaba hecho: todas las voces del vasto mundo, forzadas a esperar su turno, iban a filtrarse por la tela indeleble de una matriz cultural “original y necesaria”. [UE: 5]

Her parents would only allow Spanish and Galician music to be played and minimised the consumption of Argentinian dishes and products: ‘Mis padres se resistieron tenazmente al mate, símbolo supremo de argentinidad que también hubiera representado para ellos — creo — un supremo renunciamiento’ [UE: 5]. Lojo then draws attention again to the asphyxiating identity crisis facing her peers in their respective host countries:

Quien haya leído hasta aquí acaso piense que el peso de la identidad heredada podía llegar a volverse, para los hijos del exilio, un tanto asfixiante. No le faltará razón. Durante mucho tiempo, casi hasta la mayoría de edad, sentí mi permanencia en la Argentina como una estadía transitoria. El momento del regreso era, no sólo inminente sino decisivo: de él dependía la orientación entera de la vida, la trama de los deseos. Ese acontecimiento, tan postergado como próximo, hacía que todo pareciera incompleto y provisorio. Los años de estudio y conflictivo crecimiento no habían sido más que la preparación para el ingreso al “mundo real”, a la “vida verdadera”. [UE: 6]

The complex relationship with and commitment to the first generation, the transmission of their memory of the homeland and of its traumatic events, family tensions and the ambivalent situation of ‘exiliados hijos’ living in constant preparation for the return is the subject of the semi-autobiographical *Canción perdida en Buenos Aires al Oeste*. Lojo states: ‘El desgarramiento de los exiliados padres y la incierta, ambivalente situación de los exiliados hijos, fueron el motivo de mi primera novela [...] mucho tenía de autobiográfica’ [UE: 6].

6.0 Arantzazu Amezaga Iribarren and María Luisa Elío

Arantzazu Amezaga Iribarren was born on 21 January 1943 in Buenos Aires. In 1937 her parents, natives of the Basque Country, were entrusted with the accompaniment of evacuated children to the south of France. Vicente Aresti Amezaga and Mercedes Iribarren Gorostegi then spent almost two years in Paris, until the beginning of the Second World War.¹⁵⁵ Following the 1940 endorsement to permit the entry of Basque exiles by the then Argentinian president of Basque descent, Roberto Ortiz Lizardi, her parents were advised to board the *Alsina*. They were obliged to leave behind their daughters Mirentxu and Begoña in the care of extended family. After spending six months in port in Dakar they were interned for six months in the Sidi el Ayassi concentration camp in Morocco, eventually arriving in Argentina on 16 April 1942. Her father, an accomplished translator and judge, was a prominent Basque individual in the homeland and in exile. Following the Basque Statute of Autonomy (approved during the Second Republic in Valencia, in October 1936) he occupied numerous posts in the Basque government Eusko Jurlartiza, for example in 1938 he was named secretary to the Minister of Justice, Leizaola. Its first president, the

¹⁵⁵ Her father is also referred to as Bingen, Benjamín, and the family as Los Iturrieta. Amezaga (2003, 2004, 2007, 2009a, 2009b and 2010) provided material relevant to this biographical outline.

lehendakari, José Antonio Aguirre served from 1936-60. It operated from Paris until 1977.

Arantzazu stayed in Argentina until September 1943 before moving to Montevideo due to her father's involvement with *Montebideoko astea*.¹⁵⁶ The family resided there for 13 years, and she and her younger brother Bingen were joined by Mirentxu.¹⁵⁷ In Uruguay her father maintained involvement with Eusko Jaurtaria, translated into *euskera*, lectured and published on Basque culture, language, history and politics. The family were heavily involved with numerous Basque organisations in exile. They employed a Uruguayan domestic assistant Lucinda, who came to be a significant figure in Arantzazu's life. In 1955 the family left Uruguay for Caracas at the request of the *lehendakari*, to the disappointment of the young Arantzazu. She studied librarianship and worked in the US embassy. She met her husband Pello Irujo Elizalde, a fellow second-generation Basque exile, in the Centro Vasco de Caracas. The couple — married in 1965 — participated in Radio Euskadi in Venezuela for almost thirteen years, before moving to Euskal Herria in 1972.¹⁵⁸

She founded the Servicio de Biblioteca, Archivos y Documentación del Parlamento Vasco. She is the author of a historical study of Basque women *La mujer vasca* (1983), the biography *Manuel Irujo: Un hombre vasco* (1999), a collection of historical novels and *La txalupa de Radio Euzkadi: una semblanza de Pello Irujo Elizalde* (2009d).¹⁵⁹ She participates in conferences on Basque exile and in Hamaika Bide Elkarte.¹⁶⁰ In 2009 she published an autobiographical text *Memorias de Montevideo*, primarily focussed on her childhood, specifically on the period in Uruguay, 1942-1955.

María Luisa Elío was born on 17 August 1926 in Pamplona. Her father Luis Elío 'de ideas republicanas, cercano al socialismo y al nacionalismo vasco' was the

¹⁵⁶ *Montebideoko astea* translates to *la Gran Semana Vasca de Montevideo*, a celebration of Basque culture.

¹⁵⁷ Mirentxu Amezcaga Clark has published a biography of her father *Nere aita. El exilio vasco en America* (1991).

¹⁵⁸ She has primarily lived in Navarre since her return, where her husband's Basque family was from. Her own were from País Vasco/Euskadi (i.e. the Basque Country made up by the provinces Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa and Araba). Euskal Herria comprises País Vasco/Euskadi, Navarra/Nafarroa and País Vasco francés/Iparralde.

¹⁵⁹ Referring to the latter, she states: '[A] raíz de la muerte de mi esposo, [...], me sumerjo en los recuerdos de una vívida experiencia política, de los hijos de los exiliados vascos en Venezuela, tan jóvenes, osados y generosos, en sus acciones por la defensa pacífica de la libertad de Euskadi' (2009c).

¹⁶⁰ Hamaika Bide Elkarte, Asociación para el Estudio de la Cultura de los Exilios Vascos was founded in 2000 by teachers and academics in the Basque Country and Navarre.

municipal judge of Pamplona (Rica Aranguren 2003: 298).¹⁶¹ He was arrested on 19 July 1936, and at risk of execution he managed to escape. He clandestinely lived in a utility cupboard in an undisclosed location for over three years, during which time the family received multiple reports of his death. Their situation in Pamplona soon became dangerous and they were forced to leave the family home. Her mother Carmen Bernal, María Luisa and her sisters Cecilia and Carmenchu were detained for three months in Elizondo before reaching relatives in Valencia and Barcelona in July 1937. In late 1938 they went into exile in Paris. They learned in August 1939 that Luis had crossed the Pyrenees on foot and was now in the Gurs prison camp. He joined his family several months later in extremely poor health and they left Le Havre in February 1940, arriving in Mexico one month later. Indalecio Prieto initially arranged accommodation for them in Mexico City as Carmen was responsible for safeguarding part of *el tesoro del Vita*.¹⁶² Luis became increasingly depressed and isolated himself from his friends and family. He and Carmen separated in 1941. María Luisa remembers this time as one of solitude. She barely saw her mother who worked tirelessly for the JARE (Junta de Ayuda de los Refugiados Españoles) and the foundation of the Colegio Juan Ruiz de Alarcón. Elío attended the Academia Hispano-Mexicana and assisted in the children's theatre group run by Magda Donato before studying theatre under the Japanese director Seki Sano. From the mid-fifties she participated in the theatre company *Poesía en voz alta* and acted in several films. Gambarte (2009) highlights that the forties and fifties were extremely difficult: her sisters left home, her mother became extremely ill, and María Luisa was plagued with anxiety. She married Jomi García Ascot in 1952. Several months later her mother was involved in a serious accident. In 1953 María Luisa had a miscarriage. In 1955 her mother died, which had a profound effect on Elío.

In 1959 she spent time in Cuba where she began writing the script of the autobiographical film *En el balcón vacío*. The film was made in 1961 in collaboration with Ascot; the actors (including José de la Colina and Tomás Segovia), budget and set were supplied by friends (Alonso García: 66). It is based on the childhood events experienced by María Luisa, from the perspective of a child (named Gabriela in the

¹⁶¹ Rica Aranguren, Cate-Arries (2003), Jato (2009), Naharro-Calderón (1995), Pérez (1999 and 2000), Ulacia and Valender (2004) and Eduardo Mateo Gambarte's biography *María Luisa Elío Bernal: La vida como nostalgia y exilio* (2009) have provided information relevant to this biographical outline.

¹⁶² The Republican government sent money and objects of value to Mexico on the *Vita* boat to support exiles.

film), and María Luisa acts the role of the adult protagonist who returns to Pamplona.¹⁶³ In 1964 she gave birth to her son Diego. She and Ascot divorced in 1968, the same year in which her father died. Accompanied by Diego she returned to visit Pamplona in 1970, a visit which would open ‘sin querer en su vida la caja de Pandora’ (Gambarte 2009: 64). During this trip and immediately after her return to Mexico she composed the first version of *Tiempo de llorar*. The final text was not published until 1988. Elío suffered a breakdown and spent some time in a psychiatric hospital. Rica Aranguren explains that after her return to Mexico from Pamplona:

se desata una pavorosa tormenta interior. Cualquier cosa puede ocurrir. En plena crisis, una noche abusa de los somníferos. Los más cercanos piensan que ha querido morir. Recogida en su casa al borde del colapso, María Luisa queda ingresada en un sanatorio. (2003: 301)

Soon afterwards she composed some fragments of *Cuaderno de apuntes*, later published in 1995. She states in a 2003 interview, transcribed in Ulacia and Valender (2004):

Como verás, he estado bastante trastornada siempre. Yo soy un drama viviente. Estoy muy cuerda ahora, por eso puedo confesar que he estado trastornada toda mi vida. [...] A los setenta y siete años, con mi hijo enfrente y mis dos nietas, soy totalmente feliz. Me ha costado toda una vida llegar a esto, pero ahora muero feliz. (379)

Elío lived in Mexico close to her son until her death on 19 July 2009.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ The film was never shown commercially in Mexico but featured in foreign film festivals. It won a prize at the 1962 Swiss festival Locarno and was awarded the Giano d’Oro prize in the 1963 Sestri-Levante festival.

¹⁶⁴ Gambarte’s biography is extremely comprehensive and offers a fascinating study on the impact of exile on her life. It also includes an illuminating multi-faceted examination of her few, yet complex, works and is testament of their dense nature. Their content enables numerous fruitful avenues of enquiry, as Gambarte’s chapters and articles by other academics highlight. For reasons of space, it is not possible in Chapter 6 to engage with all of the issues in and elements of Elío’s works, or Gambarte’s and others’ informative study of them. The analysis carried out in my chapter corresponds to the research aims of this thesis.

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