

MODELING SPANISH EXILE IDENTITY IN MANUEL ANDÚJAR'S *SAINT-CYPRIEN, PLAGE: CAMPO DE CONCENTRACIÓN*

LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE UNA IDENTIDAD NACIONAL ESPAÑOLA EXILIADA EN LA NOVELA *SAINT-CYPRIEN, PLAGE: CAMPO DE CONCENTRACIÓN* DE MANUEL ANDÚJAR

KYLE LAWTON
SAINT CATHERINE UNIVERSITY
kelawton445@stkate.edu

Recibido: 5 de agosto de 2020

Aceptado: 18 de marzo de 2021

Abstract

In Manuel Andújar's *Saint-Cyprien, plage: campo de concentración* (1942), chronicling life for exiles of the Spanish Civil War in the French concentration camp was a deeply political balancing act. Andújar needed to represent the Spanish exile community as vibrant, and therefore still capable of opposing the rebel ideology of the Francisco Franco dictatorship from abroad, while at the same time denouncing the victimization of Spanish exiles by French authorities. However, Andújar's work is not just a chronicle of his experiences; it is also the baroque and literary depiction of a reality that continually defied textual representation. In this article, I argue that Andújar's innovative use of literary and poetic devices within his chronicle allowed for a unique intervention into the construction of an exiled Spanish national identity that began to take form within French concentration camps like Saint Cyprien.¹ Moreover, through Andújar's idealized representations of exile activities in the concentration camp, I also argue that the text itself becomes a sort of virtual space to house the exiled nation, hailing the dispersed members of wandering Spain beyond Saint Cyprien to participate in the nation building process outlined in his literary chronicle.

Keywords: Exile, Spanish Civil War, Manuel Andújar, Saint Cyprien, Concentration Camps

Resumen

En *Saint-Cyprien, plage: campo de concentración* (1942) de Manuel Andújar, relatar la vida de los exiliados de la Guerra Civil española en el campo de concentración francés fue un acto de equilibrio profundamente político. Necesitaba representar a la comunidad española del exilio como enérgica y, por lo tanto, capaz de oponerse desde el extranjero a la ideología rebelde de la dictadura de Francisco Franco, al mismo tiempo que denunciaba la victimización de los exiliados españoles por parte de las autoridades francesas. Sin embargo, el trabajo de Andújar no es solamente una crónica de sus experiencias; también es la representación barroca y literaria de una realidad que continuamente desafiaba su representación textual. En este artículo, sostengo que el uso innovador de Andújar de los recursos literarios y poéticos dentro de su crónica permitió una intervención única en la construcción de una identidad nacional española exiliada que

¹ Here I am building on the theory first developed by Francie Cate-Arries that these French concentration camps were "foundational sites of an emerging exilic identity" (23).

comenzó a tomar forma en los campos de concentración franceses como Saint Cyprien. Además, a través de las representaciones idealizadas de Andújar de las actividades de los exiliados en el campo de concentración, también sostengo que el texto mismo se convierte en una especie de espacio virtual para albergar a la nación exiliada, llamando a los miembros dispersos de la España errante para participar en la construcción de la nación descrita en su crónica literaria.

Palabras clave: exilio, guerra civil española, Manuel Andújar, Saint Cyprien, campos de concentración

When Manuel Andújar (1913-1994), penname of Manuel Culebra Muñoz, crossed the Pyrenees Mountains from Spain in 1939 he formed part of the largest refugee movement that has ever arrived at a French border (Dreyfus-Armand, *Exil des républicains* 36). Known as the *Retirada*, in late January and early February 1939, about two months before the end of the Spanish Civil War, Andújar joined the nearly 500,000 men, women, and children who fled Catalonia to escape the approaching armies of the Rebels, strafed and bombed by the air force all the way to the border. Apprehensive about receiving large numbers of refugees —and having maintained an official policy of “Non-Intervention” throughout the Spanish conflict—, France was wholly unprepared for this massive exodus to its eastern frontier. According to historian Geneviève Dreyfus-Armand “rien n’est prévu pour l’accueil des réfugiés, hormis les mesures destinées à garantir l’ordre et la sécurité” (*Exil des républicains* 36). Hungry and war-weary, the refugees were hastily separated into two groups at the border: women and children to one side, men to the other. While the women and children were generally sent to towns in the French interior, colonial Senegalese soldiers led the men to makeshift concentration camps scattered throughout the southern coast of France’s eastern provinces. Lacking in even the most basic infrastructure, these French concentration camps at towns such as Argelès-sur-Mer (population 77,000), Saint-Cyprien (90,000), Le Barcarès (13,000), Arles-sur-Tech and Prats-de-Mollo (46,000)² were ostensibly nothing more than vast expanses of beach surrounded by barbed-wire. For the chroniclers of Spanish exile,³ though,

² These figures were given by Jean Ybarnégaray in the House of Representatives on March 10, 1939 (Dreyfus-Armand, *Exil des républicains* 52).

³ Regarding questions of vocabulary to define those who left Spain during and after the Civil War, see Alicia Alted Vigil: “Los términos ‘exiliado’, ‘emigrado político’ o ‘refugiado’ tienden a confundirse y a utilizarse como sinónimos. Por otro lado, la lengua castellana es rica en vocablos que, con diferentes matices, implican la enajenación o pérdida de las raíces geográficas y anímicas de quien tiene que ‘saltar hacia fuera’, traspasar una ‘frontera’: desterrado, traspuesto, expulsado, excluido, peregrino, expatriado...” (22). Depending on the motivation of the person abandoning Spain, he or she may be considered as a refugee, or even displaced person, rather than a political exile. This was especially true of the various migrations across the French border

these concentration camps were paradoxical spaces. In their emptiness, they were the literal representation of everything the exiles had lost. However, these barren concentration camps were also sites of a tremendous amount of cultural activity and places where many Republicans believed they could renew their fight against the Francisco Franco dictatorship.

For Andújar, who was interned in the Saint-Cyprien concentration camp, this abject space was also where the refugees could reorganize and create a model for Spanish nationality in exile. However, beyond Saint Cyprien, that potential was contingent on the author's ability to both faithfully represent the performance of that Spanish nationality in exile and bestow it with continued meaning. In the pages that follow, I propose that this was achieved mainly through Andújar's innovative use of literary elements within his chronicle that allowed him to express the complex reality of concentration camp life and the exiles' resilience to challenge Francoism. Moreover, through Andújar's idealized representations of exile activities in the concentration camp, I also argue that the text itself becomes a sort of virtual space to house the exiled nation, hailing the dispersed members of wandering Spain beyond Saint Cyprien to participate in the nation building process outlined in his literary chronicle.

The Discourse of Nationality in Search of Form

A journalist during the Spanish Civil War, Manuel Andújar's first book-length publication, *Saint-Cyprien, plage: campo de concentración* (1942), was written and published in exile. Composed of thirty-two short vignettes and set in the eponymous French concentration camp where he was imprisoned for one hundred days in 1939, it is a difficult text to classify in terms of genre. Yet, this question of form is crucial to understanding how Andújar wrote and conceived of Spanish national identity during these early moments of exile in France. Indeed, it was through Andújar's innovative use of literary hybridity —what he terms as the *crónica literaria*— that he was able to express this reality in its fullness, showing how even in defeat the exiles celebrated their vision of Spanish national identity as continued defiance to the Francisco Franco dictatorship.

On one level *Saint-Cyprien, plage* is a chronicle in the classic sense: the literal accounting of the *Retirada* and subsequent internment in the French concentration camp. In his 1942 prologue, Andújar defines his work as both *crónica* and “un testimonio preliminar” (14). He saw his testimony as preliminary because it recounted life in the concentration camp “[d]esde un ángulo de estricta experiencia personal” (13), and because it was an “insignificante reflejo de lo que después sucedió y ocurre” (13-14). As a preliminary testimony, though, Andújar's text played an important role in shaping the larger debates about how to maintain a coherent

between 1936-1939. Generally, those who remained in France after 1940, and those who re-emigrated from France to the Americas, should be considered exiles, as their political ideologies made it impossible for them to return to Francoist Spain. Most of those who returned quickly to Spain at the urging of the French government, on the other hand, were refugees or displaced persons fleeing the violence of the Civil War.

model of Spanish national identity from abroad that was capable of challenging Francoism even as the Second Republic was being defeated militarily. Andújar's representation of the day-to-day reality of the concentration camp is therefore deeply invested in showing how this Republican vision of Spanish nationality could be performed by the exiles even in this seemingly hopeless situation. As Andújar states in his 1989 preface: "nos esforzamos en convertir la inicua derrota material que se nos infligió en un derrotero legitimador y fecundante" (9-10).

While José María Naharro-Calderón has demonstrated that Andújar's text is not, strictly speaking, "testimony,"⁴ *Saint-Cyprien, plage* does employ several classic tropes of the testimonial genre. References to the supposed immediacy of the writing act –declaring that the lines of his text "se publican rigurosamente como fueron escritas 'allí'" (13)–, and the author's physical presence as eyewitness, are meant to add credibility to Andújar's chronicle of concentration camp life. In fact, in a second prologue accompanying the 1990 reedition of his work, Andújar again insisted that the published text was exactly as it had been written in March-April 1939 in Saint-Cyprien: on scraps of paper of varying sizes and colors while using his knees for a desk.⁵ This reedition of *Saint-Cyprien, plage* even included a facsimile of the handwritten draft of the text's first vignette to further substantiate Andújar's claims.⁶ Therefore, even if Andújar's text is not "testimony" it is evident that his appeal to the testimonial genre as a mechanism of authorization forms an integral part of his discursive strategy. However, this literal chronicling of life in the French concentration camp through the testimonial genre was only one layer of Andújar's discourse. As the author realized, such a reality could not be expressed through literal writing alone.

As a journalist, Andújar was keenly aware of the limits of a literal testimony to capture life in the concentration camp. In fact, what distinguishes *Saint-Cyprien, plage* is that it is unmistakably a work of literature: the poetic and difficult recreation of a reality that continually defied its linguistic representation. As Naharro-Calderón posited:

⁴ For example, there is an individualistic arc in Andújar's narration that seems to divide the narrator-protagonist from the Spanish exile community at Saint Cyprien. Also, the protagonist is ultimately able to leave the concentration camp for Mexico, thereby further separating his fate from his compatriots who remain interned there. For Naharro-Calderón this emphasis on the individual is closer to autobiography than testimony (although, strictly speaking, not fully autobiographic either, as Naharro-Calderón recognizes.)

⁵ This discursive strategy of authorizing his text through the immediacy of the writing act is also questioned by Naharro-Calderon, who shows how Andújar's text (along with another classic concentration camp work, *Entre alambradas*) "posee rasgos de textos corregido y adornado a posteriori, lo cual traiciona su inmediatez y apunta hacia una reconstrucción teleológica" (315). However, despite this posterior reworking, it is evident that Andújar at least wishes to structure his discourse through this classical testimonial format of unmediated writing conducted *in situ*. In fact, regardless of the demonstrable validity of Andújar's claims about the immediacy of his writing act (and I agree with Naharro-Calderón that they are highly questionable) these testimonial devices written into *Saint-Cyprien, plage* were a fundamental part of the author's textual intervention in the Republican nation-building project in exile. Testimonial in Andújar's text becomes a literary device to substantiate his representations of the French concentration camp as the location of a vibrant Spanish national identity that continued to oppose Francoism.

⁶ I am unaware if the 1942 first edition also included this facsimile.

¿Pero cómo referirse a los campos de concentración cuando son manifestaciones excluidas de esas limitaciones del lenguaje? Por ello, escribir los horrores de esta historia implica no sólo ser capaz de acceder a su memoria sino también verbalizarla gracias a un discurso que tiene que operar más allá de lo indecible. (309)

Indeed, much of Andújar's text is about finding a way to give meaning to an experience not easily defined through the standard literary conventions of chronicle or testimony.

We see similar debates over genre and the difficulty (or impossibility) of representation in the literature of Holocaust Studies. Berel Lang, for example, writes that "the more significant proportion of that writing stands in a subversive relation to the conventions of literary genre and even of metagenre" and "the challenge to these conventions is itself a representational element in the works in which it appears" (35). Regarding language, Dominick LaCapra reminds us that "the quality of literariness consists in the way it thrusts language and expression into the foreground and grants them an independent value and importance" while in "historiography, the attempt by language to draw attention to itself would commonly be regarded as highly inappropriate and an obtrusive breach of the rule of historical writing" (9). However, LaCapra shows how the representation of trauma (and, in particular, The Holocaust) undermines such distinctions between literary and historical writing. While the horrors of the 20th century defy representation and challenge the boundaries of language and genre, LaCapra also shows how there is a certain productivity in working through such representations of trauma, even when those attempts are not entirely successful:

Trauma brings about a dissociation of affect and representation: one disorientingly feels what one cannot represent; one numbingly represents what one cannot feel. Working through trauma involves the effort to articulate or rearticulate affect and representation in a manner that many never transcend, but may to some viable extent counteract, a reenactment, or acting out, of that disabling dissociation. (42)

Andújar's struggles to represent Spanish internment too can be understood through that traumatic dissociation of affect and representation. However, in the case of *Saint-Cyprien, plage*, efforts to overcome that "disabling dissociation" are also related to Andújar's goal of representing the resiliency of the Spanish exile community and its continued struggles against the Francoist model of Spanish nationalism. "Working through" the traumas of exile and internment within Andújar's literary chronicle is part-and-parcel of his larger rhetorical strategy of representing the Spanish exile community as the still vibrant and sole authentic expression of the Spanish nation.

Andújar himself argues that the chronicle *should* be considered as a literary form, and he traces a clear distinction between his text, conceived as chronicle-as-

literature, and the more literal reporting of journalism. As he explained in the 1989 prologue to the reedition:

Por lo menos –tal mi criterio– la ‘crónica’ debe considerarse como un virtual género literario, que trasciende la insularidad periodística que comúnmente se le discierne. Cierta es, a mandobles de costumbre, de lenguaje pautado, la decantación de su ejercicio hacia marginales vías de volandera pseudo popularidad. Cabe se preste, a esta válvula expresiva, un trasfondo lírico e interpretaciones, a su aire, de tipos individualizados, ambientes y coyunturas distintivos e incluso dejes satíricos. (7)

The literary chronicle as defined by Andújar pushes against the boundaries of journalism to find a language capable of representing life in the concentration camp. The insularity of journalism that presupposes a common understanding between the chronicler and reader —or at least a common horizon of experiences that bounds what the chronicler can effectively communicate— breaks down in the radical newness of concentration camp horrors. That is why Andújar advocates for a certain lyricism and language rich in metaphor: he is attempting to represent a reality that was not defined by any sort of common language or references. In fact, it was a reality that continually challenged any sort of literal representation at all. As Michael Ugarte has written: “el dilema inherente de la literatura testimonial, que es a su vez uno de los conflictos principales de nuestra época posmoderna: cómo dar cuenta del pasado sin tener fe en ninguna forma, ni en ninguna entidad, ningún dios, ningún ser humano capaz de representarlo” (47).

Andújar’s struggles to faithfully represent life in the Saint Cyprien camp are evident throughout his text. In one early vignette entitled “El Agrío,” Andújar’s baroque language points to the inability even of metaphors to capture the reality of Saint Cyprien, and he chastises those who would romanticize or distort this experience through their irresponsible language use.

El aire no es en St. Cyprien, aunque se esforzaran los eventuales líricos imaginistas, violadores soeces —en su almibaramiento— de la neta realidad, pretexto plausible de blandas efusiones redondas, motivo de expansión para las metáforas sacadas de quicio, que orinan su miel absurda fuera del tiesto. Constituiría un contrasentido artístico, una blasfemia humana, ayuna de pretexto. Sobran las sinfonías y nadie se nota capaz de pastorearlas. Es el reiterado aprendizaje, que persuade sensibilidades y cerebros. (17)

Andújar always seems to be at pains to describe the conflicted sentiments of the internees, and his careful use of obscure and at times difficult to understand language is revealing of his own frustrations to grapple with this evolving situation. In another moment, Andújar writes of the “Espectáculo diurno, posible si el viento no obliga a desalojar, en cuyo caso su furia silbante y la soledad, el vacío que

estruja el ánimo, agudizan la penosa sensación de desierto, fuera de tiempo y de lugar. El espacio se circunscribe a epidérmica angustia” (40). Here again life in the Saint-Cyprien camp seems to exist on a plane that is not altogether knowable to the protagonist; he and the fellow internees live in a “espejismo de ciudad” (40) that is only partially definable through his literary chronicle.

As Rose Duroux has commented, “en todas las *Memorias* de los campos, es recurrente ese sentimiento de no ser nada, de estar entre paréntesis espaciales y temporales, apenas un número” (“Un iconotexto” 310). Indeed, for Andújar and the other exiles, the trauma of their internment is not fully knowable while they are “fuera de tiempo y de lugar.” The latency of the traumatic experience, as Cathy Caruth has described (building on Freud’s theories), prevents the victim from comprehending what has happened during the moment. Moreover, trauma defies knowledge both on a personal level in the space-time of its occurrence (“the victim of the crash was never fully conscious during the accident itself,”) *and* representationally, where the literal or documentary accounting of the traumatic event is incapable of ever representing the fullness of the trauma:

If traumatic experience, as Freud indicates suggestively, is an experience that is not fully assimilated as it occurs, then these texts, each in its turn, asks what it means to transmit and to theorize around a crisis that is marked, not by a simple knowledge, but by the ways it simultaneously defies and demands our witness. Such a question, I will argue, whether it occurs within a strictly literary text or in a more deliberately theoretical one, can never be asked in a straightforward way, but must, indeed, also be spoken in a language that is always somehow literary: a language that defies, even as it claims, our understanding. (5)

This is why Andújar is so critical of those who would recklessly describe life at Saint-Cyprien in simplistic terms and why he struggles throughout his chronicle to find language capable of ascribing meaning to that collective trauma.

María José López-Pozo defines Andújar’s text as a historical testimony because it faithfully represents the circumstances of its creation and the lived reality of the exiles within the French concentration camp. However, she argues persuasively that Andújar’s discourse was able to represent such a reality in its fullness only through its capacity to purposefully (and powerfully) decenter the traditional logic of institutionalized representation (the literal language of the testimony), and thereby claim representational authority for itself through a non-official, non-hegemonic, and literary recreation. “Si lenguaje y realidad ‘colapsan’ en el discurso de *Saint-Cyprien* es porque no podría, de otra manera, representar y, más íntegramente, constituir el mundo que lo vio nacer” (323). This representation of the exterior reality of the concentration camp and the non-mimetic interiority of the exilic consciousness was only fully realizable through the fragmented, baroque, and multilingual discourse Andújar employed throughout his text.

For Michael Ugarte exile “leads the writer, perhaps unwittingly, into a dialogue with him or herself on the very nature of writing and on the problems that arise from an attempt to record reality [...] exile literature lays bare the workings of literature itself” (19-20). It is to this interrogation into the “workings of literature itself,” and its relation to the exiles’ conceptions of nation and state (or statelessness) that I now wish to turn. Particularly, my interest lies in examining how the thirty-two vignettes of Andújar’s *Saint-Cyprien, plage* tell the story of how the exiles understood and redefined their Spanish national identity within the French concentration camps. I argue that Andújar’s text functions both as a chronicle as literal representation —testimony recounting the events that befell the refugees after their retreat from Catalonia—, and as a chronicle as literary recreation, conceived as a narratological and discursive strategy to interrogate the problematic representation of wandering Spain within the space of the text.

The Textual (re)Birth of the Republic: The Nation without a State

It was during those early moments in France, when continued defiance of Francoism was set against the realities of looming military defeat and a hostile reception by French authorities, that these concentration camps were transformed into the physical and discursive sites where the Spanish nation could be refashioned. These memories composed by Andújar therefore were always-already part of the larger discursive movement by Spanish exiles to rewrite the Spanish nation as a movable and Stateless ideal (though anticipating its eventual re-inscription into Spain proper.) Beyond the documentation of the 100 days Andújar was interned in the camp, (the chronicle as literal testimony), *Saint-Cyprien, plage* is also a key artifact in this narratological project of the exiled Republic to recreate an imagined Spanish community outside the bounds of the fascist Spanish State (the chronicle as literary artifice.)

Clearly, Andújar’s reflections within *Saint-Cyprien, plage* are in dialogue with earlier debates about the meaning(s) of Spanish nationality that circulated prior to and throughout the Second Republic, and that were ultimately disputed militarily during the Civil War. In fact, questions about what it meant to be Spanish had long been a privileged theme of writers and intellectuals, dating back to at least the early nineteenth century. As the concept of the “nation” as the homogeneous and irreducible embodiment of a people’s shared values and characteristics became a model that could be deliberately aspired to (Anderson 67), authors were quite conscious of their role in its formation; in writing about the nation, they were also helping to create it (Labanyi 385).

Just before the advent of the Second Republic on April 14, 1931, in a well-known 1930 article entitled “El error Berenguer,” José Ortega y Gasset wrote: “¡Españoles, vuestro Estado no existe! ¡Reconstruidlo!” (201). However, it was not just the State or some concrete set of government bureaucracy and institutions that were lacking; for Ortega, as for many Spanish intellectuals, there was also a critical need to develop a national identity that would give purpose and direction to their political campaigns. Only a citizenry who actively identified with the Spanish nation

as a shared community, and who endorsed what Ernst Renan's famously referred to as the "daily plebiscite" of working together towards some higher purpose, would allow Spain to emerge as a modern nation-state. An unavoidable part, therefore, of curing Spain from the national malaise that had vexed generations of Spanish intellectuals since at least 1898, was producing a citizenry who would actively identify with and support the Spanish nation. In 1931, when the Second Republic took control of the Spanish State, this idea of the national in Spain was still very much unclear.

Part-and-parcel of Republican political initiatives aimed at modernizing the Spanish nation-state was incorporating the masses of Spaniards who had long been forgotten and marginalized into this new national construct. This was to be no easy task. The Spanish nation, particularly when compared to its European counterparts, was fragmented and ill-defined at the advent of the Second Republic. As Santos Juliá describes:

España se caracterizaba, a la llegada de la República, por la profunda fragmentación de la sociedad civil, recorrida por múltiples líneas de fractura. [...] España llega así a los años treinta de este siglo sin un buen sistema de comunicaciones, sin servicios públicos eficientes, sin escuela pública, con un rudimentario sistema fiscal y sin un personal gobernante que no sea personal subalterno de otros poderes. En el sentido moderno del término, no hay todavía nación, ni hay Estado de la nación, cuando la República llega. ("El fracaso" 201-202)

With the creation of the Second Republic however, many intellectuals came to enthusiastically believe (at least initially) that the Spanish nation would finally achieve its authentic expression through this new State; that the *pueblo* would be accounted for both as possessors of the timeless and mythical national essence (or the "raw material" from which this new national identity was to be molded), and as new Republican citizens to be hailed and disciplined by the State apparatus after so many decades of disenfranchisement and isolation. Indeed, references to the Spanish nation abounded in early texts by public intellectuals who championed the Republic. On February 10, 1931, for example, the foundational manifesto of the Agrupación al Servicio de la República published in the Madrid newspaper *El Sol*, signed by Gregorio Marañón, Ramón Pérez de Ayala, and José Ortega y Gasset, declared: "Nosotros creemos que ese viejo Estado tiene que ser sustituido por otro auténticamente nacional. Esta palabra 'nacional' no es vana; antes bien, designa una manera de entender la vida pública." Miguel de Unamuno, in a series of three articles published in *El Sol* between May 13 and 15, 1931 under the title "La promesa de España" wrote that the newly born Spain of the Republic "ha roto su envoltura de crisálida y ha surgido al sol como mariposa." As early as 1895, Unamuno had written in "La casta histórica Castilla" (five articles later published in 1912 under the title *En torno a casticismo*) that: "Se podrá decir que hay verdadera patria española cuando sea libertad en nosotros la necesidad de ser españoles, cuando todos lo seamos por querer serlo, queriéndolo porque lo seamos. *Querer*

ser algo no es *resignarse* a ser tan sólo” (161). This was precisely the labor of the Republic: getting its citizens to not only recognize themselves as members of this ideological community but wanting to be a part of it. While both Ortega and Unamuno would later become critical of the Second Republic, as public intellectuals they had a clear understanding of their influences and responsibilities towards the fledgling democracy. They also understood the importance of incorporating the “people” in this national enterprise. As Paul Aubert reminds us: “Ortega sugiere que la adecuación no es perfecta pero que los miembros de las profesiones intelectuales lograrán formar a los nuevos ciudadanos: ‘Somos trabajadores intelectuales que vamos a la educación política del pueblo’” (107).

Aznar Soler writes that “La influencia política del intelectual en su sociedad y en la formación de la opinión pública alcanzó su esplendor durante los años treinta” (*República literaria* 22). Azorín also famously declared in a June 1931 article, that “La república la han hecho posible los intelectuales” (qtd by Santos Juliá, *Dos Españas* 209). However, it was not enough to have ushered in the Republic; its meaning had to be negotiated and represented to the Spanish nation, and this nation had to be remolded as Republican. After all, as Stuart Hall has demonstrated, (national) identity is a contingent and discursively produced phenomenon:

Though they seem to invoke an origin in a historical past with which they continue to correspond, actually identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not “who we are” or “where we came from,” so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. Identities are therefore constituted within, not outside representation. (4)

These depictions of the self, —of how Spain had been represented and how it could be changed through representation—, became was a vitally important theme for intellectuals invested in Spain’s political future. This was true throughout the Second Republic and the Civil War, and it continued in exile where such interventions on the nature of Spanish nationality figured prominently.

Indeed, even as they abandoned Spain and came to terms with military defeat, Republican exiles continued to write the Spanish nation through the ideals of the Second Republic. In fact, most felt that the (true) Spanish nation had been transplanted along with them across these international borders, and that what remained behind in Spain was not, really, Spanish. According to Dreyfus-Armand “La caractéristique essentielle des cultures de l'exil espagnol en France réside dans cette volonté de sauvegarder l'identité culturelle hispanique; cet [un] effort constant de maintien d'une cohésion identitaire” (“Les cultures de l'exil” 38). This effort to represent the cohesion and vitality of Spanish national identity in exile is also the defining characteristic of Andújar’s work, as he struggles to portray Republicanism from the abject non-space of the concentration camp.

In tracing this archaeology of Spanish nationalism in exile from the French concentration camps I build on a theory first developed by Francie Cate-Arries of the camps as “foundational sites of an emerging exilic identity” (23). As she defines:

[T]he concentration camps are also frequently configured as a kind of construction site for the nation in exile, a place where the survivors of civil war begin to inscribe a new national history as well as reassemble their political identity as fighters united in solidarity for social justice. (148)

For Republican intellectuals like Andújar, writing about Spanish culture in French concentration camps was about more than documentation; these activities were part-and-parcel of exile identity formation and their textual inscription became a virtual lifeline hailing members of the wandering nation to participate in this community building. As Naharro-Calderón stated: “La escritura es la necesidad de acotar un territorio de sanidad, de inscribirse más allá del horror y de comunicarse con lo otro gracias a la carta que se convierte en tabla de salvación como género donde emisor y destinatario dialogan entrelazados” (316). It was through these textual representations that simultaneously expressed a strong fidelity to the immediacy of the lived reality in the camps and a belief in the transcendence of the cultural projects developed there, that Republican exiles such as Andújar tried to recreate the national community that had been displaced through their physical loss of home.

In fact, in exile cultural productions often became synonymous with a Republican Spanish national identity set in opposition to Francoism. Recounted by Dreyfus-Armand, the *Boletín de los estudiantes* composed in the Argelès concentration camp, for example, was explicit in this regard. It declared:

Étudiants du camp d'Argelès-sur-Mer, nous continuons notre tâche de divulgation de la culture que nous avons commencée en Espagne, quand la *Barraca* et nos Missions paysannes apportaient l'art dans tous nos villages de Castille et d'Espagne.

Le travail constructif réalisé par la République espagnole pendant huit années dans le domaine de l'Instruction publique a été totalement anéanti par le gouvernement de Burgos... Ce sont eux l'anti-culture. Ils ne sont pas l'Espagne. C'est nous qui sommes l'Espagne. (*Exil des républicains* 98)

It was these voices as metonymy of the Spanish nation that Andújar and others attempted to represent, where testimony and literary artifice developed a new and lively space for an exiled Spanish nationality to flourish. However, this project was neither simple nor automatic. As Mari Paz Bailbrea writes:

la condición del intelectual, que podríamos concebir como una especie de militancia política desde la cultura y la estética, cobra sentido como parte de la construcción de la nación moderna y, por tanto, lo pierde, o está en peligro de perderlo, si las condiciones de existencia de esta nación moderna

le faltan. En ese sentido el exilio es una condición del fin de la militancia, y por ello ha sido históricamente una de las herramientas más eficaces del Estado para eliminar a sus adversarios políticos. (57)

Andújar seems to be acutely aware of this risk of waning influence. Yet, there is also a certain optimism that comes across in *Saint-Cyprien, plage*, where the literary chronicle of Andújar's writing still houses the cultural representations of the exiles, delivering them across space-time in pursuit of continued relevance.

Spaces of the Nation

In the prologue to the reedition of *Saint-Cyprien, plage* written in Spain in 1989 —after Andújar's return in 1967, the death of the Caudillo, and the difficult Transition to democracy— the author still recalled with pride the cultural programs realized by the exiles in the concentration camps. Not only that, but he explicitly situates these initiatives representing the Spanish nation in exile along a continuum of Spanish nationhood; they were identity markers extending backwards and forwards, but always fully realized in the unfathomable present of the camps. Andújar wrote:

he procurado guardar estricta fidelidad al humanismo español que encarnábamos y del que somos, mientras alentemos y perduremos, depositarios, al propio compás que nos remitimos a unos enjundiosos predicados culturales y al encendido amor que el alma del idioma nos inspira. (9)

Those “cultural predicates” in Andújar's text become the continuation of the ideals of Spanish national identity that had guided the Second Republic in the concentration camp, all the while looking towards their future re-inscription in the State left behind. However, it is my contention that it is only through the narrative movement of the text itself that this chronotope of the camp as nation-building site was extended outwards. Andújar's narration as a literary testimony provided a virtual space where these cultural ideals representing the nation in exile could be more fully developed, preserved, celebrated, and most importantly, extended in space and in time. It was Andújar's *Saint-Cyprien* text, more so than *Saint-Cyprien* concentration camp, where the larger nation could most fully be expressed.

Throughout his text Andújar is very conscious of his role as documentarian/chronicler of Spanish culture in the concentration camp. In *Saint-Cyprien, plage* important literary figures of the Republic, like Federico García Lorca and Rafael Alberti, appear as heroes of an ideology that is continually reaffirmed through the performative actions of the internees. In the chapter “Distribuyamos los aplausos” the narrator recalls the declamation of a poem by García Lorca —already consecrated as a martyr after his assassination by Nationalist troops on August 18, 1936— that epitomized this solidarity in the Republican national ideal. Andújar described the emotional scene as follows:

Festival nuestro, que apiña en la tarde soleada, de rayos planos, una multitud que rebosa filas, cubre el espacio asignado, se cuelga de los techos. Inhiesta, se apresta a recitar un romance de Federico García Lorca. Pronuncia los apellidos y brilla, precediendo en partículas de segundo los aplausos atronadores, unánimes, una homogénea sacudida emocional. Reivindicamos, con temblor que juega la comba de la síntesis intuitiva, recuerdo, gloria, belleza, próspera simpatía. Un pinito de trascendencia. (37)

Here readers witness the symbolic performance of Republicanism in *Saint-Cyprien* through Andújar's narration. Told in the first-person plural that invites the reader to identify with the internees at Saint-Cyprien, it is a performative moment of solidarity strongly rooted in the localism of the French concentration camp, presented as metonymy of the exiled Republic. However, just as importantly, this scene is extended across space-time through Andújar's writing act, imbued as always with his characteristic baroque writing style of the chronicle-as-literary in an attempt to express this unfathomable reality.

Daniel Aguirre Oteiza has described similar moments where the poetic voice is represented as metonymy of the Spanish nation in exile. For example, he recalls that "Desde su exilio mexicano Bergamín afirmó que la voz de Machado, una vez envuelta en su 'mortal e inmortal empeño', manifestaba 'la vida visible [...] de un pueblo entero'" leading to "una suerte de barroca unión mística entre poeta y pueblo" (82). In another moment, Aguirre Oteiza quotes Rafael Alberti, who claimed that "es como centrar en mi sola voz la de más de 338 millones de seres que, con tantas modalidades diferentes, nos expresamos en la lengua, nunca mejor llamada peregrina, de Don Quijote" (84). As Aguirre Oteiza shows, "El poeta eleva ahora su voz de exiliado como si tratase de materializar o hipostasiar una supuesta identidad lingüística panhispánica más allá de rupturas o disparidades en el espacio y en el tiempo" (84). Here again we have "la voz poética como articulación material de la nación y la lengua, incluso como símbolo político de la (re)encarnación y continuidad del pueblo español, en tiempos de crisis de la patria" (84). While the Second Republic had derived much of its esteem and legitimacy from the products of its intellectuals, in exile these cultural representations acquired an even greater importance as they came to symbolize not only the grandeur of what Spain had lost but the greater authenticity of exiled Spain against the aberration (and cultural vacuity) of Francoism.

In many ways this textual representation of the nation in Andújar's text recalls the classic function of the novel described by Benedict Anderson in the creation of an imagined community held together in homogenous empty time across space. However, this narrative strategy in exile literature is complicated by the fact that there is no autonomous or even common space for the dispersed nation at large to occupy across homogenous time. The exiles hailed by the nationalist discourse of essential commonalities had been thrust outwards from their home into very different and often hostile situations, and to places far beyond the barbed-wire confines of the Saint-Cyprien concentration camp. Unlike a static national identity frozen at the moment of departure and only fully realizable upon their return to

Spain, any attempts to develop a living and evolving Republican national identity outside the boundaries of the Spanish nation-state had to contend with these divergent realities. Therefore, to express the deterritorialized nation in exile as a developing and plenitudinous reality in the way that 19th century realist novels had done, exile literature had to first define a space where this active interpellation and self-identification could exist.

This rhetorical maneuver was achieved basically in two ways. In part it was realized through the literal accounting of Republican activities undertaken within the concentration camps that became metonymy of the Spanish nation in exile. The concentration camps, otherwise non-places and heterotopy of the French towns whose names they bore (Cate-Arries), were thereby transformed into temporary hosting grounds for the Spanish nation as they were overlaid by discourse and literally built-up by exilic labor. As demonstrated by Cate-Arries, these productive enterprises within French concentration camps helped to develop an incipient exile national identity that was later transplanted to Mexico (a country that would receive nearly 25,000 Spanish émigrés from France.) However, there is another way that Andújar's narration helped to develop an alternative space for this exiled vision of the Spanish nation.

The other way that exile authors like Andújar compensated for the loss of a physical location to ground their nation-building projects was through the creation of a virtual space embedded within the text itself. Azade Seyhan provides a useful framework to consider such virtual spaces in her comparative study of immigrant writers in Germany and the United States for whom “neither a return to the homeland left behind nor being at home in the host country is an option” (15). Here Seyhan references the idea of a “third geography” which “is the space of memory, of language, of translation”; an “alternative geography” that “can now be figured as a terrain (of) writing, as the Greek roots of its two syllables suggest” (15). I believe it is within this “third geography” conceived as the “terrain of writing” that Andújar develops his text as a virtual home for the exiled Spanish nation. This narrative strategy allows the writing and reading acts to textually reunite and respatialize the dispersed members of the stateless Spanish nation within the virtual space of the text itself as a privileged site where the exiled nation could continue the work of identity formation and confirmation without the physical territoriality of the State.

Rather than a repetition of the classic devices of the novel to produce and disseminate common values and a common national identity across a definite geographic area bounding the sovereignty of the State, Andújar's text *creates* a communal space for the enjoyment of this nationality where before there was only loss and absence. As Naharro-Calderón states: “reterritorialización se produce apelando a la aparente garantía que aporta la escritura, frente a la degradación concentracionaria” (316). Through the specific narrative address to an ideal national reader –the fellow exile who likely occupied other places than the specific concentration camp where these performative moments were realized, but who also has been deprived of enjoyment of the national space– he or she is invited to share this virtual ground of the text to continue in the nation building project interrupted by exile.

This is an important discursive movement that undoes that common paradox of exile nationality: namely that it was constantly projected towards the future return and mired in the past of the exile's lost homeland, but unable to access the performative present that the people were always "just giving shape to." In documenting these performative moments of the Spanish nation as they were realized within the Saint-Cyprien concentration camp through the technique of chronicle-as-literary Andújar was able to reinscribe that temporal present of the Spanish people into his text as an alternative space to the lost-homeland. In this way this performative present could become part of the diachronic pedagogy of Republican Spanish national identity.

It is important to note, however, that in Andújar's text this performance of an exiled Spanish national identity in Saint Cyprien is not limited to cultural elites such as García Lorca. In other moments the author presents Spanish identity in the Saint-Cyprien camp as a more populist ideal that existed alongside elite discourse and representations, and that could only be understood through contact with the common Spanish people residing within the concentration camp.

To this end, in the vignette entitled "Protégete en el quicio de la puerta" Andújar is very critical of what he terms "la venenosa superstición de los conceptos" (77) that limits the ability of certain elites to fully comprehend Spanish culture:

Si a los reverendos intelectuales de Occidente, de acuerdo con el patrón liberal de antaño, la justificación profesional y social de su existencia les embaraza el buche y danzan en torno al término cultura, convencidos en los forros de que se trata de una astuta invención egoísta, de una añagaza exculpatoria, de unas sinuosas varietés, sucede idéntico fenómeno en la copia negativa, con los ululantes teóricos totalitarios, capaces de renegar de la luz del día y que se esponjan en la barbarie. Aquí, en St. Cyprien, prédica y acción resultan inseparables y se desdeña la venenosa superstición de los conceptos. (77)

If for western intellectuals culture is egocentric and elitist, for Andújar this misplaced arrogance is similar to totalitarian theories that manipulate reality to align with their readymade theories. Given his own painstaking attempts to accurately represent life for the exiles in the Saint Cyprien concentration camp, such distortion was clearly unacceptable. Here, though, Andújar proposes a different solution for understanding Spanish culture: approaching the common people of Saint Cyprien directly. Although reduced to a near prehistoric state of existence due to the emptiness of the concentration camp, for Andújar they nonetheless embody in the truest sense Spanish cultural identity. Andújar writes:

La cultura adquiere su más profundo sentido cuando se ciñe a los hombres, prehistóricos casi por las condiciones rudas, ásperas, en que se debaten, viejos y jugosos, ya que no olvidan —concepto e instinto, calidades

separadas o unidas— su legado de honor, de progreso, de afección a la tierra madre, a las campiñas de holgada hermandad, sus avatares. (79)

It is not that culture is incompatible with elite or individual productions *per se* (recall the celebrations of García Lorca and Alberti described earlier), but for Andújar these gave an incomplete picture of what Spanish culture meant for the exiles in France. Republican Spain opposing Francoism from the Saint Cyprien concentration camp was also –even mostly—defined through those who simply refused to live under fascism, regardless of their ability to articulate this refusal in terms of a specific ideology.

Rose Duroux has shown how almost all the characters who populate Andújar’s narrative symbolize different groups that represent “toutes les Espagnes ‘légitimes’” (Introduction 35). As she clarifies: “explications ne manquent pas: le lecteur idéal est en mesure de combler les lacunes et d’imaginer, à partir de chaque micro-biographie ou d’une simple allusion suggestive, le tableau complet d’une concentration massive” (35). In this way, the reader is also interpellated as a co-creator in the reconstruction of Republican nationality within the third space of the text as he or she is called on to fill in the gaps of Andújar’s narration. Just as novelist César Leante tells Andújar in the epilogue to the 1989 edition of *Saint-Cyprien, plage*: “Hay que leerle con un cuidado extraordinario, necesitas más que un lector cómplice (como pedía Cortázar) otro tan creador como tú” (115). This reader and co-creator is tasked with completing the missing elements from Andújar’s narration and deciphering the complex language used to ascribe meaning to the concentration camp experience. However, it is only through this work that the reader becomes part of the performative present of the concentration camp and thereby included in the construction of Spanish identity in exile. As Roland Barthes proclaimed: “a text’s unity lies not in its origin but in its destination” (1325), and in this case that unity was the wholeness of the authentic Spanish nation in exile that could only exist within the third-space of the text itself.

The representation of popular culture as synecdoche for the Spanish nation in exile structures much of Andújar’s discourse (and is reminiscent of strategies identified by Sandie Holguín in her study of national identity formation during the Second Republic.) For Andújar Spanish national identity in exile is mostly performed by common, non-elite people, but its meaning is still determined in the last instance by the elite chronicler. This populist connection between the “elite” as discursive producers of the nation in exile (including Andújar in his role as literary chronicler), and the “people” as the raw embodiment of that nationality (and consumers of those elite discourses), allowed Andújar to sustain the argument that the true Spanish nation was contained within the Saint-Cyprien camp.

For these reasons, Andújar is very critical of writer-intellectuals whose distance from the common folk, —conceived in terms of both a physical and a psychic distance— prevents them from fully understanding Spanish nationality. Spain for Andújar was not some abstract ideal created and pined for through philosophical or literary artifice, but actively (re)created in the quotidian reality of

the concentration camp (and preserved in the textual third-space of its narration.) This is perfectly illustrated in the vignette entitled “Peluca, Perejil y Cía” (nicknames of the internees) where Andújar’s depiction of certain common exiles in the concentration camp displays how he conceived of Spanish national identity as performed and created in the localism of the French concentration camps, but then extended outwards textually through (his) elite literary chronicle.

Andújar opens this chapter by admonishing that writer-dandy who officiously claimed to be an authority on Spanish national identity but who was ignorant and/or disdainful of that meaning for the masses. Andújar exhorts his readers:

Procurad apearle de su burro. Ese escritor que os hablará del pueblo español como si le conociera a fondo, con presunta autenticidad, cambia de sexo y condición su redonda ignorancia. Libros, hábitos relamidos, comodidades huecas a modo de buñuelos, no ilustran al dómine pedante vestido de persona civil y encastillado en su entrometida función de oráculo. (83)

Whereas earlier generations of writers-intellectuals rehearsed different ideals of Spanish identity through their publications while attempting to discipline the body politic at a safe distance from the masses, during and after the Civil War this separation came to be seen as quite problematic. There was also the epistemological problem of how these performative moments affirming Spanish Republican identity within the concentration camps could be faithfully represented or understood by those who had not experienced them firsthand. Yet, this was precisely the role Andújar defines for himself as privileged spectator and commentator of Spanish nationality within *Saint-Cyprien*. It was for this reason that he simultaneously invoked the testimonial genre to authorize (make believable) his narration and reworked it as literary genre to express that which was otherwise inexpressible.

Andújar invokes this simultaneous role as elite raconteur and man among the people in various moments throughout his text. In this vignette we read:

Ud. será un degustador capaz de Garcilaso o de Proust pero no puede hablar, con legitimidad, de su Patria, si no dedicó a Peluca, a Perejil, al Comandante, horas celosas de atención, colocándose asimismo en el plano de igualdad, de limitación, sin el cual será un ciego miserable, un mendigo de pompas. (83)

Andújar describes Peluca as “un nido de piojos y ladillas” and recounts the time he was sent to the camp jail after a French woman “se sobresaltó ante la mirada inquisidora —y nada más— del muchacho” (84-85). Perejil is “su colega de penas y fatigas” (85) and the other character of Andújar’s vignette, the Comandante, is an ex-aviator whose light-hearted jocularly helps to ease the concentration camp hardships. As Rose Duroux writes “¿Cómo no ver en peluca, ese campesino

valiente y generoso, una emanación del pueblo? Andújar nos invita a ello: ‘convirtámoslo a estos efectos en personaje simbólico, completamente representativo’ (“Un iconotexto” 309). They are all likewise participants in the construction of an exile Spanish identity within the space of the concentration camp. However, it is only through their textual representation within the space of Andújar’s chronicle that they transcend this radical localism of the Saint Cyprien camp and become inscribed as actors in the development of an exile Spanish nationality writ large.

Andújar writes of “Hambre nueva y joven de saber y de conocer. A sí mismo, a los demás” (77). Here the abject space of the concentration camps also provided a unique opportunity for the exiles to learn about each other and the (oftentimes competing) national ideals they defended combatting Francoism. Culture at Saint Cyprien therefore also celebrated community and pluralism, and Andújar recalls with pleasure the many expressions of diversity within the camp. “Desde el excéntrico hasta la resurrección de Rafael Alberti, pasando por la añoranza de una sardana o el grito gutural del montañés astur. ¡Y qué singular y emocionante el conjunto gallego que entona su himno autonomista!” (77-78). The camp at Saint-Cyprien as represented by Andújar becomes synecdoche for an idealized Spanish Republic that textually reunites its divergent groups.

In another vignette suggestively entitled “Inocencia,” Andújar describes an internee referred to simply as “el campesino.” Illiterate, this Cordovan farmer’s refusal to go back to fascist Spain is presented by the author as a quasi-instinctual understanding of his home and identity. Unable to articulate his position in terms of politics or ideology, el campesino’s resolve to stay in the concentration camp is nonetheless cast positively in terms of an affirmation of his Spanish identity, and not as a negative rejection or much less fear of the insurrectionists. Andújar asks rhetorically: “¿Odio corpóreo a los opresores, espatarrados en el surco rumoroso de la infancia? No, parece imbuido de una fe acuosa. Vaga en el ritmo, roqueña en la voluntad.” (34). It may be a “watery” faith that he does not fully understand, but his continued and willful presence in the camp is interpreted through Andújar’s chronicle as evidence of the vitality of the Spanish Republicanism within Saint Cyprien. Moreover, his presence in Andújar’s text serves as a psychic link between the common Spanish people and the exile project of safeguarding that national ideal in the French concentration camps. As Cate-Arries writes:

But *el campesino’s* refusal to go back, his stubborn though miserable occupation of the camp instead, defines him and others like him. Their resistance to repatriation (the very issue that Andújar so fiercely condemns when he publishes his book) 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. (158)

El campesino’s resolve is certainly a strong endorsement of the character of Spanish exiles in Saint Cyprien, but his anonymous presence in Andújar’s text is another example of how the raw material of Spanish nationality is transformed

through the author's elite interpretation and the reader's ability to categorize and extrapolate. The anonymous campesino is both the entire class of peasants known to the reader and any specific peasant the reader wishes to introduce in the performative present of Saint Cyprien.

An earlier vignette in Andújar's work entitled "Plebiscito" provides a different example of this performance of Spanish national identity. Here the author recounts a scene in which the prisoners stridently attacked "los que entonces, cobardes o traidores, lamían el perdón humillante de Franco, rehuían por anticipado, la prueba del campo de concentración, para empezar..." (23). The plebiscite realized by the internees is expressed through their decision to remain in the camp and their vociferous condemnation of those who chose to return. As Andújar writes: "nuestros gritos de entusiasmo, de fe en la lucha, de patriotismo enardecido, que libertábamos con violencia de la garganta, abrieron brecha, establecieron dos categorías morales" (24). It is through this breach that Andújar writes the exiled nation both as a moral-political affirmation –the daily plebiscite of the internees to continue their national project–, and as negation-difference from those who not included within this identification.

As Luba Jurgenson explains:

L'identité plurielle du témoin renvoie donc en premier lieu, dans le *corpus* espagnol, non pas à une fusion des vivants et des morts au sein d'un corps concentrationnaire collectif, mais à d'autres figures d'altérité qui viennent renforcer ou, au contraire, menacer la communauté de combattants patriotes: le camarade *alter ego*, mais aussi, le gardien, le traître, le déchu. Ces figures, que le narrateur s'approprie ou, au contraire, expulse de l'espace énonciatif, participent de la construction d'une identité plurielle. Réaffirmée sans cesse, celle-ci se déploie à travers l'emploi de la première personne du pluriel –par exemple, dans toutes les séquences de *Saint-Cyprien, plage...*, à 'exception de deux d'entre elles, bravant tout ce qui menace la cohésion du groupe: la désertion des uns, le découragement des autres, les conditions de vie désastreuses. On peut voir dans presque chaque fragment de *Saint-Cyprien, plage...* le micro-récit d'une société que se restructure autour d'un idéal résistant après avoir été ébranlée par une violence extérieure. (62)

This "micro tale" is in turn written both through the text as testimony –the representation of that daily plebiscite of the Republican nation in the local-immediate context of the camp– and the text qua text that allows for the creation of a virtual space where this national project undertaken in the camp can be reterritorialized, extended outwards and joined with other texts and persons. Only in this way does the chronotope of the concentration camp, where the dispersed present-performative is always seen as intervening in the development of a lively and sustained national identity, become inscribed as part of the pedagogical continuum of the Republican nation. These persons or groups cited by Jurgenson

as participating in the construction of a plural identity through either their inclusion or exclusion from the space of enunciation, are always doing so doubly: inscribed as presence-absence in the camp and as present-absent from Andújar's textual space of the nation in exile.

Conclusions

In recounting how an exile Spanish identity developed within the Saint Cyprien concentration camp, Andújar is very conscious of the contingency of this knowledge on the firsthand, lived experience of the internees. That is why he is always at pains to find a language adequate to its representation. However, even though Andújar's description of an emergent exiled Spanish identity concentrates on life in Saint Cyprien, his literary representation of this performative present is part of a broader narrative that consciously attempts to bridge the spaces and times of community identity formation. As I have suggested, Andújar's literary chronicle itself becomes a textual third-space capable of housing that contested discursive space where national identity is negotiated.

Representing Spanish national identity in exile involved a complicated process of working through the trauma of the concentration camp (and what LaCapra defined as the "dissociation of affect and representation") and finding ways to express that sordid reality as the site of continued resistance to Francoism through the performance of Republican national values. Moreover, this national identity had to be portrayed as transcendental and timeless along the twin axes of community formation to produce any sort of affective communal bond: Spanish national identity in exile needed to be extended both spatially-horizontally to incorporate the larger community of Spaniards beyond the immediacy of the concentration camp, as well as temporally-vertically, simultaneously backwards towards the moment of mythical consolidation of national identity and forwards towards some future moment of political legitimization and restoration.

Andújar's work was able to adeptly negotiate this double movement through his literary chronicle. As Cate-Arries demonstrated, the exiles discursively and literally transformed these French concentration camps from empty, non-places, into the "first-stage location in the campaign of national reconstruction" (163). However, if this physical emptiness allowed the internees to discursively recode the camps as sites where the Spanish identity could be performed as difference from Francoist hegemony, it was always paradoxically through the double sign of untranslatability and transcendence, of the immediacy of the lived reality of the camp and the timelessness of Spanish culture.

Works Cited

- Aguirre Oteiza, Daniel. "Alrededor de mí todo trocado: vida de desterrado, historia literaria, memoria poética y extrañeza de la lectura". *Theory Now: Journal of Literature, Critique and Thought*, vol. 4, no. 1, 2021, pp. 67-93.
- Alted Vigil, Alicia. *La voz de los vencidos: el exilio republicano de 1939*. Aguilar, 2005.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, 2006.
- Andújar, Manuel. *Saint-Cyprien, plage: campo de concentración*. 1942. Diputación de Huelva, 1990.
- Aubert, Paul. "Los intelectuales y la II República". *Ayer*, no. 40, 2000, pp. 105-133.
- Aznar Soler, Manuel. *República literaria y revolución: (1920-1939)*. Renacimiento, 2010.
- Barthes, Roland. "The Death of the Author." *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, edited by Vincent B. Leitch, Norton & Co, 2010, pp. 1322-1326.
- Cate-Arries, Francie. *Spanish Culture behind Barbed Wire: Memory and Representation of the French Concentration Camps, 1939-1945*. Associated UP, 2004.
- Caruth, Cathy. *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History*. The Johns Hopkins UP, 1996.
- Dreyfus-Armand, Geneviève. *L'Exil des républicains espagnols en France : de la guerre civile à la mort de Franco*. A. Michel, 1999.
- - -. "Les cultures de l'exil espagnol en France, 1939-1975: de la sauvegarde de l'identité à l'ouverture". *Literatura y cultura del exilio español de 1939 en Francia*, edited by Alted Vigil, Alicia and Manuel Aznar Soler, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2002.
- Duroux, Rose. Introduction. *Saint-Cyprien, plage... (camp de concentration)*, by Manuel Andújar, Presses universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2003, pp. 9-52.
- - -. "St. Cyprien, plage...: Un iconotexto Manuel Andújar & Julián Oliva". *Boletín de Estudios Giennenses*, no. 211, 2015, pp. 305-324.
- Fernández Martínez, Dolores. "Complejidad del exilio artístico en Francia". *Migraciones y exilios*, vol. 6, 2005, pp. 23-42.
- Hall, Stuart. "Who Needs Identity?". Introduction. *Questions of Cultural Identity*, edited by Paul du Gay and Stuart Hall, Sage, pp. 1-17.

- Holguín, Sandie. *Creating Spaniards: Culture and National Identity in Republican Spain*. U Wisconsin P, 2002.
- Juliá, Santos. "El fracaso de la República". *Revista de Occidente*, nos. 7- 8, 1981, pp. 196-211.
- - -. *Historias de las dos Españas*. Taurus, 2004.
- Jurgenson, Luba. "Témoignage littéraire sur les camps de concentration: enjeux théorique d'une comparaison". *La littérature espagnole et les camps français d'internement: de 1939 à nos jours: Actes du colloque international "70 Años después", Nanterre, 12-14 Février 2009*, edited by Bernard Sicot, Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense, 2010, pp. 53-65.
- Labanyi, Jo. *Gender and Modernization in the Spanish Realist Novel*. Oxford UP, 2000.
- LaCapra, Dominick. *Writing History, Writing Trauma*. Johns Hopkins UP, 2014.
- Lang, Berel. *Holocaust Representation: Art Within the Limits of History and Ethics*. Johns Hopkins UP, 2003.
- López-Pozo, María José: "¿Sobrevive el discurso testimonial al que se le niega un referente histórico?" *El exilio literario español de 1939: actas del Primer Congreso Internacional (Bellaterra, 27 de noviembre- 1 de diciembre de 1995)*, edited by Manuel Aznar Soler, Vol. 1, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2002, pp. 317-325.
- Marañón, Gregorio. Ramón Pérez de Ayala, and José Ortega y Gasset. "Un manifiesto dirigido a intelectuales y firmado por tres escritores de gran prestigio. Marañón, Pérez de Ayala y Ortega y Gasset crean la Agrupación al Servicio de la República". *El Sol*, February 10, 1931, reprinted in *José Ortega y Gasset. Obras completas*, Vol. IV, Taurus, 2005, pp. 486-488.
- Naharro-Calderón, José María. "Por los campos de Francia: entre el frío de las alambradas y el calor de la memoria". *Literatura y cultura del exilio español de 1939 en Francia*, edited by Alicia Alted Vigil and Manuel Aznar Soler, Gexel, 1998, pp. 307-328.
- Ortega y Gasset, José. "El error Berenguer". *El Sol*, noviembre 15, 1930, reprinted in *Cuadernos republicanos*, no. 59, 2005, pp. 201-206.
- Paz Balibrea, Mari. "Exilio y militancia". *Líneas de fuga: Hacia otra historiografía cultural*, edited by Mari Paz Bailbrea, Siglo XXI, 2017, pp. 54-57.
- Renan, Ernest. "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?" *Nationalism*, edited by John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, Oxford UP, 1994.
- Seyhan, Azade. *Writing Outside the Nation*. Princeton UP, 2001.

Ugarte, Michael. *Shifting Ground: Spanish Civil War Exile Literature*. Duke UP, 1989.

Unamuno, Miguel de. *En torno al casticismo*.1902. Edited by Jean-Claude Rabaté, Cátedra, 2006.

- - -. "La promesa de España". *El Sol*, May 13, 14, and 15, 1931, reprinted in *Miguel de Unamuno: República española y España republicana. (1931-1936)*, edited by Vicente González Martín, Almar, 1979, pp. 73-84.