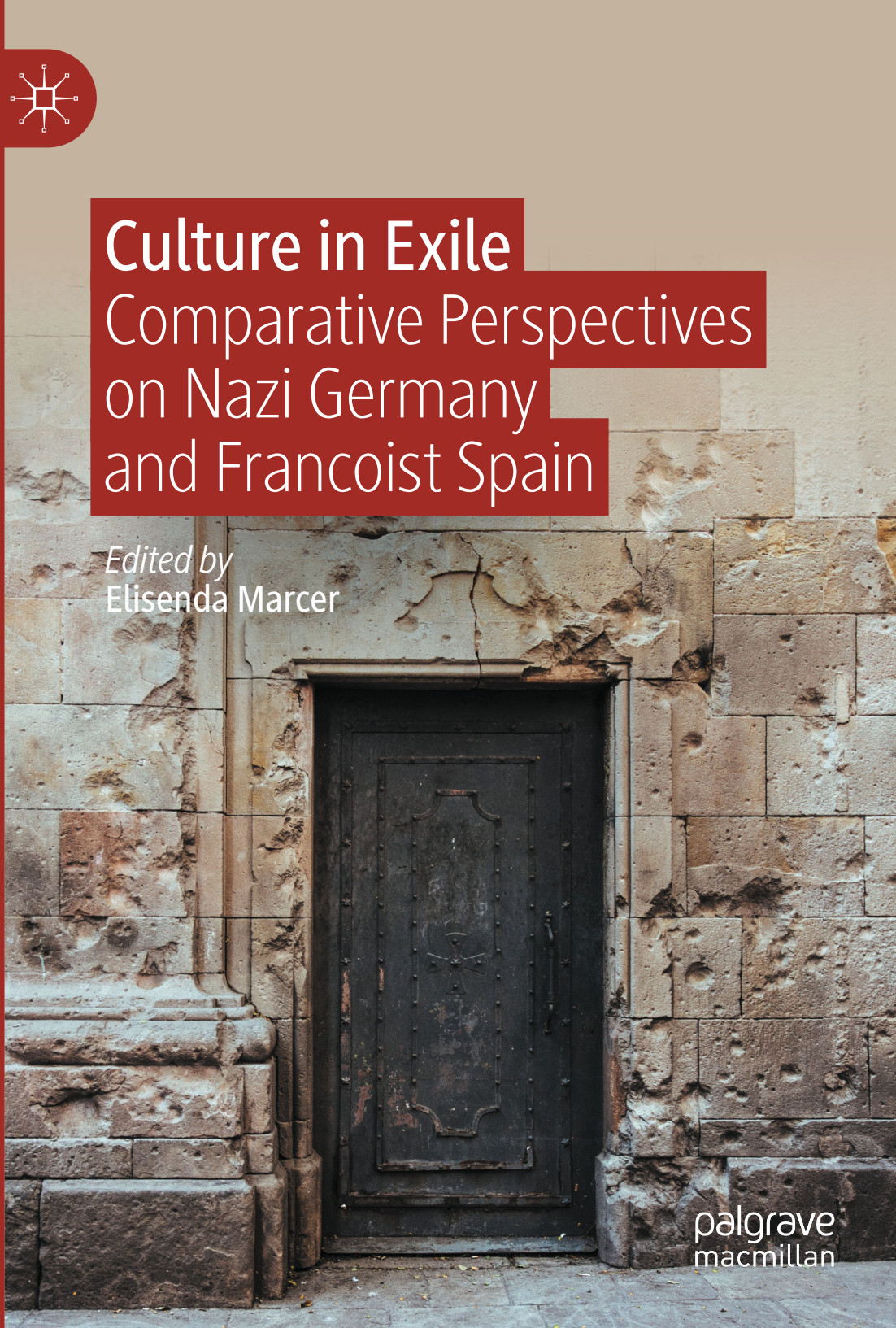
Culture in Exile
Comparative Perspectives on Nazi Germany and Francoist Spain

Edited by
Elisenda Marcer



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ISBN 978-3-031-61882-6 ISBN 978-3-031-61883-3 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-61883-3

Cover illustration: Naomi Rahim/Getty Images

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Acknowledgements

This book has been written as a result of research conducted under a Leverhulme Trust Research Grant. The grant was awarded to the project 'Inner and Outer Exile in Fascist Germany and Spain: A Comparative Study', directed by Professor John Klapper from the University of Birmingham. I am grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for supporting this project and making this edition possible.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my colleagues in the project, John Klapper and William Dodd, for their encouragement, wise advice, and patience. A special thanks to Mónica Jato, also a research team member, who read and provided feedback on several chapters and showed unwavering confidence in my work. I am also grateful to Jutta Vinzent, who sadly passed away and could not complete her valuable contribution to the book.

I would also like to thank the book contributors for their excellent work, which kept me motivated and confident in the high value of the project. I want to thank the librarians at the Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya in Barcelona for their patience and kindness in helping me delve into the archives, even in the hottest summer days. I am grateful

for the invaluable conversations with my friends Blanca Bravo and Joaquim Molina, whose insights helped me understand the complexity of historical time.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to Beth Rothery Caygill for proofreading the book and translating and accompanying me during the final stages of the editing process.

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Introduction: Exilic Culture in Comparative Perspective

Elisenda Marcer

Towards an Integrated Model of Exile

During the past few decades, the field of Exile Studies has been characterized by a persistent quest for a suitable definition that encapsulates the experience of exile, whilst recognizing its chronological and spatial limits within a specific geopolitical territory. This ambitious endeavour has been plagued by with contradictions and inconsistencies that have inevitably resulted in ambiguous and inaccurate definitions. The semantic breadth of the term 'exile' itself and its proximity to

The original idea of this volume was possible thanks to the Leverhulme Research Grant (https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/research/centres-institutes/research-in-modern-languages/innerand-territorial-exile-in-nazi-germany-and-francoist-spain. Accessed 6.01.2024) awarded to the project 'Inner and Outer Exile in Fascist Germany and Spain: A Comparative Study' led by Prof. John Klapper with the collaboration of Prof. Mónica Jato, Prof. William Dodd and Dr. Elisenda Marcer.

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E. Marcer (ed.), *Culture in Exile*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-61883-3_1

nomadic or migrant experiences has made this task particularly complex. In their effort to map, frame and define the evolution of the term 'exile' and its cognates during Nazi Germany and Francoist Spain, Mónica Jato and John Klapper note that there has been a tendency to use 'exile' in a figurative sense and that numerous scholars have succumbed to the temptations of the seductive and metaphorical dimensions of the term.[1] This tendency, which considers the experience of exile in abstract rather than historical terms, has gradually depoliticized and favoured moral, aesthetic, metaphorical, and artistic values instead, whether in regard to social phenomena or individuals. In this process, literary and critical boundaries have become weaker and less defined, to the extent that poetical and literary devices have displaced the historical and political references that such a term requires. Despite efforts to recover the concrete and the historical context of the term (e.g. Balibrea (coord.) (2017), Jato and Klapper (2020), and McClennen (2003) exile has become synonymous with alienation, marginalization, and moral or religious growth, triggering more confusion in a field where the nature of the terminology has been, and still is, resistant to definition. This inclination towards figurative conceptualizations has tended to detract from understanding the material and political specificities of exile. With regard to the latter, a comparative study of the German and Hispanic[2] experiences throws into sharp relief the extent to which in the modern period the political concept of exile has become inextricably associated with the nation-state. It is the nation-state from which individuals and groups are expelled, and within which discriminated and alienated citizens negotiate an existence and an identity. The German case[3] would appear to conform entirely to this paradigm—even after the 'Anschluss' of Austria in 1938 the issue of a residual and resistant Austrian identity does not seem to have played a significant role. In contrast, the plurality of cultural and national identities in Spain marks out the Hispanic discourse as an

[1] See Jato and Klapper (2020); Chapter 3, 6.

[2] The term 'Hispanic' is used in its broader sense to include Spain's various languages, cultures, and national identities.

[3] I would like to express my gratitude to Professor William Dodd for his invaluable contribution in introducing and discussing the main historiographical debates surrounding German exile summarized in this introduction.

outsider in this conceptualization, adding a further dimension, which needs to be accounted for in any comparative analysis. In the case of Basque, Catalan, and Galician, issues of language and identity, and of the 'stateless nation' within a nation-state, need to be acknowledged and their implications for a model of exile given due weight.

Taking these issues into consideration, the research findings presented here are intended as a contribution to a renewed discussion on an overarching conceptualization of exile and exilic culture. The eight contributions, by Germanists and Hispanists, working largely in their respective disciplines, bring together research on inner and territorial exile in and from National Socialism in Germany (1933–45) and the Franco regime in Spain (1939–75), whilst also exploring comparative issues which are relevant to an integrated model of exilic cultural production. Based on a transnational approach, this model conceives the experiences and cultural manifestations of inner and territorial exiles not as opposites but as a continuum or spectrum of experiences and practices. Rather than focussing on individual nations, this model accounts for the similarities and differences of the three exiled cases in a nuanced and intersectional manner. The use of concepts like 'negotiating' between societies or engagement with shared patterns of everyday life, whether material or spiritual, intellectual, or symbolic, not only emphasizes the notion of a time–space continuum, but also calls into question traditional territorial divisions and arbitrary chronological caesuras. One of the main contributions of this volume lies in adopting a comparative model, which addresses the role of the nation-state in the German and Spanish/Catalan contexts. It explores parallels and differences in the conceptualizations of exile, for example, issues of periodization and the different understandings and resonances of key concepts such as 'innerer Widerstand' (inner resistance), 'Resistenz' [immunity from/rejection of (hegemony)], and 'resistencia interior' (interior resistance). The analysis of relevant asynchronies of similar narratives across linguistic and cultural frontiers, such as the perpetrator/victim discourse, provides new insights into current processes of cultural emancipation and contested nationhood in relation to the topic of exile. Naturally, the scope of inquiry goes beyond the end dates of the regimes to include the retrospective discourses in the post-regime period which continue to the present day. The elaboration of such

an integrated morphology of exile is intended to refocus debate towards a *homology* of inner and territorial exilic culture in both the national and transnational setting, suggesting new ways of configuring research in this field.

The essays in this volume interrogate this model of exile and understand it in its literal sense, as a material, lived experience under dictatorship. They thus resist the temptation to use the term metaphorically, to signify tropes of cultural alienation, or to conceive of exile as a symbolic or essentialist experience. Making use of a palette of methodological approaches they seek to increase awareness of the different ways in which exile, broadly conceived, can be represented.

Integrating Stateless Exiles

The writers who were exiled after the Spanish Civil War of 1936–39 and wrote in languages other than Spanish were consistently excluded from Spain's official cultural histories during the Franco era and the transition to democracy after the dictator's death. According to experts such as Sebastiaan Faber (2019), Mari Paz Balibrea (2017), Manuel Aznar (2002a, 2002b, 2006, 2014), and Fernando Larraz (2017), amongst others, there is still much work to be done in recognizing the variety and multilingualism of literary works produced by exiles. As Balibrea (2017) and Faber (2006) note, although the democratic transition in Spain from 1975 to 1979 offered some opportunities for integrating and addressing exile from a transnational perspective, it was hindered by institutional inertia and the persistent weight of Spanish-centred narratives.[4] Most of these narratives emphasized a Republican exiled identity based on shared experiences of military loss, isolation, and displacement without considering the cultural and linguistic differences amongst exiles, especially when Spanish was the primary language spoken in their new countries. The tendency to homogenize the experiences of exiles was apparent in studies of territorial exile but became even more pronounced when examining interior exile and the experiences

[4] See Balibrea and Faber (2019).

of those in concentration camps. Essential differences such as social class, geographic origins, language, and national identity within exiled communities were frequently overlooked, resulting in cultural obliteration. In the case of Basques and Catalans, for example, those who remained in their homelands experienced a sense of isolation and alienation that was aggravated by the persecution and eradication of their language and culture. This nongeographical exile—described by Paul Ilie as 'inner exile'—, demonstrated that in some cases exile 'was an internal disorder of which geographical disruption was only one stage' (1980, 31). Hence, according to Ilie, interior emigration in Spain was shaped by an alienating effect and cultural repression, which were considerably more acute in Catalonia and the Basque Country: 'The Basques were obliged to live in their own country as they would if they were emigrants to Germany' (28).

Language in Transnational Research

Due to this severe attack on their languages, the exiled communities soon took the responsibility of preserving their linguistic identity at home and abroad, which became a defining feature of the first Basque and Catalan cultural exiles. Despite the high number of people fleeing from the Catalan-speaking territories in 1939 and the impact that the regime's censorship had on its cultural infrastructure, leaving Catalonia without any political or cultural presence, Catalan exile distinguished itself by producing an extraordinary body of publications and literary work in the Catalan language across the countries of Europe, Latin America, and North America. These publications included emblematic journals such as: *Clam* (Noise) (Marsella), *Poesia* (Poetry) (Montpellier), *Recull literari* (Literary Collection) (Paris), *Germanor* (Brotherhood) (Santiago de Chile), *Quaderns de l'Exili* (Exile Notebooks), *La Nova Revista* (The New Journal), *El Poble Català* (The Catalan People), *La Nostra Revista* (Our Journal), *Gaseta literària catalana* (Catalan Gazette), *Lletres* (Letters), *Pont Blau* (Blue Bridge), and *Xaloc* (Sirocco) which, despite their short life, helped to disseminate works in Catalan by exiled authors as well as authors who remained at home or returned from

exile.[5] Although it was challenging to survive in a predominantly Spanish cultural setting, this widespread and intense editorial activity provided an opportunity to revive and continue literature and culture in the Catalan language whilst helping to forge links between the diaspora and inner exiles. Similarly, this dedication to promoting and preserving their language was evident amongst other stateless exiles, such as the Basques and Galicians. Whereas this aspect has been broadly studied by scholars in these languages [Álvarez-Sancho (1996/2015) (Campillo (2010, 2011, 2012), Fèrriz (2009)], in exile historiographical debates in Spanish there prevailed a monolingual mindset that failed to consider many linguistic practices and methods of representation peculiar to those literatures. The essays in this book acknowledge the significant risk of weakening peripheral languages' political and cultural backgrounds and employ a comparative and multilingual approach that acknowledges/accounts for their distinctiveness and commonalities whilst also considering their historical contexts. The contributions on Hispanic Studies by Helena Buffery, Mónica Jato, and Elisenda Marcer, utilize a multilingual approach to interpret thoroughly primary and secondary sources from the three exile cases addressed in this volume. In contrast to this, the chapters focussing on German Studies by Stephen Brockmann, William Dodd, John Klapper, and Tara Talwar Windsor, use the transnational method to support their argument about the role and symbolic representations of the German language in plays, novels, and epistolaries. Transnational approaches shed light on the role of language in comparative studies and also bring into focus additional complexities, such as the formation of international networks in exile and their influence in the home countries, cultural re-enactment overseas, or representations of home in art and literature of the period.

Juxtaposing the German and the Hispanic cases explains the additional intricacies of the latter, which in turn may help us gain new perspectives on the German case. Major themes in the Hispanic context

[5] For more information about these publications, read Joan Ramon Resina's chapter 'Exilio catalán. Segundo hogar. La vida extrínseca del exiliado' (Catalan Exile. Second Home. The Extrinsic Life of the Exiled) in *Líneas de fuga* (Flightlines, 2017: 87–101) edited by Mari Paz Balibrea. Also, Teresa Fèrriz, *Escriptors i revistes catalanes de l'exili* (Writers and Catalan Journals in Exile, 2009); and Maria Campillo, *Llegir l'exili* (Reading Exile, 2011).

which have no significant correlation in German research include forms of hegemony centred on the denial of statehood, colonialism, and language politics within the nation-state. Whilst regional and sociological differences may be factors in the politics of National Socialism (for example, the reputation of Berlin as substantially hostile to the regime, and the generally higher level of immunity to National Socialist dogma amongst Catholics), these are still regarded as internal affairs of the German nation-state. Even the annexation of Austria, bringing it 'home into the Reich', objectively an act of colonial oppression, is (still today) coloured by the perception of Austrian as a national dialect of German (rather than a Germanic dialect like Dutch) which plays into a notion of Germany as a linguistically defined homogeneous nation. Such a view of the Spanish state, on the other hand, is a highly contested matter. The Hispanic case is quite different, leading to differences in emphasis in the predominant and scholarly discourses, especially those consigned to the periphery of the Spanish nation-state both during and following the years of Francoism. Two further factors need to be mentioned here which also differentiate significantly the two cases: the sheer length of the Franco dictatorship (thirty-six years) when compared to the twelve years of National Socialist rule; and the very different memory cultures, which developed after the demise of the Francoist regime. West Germany's robust approach to coming to terms with the past contrasts strongly with the Spanish state's preference for an officially sanctioned amnesia known as 'pacto del olvido' (Pact of Forgetting).[6] It is therefore unsurprizing that Hispanic scholars are particularly sensitive to the need to set aside hegemonic concepts of national identity and adopt a transcultural approach, even as much of the exile historiography of Spain (and of other countries) has remained committed to a 'nation-centred' social history.

Although the term 'transnationalism' has been used for years to refer to migration and multi-directional movements, its use in exile studies, particularly in the Hispanic case, is relatively new. Methodologically, this can be explained by its tensions with more traditional principles of historical comparison, which distinguish two types of comparison: those

[6] The Pact of Forgetting was a political decision by left- and right-wing political parties in Spain to avoid future confrontations regarding the Franco regime's legacy in Spain after he died in 1975.

that focus on contrasts and differences and those that focus on similarities. This distinction is fundamental as it helps differentiate comparative studies according to the weight of these two perspectives. However, risks arise depending on how many case studies a comparative study can encompass. The flow of continuities between historical phenomena can be broken, and the nuances between the compared cases can be reduced to generalizations. In their study on how to apply a comparative method, Haupt and Kock (2009) conclude that one cannot compare phenomena in their multi-layered totality, but only in certain regards. Comparison always means abstraction, and we should be aware of the possible costs of reduction. This is one of the challenges that essays in this volume must face and address in two ways. First, the contributors have proven cultural and linguistic expertise in their respective case studies, guaranteeing appropriately detailed engagement with secondary and primary sources in the original language. Second, they reflect on the conditions underlying each essay's methodological approach to ensure that the critical and analytical components are closely linked to the synchronic and diachronic context. In summary, taking a transnational approach broadens the scope of historical and cultural studies beyond political borders. It allows for examining multiple aspects of exile, including the relationship between territorial and inner exile, which is a key focus of this volume.

Periodization

As mentioned above, comparison of the German and the Hispanic situations reveals differences in the way in which the chronology of each exile is conceived. In both cases, it is important to consider discursive behaviours and cultural productions in the context of the respective fascist state's development. Broadly speaking, such a chronology may be said to have three phases: a preliminary stage of struggle, civil unrest, or revolution from which the fascist state emerges; the period of fascist hegemony; and, following the demise of the regime, a period of retrospective reflection on the fascist period which may be delayed in its onset, but last for several generations. The central period, covering the

duration of the fascist state, may itself be subdivided into phases, such as: a period of consolidation of power; major shifts in domestic and foreign policy (including war); and the regime's reactions to its imminent demise. Clearly, the German and Hispanic cases, whilst they overlap within the broader chronology of fascism in twentieth-century Europe, are of very different durations, the period of fascist power lasting twelve years in Germany (1933–1945) and thirty-six years in Spain (1939–1975); moreover, for some thirty years, the German public discourse on National Socialism was retrospective in nature.

In Germany, the preliminary phase can be traced at least to the defeat of the German and Austro-Hungarian empires in 1918 and the polarized politics of the Weimar Republic (19,191,933), notably the rejection by many Germans of the peace terms imposed by the Allies, and indeed the rejection of the very notion that Germany had been defeated militarily. The twelve years of fascist government can be subdivided into a phase of consolidation lasting from January 1933 to perhaps the summer of 1936 (the Berlin Olympiad marking a high point in the regime's domestic and international standing). Internally, tensions within the NSDAP led to the political murders of the 'Night of the Long Knives' beginning on 30 June 1934, which destroyed the 'socialist' wing represented by Ernst Röhm and the SA. Repression of opposition in the population at large was swiftly implemented through the very public establishment of concentration and detention camps, and through a system of laws governing, inter alia, membership of cultural professions (under the umbrella organization of the Reich Chamber of Culture). The war precipitated by the regime in 1939, for which Germany was being prepared through Goering's 1936 Four Year Plan, marks a major turning point. Nazi Germany's intervention in the Spanish Civil War in support of Franco's forces, most notoriously in the bombing of Guernica on 26 April 1937, marks a period in which the two chronologies materially intersect. The military victories (especially the swift defeat of France in 1940) at first increased the popularity of the regime, before the disastrous losses in the Soviet Union (Battle of Stalingrad, August 1942–February 1943) and the Allied bombing campaign caused a serious erosion of popular support. The regime's implementation of racist and antisemitic policies, however, was immediate, although this too was marked by important

epochal phases: programmes of 'racial hygiene' and 'euthanasia' (also affecting the 'Aryan' population) beginning as early as 1933; the anti-Jewish 'Nuremberg Race Laws' promulgated in September 1935; Hitler's (secret) memorandum to exterminate 'life unworthy of life' (Lebensunwertes Leben, dated, significantly, 1 September 1939, which made special mention of Romany populations); the Wannsee Conference of January 1942, which detailed plans for the extermination of European Jewry ('Final Solution') in extermination camps and ghettos in the occupied territories of Eastern Europe. The end phase of the regime, from the defeat in Stalingrad, is marked by an escalation of the war effort and the ideology of racial 'struggle' ('total war' and 'scorched earth') even if this meant the destruction of the German population. The retrospective national conversation in the aftermath of the Nazi period can be divided into three broad phases. From 1945 to 1949 the four victorious Allies (Britain, France, the USA, and the USSR) pursued a policy of 'denazification' that began to falter and lose popular support as the tensions between the Western Allies and the USSR developed into the 'Cold War', which would last until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989. From 1949 to 1989, the two German States (Federal Republic in the west, German Democratic Republic in the east) embarked on very different, and in some instances, mutually recriminatory, cultures of remembrance of the Nazi past. The incorporation of the GDR into the Federal Republic in 1990 marked the transition to a new phase of German national identity, in which remembrance of the Nazi past also plays a role. Within this broad scheme, other caesuras may be identified, for example, the political and cultural upheaval in the Federal Republic in the 1960s, generically referred to as the phenomenon of '1968', caused by a young generation challenging the post-1945 settlement, a major component of which was their perception of their parents' and grandparents' inadequate 'coming to terms with the (Nazi) past' (Vergangenheitsbewältigung). This caesura is of particular interest here as it is generally held to mark the point at which a politicized generation began to reverse the generally favourable reception of 'inner exile' culture in the Nazi period and its correspondingly low opinion of territorial exiles. The reversed polarity, in which 'inner exile' culture is viewed with

suspicion, is still evident to this day, although a more balanced discourse in the academic literature has been in evidence since the 1990s.

The German narrative outlined above is largely settled, although there may be differences in emphasis and interpretation according to different political positions—as there was in the competing and opposing narratives of the two German states in the Cold War up to 1989 (see Brockmann's chapter in this volume).

Similarly, in the Hispanic context, depending on the particular political positions adopted, we find different interpretations of events from the origins of the Spanish Civil War through to politics in the aftermath of the Francoist period. Unlike the German narrative, the Spanish one was written and spread by the winning side of the war, which suppressed dissenting voices against the regime's official version of history, leaving the Republican exiled community at the margins of this narrative. As seen in the Hispanic contributions to this book (e.g. Buffery, Marcer, and Jato's chapters), this fact not only fuelled the creation of cultural and personal networks between territorial and inner exiles during the 1940s and 1950s but also shaped the discourse about the role that exiled culture in its multilingual manifestations played in the postwar aesthetic canon. Additionally, control of the narrative by the victorious side had a decisive impact on the cultures of remembrance that Spain embraced in the transition to democracy—in contrast to the situation in Germany—with Spain adopting a policy of non-revisionism ('Pact of forgetting'), whilst Germany began the traumatic process of acceptance and self-reflection during the 'denazification' period and the years to follow.

As mentioned before, there are moments when the chronologies of Spain and Germany coincide, such as the 1937 bombardment of Guernica. However, they only share the general chronological phases characteristic of the emergence of totalitarian regimes in Europe. To comprehend the intricacies of Spain's pre-civil war climate, it is essential to consider its inherent socioeconomic and political circumstances during the early twentieth century. This is especially important for understanding why, in the 1930s, whilst Europe was witnessing the advent of authoritarian tendencies, Spain was engaged in the construction of the Spanish Republican Project, which historian Stanley G. Payne considered 'the only major new step towards democracy in Europe

during a decade of economic crisis'. (2006, 1). Payne also noted that from a broader perspective, the Spanish project could be seen as the final phase of the wave of liberalization following the end of World War I, which added ten new republics in central and eastern Europe (2006, 344). However, by 1931, the general European era of post-war democratization had ended, and European political currents were heading towards radicalization and authoritarianism. These circumstances and the recent failure of Miguel Primo de Rivera's Spanish dictatorship (1923–30), supported by the monarch Alfonso XIII, caused Spanish political forces to consider a Republic the form of government that could achieve democratization and overcome old-style politics, now deemed corrupt and authoritarian.

Benefiting from advancements in industry, literacy, and development in Spain during the early 1920s, the Republican coalition gained power in April 1931, even though monarchists won most of the seats in the municipal election. Through a political understanding, the Republican alliance was formed by three entities: the Republican left, the Republican centre-right, and the Socialists, each of whom conceived the project in different terms. The centre-right, led by former monarchists such as the Catholics Niceto Alcalá-Zamora and Miguel Maura, advocated liberal democracy with limited social and institutional reform. Meanwhile, the Republican left, the core of the coalition, viewed the Republican project primarily as a cultural revolution with some social reform. The largest political party of the left group, Acción Republicana ('Republican Action'), led by Manuel Azaña, placed the cultural revolution at the centre of their agenda and recognized the need to create a modern state separate from religion, as well as a series of institutional changes and reforms. Thus, in 1931–1933 essential transformations involving church and state, the military, educational expansion, regional autonomy, labour relations, agrarian restructuring, and expansion of public works were approved, despite coalition disagreement, establishing this period as one of the most decisive in the recent history of Spain.[7]

[7] See Payne's chapter on the Republic Project in *The Collapse of the Second Spanish Republic* (2006: 8–25).

Historians often argue that implementing deep reforms at a rapid pace, sometimes in a non-consensual political style under leaders like Azaña, and in a society that was not yet equipped to handle them, caused antagonism on both left and right. This, in turn, resulted in a powerful right-wing backlash against the Republic. Amongst these reactions there are two key events that contributed to the origins of the collapse of the Republican project: a) the emergence of the mass-based Catholic political movement in 1932 under the coalition Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas ('Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rights', CEDA), which soon became the largest political party in the country, and b) the foundation, one year later, of the first Spanish fascist political party, Falange Española ('Spanish Falange', FE) by Antonio Primo de Rivera, the son of the dictator, Miguel Primo de Rivera. In a broader chronological scheme**,** 1932 and 1933 represent the materialization of radicalized politics in Spain after a series of party conflicts and the advent of fascism in the core programme of the Italian fascist-inspired party Falange Española, which, in contrast to Germany at the same time**,** was still a minority movement that began to grow during the Spanish Civil War. Moreover, in October 1934, during a polarized and tense political climate, the Revolución de Asturias (known as the 'Asturian Revolution' or 'October Revolution') erupted as part of a General Strike declared by the Alianzas Obreras ('Labor Alliances').[8] During this time and the months after the left's victory in the February 1936 election, there were numerous uprisings, destructive acts, and strikes, along with armed conflicts between paramilitary Falangists and Republican workers. Soon, the extreme right used these violent events to pursue a coup d'état, which they believed would stabilize the country and rid it of communists, anarchists, and separatists. As a result, on 17 July 1936, a fascist coup d'état was duly carried out against the Republican government, leading to the Spanish Civil War.

[8] The October Revolution was a leftist response to what they perceived as Alejandro Lerroux's betrayal of republicanism. Lerroux was notorious for his manipulative and corrupt tactics, which allowed the right-wing CEDA to enter the government.

(Alternative) Exile Chronologies

Historians have mostly agreed upon the Spanish Civil War timeline, highlighting 17 July 1936 as the beginning of the Civil War and 1 April 1939 as the end, but there has been disagreement about the periodization of Republican exile. From a historiographical standpoint, the exclusion and neglect of the exiled community that began to leave the country in 1939 is significant. Republicans were initially left out of the regime's chronology, with key dates and events of importance to exiles being systematically omitted. Despite the turn that Exile Studies took in the 1980s and 1990s, with its attempt to redress this oblivion and reclaim the exile legacy,[9] there have been controversies surrounding the republican chronology that this volume debates. For example, the chapter by Jordi Gracia refutes the idea that exile culture is still relegated from the Spanish canon, whilst Buffery, Marcer, and Jato argue the opposite, especially regarding peripheral exiles. In the German case, on the other hand, what is mostly disputed is the rigid and artificial historical compartmentalization that was designed to create a strict separation between inner and territorial exiles. Thus, from different angles and examining the work of various authors and literary genres, the four German exile chapters (Brockmann, Dodd, Klapper, and Windsor) question this method by proposing the notion of historical continuity as a more appropriate interpretative tool. In other words, the application of an integral approach understood as a transnational and comparative method, enables attention to problems in the chronological caesuras and ultimately serves as an analytical tool to provide fresh insights into the relevant historical periods and circumstances.

Drawing on current scholarly debates and new approaches to the cultural heritage of exile, this book reveals another key feature that differentiates the Hispanic from the German case, namely the construction of a historical narrative of exile outside the hegemonic power, a narrative which in Spain only started a decade after the dictator's

[9] Some key scholars of this period are José Luis Abellán, José Ángel Ascunce, Carlos Blanco Aguinaga, Josep Maria Balcells, María Campillo, Francisco Caudet, and Michael Ugarte, amongst others.

death. Scholars like Balibrea and Aznar deploy the concept of counter-chronology—developed by Reinhart Koselleck (1985)—to emphasize the role of transversality in the creation of other chronologies emerging outside the power of dominant socio-political structures. Applied to the exile legacy, this helps bring to light concealed collective and individual milestones, key dates, and events within the exiled community. Despite a certain lack of consensus on this notion, the vindication of a new periodization remains present amongst scholars as an ethical duty towards the exiled legacy (Buffery 2020). Buffery and Marcer, for instance, contribute to the remembrance of this periodization by analysing Catalan exile writers and intellectuals who were deeply engaged in international affairs and participated in the cultural life of their host countries (Buffery focussing on theatre and Marcer on poetry).[10] With the same purpose of remembering and changing the prominent historical narrative, these counter-chronologies examine the most traumatic key dates in national Spanish historiography, i.e. 1938–39, the years of the Republicans' defeat, and the convulsive years between 1956 and 1962, when Spanish Republicans were imprisoned, executed, or migrated to Mexico and the United States, from a broader angle that emphasizes the active rather than passive role of the exiled community.

This approach does not intend to diminish the harsh conditions these refugees had to endure but to address the lack of perspective when it comes to analysing the significance of specific periods and the commitment of the exiled community to overcoming its diasporic condition. Republican exile, thus, cannot be considered a dismembered part of the Spanish national body that was subsequently assimilated by the cultures with which it came into contact. The exiled community, as noted in the sections about the integrative model, managed to participate in and interact with other cultures and languages, particularly in countries like Chile or Mexico, whose governments did not recognize Franco's dictatorship. Hence, it is worth noting that within the historiographical mechanisms of these up-to-date chronologies, three main

[10] The chronological chapter entitled 'Cronologías. Fechas clave' ('Chronologies. Key Dates') in *Líneas de fuga* (Flightlines) explores in detail how Spanish Republicans in exile became involved in crucial European, Western and transatlantic debates more often than national historiography suggested (Balibrea, 2017, 231–300).

strategies of visibility converged: (a) recognizing the external political and cultural role achieved by Republican intellectuals in exile; (b) re-enacting to preserve linguistic, national, and cultural identities in exile; and (c) rejecting the dichotomy between territorial and inner exile by acknowledging the personal connections between intellectuals and writers within and outside Spain. Although finding examples of the Hispanic exile-specific concept of counter-chronology in German studies is challenging, there are apparent similarities between the three strategies, specifically (a) and (c), across various contributions to the volume. Thus, Brockmann's chapter delves into the changing dynamics of visibility and the cultural role of territorial and inner exiles, such as the writers Thomas Mann and Elisabeth Langgässer, that encouraged a sense of common purpose amongst the protagonists of postwar German literature. Meanwhile, Jato examines this aspect from the Spanish perspective through Max Aub's correspondence. These three mechanisms also appear from different angles throughout the seven other contributions, demonstrating that a comparative and transnational approach allows us to move beyond the traditional linear view of national history and challenge the power dynamics that have influenced discussions about Spanish and German exile for many years.

This Volume

Finally, this section presents the contributions in their relationship with the integrative model, rather than chronologically or individually. Each contribution is framed against a comparative analytical framework and demonstrates how literary genres, personal and literary experiences of a broad range of authors across the disciplines, i.e. theatre, poetry, historical fiction, autobiographical writing, and painting, challenge the historical and cultural division between territorial and inner exile that has hitherto characterized the German, Spanish and Catalan contexts.

The first part of the book focusses on German exile and the second on Spanish and Catalan exile. The two parts reflect each other in terms of structure, each moving from a broader to a more specific analysis of