

NAVIGATING IBERIAN LANDSCAPES IN THE TRAVEL WRITING OF JOSEP PLA AND AGUSTÍ CALVET.

BY

ANDREA JOAN LAWRENCE

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of Masters by
Research.



**UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM**

School of Languages, Cultures, Art History and Music

Department of Modern Languages

University of Birmingham

November 2018

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines representations of the Iberian periphery, notably Portugal and Catalonia, as depicted in Josep Pla's *Direcció Lisboa* and Gaziol's *Trilogia ibèrica*. Engaging with the genre of travel writing, this thesis exposes the contradictions in their work which appropriately propel these figures into the depths of intellectual, literary and political marginalisation in the twentieth century. In order to override concerns relating to the different national realities facing Portugal and Catalonia, a careful methodological framework is applied which appropriately considers the construction of these national identities, in terms of their relationship with the domineering centre, Castile. In light of Benedict Anderson's notion of "imagined communities", the establishment of a literary Lusocatalan discourse is considered, drawing on the representations of the Iberian landscapes in Pla and Gaziol's work as the rationale. In addition, proposals for an Iberian Union are understood as a way of accommodating instances of alterity in the Iberian Peninsula. However, the notion is rejected on the grounds of patriarchal colonialism.

Key words: Lusocatalanism, national identities, travel writing, landscapes, patriarchalism.

In loving memory of William Alan Cordell.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY	14
CHAPTER 3: DICHOTOMISING THE JOURNALISTIC VOICE: REALISM AS SURREALISM	20
3.1: INTRODUCTION TO JOSEP PLA AND AGUSTÍ CALVET	20
3.2: TRAVEL WRITING	33
3.3: REALISM OR SURREALISM?	49
3.4: CONCLUSION	56
CHAPTER 4: LANDSCAPE AS THE PASSIVE VALIDATION OF PENINSULAR POWER	58
4.1: INTRODUCTION	58
4.2: LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES	64
4.3: CITYSCAPES: THE ROLE OF BARCELONA	68
4.4: WATER	71
4.4.1: RAIN	74
4.4.2: RIVERS	77
4.4.3: SEAS AND OCEANS	80
4.4.4: TREES AND CULTIVATION	85
4.4.5: THE CASTILIAN DESERT	90
4.5: CONCLUSION	96
CHAPTER 5: POLITICAL PATRIARCHY AS THE PERFORMATIVE MANIFESTATION OF A POSTIMPERIAL PENINSULA	98
5.1: INTRODUCTION: HAS CATALONIA BEEN COLONISED?	98
5.2: PATRIARCHY IN ACTION: OBSERVING THE TRAVELLER'S LANDSCAPE	105
5.3: IBERIAN UNION: COLONIAL EXPANSION OR UTOPIC DREAM?	116
5.4: MODERNITY AS THE ROUTE TOWARDS DECOLONISATION	129
5.5: CONCLUSION	135
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION	137
BIBLIOGRAPHY	142
WEBOGRAPHY	157

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In Barcelona in June 1929, in the preface to his book entitled *Qüestió de les minories nacionals i les vies del dret*, Joan Estelrich wrote the following: “La qüestió de minories s’ha posat en el primer pla de l’actualitat europea. S’han produït recentment en aquest estadi de la política internacional, importants esdeveniments i discussions; hem cregut, per això, molt útil informar la nostra opinió pública” (7). It would seem that the passage of time has changed very little. Indeed, the debates pertaining to the question of minority nations are as pertinent now as they were in 1929. Written against the historical backdrop of the interwar years and during the time that Spain endured their first dictatorship of the twentieth century with Primo de Rivera, Estelrich found himself questioning the future of Catalonia within Spain and the Iberian Peninsula. How would the minorised Catalan nation withstand persecution from the dominant Spanish state and their attempts to purge Catalonia of their individual national identity and culture in the idealistic pursual of a homogenised Spanish nation? Estelrich’s premonitions would not save Catalonia, (nor the Basque Country or Galicia for that matter) from the harsh repressive conditions enforced during the ensuing Spanish Civil War and Franco dictatorship. Yet, fastforward nearly a century and whilst the country has purportedly transitioned into a democracy, such concerns are just as valid. The infamous referendum on Catalan independence which took place on 1st October 2017 was met with violence from the Spanish state and so, we see the repetition of history in the making. The continual denial on the part of the Spanish state to acknowledge the plurinational nature of their country pushes Catalonia ever further from their

ironclad grasp, and even further from the prospect of a satisfactory resolution for all.

As the home to two major states, in the form of Spain and Portugal, and a variety of minority nations, the Iberian Peninsula may be seen as a landscape characterised by an assortment of antithetical national identities and conflicting values. With over four times Portugal's population and over five times its area, Spain is seen as the more dominant of the two states. Such a view was only compounded when Spain and Portugal were united as a single state, governed from Madrid from 1580-1640; an event which has since influenced the asymmetrical maturation of Spain and Portugal's national discourses (Smith & Mar-Molinero 1996: 1). However, Enric Bou proposes that the Iberian experience for Portugal and Spain, both once leaders in the transformation of the Western world, venturing far and wide and opening up new and poignant relationships with the outside during the Era of Discoveries, has ever since been characterised by marginality, both in the context of Europe and on the path towards modernisation (Bou 2012: 49). Although geography has its part to play in the isolation of Iberia, even the fringes of Europe have their own regional centre. Due to its central geographic position within the dominant Spanish territory and the fact that it borders all of the Iberian nations, the Castilian identity has been conflated to represent the entire Spanish nation (Saraiva 1981: 145). Nevertheless, historical repression of the peripheral minority nations (which may be seen to include Portugal), on the part of the central Spanish State in its nationalist bid to conserve the unity of its regions, has not succeeded in diminishing the nationalist aspirations of those territories (Smith &

Mar-Molinero 1996: 21). Rather, as a result, the oppression and isolation of these territories has shaped the construction of their national identities and their relationships with the outside.

Thus far, existing academic research about Iberia and its assortment of nations seems to have been divided into two distinct groups: on the one hand, the comparison of the stateless minority Iberian nations such as the Basque Country, Galicia and Catalonia has been extensively reviewed, as a consequence of these nations sharing the experience of Castilian subjugation. On the other hand, the difficult relations between Spain and Portugal, also as a result of the domineering tendencies of the Spanish State, have been considered at length. What therefore seems to be lacking at the moment, is the comparative research between Portugal and some of the other Iberian nations such as Catalonia, on the basis that the comparison of a nation with a state to a nation without one would be flawed. However, this argument that has not stymied similar research concerning the shared linguistic communities and history of Portugal and Galicia. Therefore, it follows that neither should the comparative research between Portugal and Catalonia, owing to their shared historical experiences and relations with Castile, be impeded, provided that clear parameters are established regarding the different political realities facing these two nations (Lawrence 2016: 22).

At the crux of the strained relationship between Catalonia and the Spanish state is the issue of nationalism, or rather, two conflicting national identities engaging in a political tug of war. "Nationalism, has been defined, in effect, as the striving

to make culture and polity congruent, to endow a culture with its own political roof, and not more than one roof at that” (Gellner 1988: 43). The concept of Spain has evolved, originally understood in the Middle Ages as a purely geographical expression but in the 15th century it came to incorporate a political dimension (Escartí 2015: 328-329). As to be expected of a purely geographical body, it contained a variety of independent political realities: Castile, Aragon (Catalonia), Portugal, Galicia, Navarre (Basque Country), Andalusia etc. Only when Spain came to theoretically signify a unified existence did this create national conflicts as regions competed to make their identity visible. As such, Mario Vargas Llosa concedes that nationalism can plant the seeds of violence (2003: 27), as the distancing of distinct Iberian nations is in the mentality of the culture, rather than in the genealogy or terrain (Sousa 1994: 374).

This discursive network of antithetical Iberian national identities poses numerous challenges in terms of the construction of the individual nations which occupy this space. One such example of national conflict in the Iberian Peninsula is of course, the case of Catalonia, whose own nationalist movement seems to be on divergent path to that of Castile. In other words, the Spanish state “has been unable either to reproduce Catalonia as a Spanish political subject or to represent Catalonia as a distinct political subject”. When this occurs political unity rapidly fades away and we see the emergence of distinct nationalist movements (Goikoetxea 2013: 395). However, Garraida Ortega proposes that the process of Spanish nation-building has been overshadowed by the preoccupation with peripheral nationalisms and their problematic relationships with the central Castilian state. Furthermore, he argues that

Iberian antagonistic identity narratives are constructed by the discourse of social constructionism, or rather using the term he coined “invented-ness” to denote those theories of nation-building which conceive nations as modern human creations. Accordingly, he maintains that whilst the Spanish nation is primordial and “given” since in his view, it has always existed as an entity and is not reliant on social formations, he designates the process of Catalan nation-building as a dynamic “invented” manifestation of social modernism. Thus, he is able to decry the concept of the *Països Catalans* as effused by the Catalan government and other national bodies as an example of “Catalan imperialism”, which in the same fashion as the construction of the Catalan national identity, has provoked a social backlash in the form of antagonistic Valencian and Balearic identities (2013: 2-9).

Yet, it seems naive to assume that the process of Spanish nation-building is as far from models of social constructionism as Garralda Ortega claims. Spanish nationalists attempt to conform to Gellner’s definition and according to Patrícia Gabancho, are obsessed with the idea of unity, as a result of their inability to construct and maintain a singular peninsular nation (2012: 27). Therefore, it could be argued that the Spanish nation exists to dominate and homogenise. Imperial in character, the center of power is obliged to continually present and re-present its peripheries to itself. As such, its national identity is dependent on others and is constantly being renegotiated through its contact with the peripheral nations based on the conviction of its perceived solidarity (Pratt 2008: 4). Therefore, threats to the existence of a unified Spain from the autonomous periphery provoke a social retaliation as the Spanish national

identity comes to incorporate a hostile resentment towards whatever or whoever it perceives as a threat. That is to say that for many, Spanish nationalism currently comprises a degree of anti-Catalan sentiment which is materialised in the form of a repressive central state.

Moreover, comparing Spain's nationalist goals with the accomplishments of their Iberian neighbour, Portugal, who are by and large, accepted as a relatively successful example of a homogeneous nation-state (Roseman & Parkhurst 2008: 10; Saraiva 1981: 83), only serves to inflict further nationalist humiliation on Madrid. Barry Hatton goes so far as to claim that Portugal is "the thorn in Spain's south-western side, a nagging reminder of Madrid's inability to claim the peninsula as wholly its own" (2011: 78). However, the historic relationship between Spain and Portugal has functioned in such a way as to isolate Portugal from the rest of the peninsular peoples; as has the discourse between Castile and Catalonia (as well as some of the other Iberian peripheral nations such as the Basque Country and Galicia). Unlike Portugal though, Catalonia does suffer from an imbalance of power, in the sense that the Spanish nation has the backing of its own state, whilst Catalonia does not and must find accommodation within its antipodal administration. Accepting the state as the body of national order-enforcing agencies and the administrator of legitimate violence, places Catalonia in the uncompromising position whereby they must adhere to a state, which for many Catalans, is at odds with their vision of Catalan nationalism. The ambition of promoting a distinct Catalan national identity, culture and language as separate from the Spanish, automatically defies the homogeneous nationalist vision promoted by the state. Therein,

emerges the antagonistic relationship between Catalonia and Madrid, because in the words of Ernest Gellner:

[T]here is one particular form of the violation of the nationalist principle to which nationalist sentiment is quite particularly sensitive: if the rulers of the political unit belong to a nation other than that of the majority of the ruled, this, for nationalist, constitutes a quite outstandingly intolerable breach of political propriety. This can occur either through the incorporation of the national territory in a larger empire, or by the local domination of an alien group.

(1988: 1)

Therefore, by interpreting Catalanism through the colonial lens, it can be argued that the violation of Catalan nationalist ambitions has been achieved at the expense of Spanish nationalism. Nothing makes a nation conscious of its collective existence like the experience of being repressed by imperial people (Hobsbawm 1993: 38). In Spain, Castilian has come to be equated with domination, indicating a level of possession (Gabancho 2012: 36) and imperial superiority on the part of the central Spanish state. "Having a nation is not an inherent attribute of humanity, but it has now come to appear as such" (Gellner 1988: 6). Therefore, the perceived inability of Catalan nationalism to bring about a befitting state leaves many Catalans troubled by the issue of conflicting nationalisms and wondering how such a deficiency will be resolved.

One possible solution can be seen in the establishment of a Luso-Catalan discourse. It has been argued that Portugal and Catalonia "shared a scenario, clear historical coincidences and, at the same time, different fates in the building of an identity" (Sabaté & Adão Da Fonseca 2015: 39). Arguably this traces back

to the fact that in the Middle Ages, Portugal and Catalonia set out on separate paths by adopting different national biases in terms of the establishment of their individual nationalist movements. The term “Catalan” was spread during the 13th century, through the conquest of Mallorca and Valencia which bolstered the use of the Catalan language. This was compounded in the 14th century by the prominent status of Catalonia in the Mediterranean. As a result, the generalised term “Catalan” came to apply to all those who spoke the language (Sabaté & Adão da Fonseca 2015: 26-27). Until the dynastic union of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile in 1469, (which marked the beginning of Catalonia’s absorption into the centralised Spanish State), the cohesion of the Catalan territories hinged predominantly on their linguistic homogeneity. Whereas in Portugal, territorial cohesion was the principal concern, which, through the Treaty of Alcañices in 1297, ensured the establishment of their distinct motherland. It seems that at this crucial point in the formulation of their national discourses, this was the most notable distinction between Portugal and Catalonia, as the Catalans were more concerned with expanding their linguistic horizons in the Mediterranean, before having properly established themselves as a nation-state in the Iberian Peninsula.

Nevertheless, it would have to be said that the establishment of official borders has never subdued the assertive character of Castile and the overwhelming desire of the Catholic Monarchs to see a united Iberia. The Portuguese and Spanish states were united in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when Philip II of Spain’s forces defeated the Portuguese in the Battle of Alcântara in 1580. As such, from 1580-1640, Portugal (like Catalonia) fell under the rule of

the Habsburg Monarchy and was governed from Madrid. In fact, Antoni Simon credits the Castilian subjugation of Portugal and Catalonia at the time as a consolidating factor in the creation of the political existence of Spain:

[P]erhaps most remarkable is that during the 1600s, the Castilian military efforts stemming from the repression of the “separatist” movements of Catalonia and Portugal socially strengthened and expanded the idea of a Spanish homeland which, as we have observed, had been shaped at the end of the 1500s by the Castilian establishment *intelligentsia*. The human, economic, emotional and propagandist stimulation of the war in the Portuguese and Catalan fronts led to, in Castilian citizens, an increasingly Spanish and less Castilian political identity becoming more established.

(2015: 369)

However, in 1640 the Portuguese took advantage of the start of the Reapers' War in Catalonia to start their own quest for renewed independence, safe in the knowledge that the Crown of Castile would be unable to fight two separate conflicts on different sides of the peninsula (White 2007: 377). For this reason, many Catalans feel that they played a hand in the restoration of Portuguese independence. Although the idea of Catalan secession had not even been considered at the time and was not the aim of their revolt in 1640, nowadays, this sentiment can be tinged with an air of envy as the “Catalans deem Portugal lucky for having escaped Madrid's chilly embrace” (Hatton 2011: 79). Irrespective, events in 1640 in Catalonia and Portugal damaged designs for a compact, centralised and unified state governed from Castile (Simon 2015: 370-371). Therefore, in light of these developments, Zygmunt Bauman's theory of domination in the modern era would seem to be fairly accurate. Bauman equates velocity with domination and asserts that “[t]hose who are able to

accelerate beyond the catching power of their opponents rule". Moreover, a failure to do so "cast[s] considerable constraint on one's future freedom to move" (2000: 188). Accordingly, he would seem to suggest that the reason behind the different fates of Catalonia and Portugal, is down to Portugal's swift and astute action in 1640 which outmanoeuvred Castile, whereas the dynamism of Catalonia has thus far, always been matched by Castile's own movements, resulting in Catalonia's continued subjugation at the hands of the Spanish State. Reference to such distant historical events in terms of the Portuguese path to secession may give the reader the improper impression that the threat felt by the Portuguese from Castile is an outdated medieval concern. Therefore, it would be unfair to omit to mention that since 1640, there have been subsequent wars between Spain and Portugal in the 18th and 19th century and as recently as 1940 and 1975, Franco drew up unconsummated plans to invade (Hatton 2011: 78). As such, the perceived threat from Madrid is still eminent.

Along these lines, academics such as Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Saraiva have attempted to rationalise the process of Portuguese nation-building in terms of its semi-peripheral condition which contextualises Portuguese culture in terms of nature and its borders (2006: 143-144; 1981: 40). Gabriel Magalhães also expresses his feelings about the hardships of Portuguese national identity in *La Vanguardia*:

¿Cuáles son los retos actuales de la portugalidad? El lector ya se ha dado cuenta de que, en realidad, Portugal es un país inviable. Siempre lo ha sido. No posee una individualidad geográfica: sus raíces más profundas las comparte con Galicia; su propio idioma es una evolución, una

mundialización del gallego. La independencia portuguesa hay que crearla todos los días. Por eso, ser portugués cansa muchísimo.

(2009)

It would therefore be fair to assume that the comparable experiences of the periphery and the apprehension shown towards Castile have validated a Luso-Catalan discourse:

Portugal y Catalunya, Catalunya y Portugal. Dos culturas que sueñan la una con la otra: a los catalanes les gustaría, en cierto sentido, ser portugueses. Les encantaría por lo menos disfrutar de la distancia de Portugal. Porque Catalunya está demasiado cerca de Francia, demasiado cerca de Italia, demasiado cerca de España, tan cerca de tantas cosas que a veces quizá no logre ser ella misma. Por otra parte, a nosotros, los portugueses, la cultura catalana, con su intensa europeidad, nos hechiza. Estamos intentando ser europeos de verdad hace décadas y parece que todavía no hemos acabado de lograrlo.

(Magalhães & Fernandes da Silva 2013: 9)

Accordingly, it is possible to comprehend Iberian periphery in a system of concentric marginalities as much for Portugal, as for Catalonia. As such, this thesis will focus primarily on the resulting national conflicts and the characteristics of nation-building narratives, as portrayed in Catalan travel literature, between the centralising forces of Castile and the Iberian periphery. In order to assist with this task, I have chosen to analyse two instances of travel writing, written by two Catalan writers who have experienced the Iberian periphery first hand on a multitude of levels. Josep Pla and Gazieli are perhaps two of the most prolific Iberian authors who can be associated with the concept of centrality and periphery. Pla's writing concurrently occupies a peripheral and

a central status, as it relates as much to his fellow *pagesos* in the Baix Empordà, as it does to a wider audience (Culleton 2007: 27-29). Volume 28 of Josep Pla's *Obra Completa, Direcció Lisboa*, originally published in 1975, recounts Pla's memories of his first visit to Portugal in 1921, before presenting the reader with three travel itineraries which he undertook by different means of transport in 1953, 1960 and 1969 and all of which, either culminated in Portugal, or passed through it. Like Pla's *Direcció Lisboa*, Gaziél's travels around the Iberian Peninsula are documented in his *Trilogia ibèrica*, consisting of *Castella endins* (1959), *Portugal enfora* (1960) and *La península inacabada* (1961). Both texts can be seen to explore Iberian nationalisms with a particular emphasis on Portugal and its unrivaled capacity to resist Castile's imperious attempts at centralisation.

Such an academic comparison of nationhood between Portugal and Catalonia has hardly been researched and of the limited published work on this area, most of it results from a historico-political perspective, with very few incursions from a literary point of view. This introductory chapter has sought to provide a concise historical overview which will contextualise the literary approach. The use of travel writing as the genre with which to compare these nations will contribute to expand the scope of this academic field by providing an innovative methodology to a meagerly studied literary corpus. In comparison to their journalistic exploits, Pla and Gaziél's travel literature has been relatively overlooked however, it is an adept tool with which to expose the incompatibility of the diverse nationalist movements of the Iberian Peninsula. In so doing, the notions of travel, alterity and conservative patriarchalism will be fundamental

when dissecting Iberian relations, since they are testament to the temporal, political and geographical stagnation of the peninsula and its authoritarian dictatorial regimes of the twentieth century.

As such, the next chapter aims to outline a methodological framework which will be used as the basis for this thesis. I will explain how Benedict Anderson's acclaimed theory of "imagined communities" combined with Marc Augé's notions relating to spatial apprehension will appropriate alterity through the hegemony of patriarchal norms. In Chapter 3, I will start to build on some key concepts relating to the peripheral conditions of Josep Pla, Gaziél and travel writing as a literary genre. Juxtaposed against the conventions of journalism, the voice of authority in travel writing will be questioned in such a way that will demonstrate the shift from realist reporting to the subjectivity of surrealist observations. From this perspective, a link will be established between travel and the environment and due consideration will be granted to Pla and Gaziél's depictions of the physical and linguistic Iberian landscapes in Chapter 4. Particular attention is granted to the prevalence of fluidity as the palpable enunciation of alternative cultures in the Iberian Peninsula. Finally, in Chapter 5 I will consider how Pla and Gaziél's conformance to patriarchal norms reveal a number of nationalist contradictions, be it, in their feminised depictions of the landscape which facilitate the dissemination of the dominant masculine gaze or in the colonial pretensions which shrouded suggestions for an Iberian Union. Accordingly, feminism will be understood as a modern counter to the prevailing traces of the postimperial elite in Spanish society.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

As already explained, the Catalan and Portuguese national identities have for the main part been constructed in opposition to the hegemonic Castilian nationalism which has come to represent the Spanish nation and which continues to deny instances of Iberian alterity. As a result, it is possible to perceive the existence of a peninsular periphery in geographical, cultural and linguistic terms, thus entrenching nationalist divisions which jeopardise the Castilian vision for a unified country. Arguably, one could even posit the Iberian Peninsula itself engages with the concept of periphery in the European sphere, not only geographically speaking but also in terms of its relative exclusion from significant events in twentieth-century European history such as the First and Second World Wars and the neglect shown by the Allied Powers for the dictatorships of the Iberian Peninsula. The first chapter briefly explains the historical context and reasons behind the Catalan and Portuguese nationalist departures from the primordial belief in the Spanish nation. Moving forward though, this chapter will outline an appropriate methodology for the literary investigation of complementary Lusocatalan landscapes which demonstrate an affinity between these Iberian nations.

With this in mind, the aim of this thesis is to examine how influential Catalan writers in the mid-twentieth century have depicted the Portuguese nation as akin to Catalonia and its national values; notably, as the most successful and fervent example of defiance in the face of the Castilian archetype of peninsular domination. Such theories offered by Patrícia Gabancho in her book, *L'autonomia que ens cal és la de Portugal* (2012), on the adverse construction

of Catalan and Portuguese national identities in contrast to Castile help to establish the foundations for a credible Lusocatalan form of nationalism, formulating the most important theory to be analysed in this thesis. Accordingly, the subsequent chapters offer an analysis of the Lusocatalan national narrative, imparted from the Catalan perspectives of Josep Pla and Agustí Calvet (or Gaziél as he is better known by his pseudonym). Drawing on Gaziél's *Trilogia ibèrica* and Josep Pla's *Direcció Lisboa* as a pretext, this research attempts to advance previous studies in this field conducted by the likes of Jesús Revelles Esquirol, Víctor Martínez-Gil and Joan Ramon Resina by adopting an alternative perspective.

Considering Benedict Anderson's influential notion of "imagined communities" (2006), the aim of this work is to conceive the existence of an "imagined" Lusocatalan discourse in the Catalan literary domain which challenges the hegemonic rhetoric diffused from the Castilian centre of Iberia. The chosen narrative corpus facilitates the perception of such a concept on account of the way it routinely renders the physical Iberian landscape as symptomatic of the peninsular discourse of dissonance. Therefore, with travel writing as a means to do so, this thesis will attempt to apply Marc Augé's research into the spatial and temporal reconfiguration of the physical landscape as the manifestation of national alterity. In particular, as I will go on to explain, the prevalence of water, understood as indicative of cultural affluence and liberty, establishes the periphery and fortifies nationalist idiosyncrasies within the Iberian Peninsula. In this way, through the traveller's gaze over the landscape, the periphery is visually consolidated by the similitude of its landscapes and the centre becomes

marginalised, thus inverting the norms of the centre/periphery paradigm and establishing an “imagined” travel narrative of kinship between traditionally peripheral nations of Iberia such as Catalonia and Portugal.

Although Gaziél and Josep Pla were both better known for their careers in journalism, this body of texts has been selected as an example of domestic travel writing which concurrently recounts the inherent contradictions in the intimacy and vicissitudes of the Iberian Peninsula. This strain of peninsular travel writing seems to be a befitting apparatus with which to examine the national identity conflicts and alterity within its realms. By travelling, one can more easily dissect and consider the components of national landscapes as individual entities: language, culture, geography etc. It thus follows that when one travels internally and even to adjacent border lands, it seems more appropriate for them to compare and contrast in isolation these national ingredients with those of their own nation and accordingly, construct commonalities. Therefore, travel has the ability to forge unbalanced national relations, building common ground between seldom-compared entities. In fact, due to its association with colonial mobility and privilege, it could even be argued that such asymmetric exchanges are the norm. Ordinarily, one side stands to gain more from a relationship than the other and as a result, put more into sustaining the contact. Indeed, this unique corpus of texts by Josep Pla and Gaziél attempt to uphold the Lusocatalan alliance, since it furthered Catalan national interests more than those of the already-independent Portugal. That is not to say though that there was not a reciprocal oeuvre of Portuguese writers, concerned with advocating the merits of a Lusocatalan alliance. Manuel de

Seabra was perhaps the most notable Portuguese patron of Lusocatalanism, whilst the likes of José Saramago, Fernando Pessoa and Miguel Torga were also prominent Iberianists. Although the eminence of these Portuguese Iberianists cannot be disputed, the distinction of those Catalan writers and intellectuals who specifically subscribed to a Lusocatalan form of Iberianism far outweighs that of their Portuguese counterparts.

However, using travel writing as a methodology for investigating Iberian alterity invokes a sense of colonialism. As already mentioned, the exchanges afforded by the act of freely travelling, as well as duly narrating the voyage in terms of the disparity between the appropriated lands and one's native territory, yields an imbalance of power and sense of entitlement and privilege in the melting pot of antagonistic national identities in the Iberian Peninsula. Much in the same vein as the research conducted by Helena Miguélez-Carballeira regarding the perceived colonial relationship between Galicia and Spain, this corpus of domestic travel writing texts invites the reader to consider the asymmetrical power dynamics of the peninsula, which also presents the Castilian repression of Catalonia through the colonial lens. Yet let us not forget that the colonial subjugation of the nation is not purely limited to politics, but entails administering a much broader policy of social control. Gender repression can be seen as a key marker of that colonial and travel experience and offers an insight into the psyche of the coloniser and colonised nations. Accordingly, the role of gender will constitute a significant part of this thesis in considering the gendered representation of travel, the gendering of the traveller's gaze over the landscape and subsequently, the gendering of Iberian nationalities as a tool to reinforce

the colonial contact with the subjugated periphery, yet as Joseba Gabilondo argues, conversely also an attempt “to challenge the Spanish postimperial ruling elite and its non-hegemonic dominance” (2017: 12).

On these grounds, this thesis will argue that although they were politically controversial figures, who paradoxically suffered the consequences of Francoism, whilst subscribed to many of its ideals, Josep Pla and Gaziol did little to challenge the status quo. Despite their national pride, as two conservative, white, privileged men they embodied the colonial experience of Catalonia and contributed to its continued subjugation at the hands of Castile by portraying the Catalan landscape as feminine. Although, Pla and Gaziol’s depictions of Portugal shared many of these feminine landscape features with Catalonia, which were indicative of the constant perceived threat to Portugal from Castile since its conception, the feminised landscapes functioned to differentiate them from Castile and establish the periphery. That is to say that although Gaziol and Pla disrupted the Spanish nationalist discourse of unity, the relief they sought in Salazar’s independent Portugal was from the domineering and centralising nature of Franco’s Spain which continued to deny the existence of their periphery and utopic “imagined community”.

For this reason, it can be argued that Pla and Gaziol occupied an exclusive literary sphere, unlike many of their contemporaries. They simultaneously belonged to the central canon of Castilian journalism, (albeit as a consequence of the linguistic repression of the Catalan language in the dictatorships of the twentieth century), and enjoyed the benefits of a wide readership across Europe and even Latin America, yet they also found themselves penalised and pushed

to the periphery of this industry as a result of their proud Catalan identity. Though, to compound this marginalisation, Pla and Gaziol also blurred the distinction between the Catalan literary centre and periphery; whilst both were acclaimed for their outstanding journalistic enterprises, they were also often rebuked for their political beliefs which saw them implicitly support the conservative Franco regime which many Catalanists saw as contrary to the interests of their own nation. It is therefore conceivable to imagine the existence of a system of concentric marginalities in Europe and Iberia, whereby those on the periphery of the periphery, or in other words, those belonging to alternative Iberian nations other than Castile, feel doubly isolated. For this reason, this thesis proffers a distinctively Catalan reading of the Lusocatalan “imagined community” and comparative analysis of the Catalan and Portuguese identities as antithetical to Castile, since Pla and Gaziol provided unprecedented perspectives lost within the concentric realm of the peripheral production of Catalan literature in the mid-twentieth century.

CHAPTER 3: DICHOTOMISING THE JOURNALISTIC VOICE: REALISM AS SURREALISM

3.1 INTRODUCTION TO JOSEP PLA AND AGUSTÍ CALVET

Following through with the theme of centrality and periphery in terms of Portugal and Catalonia's relationship with Castile and the status of travel writing, it seems appropriate to consider the works of writers who in their own way, were also classified by their centrality (or lack of) in the literary sphere. Josep Pla and Agustí Calvet can be seen as two such examples. Josep Pla was born into a privileged family in Palafrugell on 8th March 1897. His father, Antoni Pla i Vilar owned land, properties and businesses whilst his mother, Maria Casadevall i Llac, inherited a considerable fortune. Unlike many others in the area at the time, the Pla family were therefore able to provide their four children with a comfortable upbringing and decent education. Despite originally enrolling on a Medicine course at the Universitat de Barcelona, Josep Pla ultimately graduated in 1919 with a Law degree, before venturing into the world of journalism where he made a name for himself. During his long and prolific career based both in Spain and as a foreign correspondent abroad, he wrote for many local and national newspapers, including amongst others, *La Publicidad*, *La Veu de Catalunya* and even briefly, *La Vanguardia*. He also contributed to magazines such as *S'Agaró* and *Destino* and published extensively with *Editorial Selecta* and *Editorial Destino*. Politically, Pla was a member of the Mancomunitat before it was dissolved under Primo de Rivera's administration and he became involved with the Lliga Regionalista until that was disbanded after the Spanish Civil War. Despite his conservative views and initial support

for the restrictions imposed by the Franco regime, Josep Pla was still forced into exile. Only after the subsequent installation of the Francoist dictatorship did Pla reveal his distaste for the repressive measures implemented which affected his native Catalonia so greatly, conceding in his book *La vida lenta*, “[e]l fàstic físic que em fa Franco em deprimeix” (cited by Pujol: 2018). After returning from exile in 1939, Pla lived out the rest of his days in Catalonia, coming to identify strongly with his Catalan national identity and particularly, the local idiosyncrasies of the Baix Empordà. Therefore, with the exception of the strictest period of linguistic repression towards the Catalan language during the Franco dictatorship up until 1946, Pla wrote almost exclusively in Catalan. When publication resumed in Catalan in 1946, any of his publications previously written in Castilian were translated (Bonada 1991: 13; 132-134). That said, Pla was still a prolific traveller and his experiences formed the foundations for his many travel books, including, amongst others, *Direcció Lisboa*. In 1956 Pla began editing his *Obres Completes* and by the time he died at the age of eighty four on 23rd April 1981, he had published thirty eight volumes. A further eight were published posthumously, as well as the supplementary volume, *Per acabar*.

Whilst Josep Pla was arguably one of the most-read authors of Catalan literature, he had the ability to divide his readership in an unprecedented manner. It could be said that his active engagement with political activities and journalistic enterprises, in many ways, overshadowed his literary prowess and contributed to him becoming personally and professionally isolated as a result of his controversial beliefs and actions. Although he was a staunch defender of

Catalan values and cultural identity, many felt conflicted by his implicit support of the Franco dictatorship. That is to say that Josep Pla and his work are not easily definable and have subsequently been frequently misunderstood. Yet, arguably the depth and inconsistencies in Pla's work are why it succeeded in passing through the Francoist censorship controls in order for it to end up in the public domain in the first place and to contribute to the public construction of Pla as this polemic figure. Accordingly, his work presents many challenges for the reader. Seeing as though Pla was so explicit about his intended audience being Catalan, anyone who did not identify as such may have felt an ambivalence towards his work (Culleton 2007: 25). Pla's strong identification with his Catalan roots and the Baix Empordà, including with its traditional rural folk, is what guarantees his authenticity and authority. In other words, his physical and cultural proximity to Catalonia is what makes him believable (Culleton 2007: 30; X. Pla 2013: 68). Moreover, Joan Fuster proposes that although Pla had much in common with the peasants in the Baix Empordà, he did not belong to that social class as he was fully aware of his status as a rural property owner. In sense, he was a "kulak", trapped somewhere between the peasantry and the bourgeoisie, simultaneously somewhere between the contradictory poles of a conservative landowner and an anarchist countryman (1972: 260-261). Therefore, it would be fair to say that neither Pla, nor his work belonged to any predefined movement. His work simultaneously spoke to and on behalf of the people of his Baix Empordà which subsequently granted him and his work a peripheral position within the national and cultural realm or no man's land of Catalan literary production in the twentieth century.

Like Josep Pla, Agustí Calvet was also born into an upper class family in Sant Feliu de Guíxols on 7th October 1887. Agustí Calvet's father, Josep Calvet i Daltabuit, inherited the riches which his family had obtained as a result of their lucrative business in the cork industry, whilst his mother, Enriqueta Pascual i Baguer, belonged to a family of notable standing in the local community. In 1903 Agustí Calvet commenced a Law degree at the Universitat de Barcelona, before switching courses and continuing his studies in the fields of Philosophy and the Humanities in Barcelona and later, Madrid and Paris. Calvet began his journalistic career by writing for *La Veu de Catalunya* which was where he started to write under the pseudonym of Gaziel. However, in 1914 his move to Paris coincided with the beginning of the First World War and his articles as a foreign correspondent caught the attention of Miquel dels Sants Oliver who at the time was the co-director of *La Vanguardia*. Gaziel duly began working for *La Vanguardia*, before returning to Barcelona in 1917 and quickly rising through the ranks. Between 1919 and 1936, Gaziel penned more than seven hundred articles for *La Vanguardia* (Pericay 2003b: 658). In 1920 he became a co-director of the newspaper and later, the sole director in 1933. It is widely accepted that Gaziel was responsible for transforming *La Vanguardia*, increasing its popularity and gradually distancing the paper from the damaging political links between the former owner, Ramon Godó and the Unión Monárquica Nacional which was distinctly hostile towards Catalan nationalism (Jardí 1966: 144; Pla 1970: 572). Furthermore, Enric Jardí goes on to state the following:

El públic addicte a “La Vanguardia” durant els anys que Gaziell dirigí el full, que representava un extens sector de l’alta burgesia de Barcelona i de tot Catalunya i que, malgrat la llengua en què el redactaven, era, en bona part, simpatitzant amb el catalanisme, rebia els seus escrits com els d’un oracle.

(1966: 143)

However, Gaziell’s efforts were halted by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War which forced him to relinquish control of the paper in July 1936 and subsequently return to Paris, this time in exile with his family in August 1936 (Llanas 1998: 94, 227; Jardí 1966: 154). Gaziell moved in Brussels in August 1939 however, fleeing from the German occupation of parts of France and Belgium during of the Second World War, Gaziell returned to Barcelona in 1940. Under the new Franco regime, Gaziell was unable to find employment as a journalist in Catalonia so moved to Madrid where he worked as the director of *Editorial Plus Ultra* until 1959. Having been displaced from his native Catalonia, Gaziell saw his residence in Madrid as a form of internal exile and so, despite his separation from Catalonia, Gaziell began writing almost exclusively in Catalan. From 1946-1953 he wrote *Meditacions en el desert* and in 1951, Josep Pla invited Gaziell to write for *Editorial Selecta*. During the 1950s and up until his death on 12th April 1964, Gaziell wrote up the memories of his travels, including his famous *Trilogia ibèrica*. Josep Pla believed that Gaziell’s late work secured his status as one of the best Catalan writers of the twentieth century: “Crec – modestament – que el que Calvet ha escrit en els últims anys de la seva vida és el millor que ha elaborat la seva activitat d’escriptor, d’observador i de pensador” (1970: 573). Like Josep Pla, more of Gaziell’s manuscripts have been

published posthumously, notably in the form of his *Obres Completes* which, published in 1970, was an accumulation of his Catalan works.

In the words of Xavier Pericay, before the Spanish Civil War Gaziell was the true “*maître à penser*” of the Catalan bourgeoisie and he worked tirelessly to diffuse the myth of the so-called “Catalan problem” (2011: 129). He was proud of his Catalan nationality and according to Laura Aiguaviva i Carreras, Gaziell put Sant Feliu de Guíxols on the map and in the consciousness of the Catalan people, just like Josep Pla did the Baix Empordà (2007). However, after the *Renaixença* which saw the birth of modern Catalan nationalism, there were many conflicting ideas as to how best to build on the progress made. Abnormally, Gaziell advocated certain aspects of Modernisme supported by the likes of Joan Maragall who envisaged Catalonia as part of a wider Iberian vocation, whilst at the same time endorsed the regionalism of the Noucentisme movement which called for national autonomy. However, the failure to present a united and coherent front means that such rifts in the Catalan nationalist movement have historically (and continue to) prove(d) detrimental to the advancement of national objectives. Therefore, in a similar vein to the way that Josep Pla’s intentions have been misunderstood, the same can be said of Gaziell.

As it happens, it is possible to argue that Josep Pla contributed to the political and professional marginalisation of Agustí Calvet in the 1920s. According to Manuel Llanas “*La Vanguardia* va ser una de les bèsties negres de la intel·lectualitat catalanista, que conceptuava el rotatiu de la família Godó com un dels bastions a Catalunya de l’espanyolisme més recalcitrant” (2018: 12-13). Influenced by Eugeni Xammar in his early career, in 1924 Pla and Xammar

signed a series of letters which they sent to the director of *La Veu de Catalunya* which criticised the journalistic traditions of the Barcelona publishing houses, taking particular aim at *La Vanguardia* and their most notable writers. Having published an article the year before questioning the nationalist future of Catalonia's children, Gaziol was accused by Xammar and Pla of being "última encarnación del señor Godó" (Pericay 2003a: 37). On 17th February 1926, Pla again published an article entitled "El perfecte ridícul" in *La Publicitat* which lambasted *La Vanguardia* and Gaziol (Llanas 1998: 88). However, Gaziol faced criticism from many other Catalan nationalists as well who could not comprehend why, as a Catalan, he would work for a newspaper which published exclusively in Castilian and was owned by the Godó family who fiercely opposed Catalan nationalism. Although Gaziol attempted to justify his decision to publish in Castilian and proclaim his devotion to the Catalan language in the prologue to his *Hores viatgeres*, many remained unconvinced and he was still subject to frequent attacks from the Catalan press, including a sustained campaign by Acció Catalana to discredit him (Llanas 1998: 85-87). As a result, Gaziol was vilified as an enemy of Catalonia, a traitor to their nation, or using the Catalan slur, a "botifler" (Benet 1970: xvii).

Nevertheless, it can be argued that Gaziol and Josep Pla shared various historical coincidences which comparatively shaped their lives, careers and works. In particular, it was Franco's political landscape which provided the impetus for the thaw in their frosty relations. Since they moved in similar circles and shared many political views, they both formed part of a corpus of writers and journalists who were influenced by Francesc Cambó and Joan Estelrich

during the Civil War. As such, they were both involved in various intellectual activities, including in the case of Gaziell, signing books and manifestos and preparing the *Occident* magazine from his exile in Paris, proclaiming support for Franco's military insurrection and in the case of Pla, being entrusted with spying tasks on behalf of Franco's forces (Llanas 2018: 20). Yet, with the subsequent dissolution of the Lliga Regionalista, Gaziell, like Pla, came to realise the pitfalls of Francoism and now with a distinctly European way of thinking, came to object to the Franco's militarism as a long term manner of sustaining the dictatorship (Álvaro 2007: 89-90). What is more, Gaziell also staged his own protest during the years in which publishing in Catalan was totally prohibited during the Franco regime by also refusing to publish anything in Castilian (Benet 1987: 30). As such, his self-imposed boycott following years of uninterrupted communication with the public came to constitute a vitriolic act of defiance. Consequently, Manuel Llanas believes that after returning from exile "Gaziell sembla trobar refugi en Pla, segons afirma un esperit bessó" (2018: 32). Furthermore, his suggestion that the relationship triangle formed by Josep Pla, Gaziell and their editor, Josep M. Cruzet, at *Editorial Selecta* in the 1950s and 1960s ought to advance the idea proposed by Gaziell that since the three of them shared many of the same ideals, they constituted "una comunitat espiritual", seems particularly appropriate in these circumstances (Llanas 2013: 11).

However, these men did not only share their nationality, many political beliefs and vocation which afforded them a broad jurisdiction, but in an era dominated by nationalist conflicts, they were also both controversial figures. It is easy to understand how their changing and at times, contradictory political, nationalist

and linguistic outlooks facilitated the misconceptions which contributed to them coming to bridge a divide between members of the literary canon and periphery:

Hi ha, en aquesta frase final, la constatació d'una altra realitat que els unia: la consciència de ser uns solitaris sota una dictadura que, hostil del tot als seus ideals, els produïa una repulsió permanent. L'un i l'altre, a més, vivien al marge, no cal dir que del món oficial, sinó també de la resistència cultural catalana.

(Llanas 2018: 34)

Therefore, when researching Pla and Gaziol side by side, their similarities are exacerbated and evaluations of one often seem to function just as well for the other. Observe this phenomenon with the following quotations from Lluís Bonada and Josep M. Casasús:

Pla es converteix, tot i la seva joventut, en la màxima figura del diari i de la premsa de Barcelona. Les seves llargues cròniques, apareixen a primera pàgina i de forma destacada, i produiran un gran impacte en la societat catalana. No hi ha, a la premsa catalana, cap periodista com ell. És una alenada d'aire fresc en una premsa dominada pel tòpic i la retòrica.

(Bonada 1991: 59-60)

En aquestes variants de l'exercici professional era un innovador, un modernitzador i un home del seu temps. El seu tarannà contrastava amb el periodisme que s'havia fet aquí fins aleshores: un periodisme arcaic, molt ancorat encara en els gèneres d'opinió, excessivament tributari de la política de partit i de la tasca de despatx, massa girat d'esquena a l'actualitat i a les palpitations dels temps i del carrer. Gaziol, com a corresponsal i com a director, va representar una mena d'entrada d'aire fresc a les antiquades redaccions dels diaris de Barcelona.

(Casasús 1996: 304)

Albeit just one example of when Gaziol and Pla's names seem almost interchangeable, plentiful are the repetitive assessments of their innovative and

influential work within the field of journalism, as much as those denoting their political marginalisation. For this reason, their work seems to complement one another and *Direcció Lisboa* and the *Trilogia ibèrica* can certainly be seen as two such examples, tantamount in content, style and ideology.

However, Joan Ramon Resina affirms that Pla's marginality is also in part, as a result of his international anonymity:

In English he remains largely undiscovered, due to the marginality of the Catalan language in Spain and the corresponding invisibility of its literature. [...] An implicit criterion for the consolidation of a writer as a modern classic is the existence of critical support, the secondary underbrush that provides literary giants with the environment of reflection and ongoing attention that creates and maintains their relevance.

(2017: 19)

Accordingly, it would seem as though Pla is confined by the limits of his stateless nationality. Although Peter Bush has started translating Pla's work into English, the lack of recognition afforded to Catalonia on the international stage means that Pla's work retains its peripheral status. Combined with the superficial engagement with translated literature in the English-speaking world, the current limitations of Pla's scope are ensconced. How else could it be possible for Resina's book entitled *Josep Pla: Seeing the World in the Form of Articles* which was published in 2017 be the first ever written in English about such an influential figure in Catalan literature? Yet, seeing as though so little of Pla's work has been translated into English, and that which has barely registers in the cognition of the average English-speaker, the likelihood of a non-Catalan speaker reading this book seems small. Therefore, Resina's book probably

does little to advance Pla's international visibility since its appeal would be predominantly with readers already aware of Catalonia, Pla and his literature.

However, J. M. Castellet has highlighted that since Catalonia's peripheral existence is also conceivable in terms of its subdual at the hands of Castile, Pla's decision to write in Catalan has served to further isolate him and his work from the literary canon.

I bé, si escriure no és fàcil, encara ho és menys de fer-ho en català, la llengua familiar, però no l'escolar, ni l'oficial. La insidiosa penetració del castellà és present pertot arreu i si, per tal de guanyar-se la vida, cal fer periodisme, bona part d'aquest serà en castellà.

(1996: 114)

As such, he would seem to imply that the peripheral status of the Catalan language in Spain enforced by the domestic linguistic policies has conditioned who was capable of reading Pla's work, as much as who spurned it in the name of Spanish nationalism. Therefore, if Pla was not even accepted into the literary mainstream at home, it is hardly surprising that he has not achieved the same international recognition as some other authors, however well-deserved.

But then again, what about Gaziol? Many of these conditions apply to him as much as to Pla. For the most staunch defenders of Catalanism, Gaziol was a prudent and moderate journalist who wrote predominantly in Castilian, whilst for the Falangists, he was an abominable Catalanist (Juliana 2013: 56). In other words, his convictions were not suitably forceful enough to appeal to either camp and resulted in him occupying a peripheral status. Like Pla, his later works which were published in Catalan rather than Castilian fell afoul of the internal periphery paradigms which plagued so much Catalan literature during

the twentieth century. Yet whilst appreciation of Gaziél's works was not as firmly bound to the Iberian Peninsula (especially considering his early works published in Castilian at *La Vanguardia*), his Latin American audience have not helped him to project his stature beyond the Hispanic domain. Neither has much of Gaziél's work been the subject of professional translation into English. Therefore, like Pla, Gaziél's visibility is still limited internationally. That is not to say that in order to attain international respect and attention that someone's work must be validated by the availability of an English translation. Such an egocentric view would be deeply insulting to foreign cultures, languages and literatures and would re-authorise a form of Anglophone colonialism. However, despite their extensive travels, the works of Pla and Gaziél will remain largely uncharted by foreign readers until Catalonia attains international recognition.

In addition, both Pla and Gaziél have faced many of the same challenges imposed on them by the strictures of their literary genres. It has been accepted that Josep Pla and Gaziél's literary careers were set against the backdrop of the professionalisation of journalism in Spain in the twentieth century (Badosa 1999: 170; Pericay 2009: 84). Resina develops this point eloquently by explaining in his 2017 book the perceived disjuncture between journalism and literature at the time. In contrast to other forms of literature, Resina believes it has taken journalism a long time to establish itself as a respected discipline and genre as many journalists "preyed on the moment" and wrote for a living, rather than for the love of writing. He argues that whilst literature "ennobles", journalism "debases" and that as a result, the dubious respectability of journalism meant that for a long time "literary journalism" was considered an

oxymoron and that this genre was deemed peripheral at best (2017: 5-6). By his own admission in *El quadern gris*, Pla struggled to adapt to journalism and the need to produce reports quickly and on demand:

A la tarda tracto d'escriure alguna cosa. Descoratjament, fatiga nerviosa davant de les diabòliques dificultats d'escriure. Quan tracto de fixar sobre el paper alguna cosa que ha d'ésser per publicar, el que faig em surt, instintivament, pedant, obscur i pretensions. El català és, a més a més, difícilíssim.

(1983: 591)

Although, as has already been ascertained, it is widely accepted that Pla and Gaziol both contributed to transforming the face of journalism, that does not mean that they were immune from the difficulties of such a transition. By engaging with a peripheral literature still in a state of flux, Pla and Gaziol were able to carve out their own individual journalistic niches. As foreign correspondents, it was inevitable that much of their work would be multifarious in nature. However, the symbiosis between journalism and travel writing relegated their work further towards the periphery since neither genre was sufficiently defined. Furthermore, without a benchmark with which to assess their work, Pla and Gaziol became easy targets for the authorities during the dictatorships in Spain and as such, were both periodically forced into exile and ran into difficulties when trying to get their work through strict censorship controls. Gaziol in particular is known to have struggled to pass parts of his *Trilogia ibèrica* through the checks with *Portugal enfora* receiving particular scrutiny. Although, he did admit in a letter dated 1st April 1961 to Miquel Forteza that his trilogy could have been perceived as seditious:

En aqueixos tres llibrets, em penso que, tot rient i com aquell que no hi toca (única manera de formular un pensament lliure, en temps d'inquisició integral), hauré aconseguit dir una pila de coses molt greus, en molt diversos ordres, que a Catalunya i en català no crec que haguessin estat mai expressades.

(Cited in Llanas 1998: 411)

Indisposed by virtue of their vocation and the trials and tribulations of negotiating Spanish politics in the twentieth century, it is my contention that Pla and Gaziol notoriously danced with marginality which impeded their accession to the literary canon. Accordingly, in the next part of this chapter, I will explore the notion of travel writing as a subversive literary genre and how the act of travelling disrupts the status quo. Following on, I will then evaluate the extent to which it can be argued that Pla and Gaziol successfully used these genres to assert their authoritative voices or whether the blurred literary distinctions falsely validated their opinions and as such, their apparent realism verged on the surreal.

3.2 TRAVEL WRITING

Considering travel writing is particularly appropriate for this assignment, as in the 19th and 20th centuries it experienced a profound increase in popularity in Catalonia. As travel was becoming more accessible to the masses, there was an upsurge in the number of writers who travelled to various places in the peninsula and further afield and whom returned, keen to share their experiences with others (Bou 1996: 96). Travel occurs outside of the everyday monotony of daily life. It is an experience which can never be exactly replicated again. Therefore, it acquires a dream-like quality which makes it seem as

though it is happening to someone else and it is this isolation of the experience, which impels writers to put their experiences on paper (Bou 1996: 100) and which mobilises the reader to embark on their own literary voyage by reading it. In the words of Paul Fussell:

Abroad, one traveled literally, but by reading, figuratively as well, making an exciting metaphoric relation between one's current travel and someone else's travel in the past. Stuck at home, one "traveled" too by reading about it; there, the act of reading easily became a substitute if not a trope for the act of traveling.

(1980: 59)

As a result, travel writing can be seen to obtain a therapeutic quality, simultaneously for the writer, who is satiated by the feeling of being able to share their extraordinary experiences with others, as well as for the reader who is able to indulge their own fantasies by metaphorically escaping their everyday monotonous reality. Furthermore, such a detached and isolated depiction of travel permits the dissection of physical and imagined borders, which in turn, allows for the discussion of closely related topical issues, as well as those more abstract. Therefore, travel writing grants writers the freedom to analyse the similarities between seldom compared lands such as Portugal and Catalonia.

However, such a comparison is only fathomable by considering the process of domestic (Iberian) travelling and the contradictions which it affords. Within a space which has a double meaning, simultaneously familiar and strange, a different kind of passage is provoked.

Reality becomes closer and distant, more transparent and yet unattainable at the same time. The already established categories of foreign/alien and estrangement all of a sudden become quite different. Distance has yet another sense for them. It refers to the mental, social, linguistic separation.

(Bou 2012: 233)

Or, in the words of Kristeva, we see the emergence of a “paradoxical community”, in this case Iberia, consisting of self-confessed foreigners who experience their domestic space as “the same *and* the other” (1991: 194–195). The “other” establishes physical and imagined borders; it distinguishes between *them and us*. But how can there be a *them and us* within an Iberia which is inherently domesticated? In order to evaluate such a discrepancy, one ought to consider Bhabha’s definition of alterity:

Alterity incites a movement, *to and fro*, that turns the interiority of the self outwards to face the world, while transforming external reality into an intimate relation, within oneself and with others. Such a double-edged movement becomes the basis of the agent’s consciousness of “being together” in the very act of recognition—of *seeing oneself as another*. And it is in that anxious moment of “turning”, *to and fro*, within the web of human relationships, that the subject reveals its agency and discloses a *regard* for the neighbour as, at once, strange and close.

(Bhabha 2011: 18)

When juxtaposed with stasis and immobility, the journey motif, (irrespective of the destination) allows the traveller to comprehend difference and alterity, against which they are able to define themselves. Borders play an important role in this process since the liminality of travel is perceived as a way of appropriating otherness, while temporarily suspending notions of the self. This

is only possible when spatial landscapes expose alterity, posing the question of what comprises the self and the other, including their points of convergence and divergence (Fraser 2011: 172). Of course, borders are an obvious illustration of alterity and presuppose a territory defined by a geopolitical line whereby the two sides are arbitrarily separated but simultaneously joined together by the practice of crossing and communication (Clifford 1997: 246). Although we are accustomed to the idea of cultures being rooted in a defined physical territory, mass media, transportation, migration and trade links deterritorialise cultures, so much so that identities are no longer exclusively associated with a specific place, but instead become hybrid concoctions (Browitt 2004: 5). That is to say that cultures are renegotiated as a result of the migration of people, objects and images across national borders and that just like people, cultures can travel too (Rojek & Urry 1997: 11; Said 1983: 226). Therefore through travel, it is possible to develop a new appreciation of national identities and cultures.

As one might expect though, the difficult process of defining travel in terms of its rationale and the perception of alterity yields similar troubles in terms of the formalisation of travel writing as a literary genre (Domínguez 1996: 32). Owing to the various motives for travelling, travel literature spans an array of various literary genres, including travelogues, newspaper articles, diary entries, narratives, autobiographies and so on. Accordingly, one can comprehend the impossibility of constructing a suitable definition for this literary genre as a result of its multiform character. It could even be argued that with such a diverse range of literary subgenres resulting from the innumerable possible reasons for

wanting to document a journey in writing, the literary genre of travel writing itself is situated within a transitory space (Gregori 2000: 122):

Because of censorship and alienation from European mainstream cultural trends, these books had a social and critical purpose. It was a skilful way to introduce social critique and commentary on the political situation just by observing a backward reality.

(Bou 2012: 218)

It would therefore follow that this literary genre occupies a peripheral domain on the grounds of the fluidity of its incentives.

Be that as it may, there seems to be a substantial tradition of contemporary Spanish travel writers depicting their own country and in addition, a strong correlation between travel literature and journalism. More specifically, in the case of Catalonia, it might be argued that during the *Renaixença* Jacint Verdaguer inaugurated in Catalan literature the tradition of contemporary travel writing when he published *Excursions i viatges de Mossèn Jacinto Verdaguer* in 1887 and *Dietari d'un pelegrí a Terra Santa* two years later (Garolera 1998: 141). Therefore, with Verdaguer as their antecedent, providing an imitable literary framework, ensuing travel writing by individuals such as Josep Pla and Gaziol in the twentieth century can be seen to stem from this point (Garolera 2006: 43). Whilst Verdaguer is arguably the forefather of Catalan travel writing, Pla and Gaziol were innovators in this field. During the process of normalising the use of the Catalan language and the subsequent professionalisation of writers, their adoption of peripheral literary styles, such as travel writing, brought the genre to the fore. Such efforts to legitimise genres which had been unfairly dismissed and to attract readers transformed Iberian travel writing at the time,

since it came to be associated with a shift in modern literary trends (Garolera 1998: 162).

However, Pla and Gaziel are merely two examples. They formed part of a much broader spectrum of contemporary travel writing journalists, including Julio Camba, Manuel Chaves Nogales and Josep M. Espinàs, to name but a few others. Therefore, for Carme Gregori, travel literature has to be viewed in conjunction with journalistic modalities, distinguishing between the specific content of the text and to a lesser degree, its relevance to current affairs. In addition, she claims that L. A. Chillón places the current symbiosis between literature and journalism within the framework of post-fiction. By overcoming the close identification between literary devices and fiction, travel literature transforms our conception of literary language (Gregori 2000: 123):

El que s'ha de considerar nou, però, no és la presència del documentalisme en la cultura contemporània, sinó el pes que aquesta presència ha adquirit i, sobretot, el fet que ha trasbalsat els límits que tradicionalment separaven les categories epistemològiques de ficció i no ficció. Aquest fenomen, palès a la literatura, les arts audiovisuals, les ciències socials i el periodisme, ha d'ésser interpretat a la llum de l'espectacular remoció que ha comportat l'adveniment i consolidació de la societat de comunicació de masses. Les velles formes de producció i consum cultural, les categories tradicionals de valoració artística han estat trasbalsades radicalment per l'impacte dels nous mitjans i dels nous llenguatges.

(Chillón 1993: 24)

Furthermore, the close proximity of travel writing to journalism would provide a convenient outlet to explore the role of photography within this literary genre. The photograph is a form of visual documentation which lends itself to these

hybrid literary genres by virtue of its ability to eternalise events. In other words, photos give shape to travel (Urry 1990: 137-140). In this way, the photograph, much like the travelogue and journalism, supplants memory and therefore the tendency to externally reify the act of travelling is heightened (Fraser 2011: 174). Professing the link between photography and travel, Susan Sontag contends that:

[A]s photographs give people an imaginary possession of a past that is unreal, they also help people to take possession of space in which they are insecure. Thus photography develops in tandem with one of the most characteristic of modern activities: tourism.

(1979: 9)

A photograph is then a compacted way of representing a social construct, presenting it as natural (Fraser 2011: 167).

Moreover, Gunnar Horn notes a substantial increase in the use of photos in newspapers during the 1930s (1939: 726), which incidentally coincides with the increased production of Catalan travel writing during the same era noted by Enric Bou. Between 1887 and 1925, just forty travel books were published in Catalan whereas between 1926 and 1938, that figure stands at seventy-one. Bou suggests innovations in transportation which newly granted the bourgeoisie the ability to travel as a reason for such an increase in the popularity of travel writing. However, he also cites the defiant nature of Catalans to publish in their own language following the persecution of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship (1996: 96). Be that as it may, up until the 1930s people lived in a world with far fewer images from distant places in comparison to the mass consumption of images which engulf us today. Previously, many of those images had to be

provided by travel literature, newspapers and public exhibitions, however with the advances in technology and transportation, exotic images began to enter the public realm with increasing frequency, including on the television (Bou 2012: 169). As a result, the exotic became mundane as the development of mass tourism opened up these horizons for all. Since many travel books incorporate images in order to illustrate the foreignness of everyday life (Bou 2012: 226), this may have contributed to the decline in the popularity of the genre following the Second World War, since they were losing their novelty. In addition, as one might expect, there was a marked decline in the publication and consumption of Catalan travel literature during the imposition of the Franco regime which once more placed Catalan literary production at the mercy of strict censorship controls (Bou 1996: 96-97). Combined with the forced exile of many notable writers, the poverty which came about as a result of the Civil War meant that many households did not have spare money at their disposal to purchase books, even if they had been published. Moreover, with Franco's attempts to expunge the Catalan language from the visible landscape of the nation by abolishing the use of the Catalan language in schools, administration, the media and all other aspects of public life, Catalan literacy levels plummeted. Although many Catalans still spoke Catalan in the privacy of their homes, the language was largely restricted to oral communications as nobody was taught how to read or write, thereby affecting the production and the reception of Catalan literature. As such, one could argue that whilst travel literature enjoyed an increase in popularity at the beginning of the twentieth century, it has only ever occupied a peripheral position within the literary realm, since the figures cited

above are still relatively insignificant in terms of the overall production of Catalan literature.

That said, the instances of travel writing which I will consider in subsequent chapters of this thesis do not frequently utilise photography as a literary device. That may be because they were published post Second World War, during times when photos were more ubiquitous. Perhaps it would be possible to argue that just as photos were visual aids to travel writing in the 1930s, their prevalence nowadays reduces their impact which has resulted in the emergence of a new strain of travel literature, which mirroring the circular trajectory of many travel narratives, once again, no longer requires images which are so readily available from other sources. Moreover, the lack of images in *Direcció Lisboa* and the *Trilogia ibèrica* can perhaps be exonerated, at least in part, due to the prevalence of picturesque landscape descriptions which emulate the sorts of technical concerns typical of landscape painters, thus skilfully establishing a link between the visual and literary arts even without the discernible presence of images (Alemany i Nadal 2007; Jardí 1966: 159; Resina 2017: 132). For Pla and Gaziol, it might be argued that such surreptitious connections with images were necessary in order to ensure their work passed through censorship controls. The realist presence of photographs had the potential to tie their work more closely to objective journalism and accordingly, expose more clearly their subversive criticisms of Francoism in such a way which could have been indisputable for the regime. Their dependence on literary prose protected their work by designating it to the realms of subjective literature, masking the fact that their journeys were undertaken with a specific

motive. In this way, the departure of travel writing from journalism provided a suitable guise for their critiques to pass undetected through strict censorship controls. Therefore, although the role of photography in travel writing will not constitute a significant part of this thesis, it is certainly a line of investigation which warrants further attention with the right source materials.

Having considered how travel writing has changed with the times, including political, economic and technological developments, another notable contradiction in this genre would have to be the reconfiguration of travel as a temporal entity. Although travellers are aware of the passage of time, in the words of Enric Bou, “[e]l viaje es una pequeña isla de tiempos irrepetibles” (1996: 105). Therefore, travel writing, like the photograph, preserves the memory of these moments of liberation. However, when travel becomes *travelogue*, time becomes expendable inasmuch as temporal value is placed on events as a way of deciding whether or not they are worth recounting. Accordingly, the travel writer is able to configure the narrative speed so that the “*story* of a journey that emerges from a travelogue is shaped to have greater significance than the original travel itself, including a specific contouring of narrated time” (Korte 2008: 33-35). It could be argued that Josep Pla utilised this power by frequently repeating many passages (particularly about the landscape) in *Direcció Lisboa* as a way of slowing down the journey for the reader and in so doing, sharing with them the experience of stagnation in Franco’s Spain. For Gaziél, it could be said that the publication of his *Trilogia ibèrica* in three instalments had a similar effect which stalled the reader’s progress. In this way, Gaziél’s travelogues become unstable, having

retrospectively and subjectively displaced the reader from the reality of the journey (Kuehn & Smethurst 2015: 5). In *Castella endins* Gaziol concludes that “Espanya és obra de Castella” (Llanas 1998: 417). In *Portugal enfora* he comprehends the reality for the peninsular people at the time by reflecting on their individual histories (Llanas 1998: 422), before using *La península inacabada* to assess the different trajectories of Portugal and Catalonia (Llanas 1998: 428). Although, as already established, Gaziol was aware of the potential for his trilogy to be interpreted as subversive, so it is possible that this temporal discontinuity made it more difficult for Franco’s men to detect Gaziol’s collective criticisms of the Spanish nation.

Moreover, when considering how Pla and Gaziol have manipulated the ideological construct of time in their work, one is reminded of the work of another famous Catalan in the twentieth century: Salvador Dalí. Like Pla and Gaziol, Dalí supported the conservative policies of the Lliga Regionalista until its dissolution. Despite having been exposed to international ideas by also spending extensive periods of time abroad, by virtue of his political views as well as his many eccentricities, historically, Dalí has been misunderstood and pushed to the intellectual periphery. Nevertheless, his iconic painting, *The Persistence of Memory* (1931), depicts a series of soft, melting clocks in the desert. As I will go on to explore in the next chapter, Gaziol routinely conjures the notion of a Castilian desert, isolated from the rest of the peninsula. As such, it is possible to observe the similar ways in which Gaziol and Dalí conceived time in relation to the distorted centre/periphery paradigms in Iberia. In addition, the melting clocks could be understood in terms of the relative stagnation and

international isolation of the peninsula in the twentieth century which were so frequently criticised by Gaziél. As far as Pla is concerned, Fernández observes in his work a growing curiosity for the art world, from which Pla attempts to establish a complementary dialogue between his own prose and other artistic creations (2011: 37). For evidence of such a link, one need not look far in Pla's work. Several of his works are characterised by their picturesque visions and reflections of natural spaces and the landscapes of the Baix Empordà which seem to draw on artistic traditions for inspiration (Seguranyes 2006: 62). Hence, Pla provided the narrative and Dalí, the illustrations for their book *Obres de museu* which was published in 1980, as a result of the meeting between the two at Mas Pla in Llofriu a decade earlier. Therefore, perhaps it could be argued that the literary and artistic spheres were (and still are) conjoined with common themes seemingly running through both. For this reason, in the next subchapter I will start to examine the extent to which this is the case and whether Dalí's surrealism influenced Pla and Gaziél's voices of authority.

That said, Pla and Gaziél's barometers of time are subtle in comparison to their much more explicit treatment of place in *Direcció Lisboa* and the *Trilogia ibèrica*. Barbara Korte identifies this as part of a more widespread disregard for temporality within travel writing studies, claiming that while travel writing constructs a specific world which necessarily involves a chronotope, in this genre it appears as though space occupies the foreground whilst time is a secondary consideration:

[A]rmchair travellers would find a travelogue without place description more unusual than one that makes only a minimal reference to travelled time. *Topos* apparently *needs* to be a theme in travel writing, if a piece of writing

to be identified as such; whereas *chronos* can, but does not need to be, thematic. A discussion of the treatment of time in travel writing cannot be restricted to time and time experience as theme, however. It intersects with the temporality of the (narrative) text as such.

(2008: 26)

Partha Chatterjee, like Barbara Korte, also contends that modernity has invoked a one dimensional awareness of time and space. As such, he suggests that utopia would occur in an “empty homogeneous time” which attempts to linearly connect the past, present and future. For him, time is unevenly dense and heterogeneous (2001: 402). However, travel defies these conventions. Although many travellers do not realistically expect to physically discover utopia, the incentive for travel is utopian since it is derived from the anticipated departure from reality (Ashcroft 2015: 249). The very essence of travel and adventure is to deny the monotonous grind of daily life (Simmel 1983: 13), in other words to disconnect from linearity. Understood from this perspective, travel is not utopian because it takes place in “empty homogeneous time”, but rather it is utopian because it occurs in heterogeneous time. Therefore, to eschew the heterogeneous temporality of travel is to forsake its rationale. After all, if this were not the case, Gaziol would not have avowed a role for the *Trilogia ibèrica* as part of his *Viatges i somnis* collection, which juxtaposed his Iberian travels alongside his encounters in Switzerland in *Seny, treball i llibertat* and in Italy in *L'Home és el tot*. He claims: “He arribat a la conclusió, després de rodar mig món, que els viatges foren no gaire cosa, si no podíem afegir-hi el que hom hi somnia” (Gaziol 1970b: 741). Thus, it seems appropriate to employ the Andersonian theory of “imagined communities” in relation to the temporal

continuum of travel and its interchange of alternative ideas, people and goods which are simultaneously utopian and heterotopian.

It can certainly be argued that Gaziol presents the Catalan tradition of travelling as heterotopic. He argues that historically the Catalans have travelled more and in different ways to their Castilian counterparts. As a result, for the Catalans, travel becomes a comparative exercise in reflection, whilst for Castilians, travel presents the colonial dichotomy of a problematic alterity in need of appropriation:

D'aquí prové igualment que el català no solament viatgi més que els altres espanyols, sinó que ho faci d'una faísó completament oposada, amb un delit i una capacitat d'assimilació que els altres, en general, no tenen. Al contrari: l'espanyol castís, que en diríem, tant si és home vulgar com esperit selecte, quan surt de casa sol ensopir-se sobiranament. Diríeu que li costa un esforç excessiu comprendre les mentalitats alienes —i no cal dir els usos i costums, les llengües diverses, els menjars diferents: tot el que justament fa meravellós i saborós el viatge. El català, en canvi, tot i ser encara més casolà, més aferrat als seus costums que els altres espanyols, quan surt de casa respira i exulta, observa i aprèn, critica i enveja, compara i reconeix les superioritats pròpies i les alienes. Ho vol veure tot, ho tasta tot. És un fet.

(Gaziol 1970d: 1032-1033)

Therefore, Gaziol comes to appreciate travel as a powerful and effective method of acquiring knowledge based on the comparative experiences which would otherwise have been proscribed by the restrictions of the Iberian dictatorships in the twentieth century (Llanas 1998: 409; 435). In *Tots els camins duen a Roma* Gaziol confirms the intellectual value of travel: "Viatjant per un país, per les seves entranyes sobretot, no mirant-li tan sols els ulls i la cara, s'aprenen més veritats definitives que llegint i especulant sobre els llibres"

(1970a: 611). However, in this way, the subversive aftereffects of travel can be seen as utopic for Gaziél in his bid to undermine the Franco regime.

Like Gaziél, Pla also balances the utopian and heterotopian connotations associated with travel. For Pla, travel implied freedom from the habits and obligations imposed on him by his daily reality. In addition, the displacement of travel facilitated Pla's insight into foreign cultures and unfamiliar landscapes, revealing with it, images and ideas which he would deliberate in his texts and which allowed him to unveil the peculiarities of his own land. It is clear from the reflective resolution of his writing that the experience of travelling and discovery elicited from within him a utopic abandon (Marí 1998: 8-9). That said, the journey also underscored for Pla the synonymy between travel, life and literature. When he published in 1981 *El viatge s'acaba*, his *Obra Completa* XXXIX, which was one of his last, he enunciated this analogy in the prologue:

El viatge s'acaba, efectivament, perquè amb aquest volum queden exhaurits els prop de tres mil articles que vaig escriure a «Destino», i no és probable que em mogui gaire més. La primera part d'aquest llibre té, doncs, un títol exacte. He corregut tot el món diverses vegades; he viscut en ciutats adorables llargues temporades: París, Estocolm, Londres, Roma, Atenes, i ara és hora de dir adéu al meu passat i de recordar, somiant Conrad, Goethe, Stendhal, Txékhov o Valéry, per citar alguns noms que m'han acompanyat al llarg dels anys. No ha pas estat un mal viatge.

(1981: 7-8)

It represented the culmination of thirty five years of travel and a lifetime dedicated to his vocation as a writer. As such, life, literature and travel were so inextricably linked for Pla that they came to be commensurate, since the termination of his travels expedited the end of his literary career (Garolera 1998:

121; Garolera 2006: 48). Voicing the allegorical significance of the journey through life and the prophecy of closure attributes a heterotopic value to travel, as the escape from the monotony of daily life is comprehended in terms of death. In this instance, these contrasting realities reveal the infinity of alterity which never ceases to exist even after the journey has concluded.

To summarise, it would therefore seem fair to say that in light of the various means, modes and motives behind travel, travel writing poses its fair share of challenges and contradictions for the reader. The link between travel writing and journalism seems to be undeniable with much in the way of crossover in terms of content and style. However, the use (or lack) of photography, at least in *Direcció Lisboa* and the *Trilogia ibèrica* highlight how these genres have branched apart to become two separate entities. One explanation for this would have to be that modernity with its technological advances has changed the way we travel, as well as the way we consume mass media. With the new demands of journalism, as it was transformed into a professional vocation against the backdrop of repressive military dictatorships in the twentieth century, Pla and Gaziol's works were regularly conditioned by their concern for the ephemeral. However, it seems as though whilst they were aware of the times when writing their travel literature, place featured more prominently with numerous vivid depictions of the physical landscape dominating over the more inconspicuous temporal indicators. Therefore, once again, we can envisage how travel writing for Pla and Gaziol was heterotopic in nature, constituting a timely escape from the temporal preoccupations which dominated their journalistic careers and which kept them current and at the pinnacle of their profession. With this in

mind, in the final part of this chapter, it is my intention to consider to what extent it can be argued that the authority which Pla and Gaziol had obtained as journalists transpired into their postliminary works of travel writing.

3.3 REALISM OR SURREALISM?

“Commitment to truthful reporting was not only the press’s point of honour but good business too, and the impression of truthfulness hinged on a newspaper’s ability to guarantee first-hand reporting” (Resina 2017: 12). Therefore, it can be said that as two of the most prolific and best-known Catalan journalists of the twentieth century, Pla and Gaziol held a privileged position whereby the association between them and accurate and realistic reporting endowed upon them a bona fide authority. Arguably, this is why they posed such a threat to the Franco regime and were forced into exile and struggled with censorship, as they were capable of persuading the masses to come around to their way of thinking by reporting in a seemingly impartial manner. In addition, the realistic orientation of Spanish literature with a referential function in the mid-twentieth century ensured that the travel book became one of the narrative formulas which best embodied the essential objectivity of realism (Gregori 2000: 121). However, according to Huggan, modern travel writing is “‘surrealist’ insofar as it looks to secure (some) ethnographic grounding for its imaginative-cum-intuitive appreciation of those alternative realities that may be glimpsed momentarily beneath the surface of everyday events” (2015: 239-240). Rather appropriately for surrealism, it seems as though the subjectivity of Pla and Gaziol’s literary prose is juxtaposed against the authority of their narrative voices in *Direcció Lisboa* and the *Trilogia ibèrica*, respectively. Having spent so many years

building up a reputation for realism and factual accuracy during their journalistic careers, it therefore seems as though the narrative voices deployed in their travel writing are fairly similar to those in their journalism pieces, since perhaps they had hoped that they would maintain the trust and rapport between them and their loyal readers. Nevertheless, such an assumption that their hegemonic statuses would prevail in other literary ambits reveals an imperious expectation on Pla and Gaziél's part that their readers would unequivocally continue to accept their testimonies, even once they were no longer restricted by the confines of credibility identified with their vocation. For the remainder of this chapter, it is therefore my intention to investigate how realistic Pla and Gaziél's Iberian travel writing really is or whether their works ought to be designated to the realms of surrealist innovation, owing to the association between them as writers and other artists as conveyors of an identical reality, albeit through different means. After all, as Edward Said affirms, intellectual thought and thinkers are often appropriated into schools or institutions and as a result, they quickly acquire the status of authority, becoming cultural dogma (1983: 247). The final part to this chapter will then explore to what extent Pla and Gaziél have been accepted as cultural dogma and the degree to which they rely on this condition when espousing their views in *Direcció Lisboa* and the *Trilogia ibèrica*. In the case of Josep Pla, his polymorphic work has proven difficult for the reader to easily categorise, which perhaps accounts in part for his assumption that his journalistic prowess and authority would translate elsewhere. As he was not adhering to any predefined genre traditions, why would he have to change

his narrative voice, relinquishing his position as a distinctive and authoritative journalist in place of an archetypal writer? In the words of Xavier Pla:

Pla constitue un exemple de autobiografia polimòrfica que no cesa de interrogar constantement al lector al situarse voluntariament, pero sempre de forma problemàtica, en un espai autobiogràfic en el que tota desviació a les regles i a les lleis del gènere pareix ser la norma.

(1997: 23)

After all, as Resina points out, we ought to note that “in Catalan the term *diari* means both diary and newspaper. As such, “Pla was in effect describing his writing as a personal notation indistinguishable from an intimate appropriation of the newspaper” (Resina 2017: 27). Therefore, if his journalism resembled his intimate diary entries, this adds more weight to the idea that Pla was not confined by literary expectations. In fact, Culleton observes that Josep Pla’s work overlaps in many features with examples of fiction however, the impact of his work is derived from the fact that it is so often read as an objective documentary (2006: 186). Indeed, Pla believed that literature was becoming obsolete due to the prevalence of verbal discourses. Therefore, he attempted to remove the literary traits from his texts and instead replace them with a conversational style which he termed “realism” (Resina 2017: 28). Yet Pla’s realism was littered with inconsistencies which he addresses in *Darrers escrits*:

Aquest realisme, que he defensat sempre i practicat, ha estat molt combatut. S’ha considerat que el realisme no es pot realitzar en la seva primarietat, sinó que s’ha de poetitzar. No seré pas jo que s’hi oposi. Però de fet, personalment, ho no he sabut poetitzar. Si n’hagués sabut, hauria estat un escriptor discret. Ara sóc un escriptor insignificant.

(Pla 1984: 286-287)

Hence, Resina argues that Pla vindicates realism without *poiesis*, before adding that Pla's self-deprecation is only partly ironic, as it appropriately conveys his deflation at the idea of "literature as a structure of meaning that replaces experience" (2017: 28). In this light, it is possible to comprehend the view that Pla was a "master at blending a sceptical, self-effacing, relativistic attitude towards the truth with the techniques of *presencing*, giving a sense of reality to meetings that never took place or to events that he learned from other sources" (Resina 2017: 14-15). After all, Pla's work can be seen to simultaneously possess an "insidedness and outsidedness", as it relates as much to his fellow *pagesos* in the Baix Empordà, as it does to a wider audience. However, his insistence on his strong identification with his birthplace and the people who live there, seemingly casts aside year's worth of experiences of international travel and its impact on his understanding of rural life in Catalonia. As such, for Pla, the narrative voice goes hand in hand with his authority and authenticity, as proximity is of the utmost importance (Culleton 2007: 27-35). Therefore, one can now consider how Pla's writing blurs the boundaries between the realism of experience and the prevarication of displacement.

Nevertheless, perhaps the most important distinction to make in Pla's literature is the reason behind writing it in the first place. Pla contended that he never travelled for pleasure or as a tourist, but rather always travelled on business, obliged to do so due to the nature of his work (Garolera 1998: 124). However, Garolera goes on to suggest that the distinction was not so clear cut since travelling was one of Pla's interests and he used the guise of journalism to facilitate it. Therefore, although Pla travelled as a writer, it could be said that he

mixed business with pleasure, and accordingly his work was not as transparent as he made out. He produced a mixture of fantasy and reality with a touch of lyricism and expressed his personal opinions (Garolera 1998: 126-127). As such, Resina asserts that Pla's writing represents an alternate reality:

Writing modifies the impression of reality, as the inveterate habit of sublimating perception into words is mediated by readers' anticipated recognition of things taking shape in the shadow play of language. In a variation on this indirect approach to reality, Pla adopts another observer's viewpoint, frequently that of the landscape painter, to show the difficulty of grasping the world through a virginal sensorium. First-order observation does not refer to pristine, unlearned perception but to attention directed to the things that present themselves, to the collection of entities Heidegger defined by their presentness, those things that constitute the realm of the *Vorhandensein* or "presence-at-hand."

(2017: 110)

Therefore, Pla's postulation in *Els Pagesos* that he saw the world in the form of newspaper articles (1968: 20) constitutes little more than a thinly veiled attempt to present his experience of reality as fact by laying claim to the realist nature of journalism. That is not to say that Pla's reality was not veritable for him, but in portraying his experiences as universal, he neglected different insights in favour of his own. For example, one instance in which Josep Pla could be accused of this is in *Direcció Lisboa* is in his idealisation of António de Oliveira Salazar and the Estado Novo regime from 1933-1974. Unlike the criticisms which Pla eventually laid on Francoism for its restrictive repression, Pla celebrated Salazar's ability to maintain order in Portugal: "La meva idea, però, és que, sobre aquest sistema, hi ha projectat un ordre, hi ha corregit en gran part l'anarquia típica dels països llatins" (1975: 185). So, why is it that Pla (and

Gaziel for that matter) denounced military repression in one part of the Iberian Peninsula, yet commended it in another? His stance may perhaps be explained in part by his experience of the regimes. Visiting and living in a country present two very different realities. Therefore, for the right-wing Pla, he could support Salazar's vision for Portugal without having to live with the consequences, as he did in Franco's Spain. Since Pla was not faced with the repressive nature of the Portuguese regime, he failed to comprehend an analogous reality. Instead, he continued to depict Portugal as his utopic vision for Catalonia and in terms of his own brand of realism which was solely based on his experiences of travel in heterogeneous time. As such, although Pla would not have intended for this work to be considered in this way, it seems as though his irrational and incoherent juxtaposition of two military dictatorships could be seen to verge on the surreal.

As for Gaziel, he too was guilty on occasions of distorting reality in order to promote his own agenda. Respected as a journalist, Gaziel, like Pla, built a reputation for himself on the basis of his impartiality. Such was the public's trust in him that according to Josep M. Casasús, Gaziel had the authority of a public adviser and a status likeable only to that of an oracle for society (1996: 305). Yet, that has not stopped Francesc-Marc Álvaro from questioning Gaziel's supposedly realist version of events in his journalism:

Existia realment, fora dels seus articles, la Catalunya a la qual s'adreçava Gaziel? Si observem l'actitud de la burgesia catalana d'aquell moment, irresponsable, autista i abandonista, haurem de dir que no. Proposo, doncs, una hipòtesi: Gaziel construeix una audiència ideal a la qual proposa sortides enraonades, i, durant uns anys, això funciona perquè hi

ha una part del país que li sembla perfecte veure's millorada en els textos d'aquesta firma. Utilitzant la classificació que feia el mateix Gaziell entre diaris "reflector" i diaris "mirall", les capes dirigents de Catalunya no es veuen reflectides en els seus articles sinó redibuixades. No estic dient que el periodista no sàpiga veure allò que hi ha de debò en el paisatge, el que poso damunt la taula és que Gaziell necessita dir al seu públic que, d'alguna manera, és molt millor (més excel·lent, europeu, modern, valent, responsable i moderat) del que certament és. Per què ho fa? Perquè vol emprar decididament la seva influència en una direcció reformista i sap que no hi ha millor sistema de persuasió que portar el públic vers un territori còmode, on, un cop situat, pugui escoltar amb bona predisposició les argumentacions que se li adrecen. Gaziell pretén que la burgesia catalana miri cap al futur i cap a Europa, per això necessita combinar el realisme i la lucidesa amb un cert maquillatge.

(2007: 88-89)

If Álvaro's views are anything to go by, in his articles Gaziell flatteringly depicted his Catalan readership by blurring the distinctions between his reality and a ubiquitous comprehension of the Iberian landscape. This phenomenon is also observable in Gaziell's *Trilogia ibèrica*, notable, as I have already mentioned, in the imagery of the landscape which he conjures up in the reader's mind. Whilst, as I will go on to explore in the next chapter, Gaziell is not unique in subscribing to the idea of a Castilian desert, the idea seems to take inspiration from Salvador Dalí's desert-like depictions of the Iberian landscape. Therefore, the enduring tie between Dalí's imagery and surrealism sheds a new light on Gaziell's dedication to realist reporting as he too, appears to use his journalistic voice of authority to depict subjective experiences of travel around the Iberian Peninsula as unequivocal reality. After all, in the words of Josep Pla, "Salvador Dalí aporta al surrealisme una inescamotejable presència realista" (2013: 461).

Therefore, rather appropriately, if Dalí has accommodated a realist presence in his surrealist work, surely, Pla and Gaziol have inadvertently done the opposite, by embedding a few dashes of surrealism within the realist framework of their own.

3.4 CONCLUSION

By way of bringing this chapter to a close, Di Giovine aptly summarises travel and travel writing:

[T]ravel is a visceral, embodied experience with alterity, one that has the potential to deepen an individual or group's identity. Travel writing, though disparate, can be considered a genre of chronotypes built around an attempt to describe the often indescribable barrage of sensations and semiophores, whose very subjectivity is the locus of authenticity.

(2010: 117)

It could certainly be said that Pla and Gaziol's vocation as journalists has influenced their travel writing. For one, it gave them the impetus to travel in the first place. Yet, it is precisely because the distinction between these genres of literature is so fine that issues relating to subjectivity, authenticity and realism remain just as pertinent in *Direcció Lisboa* and the *Trilogia ibèrica* as in their other newspaper articles. In a rather contradictory manner, it would seem as though the inherent subjectivity of travel literature as a genre helped in terms of getting their work passed through censorship controls in the twentieth century, but the deceptive nature of Pla and Gaziol's voices of authority, acquired as a result of their vocation, meant that many falsely consumed their subjective literature as realist.

Travel for Pla and Gaziol was cathartic. It provided them with an outlet for their nationalist frustrations and duly allowed them to construct artificial relationships with other European nations. However, it could be argued that their manifold experiences of the periphery conditioned their comprehension of alternative realities and limited their awareness of the way in which they depicted fiction as fact. As such, in the next chapter, I will go on to discuss how Pla and Gaziol express their subjective notions relating to national identities by adopting the landscape as an allegory. Considered as a visual and cultural entity, the landscape will be seen to reveal the inherent divisions imbedded within the Iberian Peninsula, some of which, Pla and Gaziol are complicit in sustaining.

CHAPTER 4: LANDSCAPE AS THE PASSIVE VALIDATION OF PENINSULAR POWER

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Charged with ulterior significance and metaphorical overtones, the landscape narratives deployed in Pla's *Obres Completes* and Gaziol's *Trilogia ibèrica* constitute one of the most eminent features of these works. For the reader, the frequency of the descriptions of landscapes cannot escape their attention, so much so that landscapes could even be considered as a recurring hallmark of travel writing. Although due academic attention has been paid to the role of landscape in art and romantic literature by the likes of Malcolm Andrews and Roger Ebbatson, little research has as of yet been conducted into the place of landscape in travel writing. Perhaps the association seems too obvious or maybe since as we continue to consider difficult to define multidisciplinary fields in the form of both travel writing and landscape studies, the link to yet another field propelled towards the academic periphery by its elusive subject matter, further complicates these areas by engaging with the concept of concentric marginalities in the academic sense.

Landscape Studies, just like the disciplines of journalism and travel writing, also occupies a peripheral space within the academic domain. The distinction between Landscape Studies, as subjectively perceived in the arts, at least initially, seems to be in stark contrast to a more objectively-based scientific approach. Without a clearly defined methodology with which to discern the field of Landscape Studies, scholars have embarked upon their own individual

research projects, effectively, casting the net of the discipline broadly across the art/science schism. Academics such as Denis Cosgrove subscribe to the visual quality of landscapes:

Landscape is a social and cultural product, a way of seeing projected on to land and having its own techniques and compositional forms; a restrictive way of seeing that diminishes alternative modes of experiencing our relations with nature.

(1998: 269)

However, others such as John Brinckerhoff Jackson believed in landscapes as lived cultural entities which have changed during the course of history (1979: 154). Furthermore, landscapes, for Jackson, were social constructs rather than works of art, ergo, he deemed aesthetic criticism of them as a baseless activity (1963: 1-2). However, the tendency is for landscapists of a scientific disposition to view this disjuncture as a problem to be solved, rather than as a contradiction to be explored (Cosgrove 1998: 270).

Moreover, as Appleton highlights, although landscapes have featured heavily on the consciousness of artists for centuries, in so doing, revealing much about the various ways people have perceived them, only in the last few decades have scientists attempted to statistically analyse and draw conclusions based on those perceptions. As such, he suggests that the Landscape Movement requires a more concerted effort to integrate these different practices so as to develop an appreciation of the scope of research within this academic field and accordingly situate one's own within its parameters (1997: 191-192, 198). It is worth pointing out that such a motion was not postulated as a resolution to the

inherent variations within the movement, but as a co-operative exhibition of interdisciplinarity. Appleton may pose a valid point, not only since rationalising Landscape Studies as a discipline would pull it away from the academic periphery and towards the centre, bridging that divide between the arts and the sciences, but rather because these binaries, when not sufficiently situated, could prove divisive and threaten the integrity of the movement. The existence of two distinct camps, one based on the recognition of the visual nature of landscapes and another positing landscape as a cultural entity, pits geographers, scientists and psychologists concerned with the aesthetic and emotional impact of landscape on the observer against historians, anthropologists and sociologists who consider landscape as a cultural product of evolutionary processes which leave traces on the land (Appleton 1997: 193). Thus, rather predictably, the essentialist embodiment of the landscape invites logocentric criticism of the supposedly superficial value of its visual content (Groth 1997: 16-17). Kenneth Olwig, for instance, claims that “it is not enough” to study landscapes as scenic texts, since a more “substantive” reading is necessary (1996: 645). One may argue that such a visual approach is relatively dated, based on the analysis of pieces of landscape art scenes from the Renaissance era. It could even be argued that the visualist perspective fails to keep pace with technological advances, including considering how the camera can be used to portray the landscape as a commodity conditioned by its means of production, or culture (Cosgrove 1998: 11). Whereas, on the other hand, Michael Conzen, amongst others, is notable for criticising the cultural perception of landscape, arguing that virtually everywhere has been affected by human

intervention, therefore negating the significance of such a reading, since nearly all landscapes should be considered as cultural artefacts (1990: 2).

Accordingly, for the remainder of this chapter, it is my intention to discuss the representations of landscapes in the works of Josep Pla and Gaziol, since scenic narratives are a recurring feature in *Direcció Lisboa* and the *Trilogia ibèrica*. I appreciate that for landscape geographers, the distinction between the landscape as a cultural artefact or as a producer of cultural realities is a source of conflict; as is the conceptualisation of the landscape as a visual entity versus the landscape as a material producer of physical experiences (Culleton 2006: 185). However, in the interest of providing a comprehensive examination of the role of landscapes in Gaziol and Pla's work and owing to their potential for interdependency, their literary landscapes will be considered both as visual and cultural products, often using the framework of one perspective to facilitate the comprehension of the other. The depictions of landscapes in Catalan literature necessarily situate them within the cultural realm, influenced by the course of Iberian history, politics and society. Specifically for Pla and Gaziol, landscapes consume such large swathes of *Direcció Lisboa* and the *Trilogia ibèrica* that they could even be viewed as an alternative narrator of sorts. Landscapes bear witness to the significant events in history which change the course of national and transnational discourses, duly depicting these histories as physical tropes. In this way, Pla and Gaziol employ the landscape as a complementary cultural narrator, offering the visual to their narratives. Furthermore, in the case of Josep Pla, Colleen Culleton outlines his various authoritative voices:

- 1) The flesh-and-blood Pla to whom the reader has little to no access.
- 2) The implied author Pla: the public figure of the author constructed over time.
- 3) The narrator Pla: the voice that tells the stories often coming across as a friendly guide and travelling companion.
- 4) The character Pla: the version of Pla, *el pagès*, that Pla the author has contrived of himself as just another inhabitant of the Empordà, unaffected by years of travel abroad and disengaged from suggestions of political intrigue.

(2007: 26-27)

However, I propose the landscape as an additional voice adopted by both writers as a way of appropriating the unequivocal qualities of the environment as an authentic and authoritative cultural device. The voice of the landscape in travel writing capably reveals the way in which climate influences culture. Carbonell Camós suggests that Pla, in particular, plays on and intermixes the notions of agriculture, cultivation and culture by virtue of the Latin consanguinity of these terms (2006: 70). As such, much like the evolving character of travel writing, the climates that travellers find themselves in can change and therefore it is possible to comprehend the journey as much for the traveller, as for the weather front and natural landscape which surrounds them. Both the traveller and the climate are capable of influencing and being influenced by culture thus, both should be considered as transitory concepts which, in the work of Pla and Gaziol, can be seen as a statement against the inflexibility of the static and backwards nature of Castile.

Nevertheless, it is worth highlighting that the inherent cultural value of the landscape voice weighs on the scenic visualisations narrated by Pla and Gaziol. Carles Riba notices, particularly in Pla's depictions of landscapes, "a continuous oscillation between two moments": the pictorial, "when things concentrate, opposing to him their profile, their masses, their colour, and he fixes them with a sharp, precise eye" and the authentically poetic moment, which, already filtered, "bring[s] out their human values and associate with his sentimental world" (1979: 211). Furthermore, Resina notes how "Pla adopts another observer's viewpoint, frequently that of the landscape painter, to show the difficulty of grasping the world" (2017: 110). That is to say that Pla and Gaziol's landscape voices abet the visual gaze, conditioning and situating it within its cultural reality. In this way, they function as subversive criticisms of Castile's propensity for cultural, linguistic and political domination.

This chapter will consider an array of significant landscapes in Pla and Gaziol's work, including the city, the rural and the linguistic. Focusing primarily on their depictions of the landscapes in Portugal, Castile and Catalonia, this chapter aims to demonstrate how landscapes as cultural by-products can be seen to visually represent transnational conflicts between Castile and the antipodal peninsular nations, whilst also potentially establishing other transnational "imagined communities" along the periphery of the peninsula. Pla and Gaziol's literary descriptions of landscapes will reveal instances of national and cultural alterity. As such, I will argue that whilst still conservative and even colonial in nature, their landscape voices articulate a desire to move past this outdated and proscriptive approach and to embrace the plurinational and multicultural reality

which is the Iberian Peninsula, meaning their work can be viewed as just as relevant now as it was when it was published.

4.2 LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES

One way of reading a place is by observing its landscape which is capable of illustrating the history of that place. When I say that I will “read” a place, I firstly intend to do so in the most literal sense of the term. Many landscape geographers would contend that landscape is a space that we occupy, out of which emerges a variety of social and cultural tensions (Lowenthal 1997: 184). One such tension in the Iberian Peninsula is the politicisation of Catalonia’s memory. Perhaps more so than any physical aspect of landscape such as mountains, rivers and seas, language defines the limits of a place and duly confers nationality upon those who use it (Pi y Margall 2014: 25). Disrupting language means disrupting landscapes. For this reason, Franco went about rescriptorialising the Catalan landscape, renaming street names and places in Castilian, convinced that such measures would surely Castilianise the region, including all of its inhabitants. Except, it did not succeed in quashing the Catalan language and culture, instead, it was the source of social and cultural tensions which only served to disorientate its residents by forcing an adjustment to their verbal communication and the visible appearance of the region (Culleton 2017: 11-13). Moreover, Johanna Drucker suggests that:

Landscape serves as the context for the language in it. Written language does not simply identify objects in the landscape. Language changes our perception of the very situation in which it acquires meaning. As we

observe words in the landscape, they charge and activate the environment, sometimes undermining, sometimes reinforcing our perceptions.

(1984: 13)

Perhaps for this reason, the irony was not lost on Gaziél as he recounts in *Portugal enfora* strolling downing Avenida da Liberdade in Lisbon, reciting Joan Maragall's *Himne Ibèric* to himself:

Jo me'ls deia, ara, aquests versos, i me'ls tornava a dir, mentre trepitjava amb els meus peus, no pas en somnis, la terra portuguesa, Avinguda de Liberdade avall, al cor de Lisboa —i en bona fe que ja no els entenien.

(1970c: 892)

Reminded by Lisbon's scriptorial landscape which marked the place which represents Portugal's independence from Spain, Gaziél could only contemplate such a similar fate for Catalonia in his wildest dreams. It could even be said that the linguistic landscape invoked within Gaziél the intrinsically Portuguese concept of *saudade* for the loss of Catalonia's national rights. Therefore, like the foreign Castilian scriptorial landscape, the Portuguese landscape disorients Gaziél but unlike the Castilian one, since it is not the source of linguistic tension, it is able to do so by cultural appropriation.

Víctor Martínez-Gil takes this theory a step further by establishing a specific connection between the Catalan word *enyorança* and the Portuguese concept of *saudade*, particularly in the literary sphere. In doing so, Martínez-Gil cites the Mallorcan writer, Costa i Llobera: "L'ànima dels qui saben dir anyorança y la dels qui saben dir saudade són fetes per a poder-se entendre y estimar, a

través de l'àrida separació" (Costa i Llobera 1906: 67) (Martínez-Gil 2013: 34-35). In this fashion, Martínez-Gil takes the linguistic affinity between the Catalans and Portuguese and endows it with a common cultural dimension with which to build an alliance. Such an analysis is supported by intellectuals such as Fèlix Cucurull:

Crec que no hi pot haver cap mena de dubte tocant a la identitat entre enyorança i *saudade*. Tot sembla indicar que és cert que el poble català comprèn i viu aquest sentiment tal com el comprèn i el viu el poble portuguès.

(1967: 152)

In addition, the following extract from a statement given by Joaquim de Carvalho in 1958 to the XIII Luso-Spanish Conference for the Advancement of Sciences reveals the purpose of *saudade*:

O alcance máximo da indagação orientada com sentido fenomenológico e histórico-filosófico cremos que virá a ser a apreensão da intencionalidade da saudade ou, por outras palavras mais precisas, o correlato intencional da consciência saudosa, ou seja, a comunicação com outras consciências, ou com outros seres ou estados ausentes.

(1958: 340)

Saudade and its Catalan equivalent, *enyorança*, therefore can be seen to correlate with one another by virtue of their common origins and shared recognition of the periphery. According to Alfredo Antunes, the feeling of *saudade* gives someone the impression of themselves, situated within an exterior reality. Thus, one feels that the exterior constitutes a periphery which evokes a centralising and intimate consciousness from within a central foreign

vacuum (1983: 19). As I will come to explain in more detail later in this chapter, Castile embodies the exterior vacuum for Portugal and Catalonia, which duly binds those nations together, hence inverting the accepted norms of centrality and periphery in Iberia by redistributing the centre of power. Therefore, by taking the peninsula as a whole, it is possible to appreciate the allegorical significance of Iberian landscapes as indicative of its centre/periphery paradigms.

However, the similarities between the Catalan and Portuguese languages are not purely conceptual in nature. Resina suggests the existence of a linguistic correlation, affirming that for the Catalans, the Portuguese language verges on the familiar whilst still retaining its elusive nature; something which he credits to Portugal's independence from Castile, when the latter began to assimilate peninsular kingdoms. Portugal, hence, functions as "a countermodel for the cumulative limitations on the peninsular languages that were deprived of statal guarantees in their historical territories. Portuguese is what Galician, Catalan, Euskera could be today if..." (2001: xxii). Whilst Resina leaves it to the imagination of the reader to determine the utopic value of the Portuguese language for the peripheral Iberian nations still subjugated by the central Spanish state and Castilian language, such a juxtaposition establishes an adverse discourse, uniting the periphery as an alternative linguistic zone capable of resisting the Castilian hegemony. Indeed, it would seem as though Pla concurred, referring to the Portuguese language as "l'antídot de la llengua castellana" (1975: 21).

4.3 CITYSCAPES: THE ROLE OF BARCELONA

Human beings are known for assigning powerful and complex meanings and emotions to places and spaces (Pi-Sunyer 2008: 156). For this reason, commemorating the significance of places is a profoundly human experience as places, unlike events, are referents to which one can return. In other words, it “roots” a particular memory (Culleton 2017: 6). According to Bou, Barcelona as a place attains a mythical and patriotic value when referring to the city as an abstraction of collective and political aspirations, acting as a trope for the wider Catalan landscape (2012: 36). Therefore, often when referring to the landscape of the Catalan capital, many (although not all) concepts can be methodically applied in the broader sense to the entire region. With no exception to Brad Epp’s observation of the relatively small role conceded to monumentality in Barcelona, he thus highlights the way in which the city and region’s memories have been uprooted. As the capital of a nation without a state, he argues that Barcelona cannot masquerade the triumph or grandeur of its nation. For all the elegance of the Passeig de Gràcia, its significance is diminished since it fails to monumentalise any event in Catalonia’s history (2001: 160). Barcelona’s status as a place and the site of many significant historical occurrences should not be questioned. However, unlike in many other capital cities where history has been flagrantly immortalised, historically one has had to scratch beneath the superficial surface of the city and the region to uncover the denied memory of that place. Arguably, that has started to change since the supposed transition to democracy and in the last few decades significant events which have shaped Catalonia’s national identity such as the Olympic Games in 1992 have been

memorialised. In addition, not requiring a physical manifestation of monumentality, the naming of many metro stations in Barcelona after significant figures in Catalan history has been adopted as a quick fix to Barcelona's lack of visible remembrance, by rescriptorialising the landscape and administering the city with a degree of national consciousness. The names of stations such as Jaume I, Verdaguer and Sant Antoni are surely intended to invoke an emotional response from Catalans. In a controversial way though, since these commemorations are only recent additions to the landscape of the city, (as they were not previously permitted during the Franco regime), such tokens of monumentality now seem to have been politicised. True, they serve as evidence of the differences between Catalonia and Castile but it could be argued that they have been implemented as a sign of political defiance, that despite Catalonia's continual repression, their culture and language still remain. Therefore, they seem to have been employed as devices to further Catalonia's nationalist cause for independence, rather than as symbols of national reflection.

Although up until this point in the chapter I have stressed the significance of the scriptorial landscape, it is also necessary to read the landscape in the more figurative sense of the term, considering the physical elements of the landscape. Where Barcelona does depart from its region is in the way it employs natural features in its landscape. Much of this is down to the macrocephalic nature of Catalonia's capital city which, limited in space, values capitalism over nature. In *La península inacabada*, as well as in his essay "*Les viles espirituals*" in *Hores Viatgeres* Gaziel bemoans the way that the growth of

Barcelona has lead to it becoming disproportionate in size to its region. He claims that “[a] Catalunya, doncs, la centralització cultural — i qualsevol altra centralització — és una mena de pecat contra natura” (1926: 163). Forasmuch, the cosmopolitanism of Barcelona has served to make the rest of Catalonia provincial. As a result, for Gaziol, the capital shares very little in the way of culture with its region and thus, “Barcelona és, per a tot Catalunya, un veritable perill” (1926: 138). Evidence of this perceived threat can be seen in the enactment of Ildefons Cerdà’s intended plan for the Catalan capital in the nineteenth century. I have to put emphasis on this notion as his “intended plan” since it was not enacted in the way that Cerdà had envisioned. His ideal city would have been distinctly green. Buildings in the Eixample would have been surrounded by considerable sized gardens with trees and flowers. Gardens are theorized as spaces in which to establish contact with nature and beauty, to procure hygiene and welfare for the people and to constitute a sign of identity (Buxó i Rey 2001: 208). The city, though, is evidence that capitalism and the financial value of those spaces have taken priority over the desire for green spaces (Epps 2001: 157-158). Hence, the popularity of the *eixida* in Barcelona and Catalonia in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, gave place to the natural elements of the landscape, including air, earth (plants), water (for laundry) and fire (for heating), within the domestic sphere. It provided a symbolic internal garden space and canvas for constructing identity; in other words, a microcosm for the broader landscape. However, the poverty during the Franco regime did not allow for much in the way of aesthetic garden refinements and subsequently, the landscape became increasingly barren.

According to the residents of Sabadell and Terrassa, many felt as though the gardens and *eixides* suffocated during the harsh conditions of the Civil War and people scarcely had sufficient resources to revive them (Buxó i Rey 2001: 212-213). Therefore, grey barren landscapes, lacking in vegetation came to be associated with Francoist repression and the severity of *los años del hambre* which followed the war. As a result, the austerity highlighted those who were privileged enough to maintain their *eixides* and gardens and so, the colour green, associated with envy, assumed a dual significance. What's more, the word *eixida* is derived from the Latin word *exire*, to exit. The proximity of this word to the word exile is somewhat ironic in the sense that many of those forced into exile during the Franco administration, including Gaziol and Pla, did so in pursuit of greener lands where they could express their identity. Therefore, whilst many *eixides* fell into disrepair in Spain, the very act of fleeing in exile from Franco's famished Spain allowed exiles to construct new identities in their new figurative *eixida* landscapes.

4.4 WATER

Whilst the *eixida* may have represented, for many Catalans, the natural elements of the environment, water is the element that seems to carry the most explicit allegorical undercurrents in *Direcció Lisboa* and the *Trilogia ibèrica*. A fluid interpretation of Pla and Gaziol's work seems appropriate in light of their fluid social and political statuses. Furthermore, bearing in mind Iberia's peninsular form and the prevalence of landscape narratives in these works, depictions of natural liquid formations, including the seas, oceans, rivers and

rainfall were inevitably going to constitute a major part of Pla and Gaziel's travel writing. It thus seems befitting that Gaziel and Pla were so preoccupied with the liquid Iberian landscape.

Water and identity, Terje Oestigaard explains, are interdependent features which shape the construction of the nation:

People's ideas of themselves and their waters in the various waterworlds are not restricted and limited to national identities, but include a range of ecological zones transcending national borders. Therefore, identities where water is a fundamental component may today represent transnational regions and broader cultural spheres, and the identification of such regions has not yet been undertaken. With such an undertaking it is possible to illuminate how and why water as a socioeconomic and cultural variable and identity either transcends or divides nations. In other words, to what extent does water represent a supra-identity transcending national identities, or at which level and regional basis does water play a fundamental role in identities, unifying or dividing people across today's national borders and other political units in the past?

(2009: 14)

Therefore, just like in Equatorial Guinea (a former Spanish colony), the national distribution of water in the Iberian Peninsula also has the potential to become a political issue, since as Ávila Laurel states: "La falta de agua o las repercusiones de esa falta o su carestía en diferentes comunidades que conforman el territorio nacional [...] hacen que ocupe el primer lugar en nuestras reflexiones" (2006). Such politicisation is evident when Pla implies that the peripheral nations such as Catalonia which have been historically repressed are thirsty: "En els països assedegats, però sempre inundables, l'aigua és

agradable” (1975: 55). The analogy is clear; they may be rich in culture already but the peripheral nations are keen to flood their territories with symbols of diverse national identities so as to bolster their international visibility.

Furthermore, as I will go on to explain in the subsequent parts of this chapter, the distribution of water resources in Iberia once again can be seen to put the centre/periphery norms into disarray, meteorologically uniting the periphery by attributing to it cultural affluence by virtue of its water-based landscape fortunes, thus, isolating the Castilian *meseta* which is characterised in Pla and Gaziol’s travel writing by its aridity and stagnation. After all, in the words of Josep Pla himself, “[e]n aquesta península, quan hi ha aigua, hi ha riquesa” (1975: 39) and inversely, “[e]l secà és la miseria, i quan no produeix la submissió produeix el mal humor i la mala cara” (1975: 261). Di Palma acknowledges that motion is a quality inherent to water itself, irrespective of the form it takes (2012: 31). As such, Enric Bou contends that it is “[p]recisely because rivers move constantly, they have become a symbol of renovation, a statement against fixation and stillness, contrary to what is identical and cannot be modified” (2012: 54). Moreover, Phaf-Rheinberger adds that “[t]he sea becomes a metaphor for fluidity, flux, and flows, for which patterns of repetition and change mark different moments in history” (2017: 34). In this way, water in the Iberian periphery comes to represent modernity by exemplifying the antiquated torpidity of the centre. Moreover, modernity is understood by Zygmunt Bauman as the “history of time” (2000: 110), therefore, in this case, water acquires a temporal quality which paradoxically roots Pla and Gaziol’s narratives in the Iberian

stagnation of the twentieth century. Phaf-Rheinberger provides the following analogy from Lefebvre which supports this idea:

Swimming in the Atlantic Ocean off the coast of the Brittany, his body is caught up by the waves, affecting his perception of time. He has the impression of existing simultaneously in the past, the present, and the future. Time dissolves but he perceives that his control over his body between the movements of the waves creates a *moment of stability* in this *chaos of timeless repetition*, which he interprets as:

[...] not a commonplace flux, an ever-flowing river, a shapeless mobility, a never-ending fluidity, a linear movement in which ephemeral happenings appear and disappear. It is a remorseless repetition of sameness which is never quite the same, of otherness which is never quite other than what it is, since the repetitions grow larger or smaller, reach a crashing, convulsive climax or fade peacefully away. What could be stranger or more fascinating than this mixture of the real and the imaginary: repetition?

(2017: 24-25)

Water, thus provides the stability with which to comprehend the way in which modernity is the necessary apparatus with which to discern temporality. Therefore, understood from this perspective, Pla and Gaziel can be seen to assimilate naturally occurring fluidity in the Iberian Peninsula with cultural richness and modernity and adversely, aridity with a form of decayed cultural poverty.

4.4.1 RAIN

Carbonell Camós asserts that for Pla, it was beyond all reasonable doubt that meteorological variations affected people's temperaments, customs and cultures (2006: 63). Thus, Pla, like Gaziel, can be seen to establish a reciprocal

relationship between national landscapes and climates and their people, cultural endurance and histories. Gaziol writes in *Castella endins*:

Espanya té plomatge d'ànec: quan plou al nostre món, a ella l'aigua li rellisca per sobre, i va fent, com si res. Per tant, no cal, mai de la vida, jutjar el que passa o pugui passar a Espanya pel que en circumstàncies semblants passa o ha passat en altres pobles, sobretot els europeus: errada fatal i empassegada dolorosa que a cada moment es donen en aquest país.

(1970b: 823)

From this a quotation, the reader is able to fathom the existence of distinct eco-cultures, in this case, observing the way that Gaziol depicts the national isolation of Spain in terms of its wasteful treatment of rain. Gaziol illustrates the rain profligately sliding across the face of the Spanish *meseta* as the tears of pain felt by Spain upon the realisation of its peripheral nation status and inability to find accommodation within the European mainstream.

Furthermore, Josep Pla also confers national character and culture by virtue of his comprehension of efficient rainfall. However, in contrast to Castile, Josep Pla notes the efficiency of Portugal's luscious rainy climate which he equates with growth, modernity and fortune:

Portugal és un país molt plujós. Hi plou, d'una manera o d'una altra, cinc mesos l'any. Jo tinc la impressió que la primera riquesa de Portugal és la pluja — i, per tant, els arbres. [...] A Portugal, hi plou molt més que a Espanya, i sobretot hi plou d'una altra manera. [...] A Portugal, hi plou amb la més gran eficàcia, portant la utilitat de la pluja fins al màxim. És una pluja que no té pèrdua possible, de la qual la gent amb prou feines s'adona, que va tirant a base d'una humil habitualitat. De vegades, segons

el vent que fa, es pot interrompre. No solen pas ser interrupcions llargues.
De seguida que és possible, es torna a posar a ploure com abans.

(1975: 452)

As with Gaziél, the reader can observe with Pla the ideological separation of these Iberian nations, based on their climatic differences. Moreover, the contrasting presentation of the efficiency of Spain and Portugal's water usage, says much about their national characters. Portugal has used its national resources as effectively as possible to sustain and fortify its borders from Spain, whilst Spain has taken for granted the primordially of their nation and the perception of themselves as the most inherently suitable candidate for implementing Iberian hegemony.

Catalonia, on the other hand, seems to fall somewhere between these two poles:

Els arbres, sobretot els xifrers i els pins, tocats per l'aigua, eren bonics, brillants, plens de vida. Semblaven molt contents. La nostra impressió ens portà a creure que la pluja era un tràmpol d'estiu i que s'acabaria de seguida.

(Pla 1975: 47)

As such, Pla would seem to suggest that whilst Catalonia was resourceful, the rain shower and Catalonia's cultural opulence was targeted, temporary and could end at any moment. Portugal, conversely, according to Pla, is usually able to re-establish national norms in the event that they are disturbed, and thus seemingly constitutes an Iberian heterotopia which has largely resisted Madrid's coercive forces. Therefore, owing to the fact that Catalonia and Portugal both

benefit from rainfall (however fleeting), whilst the limited rainfall in Castile is seemingly squandered, allows the reader to forge a eco-kinship between the peripheral Iberian nations, physically separated by the cultural rigidity and obstinance of Castile, but united in their opposition to it. Moreover, such an eco-analysis of the Iberian Peninsula would lead us to the conclusion that Catalonia is deemed more susceptible to climatic variations than Portugal since national displays of cultural identity must overcome Castile's attempt to erase traces of alterity. Using the terminology of Eliseu Carbonell Camós, the peripheral nations become "zones of confrontation" (2006: 64-65) where different climatic fronts meet and constantly fight against each other in order to establish themselves as the dominant force. Accordingly, it is possible to conceive the notion of Castile as a metonym for the changing weather fronts which affect the Iberian periphery with varying degrees of effectiveness.

4.4.2 RIVERS

In any case, depictions of meteorological variations within the Iberian landscape are not only limited to rainfall and horticulture. Rivers also feature prominently in Pla and Gaziol's work. As further evidence of conflicting relationships with the physical landscape, Brad Epps suggests that particularly in the case of Catalonia, the encircling of the region by the Mediterranean Sea, Pyrenees and the Llobregat and Besós rivers has had the effect of curbing potentially unbridled expansion. That is not to say that those are the geographical limits of the nation, but that promoting Catalan identity and culture beyond those frontiers, becomes increasingly challenging (2001: 164-165), as is the case in

Northern Catalonia in France. Likewise, Pi y Margall suggests that Portugal is undoubtedly one of the most logical national formations, given how the Atlantic Ocean combined with the Minho, Douro and Guadiana rivers naturally encase Portugal (2014: 26). Rivers are often perceived as symbols of renovation and a natural statement against fixation due to the constant movement of the water (Bou 2012: 54). Therefore, for Portugal and Catalonia, these natural frontiers which physically separate them from Castile, provactively sever any contrived semblance of national unity, as historically imposed from the centre.

In particular, Pla frequently comments on the beauty, mobility and colour of the River Tagus in Portugal. Yet his appreciation of this natural phenomenon is limited to the Portuguese nation, despite it permeating the Castilian landscape as well. He writes:

[E]l Tajo sembla travessar un país d'una tristesa solitària, d'una indiferent inutilitat. Els rius són una de les coses més prodigioses de la naturalesa perquè semblen tenir l'instint de donar-se, un instint caritatiu d'acariciar. En realitat, aquest riu comença a complir aquestes importants obligacions quan entra a Portugal.

(1975: 176)

Now, let's compare Pla's perception with Gaziol's in *Castella endsins*:

El Tejo és el gran riu ibèric, el riu imperial —de la imperial Toledo i de l'imperi colonial portuguès—, que va a desguassar a Lisboa, sense haver aconseguit ni lligar tan sols els pobles germans que llargament travessa.

(1970b: 838)

On this point, even Castilian writers are in agreement with Pla and Gazieli, with Julio Camba writing:

Se dice, por los creyentes en la unidad geográfica de Portugal y España, que el río de Lisboa es el mismo que el de Toledo; y es el mismo, en efecto, pero ¡está tan cambiado! El paisaje que conoció en España es tan distinto al paisaje portugués, que, por fuerza, al familiarizarse con éste, su concepto de la vida tiene que sufrir una transformación radical.

(2007: 139)

The general consensus, irrespective of the nationality and political objectives of the onlooker, certainly seems to be that the River Tagus traverses a divergent array of Iberian landscapes with Portugal coming out the more favourably. Furthermore, the vision of the landscape and the river's itinerary is regulated by the direction and speed of the current. Therefore, just like the traveller-narrator and the readers themselves who embark on their individual journeys, physical and/or metaphorical, the journey motif recurs again; in this instance, for the river which witnesses and duly conditions the plurinational reality of Iberia.

Not in a dissimilar fashion to the issues of rainfall and cultivation, the almost identical accounts of the River Tagus crossing the Spanish-Portuguese border allow the reader to visualise the environmental (and by association, cultural) distinctions between the Portuguese nation and Castile, with the river only seeming to come to life once it crosses the border. Yet, as evidence that this is not an isolated observation, one should also consider Pla's evaluations of other rivers in the Iberian periphery. For instance, whilst in Catalonia, Pla comments that:

Durant segles Catalunya ha hagut de passar per les carreteres del Perelló per a arribar a les terres de l'Ebre i l'obertura de Castelló de la Plana. Trenta quilòmetres de carreteres dolentes, absolutament prehistòriques, corbades d'una manera precisa per fatigar. En aquests camins, els cotxes d'avui esdevenen miserables baluernes desagradables. Ha estat una incomunicació multisecular, que ha fet més mal que bé.

(1975: 50)

Therefore, for Pla, the tiring route taken by the River Ebro seems to reverberate with Catalonia's enduring quest for national recognition. The cultural isolation imposed on Catalonia by Castile (and indeed the European community which has historically turned a blind eye to events there) and the disintegration of the unity of the *Països Catalans* evinces the geophysical isolation of this territory and allows the reader to comprehend the negotiation of Catalan identity in terms of exile.

4.4.3 SEAS AND OCEANS

Situated on a peninsula, the relationship that the various Iberian peoples have with the sea would certainly seem to influence their national identities. Concerned as they were with the concept of peripheral isolation, Pla and Gaziel frequently refer to the connections which were forged by the Iberian nations by virtue of the Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea. Located on the perimeter of the peninsula, the national identities of Portugal and Catalonia have been forged with the Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea very much in mind. Like Castile, Portugal (and even to a certain degree, Catalonia before the Crown of Aragon was amalgamated with the Crown of Castile) associate the seas with their fluvial histories and their golden years as colonial empires. However,

unlike Castile, Catalonia and Portugal did not need to enlist the help of proxy ports from where they could launch their colonial escapades. Nowadays, Portugal and Catalonia's relationships with the seas are arguably tinged with sentiments of *saudade* or *enyorança* for those prosperous moments in their national history, since from thereon in, the trajectories of their national strength and power have declined. Llobera claims that the Catalan-Aragonese confederation lost its expansive horizon with the collapse of the Mediterranean dynasty at the end of the Middle Ages (2004: 77). Whereas Sobral claims that the Portuguese ascension to empire in the sixteenth century was followed by a decline to a virtually colonised status (by Brazil, a former colony) in the nineteenth century (2008: 210) and later, the loss of the African colonies in the twentieth century. Gaziel notes the colonial significance of the sea for Portugal in *Portugal enfora*:

La seva diferenciació essencial és que hi mira tot fent amb la imaginació la volta a la costa d'Àfrica o enfonsant-se de ple dins la immensitat de la mar que té al davant, que no és blava ni és habitada per déus i sirenes, fins a tocar remotíssimes terres exòtiques.

(1970c: 866)

Therefore, the diminution of Portugal and Catalonia from the position of the coloniser to the colonised is to a certain extent, analogous. In this way, the sea has come to represent the colonial narratives of the Iberian nations, as much as the linguistic similarities in the conceptual realms of lamenting loss for Portugal and Catalonia, as previously discussed.

However, Pla's designation of the individual national relationships with the Atlantic and Mediterranean, as with the Iberian rivers, vary and reveal different realities for the various Iberian nations. For instance, Pla announces that:

[V]enint del Mediterrani, la sorpresa és molt gran. Almenys ho fou per mi. Tenia una idea molt vaga de Portugal. L'apreciació corrent porta a creure que a la Península Ibèrica hi ha un sol factor de diferenciació, que és el mar. És un factor real. A llevant de la Península hi ha el Mediterrani; al nord i a ponent, l'oceà Atlàntic. Aquest és el sentit, al meu entendre excel·lent, que té l'esforç que s'està fent per crear una consciència del mar. Però hi ha un altre factor, d'una gran importància, que és el fluvial. Portugal en tota la seva extensió, incloent-hi Galícia, és a dir, des de Finisterre fins a l'Algarve, té una gran consciència de l'Atlàntic, viu submergit en el clima atlàntic i la presència de l'oceà és total. Però, a més, Lisboa és una ciutat fluvial. Lisboa és l'única ciutat important de la Península completament fluvial.

(1975: 17)

Such an affirmation highlights Pla's concern for the way in which the maritime landscape of Iberia influences the different nations. For him, Lisbon and Portugal completely embody their fluvial heritage in such a way which he denies to Castile. Considering Spain's own history of colonial conquests and Catalonia's medieval voyages in the Mediterranean, the denomination of Lisbon as the only important fluvial city in the Iberian Peninsula must surely be seen as Pla affording the Portuguese a higher degree of autonomy and prestigious cultural heritage. That, in addition to Pla's ensuing juxtaposition of the Atlantic with the *Praça dos Restauradores* and *Avenida da Liberdade* in Lisbon which commemorate the reinstallation of Portugal's independence from Spain in 1640, implies a certain disdain for Castile's hegemonic discourse.

However, the contrast between Pla's observations of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, indicate his reservations as to the national capabilities of Catalonia and thus, his celebration of Portugal's Atlantic fortunes only become more pointed:

Em penso haver fet, per terra i per mar, el litoral mediterrani d'aquesta península, des de l'estret de Gibraltar fins al pal que assenyala la frontera francesa. És un litoral llarg, més aviat lineal, seguit, en el qual la naturalesa no ha posat accidents variats. [...] Tot es lineal, una mica monòton, però, mirant la terra, bellíssim.

(Pla 1980: 434-435)

By employing an eco-critical perspective, the references to the lack of natural variety and the denunciation of the coastline as monotonous seems to suggest that the peripheral Iberian nationals along the Mediterranean coastline are culturally poorer than their Atlantic counterparts. That is not to say that the Mediterranean is void of cultural significance, since by Pla's own assertion, where there is water, there is richness and it would not serve well to establish a system of cultural hierarchies. That said, Pla did claim that the Mediterranean suffers from a water deficit which would appear to contribute to the notion that he intended to present the Atlantic Iberian nations as more fortunate:

El Mediterrani és un mar que pateix d'un dèficit permanent d'aigües. Els cursos d'aigua que hi desemboquen cobreixen a penes una tercera part del que perd per evaporació. L'evaporació explica per què les seves aigües tenen un grau alt de salinitat. És un mar molt salat. I, així, el Mediterrani tendeix a desnivellar-se. Sempre es troba a un nivell més baix que l'Atlàntic. Aquest desnivell fa que les aigües de l'Atlàntic es precipitin,

literalment, per la boca de l'estret sobre el mar interior, mantenint, així, una anivellació entre els dos mars.

(1975: 589)

Indeed, Gaziel would seem to support the idea that the different maritime fortunes of Portugal and Catalonia conditioned their national viability in *La península inacabada*:

Als dos costats de la Península Ibèrica, hi trobem, doncs, el mateix fet històric: dos pobles ben caracteritzats, que sempre visqueren de cara a la mar. Portugal i Catalunya són una mena de bessons que mútuament es desconeixen. La major diferència entre ells fou de viabilitat i de fortuna; perquè així com l'Atlàntic constituí en gran part la determinant de Portugal, la mar Mediterrània i el Pirineu foren, ben al contrari, la feblesa congènita de Catalunya.

(1970d: 1070)

It could be argued that Pla's reference to the evaporation of the Mediterranean is an analogy for Catalan culture which has struggled to sufficiently establish and defend itself from Madrid's jurisdiction and proclamation of a hegemonic and united Spain. In other words, one might say that this meteorological process emulates Castile's attempted usurpation of Catalan culture, which many Castilians would contentiously feel is the right and natural measure in order to try and maintain a homogeneous and united national appearance, whereas, especially in the case of 1640, the Portuguese reversed this arrangement with the implicit aid of Catalonia.

4.4.4 TREES AND CULTIVATION

In light of these liquidus reflections of the landscape, it therefore seems logical to review the allegorical significance of its aftereffects, including the cultivation of land, crops and vegetation. As the subsequent symptoms of growth, nurture and maturation, trees in particular corroborate the view that Pla and Gaziol intended to use the landscape as a canvas for political observations. Rather eloquently, Gaziol situates the unabridged abandon of the university town of Coimbra within the confines of its Botanical Garden:

Com que el paratge és tan a prop de la Universitat, pels viaranys de sorra veureu passejar, o assegudes als bancs, les mans enllaçades, parelles d'estudiants i *raparigas* —com si diguéssim les modistetes nostres. Encara que a cada d'ells no ho aprovin, creieu-ho: ja saben el que es fan. Les amorettes de joventut, en la pau d'una petita capital provinciana, però espiritual, com aquesta, per poc de seny i bon timó que es tingui, forçosament han de deixar —entremesclades de Pandectes, Anatomia, Història, Química o Arqueologia— un record i un perfum que poden durar toda la vida.

(1970c: 934)

The implication is clear. Where growth is permitted, renovation prevails, as much in academia and political thought as in the rest of society and its physical landscape. In this way, trees become the natural counter to Castile's hegemonic narrative by representing the constructive intuition of the provincial (and by association peripheral) alterity. Therefore, when envisaging such an allegory, we see the recurrence of the colour green which once again comes to be

equated with instances of national departure from Castile. Josep Pla steeps nationalist observations in colour, stating:

El portuguès té un sentit innat de color. [...] En aquest punt, però, la reforma ha estat afavorida pel gust que el portuguès té pel color, per la tendència que té a barrejar el blanc amb altres colors de la paleta i a sonar a les coses tonalitats principalment verdes pàl·lides i rosades.

(1975: 124)

Thus, green becomes a peripheral colour in the Iberian Peninsula, representing the growth and sustenance of antagonistic identities contrary to Castile.

Moreover, Josep Pla emphasises these Iberian discrepancies through what he perceives as the differing maintenance of the national landscape. Along these lines, the reader can discern from the following quotations how Pla contrives the luscious vigor of the periphery which, in turn, accentuates the repressive nature of the centre:

De vegades, em sembla que la gran diferència existent entre l'agricultura i la ramaderia portuguesa i la del nostre país és que la primera, en molts casos, disposa de capital, i la nostra — la de Catalunya concretament — gairebé mai.

(1975: 186)

Una de les coses més admirables de Portugal és l'interès que l'estat ha posat en els seus arbres — que contrasta amb l'abandó en què han estat tinguts els d'Espanya.

(1975: 391)

No hi ha cap que es pugui comparar a la de l'espai portuguès, no solament pel que respecta al manteniment de l'arbre, sinó a les netedat del terreny, i

això és visible tant en els espais plans com en els vessants de les muntanyes.

(1975: 392)

En gairebé tot Portugal hi ha més arbres que en el meu país. Els arbres, a més, hi tenen molta més vida, són més puixants, més grossos, respiren millor, no porten tants de paràsits, no coneixen el raquitisme, ni la misèria, ni els mals tractes de què són objecte a la part oposada d'aquesta península.

(1975: 393)

Pla's concern with the perceived link between the physical and cultural affluence of a territory takes on a distinctly bellicose tone when he invites the reader to compare Portugal and Spain's horticulture and concludes by confirming that the differing treatment of the landscape has resulted in further accentuating nationalist divisions (1975: 185-187). Consequently, Pla presents Portugal as "una autèntica delícia" (1975: 393) for those who have travelled to the country from Spain. On the contrary, he evokes in "the other" the idea of a bland, dirty, parasite and disease-ridden Spain, lacking in cultural prosperity and the production of Catalan horticulture and national identity, once again, seems to be at the discretion of Castile.

That said, Pla implies that Catalonia should not be tarred with the same brush as Castile when he formulates a Lusocatalan aboricultural relationship. He conceives a kinship between Portugal and Catalonia on the basis of the prevalence of their cork trees. Therefore, it seems to follow that he intended to suggest that both territories are culturally-rich societies and that if it were not for Catalonia's detrimental discourse with Madrid-Castile, they too would be

capable of establishing themselves as a content, free and vigorous nation like Portugal:

Jo sóc i visc en una comarca en què l'arbre principal és el suro, l'alzina surera. Aquest arbre m'és tan familiar que quan arribo en un país poblat dels mateixos arbres em trobo en un paisatge com si fos propi, conegut i habitual. Portugal és un d'aquests països.

(1975: 454)

In his doctoral thesis from 2008, Jesús Revelles Esquirol explains that this relationship was forged as a consequence of the displacement of the cork industry from Catalonia to Portugal at the end of the nineteenth and into the beginning of the twentieth century. Since the Pla (and the Calvet) family dynasty had been built on the fortunes that they had obtained through their cork business and Pla's brother, Pere, moved to Lisbon to continue working in this enterprise, the significance of these trees was for Josep Pla, personal. Portugal was able to capitalise on the capitulation of the Catalan cork industry which coincided with the crisis of 1898 which revealed Spain's impotence and failure to protect important trade links for Catalan industry. Hence, the cork tree represented for Pla another historical coincidence between Catalonia and Portugal and contributed to the notion of the former as a paradigm for his ideal vision of Iberia.

Gaziel, on the other hand, establishes a similar, although temporal, arboricultural relationship between Portugal and Catalonia on the grounds of their historical wine production. He states:

Les millors vinyes del porto es troben a uns 35 quilòmetres de la capital, pels voltants del poble de Santa Leocàdia, i estan admirablement cultivades en feixes molt semblants a les que els nostres pagesos, aprofitant avarament fins un grapat de terra bona, arribaven a fer pujar al cim de les muntanyes, abans del desastre vuitcentista de la fil·loxera.

(1970d: 1043)

Just like Pla, Gaziol presents Catalonia as capable of nurturing growth and as a result, perspectives which oppose the centralising tendencies of Castile. In addition, Pla uses wine as a metonym for diversity, establishing a correlation between agricultural production, regional variations and the Iberian periphery. In what could be mistaken for a political manifesto, Pla affirms: “Els vins portuguesos componen una gamma de qualitats. La diversitat és viva” (1975: 463). However, once again, if we employ the notion of Castile as representative of the changing meteorological conditions within the Iberian Peninsula, it is possible to observe the extent to which Castile’s impulses affect Catalonia to a higher degree than Portugal. Pla and Gaziol both acknowledge the aboricultural similarities between Portugal and Catalonia and as a result, facilitate the comprehension of an “imagined community”. Yet, they present the historical and aboricultural coincidences which bring these nations together as simultaneously fortuitous for the Portuguese and inauspicious for the Catalans, repeatedly imbuing the utopic value of Portugal as a symbol of alterity and success against the domineering forces of Castile.

4.4.5 THE CASTILIAN DESERT

Inversely, it is also worth considering the way in which Pla and Gazieli negotiate culture in terms of aridity. As already ascertained, the panoramic depictions of Portugal present an effervescent nation and population, rich in natural assets and aqueous sources which are equated with cultural affluence. Representations of Catalonia are somewhat more subjective and are highly dependent on the circumstances imposed on it by the centre. The landscapes of the peripheral autonomous nations display elements of natural beauty, fluidity and signs of tethered growth but their capacity to develop into something more meaningful is curtailed by the centralising and hegemonic force of Madrid. On the contrary, Pla and Gazieli portray Castile as culturally distinct from the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, separated on the grounds of its aridity, lack of cultivation and harsh conditions. In his chapter entitled “Records del meu primer viatge a Portugal”, Josep Pla recounts the changing landscape as he travels across the Iberian Peninsula on the train from Madrid to Lisbon. Descriptions characterised by lifeless, dull, rocky terrain and feelings of solitude as the train passes by aged train stations falling into disrepair, are replaced by reports of a sweet Atlantic perfume, floral vegetation and cultivated lands. Logically, it would be the identity of *Madrileños* that would be most affected by the absence of the sea. Whilst geography has played its hand in Madrid’s status as the capital and central location for the state, geography has also deprived Madrid of the fertility of the sea waters. Madrid’s closest claim to a relationship with the seas is by virtue of its colonial empire from the medieval period, which was performed with the help of proxy Andalusian port cities. However, it is particularly striking that in

light of its historical quest to eliminate all traces of peninsular alterity, Madrid is often presented in Gaziol's *Trilogia ibèrica* and Pla's *Direcció Lisboa* as a barren and desolate city landscape characterised by its complete absence of life and reluctance to allow the survival of antagonistic entities, which provides justification for the recurring desert landscape metonym.

Gaziol devotes large portions of the *Trilogia ibèrica* to what he terms the Castilian desert, in so doing, interlinking the physical landscape with the notions of centrality and periphery. When Gaziol highlights the discontinuity in the landscape between the aridity of the Iberian centre and the luscious conditions of the periphery, it is duly possible to employ the concept of concentric marginalities, initially introduced in Chapter 1, in order to view the peripheral nations as kindred populations. The non-Castilian nations have been separated and pushed to the furthest possible peripheries by the Iberian centre, Castile, for whom it has been in their interest, to stifle Portugal, Catalonia (and the other Iberian minorities) in order to fulfill their own unitary nationalist ambitions. Regularly throughout his work, Gaziol returns to the idea that "Portugal, com Catalunya, està completament girat d'esquena a l'interior de la Península" (1970c: 869). Such vivid imagery allows the reader to conceive the existence of the isolated communities, completely at odds with Castile, geographically surrounding it and thus, they may be seen to fit into the system of concentric marginalities. The essence of Castile lies in its central Iberian location, which is why it has come to represent the Spanish State. For Gaziol, without it, Castile would be reduced to the same level as any other Iberian nation and thus, would forsake its political power, military hegemony and general significance:

Sense la perifèria, Castella hauria estat perduda, condemnada a pobresa i aïllament. Ni els portuguesos, ni els catalans, ni els bascos, ni els andalusos, ni els gallecs, girats tots de cara a mar, no han pensat mai que l'ideal de la propia expansió, amb la glòria i la riquesa, el poguessin tenir a l'esquena. Les empreses cabdals de tots ells, amb relació a la Península, foren sempre centrífuges, perquè les realitats i els miratges que les mars immenses els posaven davant eren (o els semblaven) incomparablement superiors a totes les terres que tenien darrera.

(1970c: 897)

Therefore, having acted in such a way as to isolate its neighbouring nations by its domineering and repressive behaviour in the pursuit of a homogenous national identity and state, Castile has compelled Portugal, Catalonia and the other Iberian minorities to find inspiration in the construction of their own national identities from abroad. As a result, without a neighbour with which to engage in constructive dialogue, today the Portuguese nation, certainly, exhibits an island-like mentality or even that of an exiled territory. Saraiva goes so far as to suggest that the Portuguese people are prisoners in their own land with an islander complex, before suggesting that the nature of the Portuguese spirit is not conditioned by geography, but rather has reacted in a particular way to its geographical limits (Saraiva 1981: 86-87). Yet, this assertion, could apply just as readily to Catalonia or any of the other minority Iberian nations.

However, according to Gaziel, Castille functions as "l'isolador més formidable que es pugui imaginar" (1970c: 898). When applying the concentric marginality theory, it is important not to overlook the significance of the continuity of the rings; for those nations situated on the outermost circles may be banded together by virtue of their congruent experiences of isolation. Since Castile is

perceived as an efficient isolator, it can be accepted that the Castilian desert constitutes an attempt to disrupt the continuity of the concentric marginalities and to ensure that the minority Iberian nations remain isolated and detached from one another. Yet, these subdued nations should feel mitigated by the presence of what Benedict Anderson termed, their “imagined community”. It is “imagined” because the members of such a community will never know most of their associates, “yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson 2006: 6). Indeed, many Portuguese and Catalans will never meet as they are situated on opposite sides of the peninsula, yet they could fall into the same concentric marginality ring. Therefore, along with some of the other minority nations who could also fall into this band, the Portuguese and Catalans may be seen to belong to their own “imagined community” which could neutralise Castile’s role as the isolator.

If this were to be accepted as the case, when considering the concept of concentric marginalities, one might even propose that as the centre, Castile occupies the role of the Iberian isolated island; marginalised in the sense of being surrounded by the very nations that it isolates itself. To prove this point, Gaziél observes the difference in the landscape as he travels from the outskirts of Lisbon into the city centre, as opposed to when he does this in Madrid:

Els pobles veïns, cada vegada més espessos, els suburbis, les fàbriques, van adquirint una densitat anunciadora, fins que arribeu a terme. Amb Madrid, no: us hi trobeu a dins de cop i volta, passant sense transició de l'estepa pelada a l'urbs no presentades. És un fenomen desconcertant, que

jo no he observat enlloc més del món: sembla un miracle...

(1970c: 863-864)

Oscar Pazos attempts to explain this anomaly by suggesting that Madrid, is an island capital, whose own demographic growth has been matched by the depopulation of the space around it. Subsequently, Madrid is isolated and the Spanish capital, home to the Spanish State, governs over its remote horizons from a geographical vacuum (Pazos 2013: 11). Regardless, however and to whoever, one wishes to apply this island analogy, or even by considering Iberia as an amalgamation of separate allegorical “island nations”, it is now possible to view the Iberian experience for all of its nations and states as one marred by isolation and marginality.

Considered from this perspective, the politicisation of Madrid seems arbitrary and thus, even the capital appears as a non-place, which in its abated form is endured by those from the autonomous peripheral nations. Utilising Marc Augé’s definition of the term, a non-place, Madrid in this instance, represents an uninhabitable territory which is employed solely for the purpose of extorting its connections. It imitates a life lived subjectively elsewhere, yet with increasing frequency, objectively occurs in those non-places (Resina 2001: 82). Therefore, since according to Enric Juliana, Madrid receives all the benefits of being the capital without resolving issues of internal solidarity, the capitality seems to have been bestowed upon it in recognition of the political connections that one can make there, irrespective of domesticity and demographic patterns. In particular, having been transformed into the most significant point of contact

between Europe and Latin America (2012: 95-96) and Europe and Northern Africa (Sobral 2008: 272), Madrid is granted a unique licence, which in order for others to access, they must first comply with its jurisdiction.

As Clifford asserts, centres are sustained through contacts and the circulation of people and goods (1997: 3). Therefore, as a non-place, useful only in terms of its subjects taking advantage of the perks of its capitality granted to it by virtue of its geography, the reality of Madrid remains as the anti-utopian capital, against which the heterotopic periphery defines itself. Herein lies the distinction between Catalonia's peripheral place and the non-place of Madrid; both terms inherently linked to the usage of space. Unlike place and non-place, space and place are not diametrically opposed. Space, for Michel de Certeau is a "frequented place" or "an intersection of moving bodies". In other words, it is the connections which transform a space. The "parallel between the place as an assembly of elements coexisting in a certain order and the space as animation of these places by the motion of a moving body is backed by several references that define its terms" (Augé 2008: 64-65). Although places are granted human meaning derived from historical events within the abstraction of space and time, Nathan Richardson proclaims the following:

This is not to say that place is merely the concrete manifestation of a wholly abstract concept, space. Rather, place while existing within space and being what we might call its lived manifestation, at the same time creates the parameters by which humans may experience their spatiality as something beyond a theoretical abstraction. Within a place – a home, office

tower, or region of Spain – human subjects have a concrete sense of the space of that locale.

(2012: 2)

Therefore, it could be argued that the capitalisation of Madrid and its hegemonic narrative across the entirety of Iberia are misplaced since in reality, the human experience of its spatial realm has been bound so as to only incorporate Castile. In so doing, the heterogeneity of the periphery has been scorned.

4.5 CONCLUSION

By way of a chapter conclusion, Pla and Gaziel effectively portray the political disjuncture between the Iberian centre and periphery in terms of the physical landscape. Fluidity is a licence for culture and freedom, including its repercussions which can be understood as expressions of cultivation, development and innovation. By recognising the chaotic influence of the Castilian *meseta* as simultaneously an isolator and isolated, readers of *Direcció Lisboa* and the *Trilogia ibèrica* are able to discern the differing results that alterity has had for Portugal, as a separate nation with its own state, and Catalonia, a nation governed by the central Spanish state. The centre is frequently depicted as sedentary, rigid and incapable of coming to terms with the plurality of Iberia, and more specifically, the Autonomous Communities in Spain. However, the enriching and fruitful depictions of the periphery reveal the incompatibility of Iberian alterity with Madrid's fixation with homogeneity. Its quest for uniformity entails a personal sacrifice for those in the periphery who endure the consequences. Therefore, despite aiming to enact their own

individual identities, separate from the centre, the peripheral nations cannot help but be inherently shaped by the centre, and in the process, come to embody its antithesis. However, these nations can be united together as an “imagined community” by virtue of this characteristic. Despite their physical displacement, they can be allied by adopting the theory of concentric marginalities. Such an alliance would have the potential to reduce the overwhelming dominance of the centre and re-establish the dynamics of international peninsular relations. Thus, inverting the historical realms of Iberia and marginalising the centre would be the ultimate triumph for the peripheral nations.

CHAPTER 5: POLITICAL PATRIARCHY AS THE PERFORMATIVE

MANIFESTATION OF A POSTIMPERIAL PENINSULA

5.1 INTRODUCTION: HAS CATALONIA BEEN COLONISED?

At the time of writing, there appears to be a distinct lack of consideration within the field of postcolonial studies as to the issue of “internal colonisation”. In the case of Iberia, analysis of the historical and cultural divisions and the discursive national formations arising from the political tensions between the dominant Castilian dogma and the factious Catalan, Basque and Galician nationalisms seems to have been relegated to the realms of national politics rather than colonialism (Miguélez-Carballeira 2013: 8-9). Whilst she is not the first to recognise an active form of internal colonisation in Iberia, Helena Miguélez-Carballeira articulates the most sustained and prominent case calling for Galicia to be accepted as a colonised nation, which still endures the patriarchal repression imposed on it from the Spanish capital in her book, *Galicia, A Sentimental Nation: Gender, Culture and Politics* (2013). Yet, it seems as though some of the criteria which Miguélez-Carballeira uses to define Galicia’s colonial condition, could just as readily apply to Catalonia, particularly in relation to the idea that the feminisation of the Galician national identity implicitly facilitated its subjugation at the hands of the patriarchal Spanish nation (2013: 2). Indeed, this point will be explored further in relation to Catalonia throughout this chapter.

Some other academics including Stewart King and Kathryn Crameri have approached Catalonia’s national repression at the hands of Spanish nationalists

in terms of postcolonialism. Whilst King sees the forced imposition of Spanish identity and culture on Catalonia as evidence of internal colonisation (2004: 51), Cramer argues that the Spanish colonisation of Catalonia resulted from the gradual intermixing of people and cultures from the fifteenth century onwards (2000: 118). In other words, she promotes the idea of a progressive colonisation of Catalonia, in contrast to King's forceful interpretation. Be that as it may, one might argue that the colonisation of Catalonia, if that is how one wishes to refer to the Spanish repression of the region, cannot yet be viewed in terms of postcolonialism as it is still ongoing. Hence, a reading of Catalonia from this perspective ought to be considered in terms of continued colonialism.

Nevertheless, it would be possible to argue that Catalonia's colonial subjugation really occurred in the wake of Spain's imperial crisis of 1898. With the loss of their final colonies, Spanish nationalists from thereon in became fixated with retaining the territories that remained, further exacerbating their uniforming bias. In addition, until that point, although Catalonia had been repressed by the Spanish State, it would be naive to believe that Catalonia had been diminished to the same level as the former colonies, as after 1778 when the ban on Catalonia participating in trade deals with Spanish colonies was lifted, it benefitted greatly from Spain's colonial trade links with Cuba. Not only did almost sixty per cent of Catalan exports go to Cuba pre-1898 (Dowling 2012: 15), but the Caribbean island was a popular emigration destination for Catalans looking to set up business (Junqueras 1998: 33). Subsequently, the benefits of international trade and the vitality of the Catalan industry lead to a regional industrial revolution which modernised the region and was unlike anything else

experienced in any other part of the Iberian Peninsula. For this reason, it would have to be said that the Catalan merchants were unsupportive of Cuban demands for autonomy at the end of the nineteenth century (Dowling 2012: 15), and were therefore complicit in the imperial subjugation of the colonies. That said, in some ways the loss of the colonies proved beneficial to the Catalanist cause as they could not claim to be repressed, whilst simultaneously subjugating another territory to the same fate. In addition, the crisis of 1898 reverberated with the Catalan bourgeois who had previously remained loyal to the Spanish state by demonstrating Madrid's failure to protect the overseas markets which were so important to the Catalan economy (Dowling 2012: 15; Keating 2001: 145; Llobera 2004: 78). Therefore, whilst Marfany credits the crisis of 1898 as the birth of Catalan nationalism (1995: 40), one could posit that 1898 marks the beginning of Catalonia's internal colonisation and Madrid's renewed preoccupation (after the *Nueva Planta* Decrees) with stifling any possible expressions of Catalan separatism.

Such repression in the name of Spanish nationalism culminated during the Franco dictatorship. Paul Preston claims that Franco transferred the colonial attitudes which he had acquired in Africa to domestic politics. Many Spanish Republicans opposed Franco's escapades in Morocco. Ergo, he duly associated them with social disorder, mutiny and separatism which needed to be effaced from Spanish society by means of repression and terror (1993: 49). Therefore, Franco attempted to systematically extirpate the autonomous vocation and national identity of Catalonia, specifically targeting the Catalan language, cultural and political institutions and figureheads, as well as

censoring the media. As a result, ever since, Spanish nationalists have struggled to shake off Franco's colonial mantra, *¡España, una, grande y libre!*, despite the survival of multiple antagonistic national identities banded together under the umbrella of the Spanish nation.

However, Joseba Gabilondo would have it that although historically Franco and the Spanish State have deployed imperialist power structures which exerted dominance without hegemony and operated through coercion, the Autonomous Communities have not been colonised, since this is purely the "state of affairs in the contemporary Spanish metropolis" (2017: 7). He admits that such a strategy has been used in both the colonial and the metropolitan states but rejects the idea that Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia can be deemed colonial subjects. Instead he subscribes to some of the grievances against postcolonial studies, as outlined by Robert Stam and Ella Shohat in their article entitled "Whence and Wither Postcolonial Theory", published in the journal *New Literary History* in 2012. These critiques include but are not limited to the idea that postcolonial studies tend "to subjectivize political struggles by reducing them to intrapsychic tensions", constitute "an obsessive antibinarism that ignores the intractable binarism of colonialism itself" and formulate "a Commonwealth-centrism which, while valid in its own terms, sometimes quietly assumes the British-Indian relation as paradigmatic, while neglecting vast regions such as Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and the indigenous "fourth world"" (2012: 371-372). As such, Gabilondo proffers a theory of postimperialism as an explanation for the repressive behaviour of the Spanish State. For him, "postcolonial studies is the most radical way to rethink the Spanish State and its

imperialist history, but, in the long run, it will take us to dead-ended critical positions from which then we will have to extricate ourselves” (2017: 5).

Whether through the lens of postimperialism or postcolonialism, Colleen Culleton proposes an appropriate analogy for Franco’s dictatorship and narrow perspective. She proffers the unicursal labyrinth, consisting of only one, single path which “cuts off spatial perspective and leads to a disorientation” (2017: 3), leaving those inside unfamiliar with alternative political practices. As a result, the labyrinth attains a static quality, as the single path fails to provide temporal landmarks with which those inside can measure the passage of time, leading to dejection at the thought of seemingly eternal repression. Although Culleton claims that travelling through a unicursal labyrinth implies linear movement, the repetitive experience is deceptive and “prevents one from seeing either too far ahead or too far behind and lends to an impression of stasis” (2017: 30). Therefore, when considering Spain’s Francoist and imperial past, Culleton invites readers to associate the implicit violence of the labyrinth (and the Minotaur) with the bullfighting conventions of Iberia which epitomise demonstrations of patriarchal power and which inevitably result in death (2017: 32). Death, perceived not only in the physical sense, but also in the temporal, emotional and cultural context of the far-reaching ramifications of the regime.

For this reason, as discussed in Chapter 3, travel writing is a particularly appropriate literary genre with which to undermine the stationary sentience of Franco’s patriarchal Spain. Travel literature has the ability to “manipulate the whole alliance between [the] temporal and spatial that we use to orientate

ourselves in time by invoking the dimension of space" (Fussell 1980: 210). Travel is the manifestation of the polar opposite to inertia. It is the ultimate expression of freedom and mobility (Bou 2012: 180; Clifford 1997: 34) and is capable of revealing the alternatives to Franco's repressive unicursal labyrinth. The maze may therefore be seen as the paradoxical analogy for the journey, with its liberating multicursal form granting those inside with at least, the semblance of some form of choice. Indeed, the maze may still only have one outcome, but those who have passed through may take different routes and can appreciate different experiences and perspectives.

Arguably, it would be possible to consider Pla and Gaziél's travel writing from this perspective. Although they opposed certain aspects of the Franco regime and used their travel writing to undermine it, faced with the perceived freedom of travel, they did not stray from the unicursal path. Both still failed to grasp different outlooks and as such, upheld Franco's patriarchal standards. Ultimately, the ability to recognise the variations between one's own nation and those of the nation in which they are travelling are conditioned by the self-imposed limitations of the traveller. Their understanding of cultural difference is moulded by their own appreciation of themselves. But since the traveller, more often than not in travel literature, completes a circuit and returns to their original start point (Fussell 1980: 208; Pérez & Pérez 1996: 28), the fact that many mazes have only one exit seems particularly appropriate. Certainly, for Pla and Gaziél, it can be said that physically and ideologically, they conformed to this circular trajectory, because as I will go on to explain throughout this chapter, the

theoretical solutions that they offered to the problems of Francoism, did not resolve the inherent contradictions in their patriarchal society.

That is to say, that the journeys of individuals will not change the course of national politics, but they do have the potential to change the outlook of those who experience it. Still, the stasis of the dictatorship did not last forever, nor did it succeed in permanently eradicating the multicursal reality of the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, tough as it may have been to experience, the slogan *¡España, una, grande y libre!* only reflects the internal, lived perception of the unicursal patriarchalism of the Franco regime, rather than the true reality which was poorly hidden from sight. Thus, contrary to what Franco believed, a more accurate adage for Spain would arguably be along the lines of *¡España, la nación de naciones!*

Irrespective of the appellation and whether you subscribe to the idea of an “internal colonisation”, what is beyond any reasonable doubt is the fact that the repressive strategies historically adopted by the Spanish State to regulate the autonomous activities of the peripheral Catalan, Basque and Galician nations constitute a blatant enforcement of patriarchalism. Such an ideology governed the Spanish empirical expansion in the medieval era, (as it did many others), but its tenets are still influential in our modern age. As such, this chapter will be devoted to examining how these patriarchal values have been weaved into the narrative of Pla’s *Direcció Lisboa* and Gaziél’s *Trilogia ibèrica*. In the first instance, I will build on the content from the last chapter and consider how the gaze over the landscape enforces stereotypical representations of gender,

patriarchal repression and violence. Moving on, as a recurring concern in both Pla and Gaziél's work, I will then investigate whether calls for an Iberian Union were governed by hegemonic aspirations or whether in the twentieth century they were just the surrealist musings of a select minority of intellectual thinkers. Finally, to bring this chapter to a close, an examination of developments in industry, technology and travel will demonstrate how modernity ought to be viewed as the necessary course if we are ever going to achieve a postcolonial Spain.

5.2 PATRIARCHY IN ACTION: OBSERVING THE TRAVELLER'S LANDSCAPE

Despite traditionally being perceived as a liberating experience, it is worth noting that one can undertake a journey for a variety of reasons. For it to be classed as travel though, the journey must be optional and not coerced (Pérez & Pérez 1996: 10). However, it is clear from the migration research carried out by the likes of Kevin Dunn that migration is not always unhampered, access to mobility is uneven and exposure to imposed mobility has been unfairly distributed including along the lines of religious and racial persecution. As a result, it can be argued that “bodies are simultaneously mobile and emplaced” (2010: 5). Therefore, although it is a related enterprise which potentially can share many of the traits of conventional travel, exile journeys (and subsequently, exile literature) must be distinguished as separate. Likewise, voyages undertaken in the name of servitude along the lines of race, class and gender discrimination must also be excluded from the notion of travel, *sensu*

stricto. Travellers were often accompanied by servants (most of whom were not white and originated from a lower social class). These individuals have never been considered as travellers in their own right since their experiences were dependent upon racist enslavement. Therefore, whilst their participation in the voyage implies freedom, the inclusion of forced explorations as travel would require a transformation of the discourse (Clifford 1997: 33-34).

As such, travel has historically been reserved for white, upper class men, denoting a certain degree of privilege which allowed for the propagation of a patriarchal and empirical view of the world. The twentieth century was no exception when it comes to observing this noticeable bias towards male travel. The authors selected for investigation as part of this thesis are a case in point, as it seems as though with the exception of Aurora Bertrana, the precedent for travel writing written by women in Iberia in the twentieth century is almost negligible. The first explorers often refused to take women with them in the belief that they would bring bad luck and be a distraction for men. Those women who were mobile “travelled” under the watchful gaze of a chaperone. As a result, the home was prescribed as the temple of femininity and the public domain was identified with masculinity and regarded as an immoral risk to women. (Rojek & Urry 1997: 16-17). Marilyn Frye also observes this bilateral paradigm:

I imagine phallocratic reality to be the space and figures and motion which constitute the foreground, and the constant repetitive uneventful activities of women to constitute and maintain the background against which this foreground plays. It is essential to the maintenance of the foreground reality

that nothing within it refer in any way to anything in the background, and yet it depends absolutely upon the existence of the background.

(1983: 167-168)

Be that as it may, not only has gender restricted access to alterity heeded through travel, but it could be argued that the travel experience has been sexualised. Travel is understood as the search for difference, or what Kristeva terms the “other” and from a male perspective, women embody that alterity. Castells asserts that interpersonal relationships are marked by “domination and violence originating from the culture and institutions of patriarchalism” (1997: 134). In the case of the Iberian Peninsula, the Catholic Church is one such influential institution of patriarchalism which cut across national borders during the dictatorships of the twentieth century. For the most part, Catholicism was one of the most important creeds of Francoism which granted the dictator an elevated sense of authority (Dowling 2012: 4). Therefore, whilst we have established, Franco’s colonial attitude was evidenced by his patriarchal repression of the Autonomous Communities, for Salazar’s part, it was the African colonies which were subjected to this treatment:

[T]he Salazar regime—with the complicity of the Church—effectively decanted the kind of brutality to which Franco subjected the Spanish population to Portugal’s African colonies. Indeed, this ‘exportation of violence’ explains why much of the ecclesiastical criticism directed towards the Estado Novo during the 1960s and 1970s crystallized around the issue of atrocities committed by Portuguese forces as they suppressed national independence movements in Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea.

(Thomas 2017: 1546-1547)

Therefore, the act of travelling for many colonial explorers was synonymous with unrestricted masculine aggression and sexual relations, including miscegenation. That said, little has changed in our modern era though, as “restlessness” and a desire to escape commitments at home by engaging in sexual activities elsewhere, may be reinterpreted as “the expression of phallogocentric reason” (Rojek & Urry 1997: 16-17). With this in mind, it is therefore possible to conceive how the journey narrative demonstrates the binary relationship between “doing” and “seeing” (Augé 2008: 65). It could be argued that the sovereignty of the text over the real object of travel can conjure a postmodern appreciation of travel writing, whereby “the text progresses beyond utopianism to become itself a space of utopia because the idea of a veridical object of travel disappears” (Ashcroft 2015: 259). After all, as Revelles Esquirol points out, in the preface to *Direcció Lisboa*, Pla highlights the paradoxical duality of travel as an instrument of active mobility. in contrast to the often sedentary nature of travel writing itself (2008: 83):

La més gran part de llibres que s'han publicat han estat escrits col·locant-se l'autor en un estat d'immobilitat — vull dir de sedentarisme. Són llibres de records o imaginats, o observats, o pensats, o elaborats per un instint estrany que porta els homes i les dones, de vegades, a escriure. Però hi ha altres llibres — molts menys — que han estat portats a cap per l'incentiu del viatge, del desplaçament, d'anar d'una banda a l'altra. Aquest és un llibre d'aquesta classe: un llibre de viatges absolut, pur i simple. És un llibre de viatges per la Península Ibèrica, prenent com a direcció i finalitat Lisboa, capital de Portugal. L'incentiu d'aquest llibre és el viatge mateix. Els viatges, també.

(Pla 1975: 7)

This would seem to support the assertions of Enric Bou who suggests that in order to complete a space, to actively engage with it, it is necessary to walk through it. For this reason, he proposes two ways of “reading” a place; one where it is seen as an abstract idea, in other words, unconsciously seen from above, as an outsider; and the second which corresponds to the view from within, the experience of entering, walking through it and living it to its full extent (2012: 26-27). From the excerpt above, Pla appears to question the bifurcated oppositions of mobility and sedentarism and thus, distances his work from the static strain of travel writing, ensuring that his work staunchly appeals to the active process of travelling; the process of “reading” Iberia from within. Nevertheless, Pla and Bou both fail to appreciate the association between masculinity and actively doing and femininity and passively being observed, as outlined by Gillian Rose in her book *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (1993). Hence, it would seem as though Pla and as we will go on to consider, Gaziel, both conform to the gendered active/passive dichotomy of travel which belies the patriarchal repression of women.

Both Pla and Gaziel, used their travel writing to pass comment on the beauty (or perceived lack of) when it came to Portuguese women. Pla and Gaziel observe the following:

Algunes vegades he apuntat que la dona portuguesa, en general, no té pas fama de ser vistosa i bonica ni d'estar dotada d'aquell poder d'atracció que

els nord-americans batejaren *sex appeal* amb una expressió feliç, que ha fet la volta a la terra. Aquesta falla, en un país tan ben proveït de bellesa natural, jo mateix l'havia poguda constatar amb recança...

(Gaziel 1970d: 1045)

These virile remarks are further evidence that Pla and Gaziel were complicit in reinforcing patriarchal standards. They espouse their conservative views by basing their assessments of women on outdated and sexist stereotypes relating to female temperamentality and physical appearance. In so doing, they appear to endorse feminine domesticity and in the case of Gaziel, his juxtaposition of feminine looks with the natural allure of the landscape reveals a voyeuristic perspective typical of the landscape painter. In this way, women can be seen as allegories of nature. We are all familiar with those numerous landscape paintings which include nude images of women provocatively sprawled out, so as to suggest that women could be used in the same way as nature: “did not the earth, nature herself, meekly permit her body to be plowed, seeded, stripped, and abused by man?” (Dijkstra 1988: 83). As such, Harvey contends that from an ecofeminist perspective “the devaluation and degradation of nature is seen as deeply implicated in the parallel devaluations and degradation of women under a system of patriarchal oppression” (1996: 180). For this reason, Rose defends the idea that the topography of the female figure and her nude torso visually represents landscapes. She is not alone, for Schama seemingly supports this notion having announced that “many of our modern concerns—empire, nation, freedom, enterprise, and dictatorship—have invoked topography to give their ruling ideas a natural form” (1996: 17). Therefore, Rose defends this symbolism by arguing that women and nature share a sense of passivity

and stillness and are analogous in terms of their association with reproduction, fertility and sexuality. Considering all this, women and nature can be seen as equally vulnerable to the desires of men, as both instances of alterity invite observation, and this scopophilic gaze is understood in terms of masculinity in patriarchal societies (Rose 1993: 96-103).

This predilection for observation is particularly rife during travel. Certainly, in our modern capitalist era, the preponderance of images capturing the gaze utilised in marketing campaigns ensures that the visual cognition of space and place is a commonplace commodity of tourism (Smith 2005: 398). Moreover, according to Rodaway, the hegemony of the visual (often middle-class, male eye) over the other sense organs, seems to extend into patterns of thinking with the modern idea that seeing is believing (1994: 24). As already established in Chapter 3, such a tendency is noticeable in the works of Pla and Gaziol who assume a voice of authority based on having seen and experienced certain events in their roles as foreign correspondents. For instance, if we take the work of Josep Pla, he reveals a proclivity for the visual in an entry written in *El quadern gris*, dated 12th October 1918, where he asserts that “La frontera no és un límit: és una gran finestra oberta” (cited by X. Pla 2013: 70). The window functions as an optical aperture and threshold on journeys to distinct lands, framing multiple visions and projecting the gaze outwards, yet simultaneously acting as a barrier to separate the inside from the outside, or the familiar from the other (Dubini 2002: 192-193). From this commanding perspective, the experience for the observer is confined to the visual, since they are denied the opportunity for complete integration into the scene. As such, without this total immersion, the

traveller's preconceived ideas about the new space and place around them are not challenged, travel loses its authenticity and the traveller maintains their position of power and authority, selectively appropriating their environment as they wish, rather than as reality, since "[v]isualism gives a deceptive unity to the scene" (Upton 1997: 175). To that end, alterity is minimised and made legible and so, this appropriation is evidence of patriarchalism in action, whereby difference is understood in terms of oneself. In this way, shielded from reality, it is possible to perceive the way in which travel has historically been used to disseminate the images of the landscape which reinforce imperial and patriarchal values at home and abroad.

As already discussed in Chapter 4, the landscape forms an integral part of the narrative in Pla's *Direcció Lisboa* and Gaziol's *Trilogia ibèrica*. Therefore, it could be argued that through their travel writing in the twentieth century, Pla and Gaziol implanted the hegemonic, masculine gaze into the public's consciousness. Deliberately or not, they have conjured up national observations against the backdrop of Mother Nature, in so doing, diminishing the potency of the peripheral nationalist movements by associating them with femininity, in a society contextualised by the macho disposition of Iberian patriarchalism. Llobera proposes that ordinarily the "nation is envisaged as a mother who is protective and loving and hence must be cherished, but also as a father who is virile and represents authority" (Llobera 2004: 47). However, Saraiva suggests that Portugal is a motherland, rather than a fatherland, as a motherland nurtures culture, whilst a fatherland instils order and maintains standards, notably with respect to endeavours with foreign lands. Therefore, he understands the

Portuguese nation in terms of its feminine and motherly qualities and luscious landscapes, in contrast to the desert-like conditions which epitomise the harsh masculinity of the Castilian *meseta* (Saraiva 1981: 112). As such, Saraiva claims that the Portuguese nation was born from Spain, as Spain is the common fatherland relating to many nations and regions (1981: 141-142). From this perspective, it can be argued that Portugal has been influenced by an authoritative, virile Castilian fatherland which has conditioned its relationships with the outside and ensured the endurance of their peripherality.

Along these lines, it seems appropriate to scrutinise the existence of the peripheral Iberian nations in Pla and Gaziel's works in terms of the Oedipal complex which "helps the dominant patriarchal culture reproduce itself" (Kinder 1993: 197). The Portuguese (m)otherland (Rose 1993: 104) representing alterity and castration, lacks visibility and dynamism on the international stage, as it has historically been immobilised by the domineering tenacity of Castilian patriarchalism in the Iberian Peninsula, which from its hegemonic position of masculine power, tends only to see others in relation to itself:

He understands femininity, for example, only in terms of its difference from masculinity. He sees other identities only in terms of his own self-perception; he sees them as what I shall term his Other. And I will refer to him as the Same because, in his inability to recognize difference from himself in terms which do not refer to himself, this dominant subject position can only see himself.

(Rose 1993: 6)

As I have argued throughout Chapter 4, the Catalan landscape, on the other hand, has been portrayed in *Direcció Lisboa* and the *Trilogia ibèrica* as a hybrid

concoction of Portugal and Castile. Its landscapes have the potential to nurture as the Portuguese do, but are also susceptible to change and/or belligerence as sanctioned by Castile. The depictions of Catalonia and Portugal seem to suggest that they are related thanks to the fact that they both represent instances of alterity and Iberian nationalisms contrary to the hegemony of Castile. However, since the state “possesses the monopoly of legitimate violence” (Gellner 1988: 3), up until now Catalonia can be seen as having been castrated and limited by the resolute actions of the fatherland. After all, during certain periods in history that authority has rendered the dissemination of the Catalan language and culture ineffectual by administering retribution as it sees fit and in the process, curbing Catalan ventures abroad and into the unknown. Therefore, the calls for an Iberian Union which I will go on to explain in the next section of this chapter vindicate Catalonia’s position as the male infant, seeking a relationship with the (m)other, but fearing further violence from the father, seeks alternative relationships elsewhere. That is to say that whilst it remains to be seen how Catalan nationalism may or may not come to fruition in the future, for the meantime, it remains incipient and vulnerable to the brawn of Castile.

In the words of Gaziol, Catalan nationalism, in its constant state of reconstruction embodies its synecdochical image of the Sagrada Família which remains “*inacabada i mutilada*” (1970c: 956). As such, in many ways, Catalonia’s infantile and impotent stature likens it to Portugal by removing its potential associations with patriarchal authority. Thus, Catalonia still signifies a site of lack, like the mother, as it has not as of yet, successfully challenged the patriarchal status quo in Iberia. Therefore, with blind faith in their conservative

views based on patriarchal values, Pla and Gaziol seem oblivious to the fact that they fortuitously presented their readers with nationalist contradictions. By feminising the landscape, they continued to castrate the periphery from the hegemonic discourse in the Iberian Peninsula. For this reason, the symbols of Catalan national identity which were celebrated by Pla and Gaziol at the time, were conceived in view of their national weaknesses, which served to fuel the subsistence of the Catalan nation within the limitations of a patriarchal state.

Nevertheless, as the unequivocal support for patriarchal values wanes in our modern era, the vehement defence of values which were supposed to be eternal and natural must now be asserted by force, which as a result, depreciates the legitimacy of patriarchalism in the minds of the public today (Castells 1997: 242). Arguably, the unreliability of patriarchal considerations, as propounded by the likes of Pla and Gaziol in the twentieth century, has galvanised a new generation of Catalan feminist writers such as Maria-Mercè Marçal, who has re-examined depictions of nationalism and feminine marginalisation which have been bound by patriarchalism (Díaz Vicedo 2017: 76). The following poem, published posthumously in Marçal's *Raó del cos* collection of poetry, demonstrates the complexity of patriarchal relations, as discussed above:

Amb el cos empalat
en eix de fosques pàtries
fugen i arriben
a pàtries més benignes.

Però els ulls, orfes
de llum, percacen àvids
l'engruna verge
d'una màtria abolida.

(Marçal 2014: 58)

Therefore, it would seem as though as views change with modernity and Catalonia is pushed ever further from its Castilian fatherland, it is now possible to critique the conservative ignorance of Pla and Gaziol's work from a feminist perspective.

5.3 IBERIAN UNION: COLONIAL EXPANSION OR UTOPIC DREAM?

One suggestion which has been mooted on several occasions as a possible solution to nationalist disputes in the Iberian Peninsula is the case for an Iberian Union. Since 1640, Iberism, defined as a strand of nationalism, has never again resulted in an expression of political unity in the form of a singular Iberian State. From as early as the seventeenth century, a *saudade* or *enyorança* for Portugal arose in Catalonia. Despite the scarcity of contacts, Portugal became a focal point of interest for Catalans, owing to the Atlantic nation's ability to resist the gravitational pull of Madrid (Costa 2015: 501). In times of repression and censorship, it also came to provide Catalans with an appropriate corollary to use Portugal as a pretext to speak more openly of Catalan affairs (Costa 2015: 515-516).

Consequently, at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, some notable Catalan writers and politicians, such as Joan Maragall, Eugeni d'Ors

and Enric Prat de la Riba, influenced by the *Renaixença* period, called for a tripartite Iberian confederation consisting of Portugal (with Galicia), Castile (with the Basque Country and Andalusia) and Catalonia (with Valencia and the Balearic Islands) (Martínez-Gil 2013: 30; Rocamora 1994: 137; Seixas 2013: 84). However, this notion never gained the necessary momentum and critically, for the Basque Country, overlooked their distinct national identity. Such a union has been proffered under the guise of a convenient solution for Spain and Portugal during periods of economic and political instability, including in the wake of Spain's imperial crisis of 1898. A union at this time had the potential to create a unified peninsular market based on strengthened links with Portuguese colonies for all of Iberia (Costa 2015: 506). Such a restructuring would have redefined international Iberian relations, as it was believed that it would have transformed two waning imperial powers into one powerful entity, capable of engaging in global politics and thus, restoring each of their national prestige (Rocamora 1994: 21).

It can be argued though that the notion of an Iberian Union in Catalonia was born from a desire to allocate due place to peninsular alterity. Strangely, for a nation so concerned with solidarity, Castile seems to have celebrated their occupation as "the other" in Europe. The Francoist slogan "Spain is different" sought to project difference beyond its borders, reinforcing the idea of the Spanish national identity (which belonged to Castile) as disparate (Graham & Labanyi 1996: 407). Furthermore, according to Ángel Ganivet:

Los Pirineos son un istmo y una muralla; no impiden las invasiones, pero nos aíslan y nos permiten conservar nuestro carácter independiente. En

realidad nosotros nos hemos creído que somos insulares y quizás este error explique muchas anomalías de nuestra historia. Somos una isla colocada en la conjunción de dos continentes.

(2016: 58)

However, Castile does not only represent “the other” in their relationship with Europe. They also occupy this function in terms of their peninsular relationships, however, crucially in this case, Castile also functions as the dominant partner. For Pla’s part, his concern for Catalonia and Portugal’s shared experience of the periphery has the effect of unifying these nations in nationalist terms. He defines the imbalance of power between Portugal and Spain by suggesting that “els castellans han anat accentuant el seu portuguesisme innat” (1975: 187). In so doing, he firmly grants Portugal a peripheral status in Iberia which Saraiva corroborates:

Outra consequência importante destas considerações refere-se às relações de Portugal com o seu vizinho castelhano. Uma longa fronteira separa os dois estados, aparentemente paredes meias. Pensando melhor, eles estão distanciados por uma região intermédia semidesértica. Há entre eles uma espécie de vácuo. Os Portugueses estão do lado de cá do grande planalto castelhano, acumulados na orla atlântica, e os Castelhanos concentram-se em algumas grandes cidades no centro da Meseta — Toledo, Madrid, Ávila, Salamanca —, a muitas centenas de quilómetros da orla ocidental.

(Saraiva 1981: 40)

As a nation without a state, the Catalans too, hold a peripheral status within the Iberian Peninsula, instead having to comply with the central Spanish State. Gabancho believes that Spain is incapable of assimilating or respecting

difference (2012: 44) and that as a result, they are obsessed with the idea of peninsular unity and the construction of a homogenous nation. As a political mandate which firmly propounds the indivisibility of the Spanish nation as its most important characteristic, the Spanish Constitution of 1978 confirms this view, elevating Castile-Madrid's prestige, at the expense of all other Spanish national identities (Gabancho 2012: 26-27). Therefore, in the cases of both Portugal and Catalonia, "we witness a panorama of displacements" as the peripheral governments "seek to separate their identity from the national identity and centrality of Madrid by focusing on their own place in the peninsula", in so doing "reconstructing the realities of their own cultures and polities" (Fernandez 2008: 286). Pla frequently backs up these assertions of alterity between Portugal and Spain: "Si hi ha dos països extremament i literalment separats, que viuen en un estat de perfecta llunyania malgrat ésser veïns, són Espanya i Portugal" (1975: 128). Hence, Iberia emerges as a space defined by the existence of "the other".

For the main part, the history of the Iberian Peninsula lies in the tension created by the centralising dynamic of the other, evident in the attempts made by the centre, Castile-Madrid, to dominate any proposals of political unity and to impose their primordial supremacy over the Autonomous Communities, in the process, transforming the peninsular space into a mosaic of Iberian peoples and cultural nations (Sardica 2013: 14). The peripheral Iberian nations such as Catalonia and Portugal were/are acutely aware of the extent to which Castile has violated their nationalist movements in the pursuit of its own. Therefore, through an Iberian Union, a strategic Luso-Catalan alliance would be

established which would formulate a doctrine aiming to promote the diversity of Iberia, in stark opposition to the homogeneity of Castile (Martínez-Gil 2015: 28).

Along these lines, Lusocatalanism can be understood as a strain of Iberism:

El gran problema de l'iberisme catalanista és la relació amb Castella. Iberisme vol dir fraternitat, i nacionalisme oposició. Si Catalunya es definia com a no-castellana, què podia compartir amb Castella, a més de la història i de la subjecció política, per arribar a formar una nova Ibèria? És per resoldre això que es va activar l'amistat lusocatalana. La fraternitat entre Catalunya i Portugal serà essencial, no només en termes d'equilibri polític, sinó també en termes de doctrina nacionalista i per crear un lligam ibèric sentimental per sobre de Castella.

(Martínez-Gil 2013: 30)

The similar exchanges that these two Iberian nations have endured with the imperious Castile would consolidate the foundations of such a partnership and accordingly, it would be possible to conceive the existence of an “imagined [Luso-Catalan] community”. After all, in the words of Josep Pla:

Portugal ha tingut el do d'estar sempre aliat amb el país o els països que han guanyat indefectiblement les guerres - i en aquest punt ha fet una política contrària a la d'Espanya.

(1975: 482).

A Catalunya, és clar, el fet tingué una certa repercussió, perquè en el nostre país sempre hi ha hagut persones interessades a defensar les coses més infonamentades i absurdes, sobretot si han estat presentades en nom de la forma més primària del racionalisme, que és la conveniència.

(1975: 129)

Therefore, the adeptness of Pla and Gaziol's travel writing to entwine these peripheral nations, seldom compared, as an "imagined community" through their parallel experiences of the repressive centre, creates an inverse periphery whereby the centre becomes marginalised, culturally, geographically and linguistically: a small, nationalist victory over Castile on the part of these writers.

However, even in light of the weakness of the Spanish nation-state, proposals for an Iberian Union on the part of notable Catalan figures failed to mask Catalan vested interests in such a project. Promoting the patriotic causes of Iberism granted Catalanists respite from accusations of separatism which have plagued the nationalist movement since its conception (Rocamora 1994: 135). Moreover, such a structure would have readdressed the skewed balance of power between Catalonia and Madrid, thus elevating Catalonia to the same level. However, Catalan Iberianists would not convince the other Iberian nations to enter into a union because as Resina puts it, a union was not a shared ideal as "the only unifying power, Castile, developed since early times a predatory relation to the periphery" (2013: 239). As such, arguably, the Portuguese were the biggest obstacle to enacting a union, since they were the Iberian nation with the most to lose, if history were to repeat itself and Castile asserted its dominant character once again.

Therefore, the literary proposal of Catalonia and Portugal as consanguineous lands has not, as of yet, resulted in any meaningful discourse between these nations. According to Costa, it has been difficult for many to account for Iberism as a strand of thought which gave rise to no specific political initiatives of

importance, yet continued to exercise a recurring presence in the Catalanist mantra (2015: 503). Furthermore, as Hobsbawm points out, such pan-nationalist movements are inherently contradictory. In a sense, they abandon individual nationalist demands in the pursuit of a form of supra-nationalism. Born from a desire for imperial expansion, these movements are solely “the constructs of intellectuals who had nothing closer to a real state or nation on which to focus” (1993: 137). Or, as Pla puts it: “és per aquesta raó – patriotisme – que no es pot donar cap importància a la teoria política de l’iberisme” (1975: 247). If more autonomy and the right to self-government is the aim of a particular nationalism, how would belonging to a broader community ultimately achieve that?

In order to answer that question, Iberism should be examined through the colonial lens. Before the Spanish crisis of 1898, it could be argued that a union with Portugal was seen in terms of colonialism, beneficial for Castile, as the following statement given by Carlos VII in 1897 demonstrates:

Gibraltar español; unión con Portugal; Marruecos para España; confederación de nuestras antiguas colonias. Es decir, integridad, honor e grandeza; he aquí el legado que por medios justos, yo aspiraba a dejar a mi Pátria.

(Areilza & Castiella 1978: 40)

However, after the loss of Cuba and the Philippines, Iberism was anticipated as a way of broadening Catalan horizons and re-establishing patriarchal order after Spain had lost its colonial mandate over the Philippines and Cuba:

[E]ra indispensable posicionar l'iberisme com a full de ruta en què basar-ho tot: economia, llengua, *realpolitik*... retornar Espanya —en aquest cas una «nova Espanya»— a l'àmbit internacional de què s'allunyà a causa de la incapacitat política dels gestors castellans.

(Revelles Esquirol 2010: 150)

Therefore, it could be said that the utopic vision of an Iberian Union, as conceived by a number of Catalan intellectuals was based on a desire to continue blazoning the path of colonial patriarchalism, as and when it suited their nationalist agenda. It could even be seen as an attempted case of Catalan expansionism, or as Bauman would designate it, “heavy modernity” (2000: 114). Let us not forget that the Catalans were not immune to temptations of trailblazing, expanding their jurisdiction in the Mediterranean during the 12th and 13th centuries. Whilst Spain may have lost its colonies, Portugal still had theirs, so by incorporating them in a union, Spaniards and Catalans alike could still benefit economically from the patriarchal trade links with the Lusophone world.

Therefore, it is perhaps too simplistic an approach to reject Catalan Iberism as an abandonment of individual nationalist doctrines, in the pursual of an affinity with a larger, more powerful movement. Just because initially supra or pan nationalist movements may change the course of smaller constituent nationalist ideologies, does not mean that in the long term, it will prevent them from achieving their goals. Had an Iberian Union materialised at the end of the nineteenth or beginning of the twentieth century, it could have changed the course of Catalanism and achieved increased autonomy for Catalonia (Rocamora 1994: 21; Seixas 2013: 84). For the peripheral nations, a union

could ultimately have been seen as a positive move, by establishing new decentralised regions of power in a political war against Castile, in the process, further weakening the Castilian state and challenging their hegemonic influence, which is viewed as the main obstacle to fulfilling alternative Iberian nationalist demands (Estelrich 1929: 369; Martínez-Gil 2010: 9). Thus, it is possible to surmise how pan nationalist movements could achieve nationalist success. Although it may be viewed as the enactment of its ambitions via an alternative, colonial route, the nationalist movements of the Iberian periphery, could become united as an “imagined community” by virtue of their comparable experiences of the domineering centre. Accordingly, it would be once again possible to view Madrid as an isolated, island capital (Pazos 2013: 11), marginalised by the very Iberian nations that it itself, attempts to exile and separate from the others. That said, it would seem as though due to the modernisation and industrialisation of the Catalan nation and their eagerness to maintain trade and business links which would keep Barcelona on the map, the Catalan bourgeoisie endorsed patriarchalism as a way of furthering their own interests, irrespective of the fact it left them exposed to accusations of nationalist hypocrisy. Nevertheless, a union at this time was never realised and so, such analysis is reduced to pure speculation.

That said, it is worth noting that Martínez-Gil suggests that Iberism has a double meaning. Although, it can be interpreted as an expression of support for a union, it may also be understood as the acknowledgement of a common cultural and historic legacy amongst the Iberian peoples, which does not necessarily have to translate into any tangible political manifestations (2015: 43).

Accordingly, his explanation engages with the notion of alterity, proffering how Iberism can be understood as both “the same *and* the other”: “the same” in the recognition of the shared heritage of the Iberian communities, yet “other”, as with the exception of the unification from 1580-1640, Iberia still encompasses many distinct and separate nations. Given Pla and Gaziol’s unclear views on the issue, it would be quite conceivable that this duality of Iberism explains why they struggled to coherently come to terms with a union as the physical manifestation of Catalanism.

In *Direcció Lisboa* and the *Trilogia ibèrica* Pla and Gaziol reveal many inconsistencies relating to the concept of Spanish alterity. As such, their visions of an Iberian Union, or in other words, a new “imagined [Iberian] community” seem improbable. Arguably the experiences of domestic travel for both writers as simultaneously close yet distant, cloud their judgement. As a result, the following excerpts from *Direcció Lisboa* prove that Pla’s views on such a union are elusive and incoherent:

Essent un ciutadà del país del suro, he sentit dir moltes vegades que els dos països no es podien unir perquè tenen una economia paral·lela: que és l’economia del suro. Que en aquest sentit tenen un paral·lisme és cert. Que s’hauria d’haver fet una unió entre Espanya i Portugal, que s’hauria de fer, no té dubte: seria productiu i positiu. Ara, respecte del suro, quina unió s’ha de fer? La unió surera seria factible, almenys teòricament parlant, perquè no es tracta d’un volum d’interessos macrocefàlics, sinó més aviat manejables, per no dir petits.

(Pla 1975: 140-141)

Aquesta unió era impossible. Unir aquestes dues forces... impossible! I aquest és un altre aspecte de la qüestió: la unió d'aquests dos països és no ja difícil: és difícilíssima — superior a les possibilitats de les forces humanes de la persona o grups que s'ho emprenguessin. No crec que hi hagi a Europa dos països més veïns que visquin més allunyats.

(Pla 1975: 141)

Yet Gaziol is not much clearer. Juliana argues that Gaziol was Iberianist, evident from some of the articles which he wrote in *La Vanguardia*, including one provocatively titled “España ha muerto” on 23rd October 1931 which denounced the Castilian obstinacy towards diversity. As such, a union for Gaziol would have provided suitable accommodation for the autonomous desires of the peripheral nations such as Catalonia (2013: 58). Accordingly, it is possible to observe how he uses the landscape to denote national (dis)continuities in the *Trilogia ibèrica*. Revelles Esquirol recognises that “[p]er Gaziol, la realitat política peninsular és un esguerro, oposada a la natura i a la geografia, resultat de la història i de les accions humanes” (2010: 162). That said, the following quotation demonstrates that although Gaziol could conceive Iberism in terms of the landscape, he also concedes its inviability:

Jo estic segur que si les generacions futures s'interessen de bona fe per les que hem viscut a la Península Ibèrica i especialment a Espanya, entre 1850 i 1936, es quedaran astorades de veure i comprovar, de faisó irrefutable, que els catalans haurem estat els somniatruïtes més formidables i incorregibles que Déu hagués posat en el tros de terra comprès entre el Pirineu i Gibraltar, entre l'Atlàntic i la Mediterrània. I demostraran, com dos i dos fan quatre, a tothom que ho vulgui palpar, que la major part del segle XIX i una grossa tallada del XX foren a Catalunya una pura bogeria de somnis generosos, de regeneracions salvadores, de germanors cordials, d'efuses, de transfiguracions infinitament desitjables,

però, ai!, impossible. Fou un somniar que sovint arribava al deliri, perquè delirar, i perillosíssimament, és donar per fet el que encara no existeix ni un embrió viable.

(Gaziel 1970c: 892)

It would also have to be noted that in *Portugal enfora*, Gaziel adopts the analogy of a close-knit family unit to illustrate the potential for establishing a kindred “imagined community” between Portugal and Catalonia, whilst concurrently portraying the relationship between Portugal and Castile as estranged. In the chapter entitled “Dinar de germandat” (pp. 881-893) Gaziel recounts his experience of dining with a group of Portuguese people, noting their complete and utter disinterest and disregard for anything related to Spain, despite being well-educated people with an interest in European affairs. He says that: “parlar-los d’Espanya era parlar-los de la Lluna. I encara: per mica que fossin donats a l’astronomia elemental, els hauria interessat molt més” (1970c: 886). Yet, compare that to the reaction of the very same group to a comedian who informed them of the existence of the distinct Catalan language and culture on the other side of the peninsula:

[E]l bon actor anava traduïnt al portuguès el sentit català d’aquelles frases matusseres que donaven a l’orella una certa il·lusió d’autenticitat. I l’acollida que rebien era excepcional: del tot sorpresos, els oients es feien creus del que anaven sentint —i fins m’esguardaven per primera vegada com encara

no ho havien fet, admirats que jo fos d'una terra fabulosa on la llengua permetia de fer unes paròdies tan inaudites. Per primera i única vegada, l'interès de tots cristallitzà, tant com ha durat la facècia, en quelcom d'estrambòtic, sens dubte, però al cap i a la fi vingut d'una terra peninsular germana de la portuguesa: la terra catalana.

(1970c: 889)

Significant here, is the proposal of Catalonia and Portugal as “sisters”, or rather an “imagined community”. It is worth noting that this familial allusion is not a singular occurrence, with Gaziol also referring on other occasions to the brotherhood of the Iberian populations (Gaziol 1970c: 888) and the surprisingly intimate and welcoming quality of Portugal, like his Catalan homeland (Gaziol 1970c: 902). However, in this way, the reader is once again able to observe how Gaziol reinforces patriarchal order and values. The underlying importance he grants to the nuclear family unit validates his nationalist observations in light of his conservative views. It is also further evidence of the way in which he uses his work as a guise for the subjectivity of its content, obscuring his opinion as part of the broader nationalist axiom. Based on his admiration for the Iberianist views of Joan Maragall, when the Catalan reality was juxtaposed with that of their Iberian neighbour, Portugal, it nourished Gaziol's appetite to continue lobbying for an Iberian Union (Pericay 2011: 129). Surely, it was the promotion of these views though, which even by his own admission were unlikely to result in a tangible federation, which once again placed Gaziol on the periphery, since by the mid-twentieth century most support for an Iberian Union had dissipated.

Yet like Pla, Gaziol's work is littered with inconsistencies as the familial bonds between the peripheral nations in the Iberian Peninsula are counteracted by his

pessimistic interpretations of romantic visions of an Iberian Union. Gaziél was concerned with the peripheral position of Catalonia or the so-called “Catalan Problem”. He argued that there was not a distinctly Catalan problem, but rather a wider Hispanic issue. Accordingly, he established the existence of two distinct realities in Catalonia and Castile, and on one occasion, he proposed that all peninsular people endure “un abisme, i aquest abisme té un nom duríssim: la realitat” (Gaziél 1970c: 892). It seems that for Castilians, the abyss refers to the reality that Spain is a nation of nations and despite their best efforts, it is unlikely that it will ever be homogenous. However, for the minority Iberian nations which struggle to assert themselves, the prospect of a harmonious union seems to be an increasingly distant dream, and as such for them, the real name of that abyss is Castile.

5.4 MODERNITY AS THE ROUTE TOWARDS DECOLONISATION

Modernity is understood as the “presence of the past in a present that supersedes it but still lays claim to it” (Augé 2008: 61). Therefore, what the reader of Pla’s *Direcció Lisboa* and Gaziél’s *Trilogia ibèrica* may notice is the way in which modernity has influenced our perception of national continuities in the Iberian Peninsula; be it through the representations of the landscape which reveal national characteristics, yet simultaneously bind them in patriarchal terms, or through the utopic musings of a select number of Iberianist intellectuals who advocate a union as a way of de-centring our way of looking, so that we may reconsider our domestic space. However, Resina highlights the

instability of modernity which threatens to jeopardise our perception of that national space:

Constantly breaking away from the immediate past, modern society could not configure its identity around tradition, the way all previous societies had. Its defining characteristic was not a stable content but the permanent generation of difference. And this meant inducing the emergence of a new sense of time to which history was immolated. Modernity could not become cumulative without relapsing into some form of tradition. Were it to do so and give up the perspective gained from second-order observation, it would revert to blind repetition and lose its differentiating perspective in the pragmatic objectivation of its objects.

(2017: 120)

For this reason, it seems appropriate to configure the effect of modernity on our conception of national space and travel. Di Giovine suggests that the notion of modern Europe came to fruition as a result of creating and disseminating European travel accounts of the “other” (2010: 109-110). However, as established in Chapter 3, the nature of travel has changed considerably in the last few centuries. When the *conquistadores* discovered the Americas their mission was colonial and they conformed to patriarchal prejudices in the form of race, gender and class. Nowadays, many journeys are conducted in the name of tourism since travel has become much more accessible to the masses. Developments in technology and modes of transportation have facilitated this shift and the widespread circulation of images of exotic places in the media has transformed our perception of distance, making the faraway seem accessible to the consumer. As a result, some have questioned whether in our modern world, exotic places even still exist (Augé 2008: 25-26; Clifford 1996: 13-14)?

Especially with the internet now an integral part of our daily existence as a vital research tool, does anyone really now arrive in an unknown place without even the slightest preconception of what it will be like?

That said, just because now in our modern era, it is easier than ever before to do so, does not mean that it is necessary to travel to far-flung corners of the globe to perceive difference. Enric Bou contends that he used to believe that trips to faraway places produced superb literature whereas urban errands had hardly any literary weight. After all, Rojek and Urry contend that the home is where mundane running order can be enacted, whereas abroad, one can look for development (1997: 16). However, Bou came to discover that exploring everyday life can be even more rewarding. When one leaves their hometown to explore distant landscapes they never get to know what lies beneath the reality and so, frequently return from their voyage emptyhanded (2012: 13). Yet, since as I have established, Spain is a nation of nations, an internal journey around the peninsula is still one characterised by domestic comparisons, thus facilitating the comprehension of distinct Iberian realities. As a result, in *Direcció Lisboa* and the *Trilogia ibèrica* the act of displacement becomes subversive, as binary oppositions between sedentarism and travel also reveal the inherent contradictions of modernity.

In the case of Catalonia, historically its nationalist movement has hankered after political, economic and cultural autonomy so that it could create a space to develop its own breed of modernity. However, Spain has curbed this modernity in a bid to maintain control of its Autonomous Communities: “Quan Catalunya

es belluga, Espanya treu el sabre i talla amb tot, i amb la llibertat el primer” (Gabancho 2012: 58). Therefore, it has been suggested that in the Iberian Peninsula literature has sustained international contacts, particularly with regard to its treatment of political and aesthetic images which invoke a sense of modernity. As such, the defiance towards Francoism facilitated the creation of a genre of national literature which assembled together writers of different nationalities, including Salvador Espriu, Celso Emilio Ferreiro and Gabriel Aresti. As a consequence, literature can be seen as the impetus for some regionalist movements which have pursued a national trajectory in Spain (Martínez-Gil 2015: 39-41).

As it is, since the end of the Franco regime, Gabilondo proposes that there have been four attempts to challenge the non-hegemonic dominance of the Spanish postimperial ruling elite, three of which, at least up until now, have not successfully unseated the established patriarchal norms. The ineffectuality of the political resistance put up by Podemos and the 15-M movement makes it plain to see the extent to which patriarchal attitudes prevail. Moreover, in the case of the Basque nationalist movement, ETA was defeated on the grounds that an armed struggle ought not to exist in an apparently liberal and democratic Europe. By the same token, the independence process in Catalonia also has not yet succeeded in obtaining satisfactory concessions from Madrid but rather, the miscalculations on this front have resulted in a renewed onslaught of repressive measures. Therefore, Gabilondo suggests that the increasingly visible and influential issue of feminism and women’s rights constitutes a fourth movement, which unlike the previous three, has managed to shed light on the

way in which it is possible (or not) to challenge the Spanish postimperial elite (2017: 12-13). The 8-M feminist strikes which took place on International Women's Day in 2018 are evidence of this trend in Spain, and more generally speaking, the #MeToo campaign challenges patriarchy on the international stage. Therefore, since Pla and Gaziol's literature condones a moderate form of nationalism, current social considerations provide the auspices to review their work from a feminist angle.

As has already been established, Gaziol and Pla flirted with the literary canon but never quite managed to establish themselves securely within its realm due to political, linguistic and genre restrictions, amongst others. However, a case could certainly be made now to suggest that even as Catalan culture and literature slowly becomes more visible on the international stage, Pla and Gaziol's work will struggle to achieve prominence as examples of national literature, since modern concerns and developments have dated their contributions, earmarking it as part of the overriding conservatism and stagnation of progressive thought, so typical of the Iberian Peninsula in the twentieth century. That said, if we are to accept Gabilondo's theory that feminism has had the most success in challenging patriarchy, perhaps Pla and Gaziol's feminisation of the peripheral landscape is not quite as damaging to the fulfilment of current Catalan nationalist demands as initially thought. Although clearly not the intention at the time it was written, in the present day, the femininity of the peripheral cultures in the Iberian Peninsula can be envisaged as a rebuttal of Castilian hegemony and patriarchy. Therefore, as

Martínez-Gil suggests, Pla and Gaziel's work can be seen to provide the stimulus to conceive Catalan nationalism in a new light.

Be that as it may, the success of this new movement remains to be seen. Postcolonial theory can be considered as a form of historical revisionism which contests elite historiography by divulging subaltern histories (Biccup 2009: 149). As such, a subsequent analysis of the feminist experience can be considered within this framework. Afolabi suggests that "post-" terms, such as postcolonialism or postindependence imply a discontinuity (2009: 27). That said, Spain's postimperial condition is a contemporary phenomenon, which rather than being leftover from an old imperialist history, actually dates back to the post-Franco formation of power. Since "the Spanish state represents a continuity of the political and economic dominance of a Francoist ruling elite and its postimperialist power structure", postimperialism ought to be considered in terms of a rupture with temporality (Gabilondo 2017: 13-14). Therefore, it can be inferred that modern development and progress are measured against this criteria. Accordingly, post- structures came to be identified with the perceived stability of the antecedent inclinations, thus the projection of the female experience, in this case, is contaminated and requires constant renegotiation against the contextual political scene (Chatterjee 2001: 400-401).

The duality of this paradox in Spain forces us to question how the female voice will ever come to be heard on a level playing field with that of their male counterparts. Whilst modernity has done much to advance the dissemination of alternative realities, the problem lies in the fact that they are considered

alternative in the first place. Modernity, just like travel, can be conceived as a journey. However, we have to ask ourselves, whether unlike the traveller who by and large, ultimately returns to their initial position, feminism in Spain can stand up to patriarchalism in its own right to execute lasting change.

5.5 CONCLUSION

As a way of bringing this chapter to a close, it is important to note how the trail of patriarchalism in the Iberian Peninsula has pervaded cultural and literary thought and incited a reciprocal feminist backlash. Modernity has altered our perception of accepted societal norms and as such, allows the re-examination of national literature through an alternative gaze. However, the hegemony of the patriarchal ligature incarcerates feminist observations by ensuring that such a perspective is paradoxically considered in terms of its alterity. That is to say, that for the main part, feminism has defined itself against the established stability of patriarchal norms.

With this in mind, it is possible to view how Pla and Gaziol have implicitly endorsed the hegemonic and centralising sanctity of the Castilian centre which confirmed Catalonia's status as a peripheral nation, suffering the consequences of Franco's colonial approach. It would therefore have to be said that whilst, as Gabilondo asserts, the notion that Catalonia has been colonised is problematic, it would be unfair to deny that the Catalans have felt the force of Franco's domestic policies which were influenced by Spanish colonial escapades in Morocco. Combined with our renewed appreciation for the function of modernity, a postimperial approach thus seems most appropriate when

contemplating the peripheral realities of the Iberian Peninsula. In this way, it is possible to apprehend the continuity of patriarchalism, juxtaposed against the discontinuity of time. Therefore, whether the repression of the peripheral nations is enunciated through the postimperial feminist voice or not, readers of Pla and Gaziol's travel writing should be under no illusion as to how the contradictory patriarchal voice of authority impedes the nationalist integrity and coherence of their work.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

What should be clear by now is that Pla and Gaziol's work is chaotically strewn with inconsistencies which pose many challenges for the reader as they navigate their literary journeys through *Direcció Lisboa* and the *Trilogia ibèrica*. Not only can we consider the journey for Pla and Gaziol as the physical displacement from the localisms of their Baix Empordà, but as these writers come to terms with the stagnation of the Iberian Peninsula in the twentieth century they unveil a number of inherent contradictions in the right wing political ambit which they had previously supported unequivocally. As such, as cliché as it may sound, travel for Pla and Gaziol became a process of rediscovery as they learned to reconsider aspects of their society which they previously took for granted as absolute and primordial.

Nevertheless, it would have to be said that their experiences of the peninsula were governed by their conservative views, which were so deeply imbedded within them, that their personal journeys were limited in scope. Whilst they started to conceive the unfeasibility of Castile's homogenisation mission, their work was temporarily bounded by the restrictions of the Franco regime which moderated the degree to which they could challenge it. That is not to say that Pla and Gaziol always conformed to Francoism. The challenges Gaziol in particular faced in getting his trilogy passed through censorship controls and the determination of both writers to write in Catalan at the end of their careers and to represent their national audience is evidence of such. However, their steadfast conservatism and support for patriarchalism ensured that their

attempts to establish a Lusocatalan “imagined community” through their literature constitutes little more than the re-formulation of an alternative colonial relationship by virtue of the disproportionate balance of power between Portugal, as a nation-state and Catalonia, as a stateless nation. Portugal may (have) represent(ed) for many Catalans proof that alterity can survive in the Iberian Peninsula if it can evade the domination of Castile. However, whilst Pla and Gaziol may have disrupted Franco’s cultural assimilation operation which denied Iberian alterity a legitimate place, their proposed alternative during Salazar’s Estado Novo was not all that different in character.

As unlikely as it may have been, given that an Iberian Union could have threatened the re-established sovereignty of Portugal, it would have to be noted that any redistribution of political power may not have only levelled the playing field between Catalonia and Castile, but might even have been seen to tip the balance in Catalonia’s favour. Building on Benedict Anderson’s famous hypothesis, one might infer that an Iberian Union had the potential to destabilise Castile’s propensity for domination by constructing an “imagined community” between the Catalans and the Portuguese. Indeed, a Lusocatalan alliance would give both nations the opportunity to overpower and stand opposed to Castile’s colonial subjugation of those nations which do not conform to its own objectives, instead allowing this “imagined community” to execute their own designs for an accepted plurinational peninsula. In isolation, with a shared vision like this, it is possible to envisage the union of Catalonia and Portugal as an “imagined community” appealing to “the idea of the nation, which also is conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history”. As

Anderson goes on to suggest, although most members of a nation never meet more than a handful of their fellow compatriots, they have “complete confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity” (2006: 26). In other words, the members of any Lusocatalan alliance could be united by shared aspirations for alternative Iberian relations and power archetypes, contrary to those favoured by Castile. However, just like Pla and Gaziel’s travels, such a proposal was utopic, having never again since 1640 come to fruition. Such a motion was restricted to the dreams of a select few Iberianist intellectuals for whom a union was in their vested interests. For the main part, it would seem as though Pla and Gaziel can be included in the Iberianist camp, although as the contradictions in their work demonstrate, they also appear to have been aware that their views belonged to a peripheral minority and for that reason, a union was particularly unlikely.

That is because culturally separating the periphery from the centre is not that straight forward. An assertive centre will always be present. It may change or redefine itself, but it will always exist. However, as the peripheries attempt to forge new relationships and reject the centre, whilst endeavouring to codify themselves, the influence and power of the centre simultaneously facilitates its tacit presence and corporal absence (Adão da Fonseca & Pinto Costa 2015: 293). Therefore, in the case of Portugal and Catalonia, it is helpful to consider a system of concentric marginalities which can be seen to reconcile some of the essentialist criticisms directed towards the centre/periphery paradigm.

In any case, Pla and Gaziol circumscribe their new “imagined community” with natural borders and similar landscape elements. The landscape features prominently in Pla and Gaziol’s travel writing, so much so that it almost acquires the role of an additional narrative voice. As already established in Chapter 4, the discernible characteristics of landscapes are not purely limited to the physical topography. Language, as one of the most visible symbols of national identity, has the ability to make legible or disorientate the experience of the environment and the periphery. In this way, language has facilitated the existence of a literary Lusocatalan discourse. In addition, Pla and Gaziol’s use of natural features such as vegetation and water portrays the disparity between territories which are culturally rich and those lacking this department (Revelles Esquirol 2008: 87). For Pla, aridity is affiliated with misery, whereas Gaziol adopts the motif of a Castilian desert to depict national alterity and isolation. Accordingly, it is possible to envisage how the fluidity and constant movement of water has become a symbol of renovation, equated with freedom, modernity and happiness (Bou 2012: 54; Di Palma 2012: 31; Phaf-Rheinberger 2017: 34).

As modernity moves us towards a postimperial era in Iberian relations, the feminist movement, unlike the nationalist movements of the Autonomous Communities up-to-date, takes on an increasingly significant role when it comes to challenging the established patriarchal state of affairs. In attempting to reinforce patriarchal values in their work, Pla and Gaziol effectively feminised the peripheral landscape which at the time, had a fortifying effect of continuing the subjugation of the Catalan nation at the hands of the domineering Castile. However, the conservative patriarchalism of Pla and Gaziol has surely been

eclipsed in our modern era by a concern for presenting subaltern experiences of history. In this way, if the nationalist conflicts can draw on the feminist movement, it may be possible to elevate the public awareness of a previously subordinate matter of national unity.

As such, it would have to be said that temporality has always played a particularly important part for Pla and Gaziol's readers. As journalists, they made a career out of it. However, just like the nationalist movements of the Iberian periphery, their work, as I have argued, was inhibited as a result of the repression and backwardness of the Franco regime. The incongruities between their national ideals and the political arena at the time influenced the reception of their work and designated them to the periphery, since they were neither vigorous enough supporters of Francoism, nor Catalanism to maintain their prominent national status. The contradictions in Pla and Gaziol's work reflect their peripheral condition. Their conservatism was not the issue though, but rather their inability to provide a coherent explanation as to how the Catalan nationalist movement can find accommodation within such a society, may unsurprisingly have left many readers perplexed about their true thoughts. Misunderstanding the nationalist objectives of Pla and Gaziol is nothing new. They were privileged, conservative, white men who enforced the patriarchal norms of the time, irrespective of the cost to their nationalist movement. However, the originality of the approach taken throughout this thesis is in the modern reconsideration of the postcolonial journey of literary Lusocatalanism towards the frontiers of feminism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adão da Fonseca, Luís & Paula Pinto Costa (2015). "Historiography and Portuguese identity: How in Medieval Portugal the kingdom is seen through the eyes of the Iberian Peninsula" pp. 269-293 in: *Catalonia and Portugal: the Iberian Peninsula from the Periphery*, edited by Flocel Sabaté & Luís Adão da Fonseca. Peter Lang: Bern.

Afolabi, Niyi (2009). *Afro-Brazilians. Cultural Production in a Racial Democracy*. University of Rochester Press.

Aiguaviva i Carreras, Laura (2007). *Mirant Gaziell. Recreació en imatges dels escenaris literaris*. Exhibition catalogue. Museu d'Història de Sant Feliu de Guíxols i la Diputació de Girona.

Alemaný i Nadal, Sílvia (2007). *Mirant Gaziell. Recreació en imatges dels escenaris literaris*. Exhibition catalogue. Museu d'Història de Sant Feliu de Guíxols i la Diputació de Girona.

Álvaro, Francesc-Marc (2007). "Influència i compromís en Gaziell." *Trípodos*, No. 20, pp. 87-90.

Anderson, Benedict (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso: London, New York. (Originally written in 1983.)

Antunes, Alfredo (1983). "O significado da saudade numa filosofia portuguesa." *Revista Portuguesa De Filosofia*, Vol. 39, No. 1/2, pp. 13–42.

Appleton, Jay (1997). "The Integrity of the Landscape Movement" pp. 189-199 in: *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, edited by Paul Groth & Todd W. Bressi. Yale University Press: New Haven, London.

Areilza, José María & Fernando María Castiella (1978). *Reivindicaciones de España*. Editorial Planeta: Barcelona.

Ashcroft, Bill (2015). "Travel and Utopia" pp. 249-262 in: *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies*, edited by Julia Kuehn & Paul Smethurst. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Augé, Marc (2008). *Non-Places: An introduction to Supermodernity*. (Second English-language translation carried out by John Howe.) Verso: London, New York.

Badosa, Cristina (1999). "Josep Pla" pp. 168-172 in: *Literatura catalana contemporània*, edited by Glòria Bordons & Jaume Subirana. Proa: Edicions de la Universitat Oberta de Catalunya.

Bauman, Zygmunt (2000). *Liquid Modernity*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Benet, Josep (1970). "Pròleg" pp. xv-xxxii in: *Obres completes*, written by Agustí Calvet. Editorial Selecta: Barcelona.

Benet, Josep (1987). "El meu Gaziel." *Revista de Girona*, No. 123, pp. 29-31.

Bhabha, Homi (2011). *Our Neighbours, Ourselves: Contemporary Reflections on Survival*. Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co: Berlin, New York.

Biccum, April R. (2009). "Theorising Continuities between Empire & Development: Toward a New Theory of History" pp. 146-160 in: *Empire, development and colonialism: the past in the present*, edited by Mark Duffield & Vernon Hewitt. James Currey: Suffolk, New York.

Bonada, Lluís (1991). *Josep Pla*. Editorial Empúries: Barcelona.

Bou, Enric (1996). "El comercio del viajero: paisajes de Josep Pla" pp. 95-106 in: *Monographic Review: Hispanic Travel Literature*, Vol. 12, edited by Janet Pérez & Genaro J. Pérez. Texas Tech University.

Bou, Enric (2012). *Invention of Space: City, Travel and Literature*. Iberoamericana Vervuert: Madrid, Frankfurt.

Browitt, Jeff (2004). "Introduction: the Space of Critique" pp. 1-11 in: *The Space of Culture: Critical readings in Hispanic Studies*, edited by Stewart King & Jeff Browitt. University of Delaware Press: Newark.

Buxó i Rey, Maria Jesús (2001). "A Walk through Identity in the Gardens of Catalonia" pp. 198-217, translated by Edward Flagler and revised by Joan Ramon Resina, in: *Iberian Cities*, edited by Joan Ramon Resina. Routledge: London, New York.

Calvet, Agustí (1926). *Hores viatgeres: assaigs*. Gustau Gili: Barcelona.

Calvet, Agustí (1970a). *Tots els camins duen a Roma*, pp. 405-736 in: *Obres completes*. Editorial Selecta: Barcelona.

Calvet, Agustí (1970b). *Castella endins*, pp. 739-859 in: *Obres completes*. Editorial Selecta: Barcelona.

Calvet, Agustí (1970c). *Portugal enfora*, pp. 861-971 in: *Obres completes*. Editorial Selecta: Barcelona.

Calvet, Agustí (1970d). *La península inacabada*, pp. 973-1087 in: *Obres completes*. Editorial Selecta: Barcelona.

Camba, Julio (2007). *Aventuras de una peseta*. Alhena Media: Barcelona.

Carbonell Camós, Eliseu (2006). *Josep Pla: El temps, la gent i el paisatge. Una etnografia de l'Empordà franquejant la literatura*. Edicions: Barcelona.

Carvalho, Joaquim de (1958). "Problemática da Saudade." *Revista de História*, São Paulo, No. 34, p.340. (Cited in 1983 by Alfredo Antunes in "O significado da saudade numa filosofia portuguesa".)

Casasús, Josep M. (1996). *Periodisme català que ha fet història*. Proa: Barcelona.

Castellet, J. M. (1996). *Josep Pla o la raó narrativa*. Destino: Barcelona.

Castells, Manuel (1997). *The Power of Identity*. Volume II. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford.

Chatterjee, Partha (2001). "The nation in heterogeneous time." *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 399-418.

Chillón, L. A. (1993). *Literatura i periodisme*. Universitat d'Alacant/Universitat Jaume / Universitat de València: Valencia. (Cited in 2000 by Carme Gregori in "El caminant de la terra: els primers llibres de viatges de Josep M. Espinàs.")

Clifford, James (1996). *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England.

Clifford, James (1997). *Routes. Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England.

Conzen, Michael (1990). *The Making of the American Landscape*. Unwin Hyman: Massachusetts.

Cosgrove, Denis (1998). *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape: With a new introduction*. The University of Wisconsin Press.

Costa, Òscar (2015). "Re-imagining the State: Pan-Iberianism and Political Interventionism in the Context of Catalan Nationalism" pp. 501-521 in: *Catalonia and Portugal: the Iberian Peninsula from the Periphery*, edited by Flocel Sabaté & Luís Adão da Fonseca. Peter Lang: Bern.

Costa i Llobera, Miquel (1906). Pro Lusitania. *Mitjorn* 3 (March), p.67. (Cited in 2013 by Víctor Martínez-Gil in "La visió lusocatalana d'Ibèria".)

Crameri, Kathryn (2000). *Language, the Novelist and National Identity in Post-Franco Catalonia*. Legenda: Oxford.

Cucurull, Fèlix (1967). *Dos pobles ibèrics*. Editorial Selecta: Barcelona.

Culleton, Colleen P. (2006). "Josep Pla, Geographer: The Presence of Landscape in *El pagès i el seu món*." *Romance Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. 3, pp. 185-194.

Culleton, Colleen (2007). "Pla's Voice(s) of Authority." *Journal of Catalan Studies*, No. 10, pp. 25-37.

Culleton, Colleen P. (2017). *Literary Labyrinths in Franco-Era Barcelona: Narrating memory and place*. Routledge: London, New York.

Di Giovine, Michael (2010). "Travel, Travel Writing, and the Construct of European Identity." *Journeys*, Vol. 10, Issue 2, pp. 109-118.

Di Palma, Vittoria (2012). "Flow: Rivers, Roads, Routes and Cartographies of Leisure" pp. 27-43 in: *Routes, Roads and Landscapes*, edited by Mari Hvattum, Brita Brenna, Beate Elvebakk & Janike Kampevold Larsen. Ashgate Publishing Ltd: Surrey.

Díaz Vicedo, Noèlia (2017). "Eros and Thanatos: A Dialectic in the Late Poetry" pp. 61-87 in: *Maria-Mercè Marçal: Her life in her words*, edited by Noèlia Díaz Vicedo. Anglo-Catalan Society's Occasional Publications.

Dijkstra, Bram (1988). *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture*. Oxford University Press.

Domínguez, Cesar (1996). "Algunas notas acerca de la categoría medieval de relatos de viajes" pp. 30-45 in: *Monographic Review: Hispanic Travel Literature*, Vol. 12, edited by Janet Pérez & Genaro J. Pérez. Texas Tech University.

Dowling, Andrew (2012). *Catalonia since the Spanish Civil War: Reconstructing the Nation*. Sussex Academic Press: Brighton.

Drucker, Johanna (1984). "Language in the Landscape." *Landscape*. Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 7-13.

Dubbini, Renzo (2002). *Geography of the Gaze: Urban and Rural Vision in Early Modern Europe*. Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. University of Chicago Press.

Dunn, Kevin (2010). "Embodied Transnationalism: Bodies in Transnational Spaces." *Population, Space and Place*, Vol. 16, pp. 1-9.

Epps, Brad (2001). "Modern Spaces: Building Barcelona" pp. 148-197 in: *Iberian Cities*, edited by Joan Ramon Resina. Hispanic Issues, Volume 24. Routledge: London, New York.

Escartí, Vicent Josep (2015). "The word *Espanya* ("Spain") in 15th and 16th Century Catalan literature" pp. 327-353 in: *Catalonia and Portugal: the Iberian Peninsula from the Periphery*, edited by Flocel Sabaté & Luís Adão da Fonseca. Peter Lang: Bern.

Estelrich, Joan (1929). *Qüestió de les minories nacionals i les vies del dret*. Volume II. Biblioteca d'estudis econòmics, socials i polítics. Llibreria Catalonia: Barcelona.

Fernandez, James W. (2008). "Displacements: The Experience of Vectored Spaces in Peninsular Places" pp. 271-290 in: *Recasting Culture and Space in Iberian Contexts*, edited by Sharon R. Roseman & Shawn S. Parkhurst. State University of New York Press.

Fernández, Víctor (2011). "Josep Pla i Salvador Dalí. Situant-los en un punt" pp. 9-52 in: *Josep Pla i Salvador Dalí. Situant-los en un punt*, edited by Víctor Fernández and Enrique Sabater. Edicions Destino: Barcelona.

Fraser, Benjamin (2011). *Henri Lefebvre and the Spanish urban experience. Reading the mobile city*. Bucknell University Press.

Frye, Marilyn (1983). *The Politics of Reality: Essays in Feminist Theory*. Crossing Press: New York.

Fussell, Paul (1980). *Abroad. British literary travelling between the wars*. Oxford University Press.

Fuster, Joan (1972). "Josep Pla" pp. 257-262 in: *Literatura Catalana Contemporània*. Curial, Documents de Cultura: Barcelona.

Gabancho, Patrícia (2012). *L'autonomia que ens cal és la de Portugal*. La Mansarda: Barcelona. Second Edition.

Gabilondo, Joseba (2017). "Postcolonialism, Neoliberalism, and Globalization: Theorizing Postimperialism" pp. 1-15. (Conference paper delivered at "Postcolonial Spain? Contexts, Politics, Cultural Practices" symposium at Bangor University, UK. 1-2 December 2017.)

Ganivet, Ángel (2016). *Idearium Español (Edición divulgativa)*. Lecturas hispánicas: Zaragoza.

Garolera, Narcís (1998). *L'escriptura itinerant. Verdaguer, Pla i la literatura de viatges*. Pagès editors: Lleida.

Garolera, Narcís (2006). "Pla i Verdaguer: afinitats i discrepàncies" pp. 33-49 in: *Gaudí i Verdaguer llegits per Josep Pla*, edited by Anna Aguiló & Xavier Pla. Fundació de Josep Pla & Universitat de Girona: Col·lecció Diversitas 51.

Garraalda Ortega, Ángel (2013). "The social construction of the Spanish nation: a discourse-based approach" pp. 1-511. (Doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham.)

Gellner, Ernest (1988). *Nations and Nationalism*. Blackwell Ltd: Oxford.

Goikoetxea, Jule (2013). "Emancipatory Nationalism and Catalonia." *Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 12, No. 4, pp. 394–397.

Graham, Helen & Jo Labanyi (1996). *Spanish Cultural Studies: An Introduction. The Struggle for Modernity*. Oxford University Press.

Gregori, Carme (2000). "El caminant de la terra: els primers llibres de viatges de Josep M. Espinàs". *Caplletra* 28 (Primavera), pp. 121-144.

Groth, Paul (1997). "Frameworks for Cultural Landscape Study" pp. 1-21 in: *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, edited by Paul Groth & Todd W. Bressi. Yale University Press: New Haven, London.

Harvey, David (1996). *Justice, Nature & the Geography of Difference*. Blackwell Publishers: Massachusetts.

Hatton, Barry (2011). *The Portuguese: A Modern History*. Signal Books Limited: Oxford.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1993). *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge University Press. Second Edition.

Horn, Gunnar (1939). "Pictorial Journalism." *The English Journal*, Vol. 28, No. 9, pp. 726-730.

Huggan, Graham (2015). "Anthropology/Travel/Writing: Strange Encounters with James Clifford and Nicolas Rothwell" pp. 228-246 in: *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies*, edited by Julia Kuehn & Paul Smethurst. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Jackson, John Brinckerhoff (1963). "Goodbye to Evolution." *Landscape* Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 1-3.

Jackson, John Brinckerhoff (1979). "The Order of a Landscape: Reason and Religion in Newtonian America" pp. 153-163 in: *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical essays*, edited by Donald Meinig. Oxford University Press.

Jardí, Enric (1966). *Tres diguem-ne desarrelats: Pijoan, Ors, Gaziol*. Editorial Selecta: Barcelona.

Juliana, Enric (2012). *Modesta España: Paisaje después de la austeridad*. RBA Libros: Barcelona.

Juliana, Enric (2013). "Gaziol, Iberista i Platònic" pp. 53-59 in: *El dret al futur: Assaig i pensament cívic a Catalunya i a Portugal / O direito ao futuro: Ensaísmo e pensamento cívico na Catalunha e em Portugal*, edited by Gabriel Magalhães & Fátima Fernandes da Silva. Edições Húmus Ltd: Ribeirão.

Junqueras, Oriol (1998). *Els catalans i Cuba*. Proa: Barcelona.

Keating, Michael (2001). *Nations against the State: The new politics of nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland*. Second edition. Palgrave: Basingstoke.

Kinder, Marsha (1993). "The Spanish Oedipal Narrative and its Subversion" pp. 197-276 in: *Blood cinema: the reconstruction of national identity in Spain*. University of California Press: Berkeley.

King, Stewart (2004). "Catalonia and the Post-Colonial Condition" pp. 39-53 in: *The Space of Culture: Critical readings in Hispanic Studies*, edited by Stewart King and Jeff Browitt. University of Delaware Press: Newark.

Korte, Barbara (2008). "Chrono-Types: Notes on Forms of Time in the Travelogue" pp. 25-53 in: *Writing Travel: The Poetics and Politics of the Modern Journey*, edited by John Zilcosky. University of Toronto Press.

Kristeva, Julia (1991). *Strangers to Ourselves*. Translation by Leon S. Roudiez. Columbia University Press: New York.

Kuehn, Julia & Paul Smethurst (2015). "Introduction" pp. 1-13 in: *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies*, edited by Julia Kuehn & Paul Smethurst. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Lawrence, Andrea (2016). "Portugal and Catalonia: The antitheses of Castile" pp. 1-28. (Unpublished thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham as part fulfilment of the BA Modern Languages programme.)

Llanas, Manuel (1998). *Gaziel: Vida, Periodisme i Literatura*. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat: Barcelona.

Llanas, Manuel (2013). *Gaziel i Josep M. Cruzet (i l'Editorial Selecta). Correspondència (1951-1964)*. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat: Barcelona.

Llanas, Manuel (2018). *Gaziel i Josep Pla. Estimat amic. Correspondència (1941-1964)*. Edicions Destino: Barcelona.

Llobera, Josep R. (2004). *Foundations of National Identity: From Catalonia to Europe*, Volume 19. Berghahn Books: New York, Oxford.

Lowenthal, David (1997). "European Landscape Transformations: The Rural Residue." pp. 180-188 in: *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, edited by Paul Groth & Todd W. Bressi. Yale University Press: New Haven, London.

Magalhães, Gabriel & Fátima Fernandes da Silva (2013). "Horizontes Periféricos" pp. 9-12 in: *El dret al futur: Assaig i pensament cívica a Catalunya i a Portugal / O direito ao futuro: Ensaísmo e pensamento cívico na Catalunha e em Portugal*, edited by Gabriel Magalhães & Fátima Fernandes da Silva. Edições Húmus Ltd: Ribeirão.

Marçal, Maria-Mercè (2014). *The Body's Reason: Poems in Catalan by Maria-Mercè Marçal*. Translated by Montserrat Abelló and Noèlia Díaz Vicedo. Francis Boutle Publishers: London.

Marfany, Joan-Lluís (1995). *La cultura del catalanisme*. Editorial Empúries: Barcelona.

Marí, Antoni (1998). "Pròleg" pp. 7-38 in: *L'escriptura itinerant. Verdaguer, Pla i la literatura de viatges*, written by Narcís Garolera. Pagès editors: Lleida.

Martínez-Gil, Víctor (2010). "Presentació" pp. 7-11 in: *«Uns apartats germans»: Portugal i Catalunya / «Irmãos afastados» Portugal e a Catalunha*, edited by Víctor Martínez-Gil. Lleonard Muntaner Editor: Mallorca. Instituto Camões Portugal: Lisbon.

Martínez-Gil, Víctor (2013). "La visió lusocatalana d'Ibèria" pp. 21-53 in: *Catalunya, Catalunha*, edited by Esther Gimeno Ugalde et al. Act.25: Alteridades, cruzamentos, transferências. Edições Húmus, Lda.

Martínez-Gil, Víctor (2015). "Modernidad, política e ibericidad en las relaciones literarias intrapeninsulares." *Revista de Filología Románica*, Annex IX, pp. 31-44.

Miguélez-Carballeira, Helena (2013). *Galicia, A Sentimental Nation: Gender, Culture and Politics*. University of Wales Press: Cardiff.

Olwig, Kenneth (1996). "Recovering the Substantive Meaning of Landscape". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 86, No. 4, pp. 630-653.

Oestigaard, Terje (2009). "Water, Culture and Identity: Comparing Past and Present Traditions in the Nile Basin Region" pp. 11-22 in: *Water, Culture and Identity: Comparing Past and Present Traditions in the Nile Basin Region*, edited by Terje Oestigaard. Nile Basin Research Programme. University of Bergen: Norway.

Pazos, Oscar (2013). *Madrid es una isla: El Estado contra la ciudadanía*. Los libros del lince: Barcelona.

Pérez, Janet & Genaro J. Pérez (1996). "Introduction by the Editors" pp. 9-29 in: *Monographic Review: Hispanic Travel Literature*, Vol. 12, edited by Janet Pérez & Genaro J. Pérez. Texas Tech University.

Pericay, Xavier (2003a). "Introducción" pp. 9-62 in: *Cuatro historias de la República*, edited by Xavier Pericay. Ediciones Destino: Barcelona.

Pericay, Xavier (2003b). "Viaje a la Atlántida" pp. 657-668 in: *Cuatro historias de la República*, edited by Xavier Pericay. Ediciones Destino: Barcelona.

Pericay, Xavier (2009). *Josep Pla y el viejo periodismo*. Ediciones Destino: Barcelona.

Pericay, Xavier (2011). "Más allá del "llamado problema catalán." *Cuadernos de Pensamiento Político*, No. 29, pp. 129-142.

Phaf-Rheinberger, Ineke (2017). *Modern Slavery and Water Spirituality: A Critical Debate in Africa and Latin America*. Peter Lang Edition: Frankfurt.

Pi y Margall, Francisco (2014). *Las nacionalidades*. Lecturas hispánicas: Zaragoza. (Originally published in 1877.)

Pi-Sunyer, Oriol (2008). "Crossing Borders, Reconfiguring Lives: A Catalan Exile Family in Wartime London" pp. 151-175 in: *Recasting Culture and Space in Iberian Contexts*, edited by Sharon R. Roseman & Shawn S. Parkhurst. State University of New York Press: Albany.

Pla, Josep (1968). *Els Pagesos*. Obra Completa. Vol. 8. Edicions Destino: Barcelona

Pla, Josep (1970). *Retrats de passaport*. Obra Completa. Vol. 17. Edicions Destino: Barcelona.

Pla, Josep (1975). *Direcció Lisboa*. Obra Completa. Vol. 28. Edicions Destino: Barcelona.

Pla, Josep (1980). *Itàlia i el Mediterrani. Escrits Italians. Les beceroles del Mediterrani*. Obra Completa. Vol. 37. Edicions Destino: Barcelona.

Pla, Josep (1981). *El viatge s'acaba*. Obra Completa. Vol. 39. Edicions Destino: Barcelona.

Pla, Josep (1983). *El quadern gris*. Obra Completa. Vol. 1. Edicions Destino: Barcelona.

Pla, Josep (1984). *Darrers escrits*. Obra Completa. Vol. 44. Edicions Destino: Barcelona.

Pla, Josep (2013). *Dotze homenots*. Edicions 62: Barcelona

Pla, Josep & Dalí, Salvador (2011). *Obres de museu*. Edicions 62: Barcelona. (Originally published in 1980.)

Pla, Xavier (1997). "Josep Pla: Biografia, autobiografia, autoficció." *Cuadernos hispanoamericanos*, No. 567, pp. 21- 29.

Pla, Xavier (2013). "Josep Pla, Portugal i Europa – "La frontera no és un límit: és una gran finestra oberta"" pp. 67-75 in: *El dret al futur: Assaig i pensament cívic a*

Catalunya i a Portugal / O direito ao futuro: Ensaísmo e pensamento cívico na Catalunha e em Portugal, edited by Gabriel Magalhães & Fátima Fernandes da Silva. Edições Húmus Ltd: Ribeirão.

Pratt, Mary Louise (2008). *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Second Edition. Routledge: London & New York.

Preston, Paul (1993). *Franco: A Biography*. Harper Collins Publishers: London.

Resina, Joan Ramon (2001). "Madrid's Palimpsest: Reading the Capital against the Grain" pp. 56-92 in: *Iberian Cities*, edited by Joan Ramon Resina. Routledge: London, New York.

Resina, Joan Ramon (2013). "Lisbon as Destination: Josep Pla's Iberianism through His Travels to Portugal" pp. 225-242 in: *Iberian Modalities: A Relational Approach to the Study of Culture in the Iberian Peninsula*, edited by Joan Ramon Resina. Liverpool University Press: Liverpool.

Resina, Joan Ramon (2017). *Josep Pla: Seeing the World in the Form of Articles*. University of Toronto Press.

Revelles Esquirol, Jesús (2008). "La interpretació portuguesa de Josep Pla" pp. 1-134. (Doctoral thesis submitted to the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.)

Revelles Esquirol, Jesús (2010). "Cambó, Pla, Gaziel i els contactes lusocatalans" pp. 149-168 in: «*Uns apartats germans*»: *Portugal i Catalunya / «Irmãos afastados» Portugal e a Catalunha*, edited by Víctor Martínez-Gil. Lleonard Muntaner Editor: Mallorca. Instituto Camões Portugal: Lisbon.

Riba, Carles (1979). "Pla" pp. 200-218 in: *Clàssics i moderns. (Les Millors obres de la literatura catalana)*. Edicions 62: Barcelona.

Richardson, Nathan (2012). *Constructing Spain: The re-imagination of space and place in fiction and film, 1953-2003*. Bucknell University Press: Maryland.

Rocamora, José Antonio (1994). *El nacionalismo ibérico 1792-1936*. Historia y sociedad, No. 36. Secretariado de Publicaciones: Universidad de Valladolid.

Rodaway, Paul (1994). *Sensuous Geographies: Body, sense and place*. Routledge: London, New York.

Rojek, Chris & John Urry (1997). "Transformations of Travel and Theory." pp. 1-19 in: *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, edited by Chris Rojek and John Urry. Routledge: London, New York.

Rose, Gillian (1993). *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Roseman, Sharon R. & Shawn S. Parkhurst (2008). "Culture and Space in Iberian Anthropology" pp. 1-32 in: *Recasting Culture and Space in Iberian Contexts*, edited by Sharon R. Roseman & Shawn S. Parkhurst. State University of New York Press: Albany.

Sabaté, Flocel & Luís Adão da Fonseca (2015). "The Spain that never was: The Iberian Peninsula from its Peripheries" pp. 9-41 in: *Catalonia and Portugal: the Iberian Peninsula from the Periphery*, edited by Flocel Sabaté & Luís Adão da Fonseca. Peter Lang: Bern.

Said, Edward W. (1983). *The World, the Text, and the Critic*. Harvard University Press: Massachusetts.

Saraiva, António José (1981). *A Cultura em Portugal: Teoria e História. Livro 1. Introdução Geral*. Livraria Bertrand: Amadora.

Sardica, José Miguel (2013). *Ibéria. A relação entre Portugal e Espanha no século XX*. Alêtheia Editores: Lisbon.

Schama, Simon (1996). *Landscape and Memory*. Fontana Press: London

Seguranyes, Mariona (2006). "Pla, paisatge i l'Alt Empordà" pp. 54-63 in: *Josep Pla i els pintors. La construcció del paisatge empordanès*, edited by Anna Aguiló. Fundació Josep Pla: Palafrugell.

Seixas, Xosé M. Núñez (2013). "Iberia Reborn: Portugal through the Lens of Catalan and Galician Nationalism (1850-1950)" pp. 83-98 in: *Iberian Modalities: A Relational*

Approach to the Study of Culture in the Iberian Peninsula, edited by Joan Ramon Resina. Liverpool University Press.

Simmel, Georg (1983). "Das Abenteuer" pp. 13-26 in: *Philosophische Kultur*. Wagenbach Klaus GmbH: Berlin.

Simon, Antoni (2015). "The concept of Spain in Catalan and Hispanic political thought from the era of reason of state." pp. 355-377 in: *Catalonia and Portugal: the Iberian Peninsula from the Periphery*, edited by Flocel Sabaté & Luís Adão da Fonseca. Peter Lang: Bern.

Smith, Andrew (2005). "Conceptualizing City Image Change: The 'Re-Imaging' of Barcelona." *Tourism Geographies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 398-423.

Smith, Angel & Clare Mar-Molinero (1996). "The Myths and Realities of Nation-Building in the Iberian Peninsula" pp. 1-30 in: *Nationalism and the Nation in the Iberian Peninsula. Competing and Conflicting Identities*, edited by Angel Smith & Clare Mar-Molinero. Berg: Oxford, Washington D.C.

Sobral, José Manuel (2008). "Race and Space in Interpretations of Portugal: The North-South Division and Representations of Portuguese National Identity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." pp. 205-224 in: *Recasting Culture and Space in Iberian Contexts*, edited by Sharon R. Roseman and Shawn S. Parkhurst. State University of New York Press: Albany.

Sontag, Susan (1979). *On Photography*. Penguin Books: London.

Sousa, Armindo de (1994). "1325-1480" p. 374 in: *História de Portugal – A Monarquia Feudal Vol. II (1096-1480)*, edited by José Mattoso. Editorial Estampa: Lisbon.

Sousa Santos, Boaventura de (2006). "Between Prospero and Caliban: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Interidentity." *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 143-166.

Stam, Robert & Shohat, Ella (2012). "Whence and Wither Postcolonial Theory." *New Literary History*, Vol. 43, No. 2, pp. 371-390.

Thomas, Maria (2017). "Catholicism and the End of Dictatorship in Portugal and Spain: Convergences and Contrasts." *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, Vol. 94 No. 9, pp. 1533-1555.

Upton, Dell (1997). "Seen, Unseen, and Scene" pp. 174-179 in: *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, edited by Paul Groth & Todd W. Bressi. Yale University Press: New Haven, London.

Urry, John (1990). *The tourist gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies*. Sage Publications Ltd: London.

Vargas Llosa, Mario (2003). "Europa y los nacionalismos". *Letras Libres*, No. 19, p. 27.

White, Lorraine (2007). "Strategic Geography and the Spanish Habsburg Monarchy's Failure to Recover Portugal, 1640-1668". *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 71, No. 2, pp. 373-409.

WEBOGRAPHY

Ávila Laurel, Juan Tomás (2006). “Cómo convertir este país en un paraíso. Otras reflexiones sobre Guinea Ecuatorial.”

http://www.guineanos.org/ensayos_agua.htm

[Accessed 12th July 2018]

Magalhães, Gabriel (2009). “El misterio portugués.” *La Vanguardia*.

<https://www.lavanguardia.com/cultura/20090923/53789978228/el-misterio-portugues.html>

[Accessed 15th October 2018]

Pujol, Enric (2018). “Josep Pla contra Franco.” *Hora nova*.

<http://www.horanova.cat/josep-pla-contra-franco/>

[Accessed 23rd September 2018]