INVENTION OF SPACE

City, Travel and Literature

Enric Bou

La Casa de la Riqueza
Estudios de la Cultura de España
24

El historiador y filósofo griego Posidonio (135-51 a.C.) bautizó la Península Ibérica como «La casa de los dioses de la riqueza», intentando expresar plásticamente la diversidad hispánica, su fecunda y matizada geografía, lo amplio de sus productos, las curiosidades de su historia, la variada conducta de sus sociedades, las peculiaridades de su constitución. Sólo desde esta atención al matiz y al rico catálogo de lo español puede, todavía hoy, entenderse una vida cuya creatividad y cuyas prácticas apenas puede abordar la tradicional clasificación de saberes y disciplinas. Si el postestructuralismo y la deconstrucción cuestionaron la parcialidad de sus enfoques, son los estudios culturales los que quisieron subsanarla, generando espacios de mediación y contribuyendo a consolidar un campo interdisciplinario dentro del cual superar las dicotomías clásicas, mientras se difunden discursos críticos con distintas y más oportunas oposiciones: hegemonía frente a subalternidad; lo global frente a lo local; lo autóctono frente a lo migrante. Desde esta perspectiva podrán someterse a mejor análisis los complejos procesos culturales que derivan de los desafíos impuestos por la globalización y los movimientos de migración que se han dado en todos los órdenes a finales del siglo xx y principios del xxi. La colección «La Casa de la Riqueza. Estudios de la Cultura de España» se inscribe en el debate actual en curso para contribuir a la apertura de nuevos espacios críticos en España a través de la publicación de trabajos que den cuenta de los diversos lugares teóricos y geopolíticos desde los cuales se piensa el pasado y el presente español.

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No versalita

To Jon Knudsen, *In Memoriam*

City and Travel. Walking the (Un)Known City

This exploration starts from a position between two states, fixation and awareness; that is, the mixture of sensations we experience when looking at our well-known city from a visitor's perspective, or strolling through unknown cities when we travel, pretending we are long-time residents. Walter Benjamin distinguished between losing our way in the city, something he considered uninteresting and banal, and the concept of being lost –as in a forest– something much more complex: "that calls for quite a different schooling. Then, signboards and street names, passers-by, roofs, kiosks, or bars must speak to the wanderer like a cracking twig under his feet in the forest" (Benjamin *Reflections* 7-8). It is a way of reading the city. Imagine that you are in your city and all of a sudden, unexpectedly, between two bureaucratic errands, you find yourself with a morning of leisure. This in turn allows you a moment of freedom, and you start walking with deep uncertainty through streets that suddenly you see under new light, as if you were on a journey in a far country. You start walking without a fixed direction or purpose, allowing yourself to be lost. Lost and found. You start finding yourself, or you find another self. Writing the city as you walk. Letting yourself be lost in your daily life with the eyes of a visitor, (re) discovering the many stages and absurdities of your life. Or, on the

contrary, while you travel, you imagine living many different lives in a city that is not yours but feels like one as you act as a non-tourist. What an experience, to be able to see through the eyes of locals, not taking photos as tourists do, guided and accompanied by someone native. Learning the little secrets of window-shopping for everyday life. Not searching for souvenirs. Maneuvering reality as the locals do. Returning home from work with a tired face, walking with slow steps. Looking beyond what has become your new everyday reality, even if it is only your temporary reality. And then all of a sudden, you write a note about your experiences, because to travel and write means to observe. Suddenly the unknown city becomes friendly. You feel at home in a strange place. These are some of the impressions that influence a city dweller or a traveler who lives in an unfamiliar city for a brief period of time.

One Sunday morning in October 1998, I visited the magnificent train exhibition organized by RENFE and the Spanish Ministry of Public Works in Barcelona's Estació de França, to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the arrival of the railway to Spain. I was merely an escort for my son Víctor-Alexandre, who at the time was five years old. Children have an amazing ability to clarify for us the paradoxes of life and solve our great ontological questions. As soon as we started the tour he surprised me with a comment that at first seemed a childish confusion: "commuter trains are metros," he said. In vain I tried to correct him: commuter trains do not run underground like the metro and subways; like the rest, particularly high-speed trains ("lo morrut" as Euromed is known in Tortosa) are just trains. This obvious distinction between an underground and a train made me think about what should be the point of tangency between local culture and a cosmopolitan urban way of life. We do not go hiking with a metro (or the Metro-Vallès), but to work, or to do short errands. When we decide to go hiking or traveling, we take a train (car, plane, ship). The metro has the familiarity of everyday life and is a routine trip, during which we never look at our neighbor's faces. The train opens its doors to excitement and adventure; it is a trip to unknown territories with fellow travelers that can open up doors to other worlds. Trains, according to a definition by French anthropologist Marc Augé, get us to "places,"

where a toponym defines a series of historical and identity relations. The Paris Talgo, the Orient-Express, the so-called Shanghai Express (a train that used to go from Barcelona to Vigo in a mere 24 hours), and the Trans-Siberian railway have far more exotic and deep literary resonances: they all suggest worlds imagined, invented memories, reading desires. Needless to say the names of subway lines (colors, letters, or numbers), are not as exciting. Or even station names (Vallcarca, Guineueta, Chueca, Chamberí) do not provoke the same level of emotions. I used to think that trips to faraway places produced a superb literature whereas urban errands had hardly any literary weight, but I have come to discover that exploring everyday life can be just as exciting or even more so. We leave our cities to explore distant exotic landscapes and we never get to know what lies beneath those realities, coming back emptyhanded to our everyday life.

I am interested thus in two typical twentieth-century phenomena and their literary impact: first, the literary contact with a city, seen partly as a journey, or an exploration of the everyday. Secondly, the various phases of a literary journey through the twentieth century, an experience that has become progressively easier and more affordable, and has opened the door to contact with the Other.

I am most indebted to Rosalba Campra of the University of Rome "La Sapienza," Antonio Monegal at Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Andrés Soria Olmedo at Universidad de Granada, Enric Balaguer, Universitat d'Alacant, Elide Pittarello, from Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Maria Fernanda de Abreu from Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Cristina Sánchez-Conejero, University of North Texas, among many others, for the opportunity to present early versions of this work to inquiring audiences. I would also like to mention Claudio Guillén, a good friend, a teacher, and an intellectual reference, who invited me to present part of these materials at "Fundación Ortega y Gasset" in Madrid; the title of this work is the result of a fruitful discussion with him. Other people with whom I had the opportunity to discuss the ideas in this book are Delphine Bahuet, Tom Cushman, Joan de Déu Domènech, Montserrat Iglesias, Jonathan Knudsen, Kathleen McNerney, Joaquim Molas, José Muñoz Millanes, Susana Reisz, Heike Scharm, Marilyn Sides, and Rosi Song. I would like to thank all of them. Particularly Chiara

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1. Reading the City

Car la ville est un poème (…) qui déploie le significant, et c'est ce déploiement que finalement la sémiologie de la ville devrait essayer de saisir et de faire chanter.
Roland Barthes

I arrived in Madrid on a September morning: a light, smooth, and clear day, as is only achieved in the heights of the Castilian plateau. I was under a night by day (or nocturnal day) situation in the humongous Nuevos Ministerios commuter exchange train station where travelers gain access to a spectacular underground city, which is mocked on a huge trompe l'oeil mural. In this place rats have been replaced by morning commuters trying to reach their destination. A non-place like this one does not allow its users to be aware of where they are. They cross the city underground through the so-called "túnel de la risa" until they reach the bowels of Madrid's Paseo de los Melancólicos. All of these are beautiful names for urban spaces with significant history, toponyms that nobody uses anymore.

Human beings relate to space surrounding them by projecting in the mind an intellectualization of what they see, what they experience. Any physical reality –the dimensions perceived through senses, primarily through eyesight– becomes a mental projection. When faced

with space, human perception works from two complementary perspectives: one narrative, the other schematic. When we give directions, we tell someone how to get from one point to another: we provide a list of instructions (go right, turn left, etc,) or we provide a sketch of the movements to follow on a map. John Brinckerhoff Jackson introduced the technical term, "odology," derived from "hodos," a Greek word, meaning road, path, and journey, to refer to our relationship with landscape. The word comes from an experimental psychologist, Kurt Lewin, who used it to characterize the "living space" in which an individual spends time, and that refers to a concept of space as perceived by the user. This kind of space is opposed to the geometric one of maps that is the rational and measurable homogeneous Euclidean space. Odology pays more attention to walking rather than to the road itself, a subjective sense of geography rather than one of metric calculation. As Jackson recalls, human beings struggle between two desires: to settle themselves somewhere, looking for a place to which they are attached, and finding elsewhere a new field of action (Careri). These two attitudes could be compared to the two different approaches to visiting a city proposed by Miguel Tamen in "A Walk about Lisbon." One approach, "feeling the atmosphere," implies just to walk and see. The other is the aesthetic duty of the tourist who walks around with a checklist against which the success of the trip is measured. The *Michelin* guides propose a star system, which has become a moral code for tourists, description of duties as such in relation to certain places (Tamen 35). In many writers we realize the inner fight between wander and stability. So many writers, such as Ramón Gómez de la Serna or Joan Maragall, were aware of their living space throughout their lives: rooted somewhere, in Madrid, Buenos Aires, or Barcelona, but always looking for new horizons. According to personal passions and political crises, they adjusted their surroundings, and the way they experienced space.

Sites of memory (lieux de la mémoire), a concept that has interested scholars such as Maurice Hallbwachs, are immersed in the spaces of everyday life. As stated by the French sociologist, we are always in space and only the spatial image, through its stability, gives us the illusion of continuity and helps us rediscover the past in the present. Pictures, representations and buildings made by our ancestors act like

a carbon copy, in the materiality of things, and their strength comes from reenacting a tradition, bringing back an image from the past. It is in places where memory is released in a much more powerful way such as ruins, revealing the ties that bind us to the past and highlighting the connections of an "invisible society" (197-201). The "sites of memory" in Pierre Nora's definition ambiguously combine past and present, the sacred and mundane, and/or individual and collective memory. Ancient places, according to Jan Assman, give us material for our memories, because there is an excess of memory, which is expressed without words. History is inscribed on the stones of valleys, into villages, to explain the different generations that have lived there. Sacred objects such as marble stones hanging in walls of churches are signs of devotion; commonly used objects, such as a working tool or antique furniture, are evidence of permanence, stability, and continuity. With such inscriptions of the self in time, memory becomes a performance of the past and is always more intimate, and quotidian. This type of memory is far from the narcotic effects of political discourse or history, and is a memory well aware of the small family stories, of the epic struggles of places. Ramón Gómez de la Serna and Maragall were residents of their cities and very much aware of their surroundings, and clearly expressed that interest throughout their literary works.

Marc Augé has referred to two ways in which we can evoke the city: from reading a novel (a poem) that depicts urban space through the eyes of the characters. In the same way that Proust and Thomas Mann are part of a literary Venice, their names connotate the way they perceived some cities, or urban areas, such as Paris or Lübeck. As Augé states, "prononcer le nom de ces auteurs, c'est faire surgir l'image, un peu floue parfois mais toujours insistante, des villes dont ils ont su capter les bruits, la couleur, les lignes de fuite et plus encore la secrète alchimie qui transmue de temps à autre, dans l'oeil du promeneur, les lieux en états d'âme et l'âme en paysage" (*L'Impossible voyage* 140). The same happens with Gómez de la Serna or Joan Maragall: they are part of a literary Madrid and Barcelona, and while reading their texts we recreate the atmosphere of their moment in these cities. Many of their texts evoke the transformation of places in states of the soul, and the soul in landscape.

In fact, the encounter between cities and readers' impressions has provoked remarkable pages of literature and famous combinations that go beyond the usual touristy slogans: Dublin and Joyce, Paris and Baudelaire or Proust, Boston and Henry James, Lisbon and Pessoa, Madrid and Pérez Galdós. Or Barcelona and Maragall, Carner, Salvat Papasseit, and so many others. Since Modernity cities have been omnipresent in writers' imaginations. In his prologue to *Petits poèmes en prose*, Baudelaire mentioned the addiction to cities of the new poetry of his time:

> Quel est celui de nous qui n'a pas, dans ses jours d'ambition, rêvé le miracle d'une prose poétique, musicale sans rythme et sans rime, assez souple et assez heurtée pour s'adapter aux mouvements lyriques de l'âme, aux ondulations de la rêverie, aux soubresauts de la conscience? / C'est surtout de la fréquentation des villes énormes, c'est du croisement de leurs innombrables rapports que naît ce idéal obsédant. (22)

Ever since Baudelaire, the relationship between city and literature has become a well-defined approach in which the text expresses states, reveries and surprises of the soul that can capture whatever feelings big city inhabitants experience. Baudelaire dreamed of a new literary genre, a poetical prose, to express these new sensations, but it was in fiction, in poetry, and the autobiographical mode, where this renovation finally occurred.[1]

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1. The relationship between city and literature has awakened an acute interest in Spanish and Catalan literature. See, for example, *Barcelona descrita por sus literatos, artistas y poetas* (1914); Carles Soldevila, *L'art d'ensenyar Barcelona. Guia del barceloní que vol guiar els amics forasters sense massa errors ni vacil.lacions* (1930) and *Barcelona vista pels seus artistes* (1957); paying attention to specific authors, Agustí Esclasans, *La ciutat de Barcelona en l'obra de Jacint Verdaguer* (1937), "Barcelone. De Raymonde Lulle à Manuel Vazquez Montalban," Special Issue *Magazine littéraire*. 273 (1990); "Barcelona i la literatura," a special dossier in *Barcelona. Metròpolis Mediterrània* (1991); Elke Sturm-Trigonakis, *Barcelona. La novel·la urbana (1944-1988)* (1996), where she studies ten novels written both in Spanish and Catalan, focusing on the representation of public urban spaces because –she says– those are most appropriate to capture the literary city; Jordi

According to Richard Lehan, historical studies on modern cities have paid attention to three interrelated issues. First of all lie the city's origins, where many researchers have explained the disconnection between country and city. Oswald Spengler and Lewis Mumford pointed out that modern cities created this disconnection by losing their roots, thus provoking a civilization crisis: reason substituted instinct, scientific theories replaced myths, and abstract economic theories replaced commerce. Secondly, some historians devoted attention to the city's physical laws, that is the relationship with its geographical entou-

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Castellanos, *Literatura, vides, ciutats* (1997); Joan Ramon Resina, *Iberian Cities* (2001); or also a web page by Joan Ducros, http://www.joanducros.net/corpus/. Carles Carreras' *La Barcelona literària. Una introducció geogràfica* (2003) provides an encyclopedical map of writers and books. Joan Ramon Resina's *Barcelona's Vocation of Modernity: Rise and Decline of an Urban Image* (2008) studies "after images" of Barcelona from the middle of the nineteenth century to the curious festival called "Fòrum Universal de les Cultures" of 2004. Resina bases his analysis on the idea of "readability" of the modern city. He understands it as an "experience" as a sum of relations that includes memory and tradition, documented past and anonymous remembrances, and above all the willingness to preserve the city's continuity. There has been a significant renovation in the study of Spanish cities, particularly Madrid, from a literary perspective. As stated by Edward Baker, who pioneered this kind of approach: "La dictadura tenía de la ciudad, y sobre todo de la capital, una concepción imperialoide cuya finalidad era tener a raya a los madrileños de a pie. Concebía la cultura con criterios de distancia, jerarquía y fetichización pseudo monumentalista. Los grandes monumentos culturales –museos, edificios, parques, espacios públicos, etc.– no guardaban relación apenas con el ocio, el esparcimiento, y la vida cotidiana de las gentes; se planteaban en términos de la veneración de objetos sacralizados que debían avalar la condición de 'reserva espiritual' que, se suponía, gozaban los españoles" (*Materiales* XII). A few years later Michael Ugarte wrote his magnificent study *Madrid 1900: The Capital as Cradle of Literature and Culture* (1996), concentrating on a double-edged panoramic view of Madrid representation around 1900 and creating a tension in that very panoramic view by considering the glimpses, the writing that does not mesh easily with previously defined categories. Whereas Ugarte focuses on the representation of the city by the literary canon, more recent studies, such as the one by Deborah Parsons, *A Cultural History of Madrid. Modernism and the Urban Spectacle* (2003), emphasize the interaction of a broader range of urban cultural phenomena considering the city as both a lived and imagined space.

rage. For instance, they studied how cities grew in concentric circles, or towards the West. Catalan writer Gaziel pointed out in his memoir that according to a non-written law all cities grow towards the West. This is the case of Barcelona, both in the old and new Catalonia, the one that fought against, and later the one occupied by the Moors. The third issue is to study the impact that cities have had on their inhabitants. Many sociologists, such as Max Weber, have explained economical aspects, which are crucial to living in cities and explain how cities developed a specific state of mind; in this way, Georg Simmel established a typology of what changes in city-dwellers in Modernity. By following Lehan, one could distinguish three different kinds of approaches: an urbanist vision, another, which weighs historical aspects, and finally a sociologist vision of the city. In recent years, historians' and sociologists' literary cultural studies have turned attention to these issues, thus opening up the field for a literary reading of the city. Lehan explains the origins of several prominent recurring themes that appear in urban literature. These include the threat of the "other"; the effects of ethnic, racial, and economic diversity on community within the city; the contrasts of individual opportunity and alienation; the difficulty of knowing or explaining a city; and the relationship between the city and the frontier, and between the metropolis and the hinterland. As Lehan argues, these themes continued to appear in urban literature, but the forms in which they were expressed and the meanings with which these concepts were infused hardly remained static. One needs to pay attention to historical change.

Here I am interested in presenting a complementary way of reading the city, one that discusses a literary vision of the city from an urban vision of literature: reading the city.

Theories on the City

At the risk of being schematic, it could be argued that contemporary architecture is split between two figures of excess: the one raised by the temptation of –as it has beensagaciously called by Forges in a cartoon– "brick" capitalism; and the loyalty towards the orthodoxy of

been sagaciously

Modern Movement, as represented by Bauhaus, Le Corbusier, GATPAC, and the like. Both are the cause of a disturbing monotony in the urban landscape, the monuments that invade the heart of our cities such as the "Cuatro Torres Business Area" in Madrid, or the area around the "Forum" in Barcelona, all inspired by Paris' "La Défense" and the Manhattan skyline. Basically, this debate between figures of excess is an extension of another eternal debate between *urbs* and *civitas*, i.e., between the concept of urban space as something that includes the notion of the habitable or another concept in which the critical function is that of representation. The city is simultaneously *urbs*, the built environment with very specific morphological characteristics defined by buildings, streets, and equipment. It is also a social reality, *civitas*, all of the citizens living in the city. *Polis* in turn refers to the political and administrative unit, the municipality or metropolitan area, that governs the city. But between the intricacies of these technical definitions lies much territory to examine.

As Raymond Williams wrote, there are a variety of city models and a number of features in them that are repeated over time, such as "state capital, administrative base, religious center, market town, port and mercantile depot, military barracks, industrial concentration." As the English critic says: "Between the cities of ancient and medieval times and the modern metropolis or conurbation there is a connection of name and in part of function, but nothing like identity" (Williams 1). Cities have a personality, despite the resemblance between them, with themselves, and they change over time, and grow and transform. Cities are ruins, in the sense that Walter Benjamin gave to ruins in his "Theses on the Philosophy of History:" that is, a single catastrophe that sees the angel of history.

A Klee painting named "Angelus Novus" shows an angel looking as though he is about to move away from something he is fixed contemplating. His eyes are staring, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how one pictures the angel of history. His face is turned towards the past. Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe, which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing

from Paradise; it has got caught in his wings with such violence that the angel can no longer close them. This storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress (Benjamin *Illuminations* 259-260).

Benjamin's words remind us that construction is just as important as destruction; everything is relative, because the new overlays the old, and there is not only substitution, but dialogue. This opinion of the city coincides with Ramon Gómez de la Serna's vision of the Rastro market: a place "ameno y dramático, irrisible y grave que hay en los suburbios de toda ciudad," where useless junk is accumulated. According to Ramon, cities are related not by their monuments, but through "esos trastos filiales" (*Ramonismo I. El rastro* 73). On the other hand, Calvino in *Le città invisibili* discussed the many exchanges, more important than economic trade, that one can perceive in cities: "scambi non sono soltanto scambi di merci, sono scambi di parole, di desideri, di ricordi" (Calvino X). So we have to distinguish between a material city, consisting of houses and streets, domain of architecture and urbanism, and a spiritual city, which can be read, discussed, and viewed by other disciplines. Cities suffer many changes, they go through construction and destruction, they fall to ruin. They are made of architecture and urbanism, but also of imagination. In this book I examine city examples of words, or the interpretation that the literature has made of the construction and destruction of cities.

Cities are characterized by a juxtaposition of history and ethnicity that encourages collisions of time and space, allowing for the phenomena of hybridization and the dynamic mixing of discourses. Instead of a global, unified, homogeneous view of urban reality, the observers/visitors face a plurality and mingling of styles, contagion and osmosis, which de-centers their gaze, obliterating their initial impressions. Cities generate a polyglot discourse, a multilinguism generated by the palimpsest city, which was best described by Lotman. According to him, from from the viewpoint of semiotics, a city is a complex semiotic mechanism, a generator of culture that is able to implement that function exclusively due to its semiotic polyglotism. In that sense, a city represents "a cauldron of texts and codes, variously organized and

heterogenic, which belong to diverse languages and diverse levels." Various ethnic, social, and style codes become conjunct in a city, by which they stimulate diverse hybridizations and semiotic translations. The past is given an opportunity in a city landscape to co-exist synchronically with the present. The architecture of a city, its street plan, names of the streets, monuments, and a host of other elements of urban landscape perform "as code programmes that constantly regenerate texts from the historical past" (Šakaja and Stanic 495).

This idea of accumulation present in Lotman's words can be related to a famous statement by Wittgenstein: "Our language can be seen as an ancient city: a maze of little streets and squares, of old and new houses, and of houses with additions from various periods; and this surrounded by a multitude of new boroughs with straight regular streets and uniform houses" (8). The oppositions generated by accumulation are key to assign the city different or even contradictory meanings. For example, in neighborhoods such as El Raval in Barcelona, or Lavapiés in Madrid, the social and functional division in neighborhoods and districts is challenged. They are central districts according to their position, but with typical periphery elements, with the presence of migrants and the need for translation between cultures and practices. Oppositions divide and open up the possibility of emphasizing a spatial division and generate processes of "mestizaje." Lotman's border mechanism unites and separates at the same time, and functions as a paradox mechanism, which creates self-consciousness through separation. The city generates its own alterity and identity, which are always relational.

Literary texts open up a line of inquiry into the city, which has no comparison in the social science field. Literature allows us to discuss the notions of *urbs* and *civitas,* the transformation of space, the juxtaposition of layers. One can think of the city in terms of Edward Soja's concept of "Thirdspace," a notion of space that combines spatiality with sociality and historicality. Thirdspace is an interdisciplinary idea of space, history, and society that treats the micro-geographies of the everyday with as much seriousness as it treats those of larger historical trends. Both of these geographies are crucial for a nuanced interpretation of the site under investigation. Similarly, literature must combine these macro and micro approaches.

Writing about cities belongs to a very specific scholarship tradition. The city is an epitome of Modernity with its sea-changing effects in terms of the social, technological, or psychological. A renewed urban identity comes out of demographic growth, consumer capitalism, and the impact of technology in daily life, in short, the effects of industrialization. Georg Simmel was the first to consider these identity changes. In "The Metropolis and Mental Life" (1903), he identified some of the changes: shock, indifference, neurasthenia, and estrangement. The opposition between rural and urban life, crucial in the transformation of Modernity, was analyzed in Raymond Williams' classic study, *The Country and the City.* As he writes: "the contrast of the country and city is one of the major forms in which we become conscious of a central part of our experience and of the crises of our society" (289). One of Williams' best-known theories developed in this study is: "knowable communities," and the loss of a "structure of feeling." William's opposition between the two ways of life is vividly summarized in this passage:

> On the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence, and simple virtue. On the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre of learning, communication, light. Powerful hostile associations have also developed: on the city as a place of noise, worldliness, and ambition; on the country as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation. A contrast between country and city, as fundamental ways of life, reaches back into classical times. (3)

As is well known, Raymond Williams traces this opposition to Virgil's *Eclogues*, when he presents Meliboeus as a dispossessed land owner remembering the terrain that had been forcibly taken from him; or analyzing Horace's second Epode, written a few years later, as "the sentimental reflection of a usurer, thinking of turning farmer, calling in his money and then, at the climax of the poem, lending it out again." Williams explores his double theme: arcadia as real estate; a bountiful land exploited by the rich and worked by the poor. Also worth noting is Walter Benjamin's seminal work on Paris, where he defines a commoditized landscape made up of architecture and experiences, such as arcades, boulevards, and *flâneurs*.

City-Book

My endeavor is a twofold approach: first I want to analyze how literature has influenced the formation of an image (or images) of the city. On the other hand, I want to explore how the concept of the city changes literature. Beyond the classic studies of Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," and Walter Benjamin, "Paris, capital of the nineteenth century," I want to consider other studies that open new avenues of reflection. Roland Barthes in "Sémiologie et urbanisme," made a very original proposal that is worth revisiting. He compared the city with a text that can be read under a semiotic assessment: "la ville est un poème (…) qui déploie le significant, et c'est ce dèploiement que finalement la sémiologie de la ville devrait essayer de saisir et de faire chanter" (271). A few pages earlier Barthes mentioned the variety of ways in which the city possesses a language that speaks to us, and makes us talk in return: "La cité est un discours, et ce discours est véritablement un langage: la ville parle à ses habitants, nous parlons notre ville, la ville où nous nous trouvons, simplement en l'habitant, en la parcourant, en la regardant" (265). At the time, he thought that a semiological revolution would allow urbanism to speak the city language.

A city has many meanings drawing from one signifier. Depending on the intervention of each speaker/walker, the interpretation changes in meaning. As stated by Barthes: "la ville est une écriture; celui qui se déplace dans la ville, c'est-à-dire l'usager de la ville (ce que nous sommes tous), est une sorte de lecteur qui, selon ses obligations et ses déplacements, prélève des fragments de l'énoncé pour les actualiser en secret" (268). Thus, the city's inhabitants or users create a dual experience, as they get to know and say that experience while they walk through the city. In his text, Barthes refers to a well-known chapter in Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris,* which in turn reflects on the meaning of a few Parisian monuments. In fact, in the chapter "Ceci tuera cela" (147-158), Victor Hugo created a play on words that originated in a priest sermon. "Ceci tuera cela: Le livre tuera l'édifice." This sentence can be read in two different ways: first, as coming from

a priest who expresses religion's terror when facing the massive arrival of printed words thanks to industrialization: books will eliminate the sermon's strength, "La presse tuera l'église" (147). This assertion establishes a parallel with protestant reform, which triumphed thanks to Gutenberg's newly invented printing press. A second meaning is that printing presses will eradicate the use of architecture as a book made out of stone, and paper books are much more difficult to control. Thus, the priest establishes a very productive comparison based on grammar: letters are like single stones, words result from the superposition of stones, as in a dolmen (a tomb is a first name), and sentences come from stone accumulation in big areas. Buildings such as the ones in Egypt, Salomon, or medieval cathedrals, are books. All the way to Gutenberg, architecture was a universal, readable writing with an obvious religious meaning. Consequently, one could distinguish between two types of architecture starting in ancient times and going all the way to the fifteenth century: theocratical, characterized by immutability, fear of progress, conservation of traditional lines, submission of humanity and nature to symbolism. As Hugo puts it: "Ce sont des *livres tenebreux* que les inities seuls savent dechiffrer" (152). déchiffrer
The other type of architecture is represented by popular buildings, with variety, progress, originality, opulence, and perpetual mobility. These buildings can be understood by anybody. Hugo concludes: "Entre l'architecture théocratique et celle-ci, il y a la différence d'une *langue sacrée* à une *langue* vulgaire, de l'hiéroglyphe à l'art, de *Salomon* à Phidias" (152).

We learn from Victor Hugo that when facing a city we can have two approaches, or "readings." One reading can be literal, similar to reading a city map; the second one introduces us into a symbolic level, when we decipher the unfathomable meaning of a specific city and we elucidate lines drawn on a map. As Marc Augé reminds us, the space of anthropology is a symbolized space, and it is this symbolization that allows a certain space to become readable to all its' users. All of them follow similar organizational layouts with similar ideological and intellectual conventions, which organize social order. These return to anthropology's main themes: identity, relationship, and history (Augé *L'Impossible voyage* 14).

In fact, Hugo and Barthes' proposals can be expanded with the addition of some reflections by Michel de Certeau. In *L'Invention du Quotidien,* he wrote an incisive reflection, which is very useful for my purpose. Certeau situated a hypothetical observer at the top floor of the now destroyed/gone World Trade Center in New York City and compared the view from up top with that of another person who walks through the asphalt jungle, immersed in the chaos of the city, and with a much more limited focus. The first one sees from above, creates a global reading. The second sees from below, has no overall vision, and cannot read a street. When walking through the city, he is writing the city and it is difficult for this pedestrian to relate his or her position with that of other pedestrians.

These two possibilities refer to practices that oppose geometrical or geographic space, such as from panoptic or theoretical constructions. These practices of space belong to a different kind of spatiality. As Certeau puts it: "Une ville transhumante, ou métaphorique, s'insinue ainsi dans le texte clair de la ville planifié et lisible" (142). Certeau uses terminology and concepts inspired by linguistics, which are very useful in defining "to walk." Thus, he can define walking as some sort of enunciation. He assumes that a walker establishes a process of appropriation of space and its topographical system, in a similar way that a speaker appropriates a certain language. To walk is a completion of space, the same way that speech acts are a sound implementation of languages.

Certeau proposes a distinction between strategy and tactics. Strategy is calculation (or manipulation) of correlated forces that exist in a given situation. This calculation is possible from the moment in which a subject with will and power (business, military, city, scientific institution) can be isolated (59). Under strategy we find urban planning. Under tactics we experiment the city. Tactics are calculated actions determined by the absence of a model. Tactics do not have their own place, but their place belongs instead to that of the Other:

> Les tactiques sont des procédures qui valent par la pertinence qu'elles donnent au temps –aux circonstances que l'instant précis d'une intervention transforme en situation favorable, à la rapidité des mouvements qui changent

> l'organisation de l'espace, aux relations entre moments successifs d'un "coup," aux croisements possibles de durées et de rythmes hétérogènes, etc. (63)

Strategy and tactics, or urban planification and experience of the city, use the space-time equation in very different ways. That is why Certeau concludes:

> les stratégies misent sur la résistance que l'établissement d'un lieu offre à l'usure du temps; les tactiques misent sur une habile utilisation du temps, des occasions qu'il présente et aussi des jeux qu'il introduit dans les fondations d'un pouvoir. (63)

Strategy and tactics, therefore, also have very different readings under this approach: strategy is crucial in the organization of space, and tactics in the use of urban space. It should be noted that sometimes Mediterranean cities, with their chaotic and lively activity, seem to have been built from the perspective of tactics and not of strategy.

In conclusion, based on the ideas of Hugo, Barthes, and Certeau we can draw alternative parameters to "read the city." A city is a book that is read, by its readers/writers, who are pedestrians or residents. Thus we can elaborate a dual approach: from above (and outside), and down (and inside). I propose, therefore, two views, or rather two possible ways of "reading" the city. One refers to the city seen as an abstract idea, or in other words, seen from above. The second one corresponds to a view from inside the city, as is the experience of those who enter the city, who walk through it and live it to its full extent.

The City as Seen from Above (and from Outside)

As I have discussed earlier, seeing the city from above leads us to planning and urbanism, a global vision. We are very close to utopic planning because urbanists dream of making happen what seems impossible. Any city has had a legion of utopists who have used the spark of change to draw out of their imagination into impossible dreams. Think of Antoni de Bofarull, for instance, who in 1877 participated

in a competition, "Barcelona: el seu passat, present i esdevenidor," organized by Barcelona's City Hall. His proposal was none other than to build a direct train link between Paris and Barcelona, consolidate the harbor, and expand the city, thereby uniting all small towns in the nearby area, or Pla de Barcelona. It took his fellow citizens more than a century to partially complete this grand plan, which was crucial for the economic growth of the area.

In Barcelona there have been other utopists, but there is one in particular who stands out on his own. Idelfons Cerdà was the one to "write" a master plan, which went into effect after 1860, the Eixample, as a way to enlarge the old medieval city. The Eixample became Modernity's playground in Barcelona. Cerdà was very much concerned with high urban population density. He was a Cortes Deputy elected for Partido Progresista and he cared much for the well being of working classes, as he demonstrated in his 1867 *Teoría General de la Urbanización*. Cerdà's originality arises from the fact that he divided the city in equal square blocks, or "mançanes," and the way he planned a healthier way of living (Muñoz 119-121, Solà Morales 287). The final result was somewhat different, with many more tall buildings and many more inhabitants than what he had envisioned. As we will see, the Eixample ' construction process opened up speculative investments and has been ironically portrayed in Eduardo Mendoza's novel *La ciudad de los prodigios* (183-191). Nineteenth-century's "febre d'or" allowed for the creation of an original neighborhood, which according to a Josep Pla prediction would become its inheritors' parking place. Recent accounts of Cerdà's work remind us of his shrotcomings, in particular "Lefebvre's treatment of modern city-planning as a nineteenth-century bourgeois science, one that chronically reduced the complexity of city life to a flattened spatial plane" (Fraser 182).

Eixample's

What is remarkable is that the Eixample's creation allowed a national community without much political weight to find a voice. The turning point arose when the time came to name the streets in the Eixample neighborhood. There was an invention, or better, a vindication of names, which belonged to a hidden historical and political reality. The man in charge of this operation was none other than a poet turned politician, Víctor Balaguer. A romantic poet and a politician,

he disguised himself as a historian and started a grand scale political operation, and a very successful one indeed, which in turn would be an exercise of mythification of the past. Thus, horizontal streets were given names according to geographical areas and institutions related to the Catalan-Aragonese monarchy: Còrsega, Rosselló, Provença, Mallorca, València, Aragó, Consell de Cent, Diputació, Gran Via de les Corts Catalanes. On the other hand, streets running vertically, from the sea towards the mountain, were given names of political, military, and literary figures from old times: Comte d'Urgell, Villarroel, Casanova, Muntaner, Aribau, Enric Granados, Balmes, Pau Claris, Roger de Llúria. In this way, Eixample became an exceptional example of the past inhabiting Modernity. Barcelona thus became a living book of history for its inhabitants, "a lesson in applied history" according to Michonneau (54), or a history book set on stone (Quintana 2006), a variation of the one that Victor Hugo had envisioned.

Michel de Certeau has discussed the symbolic meaning hidden in a city's names of places:

> En ses noyaux symbolisateurs s'esquissent (et peut-être se fondent) trois fonctionnements distincts (mais conjugués) des relations entre pratiques spatiales et pratiques signifiantes: le croyable, le mémorable et le primitif. Ils désignent ce qui "autorise" (ou rend possibles ou croyables) les appropriations spatiales, ce qui s'y répète (ou s'y rappelle) d'une mémoire silencieuse et repliée, et ce qui s'y trouve structurée et ne cesse d'être signé par une origine en-fantine (infans). Ces trois dispositifs symboliques organisent les topoi du discours sur/de la ville (la légende, le souvenir et le rêve) d'une manière qui échappe aussi à la systematicité urbanistique. (158)

This statement reinforces the character of utopian planning that the Eixample possesses, beyond the socialist foundations of urban discourse provided by Cerdà. This planning affects more than the organization of space, because in Barcelona there have been other episodes of utopian planning that have affected the current layout of the city. The Gothic Quarter can be read as a nationalist project. The intellectuals of the Renaixença and Modernista periods had a willingness to retrieve an urban past. As part of the reinvention of the national herit-

age of Romanticism, they raised the claim of a long forgotten "Gothic Quarter" in Barcelona. The reactions were of different magnitudes and in many cases they reveal the subtle ironic reaction it created. Several Opisso drawings, in which he ridicules the falseness of the Gothic Quarter, are some of the best criticisms of the city's fake aging. Even Gaudí participated in this transformation. In the reform of the "Plaça del Rei" planned by Josep Puig i Cadafalch in 1907, Gaudí contributed the idea of decorating the walls of the enclosure with phrases taken from the Chronicle of Jaume I (Pabón de Rocafort). The religious names, so abundant in the city (Tibidabo, Bonanova, Sants, Valle Hebrón, etc.) denote the presence of a struggle between religious atavism and new ideas, and show how the previously delineated map of the city became a battlefield in another significant episode of ideological confrontation that characterized Catalonia at the turn of the century.

Madrid also had enlargement plans, most notably the 1860 Plan Castro. It introduced for the first time the zoning concept, land devoted to industry, intensive housing, and medium density areas or urbanized park. The plan extended in an orthogonal orientation North, South, East, and West, with streets of different widths (30, 20 or 15m) according to their hierarchy. It created three different kinds of neighborhoods: aristocratic around Castellana avenue, bourgeois in Barrio de Salamanca, and working class in Chamberí district (Zuazo Ugalde). In the early twentieth century Arturo Soria planned the Ciudad Lineal, in an area northeast of the city. It was the most ambitious effort to create a series of suburban colonies, low-cost housing and other more prestigious buildings, usually in a single house format. As a utopian project, it was easily overcome by real estate speculation. Maybe the biggest difference between both cities is the magnitude of the interventions and the implications of being a capital, extremely clear in the case of Madrid, hesitant in the case of Barcelona (Cirici 145).

In his excellent history of Madrid, Santos Julià[2] explained the difficulties of Madrid in becoming a capital. He outlines its transforma-

2. The four interventions are: around 1834 after Fernando VII's death, when some went to create a "capital digna de la monarquía;" at the time of the the

tion into a capital city thanks to four interventions (most significantly one by Franco) that occurred throughout the twentieth century. This transformation has overcome a historical obstacle: "Madrid artificio, Madrid culpable, deviene Madrid capital históricamente frustrada en el doble sentido de no haber podido cumplir su función de capitalidad y de crecer ella misma frustrada como ciudad" (256). From many intellectuals' opinions originates a vision "de un Madrid que, por ser corte y no capital, ha carecido de una idea que guiara su crecimiento y que se encuentra, tras la pérdida del Imperio, desorientado, sin saber qué camino tomar, encerrado en su cerca, sin medios para elevarse al rango de capital europea" (Juliá 256). Some opinions on Madrid by Manuel Azaña reflect a situation of collective uneaseness. Concerns about Madrid's identity can be illustrated by some of Manuel Azaña's diatribes about the lack of recognizable capitalesque characteristics in Madrid:

> Si no existe una idea de Madrid es que la villa ha sido corte y no capital. La función de la propia capital consiste en elaborar una cultura radiante. Madrid no lo hace. Es una capital frustrada como idea política a que debe su rango. La destinaron a ciudad federal de las Españas, y en lugar de presidir la integración de un imperio no hizo sino registrar hundimientos de escuadras y pérdidas de reinos. (Azaña 219)

Elsewhere in the same period he refers to the disdain he feels for the imperfections of the city:

> Madrid no me inspira una afición violenta. Si el amor propio de los madrileños no se irrita, añadiré que Madrid me parece incómodo, desapacible y, en la mayor parte de sus lugares, chabacano y feo. Es un poblachón mal construido, en el que se esboza una gran capital. […] Su gran coso (Prado-Castellana) es como una plaza de pueblo a la que baja Madrid a verse, a contemplarse; no le sirve para ir a parte alguna. […]

1868 revolution some dream of making it a bourgeois capital; in 1930 there is the proposal of creating a "gran Madrid," capital of the Republic; the fourth one is the 1941 Plan General "anegado en una retórica fascista" (Juliá 260).

What Azaña ponders as positive is an aspect related to luminosity: "En Madrid lo único es el sol. La luz implacable descubre toda lacra y miseria, se abate sobre las cosas con tal furia, que las incendia, las funde, las aniquila. […] Madrid no me parece alegre, sino estruendoso." And he concludes with a consideration about what remains of Madrid's image in its visitor: "Madrid cambia menos de lo que se piensa. Cierra los ojos, lector: ¿qué ves al acordarte de la villa? La mole blanca de Palacio y unas torres y cúpulas bajas perfilándose en el azul, sobre las barrancadas amarillas que bajan al río y dominan el Paseo de Melancólicos" (Azaña 215).

Similarly, Joan Maragall, one of the foremost writers of Barcelona at the turn of the century, raised concerns in many of his articles reflecting the dual character of the city, which extended to some of his best-known poems, such as "Oda nova a Barcelona." For instance, in an article published in April 1908, "La ciudad del ensueño," he imagined a better future for the unpleasant city in which he was living:

> Hoy puedo decir que he sido ciudadano del ensueño, porque a mi ciudad la he visto entre su pasado y su porvenir. Y tanto he hundido en ellos mis ojos que, al volverlos al presente, estaban tan bañados de ensueño, que el presente mismo lo he visto como ensueño, como lo verán los ojos de los futuros ciudadanos y como lo verían los de los pasados; y ya no ha habido presente, ni pasado, ni futuro, sino que todo se me ha hecho presente en una niebla de eternidad que me ha envuelto y desvanecido. Por esto puedo decir que hoy he sido ciudadano del ensueño.

As was usual for this writer, he saw the city from the perspective of "love" and defended the city's double contradictory sign. Maragall points to the relationship between past and present. And as in so many other occasions he also stresses the need for love that repairs all defects:

> ¿Y es ésta la ciudad mía? ¿Cómo pudo parecerme alguna vez hermosa y grande? Pero así y todo, como ahora la veo, no puedo sino amarla. La amo como a un sueño, como al del porvenir monstruoso en que pudieron verla mis antepasados desde el fondo obscuro de sus callejones; como el sueño de un pasado heroico en que la verán tal vez las futuras generaciones, cuando la contemplen como yo he contemplado hoy sus barrios moribundos.

Similarly to Azaña, he writes harsh criticism of his own city, ridiculing obnoxious elements in the urban landscape:

> Mira cómo, entre ese confuso barroquismo tuyo y suyo, florece un espíritu, un estilo nace. He visto hoy un quiosco estrambótico inaugurar su fealdad en medio de las Ramblas, y me he dicho: He aquí una fealdad bien barcelonesa; ese mal gusto, venga su modelo de donde venga, no puede confundirse con el mal gusto de ninguna otra parte del mundo; eso es bien nuestro. ¡Ah! ¿luego hay una cosa nuestra? Pues estamos en lo vivo.

Maragall uses a key concept, that of "life," which is crucial for his poetic theory to defend a real, pure position. Contrary to Azaña, the eyes of a poet can understand the necessary coexistence of gloom and beauty in the urban landscape:

> Me alegro de que haya en nosotros algo que nos estorbe el buen gusto. Algo se agita dentro de nosotros; algo se agita dentro de la ciudad, que le da mareos y extravíos del sentido y gustos perversos. Hay un ser vivo dentro. No maldigas los hastíos ni la deformidad de la que ha de ser madre. (Maragall *Obres Completes* 744-746)

Maragall used urban space as a symbol of hope for the future. It is a form of dual symbolism, one he expressed in a magnificent way in his "Oda nova Barcelona" (Bou "Amor redemptor" 240).

Several Spanish writers have pondered on the city of Madrid, and have referred in particular to its symbolism, the representational spiritual character, beyond a mere listing (or delineation) of houses and streets. Corpus Barga referred in 1922 to architecture as a language. He felt outraged by the imitation of German models:

> El fondo de la plazuela es una casona verde y emocionante, mucho más moderna decorativamente que esa germanofilia de la construcción mal traducida al castellano y adulterada con un neoclasicimo mal traducido al cemento, con que los arquitectos modernos están apabullando a Madrid. (44)

When the Second Republic arrived, Corpus Barga expressed himself forcefully on the map of Madrid. He lamented municipal feudalism, or that Madrid was still a monarchy's feud:

> El plano de Madrid es una indecencia para sonrojar al madrileño que no haya perdido toda dignidad ciudadana. Madrid ha dejado intacta su parte hospitalaria acaparada por la Monarquía y se ha ido desarrollando por la parte más inhóspita. En lugar de tenderse barrios agradables hacia la Moncloa y el Pardo (como en París y en Berlín se han desarrollado los barrios ricos hacia los bosques), la burguesía madrileña ha constituido ese barrio de Salamanca tan cursilito. (79)

Corpus Barga wrote many articles about Madrid, which have been collected in the volume *Paseos por Madrid*. In 1926, in an article entitled "Teoría de la esquina," he presented a variety of cities according to size, referencing physical dimensions of the human body:

> Hay ciudades gordas y ciudades flacas, como hay ciudades bajas y ciudades altas. Hay, en todos los sentidos, la variación de las ciudades. Madrid, por ejemplo, está creciendo más que engordando. La ciudad más alta es, sin duda, Nueva York. París es la más esbelta. Viena es, quizá, más elegante, pero está más entrada en carnes. Ciudades gordas son las del Mediterráneo: Barcelona, Marsella, Génova, Nápoles. ¡Qué curvas en las plazas y, sobre todo, en las afueras!

He persisted in his symbolic assessment of urban space using a prosopopoeial terminology. The core of the article served to report that a city like Paris was losing its corner cafes, being replaced instead by banks:

> La calle tenía su teoría: la manifestación. La plaza, la plaza pública, la discusión. La esquina, la emoción (al doblar la esquina). París le ha dado esquinazo a la plaza pública. La plaza pública es la esquina, sin otra teoría que la del público que se sucede para ver en el escaparate del Banco la teoría de los cambios. ¡La libra a 253! Y hay el que se apoya en la esquina: "¡Hasta que la libra no esté a 500 el franco valdrá cero!" La esquina, con toda su emoción, es una cifra. (*El Sol,* 23.VII.1926)

In another article he discussed the differences between city and nature. In "El monóculo de Sirio," he considered the construction of the city as a work of man on the eighth day of creation. Emulating a divine being, correcting an oversight, man created the city:

> ¿Qué espectáculo más impresionante puede ofrecer la Naturaleza que el de los destellos de una gran ciudad al acercarse el espectador a ella por la noche, sea en tren, en auto o en avión, desde cualquier punto de vista?' Salen a recibir al viajero los fantasmas de las luces, toda una población en movimiento que 'En vez de luces llevan prendido el fuego de los arcos voltaicos. Nunca ha cegado tan violentamente el Sol. Entre tanto se abren abismos negros como no puede ofrecer la Tierra. Son abismos de cielo donde se vierten torrentes de humo. Las líneas del firmamento se quiebran bajo el peso de sobras y luminarias. Antes de entrar en el caos, todo se organiza: aparecen las paredes formidables, las altas ventanas, los puentes, las obras. Las luces cobran expresión y fijeza. Es el mediodía eléctrico. (*El Sol*, 30.VIII.1927).

In this case his global vision of the city takes an almost astronomical turn. Through a metaphor, the starry night becomes a *plein air* vision.

Catalan "Noucentista" intellectuals re-read urban space beyond a mimetic realist approach and proposed a comprehensive reinterpretation in symbolic terms. For them the city had a dual interest: political and social, in addition to the aesthetic components. The "Ciutat," meaning by this Barcelona and an ideal city model, was very useful in articulating a program of action, which paid attention to symbols, as cogently expressed in Ors' *Glosari*'s exuberant pages. This interest is not an isolated event, but responds to a group that uses as leitmotiv words and concepts such as "Civilitat," "Civilisme," "Urbanitat," and analogous expressions. From this perspective, "Barcelona" served to refer to a place well identified, but also attributed a mythical, almost patriotic, value when referring to the city as some abstraction of collective, political aspirations, and to turn it, in a bold metonymy, into a substitute of more abstract concepts such as the "homeland," or Catalonia. It also referred to bourgeois life forms, a way of life of which they sought to convince their fellow citizens (Murgades 1976). But apart from this ideological and programmatic appropriation, it is clear that the most characteristic presence of the city in noucentista literature is precisely the continued consideration of the city landscape as something that urgently needs to be built or modified. This probably has a lot to do with the condition of a stage created or imposed by industrial society. In opposition to ruralism,

intellectuals of the time imposed the idea of noucentista urban culture. It is the rejection of a specific city, Barcelona, but also the creation of a symbol city and a summary of the political aspirations as moral reformers.

Facing a specific city, which they very much dislike, "noucentista" intellectuals –tactics in de Certeau's terminology–, are committed to a non-existent idealized city. In their own terms, as some kind of urbanists, they propose an action. In a way they act like Cerdà, who wanted to change urban space in order to change people's living conditions. As Cerdà stated in *Teoría general de la urbanización y aplicación de sus principios y doctrinas a la reforma y ensanche de Barcelona*:

> Este concepto [urbanismo] describe el conjunto de medidas destinadas a agrupar los edificios y regular sus funciones, así como el conjunto de principios, doctrinas y reglas que se deben aplicar para que los edificios y sus agrupaciones, en vez de oprimir, debilitar y corromper las capacidades corporales, morales e intelectuales del hombre en sociedad, fomenten su desarrollo así como el bienestar individual y contribuyan a aumentar la felicidad colectiva. (2)

For Noucentista authors such as Xènius, Josep Carner, or Guerau de Liost, the city is a place where modernization of society will take place, thus new morality or modes of behavior. A recurrent expression when referring to the un-modernized city is "campament de pedra" [rock camp] which they would like to replace with a Hellenistic inspired city, like so many of the examples they have seen in Paris or London. They wishfully think formal city traits, such as classicism-inspired buildings, will modify the inhabitants' way of life. Young Eugeni d'Ors wrote inspired *gloses* such as "Urbanitat," where he lectures his fellow citizens with examples of "noucentista" urban attitudes. In one of the most sophisticated examples he describes an urban setting inspired by an idealized European city, completely opposed to the baroque traits of present day Barcelona:

> Detingueu-vos barcelonins, amics meus, detingueu-vos per un moment a imaginar. Tanqueu els ulls a n'aquest viure massa barrocament virolat, mas-

> sa pintoresc, que us envolta. Figureu-vos una Ciutat –he dit "una Ciutat" i no un campament de pedra– una gran Ciutat plena, activa, *normal*, històrica i constantment renovellada alhora. Imagineu son lloc més cèntric, més vivent… ¿Veieu el quadro? En la gran plaça pública els grans edificis públics –columnates i escalinates– drets i sòlids, severs i augustos, patinats gloriosament per la carícia de les edats. Entre ells, cases particulars, sòlides també, històriques també, opulentes en ròtuls i anuncis. Aquí, desembocant-hi, una gran artèria comercial. Allí, eixint-ne, una gran via aristocràtica. Allà baix, nota alegre, una reixa de gran parc. Estàtues, fonts. D'aquí i d'allí i pel mig, i arreu divergentes, oposades, contraposades, sempre harmòniques– les grans onades de multitud, vivents braços cívics… (25)[3]

Ors' unleashed imagination led him to see order in the chaos of a contemporary metropolis. But the passage, however, serves the purpose of superimposing on a "map" the city that is unacceptable, an impossible and utopian city model.

In a similar way one can read these Guerau de Liost lines from the opening poem in *La Ciutat d'Ivori* (1913):

> Bella Ciutat d'Ivori, feta de marbre i or:
> tes cúpules s'irisen en la blavor que mor,
> i, reflectint-se, netes, en la maror turgent,
> serpegen de les ones pel tors adolescent.

This classic inspired city, be it by Athens or Florence, is in open contrast with the real city, the city of bombs, as it was known in Europe. This is why it is in need of an "esguard d'amor" to overcome materialism's threat. On the other hand to this series of idealistic visions of the city from above and from outside, we can read poems that emulate city plans, real or otherwise invented, of the city. Rimbaud wrote poems such as "Marine" or "Villes," which create imaginary maps of a city with a 15,000 foot diameter dome. In Salvat Papasseit's "Plànol," he draws a map of an imaginary city while imitating futurists' Words in Freedom, with a very specific political message that voices Salvat's

3. For a complete reading of this "glosa" see Bou "El púlpit del Pantarca…"

indignation with the uneven social situation. Likewise, Spanish ultraists similarly manipulate a city's map. For instance, Guillermo de Torre in "Exaltación occidental," or Federico de Iribarne in "Amanecer desde el tejado," present invented cities seen from a map perspective.

The city view from the heights presents a unique perspective. There, one lives a different life, one that happens on a roof. A 1929 text by Josep Carner, acutely explores this condition:

> Ja seria hora que algú escrivís un llibre sobre els terrats de Barcelona, sobre la vella i curiosa ciutat aèria. Jo el voldria amb moltes il·lustracions. El terrat, permès i instat per la dolcesa del nostre clima, és un altar del cel, amb oferiments de roba estesa, coloms i clavellins, litúrgia de sedasseries i cançons, cultes d'amistat i amor; no pas, tanmateix, inapte, quan s'ennuvola la vida civil, per a aviar i rebre les bales espetegants. (Carner "Terrats")

According to Carner, roofs were useful in old time Barcelona to spark relationships between neighbors of the same building. During the Tragic Week in the Eixample, they encouraged marriage. And they are useful to summarize his memories of life in the city:

> Jo mateix tinc records memorables de terrats. Els de la meva infantesa, amb el descobriment i l'emoció estranya dels fenòmens metereològics; els de la joventut, amb els pintorescos indrets de la ciutat vella vistos des de tallers d'artistes; els d'uns besos bescanviats materialment sota les bales en un dia de vaga general. (Carner "Terrats")

One could establish yet another parallel between those who have dreamed and built the city, from Cerdà to Gaudí, and those who have written about it. Avant-garde architects had something to say. Josep Lluís Sert, following the example of Le Corbusier, designed a re-imagined Barcelona, the so-called Pla Macià, which took a step further towards Cerdà's hygienic ideal, even though the outbreak of Spain's Civil War never allowed it to be implemented. J.V. Foix, a good friend of Sert, and also very interested in city planning from a literary perspective, compared in *Mots i maons o cascú el seu*, articles published between 1933-36 in *La Publicitat*, the task of the architect to that of

the poet: "Estalviar maons o mots és la jugada més noble i austera del constructor i del versificador." In *Gertrudis*, one of his surrealist books of the period, he wrote an astounding description of an oniric city:

> Aixequeu ben alts els murs del meu carrer. Tan alts que, em ésser nit, no hi entri ni la remor de les fontanes ni el xiscle agònic de les locomotrius. Feu que el meu carrer tingui tot just l'amplada de la meva passa. No feu obertures als murs, i arrieu del cim de les torratxes tantes de banderes i de gallardets. (Foix, 19)

This is an imaginary space reconstructed in the writer's head, echoing the original city, adjusted to a paranoic vision, where everything has been reduced to uncomfortable dimensions.

Inner Experiences of the City

City planners and architects provide a neutral space, what Michel de Certeau calls the "functional city." Pedestrians like to look around, go into the city and use it, all from very different perspectives. These perspectives do not take into account planning and organization, but give room to chance and the unexpected. These attitudes in turn will create other types of urban plans. They are the lived plans of urban space. Writers such as Narcís Oller, Josep M. de Sagarra, Montserrat Roig, Luis Goytisolo, Eduardo Mendoza, Terenci Moix, or Pere Gimferrer, to name just a few, have reinvented the city. Their view of the city complements the one devised by Cerdà, yet is simultaneously intrinsically different. There are several ways to classify the resulting experiences, but they are not watertight categories, unrelated to each other. In fact, there is much contamination between them and constant interchange. In general, what unites these categories is the emphasis on matching sets: inside / outside, private / public, periphery / center. Marc Augé has considered the city of a map as opposed to a lived city, the one we create through personal experience:

> Nos itinéraires d'aujourd'hui croisent ceux d'hier, morceau de vie dont le plan du métro, dans l'agenda que nous portons sur le cœur, ne laisse voir que

> la tranche, l'aspect simultanément le plus spatial et le plus régulier, mais dont nous savons bien que tout s'y tenait à peu près ou s'y efforçait, nulle cloison étanche ne séparant, parfois pour notre plus grand malaise, l'individu de ceux qui l'entourent, notre vie privée de notre vie publique, notre histoire de celles des autres. (*Un éthnologe*, 17)
>
> *Un étnologue* 17

A pedestrian *flâneur* constructs a city, a multidimensional space with multiple meanings. The past overlaps the present, itineraries draw a physical map of feelings and experiences, and private life crashes with public life. Writers summarize these archetypal reactions in certain situations, or reduce them to a few prestigious spaces that are included in novels and poems.

To begin with, one has to consider personal maps of the city. For example, in some of the poems dedicated to the city of Valencia in *Llibre de meravelles*, Vicent Andrés Estellés creates a geography of places, beginning with an intimate perspective, which in turn draws a map of the city's emotional experience. In this map he claims "his" Valencia, tying all names that are significant from a personal or collective point of view. In "Cant de Vicent," for example, there is a split between the voice that should write a song to Valencia with an almost sanctioned attitude, and another one that is more attentive to small details, to the experience of city living:

> Pense que ha arribat l'hora del teu cant a València.
> Temies el moment. Confessa-t'ho: temies.
> Temies el moment del teu cant a València.
> La volies cantar sense solemnitat,
> sense Mediterrani, sense grecs ni llatins,
> sense picapedrers i sense obra de moro.
> La volies cantar d'una manera humil,
> amb castedat diríem. Veies el cant: creixia.
> Lentament el miraves créixer com un crepuscle.

This ideal city is built from a perspective related to topics discussed before. The city is seen from above and from outside. Faced with this possibility he sees another more intimate city, perhaps the true city:

Modestament diries el nom d'algun carrer:
Pelayo, Gil i Morte, … Amb quina intensitat
els dius els anomenes, els escrius! Un poc més
i ja tindries tota València. Per a tu,
València és molt poc més. Tan íntima i calenta,
tan crescuda i dolguda, i estimada també.

In the poem's conclusion he doubles between both perspectives, a collective one –exterior– and an intimate one –interior–, or between what is public and private:

Ah, València, València! Podria dir ben bé:
Ah, tu, València meua! Perquè evoque la meua
València. O evoque la València de tots,
de tots els vius i els morts, de tots els valencians?
Deixa-ho anar. No et poses solemne. Deixa l'èmfasi.
L'èmfasi ens ha perdut freqüentment els indígenes.
Més avant escriuràs el teu cant a València. (58-59)

In another poem from the same book, "Cos mortal," he lists street names from the central part of Valencia: "Trinquet dels Cavallers, La Nau, Bailén, Comèdies,/ Barques, Transits, En Llop, Mar, Pasqual i Genís,/ Sant Vicent, Quart de fora, Moro Zeit, el Mercat…" And finishes with a single line, which has an obvious ironic sense: "I l'Avenida del Doncel Luis Felipe Garcia Sanchiz" (55). In yet another poem, "Vida, sinó," he aims to write "la guia de València." But this guide would not be one according to the ritual of crucial places and monuments, "sinó els recomanables llocs on tant ens volguérem" (31). That is, a personal urban geography dictated by love.

In a poem in *Poemes civils,* Joan Brossa draws a Sant Gervasi neighborhood map, which is a trajectory through long-forgotten narrow streets:

Passatge Mulet, Guillem Tell, Plaça
de Mañé i Flaquer, Francolí, Pàdua
fins a Ballester.

Una flor blava
tacada de punts
blancs.

These poems reflect an experience of the city from within, and pay attention to private ways (and routes) of looking at it, of seeing it.

Secondly and closely linked to the previous examples, we can mention the case of the *flâneur* or onlookers. This figure corresponds to the internal vision of the pedestrian experience, or the city from within, as we have seen before. The onlookers have a scope, the center of town. Roland Barthes gave great importance to the erotic dimension (in terms of sociability) in the city, especially the center:

> La ville, essentiellement et sémantiquement, est le lieu de rencontre avec l'autre, et c'est pour cette raison que le centre est le point de rassemblement de toute ville; le centre est institué avant tout par les jeunes et les adolescents. (…) Au contraire, tout ce qui n'est pas le centre est précisément ce qui n'est pas espace ludique, tout ce qui n'est pas l'altérité: la famille, la résidence, l'identité. (269)

It is in the center of town where meetings of subversive, rupturist, or playful forces occur. Josep Carner captured it extremely well, with his acute sense of observation, in the prose piece, "La ciutat sense ara," in which he stresses the unifying atmosphere, dissolving difference, of the city center:

> A la Plaça de Catalunya van a raure tots els tramvies barcelonins: per allà passen les cubanes que van a Sant Josep de la Muntanya, els alemanys que van a Sarrià, les monges que van a les Corts, les gallinaires que van al Poble Sec, les dolces dames barcelonines que segueixen la via Gràcia-Rambles, les peripatètiques indígenes que van a la Ronda de Sant Antoni, les franceses que van al Lyon d'Or, la gent que ve i va del port i les estacions: gent amb raquetes, gent amb paquets, gent llegint diaris, gent que té tard, gent que té mandra, gent mudada per al teatre; criatures que ploren o s'enfilen, criades, militars. senyors d'anell i de cigar. Tota aquesta gent tomba per la Plaça de Catalunya centre estèril de Barcelona. (…) A la Plaça de Catalunya, la ciutat no hi té cap ara. (Carner *Les bonhomies* 69-70)

What is remarkable about this prose is how Carner transforms the tram into different kinds of women a *flâneur* can encounter, and finally becomes different kind of people who turn around the center of the city without any apparent purpose. This is the *flâneur*'s territory, a Baudelairian character, which Walter Benjamin made immortal. The "badoc" is a character who represents one of the biggest paradoxes of life in the city: human beings' intense solitude lost in the multicolored and pervasive urban mass. He is the perfect user of the city. Carner himself, so attentive to daily life's minor details, captured with extraordinary sense this character's essence:

> El badoc ha eixit de casa. Té quaranta anys; és conco. Punts lluminosos de la seva cara afaitada, cada dia corren els seus ulls betament per les cases en construcció, per les anècdotes de carrer, pels quioscos, pels aparadors, pels autos. El badoc és meravellós: tot ho aprofita. No és *chauvin*, però guaita els soldats; no és clerical però guaita els enterraments. Els seus ulls guaiten i no conquisten. La seva mirada plana per damunt les coses i se n'allunya sense botí. El badoc té unes petites rendes; viu en una pensió. Té l'ofici de passejar i el benefici de guaitar. Sap les passes que hi ha del monument a Colom als Josepets. Coneix els qui enganxen rètols i els qui encenen fanals. A l'hivern entra a les biblioteques per escalfar-se; a l'estiu va a l'imperial per estar fresc. Coneix *waterclosets* gratuïts; sap bandes on es pot llegir els diaris, d'altres on es pot dormir, d'altres on hi ha calidoscòpics o gramòfons. Segueix pacientment, i d'enfora estant, els guanys de les cases de comerç, les peripècies dels enamorats que fan telèfons, la medicació de les arbredes, l'aixafament dels engravats, la decadència i renovació de les dones boniques, l'augment i dispersió de les famílies, i els canvis fisonòmics de la ciutat turmentada. (Carner *Les bonhomies* 34)

The "badoc" makes a hesitant walk, visually flirting while he follows a mysterious woman through the streets of the city. Or he experiments with revulsive fear: isolated and alienated, he sometimes reacts with furor to certain symbols of the industrial technological world. In this sense, he may perceive a tramway as some sort of infernal machinery. In turn, it generates an elegiac attitude towards a disappeared world, as is the case of Josep M. de Sagarra when he remembers the "tartanes" [carriages] from his youth. They belong to a

world where it was possible to live without speed, "al ritme de les tartanes" (Sagarra 57).

In considering this possibility there emerges an intimate portrait, almost a snapshot of the city. It corresponds to the subjective perception of the new urban landscape and is closely linked to an impressionist vision. These are hyper-realistic portraits (and therefore distorted), attentive to intimate details. There is an emphasis on new spaces created by Modernity: the tramway, the bourgeois interior. Josep Carner wrote in prose and verse of this anecdotic world, and he built a kind of medieval bestiary, portraying typical features and attitudes that were annoying for their Noucentista crusade of reformation and Europeanization. His *Les planetes del verdum* (1918) or *Les bonhomies* (1924) articles/books are deeply based in Barcelona, portraying modern life types, places, and situations. These prose texts have their equivalent in verse in *Auques i ventalls* (1914). Guerau de Liost explored similar themes in *La Ciutat d'Ivori* (1918). These books in verse and prose are good examples of a dual use of the city: as the landscape of an urban life, which is still too provincial and therefore needs to be changed; and as the landscape of uncertainty. Apparently futile pretexts for observation provided by the city's new sensations, the inclination to "badoqueig" (*flaneurisme*) (the "institucions per al foment i l'explotació de la innocència," according to Carner), which create rich formal poems, artifacts of huge technical complexity. We are facing a rich sensual map, a vivid portrayal of the impact: massive changes in urban landscape ("L'anunci lluminós"), and promiscuity in public transporation (Carner's "La bella dama del tramvia," "La noia que ve de la mar"; or Xènius' "La dona de l'òmnibus"). Carner's irony ascends new heights when describing situations of social jumble:

> Si ran de la parada veieu el "tram" passar
> tot ple de "smarts" o gent de la pescateria,
> sota un gran feix de plomes eternament hi ha
> la bella dama del tramvia.

A common motif is provided by elusive flirt situations, or by following women going to church, as in the case of Carner's "La noia

matinera," or a series of poems that open Guerau of Liost's *La ciutat d'Ivori*. The city had become the perfect venue for exchanges of gazes, as already described by Baudelaire in his notorious "À une passante." These poems have the ability to depict new psychological situations promoted by the city of modernity, as a variant to the expressed anguish of living and the individual isolation in the crowd. It is also a literature that expresses a state of cosmic anguish, when the multitude serves as refuge, and public transportation is a highly symbolic microcosm. The city thus favors two complementary functions: it provides scenery and also a place to hide. Moreover, it is the symbol for a group, which promises to intensly use the city's personification and invocation.

In many narratives, as we shall see, writers succeed in creating a subjective map of the city. It is a map that dominates the combination of public and private space. Thus, for example, in Mercè Rodoreda's *La plaça del diamant*, we discover a city modeled on the main character, Colometa-Natàlia: her life takes place on both sides of Carrer Gran, a division between interior and exterior spaces is crucial to understand her attitude towards life, and parks and streets also play a significant role. Her relationship to space is the graphic, spatial way of dividing the main character into two lives until she succeeds in taking control of her life.

As I will discuss in detail in chapter four, similar situations can be read in novels such as Montserrat Roig's *El temps de les cireres* in a walk through the neighborhood of Ribera. Here Natàlia confronts a splendorous past inscribed on stones of an old neighborhood, where Rusiñol's *Auca del senyor Esteve* takes place, during the heavy time of Franco's dictatorship. Comments on streets and their symbolic value are cultural references, which spark a dialogue between Natàlia and her young revolutionary nephew Màrius, which illustrates different ways of reading urban space:

> Feren la volta per Santa Maria del Mar, no se sentia cap més remor que les gotes que davallaven dels balcons i alguna passa llunyana que feia eco dins del silenci del carrer. Passaren pel davant d'una plaça oberta, com un descampat, que servia d'aparcament de cotxes, "al fossar de les moreres no s'enterra

> cap traïdor…," digué la Natàlia. Què dius?, féu en Màrius, res, recitava un vers que em llegia el teu avi. Saps qui és en Pitarra?, en Màrius va dir que no. La Natàlia pensà que el barri no havia canviat […]. És un barri decrèpit i teatral, sembla que les cases siguin decorats a punt d'ésser traslladats a un altre escenari, pensà la Natàlia. […] Per què hem fet aquesta volta?, preguntà la Natàlia, perquè és un ritus, contestà en Màrius, aquest barri em deixa l'estómac buit, com si hi hagués viscut en una altra època. (192)

Quoting from a well-known Pitarra line, ("al fossar de les moreres no s'enterra cap traïdor…"), the main character calls for the superposition of different times and exacerbates the old streets' theatricality, and deprecates their fake condition. One cannot live there any more, their only purpose is to act as a setting for cultural memory, or history's representation (strategy), or as the setting for a late night walk (tactics) stressing the contradictory meaning of this urban space.

The city is also read from a historical perspective in Luis Goytisolo's *Recuento* (1973), where he also stresses the superimposition of two cities, the one from the past –from a brilliant bourgeois time– and the one from present day –bourgeoisie in decadence. He does this through a pastiche of old travel guides. We face a version of the old city, which the main character, Raul Ferrer Gaminde, abhors as being opposed to his Marxist ideology. Thus he rewrites Maragall's "Oda nova a Barcelona," as a basis of a critical discourse against the bourgeoisie. Or he renames Gaudí's "Sagrada Família" as "Sagrado aborto" (182), and he proposes new names for the cathedral's porticoes: "Revolució" or "Nueva Sociedad" (184).

The city, as we have seen, can be read from two different and complementary perspectives. Writers write the city, recreating physical aspects and a way of life. These are the indispensable elements identified by Roland Barthes. In a 1906 Xènius glosa, "Perfum barceloní," he evokes the new city [Eixample] from a distant place:

> I després de tantes i tantes suggestions de vida i paisatges de Barcelona (…) encara aquella serena nit d'estiu, contemplada d'una galeria estant, oberta sobre un dels interiors d'una illa de cases, plens de jardins, característics a la nostra ciutat nova, persisteix en la meva imaginació i l'omple de tot un món

> de perfums i de vaga música. Ben nostres perfums, música ben nostra. D'ells i d'ella ens és teixit el record quan de la mare ciutat som lluny. (93-94)

Literature modifies a city in the same way that cities have altered literature. Writers contribute to supplement "un món de perfums i de vaga música" with an original vision that summarizes the inhabitants' experiences of so many cities. Thanks to them we can "read the city."

2. On Rivers and Maps. Iberian Approaches to Comparatism

For many years scholars have studied the case of Spain, and even the entire Iberian Peninsula, as a separate entity within the confines of Europe. Countries such as Portugal and Castile that were once leaders in the transformation of the Western world, opening up new and poignant ways of relationship with the Other, have become modern nations that, because of their eccentricity, are commonly depicted as failing to fulfill the requirements of the Northern European paradigm. The ways of colonialism, and the access to Modernity, have been for these countries anything but an easy path. Thus scholars have used terms like "alternative," "marginal," and "peripheral," some within the context of Europe, others within the framework of globalization and colonialism, to portray the Iberian experience.[1] Though well intend-

1. This is what Susan Friedman implies when she writes, "The association of modernism and modernity with Europe and the United States in the humanities not only excludes nonwestern locations but also contains peripheries within "the West"–including, for example, margins based on gender, race, and geography, namely those of women, ethnic and racial minorities, and locations such

ed, this kind of approach only stresses the original sin of the accuser: "Let the one without sin cast the first stone." Recent studies, such as John H. Elliott's *Empires of the Atlantic World* (2007), teach us many lessons. For one thing, they show that colonialism and its aftermath are a convoluted history in which there are only losers, particularly among the "discovered." When discussing general historical and cultural movements, Elliot portrays in dazzling ways the many oddities related to time and space. The complications introduced by the effects of time-lag are further amplified by the effects of fragmentation, and by the complex dialogue between center and periphery, which is the unpredictable implication in the colonizing society of its creation of parallel worlds, similar but extremely different. This mirror effect can be further developed if we turn the tables around and look at just the case of Castile and Portugal –or, even better, the entire Iberian Peninsula– from such a perspective. By this I mean looking at the study of cultural issues from a multicultural and plurilinguistic perspective, which allows us to shift paradigms and challenge preconceptions.

In recent years we have witnessed an unfathomable general reassessment of what it means to study culture/literature in the Iberian Peninsula, as has been suggested by several studies.[2] Tensions connected with the overlapping movements of national affirmation and globalization have provoked different perspectives, new ways of looking at old issues. What was once depicted as a backward and lagging area in Europe has in recent years been looked at very differently. Issues of multiplicity and cultural difference are revalued as something pos-

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as Spain, Portugal, the Balkans and Eastern Europe, Brazil, and the Caribbean" (512). For a thorough discussion of this issue, see a historical interpretation by George Mariscal, particularly regarding the cases of George Ticknor and James Fitzmaurice-Kelly (3-6). See also a more contemporary discussion in Delgado; Mendelson; Vázquez, 2007.

2. See, for example, King and Browitt 2004, Varela and Abuín González 2004, Epps and Fernández Cifuentes 2005, Moraña 2005. Once published, the volume coordinated by Fernando Cabo Aseguinolaza, Anxo Abuín González, and César Domínguez Prieto, *A Comparative History of Literatures in the Iberian Peninsula*, may be a landmark.

itive and as a potential source of inspiration and reformulation for the tortuous, unresolved postcolonial narratives of former major players such as the UK or France. Not too long ago Joan Ramon Resina inquired in non-rhetorical terms: "what would happen if Hispanism were conceived as a supranational discipline in which the various cultures of the Iberian peninsula (including the Portuguese) could be studied in a non-hierarchical relation to each other?" (114). However, this poignant question has not yet been satisfactorily answered.

Here I propose a reflection on comparative literature in the Iberian Peninsula, which takes into account this emerging drive for the redefinition of Hispanism. I will do this through the reading of two motifs, rivers and maps, as a way of presenting a different version of Comparatism, one more akin to issues of center and periphery, otherness and non-hierarchical assumptions. This approach is not exactly a "humanistic geography." Although this project owes much to that field, it is not by any means inscribed in that tradition. Rather, it is indebted to the idea of restoring and making explicit the relationship between knowledge and human interests. In this chapter I want to emphasize a goal I have in common with geographers: "to explore how worlds, places, landscapes, meanings, and human experiences are socially constructed and help constitute specific cultural contexts" (Adams, Hoelscher, and Till XVI). In fact, what I pursue is both a reflection on Comparatism and the discussion of two practical cases, which provide lessons on how to read in a non-centripetal way.

Claudio Guillén's "Europa: ciencia e inconsciencia," a chapter in his latest book *Múltiples moradas* (1998), suggested a way of "reading" Europe. He explored in a new light some concepts dear to him, such as the combination of unity and diversity, which he deemed crucial in a general discussion of Comparatism. He proposed that the conceptualization of "Europe" is aware of and based on the awareness of it as a heterogeneous conglomeration of juxtaposed lands, or unwelded pieces, and that to grasp this multifarious reality requires a plurality of perspectives and definitions as varied as they are uncomfortably accurate: states, nations, countries, autonomies, provinces, communities, nationalities, territories, regions, cantons, shires, jurisdictions, municipalities, towns, counties, towns, hamlets, villages, places (381-2). The

reason for this variety of terms lies within a diversity of criteria: geography, history, politics, society, and economy. It is the combination of all these factors that has played a part in an equivocal complicity. He concluded that no political map of the continent suggests the abundance he was describing and that as a place of interspaces, multiplication of countless adjacent fragments, almost infinitely divisible, Europe offers the historian not only successive changes but also rhythmic reiterations, recurrent conflictive structures (383).

In his discussion of Europe he also borrowed a key idea from Francisco Tomás y Valiente: that our identity does not belong to a single unique entity. On the contrary, we belong to different circles, not as uncommitted individualists, but rather as rational human beings aware of the true complexity of social reality, where every man is a point of intersection between different collective subjects (qtd. in Guillén 403). Moreover, Guillén introduced the idea of dialogue of pluralities, expanding what Edgar Morin proposed in his book *Penser l'Europe* (1990). The French thinker provides some complementary thoughts, particularly that a dialogue of pluralities pushes for change and transformation. What is "important" to note about European culture, according to Morin, is not only its "governing ideas (Christianity, humanism reason, science) but also their opposites." The "genius" of the continent, he writes, "does not rest solely in plurality and change, but more precisely in the dialogue between the pluralities that produce the change." He points out that the redeeming qualities of Europe can be found specifically in the "antagonism between the old and the new" and not just in the "production of the new as such" (74). This is important because honoring and exploring this antagonism leads us closer to the concept of enrichment through dialogue and the confrontation of diversity. Although Morin sounds a little bit too optimistic, not taking into account the sheer quantity of blood, pain, and hatred generated by the confrontation of opposite religious, philosophical, and political schools of thought, his concept of a "dialogue of pluralities" may be taken as a good objective for the future. Guillén concluded his essay on a more personal note, suggesting that the "complexity we struggle to grasp is best understood as the constant movement and oscillation between concepts and their limits."

He warns against "reducing either the multiplicity that makes it possible nor the acts of conscience that tend to differentiate and discover it –in the I, in the world" (426). Albeit an overtly idealistic, almost utopian conceptualization by both Morin and Guillén, the latter's essay gets us interested in conflictive notions, in new ways of reading a continent both as an entity and as the purveyor of a rich literary tradition. Guillén's proposal encapsulates many tools to read a continent, exploring, in fact, the rich literary tradition on which it has been founded, and which goes well beyond the secluded world of conventional comparative literature. By taking Guillén's conflictive notions on the borders of literature a bit further, I wish to pursue a vindication of comparative literature in the Iberian Peninsula.

Drawing Rivers

"Los mismos que expulsaron a los judíos en 1492 nos expulsan a nosotros" said Joaquim Xirau in 1939 on his way to exile. For too long, the notion of Hispanicity has been defined through a politics of exclusions and inclusions, expulsions and executions, censorship and repression, conquest and colonization, and concentration camps and forced labor. Thus, fear and menace have been the *mot d'ordre* among so-called intellectual circles. Rivers provide an illuminating example of the appropriation and (re)definition of space because they have been incorporated into a symbolic geography.

Let's start with the image of a particular river, as portrayed by Italian critic Claudio Magris. In his book *Danubio* (1986), Magris used Heraclitus' image of the river applied to the Danube in a rather innovative way. For him the Danube represents a consideration of identity. A river, which is primarily a geographical trait, exudes other notions beyond physicality. In fact, certain rivers seem to express an identity, or even a notion of diversity. On the other hand, the case of the Rhine, an iconic German river, offers a conflictive notion. According to Claudio Magris the Rhine is mostly "un mistico custode della stirpe," (a mystic custodian of the stock) whereas the Danube has a much more complex meaning because

> è il fiume di Vienna, di Bratislava, di Budapest, di Belgrado, della Dacia, il nastro che attraversa e cinge, come l'Oceano cingeva il mondo greco, l'Austria absburgica, della quale il mito e l'ideologia hanno fatto il simbolo di una koinè plurima e sovranazionale… Il Danubio è la Mitteleuropa tedesca-magiara-slava-romanza-ebraica, polemicamente contrapposta al Reich germanico. (28-29)

Precisely 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. It is very clear, however, that here we are not discussing actual rivers, or their physical aspect. On the contrary, Magris encourages us to speak of a symbolic geography. His characterization of these two rivers allows us to make a distinction between alternative versions of identity. In fact, this image of rivers is useful when trying to find other ways of discussing Hispanicity or Spanishness (*españolidad*), moving away from the "española" in the version portrayed by the Francoist Ministery of Information and Tourism: *Spain is different*, as Fraga Iribarne *dixit*. As is well known, slogans such as "*Spain is Different*" wanted to stress bullfights, beaches, and "fiestas" (Temma Kaplan 193). Accordingly I want to stay away from a notion of Hispanicity that is "carpetovetónico," identical, and stationary in character, and to offer as a substitute a more open notion, based on variety and abstractness.

In A Thousand Plateaus (1980), Deleuze and Guattari proposed a concept of alternative space, one which belongs to nomads, living on the fringes of an established –striated– society, a concept which may prove very useful in my discussion of rivers and maps. On the one hand we encounter the walled city-state, closed and with a well-regulated spatiality. The second –smooth– kind of space is that of the "bricoleur," the nomad's camp, built with materials at hand, an informal workplace without walls. Smooth space invites roaming, wandering between regions instead of going from place to place with specific starting and finishing points. Smooth space is without landmarks, or with landmarks that are too feeble to remain. Rather, trajectory itself becomes a landmark:

> The first aspect of the haptic, smooth space of close vision is that its orientations, landmarks, and linkages are in continuous variation; it operates step by step. Examples are the desert, steppe, ice, and sea, local spaces of pure connection. Contrary to what is sometimes said, one never sees from a distance in a space of this kind, nor does one see it from a distance; one is never "in front of," any more than one is "in" (one is "on"…). Orientations are not constant but change according to temporary vegetation, occupations, and precipitation. There is no visual model for points of reference that would make them interchangeable and unite them in an inertial class assignable to an immobile outside observer. (Deleuze and Guattari 493)

Against the well-defined striated space, these authors juxtaposed smooth space. This well-known distinction allowed the diffusion of key concepts such as deterritorialization, which derives from the spatial metaphor. It describes the condition of the "plane of consistency" or "smooth space." Its opposite –territorialization– describes the condition of "striated space." As proposed by these authors, striated space consists of lines between points; smooth space consists of points between lines. Striated space consists predominantly of closed intervals; smooth space of open intervals. Striated space closes off surfaces; smooth space consists of "distributed" surfaces (480-481). To better understand this use of space we could add Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad: the perceived, the conceived, and the lived (33-39). All the rivers as perceived by writers use as a starting point a spatial practice, that is, the production and reproduction of spatial relations between objects and products. The spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space.

Rivers can be related to this sense of space, as they have a dual condition of being at the same time smooth and striated. They define but at the same time are difficult to define. From a geographical perspective they set a very clear path, but likewise their content (meaning) is difficult to ascertain. They set landmarks and borders, but their significance is transferable. At the same time, rivers can be substitutes, through a synecdochical effect, for an entire country, and can connect points in their path (as in the quote from Magris), thus creating a new identity that goes beyond the limitations of political borders. In Lefebvre's terms

they are crucial for a definition of space. Subsequently when poet Josep Carner evokes a mythical and imaginary France through images of rain and rivers, in his sonnet "Plou" from *Cor quiet* (1925), he summarizes the map of France in a few names of rivers:

> Totes les bruixes d'aquest món perdut
> són en el cel bretó, que en desvaria;
> l'aigua bruny, delerosa, el punxegut
> capell dels cloquerets de Normandia.
>
> París regala deplorablement;
> es nega Niça d'aiguarells en doina.
> Milers d'esgarrifances d'un moment
> punyen Sena, Garona, Rin i Roine.
>
> L'aigua podreix els carrerons malalts;
> gargolen per cent becs les catedrals.
> La pluja a tot arreu, esbiaixant-se,
>
> veu solament alguna mà que es mou
> fregant un vidre de finestra. Plou
> a totes les estacions de França. (Carner 147)

Carner Poesies(en cursiva)

When this poem was written, rain had not only a meaning in climatic terms, but also had a "moral" meaning, as it was perceived to provide moments of recollection and reflection. This can also be perceived in a Eugeni d'Ors 1907 "glosa":

> Oh Pluja! Germana la Pluja, tu no n'ets responsable pas, de les inundacions. Ja hem quedat que la culpa era dels homes que no s'autocanalitzaven. –En canvi a n'a tu, quants beneficis te devem, els homes civils! […] Tu proporciones ocasió a què llegeixin llibres alguns homes que no llegirien llibres. […] Potser per a l'establiment definitiu de la nostra civilitat en convindria això: que plogués –no, tant com ploure, no, –que plovisquegés tres anys de carrera, aquí… Amb això ens estaríem a casa, aniríem als círcols, als salons, als teatres, però no a passejar. […] I després de tres anys ja començaríem a tenir dret, sense perill, al bon sol, i ja ens assemblaríem lo suficient a París per a començar a pensar en assemblar-nos a Atenes. (Ors 667-8)

The rivers in Carner's poem are clearly a substitute for the whole of France, but they are also a referent for civility, and, furthermore, a certain model of European civilization. This goal of refinement can be attained through reading and study, and in a rainy climate it is much easier not to be distracted by café life. In the sophisticated mental rewriting of European tradition performed by Catalan "noucentistes," Paris is, among other things, a passport to get to Greece, its classic culture an idealized version of the Mediterranean, a goal very dear to them ("ens assemblaríem lo suficient a París per a començar a pensar en assemblar-nos a Atenes"). Carner manages to draw a map of France based on parts of its geography: regions (Britanny and Normandy), cities (Paris and Nice), and the four main rivers (Seine, Garone, Rhine, and Rhône), creating a physical, yet imagined version of the whole country.

In a similar way but with different meaning, Federico García Lorca incorporates two of Granada's rivers in a poem, opposing them to the Guadalquivir, the main Andalusian river. In "Baladilla de los tres ríos" from *Poema del cante jondo* (1921; "Baladilla of the Three Rivers," from *Poem of the Andalusian Song*), we read contrasting versions of Andalusia:

> El río Guadalquivir
> va entre naranjos y olivos,
> los dos ríos de Granada
> bajan de la nieve al trigo.
>
> ¡Ay, amor
> que se fue y no vino!
>
> El río Guadalquivir
> tiene las barbas granates,
> los dos ríos de Granada
> uno llanto y otro sangre.
> […] (García Lorca 142)

Lorca indicates in this way how different the Guadalquivir River is from its tributaries, the Darro and the Genil. This is perceived

through different notions of vegetation, color, and sorrow, linked to these two rivers, which imply opposite places and states of mind, the planes –Guadalquivir– opposed to the steep descent from Sierra Nevada, as represented by the Darro and the Genil. Metonymically, both rivers are converted respectively into "llanto" and "sangre," two of the most recurrent words in Lorca's poetry and plays. Here we also recognize typical distinctions in Lorca's work: between dry land and the magical, onirical forest, individual freedom and moral constraints, wedding and blood, life and death. The two Granadine rivers are real, as they belong to the realm of geography, but they attain a symbolic status when they confront the Guadalquivir.

Alberto Caeiro, one of Fernando Pessoa's heteronyms, in a poem from *O Guardador de Rebanhos* (1911-12), "O Tejo é mais belo," compared through a paradox the powerful Tejo (Tajo) with the nameless minuscule river that crosses his small town:

> O Tejo é mais belo que o rio que corre pela minha aldeia,
> Mas o Tejo não é mais belo que o rio que corre pela minha aldeia
> Porque o Tejo não é o rio que corre pela minha aldeia.
> […]
> O Tejo desce de Espanha
> E o Tejo entra no mar em Portugal.
> Toda a gente sabe isso.
> Mas poucos sabem qual é o rio da minha aldeia
> E para onde ele vai
> E donde ele vem.
> E por isso porque pertence a menos gente,
> É mais livre e maior o rio da minha aldeia. (Caeiro 53-4)

This reductionism of sorts is useful in exalting small things, in a recreation of the *aurea mediocritas*, and thus allows the contrast of a lesser known and anonymous local river –which clearly is of immense intimate value to the poet– with a very well-known river of Iberian dimensions. In a way he is expressing a vindication of small things, meaning that identity is closer to anonymous intimate realities, the "terruño," or *petit pays*. The conclusion of the poem stresses this aspect of disparity between the cosmopolitan world and the little familiar corner:

> Pelo Tejo vai-se para o Mundo.
> Para além do Tejo há a América
> E a fortuna daqueles que a encontram.
> Ninguém nunca pensou no que há para além
> Do rio da minha aldeia. O rio da minha aldeia não faz pensar em nada.
> Quem está ao pé dele está só ao pé dele.

Here, the river Tajo has no association with grandeur or connections to other continents. It does not make you think about anything. The river only reminds you that you are there: "Quem está ao pé dele está só ao pé dele." Pessoa's consideration can be related to what Georges Perec wrote about space in *Espèce d'espaces* (1974). His is an idealistic perception of space as immutable, one that creates emotional linkage to points in somebody's life map. He imagines "stable, static, untouchable" places that serve as references for one's personal history. Together with the emblematic artifacts of one's life they comprise "the attic of [one's] childhood filled with unbroken memories" (122). But he realizes immediately that this is an impossible dream because of time's destruction, and that it creates a sense of doubt and a need for marking space. "Those sorts of places," he writes, "don't exist." For Perec, space is always in doubt and he feels the constant "need to demarcate it, designate it." It is never simply given to you, he writes; you must "conquer it"(122). But because these intimate spaces are part of some sort of personal photography collection, one cannot keep them, because they have been destroyed by time. Perec describes his spaces as "fragile"; time has "used them, destroyed them" and "nothing will ever again resemble what it was." He sees "yellowed photos torn around the edges" and he can no longer recognize them (122). That is why writing, as Perec concludes, is one of the few available protocols for saving lost space. He describes writing as a way "to try meticulously to retain something […] to snatch some snippets from the void that deepens, to leave some part, a groove, a trace, a mark or somekind of sign"(123). A postmodern version of Proust's need for remembrance, these words are a reminder of the fragility of the present, and the need to inscribe in our own intimate landscape a sense of property. It is also a vindication of an intimate reality without big names, those who be-

come recognizers. In this sense it is similar to Pessoa's claim that intimate space –a nameless river– provides a better understanding of one's intimate world, and is much more powerful from a representational point of view. In other words, he puts forward the strength of quasi-anonymity against the power of fame and name recognition.

In yet another poem, "Tresmares" by Gerardo Diego, the poet gives voice to a mountain peak in Cantabria and he converts it into a symbol and birthplace of a certain reductive conception of Iberia:

> Ni una gasa de niebla ni una lluvia
> o cellisca ni una dádiva de nieve
> ni un borbollar de fuentes candorosa
> dejo perderse. Madre soy de Iberia
> que incesante en mi seno nace y dura.
> A los tres mares que la ciñen, corren
> –distintas y purísimas– mis aguas.
> Al Ebro el Híjar, el Pisuerga al Duero
> y el Nansa se despeña. Tres destinos:
> Mediterráneo, Atlántico, Cantábrico.
> Y mi cúspide eterna, bendiciendo
> –vientos de Dios– España toda en torno.
> Prostérnate en mi altar si eres hispano.
> Si de otras tierras, mira, admira y calla. (Diego 419)

While rivers are like "sons," the mountain is an "altar" only for true believers of a very specific origin –"hispano"– and this altar must impose silence and respect on those visitors coming from other countries ("otras tierras"). Here we have shifted the paradigm, since the rivers have become, as was the case in Magris, an expression of identity. In fact, rivers in Diego's poem bestow a reductionist version of identity, where only the believers –"hispanos"– have the right to pray, to participate in an identity ceremony. The rest have to watch silently. This poem can be related to another one by Fray Luis de León, "Oda VII – Profecía del Tajo," in which the river itself admonishes King Rodrigo because of his love for Cava and his negligence towards the invading Moors. As a result the Tajo river speaks ("el río sacó fuera / el pecho, y le habló desta manera") and reprimands him for having lost Spain:

¡Ay! esa tu alegría
qué llantos acarrea, y esa hermosa,
que vio el sol en mal día,
a España ¡ay cuán llorosa!,
y al cetro de los Godos ¡cuán costosa!

Even in this case we cannot but notice the use of first person in a sort of prosopopoeia, but also the symbolic, rather historical sense of those lines. The river Tajo denounces a distressing event in Spanish history, a terrible stain in the country's honor. Following these lines, André Gide in his *Voyage au Congo* (1927) distinguishes in an almost ridiculing fashion between the Belgian and the French margins of the Congo River. This is proof of the absurdity of defining countries according to the colonizer's identity (Gide 35). We are in desperate need of establishing bridges, to better launch communication for everybody. In this way, without bridges, rivers only separate.

In her poem "Soledad," from *En las orillas del Sar* (1884), Rosalía de Castro manages to adapt the *locus amoenus* motif to synthesize spiritual values. Opposed to materialism and nature, she defends the heart ("corazón") as a space in which she can dwell:

Un manso río, una vereda estrecha,
un campo solitario y un pinar,
y el viejo puente rústico y sencillo
completando tan grata soledad.

¿Qué es soledad? Para llenar el mundo
basta a veces un solo pensamiento.
Por eso hoy, hartos de belleza, encuentras
el puente, el río y el pinar desiertos.

No son nube ni flor los que enamoran;
eres tú, corazón, triste o dichoso,
ya del dolor y del placer el árbitro,
quien seca el mar y hace habitable el polo. (Castro 81)

Here we recognize a refusal of external landscape and a retreat into inner life. Like Emily Dickinson, Castro prefers an intimate version

of nature, one that portrays states of mind, or can be used as a refuge from the world. Also, as in Pessoa's poem, here, too, we come upon a sense of intimacy. Against "puente," "río" and "pinar," metaphors for the external world of nature, the poet finds refuge in her heart ("corazón"), which dries up the sea and makes the pole livable.

Rivers were also present in other definitions of Hispanic identity and they refer to a nearly forgotten chapter in the history of the Franco regime, which includes concentration camps, called with a sinister euphemism "Servicio de Colonias Penitenciarias Militarizadas" (Department of Militarized Penal Colonies). This "service" was responsible for centralizing the Franco regime's use of political prisoners as forced laborers or slaves. Concentration camps had an unintended side effect, as they facilitated the installation of prisoners' families in their vicinity, and thus the spontaneous creation of new towns such as El Palmar de Troya, Dos Hermanas, Los Palacios, or two neighborhoods in Seville, Torreblanca and Bellavista. One of the project's most important effects was the Canal del Bajo Guadalquivir, the so-called Canal de los presos, or "Prisoner's Channel."[3] Interestingly enough this historical fact may be useful to demonstrate the way in which the identity between waterway and people has completely converged to become one and the same identity. In this particular case, each defines the other to the point that they are inseparable: it's not just *a* canal, it is *their* canal, and they are not simply prisoners, they are the prisoners whose purpose –and very existence– depended on and *became* the canal. Their history and memory are preserved by this waterway.

This brief overview of the many literary examples –in which the metaphor of the river expresses transformation as well as national identity– would not be complete without mentioning the first stanza of the *Deutschlandlied* (Song of the Germans), which was excluded

3. According to Isaías Lafuente political prisoners were responsible for building huge reservoirs such as the ones in Ebro, Benagéver, Entrepeñas, Pálmaces, Mediano, Riosequillo, Revenga, Barasona, Mansilla de la Sierra, González Lacasa, El Cenajo, Torre del Águila, Barrios de Luna, Yesa, San Esteban and Linares, la Real Acequia del Jarama; and also canals in Bajo del Guadalquivir, Bajo del Alberche, Montijo, Jarama, Bárdenas, Monegros, Toro-Zamora, Bierzo, Badarán, and Linares del Arroyo (Lafuente ~~2002).~~ (Lafuente).

from the National Anthem after the Second World War, because of its possible negative allusions to the "Dritte Reich." In the first stanza of that song, rivers were used again to define identity and borders. After the infamous "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles," they used to sing: "Von der Maas bis an die Memel, / Von der Etsch bis an den Belt" (From the river Mosel to the Niemen, / From the river Etsch to the Belt") (Hoffmann von Fallersleben 274). That is, the four rivers that circled old Prussia, and which used to encapsulate a sense of German identity. Furthermore, in this case the river motif is a public expression of identity, nationalism, and solidarity, and the river/people definition is consecrated through national discourse, which is circulated, shared, and uttered by all members of the community.

This set of examples provides us with a possible classification of rivers, which may be useful in my discussion of Hispanism. Going back to Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad (the perceived, the conceived, and the lived), they all use as a starting point a spatial practice, that is, the production and reproduction of spatial relations between objects and products. The spatial practice of a society creates that society's space. In the poems we've examined, spatial practice is introduced by the geographical idea of a river and a particular name associated to it, both physically and conceptually. Such handling by the poet introduces two possibilities. In some cases (Carner, García Lorca, Diego), we come across a representation of space that identifies what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived. A second tendency is the one in which the river serves as representational space (Pessoa, Castro). This kind of space refers to spaces "lived" directly "through its associated images and symbols and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'…" (Lefebvre 39). These are the lived experiences that emerge as a result of the dialectical relation between spatial practice and representation of spaces.[4] All the rivers evoked here bestow a sense of identity. Some are transformed into a symbol of the national and political, aesthetic and vital dilem-

4. Of course all three spaces are interconnected, as was demonstrated by Edward Soja in *Thirdspace*, with his "trialectis of spatiality," where the spatial and temporal are joined by the social (Soja 21).

mas, whereas yet others become an expression of vital obsessions related to intimacy, where name or location is not important. If we go back to the distinction offered by Deleuze and Guattari, the first group is a good example of striated river; in the second one we locate smooth versions of a river.

Reading Maps

A second possibility of reading in smooth or striated ways is provided by maps. As stated by Louis Marin, maps are "the inscription of an essence in the visible" (qtd. in Jacob 30). Therefore, just as rivers may come to symbolize two models of expressing the complexity of national identity, maps can be seen as metaphors for smooth or striated spaces, representing national consciousness. The idea of the map as a cultural construct is further amplified in a seminal book by Benedict Anderson. When discussing his understanding of "Imagined Communities" from an anthropological point of view, he proposed a definition of nation in these terms: "it is an imagined political community –and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (6). He added that it is imagined because it is impossible that all inhabitants know each other. All nations are limited, because they have finite boundaries, bordering other nations, and none (except for a few radical religions, Christians, Muslims, Communists, among others) can become a nation of planet-wide dimensions. A nation is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an era when Enlightenment and Revolutions were destroying the "Ancien Régime," which was based upon divinely ordained and dynastical principles. It is also imagined from an egalitarian perspective because, as Anderson puts it, "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (7). "Nationhood" calls for many ironic situations, almost surrealistic, depending on who (what community) formulates the concept or definition of a given territory: Spanish or British Gibraltar, as opposed to Spanish or Moroccan Ceuta and Melilla; Val d'Aran and Vall d'Aran; Puerto Rico

as "Estado Libre Asociado," literally "Associated Free State of Puerto Rico" with its grab bag of misunderstandings, or "independent Puerto Rico," etc.

According to Anderson, colonial rulers created three institutions of power, which were influential in nurturing a sense of nationhood among previously loosely interconnected areas: the census, the map, and the museum. The map had two purposes. On the one hand, historical maps, conceived as a series of pictures "designated to demonstrate, in the new cartographic discourse, the antiquity of specific, tightly bounded territorial units" (174-5). This sequence of maps would arrange a narrative of the space, with vast historical depth. On the other hand, maps became a sort of "logo," almost a piece of an immense imperial jigsaw in which each piece could be detached from its context, thus entering "an infinitely reproducible series, available for transfer to posters, official seals, letterheads, magazine and textbook covers, tablecloth, and hotel walls" (175).

I would like to explore different possibilities of map reading, which can be traced to Anderson's proposal. The map of Spain has been read in many contradictory ways. One cannot help but think about the clashing meanings of Spain's supposed resemblance to a bull's hide: "la piel de toro," the base for Salvador Espriu's 1960 rendition of "la pell de brau," in an influential poetry book, which became a symbol of freedom and reconciliation in 1960 (Walters 126). As we can see in the series of maps in the Appendix, it is obvious that there has been a shifting perception according to what maps intend to represent. *Map 1* depicts Roman Hispania, divided into three provinces at the time of the Principate: Baetica, Lusitania, and Tarraconensis. The division of the territory is extremely different from the one portrayed in subsequent periods, as can be seen in *Maps 2* and *3*, where we observe a strong division between Christian and Musulman Kingdoms, showing how the Iberian Peninsula after Roman occupation had become the battleground in a religious war that would last for eight centuries. *Map 4* is drawn one hundred years before the end of the so-called "Reconquest." In this map the emphasis is not only on the division between Christian and Muslim kingdoms, but also on the presence of an Aragonese-Catalan empire in the Mediter-

ranean. *Map 5* portrays Spain at the time of Charles the Fifth, with much emphasis on expansion in Europe and Northern Africa. These four maps are schoolbook versions of a well-known narrative of reconquest, growth, and unification. This is a narrative, which stresses the existence of foreign and internal enemies, with a hidden problematization of unity.

The unity issue becomes central in *Map 6*, an 1854 map that makes a clear distinction between four different Spains:

1. Castile and Andalusia: "España Uniforme ó Puramente Constitucional que comprende estas treinta y cuatro Provincias de las coronas de Castilla y León, iguales en todos los ramos económicos, judiciales, militares y civiles."
2. Kingdom of Navarre including the Basque Country: "España foral."
3. Crown of Aragon: "España Incorporada ó Asimilada que comprende las once provincias de la Corona de Aragón, todavía diferentes en el modo de contribuir y en algunos puntos del derecho privado."
4. Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippine Islands: "España colonial."

This Political map of Spain was drawn in shortly after the First Carlist War, and represents the frontiers according to tax, legal system, and the military situation (Torres Villegas 1857). In this particular case, we realize how important map inscriptions are, proving right that maps' modes of inscription and graphic choices are as fundamental as the content of the textual fragments they use: "Texts organize a space of legibility that constantly interferes with the vision of the map's forms" (Jacob 9). What is remarkable about this map is that read one hundred and fifty years after it was drawn, it still accurately portrays a current political conception of the Iberian Peninsula, particularly of Spain, stressing the unresolved issue of regional and national differentiation.

In another case we confront head-on the thorny issue of linguistic difference. What is disquieting about *Map 7* is the fact that it was published in the 1923 edition of *Enciclopedia Espasa* (vol. 21: 416-417). Even though the text about languages in that volume was supposedly

written by eminent linguist Ramón Menéndez Pidal, the accompanying map is full of far-fetched inaccuracies such as the presentation of a linguistic reality that has been static for more than thirteen centuries, and with inscriptions that lead the reader to believe that there is such a thing as "dialectos baleáricos," or a "dialecto valenciano," ancillaries of a "castellano." There is a supra-linguistic identity shaped by this "Lengua española," which includes Galician-Portuguese, Basque, and Catalan. Furthermore, there is a suspicious coincidence between linguistic borders and those of main political regions of the time: Andalusia, Aragon, Asturias, Catalonia, Galicia, Leon, and Murcia (Burgueño 173-4).

The last two maps present a contemporary view of the Peninsula. *Map 8* shows the result of the 2008 general elections of the Spanish Parliament. The use of blue and red coloring codes is a reminder of the division of Spain at the Civil War's outset, and an echo of the US system of coloring political maps. *Map 9* is a Meteosat-type image of the Iberian Peninsula. The absence of signs alluding to frontiers, and coloring referring to political divisions, allows the reader to focus on much more meaningful issues, such as the peninsula's situation vis-à-vis Africa, or the significant impact of global warming, with a crystal clear difference between north and south, that is, between desert zones and humid ones, and also the physical, topographical, geological characteristics of the country in general.

After reviewing these examples of map reading, we realize that we have different possibilities: from the glacial look, allegedly scientific, of sociology, to the manipulations of reality as seen in historical and linguistic maps. This kind of map reading can be traced to Plutarch. When he wrote about the election of the couple Theseus and Romulus, he justified his historical decision to go beyond real facts in geographic terms, making the point that, in the same way, Sosius had added notes on the margins of maps, referring to areas full of "sandy deserts full of wild beasts, unapproachable bogs, Scythian ice, or a frozen sea." The reality depicted in those maps was discredited, or rather, accepted at another level: "I might very well say of those [legendary periods] that are farther off: 'Beyond this there is nothing but prodigies and fictions, the only inhabitants are the poets and inventors of

fables; there is no credit, or certainty any farther'" (Plutarch 1). Likewise, many political maps can be read as pure speculation, created by "inventors of fables," or national narratives. This is so because, as Christian Jacob puts it, "[b]etween the map and its referent stands an array of complex relationships of substitution, creation, and intellectual conjecture" (100).

The reading of political maps as fiction is further corroborated by Polish journalist and writer Ryszard Kapuściński, who in his startling book *Imperium* (1993) offered a daunting evaluation of the Soviet Empire, which, unfortunately, can be applied to many others. In that book he reminds us of the absurdity of borders:

> At the approach to every border, tension rises within us; emotions heighten. People are not made to live in borderline situations; they avoid them or try to flee from them as quickly as possible. And yet man encounters them everywhere, sees and feels them everywhere. Let us take the atlas of the world: it is all borders. Borders of oceans and continents. Deserts and forests. […] And the borders of monarchies and republics? Kingdoms remote in time and lost civilizations? Pacts, treaties, and alliances? […] How many victims, how much blood and suffering, are connected with this business of borders! There is no end to the cemeteries of those who have been killed the world over in the defense of borders. Equally boundless are the cemeteries of the audacious who attempted to expand their borders. It is safe to assume that half of those who have ever walked upon our planet and lost their lives in the field of glory gave up the ghost in battles begun over a question of borders. (19-20)

Kapuściński speaks about the absurdity of superimposing geography and politics, and also, from a much more tragic perspective, about violence among human beings goaded by this phenomenon. That is why he concludes: "And our brains? Encoded in them, after all, is an infinite diversity of borders" (20). He was writing in the nineties, from the other side of the light, at the end of the tunnel, and he was uncovering a daunting chronicle of the Soviet "Gulag," a communist version of the German "Lager" and Spanish "campos de trabajos forzados." Kapuściński's condemnation brings into the picture another hidden map of Europe, one that refers to unhappiness and shame, the one depicted by concentration camps.

In this perspective, it is worth mentioning the case of Franz Tunda, the main character in Joseph Roth's novel *Die Flucht ohne Ende* (*Flight without End*). Tunda is an officer in the Austrian Army, and after having been taken prisoner by the Russians in World War I, he survives the Russian Revolution under a false name. He decides to go back to his homeland, but it has disappeared. He has become a man without land. Europe is under a new order, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire has all but disappeared. He decides to go looking for his former fiancée in Berlin and Paris. This second flight allows him to find himself, and particularly to discover a new European spirit. He has become a man without a country, a map, or identity: "Jetzt aber war Franz Tunda ein junger Mann ohne Namen, ohne Bedeutung, ohne Rang, ohne Titel, ohne Geld und ohne Beruf, heitmatlos und rechtlos" ("Franz Tunda was a young man without a name, without importance, without rank, without title, without money, and without occupation –homeless and stateless") (322). A similar case is the actual one lived by Claudio Magris. He lost his Trieste, which once belonged to *Mitteleuropa*, and which was taken away, first to become a city in Yugoslavia, and later, after World War II, to be reincorporated into Italy. These are examples of movements on the map, which illustrate the creation of new identities, yet without moving from one's own place, in the way that a river remains the same, though its waters may change.

Discussing the situation of the Armenian people, Kapuściński explained the country's tragic destiny because of its specific geographical position on the map:

> The map, looked at from the south of Asia, explains the tragedy of the Armenians. Fate could not have placed their country in a more unfortunate spot. In the south of the Highland it borders upon two of the past's most formidable powers –Persia and Turkey–. Let's add to that the Arabian Caliphate. And even Byzantium. Four political colossi, ambitious, extremely expansionist, fanatical, voracious. And now –what does the ruler of each of these four powers see when he looks at the map? He sees that if he takes Armenia, then his empire will be enclosed by an ideal natural border to the north. Because from the north the Armenian Highland is magnificently protected, guarded

> by two seas (the Black Sea and the Caspian) and by the gigantic barrier of the Caucasus. And the north is dangerous for Persia and for Turkey, for the Arabs and Byzantium. Because in those days from the north an unsubdued Mongolian fury loomed. (47-48)

The case of Armenia provides us with superb and dreadful examples of maps and borders created and used by insatiable human greed, at the service of controlling the Other. In this case the map is used as a planning tool for wars of invasion, for domination of close-by territory with military purposes. It reminds us vividly of some meanings of Iberian Peninsula maps discussed earlier. In fact, those maps are a very graphic way of representing disparate models of identity, which have been an unvarying issue in Spain from the beginning of Modernity. At the onset of the Nineteenth Century there were violent clashes between the different ways of organizing political life in Spain, from Cádiz to the "Gloriosa," all the way to the Second Republic. Through that century many voices paid attention to the need for defending a co-existence between a variety of cultures and histories, of rivers and maps. Some versions of Romanticism did much to vindicate forms of diversity. Other versions provoked a fundamentalist governmental theory of the state, which has been the prevailing one.

I mentioned at the beginning a Francoist tourist slogan, "Spain is different." Now, looking at it again, from another perspective such as the one discussed here, that slogan may not be just another Francoist euphemism like the villainous inscription "Una, grande y libre," [One, big, and free] in which only the first adjective was true. Reading rivers and maps in smooth –not striated– terms presents us with another way of being "different." A possible utopist solution to the maladies of Hispanic identity can be found in Comparative Literature, which can help to establish bridges between cultures. This would be a way of dealing with complexity, similar to the one defended by Guillén, "como movimiento y oscilación continuos entre conceptos-límite, como encuentro de propensiones y fuerzas polares" (426). Another Comparatist, Antonio Monegal, argues that Hispanism needs "models that are no longer based on the concept of the nation, but on the more complex concept of culture." He proposes maps that are

not based on national boundaries that separate "the inside from the outside," but maps that instead acknowledge "the fluctuation of such positions, their character as cultural constructs, simultaneously inside and outside." For Monegal and others, Hispanic Studies, in order to progress, must consider the impact of "cultural research" with roots in the "theory of difference." Even the name Spain presents a problem for him because to understand "what such a name signifies," he writes, "it is necessary to begin by not thinking of Spain as the place of identity but of a difference" (Monegal 24).

The rivers and maps of Europe remind us of so many fights, of so much destruction that has taken place because of the colors of a flag, the names of a piece of land, the sounds of words uttered in a post-Babel world. Set against rivers, which produce identity, or maps, which become symbols, we should be able to read literature as a river and a map, with innovative meanings. We can strive for an idea of smooth identity, not a striated one, following Foucault's call for a society with many heterotopias, as a space for the affirmation of difference, and also as a means of flight from authoritarianism and repression.[5] We need to draw rivers and read maps of another kind, which may allow us to invent a tradition, imagine a community not curtailed by the limitations of lands and borders, of intellectual closeness and repression, but one open to dialogue and diversity, to multiculturalism and multilingualism. Rivers are regional delimiters for geographical, cultural, linguistic, and political reasons. They should not become dividers, but catalysts for establishing bridges. As expressed in anthropology, "in its empirical moments [space] has long acted as a sort of 'clearing' for thinking about the inescapable and troubling spatialisation of human individual and collective experience" (Osborne and Rose 225). A new Iberian Comparatism focused on issues of inclusion and difference, non-hierarchical approaches, and an emphasis on multilinguism would do much to lead Europe on a path towards in-

5. "L'hétérotopie a le pouvoir de juxtaposer en un seul lieu réel plusieurs espaces, plusieurs emplacements qui sont en eux-mêmes incompatibles" (Foucault 48).

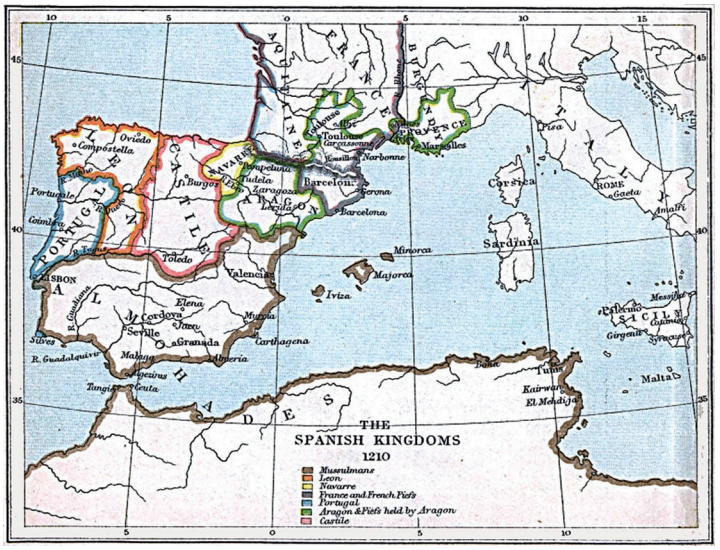
clusiveness and respect for the Other.[6] This Comparatism would profit much from such a "smooth" heterotopic perspective, where rivers and maps signal an open way of reading, one based on dialogue, not rigid, exclusionary identity.

6. Douwe Fokkema previously made a call of this kind in an early article. See Fokkema 1982.

Appendix

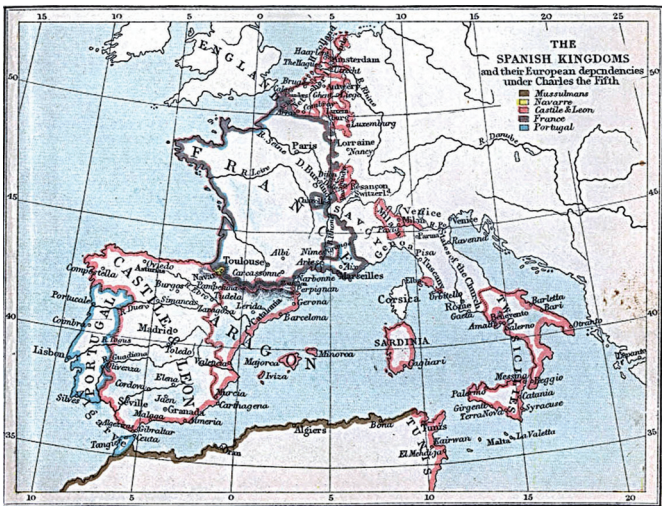
Map 1. Roman Hispania around 100 AD, divided into three provinces at the time of the Principate: Baetica, Lusitania, and Tarraconensis. http://www.mapa-politico.com/europa/espana-es.html.

Map 2. The Iberian Kingdoms in the year 1030, at the beginning of the "reconquest." http://www.mapas-espana.com/Mapa_Historico_Reinos_Espanoles_1030.htm.

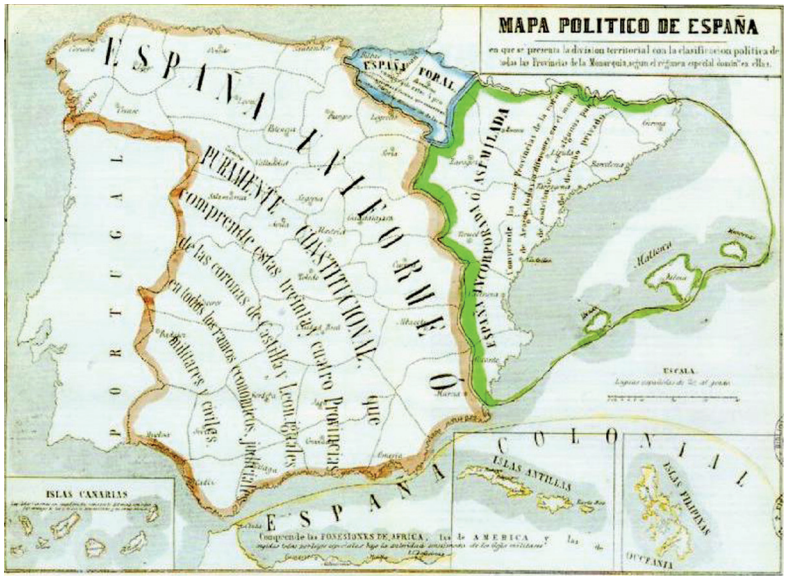


Map 3. The Iberian Kingdoms in the year 1210, midway through the "reconquest" wars. http://www.mapas-espana.com/Mapa_Historico_Reinos_Espanoles_1210.htm.

Map 4. The Iberian Kingdoms in the year 1360 by the end of the "reconquest" wars. Granada is the only remaining "non Christian" territory. http://www.mapas-espana.com/Mapa_Historico_Reinos_Espanoles_1360.htm.

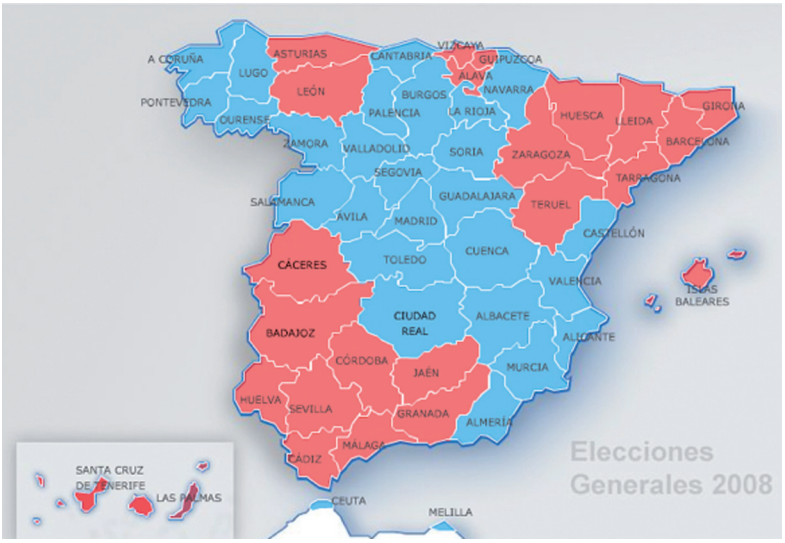


Map 5. The Iberian Kingdoms and their European controlled territories under Charles the Fifth (c 1550). http://www.mapas-espana.com/Mapa_Historico_Reinos_Espanoles_Posesiones_Europeas_Carlos_V_1519-1556.htm.



MAP 6. Political map of Spain in 1854, drawn shortly after the First Carlist War, representing the frontiers according to tax, legal system, and the military situation. http://www.mapas-espana.com/Mapa_Historico_Politico_Espana_1854.htm.

MAP 7. Distribution of "Spanish languages" from 711 to the present according to Enciclopedia Espasa (1923). www.ieg.csic.es/Age/boletin/34/3413.pdf



Map 8. Election results of the 2008 general elections to the Spanish Parliament (Red = Socialist Party; Blue = Partido Popular). http://www.lavanguardia.es/elecciones2008/mapaespanya/index.html.

Map 9. Satellite view of the Iberian Peninsula. http://www.mapas-espana.com/Mapas_Espana.htm.

3. Borders in the City: Rewriting Walls

Borders and the City

As we have seen, cities are characterized by juxtaposing layers of history and ethnicity, thus encouraging collisions of time and space, and allowing for the phenomena of hybridization and the dynamic mixing of discourses. A city is a place with many layers, which can be read in terms of borders. This approach helps us redefine the concept itself. It is difficult to reduce borders to a basic definition. A border is a strip of territory located between international boundaries. The boundary in turn refers to a region or strip, while the limitations it creates are linked to an imaginary conception. There are different types of boundaries: cultural, economic, social, natural. A battlefield, a river, a mountain range, the infamous *Checkpoint* Charlie, all define separations. A border is related to both separation and its opposite: a bridge, or the idea of rapprochement. Crossing a border can have a political meaning and a transgressive one: go into exile, changing religious environment, or fleeing a political regime. The border is thus twofold: physical and symbolic, it relates to space and to identity.

The most common concept of a border is a dotted line on a map, one that separates two sovereign states, regions, or counties. But bor-

ders also play a crucial role in the simultaneous perception of social and political identity, and Otherness. In nineteenth-century Argentinian literature, the *pampas* space was a mythical separation between barbarism and civilization. In this space, there was a stark opposition between *gauchos* and native inhabitants, which can be perceived as an ontological opposition between cities and the desert. As is well known, barbarism and civilization are two antinomian issues essential in Roman civilization, as Greek poet Cavafy reminded us in his remarkable poem "Waiting for the Barbarians"; Coetzee later re-examines these issues in his homonymous novel, *Waiting for the Barbarians*. The fall of Rome illustrates this opposition. The border plays a dual role in literature, because it opens the doors of imagination, while it is also a means of limiting or determining the text, or, conversely, abolishing the limits of imagination.

Predrag Matvejevic has proposed a new architecture of boundaries, one that should be defined in different ways, not by aggression, defense, or separation, but attending to notions such as permeability, accessibility, and permissiveness, fragility, "customs" (*doganalità*) and "controllability" (*custodialità*). An excellent example would be what Tacitus wrote in his introduction to his book on Germany:

> Germania omnis a Gallis Raetisque et Pannoniis Rheno et Danuvio fluminibus, a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur: cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum inmensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit.
>
> Publius Cornelius Tacitus, *De origine et situ Germanorum (Germania)* XCVIII.
>
> (Germany is separated from the Galli, the Rhæti, and Pannonii, by the rivers Rhine and Danube; mountain ranges, or the fear that each feels for the other, divide it from the Sarmatæ and Daci. Elsewhere ocean girds it, embracing broad peninsulas and islands of unexplored extent, where certain tribes and kingdoms are newly known to us, revealed by war.)

This idea of fear expressed by Tacitus takes the concept of borders beyond sheer geography or physical traits, making us aware that it is much more important than mere orographic accidents.

Nation states have always worked to defend and promote a concept that gives borders a very aggressive meaning, such as being used as a weapon within the formidable propaganda machine. There are many examples of such geographical-cultural propaganda, ranging from Goebbels in Nazi Germany, the current American Tea Party, the PP-PSOE alliance defending Spain's sacrosanct unity, or Padania's imaginary Italian region according to the Lega Nord political party. Borders are strengthened through the collective imagination of schools, national ceremonies, books, and songs. The propaganda takes many forms, such as images (maps and postcards), stories (travel guides), representations in collective commemorations (military parades), drama (games, songs), and become a way to emphasize the dichotomy of Identity/Alterity (Velasco-Graciet).

From a contemporary perspective, Étienne Balibar helps us to push even further with the debate on how to reconfigure (redefine) the meaning of borders and what their role should be in modern times. This philosopher often suggests borders no longer divide territory, but they can be located anywhere that there is a selective control of the population. It is a term that is undergoing a profound transformation:

> The borders of new sociopolitical entities, in which an attempt is being made to preserve all the functions of the sovereignty of the state, are no longer entirely situated at the outer limit of territories; they are dispersed a little everywhere, wherever the movement of information, people, and things is happening and is controlled –for example, in cosmopolitan cities. (1)

Balibar also includes that it is in the so-called peripheral areas, where secular and religious cultures confront each other, that differences in economic prosperity are more acute and obvious. Peripheral areas are the melting pot for the formation of a group of people (*demos*) without which there is no citizenship (*politeia*) (as identified since antiquity in the democratic tradition). It is in this sense that the border-zone areas, countries, and cities are not marginalized in the constitution of a public sphere, but are in the middle. So concludes Balibar: "If Europe is for us first of all the name of an unresolved political

problem, Greece is one of its centers, not because of the mythical origins of our civilization, symbolized by the Acropolis of Athens, but because of the current problems concentrated there" (2).

The concept of borders is also present in the configuration of North American cities. A society based on the "frontier culture," in recent years it has revived this culture and applied it, not to the wild West, but to eastern cities. Neil Smith proposed this assessment, whereby during the latter part of the twentieth century the imagery of wilderness and frontier has been applied less to the plains, mountains, and forests of the West –now handsomely civilized– and more to US cities back East. As part of the experience of postwar suburbanization, the typical US city came to be seen as an "urban wilderness"; it was, and for many still is, the habitat of disease and disorder, crime and corruption, drugs and danger. Indeed these were the central fears expressed throughout the 1950s and 1960s by urban theorists who focused on "blight" and "decline," "social malaise" in the inner city, the "pathology" of urban life –in short, the "unheavenly city." The city was rendered a wilderness, or worse, a "jungle." More vividly even than in the news media or social science narratives, this became the theme of a whole genre of Hollywood "urban jungle" movies, from *King Kong* and *West Side Story* to *The Warriors* and *Fort Apache, the Bronx.* This "discourse of decline," dominated the treatment of the city. According to Neil Smith, "Antiurbanism has been a central theme in US culture. In a pattern analogous to the original experience of wilderness, the last three decades have seen a shift from fear to romanticism and a progression of urban imagery from wilderness to frontier" (XV). Patricia Nelson Limerick senses the latter-day urban reappropriation of the frontier motif in her assesment of Hollywood histories of the West:

> If Hollywood wanted to capture the emotional center of western history, its movies would be about real estate. John Wayne would have been neither a gunfighter nor a sheriff, but a surveyor, speculator or claims lawyer. The showdowns would appear in the land office or the courtroom; weapons would be deeds and lawsuits, not six-guns. (qtd. in Smith XVII)

W (capitalized)

Marc Augé has recently proposed an idea of border based on a time dimension. Scientific knowledge is always looking towards the future, "déplace les frontières de l'inconnu" (Augé *Pour une anthopologie* 16). Borders do not disappear, they are redesigned. Because we look for new frontiers: "La frontier, en ce sens, a toujours une dimension temporelle, c'est la forme de l'avenir et, peut-être, de l'espoir" (16). Thus cities have always had a time dimension, as "figure spatiale du temps où se conjuguent présent, passé et future" (75). Borders and cities are much more intertwined than we suspect. We desperately need to re-examine the concept of the historical urban border.

frontière

What I propose in this chapter is a discussion of boundaries in urban areas. I speak of boundaries that obviously have little to do with those between states (except in the case of a city-state). They are closer to the perception and definition of urban space in terms of a series of oppositions: center-periphery, rural-urban, high-low, rich-poor. I want to closely inspect border concepts (as indicated at the beginning) in terms of their physical and spatial, symbolic or identity, meanings.

Let's start with two examples that can be related to what I discussed in a previous chapter, Walter Benjamin's comment on getting lost in the city: "to lose oneself in a city –as one loses oneself in a forest– that calls for quite a different schooling. Then, signboard and street names, passers-by, roofs, kiosks, or bars must speak to the wanderer like a cracking twig under his feet in the forest" (*Reflections* 8-9). This is a way of reading the city, something recognizable from a comment by Ernst Jünger in his 1941 Paris diary. In *Strahlungen* we read the reaction of somebody who is in a well-known city, but one disguised by war, a foreign military intervention, which clouds the familiar:

> Today, Sunday, uninterrupted rain. Twice the Madeleine, which steps were spotted by the green leaves of boxwood: noon and evening Prunier. I moved to the city as in a garden once familiar, now lies fallow, but in which, however, I recognize the streets and paths. Strange is the state of preservation, in a certain way Hellenistic, which helps with the supervision esoteric arts. Nasty white tables that the army has sown throughout the city to designate the streets almost a sort of ancient engravings made on an organism. (20)

Here we see how the memory of Paris from an earlier and obviously happier time is super-imposed on the present, stained by military details, which make the city of Paris look as though it were in the Russian steppe. This indicates the effect the invasion had on the superficial details of the city.

The invasion of modernity was visible in Madrid's rapidly expanding new high-rise buildings, which upset Corpus Barga in his 1926 articles, "De turista en Madrid." He expressed his surprise at the disappearance of *castizos* features while the city was being "invaded" by cars and large concrete buildings:

> Pasan los automóviles militares. Madrid hoy es un campo de batalla: por todas partes hay barricadas, obras, derribos. […] Los automóviles de Madrid son europeos. Las bocinas son de Jericó. A su ruido nada se resiste. ¿Qué fue del pregón armonioso que se desperezaba en la silenciosa calle? […] La línea es la Gran Vía. Los cementos invasores han llegado al centro. Los ladrillos se defienden, paso a paso, mordiéndoles los pies a los grandes edificios de cemento. Las casas, tan madrileñas, de ladrillo son el pueblo menudo. El Dos de Mayo se repite. (Corpus Barga 61)[1]

This statement alone is very conclusive. However, it reads the world in military terms and remembers key dates in the history of resistance to an invader –May 2 1808–. It makes us think of a recent discussion by Zygmunt Bauman, who also uses military terms to refer to social divisions and the presence of fear and distrust in contemporary cities. In his opinion:

> Contemporary cities are the battlegrounds on which global powers and stubbornly local meanings and identities meet, clash, struggle and seek a satisfactory, or just bearable, settlement –a mode of cohabitation that is hoped to be a lasting peace but as a rule proves to be but an armistice, an interval to repair the broken defenses and re-deploy the fighting units. It is that confron-

1. On the Gran Vía's transformation in the 1920s Baker's 2009 volume is mandatory reading, particularly the essays by Muñoz Millanes and Fernández Cifuentes.

> tation, and not any single factor, that sets in motion and guides the dynamics of the 'liquid modern' city. (21)

These examples interpret the meaning of urban space in terms of border separation, and the authors are lost in a physical place that is well known to them. Jünger refers to the military occupation of a space and its transformation, which makes it difficult to "read" it, while Corpus Barga criticizes with hyperbolic emphasis the modernization of his city, which he does not recognize anymore.

Cross and Circle

According to Ana M. Manzanas, early Egyptian pictograms used to designate the city with a cross inside a circle (Soja 62). The cross signified the convergence of roads and opposites as well as the two chief principles of life and fertility: a vertical male symbol and horizontal feminine one. A circle represented the wall, the interior space where citizens are coherent, where solidarity is a value, and that is different from the exterior space where they needed protection (Lehan 13). A similar dialectic relationship arises in the domestic sphere from the opposition between Hestia (or Vesta in Rome) and Hermes. Hestia, according to Marc Augé, represents "the circular hearth placed in the center of the house, the closed space of the group withdrawn into itself." Hermes, as god of the threshold and the door, of crossroads and town gates, "represents movement and relations with others" (Augé *Non Lieux* 58). In a similar way to the house, the city is the site of two contradictory drives, or the conjunction, intersection and the mixing of directions implied in the cross and countering wall, which protects against difference and the outside dangers. Walls are a kind of structure that establishes an opposition between "inhabited territory and the unknown and indeterminate space that surrounds it" (Eliade 29-30). The first one stands as "the world" and everything exterior becomes the "other world," or no-world; thus dividing cosmos from chaos (Eliade 29-30).

Is it possible to communicate or mix both worlds in categories that define interior and exterior, home and foreign? Critics Deleuze and

Guattari answered this question in their well-known essay *A Thousand Plateaus*. When speaking of space they simultaneously refer to a physical space, a way of living and, ultimately, a way of being. They defined space with two systems: one that is State-oriented and static, the other nomadic and fluid. From this idea stems the distinction between smooth and striated space. Smooth space is space that is not pre-encoded, where the journey is what matters, and not the points that define along the way. Any movement transitions from one point to another, and the smooth space is the space between, what is "between." In contrast, striated space corresponds to the two points that generate a closing, which is made a priori by someone other than whoever occupies the space at that point. This point coincides with the distinctions they draw between the nomadic and the sedentary, between the space of the war machine and the space of the state apparatus. While Deleuze and Guattari consider these two spaces to differ fundamentally in nature, they also believe that the two spaces in fact exist only in cohesion. Smooth space belongs to the nomad, it is a space that stands in opposition to the striated space of the state and that is characterized by a form of free flowing occupation (the nomad creates territory by "distributing himself in open space") that overcodes the forces of institutionalizations. Smooth space, the desert and the steppe, is a space free from codifications, while what determines behavior is a metaphorical allusion to the types of occupation, which resist the social restrictions the city places upon us. A striated space is marked by city streets and numbers. Paths have the opposite inclination: they tend to be subordinated to the points, "going from one point to another" (Deleuze Guattari 484).

In Juan Marsé's novel, *Últimas tardes con Teresa,* these concepts are extremely useful because they help us define the two cities, and the ways of using them, that embody the novel's core opposition between main characters Teresa and Pijoaparte. Pijoaparte's space is smooth and without control or organization; he lives in suburban undefined spaces, a shantytown, a space without defined borders: "El Monte Carmelo es una colina desnuda y árida situada al noroeste de la ciudad." In a long paragraph in the same chapter we read:

> El barrio está habitado por gentes de trato fácil, una ensalada picante de varias regiones del país, especialmente del Sur. A veces puede verse sentado en la escalera de la ermita, o paseando por el descampado su nostalgia rural, con las manos en la espalda, a un viejo con americana de patén gris, camisa de rayadillo con tirilla abrochada bajo la nuez y sombrero negro de ala ancha. Hay dos etapas en la vida de este hombre: aquella en que antes de salir al campo necesitaba pensar, y ésta de ahora, en que sale al campo para no pensar. Y son los mismos pensamientos, la misma impaciencia de entonces la que invade hoy los gestos y las miradas de los jóvenes del Carmelo al contemplar la ciudad desde lo alto, y en consecuencia los mismos sueños, no nacidos aquí, sino que ya viajaron con ellos, o en la entraña de sus padres emigrantes. Impaciencias y sueños que todas las madrugadas se deslizan de nuevo ladera abajo, rodando por encima de las azoteas de la ciudad que se despereza, hacia las luces y los edificios que emergen entre nieblas. Indolentes ojos negros todavía no vencidos, con los párpados entornados, recelosos, consideran con desconfianza el inmenso lecho de brumas azulinas y las luces que diariamente prometen, vistas desde arriba, una acogida vagamente nupcial, una sensación realmente física de unión con la esperanza. (14)

The old man attitude exemplifies a way of looking at the city –impatience and dreams– not as something well defined and organized, but as something that is an aspiration. Opposite to this smooth space, we discover Teresa's space, a bourgeois world, a striated space, organized, limited, marked by control, one that she tries unsuccessfully to unravel, eventually puting both worlds in contact.

The rigidity of striated space creates a sort of wall or division, and pushes an apparent indivisibility. But this is an artificial separation, and penetration/invasion cannot be sidestepped. Richard Lehan notes that

> As the city was transformed according to its change of function, the center became more complex as both work and the population became diversified. Such diversity led inevitably to the 'Other' –an urban element, usually a minority, deemed 'outside' the community. But in mythic-symbolic terms, an embodiment of the Other is the mysterious man from nowhere, who disrupts the city from within. (8)

According to Lehan, the "Other" penetrates the circle around the city and accesses the cross in its center. This crossing can be done in two

different ways. Going outside is originally seen as a positive movement. But when a barbarian or foreigner crosses the circle, it is a negative and disruptive move. It is the Other that activates a dynamic productive relationship between cross and circle, when there is flexibility that "allows traffic back and forth" (Lefebvre 176). This is the contradictory process we witness in Marsé's novel: how a young woman from a bourgeois milieu misreads Pijoaparte's real aspirations (his impatient dream) of becoming an office worker. Mistaking him for a heroic trade union leader in danger, she explores a different side of the city she never would have dared to on her own. In fact, in many pages of the novel she crosses a border, explores new identities related to an unknown space.

Circle and cross, chaos and order then adopt a productive dialectic rapport, not in terms of confrontation but interaction. There is no opposition, but collaboration, based on the notion that the contacts across the line and inside and outside the circle are essential places to investigate and generate identities and different ways of living and leaving, to take root and travel (Manzanas 9-14).

Heterotopies: Cemetery, Brothel, Rastro

Foucault wrote: "les utopies sont les emplacements sans lieu réel." Opposite to utopia we find "heterotopia." According to Foucault, there is "dans toute culture, dans toute civilisation, des lieux réels, des lieux effectifs, des lieux qui ont dessinés dans l'institution même de la société, et qui sont des sortes de contre-emplacements, sortes d'utopies effectivement réalisées dans lesquelles les emplacements réels, tous les autres emplacements réels que l'on peut trouver à l'intérieur de la culture sont à la fois représentés, contestés et inversés" (46). They are places beyond all other places, even if they are visible to everybody. The cemetery is an example of heterotopia. The cemetery is related to all the places in the city, or society, or people, since most individuals, most families, have relatives in the cemetery: "Le cimetière est certainement un lieu autre par rapport aux espaces culturels ordinaires, c'est un espace qui est pourtant en liaison avec l'ensemble de tous les emplacements de la cité ou de la société ou du village, puisque chaque individu, chaque famille

se trouve avoir des parents au cimetière" (48). Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. In general, the heterotopic site is not freely accessible like a public place. This makes them secluded but also reachable. In order to enter the barracks or the prison, one has to endure rites (trials) and purifications (loosing one's civil status). They are examples of places inside the city, but separated by an invisible border from it.

In an urban novel such as Camilo José Cela's *La colmena,* the cemetery plays a significant border role. It acts as a mirror to the city-hive, of human beings with their lives chained to a hopeless fate. Let's examine a couple of examples from the closing of chapter VI: "La mañana sube, poco a poco, trepando como un gusano por los corazones de los hombres y de las mujeres de la ciudad; golpeando, casi con mimo, sobre los mirares recién despiertos, esos mirares que jamás descubren horizontes nuevos, paisajes nuevos, nuevas decoraciones" (326). As we can see in this paragraph, there are two words that stand out: "gusano," which we can relate to a rotten heart, or emaciated body; and the "mirares," which never reach new horizons, possibly because they are already inside a grave. In case we still had doubts, the following sentence confirms a funeral meaning: "La mañana, esa mañana eternamente repetida, juega un poco, sin embargo, a cambiar la faz de la ciudad, ese sepulcro, esa cucaña, esa colmena …" (326). The identification between sepulcher, "cucaña" (something unattainable, hopeless), and the hive with its animal primitivism and isolation, defines the characteristics of this cemetery that has become the city.

The importance of the cemetery in relation to the city is featured in many texts. One of the most obvious is the well-known article by Mariano José de Larra "El día de Difuntos de 1836," a text in which he walks through the cemetery that is Madrid and is surprised that people march in procession to the outskirts of the city, because he thinks that the cemetery is the whole city of Madrid. Each one of the city's prominent buildings is read as a tombstone. The surprising conclusion includes a terrible statement:

> Una nube sombría lo envolvió todo. Era la noche. El frío de la noche helaba mis venas. Quise salir violentamente del horrible cementerio. Quise re-

> fugiarme en mi propio corazón, lleno no ha mucho de vida, de ilusiones, de deseos. / ¡Santo cielo! También otro cementerio. Mi corazón no es más que otro sepulcro. ¿Qué dice? Leamos. ¿Quién ha muerto en él? ¡Espantoso letrero! «¡Aquí yace la esperanza!/» ¡Silencio, silencio! (Larra 592)

This identification between cemetery and the city arises in many other poems, such as Luis Cernuda's "Cementerio en la ciudad," or the better known, "Insomnio" by Dámaso Alonso:

> Madrid es una ciudad de más de un millón de cadáveres (según las últimas estadísticas).
> A veces en la noche yo me revuelvo y me incorporo en este nicho en que hace cuarenta y cinco años que me pudro, y paso largas horas oyendo gemir al huracán, o ladrar a los perros, o fluir blandamente la luz de la luna.
> Y paso largas horas gimiendo como el huracán, ladrando como el perro enfurecido, fluyendo como la leche de la ubre caliente de una gran vaca amarilla.
> Y paso largas horas preguntándole a Dios, preguntándole por qué se pudre lentamente mi alma, por qué se pudren más de un millón de cadáveres en esta ciudad de Madrid, por qué mil millones de cadáveres se pudren lentamente en el mundo.
> Dime, ¿qué huerto quieres abonar con nuestra podredumbre?
> ¿Temes que se te sequen los grandes rosales del día, las tristes azucenas letales de tus noches? (37-38)

This poem highlights some very obvious themes: the poet's restlessness, his desire for answers, his angry protest before God. The originality is in transmitting the cry of a corpse, because to live is simply to be dead. It is therefore someone who speaks from within the cemetery. The themes are subtly structured around the idea of putrefaction. There is also a gradation from the decay of the poet, the bodies of Madrid and all over the world, the monotonous beat of "largas horas." The reader discovers with horror that the body of the insomniac not only rots: he also is decomposing. The poet compares Madrid with a vast cemetery, and he is deeply distressed because he is only surrounded by decay and death. The basis for the comparison is a strong contrast between the "habitantes" of the news

and the "bodies," which transforms the statistics record and the colloquial language into striking poetic language. The second line ("en la noche, yo me revuelvo y me incorporo") stresses the core of the poem: life's nonsense. Images such as "nicho" and "me pudro," together with "cadáveres" in the previous line, make clear the poem's allegorical sense: the entire world is inhabited by dead people, whose flesh decomposes slowly.

In all these examples we note a superimposition between a living city and another one of the dead. In fact it is a way of expressing futility, to make the reader think about the interconnection between the living and the dead. Going back to Cela's novel, it should be noted that all of it is permeated by a funeral sense that reminds us of heterotopias, specifically those of the cemetery and the brothel. Basically, these are the only places of happiness and calm for the *colmena*'s inhabitants. In vignette 3, where we are introduced to Doña Rosa's coffee shop, a funeral detail stands out compellingly. Many of the tables are inverted old marble:

> Muchos de los mármoles de los veladores han sido antes lápidas en las sacramentales; en algunos, que todavía guardan las letras, un ciego podría leer, pasando las yemas de los dedos por debajo de la mesa: Aquí yacen los restos mortales de la señorita Esperanza Redondo, muerta en la flor de la juventud; o bien: RIP. El EXCMO. Sr. D. Ramiro López Puente. Subsecretario de Fomento (68).

The funeral aspect of the café is stressed when Doña Rosa arrives there in the group awakening of Chapter VI, and the narrator warns us: "Doña Rosa de vuelta de la iglesia, se compra unos churros, se mete en su café por la puerta del portal –en su café que semeja un desierto cementerio, con las sillas patas arriba, encima de las mesas, y la cafetera y el piano enfundados– se sirve una copeja de ojén, y desayuna." (324)

In the disturbing chapter "Final," where everyone knows that something terrible is about to happen to Martín Marco except himself, this misgiving creates suspense. The reader worries about Martín Marco's fate, as he is unaware, enjoying a quiet moment after visiting

his mother's tomb. A priest passes by reading Western novels, a girl goes by on her bike, and he feels for the first time in the novel at peace with himself: "Todo lo demás es suave silencio, grato silencio. Martín siente un bienestar inefable" (335). He notes the tranquility, and thinks he should go back more often. He even has a moment of inspiration that makes him write a pastiche version of the "padrenuestro": "Madre mía que estás en la tumba, yo te llevo dentro de mi corazón y pido a Dios que te tenga en la gloria eterna como te mereces. Amén" (337).

The positive aspects of the cemetery are complemented and contrasted by those of the brothel. The figure of Doña Jesusa (and the prostitutes) clearly opposes and complements that of Doña Rosa (see Cela 316-323): "Doña Jesusa, la madrugadora doña Jesusa, que después de comer duerme la siesta, para compensar dispone la labor de las asistentas, viejas golfas en declive, las unas; amorosas, dulcísimos, domésticas madres de familia, las más" (317). When referring to cleaning the beds, Cela adds: "Sus dos criadas duermen hasta la hora del almuerzo, hasta las dos de la tarde, en la cama que pueden, en el lecho misterioso que más temprano se vació, quién sabe si como una tumba, dejando prisionero entre los hierros de la cabecera todo un hondo mar de desdicha" (317). The association between brothel and cemetery is even clearer in this quote. Also the marginality of both spaces, placed in the invisible center of the city, on the borders of urban space known and accepted. It is a heterotopia, in the terms defined by Foucault: "sont des sortes de contre-emplacements, sortes d'utopies effectivement réalisées dans lesquelles les emplacements réels, tous les autres emplacements réels que l'on peut trouver à l'intérieur de la culture sont à la fois représentés, contestés et inversés, des sortes de lieux qui sont hors de tous les lieux, bien que pourtant ils soient effectivement localisables" (49). Cemetery and brothel create an effigy of society, a sort of inverted image, one that questions the establishment and thus puts forth another order. In the case of 1942 Madrid, the brothel seems to be the only space of normal family life, of quietness, a space that provides shelters against inclement cold weather and homelessness; whereas the cemetery offers refuge to Martín's hectic life always in pursuit of food and literary fame. These are the only

places where the main character in the novel, Martín Marco, finds the equivalent of a home and a purpose in life.

It is also worth mentioning another cemetery, the one in Valle Inclán 's *Luces de bohemia*. In the historical mirror, the image perceived is that of the Cementerio del Este, the last stop for Max Estrella. However, in the concave mirror –the symbolical level– the cemetery evokes a mythical death, such as Eneas in hell, in the Averno, as told by Virgil (Dougherty 167). In Luis Martín-Santos' *Tiempo de silencio,* the same Cementerio del Este is a place far from the urban center, a distinction that confirms the separation of classes with the original proposal of burying the lower classes in a vertical position. The cemetery is described as a place outside of time, with artistic references (El Bosco) that stress the fact that this space is located outside of contemporary time:

> Sometido a este destino común, el cadáver exangüe y seudovirginal de Florita llegó al depósito antes aludido a una hora incierta y fue depositado en la serie bien administrada de mesas sarcofágicas. El Este había desplegado a la luz del sol todas sus galas alucinatorias de jardín encantado del Bosco. Los puntiagudos tejados de las pagodas alzaban sus tejas de colores hacia un espacio oriental. Una multitud vaga, ociosa y enlutada, por pequeños grupos, recorría los caminos admirando las diversas maravillas: aquellos nichos ajedreceados que muestran todas las casitas de muerto con su puerta independiente que se podría golpear y que han sido hechas accesibles gracias a paraboloides espiroidales que atornillan la tierra, permitiendo a quien lo pague yacer eternamente en un tercero izquierda; aquellos árboles puntiagudos rodeados de flores en su base de color preferentemente amarillo; aquellas zonas estériles en que ninguna lápida permanente es permitida sino tan sólo transitorias cruces de madera o hierro o pequeñas verjas de jardines privados del tamaño de un cuerpo; aquellos edificios concebidos por un arquitecto alocado en el momento de la apoteosis del mal gusto primisecular; todos estos elementos heteróclitos consiguen dar al conjunto un aspecto de paisaje de abanico japonés al que se hubieran extirpado los lagos artificiales, los brazos de agua, los puentes con joroba y los sauces llorones. (228)

Martín-Santos also depicts it as a kind of mirror for the real city, Madrid. He accurately points out to the fact that people lie in "casitas de

muerto," within a sort of apartment: "permitiendo a quien lo pague yacer eternamente en un tercero izquierda," designed by an architect with very dubious taste: "edificios concebidos por un arquitecto alocado."

Finally, to this series of heterotopic urban spaces one can add Ramón Gómez de la Serna's Rastro, which offers a different set of possibilities. Ioana Zlotescu stressed the fragility of the many literary genres included in "Ramonismo":

> son intercambiables entre sí, porque todos parten del gran secreto con el cual cada uno tiene que torear como puede, mejor con sonrisas que con lágrimas, esto es: el absurdo de la marginalidad del ser humano y de la efemeridad de la vida. ("Preámbulo al espacio literario del 'Ramonismo'" 21)

On the other hand, César Nicolás emphasized that Ramón applied a microscope, the kind of attention found only among the scientific community, to "inventariar, mediante una escritura expansiva (espiral y centrífuga), una serie de mundos (minúsculos, marginales, o posibles) que se amplían y estallan en un fabuloso prisma" (49). In fact, as Walter Benjamin pointed out, "in every collector hides an allegorist, and in every allegorist a collector."[2] In these two critical opinions we

2. In *The Arcades Project* Walter Benjamin presents a reflection on the collector: "The allegorist is, as it were, the polar opposite of the collector. He has given up the attempt to elucidate things through research into their properties and relations. He dislodges things from their context and, from the outset, relies on his profundity to illuminate their meaning. The collector, by contrast, brings together what belongs together; by keeping in mind their affinities and their succession in time, he can eventually furnish information about his objects. Nevertheless – and this is more important than all the differences that may exist between them – in every collector hides an allegorist, and in every allegorist a collector. As far as the collector is concerned, his collection is never complete; for let him discover just a single piece missing, and everything he's collected remains a patchwork, which is what things are for the allegorist from the beginning. On the other hand, the allegorist – for whom objects represent only keywords in a secret dictionary, which will make known their meanings to the initiated – precisely the allegorist can never have enough of things. With him, one thing is so little capable of taking the place of another that no possible reflection suffices to foresee what meaning his profundity might lay claim to for each one of them" (*Arcades* 211).

can recognize two crucial traits of Gómez de la Serna's writing: his attention to marginality and impermanent events, the latter of which is painstakingly itemized through the writing process.

In the Rastro Ramón Gómez de la Serna presented a precise paradigm of modernity in the outskirts of the city. For him the city represents a staging ground for modernity. At the same time the city is seen as filled with "potential alienation and neurasthenia" (Davidson 275). The Rastro is a marginal space in the whole city and at the same time admits an affinity between cities. As indicated by Davidson:

> Given its suburban location and materialist "drama" as a concentrated collection of incredibly disparate objects, Ramón presents the space as one of an alternate urban condition that exists outside the ken of the city center. Its status as a condition invokes an international connection between cities through their own versions of the Rastro and at once challenges locality even as a certain imprinting of Madrid's specificity appears to reinforce it. (289)

To Ramón what is essential about the Rastro is its condition of marginality, as kind of refuge for discarded objects refuted by a civilian life:

> El Rastro es siempre el mismo trecho relamido de la ciudad, planicie, costanilla, gruta de mar o tienda de mar, que es lo mismo, playa cerrada en que la gran ciudad –mejor dicho–, las grandes ciudades y los pueblillos desconocidos mueren, se abaten, se laminan como el mar en la playa, tan delgadamente, dejando tirados en la arena los restos casuales, los descartes impasibles, que allí quedan engolfados y quietos hasta que algunos se vuelven a ir en la resaca. (Ramón Gómez de la Serna, *El Rastro*, Madrid, 1932)

Consequently, the Rastro is a sort of beach where leftovers from a worldwide shipwreck become apparent. The Rastro also has a rapport with his study, as illustrated by the explanation of a famous photo of Ramón Gómez de la Serna, "Apoteosis entre cielo y tierra de mi estudio junto a mi muñeca de cera":

> En mi techo resplandecen colgadas esas bolas de cristal –verdes, azules, rojas, moradas, doradas, plateadas–, mundos enjutos, lacrimatorios, peceras

de uno mismo y de sus objetos, espejos cementuales en que se refleja uno y toda la habitación como enterrados ya, y como en ese recuerdo ya lejano por anticipado que de nosotros se hundirá en el mundo. (Gómez de la Serna *Automoribundia* 295)

Ramón Gómez de la Serna: *"Apoteosis entre cielo y tierra de mi estudio junto a mi muñeca de cera"*

In this section of *Automoribundia* he describes his study paying attention to the tinted glass beads ("mundos enjutos, lacrimatorios, peceras de uno mismo y de sus objetos, espejos cementuales"), which he considers to encapsulate what will be left from himself once he leaves this world: "recuerdo ya lejano por anticipado que de nosotros se hundirá en el mundo."[3]

3. About Ramon's studio as subconscious space see Ávila and McCulloch: "Como en el subconsciente, en el despacho de Ramón vislumbra un microcosmos de una mente creativa en constante ebullición, no interesada en atar los cabos sueltos de un mundo complejo que estaba en incesante cambio" (356).

Finally, as stated by Elide Pittarello, the Rastro has a particular propriety, that of belonging to another time and space outside regular constraints:

> Almeno in linea teorica, qualunque ente può essere localizzato in un *qui* che comprende anche un *altrove,* in un *adesso* che non distingue il *prima* dal *dopo.* Per questo speciale osservatore, per questo fabbricatore di immagini incongruenti che tendono all'ubiquità e all'ucronia, il Rastro è un territorio situato *quasi* fuori dal mondo, in prossimità dell'abisso di cui riesce a anticipare vari spazi e a condensare molti tempi. (Pittarello 90)

Consequently the Rastro is a space outside of the world, far from regular space-time coordinates, where the subject adopts a new viewpoint of reality: "Ogni normale *prospettiva* si dissolve, così come si spegne ogni normale *aspettativa* (8), nel moltiplicarsi di relazioni ipotetiche e casuali che eludono idealmente sia il principio di pertinenza che quello di selezione" (Pittarello 90).

If borders in the city are related to both separation and rapprochement, heteropias offer a unique window on this aspect. As I mentioned at the beginning, the border is a twofold entity: physical and symbolic, it relates to space and to identity. Heterotopias always assume a space with a system of opening and closing that both isolates and makes it penetrable. Heteropias establish borders inside the city, which can be easily crossed but that delimitate strong separations between regular and experimental life, allowing for an expansion of the limits of space.

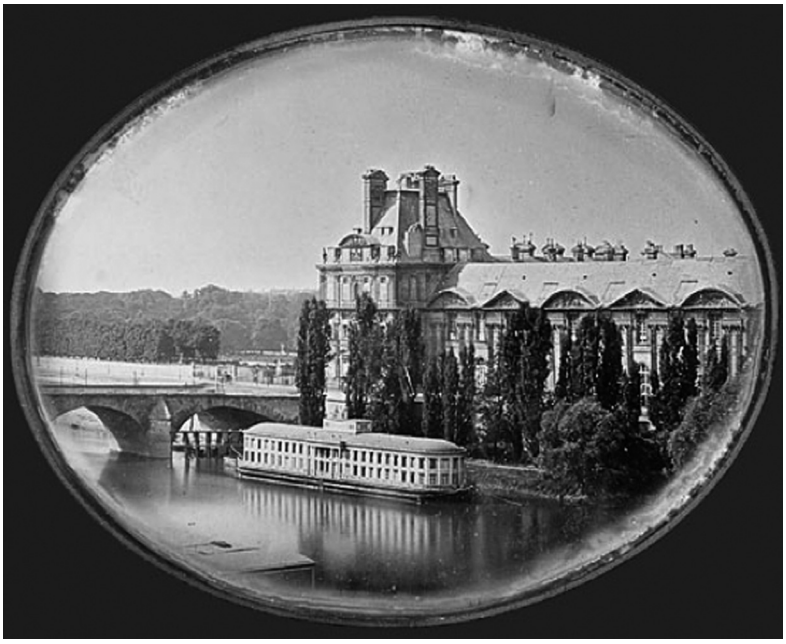
4. "Decrèpita i teatral"? On Literary Explorations of Barcelona

When I visited the impressive exhibition, "The Dawn of Photography: French Daguerreotypes, 1839-1855," at the Metropolitan Museum in New York City in March 2004, I was struck by two things. First and foremost, I was impressed by the startling quality of the pictures, taken more than one and half centuries ago. The vivacity of city life at that time was noticeable in every detail of the small images; one could see, with breathless exactitude, houses and streets, sky and distant landscape. Secondly, I was impressed by their theatricality. The primitive techniques, including the long exposure time, made it seem as if every daguerreotype presented a scene from which life had long been absent, as if the houses and streets depicted therein were to be used as the background for some sort of state ceremony. A daguerreotype is the result of an early photographic method with the image made on a light-sensitive silver-coated metallic plate. The length of time needed for the physical and chemical process to work made it difficult if not impossible for early photographers to take "instantaneous" pictures. That is why all daguerreotypes have a rather sinister and funereal quality (see images 1 and 2), or why it seems as if they were

some sort of theatrical background for scenes of city life –not unlike those depicted in Eugene Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris* (1842-1843), Antoni Altadill's *Barcelona y sus misterios* (1884), or Josep Nicasi Milà de la Roca i Guilla's *Los Misterios de Barcelona* (1844), where action and movement are at the service of a vivacious picture of city life.

The daguerreotype is, of course, a medium that changed the history of art and visual representation forever. The aforementioned exhibition at the Metropolitan allowed the visitor to reconsider the sensations that people experienced in the mid-nineteenth century, when the pioneers of photography used the invention for a broad spectrum of artistic, scientific, and documentary purposes. Daguerreotypes are characterized by incomparable detail and a sculptural quality that led one of its earliest champions, Jules Janin, to describe them as "divine perfection." In fact, it could be said that the invention of the daguerreotype forever altered the way we see and understand our world. No invention since Gutenberg's movable type had so altered the transmission of knowledge and culture, and none would have so great an impact until the digital revolution of the late twentieth century.[1]

1. 1. Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (French, 1787-1851), *The Pavillon de Flore and the Pont-Royal*, 1839. Daguerreotype; 16.2 x 21.3 cm (6 3/8 x 8 3/8 in.). Musée des Arts et Métiers, Paris. http://www.arts-et-metiers.net/musee.php?P=52&id=47&lang=fra&flash=f&arc=1
2. Unknown artist. *The Pont-Neuf, the Louvre, and the Quai de la Mégisserie, Paris*, 1845-50. Daguerreotype; 11.1 x 37.5 cm (43/8 x 143/4 in.). Musée Carnavalet, Paris. http://www.luminous-lint.com/app/vexhibit/_THEME_Landscape_Cityscapes_01/4/0/0/



A modern invention, the daguerreotype's relation to the city is particularly significant. Walking the streets of a big city can be an inspiring experience, brimming with a diverse array of situations and encounters. As Fernando Pessoa puts it in *Libro do desassossego*: "A morning in the countryside exists; a morning in the city is full of promises. One makes you live, the other makes you think" (133). I was musing on these words by Pessoa when I realized that I had been considering two different ways of portraying the city: with daguerreotypes and with novels –specifically several novels set in Barcelona, in which the urban landscape is reflected in some very compelling ways. It is well known that the use of painterly techniques, perspective, and spectacle in nineteenth-century narrative, or simply its reliance on an abundance of visual description, served to create, enlarge, revise, and/or update the reality shared by readers of the time. Nancy Armstrong has stated that she would like "to hold the very kind of description we associate with realism at least partly responsible for changing the

terms in which readers imagine their relation to the real" (6). With respect to more contemporary novels, including many of the literary experiments of the 1970s in Spain, basic realist techniques may still be present, even prominent, but there is in general less description and more sophisticated, multilayered cultural and aesthetic commentary, with the narrator or narrative voice engaged in metafictional speculation on what lies "beneath" or "behind" objects, places, and people.

The modern city has obviously opened up new venues for life, bringing human experience to new heights –and lows. Josep Carner, a *noucentista* intellectual who was trying to advance an idealized vision of the city, rather brilliantly invokes some of the changes in city life in "El badoc" or "La ciutat sense ara," two prose works that offer keen insights into urban characters and activities. Spanish and Catalan narrative from the 1970s is no less insightful, and provides numerous examples of how walking in the city can be a particularly significant experience, profoundly marked by history and politics. In what follows, I would like to take a look at two of these novels, one written in Catalan and the other in Spanish, both of which are set in Barcelona: Montserrat Roig's *El temps de les cireres* (1976) and Luis Goytisolo's *Recuento* (1973).

Walking the City

In one of the final chapters of *El temps de les cireres*, the main character, Natàlia, recalls a long walk through the city with her nephew Màrius. The walk takes place in a neighborhood, the "Barri de la Ribera," in which the otherwise changing urban landscape of Barcelona still offers relatively fixed coordinates, that is to say, structures and signs that have not changed dramatically over the years and that consequently allow for critically conscious amalgamations of past and present that are rarely, if ever, the stuff of standard history books. In Roig's novel, Natàlia strolls through the Ribera, the same neighborhood where Santiago Rusiñol's emblematic novel *L'Auca del senyor Esteve* (1907) about a conservative and colorless Catalan shopkeeper takes place. Reflecting on what she sees as she strolls through the old streets of the neigh-

borhood, Natàlia ponders the distance between her great grandparents' time of bourgeois grandeur and proletarian unrest and her own rebellious near past, marked by student protest and the revolt of the younger generations to which her nephew Màrius belongs. Natàlia's and Màrius' reactions to the names of the streets and to what they mean personally and collectively are indicative of their different understandings and experiences of urban landscape in general:

> Feren la volta per Santa Maria del Mar. No se sentia cap més remor que les gotes que davallaven dels balcons i alguna passa llunyana que feia eco dins del silenci del carrer. Passaren pel davant d'una plaça oberta, com un descampat, que servia d'aparcament de cotxes, 'al fossar de les moreres no s'enterra cap traïdor…,' digué la Natàlia. Què dius?, féu en Màrius, res, recitava un vers que em llegia el teu avi. Saps qui és en Pitarra?, en Màrius va dir que no. La Natàlia pensà que el barri no havia canviat… És un barri decrèpit i teatral, sembla que les cases siguin decorats a punt d'ésser traslladats a un altre escenari, pensà la Natàlia. […] Per què hem fet aquesta volta?, preguntà la Natàlia, perquè és un ritus, contestà en Màrius, aquest barri em deixa l'estómac buit, com si hi hagués viscut en una altra època. (192)

Natàlia is here quoting from "El fossar de les moreres," a famous poem by the popular nineteenth century playwright, Serafí Pitarra. In so doing, she effectively brings to bear a nineteenth-century rendition of the fall of Barcelona (to Bourbon forces in 1714) on her and her nephew's stroll together. Interestingly, although *El temps de les cireres* is from the mid-1970s, the quote from Pitarra was later inscribed –on September, 11, 1989 to be precise– in the stone base of a concave memorial designed by Carme Fiol, thereby replacing the "plaça oberta, com un descampat, que servia d'aparcament de cotxes" that Roig here describes. The changes that occur in the urban landscape *after* Roig writes her novel allow us to reflect critically on the changes –and continuities– that are presented *in* the novel. And in the novel, what comes to the fore is the funereal theatricality of the Ribera neighborhood, which functions not only as a space of habitation but also as a setting for cultural memory, for the representation of Catalan history. The couple's long walk through the night casts light on the many contradictions and meanings of this urban space, and constitutes a nega-

tive instance of the aforementioned "theatricality," a moment of otherness between the reading subject (or "spectator") and the object of representation.[2]

Natàlia's view of the houses in the neighborhood as so many set designs ready to be moved to another location may allude to the fact that many buildings in Barcelona's Medieval and Renaissance districts were indeed moved at the beginning of the twentieth century, particularly between 1908 and 1913, when the Via Laietana, an important thoroughfare connecting the waterfront to the nineteenth-century grid-like expansion (the *Eixample*), was created. One of the most famous of such buildings is the Casa Clariana-Padellas, which currently houses the Museu d'Història de la Ciutat. In fact, most of the so-called "Barri Gòtic" or "Gothic Quarter" is an invention that dates from the time of the 1929 World's Fair. The urban historian, Stéphane Michonneau, in his examination of the changes that took place in Barcelona after 1860, has noted precisely the invented, decorative qualities of the "old city":

> La ciutat es convertí en el decorat en què es projecten les classes opulentes, un espai d'urbanitat d'acord amb la imatge que volien promoure aquestes

2. In a now classic essay from 1967, Michael Fried examines the history of hostility towards the theater from the time of Plato to the present; see also Josette Féral, Michael Quinn, and Marvin Carlson. According to Féral: "the notion of theatricality recurs in many different disciplines: theater, anthropology, sociology, psychology, business, economics, politics and psychoanalysis, where the term is used either metaphorically or actually resorted to as an operative concept. When used outside the field of theater, the notion of theatricality seems to refer to familiar characteristics, as if its meaning were somehow implicit for those who use them. The notion of theatricality is related to the spectacular, that is to say, with the transformation of everyday life into a spectacle, involving the creation of an «other» relationship with the world. This means that it implies the recognition of an act of representation, the construction of a fiction (…) Theatricality thus emerges from the recognition of a dialectic between the spectacle and the actor or the spectator. This dialectic allows the actor to escape identification to his role while it allows the spectator to escape the catharsis. In this way, theatricality deconstructs the scenic illusion (another name given to mimesis) while it relies on it for dramatic representation" ("Foreword" 7-8). I am most indebted to my friend and colleague Sharon Feldman for her insightful comments on this matter.

> elits nascudes de la indústria i del comerç. En endavant, la ciutat serà l'instrument estimulant d'un orgull cívic i l'expressió més aparent de la modernització. Els carrers es convertiran en un text instructiu que pot manifestar i difondre un nou ordre moral i polític, els valors i les aspiracions de la civilitat en curs de definició. (20)

The transformation of the streets into a manual, or "text instructiu," for a dominant understanding of order and modernity is exactly what Roig deplores in her novel: what used to be a platform of a heady, early modernity is now virtually a dead space, "un barri decrèpit i teatral."

In *Recuento* (1973), Luis Goytisolo also presents the city from a historical perspective, through a pastiche of nineteenth-century guides and literary texts. Signaling an ideologically laden gap between pre-war splendor and post-war misery, Goytisolo grapples with two cities, one from the past, a city of bourgeois expansion, and one from the present, a city of bourgeois crisis. Goytisolo complicates the presentation of the "two cities" by positing one as a real historical place hated by the main character and the other as a utopian "no place," in accordance with Raul Ferrer Gaminde's Marxist ideology. Ferrer Gaminde, the main character in *Recuento*, is a young student and a militant in the Communist party, seeking the overthrow of Franco's regime. In a veritable demonization of bourgeois Barcelona, the narrator incorporates lines from Joan Maragall's "Oda nova a Barcelona" (1909) in a manner that not only criticizes the bourgeoisie but that also denigrates Gaudí's Sagrada Família, which is here no longer a "sacred temple" but a:

> Sagrado aborto, una obra en la que no parece sino que la burguesía barcelonesa hubiera querido no sólo reflejarse a sí misma sino, sobre todo, perpetuarse, proyectarse, darse permanencia, plasmar en piedra su futuro, como en un libro abierto situando a la familia en el centro de toda organización social. (181)[3]

3. See also a recent publication by Cócola Grant, *El Barrio Gótico de Barcelona. Planificación del Pasado e Imagen de Marca* (2011).

He goes on to provide new motifs for the church's main doors: instead of the Nativity and the Passion, they are now called the "Revolución" and the "Nueva Sociedad" (184).[4]

In another chapter, Goytisolo reads the *Eixample* in devastating critical terms:

> Desde el vano sinuoso se divisaba la ciudad ensanchada hacia poniente, crepuscular, sonora como una caracola, el Ensache extendido hacia poniente en mecánica repetición de la ya vieja cuadrícula, fórmula planeada más de cien años atrás, el plan Cerdá, empresa nacida bajo los mejores augurios de la con tanto empuje burguesía decimonónica en aquellos años de gracia y desgracia, de dolor y gozo, de revoluciones y restauraciones, de barricadas, represiones, atentados y comunas, cuando un fantasma recorría Europa, empresa destinada a transfigurar la ciudad, predestinada, ensanche proseguido aún, sólo que de un modo un poco más estrecho o mezquino, cuadrando como un estadillo, sólo sobre el plano, cuadrícula arterioesclerótica, sin parques intercalados ni bloques abiertos a jardines recogidos, manzanas cerradas entorno a garajes, almacenes, pequeños talleres, apretadas edificaciones mecánicamente repetidas, ventanas frente a ventanas, balcones frente a balcones, terrazas frente a terrazas, con amplios panoramas de más terrazas, balcones y ventanas, más algún solicitado sobreático, pura fachada, piedra artificial, viviendas ya que no hogares ni con el muy apreciado simbólico hogar, simples puntos de concentración familiar, mecánicamente convencionales con respecto a unas formas de vida demasiado fluctuantes, pisos ya sin las holguras decimonónicas, sin salón, comedor y alcoba rígidamente prefigurados, sin recibidores oscuros ni soleadas galerías, una sala de estar y basta, y una avara profusión de paredes medianeras, patios inferiores, flacos tabiques, calculados recuentos de metros de alzada, metros cuadrados, metros cúbicos, palmos,

4. La Sagrada Família is described as "templo inconcluso de inusitadas perspectivas, cuatro campanarios, un ábside y una fachada de exuberante imaginería, astros, sangre, niños, rebaños y reyes, grupos escultóricos, arrebatados retablos, un precursor o profeta de encendido verbo encarnado en transportada efigie, coloraciones del ocaso, obra inacabada, simple anticipo del futuro prometido, profetal estructura de formas presumidas, elegantes, mera fase inicial de lo que algún día iba a ser ambiciosa plasmación de una gran empresa realizada sobre sacrificios de generaciones, dogmática protoplasmación edificada en lo que ahora era solo un erial sombreado de espectrales perfiles" (169-170).

> estrecheces, ruines calles cruzadas en degradada extensión de un retículo en otros tiempos proyectado como liberador, excrecencia celular, gris enrejado, fantasmal contorno de aquellas verticalidades, cuatro torres como púas alzadas al atardecer. (169)

This aerial view of the *Eixample* carries, as noted, a vicious critical charge and illustrates, at the very least, Ferrer Gaminde's contempt for the city. Evoking the original Roman settlement through the eyes of a visitor to the Museu d'Història de la Ciutat, near the Plaça del Rei, the narrator notices the superimposition of different historical moments and the manipulation of the urban landscape. He waxes poignant when he decribes how the main character considers what this historical superimposition means for the city –and for him– in the present:

> Imagen fascinante, sublimada, evaporada, desaparecida, formas prefiguradas y sobrevividas por estas otras, tanto tiempo soterradas y confundidas y, al fin, de nuevo aflorantes, tramo a tramo, de las entrañas del casco viejo, circuito excavado, descombrado, pacientemente redescubierto por la piqueta municipal, progresivamente limpio de adherencias, huellas residuales de las edificaciones encubridoras ya derruidas, paneles de azulejo, empapelados florales, marcas de revoque, de escaleras esfumantes, negruras de chimenea. (219)

Proffering a quasi-archeological reading of a jumble of temporal traces scrawled on the walls of old buildings, Goytisolo's narrator expresses, in a manner not unlike that of Roig's characters, a complex *mise en question* of the past and the present.[5]

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5. Even a political journalist such as Manuel Vázquez Montalbán wrote in *Barcelones* a stage rendition of the old center of the city: "Aquests barris patricials i alhora populars, residencials i comerciants, continuen conservant vells aires, encara que una mica pausteritzat pels temps. Però entre el carrer Baix de Sant Pere i el barri de Santa Maria encara sobreviu aquella Barcelona … La mirada de la jove Barcelona s'ha reconciliat amb aquestes velles pedres, en altres temps considerades antihigièniques, sobretot després d'haver travessat el desert de la geografia d'una suposada Barcelona modernitzada per un urbanisme especulador i moralment miserable" (93).

A Critical View

Both Roig and Goytisolo present a view of Barcelona that questions some of its most cherished values, especially those that pertain to its lavish "modernization" in the nineteenth century and, more specifically, to a rationalized expansion that still had strong links to parts of the old town, whether it be the "Barri gòtic" (Goytisolo) or the "Barri de la Ribera" (Roig). In so doing, they implicitly react against Joan Maragall's famous vision of Barcelona in his "Oda Nova a Barcelona," in which the space of the city nourishes a dream of the future and of hope, which was the only way that he could address –and come to terms with– an extremely violent moment: the *Tragic Week* of 1909. It is precisely the tension between hopeful peace and desperate violence that Maragall conveys so masterfully in his ode.

> Tal com ets, tal te vull, ciutat mala:
> és com un mal donat, de tu s'exhala:
> que ets vana i coquina i traïdora i grollera,
> que ens fa abaixar el rostre
> Barcelona! i amb tos pecats, nostra! nostra!
> Barcelona nostra! la gran encisera! (283)

It is surprising that so authoritative a scholar of Catalan modernism as Jordi Castellanos could write that Maragall "tanca el poema amb una declaració de barcelonisme" (152). In reality, what Maragall does is a bit more sophisticated than a simple declaration of "Barcelonism." He acknowledges the city's dualities, its ties to the past and its aspirations for a better future, its bourgeois projects and its working class vindications. That said, in his personification of the city as a woman ("vana i coquina i traïdora i grollera"), Maragall expresses his fraught, if firm, love for it. Perhaps Maragall also expresses, albeit more subtly, what Joaquín Romero Maura wrote in *La Rosa de fuego*: "[e]n el interior del remoto cinturón de chimeneas de fábricas, las avenidas anchas y empedradas, rodeadas de árboles: ahí las viejas casas opulentas de inconmovibles sillares, ahí los grandes edificios de los arquitectos modernistas" (qtd in Vázquez Montalbán 117).

In a number of texts by Roig's and Goytisolo's contemporaries we find similar, if still powerfully distinct, conceptions of the city as a theater shot through with dualities. Jaime Gil de Biedma's poem "Barcelona ja no és bona, o mi paseo solitario en primavera" is a case in point. In this poem, Gil de Biedma invokes the 1929 World's Fair, located on Montjuïc: "que la ciudad les pertenezca un día. / Como les pertenece esta montaña, / este despedazado anfiteatro / de las nostalgias de una burguesía (81). A son of the Barcelona bourgeoisie, Gil de Biedma here invokes non-Catalan immigrants (the "charnegos" of Juan Marsé's novels), to whom he wishes the city to belong. One can better appreciate this projected change of command by comparing it to what Joan Maragall proposed. In an article titled "La ciudad del ensueño" (1908), Maragall wrote about the old section of the city, which was slowly disappearing:

> Esos callejones van a desaparecer; esas plazuelas quedarán disueltas en la amplitud de la vía nueva; caerán esos obscuros macizos de piedras seculares, y el sol que ahora se filtra en la estrechez centelleará anchamente dorando las grandes nubes de polvo de los derribos; y el viento correrá libre a lo largo de lo que fue ciudad vieja. […] Al fin este barrio que va a morir me agobia y me enternece, y me voy, y me lo llevo dentro; por mi, ya pueden derribarlo. (*Obres Completes* 744)

One can perhaps best understand Maragall's attitude here in the light of what Josep Pijoan reported: "ell [Maragall] no sentia cap pietat pels carrers on va néixer i s'estalviava tot el que podia de passar-hi, exasperat per la fetor de les clavegueres" (22-3).[6] Obviously, Maragall's position is that of a "user," a dweller who knows only too well what it means to live in certain parts of the city. Consequently, Maragall seems to be looking towards the future and trying to forget the past. Gil de Biedma, for his part, seems to accept the social transformation of certain spaces of the city occurring under Franco (which is not to say, of course, that he accepted Franco). The ruins of the World's

6. I am thankful to Lluís Quintana i Trias, a leading Maragall scholar, for his comments and this reference.

Fair are, after all, a "despedazado anfiteatro / de las nostalgias de una burguesía." Maragall, in turn, seemed to be willing to sacrifice the old part of town, the "Barri de la Ribera" where he was born, for his dream of a new future embodied in a new city: the *Eixample*.

Having examined a few literary depictions of the city, let's return now to the daguerrotypes. Nancy Armstrong has argued that the images of contemporary reality provided by daguerreotypes and photographs gave literary realism the means to invert the classical relationship between image and object represented, an inversion that endowed photographic images with the power, if not to produce their referents, then certainly to condition how people saw them (30). This may be true for nineteenth-century realism, but not for the writers from the 1970s that I am examining here, all of whom impugn urban images that they consider to be "theatrical," fake, and frozen in time. Both Roig and Goytisolo react, directly and indirectly, against the rationalized, ordered, and controlled nineteenth-century city as well as against many of the images produced by writers such as Pitarra, Rusiñol, and Maragall.

It is true, nevertheless, that collections of photographic images bear witness to the "archive fever," described by Jacques Derrida as arising from a wish to locate some original and patriarchal form of authority in order to publicly preserve and disseminate (1-3). A "patriarchal form of authority" is very much noticeable, of course, in Roig and Goytisolo –and can perhaps be most directly related to the dictator, Francisco Franco. They take into account the existence of a powerful collective imaginary, reacting against what they consider to be "fake pictures" inspired by historical reality and projected onto the present as a reassessment of politics and culture. In fact, the reaction of the two writers, for all their differences, seems to confirm the triple meaning practices that Michel de Certeau discerns in urban toponyms: "le *croyable*, le *memorable* et le *primitif*" (158).[7]

7. "Ces trois dispositifs symboliques organisent les topoi du discours sur/de la ville (la légende, le souvenir et le rêve) d'une manière qui échappe aussi à la systematicité urbanistique. On peut les reconnaître déjà dans les fonctions des noms pro-

In a not unrelated vein, both Roig and Goytisolo reproduce, whether consciously or unconsciously, an almost religious possession of the city, as their characters follow the centuries-old paths of religious parades through the "Barri de la Ribera" or the so-called "Barri gòtic" (Michonneau, 414-17). With both writers, the reader seems to be treading the terrain described by Baudrillard: the modern world as a gothic Disneyland in which "tout est déjà mort et ressuscité d'avance" (17). In other words, Roig and Goytisolo guide their characters and readers into an urban jungle of words with a very precise purpose: the critical interpretation of space according to the values of the writer in the present. At the same time, the two writers read space as if they were in front of the Emperor's map as described by Jorge Luis Borges in "Del Rigor de la Ciencia," the text on which Baudrillard founded his concept of the simulacrum.[8] In Borges' allegory, the emperor has the obsessive pretension of producing the most accurate map of his empire. He will only be content when he has one that coincides exactly with the territory that is being mapped. Form and representation are thus the same and they delete one another. Borges' parable enabled Baudrillard to introduce an era, that of the present,

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pres: ils rendent habitable ou croyable le lieu qu'ils vêtent d'un mot (en s'évidant de leur pouvoir classificateur, ils acquièrent celui de 'permettre' autre chose); ils rappellent ou évoquent les fantômes (morts supposés disparus) qui bougent encore, tapis dans les gestes et les corps en marche ; et, en tant qu'ils nomment, c'est à dire qu'ils imposent une injonction venue de l'autre (une histoire) et qu'ils altèrent l'identité fonctionnaliste en se détachant, ils créent dans le lieu même cette érosion ou non-lieu qu'y creuse la loi de l'autre" (Certeau, 158-9).

8. "Del Rigor de la Ciencia. …En aquel Imperio, el Arte de la Cartografía logró tal Perfección que el mapa de una sola Provincia ocupaba toda una Ciudad, y el mapa del Imperio, toda una Provincia. Con el tiempo, esos Mapas Desmesurados no satisficieron y los Colegios de Cartógrafos levantaron un Mapa del Imperio que tenía el tamaño del Imperio y coincidía puntualmente con él. Menos Adictas al Estudio de la Cartografía, las Generaciones Siguientes entendieron que ese dilatado Mapa era Inútil y no sin Impiedad lo entregaron a las Inclemencias del Sol y de los Inviernos. En los desiertos del Oeste perduran despedazadas Ruinas del Mapa, habitadas por Animales y por Mendigos; en todo el País no hay otra reliquia de las Disciplinas Geográficas. Suárez Miranda: Viajes de varones prudentes, libro cuarto, cap. XLV, Lérida, 1658" (Borges 106).

in which "le territoire ne précede plus la carte, ni ne lui survit: c'est désormais la carte qui précede le territoire […] c'est elle qui engendre le territoire (10), adding that "c'est elle qui engendre le territoire et s'il fallait reprendre la fable, c'est aujourd'hui le territoire don't les lambeaux pourrissent lentement sur l'étendue de la carte" (10). The operation could be related to the one performed by Roig and Goytisolo. As we have seen, in their literary representation of the city, the two writers encounter places that, in Roig's words, are "*decrèpita i teatral*." We might add that theirs is a city that has the quality of an old daguerreotype, sinister and funeral. The writers, however, revoke the past city and propose a new one in accordance with a progressive vision of the future.

In an article, Carme Riera movingly underscores one aspect of contemporary revisions of the city, of other "progressive visions of the future." Comparing speeches by the mayors of Madrid and Barcelona, she summarizes her concerns: "Me preocupa, […] y mucho, que el interés por esa Barcelona de escaparate turístico enmascare que existen carencias graves que afectan a los más desfavorecidos, ancianas, emigrantes y discapacitados, un tanto por cien considerable de personas a quien la ciudad nunca va a pertenecer" (2004). The idea of Barcelona as a touristic showcase is consonant with Roig's and Goytisolo's vision. Barcelona –let's face it– has become, among other things, and like so many other cities, a theme park. These writers, with the biting teeth of literature were shrewd enough to conjure up a *preview* of coming attractions. Too often we forget the power of literature as a weapon of mass construction. And instruction. Literature allows us to come to our senses and wake up from a nightmare. And yet, it also announces, more somberly, the map of a city that is ready for, as the Col.lectiu J.B. Boix puts it, "sis milions d'innocents (menys uns quants espabilats)."

5. The Lights and Names of Paris: Llorenç Villalonga's *Bearn*

Mais les noms présentent des personnes –et des villes qu'ils nous habituent à croire individuelles, uniques, comme des personnes– une image confuse qui tire d'eux, de leur sonorité éclatante ou sombre, la couleur dont elle est peinte uniformément.

Marcel Proust, *Du côté de chez Swann*

El món és una harmonia de contraris.

Llorenç Villalonga, *Bearn*

In a well-known article, Walter Benjamin proclaimed Paris as the "Capital of the nineteenth century." The German philosopher was referring to the city where one could walk through covered passages (such as those found in contemporary shopping malls), and in which, due to some technical advances such as the photographic experiments of Daguerre, one could perceive a more exquisite urban panorama, rich in details, than those provided by impressionist paintings. World

exhibitions became the universal stages of capitalist progress, as well as a point of pilgrimage for the commodity obsessed. Paris was the key to the 'inner room' (the office, living room) of European cities, as the intellectual center, created through a calculated maneuver to create the isolated and distant bourgeois. Paris was the city that inspired the allegorical poetry of the streets that we read in Baudelaire. The city of Paris, in short, as "enlarged" by Haussman as a defense to the danger of the outbreak of the revolutionary barricades, became a world phenomenon, admired and envied, and attacked or occupied by its German neighbors on several occasions.

If Walter Benjamin named Paris as "the capital of the nineteenth century," it was thanks to the hard work of the city, its people, leaders, *flâneurs*, and women, who generated such a powerful image. Benjamin's conclusion was possible also because there was an earlier tradition of oral and written –of real and imaginary– cities, created by people who lived there during that century or who had briefly visited it and been strongly influenced by it. In fact, throughout the nineteenth century several different images of Paris evolved through literature, as created by writers both in France and abroad. Baudelaire called it "Fourmillante cité, cité pleine de rêves" in *Les fleurs du mal*. Balzac suggested: "La France au XIXe siècle est partagé en deux grandes zones; Paris et la province." And according to Flaubert's *Dictionnaire des idées reçues,* Paris was "La grande prostituée. Paradis des femmes, enfer des chevaux."

An 1860 Spanish visitor Pedro Antonio de reported his immense surprise as he approached Paris by train:

> ¡Cómo se adivinaba la proximidad de la opulenta Metrópoli, de la gran capital, de la fastuosa Lutecia! –Así, en lo antiguo, las grandiosas villas diseminadas por la campiña de Roma anunciarían al viajero, con muchas horas de anticipación, la cercanía de la ciudad que era entonces lo que es París en nuestra época (aunque lo nieguen o deploren ingleses y alemanes): la reina del universo. (28)

This quotation is of particular interest because writings from Alarcón's trip are one of the detailed information sources of nine-

teenth-century Paris that Villalonga used for building his imaginary Paris.

In the eighteen nineties, Santiago Rusiñol provided an enchanted image of Paris in the chronicles he wrote for the Barcelona newspaper *La Vanguardia*. Accompanied by Ramon Casas, there he discovered El Greco and experienced a golden version of the bohemian years. Later, other Catalan visitors ecstatically reported the powerful impact of the French city. Gaziel recalled with precision the powerful impression he received when he first visited Paris, when writing in his memoirs: "la meravella del desfici que em tenia delint tothora, veient i admirant coses noves, era que fos gratuït. (…) És aquest, justament, l'encís de les grans capitals del món, que en això s'assemblen a les grans obres de la naturalesa: unes i altres són espectacles oberts i sempre renovellats, per al qui sap esguardar-los" (II, 25). With his amazing sensitivity, Joan Salvat Papasseit captured Paris' essence in the extraordinary "metro" poems such as "Passional al metro (Reflex Nº 1)." In a letter to his friend, Emili Badiella wrote: "Les lluites, les revolucions, els sofriments de la França, fins les seves decadents disbauxes, han donat al món aquesta incomparable virilitat que es diu París. 'París bé val una missa,' deia Henri IV. París bé val, dic jo totes les adoracions a Déu i tots els viatges fatigats possibles…" (53). These random examples remind us of the importance of Paris as a city that served as a beacon of modernity.

As I discussed in the "Introduction," a city such as Paris easily allows for itself to be "read": the city's specific structure, with its geometric grid of streets or chaotically drawn old part of town, is composed of symbols with multiple meanings. The Eixample and the remains of Lleida's Canyeret, the monotony of Manhattan and the elegance of the reform of Haussman in Paris, all of these city transformations create a clarity of rhythms and sounds that in turn unveils a nearly poetical sense. Indeed, reading a city is similar to the mystery and ease of reading poetry. For Paris, literature has produced several images that were released in the texts and has provided the basis for a mythical image and experience of this city.

In a few of Edgar Allan Poe's tales he spread the image of a mysterious and gloomy Paris, and in "The Mystery of Marie Roget" (1842)

he introduced two important concepts that were widely exploited by other literary visitors of Paris. First, he invented an imaginary space in which real street names were mixed with other imaginary ones. Secondly, he superimposed the city of New York over Paris. Through these two maneuvers Poe demolished the notion of real space, instead replacing it with an imaginary one, yet one with deep connections to the real Paris. The plot of the story follows a terrible crime that happened in Paris, but that turns out to be identical to a true crime that occurred in New York. Poe proposes possible solutions to the real crime, which was still being investigated when he wrote the story. This image, of a mysterious and gloomy Paris, would reach a turning point with Eugene Sue's highly influential *Les mystères de Paris* (1842-43), a novel that presented the adventures of Rodolphe de Gérolstein as he tried to redeem Fleur-de-Marie and Chorineur, sinister inhabitants of the districts bordering the Cité. This image of Paris lingered as well in the works of Victor Hugo and Honoré de Balzac.

After the Paris of mysteries is that of the bohemian. The work of Henry Murger, *Scènes de la vie de bohème* (1851) created a bohemian typology. As stated by Murger himself: "Bohemia, bordered on the North by hope, work and gaiety, on the South by necessity and courage; on the West and east by slander and the hospital" (qtd. in Seigel 3). In effect, the Bohemians are artists, young, dark, and very inventive people. They arose from between the cracks that occurred when the *Ancien Regime* fell, and when the prevailing rigid class system tumbled apart. A subsidiary result of the industrial revolution was the awareness that one could live on the fringes of bourgeois society. Throughout the nineteenth century, there emerged major groups of Bohemians, especially in Paris. The "Quartier Latin" became a center for artistic activities. Among the most essential rites of passage, one could mention falling in love, dances at Montmartre, and the mixing of social classes (Seigel 3-11).

Santiago Rusiñol and Ramon Casas, Picasso and Joan Miró, even Salvador Dalí, all of them experienced the delights of the "Vie Bohème," while waiting for success to arrive. Even during the second half of the twentieth century, many South American novelists have perpetuated the image of a Paris where bohemia still existed. This is

what we read in novels such as Julio Cortázar's *Rayuela* and Alfredo Bryce Echenique's *La vida exagerada de Martín Romaña*.

A third image of Paris is the one that we associate with the "tourist." Tourists live in the Paris found on the right bank of the Seine. They stay away from Faubourg Saint Germain and the cryptology of French society explored by Marcel Proust. Tourists prefer the rule of Haussman, wide and open avenues, where you can visit the Louvre, Notre Dame, the Arc de Triomphe. They can go to the opera and theater. They prefer an idealized Paris: artificially beautified, elegant and luxurious neighborhoods, easy life. And this is the perfect venue for the "demi-mondaine," a character that we encounter in some popular plays, such as Emile Augier's *L'aventurière* (1848), or Alexandre Dumas the younger's *Le demi-monde* (1855) (also author of *La dame aux camèlies*, 1848). This idealized Paris of the tourist is echoed in Villalonga's *Bearn*. Dona Maria Antònia evokes the time of past visits to Paris: "Oh, Tonet, ses primaveres de París… Recordes es mercat de flors de la Cité?" (125) And Paris is, as it is well known, the perfect setting for Xima's triumph, converted into a "demi-mondaine."

Reading and Writing Issues

Llorenç Villalonga's *Bearn o la sala de les nines* is a novel that tells the decline of Don Toni and Dona Maria Antònia Bearn. They are aristocrats, cousins, husband and wife, and members of the decadent, age-old ruling class of the town that bears their name. Their story is told by the inexperienced family priest, Don Joan, who was taken under Don Toni's wing as a schoolboy. This narrator is challenged by Don Toni's impious personality, his defiance of church authority, and his scandalous affairs. The novel is divided in two parts, "Sota el signe de Faust" and "La pau regna a Bearn." The novel is filled with significant meta-literary components. The novel reads as a "letter" of Don Joan, which contains three types of materials: stories of events experienced or seen from his perspective, conversations between him and Don Toni of Bearn, and quotations from fragments of the *Memòries* Don Toni has written. This double literary movement of writing (the long letter) and reading (the reports) is very important from

the outset, and continues throughout the work. Don Joan has a complex relationship with *Memòries*. He respects them, he quotes from them, but he is also very critical with them. As a result, we very rarely hear Don Toni's voice and, more often, we get nuanced views and selected quotes from the *Memòries* as made by Don Joan. Don Toni's philosophy is summed up by Don Joan and the aforementioned reports or conversations. In fact, as a result of reading the reports, Don Joan's character evolves significantly, as he modifies his inflexible, often fundamentalist positions, which he expresses at the start of the novel.

Don Toni is introduced as a true writer. The interview with Leo XIII in Rome was prepared by his relative, the Marquis de Collera, who is always adressed with contempt. When Don Toni starts the interview Leo XIII says: "Bearn és un nom il·lustre," and soon after the Pope adds, "Vostè és un gran publicista" (180). When returning from Rome, we understand the origin of this misunderstanding. In a family meal at Ciutat, Collera says that Don Toni "passarà a la història com es primer escriptor de l'Illa i segurament del Regne" (188). Meanwhile, Don Joan occasionally acts as a literary critic and issues improvised opinions. In Chapter 9, Don Joan explains the meaning of the *Memòries*, and in doing so adopts a tone as if he were a literary critic. Imitating the best nineteenth-century impressionist critic, he writes: "L'obra té la frescor de la improvisació i l'encant de la sinceritat" (59). The *Memòries* have value as a witness to a lost world, as Don Toni has recreated an autonomous reality through words, a legacy:

> Don Toni no tenia successió, o almenys no la tenia reconeguda. El seu nom, aquell vell nom en el qual deia no creure, tot i saber que els noms constitueixen la realitat i la continuïtat de la Història, s'havia d'acabar en tancar ell els ulls. Perdut el nom, que és un conjur màgic, ¿què quedaria, en definitiva, de les paternitats i de les famílies?" (59)

A little while later we read: "Les *Memòries* recullen, doncs, la part d'immortalitat que li correspon: dins elles ha fixat records i circumstàncies" (60). Shortly after, he reports that they are a monument to his legitimate wife (62). But there is more: the *Memòries* come to replace reality, and the world of action, which in the case of Don Toni,

means his love life). In chapter 17 in the first part, he rejects the temptation of going to Paris with Xima. She insists, but Don Toni refuses. The reason for his refusal is the need to write and the fact that literature will replace the need for action: "Ja no necessitava dona Xima, sinó la seva imatge: les *Memòries*, el refugi de Bearn, una ploma, tinta i paper" (103). Literature, as the act of writing, is by now a substitute for being in the world, a way to experience reality. Memory, with a capital M, and as a title of the book he is writing, defines the parameters of the second part of the novel. This consideration elucidates Don Toni's theory on reading and writing: "–És natural –deia– que s'homo llegeixi fins a sa meitat de sa seva vida però arriba un moment en què li convé escriure. O tenir fills. Si ens il·lustram, és per il·lustrar alguna vegada, per perpetuar allò que hem après" (111). This is the reason why he burns all of his books without hesitation.

> –Aquests llibres ja no representen res per a mi. Ara escriuré jo. I veuràs!
> Ella replicà, recelosa:
> –Esper que no escriuràs desbarats.
> –Ho procuraré. Voldria explicar l'harmonia dels mons i treballar per la concòrdia… (113)

In the novel's final pages, when Don Toni hands out the *Memòries* to Don Joan, he explains the *Memòries*' meaning. Writing is valuable because it provides continuity, a way of preserving the past:

> Pensa que no som un erudit ni un escriptor en es sentit estricte de sa paraula, sinó un homo que no ha tengut fills –en dir això em va estréneyer el braç amb tendresa– i que desitjaria sobreviure algun temps perpetuant tot quant ha estimat. (…) En resum don s'obra per acabada. Sé que es dobbers que et vaig donar bastaran per s'edició, que no desig que sigui luxosa, sinó tan sols correcta. Edita-la a París. (237)

This remark is important because it emphasizes the fact that Paris introduces a different order of reality. Toni is well acquainted with the importance of publishing in Paris, and also realizes that for him it represents the world of freedom, an enlightened city. In chapter 19 he confesses to Don Joan that he deceived his wife when he told her that he would burn his *Memòries*:

> ella ha quedat aquí a canvi de cremar sa biblioteca, i jo no he tengut necessitat, com el califa de l'Edat Mitjana, de fer-la copiar abans de cremar-la. El gran Gutenberg amb sa impremta assegurà sa llibertat de pensament de tal forma que avui cremar llibres és igual que propagar-los. Com més edicions es destrueixin a Bearn, més se n'imprimiran a París. (117)

Thus Paris is a physical space, a place they travel to, but it is also a mental space, with significant connotations for reading and writing, as well as for publishing.

Use of Space in *Bearn*

Many critics have highlighted the importance that space plays in *Bearn* (Molas, Vidal i Alcover, Rosselló). It is reduced to two places on the island and two cities abroad. Bearn is an invented place, a small town in the interior, with a "possessió" (small rural property) that controls the nearby town and serves as a refuge for the characters in personally and historically difficult times. Ciutat de Mallorca (Palma de Mallorca) is the place not much loved by Don Toni, because it epitomizes the rejection of the Enlightenment. It is associated with the Marquis of Collera, "més buit que un cargol" ("hollower than a snail"), a "pa amb fonteta" Marquis. Paris, instead, becomes the stage for Toni's escapades. Don Toni considers it the cradle of the ideas of the Enlightenment. There the bourgeois revolutionary principles and the industrial revolution, with all of its machines, triumphed. Rome, on the other hand, is the setting for a visit to the Pope, confirming the uniqueness of Don Toni's personality and his condition as a freethinker. A clear contrast is thus established between these areas. Here I want to analyze how Llorenç Villalonga plays with the meaning (and meanings) of the name of Paris, and the effect the city has on the novel.

As Roland Barthes wrote about Marcel Proust's *Recherche du temps perdu*, the names in the book are not chosen by chance. In fact, they are deliberately selected to cause semic images of two kinds. First, Proust seeks to create traditional or cultural images. Parma is not just

an Italian city, but is reminiscent of a key city in a Stendhal novel and of the reflection of the violets (127). Likewise, for Don Toni Paris is not just the capital of France, it also represents the "Age of Lights," Enlightenment, materialistic rationalism, progress, and freedom. Secondly, Barthes implies that names have individual echoes or are memory related. Paris also represents a key episode in Don Toni's private imagination, as it is associated with his affair with Na Xima, and the loss of youth. Bearn as a name, from this perspective, is a small village in the Majorca island isolated from the world, but it also has deep French references, not only because there is a "Bearn" in southern France, but because a branch of the family claims that "els Bearns han tingut aliances amb els prínceps de Nemours i els reis de Navarra" (53). Naturally Don Toni rejects this position, but Don Joan appears more cautious, and accuses him of "pecar de lleuger."

Barthes stated that: "chaque nom contient plusieurs 'scènes' surgies d'abord d'une manière discontinue, erratique, mais qui ne demandent qu'à se fédérer et à former de la sorte un petit récit," because to tell a story is to bind, by metonymic process, a reduced number of complete units (127). So sorting out the system of names allows Proust and ourselves to grasp the essential meanings of the book, the armor of the signs, and a deeper syntax of the book. If we apply this model to Villalonga's book, we realize that there is a powerful syntax that controls aspects of the action, motivations of the characters, and adds setting details: Bearn and Paris, Faust and Manon, Gounod and Massenet.

The use of names in Villalonga's *Bearn* is combined with another phenomenon that affects time and space. In *Bearn* we detect a constant alternation between time and space that corresponds to different realities. This alternation culminates in an amalgam of complex dimensions, between history and fiction on the one hand, or between country and city on the other. Or to put it more precisely: between Old Regime and Enlightenment, progress and obscurantism. This alternation of time and space can function as an expression of one of modernity's tragedies: the contradiction between atavistic forces of a life anchored in the past and the pressure of those ready to fight to overcome the past.

That is why during the action of the novel history and fiction alternate. Some historical facts impact decisions that seem irrelevant, but that are understandable if we pay attention to history. Shortly before the revolution of September 1868, Don Toni and Don Joan go back to Ciutat and reopen the family house, to sell it and recover the extra expenses that Don Toni has had with Xima while in Paris. Another key moment in the novel occurs during Don Toni and Na Xima's trip to Paris, which we find out took place in 1859, in the splendor of the Second Empire, coinciding with the premiere of a famous opera, Gounod's *Faust*.

Broadening a little bit more the issue of space, we can detect the alternation between the provincial and cosmopolitan. In *Mort de dama*, another of Villalonga's masterworks, we observe similar oppositions between the "neighborhood" world within the city and the "colonial world" in Palma's Terreno neighborhood, or on another level, between Mallorca and Barcelona. In *Bearn* the opposition is established between the provincial and backward, in Bearn or Palma, that is in Majorca, as it is opposed to the outside world, the mainland, especially Paris. Rome already has another, much more episodic, function in the novel. The direct references to foreign cities, or travel abroad to visit them, is used to enter a world radically different from that which the characters understand in Bearn. Visiting these places also has as an educational training for the characters. The two visits to Paris and a visit to Rome transform the main protagonists of the novel, despite the varying importance they have for each one.

Paris, a Mythical City

I initially indicated some examples of Paris' literary charm. Who can escape the spell of Paris? In Villalonga's novel, Paris' appearances are calculated with a deliberate accuracy. The French capital becomes a constant reference to the internal world of the novel, which Don Toni makes clear from the first pages. As he responds in rejecting Palma's Seu district (near the cathedral), when contrasted with other cities he has visited: "Ciutat li donava la nostàlgia d'altres capitals que havia re-

corregut amb la seva esposa. Li agradava Gènova, amb els seus bells palaus, que preferia als de Florència; i per damunt de tot, París" (35). Don Toni's comparison of Palma with other cities is riveted by a final comment: "–És es país de la intel·ligència –me solia dir–." And when he evoques his escapade with Dona Xima, Don Toni says: "Tots –me deia– mos sentíem temptats de vendre s'ànima an el dimoni, especialment es qui ja havíem deixat d'esser joves. París era una màgia" (65). Or even as he recalled the impression made by Dona Xima in the audience attending the premiere of Gounod's opera: "Suposaven que procedíem d'una gran estirp. París és així de generós" (67). These, then, are some of the images raised by Paris in Don Toni's memory. It is a city favored over any other one, it is located in "el país de la intel·ligència," it is "una màgia," a generous city.

In his first visit, Don Toni meets the luxury and splendor of the Second Empire society. He makes an exact chronicle of what he has seen:

> Circulava s'or i es bulevards eren esplèndids de dones elegants. En es teatre d'ets Italians l'Alboni triomfava amb La Sonnambula, a l'Òpera es representava una obra francesa, El Profeta, de la qual han parlat molt. Lesseps, protegit per Eugènia de Montijo, projectava d'unir dos oceans. Haussman obria avingudes, construïen ferrocarrils, inventaven es telèfon i sa màquina de cosir… França, tot i essent tan rica, no havia arribat mai a sentir un tal grau de benestar i de luxe." (65)[1]

Faustian spirit has a fairly deep influence in Don Toni's character. In fact, Faustian spirit makes him abandon his wife in 1856, and a derivation of Faustian spirit –the love of the machine– makes him go to Paris in 1883, on the occasion of his second voyage. He organizes this trip almost clandestinely. On the road to Rome, Don Toni decides to stop to rest in Paris, making a resigned Don Joan comment: "Diuen que tots els camins duen a Roma, encara que aquell no semblava el més indicat" (142). The purpose is to ride with the broth-

1. At the time of Gounod's *Faust* premiere, other Parisian theaters were playing Félicien David's *Herculanum*, and Giacomo Meyerbeer's *Le pardon de Ploërmel* (Huebner 52).

ojo!!

ers Tissandier's dirigible balloon. Paris, as mentioned before, is where Don Toni wants his *Memòries* to be published.

The optimistic view of the city we read through the eyes and memories of Don Toni is in sharp contrast to what we know from Don Joan. For Don Joan, Paris represents materialism, a capital of sin, and he supports his opinions by quoting from nineteenth-century Spanish *auctoritas*: "El nostre Alarcón en el seu *Viaje de Madrid a Nápoles*, ha descrit aquell materialisme infiltrat en els costums que arribà fins al tron i que ha estat causa de tantes llàgrimes." (66) Or when Dona Xima visits Bearn, looking for financial suport from Don Toni, Don Joan's imagination creates a kind of balance between the character and the context where she lives:

> Dona Xima era per aquells temps la dona de prop de trenta anys, la rosa oberta i cobejable, engendradora de desigs tristos i mortals. La ciutat més dissoluta del món, la societat més desenfrenada, havien emmotllat a la seva imatge aquella pobra ànima, nascuda per al mal. (82)

We see the other extreme, Paris as a capital city of materialism, dissolute. In fact, one of Don Joan's teachers has already made him aware of this murky aspect of the French capital:

> –París –me deia el Pare Pi– és la sucursal de l'Infern. Es tracta d'un poble d'ateus que es bolquen en el vici i el plaer. La guerra dels setanta fou un avís de Déu que no els ha servit de res. Empesos per una demagògia suïcida, el socialisme se'ls ha infiltrat a la República i acabaran en el caos. (40)

Between those two poles –that of Don Toni and Don Joan– stands the vision of Paris in the novel. Travels and inventions represent the world of the future, as based on the French Revolution's principles. But as we are reminded by Don Toni, "el món és una harmonia de contraris," and Don Joan's image of Paris changes by the end of his visit. Don Joan, imitating a Baudelaire character, goes seeking Na Xima. When he encounters a French policeman who briefly detains him, he muses after exiting the police station: "El senyor comissari quedava convençut que tot allò es reduïa a una aventura galant, típica-

ment parisenca, i com a bon parisenc la galanteria, fins i tot en un sacerdot, li semblava un atenuant" (150).

Two Visits to Paris and Two Operas

Louis Napoleon's Second Empire had an extraordinary impact on the residents and visitors to Paris in the second half of the nineteenth century. One of the major government tasks entrusted to Paris prefet Baron Georges Haussman by Louis Napoleon was the reform of the city. Soon whole neighborhoods disappeared to make way for splendid boulevards, an urban cleaning of sorts. He was responsible for installing an innovative system of sewers that increased the level of hygiene in the city. Construction fever, with the help of capitalist partnerships, gave Paris chic restaurants, cafes, stores, houses, and apartments in those new avenues. Paris from that time became the focus for many tourists, French and foreign. The new urban transport system, trains, the nascent industry of leisure, the Universal Exhibitions of 1855 and 1867, acted as magnets and created the image that still survives today of Paris as the capital of pleasure and easy life.

During this period of the city, opera played a unique role. At the time, in Paris there were five working theaters where opera was performed: l'Opéra, el Théâtre-Lyrique in boulevard du Temple, Théâtre-Italien, Opéra-Comique, and Jacques Offenbach's Bouffes-Parisiens. Gounod started a renewal period of French opera, adapting literary topics and combining comical elements. He was followed by other authors such as Bizet, Saint-Saëns, and Offenbach (Parker 153-168).

The action of the novel outside the town of Bearn revolves around two visits to Paris. As Pere Rosselló said: "París representa l'obertura intel·lectual (l'estrena de Faust, el viatge en globus) i moral (la relació amb la Xima)" (83). Leaving aside biographical issues about Villalonga himself, which are only vaguely related to the novel,[2] the fact is that

2. This is unfortunately a recurrent opinion among many literary critics, starting with Molas 1969. Rosselló, for example, states: "entre el París del primer viatge

between the first and the second trip there exist many differences that affect the strict world of the novel. The most obvious correlative of the two visits are the two operas that Don Toni and her companion attend*: Faust* in the first visit (101), *Manon* in the second (163). Both operas have a symbolic meaning associated with the plot and theme of the novel.

Gounod's *Faust* premiered on March 19, 1859. The premiere was attended by Berlioz, Reyer, Delacroix, among others. It was an extraordinary occasion. Faust sold his soul to the devil in exchange for youth, sensual happiness, and knowledge. Faust's character is a symbol for the desire to know and the spirit that rebels against social and religious barriers. It is also a powerful symbol of the desire to stay young, to perpetuate life through a diabolical pact. When Xima visits Don Toni in Bearn, shortly before his reconciliation with his wife, the visit created in him a dreamlike effect, during which he recalled a famous scene of his first visit to Paris:

> Ara et veig… Calla. Ara entram a s'Òpera. Tu vas de blanc. Gounod mos saluda. L'Emperador també s'ha fixat en tu. És clar que et pagarà s'hotel, si t'hi encapritxes. Sis-cent mil francs… Res. Es diamants de sa polsera són, però, petits. Éts meravellosa, Xima. No hi ha ningú tan meravellosa com tu. (101)

There are obvious similarities between the opera performance and the flight from Bearn made by Don Toni, the most revelant being the Faustian impulse that guides Don Toni's actions.

In his second visit to Paris another key event is related to an opera again. The Bearn family gets tickets for Jules Massenet's *Manon* premiere. This opera is based on the novel by Abbé Prevost's *Manon Lescaut* (1731), a psychological novel in which he presents the love between nobleman Des Grieux and Manon. In the opera version, they meet each other at a hostel when Manon is heading to a convent fol-

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i el del segon hi ha unes diferències que en certa manera reflecteixen les que Villalonga hi va trobar entre els anys 20 i la postguerra" (83).

lowing her parents' orders. They fall in love, decide to escape together, and go to live in Paris. Des Grieux is later kidnapped by agents sent by his father, the Count Des Grieux. The day he becomes a chaplain, he has to read a sermon in Saint Sulpice. Manon finds out and goes to hear it. There is a tense conversation between the former lovers. Love is reborn and the two lovers escape. After several events –gambling episodes– they are both reported and arrested by order of Count Des Grieux. Manon is sentenced to deportation. On the road to Le Havre, Manon dies in Des Grieux's arms.

There are several noteworthy coincidences in Llorenç Villalonga's adaptation of *Manon*. First, he changes the dates of release, further evidence of the extent to which he manipulates reality to serve *Bearn*'s world. The opera *Manon* premiered not until 19 January 1884, at the Opéra-Comique, so the Bearn were prevented from attending because they came to Mallorca from Rome on 12 January. Secondly, Villalonga placed *Manon*'s representations in the new Opera Theatre, the Grand Opera. I do not know if this documentation error was done purposefully by the author. Regardless, the fact is this gives us an important clue about the symbolic elements associated with the operas throughout the novel. From Abbé Prevost's novel they made two versions of opera: one was a comic opera by Massenet, the second one a tragic version by Puccini. The choice, therefore, increases the value of many humorous elements present in the novel.

Thirdly, we should add that in the novel the allusion to the *Manon* opera has a dual purpose: serving to introduce the changes in Paris, and to illustrate with precise exactitude dona Xima's fate: "La Gran Òpera és un teatre modern, devora el boulevard des Capucins. L'antic teatre de la Rue Le Peletier es cremà ja fa temps, com si Déu volgués que amb el desastre de Sedan s'enfonsàs no sols l'Imperi sinó fins i tot l'escenari que simbolitzava els escàndols d'aquella societat" (163). The narrator's comment about Manon's character is a clear allusion to dona Xima: "El nom de Manon ha quedat com a prototipus de la dona lleugera, que passa empesa per l'huracà de les passions. (…) Dona Xima era de la casta de les Manon i havia d'acabar com elles" (163). Indeed, Manon's symbolism in the novel is clearly linked with Dona Xima, both women of easy life. There is another obvious item:

Manon is the woman who seduces a priest, one of the motifs present in the relationship between Don Joan and Dona Xima.

Besides the opera, there are other elements that help us to discern the differences between the two visits to Paris in *Bearn*. For example, the Paris neighborhood where they lived during their first visit served to indicate the status of Don Toni and Dona Xima. They first lived in the Grand Hotel, in Boulevard des Capucins, but it is too close to the opera and Xima complains that she cannot go there by car, and Don Toni cannot sleep because of the "renou del barri" (65). Thus, they rent a townhouse near Étoile, which has "jardí, bany i timbres elèctrics" (66).

In the second visit, Don Joan is surprised not to have seen Xima in central Paris neighborhoods, and he considers it a sign of her decline:

> El París daurat ignorava la seva presència. Devora aquest París de luxe i de riquesa, que s'estén de la Madeleine a la Porte de Saint-Martin, n'existeixen d'altres en els quals les sedes i les flors no somriuen darrera els mostradors de les botigues, ni els llums de gas brillen en la nit, ni els diamants, damunt la pell de les senyores, imiten la rosada dels camps. En alguns d'aquests París que el foraster no visita, pel barri de Sant Antoni, més enllà del Luxemburg, dins alguna pobra habitació sense més mobles que un llit, un lavabo de ferro i una cadira, dona Xima amagava possiblement la seva desfeta. (164)

This decline is harder in a society without scruples: "La bellesa i el que allà en diuen charme difícilment resistirien el doble estrall de la desventura i de la quarentena" (164). We are not any longer in a Paris scene of the "demi-mondaine" adventures. We have moved to bohemian Paris.

Fact and fiction, irony and ambiguity, unresolved confusions; these are part of the novel's core meaning. This core is then built around playing with names: what Paris represents for Bearn, Toni, and Don Joan, and what they represent to Paris. The effect of Paris in the novel can be read in two ways. Mentioning the name of the city, as we have seen before, causes opposite reactions in the main characters, Don Toni and Don Joan. But the characters also have an effect on Paris. During their two visits, Don Toni and his entou-

rage accidently cheat the inhabitants of Paris. In the first visit they make them think that Don Toni and Xima belong to a noble family of great lineage, and this facilitates Xima's entry in society. Toni interprets this as distinctive Paris "generosity." In the second visit they are treated as princes, and during their trip on the Seine, Maria Antonia is able to use "coixins de vellut vermell galonejat d'or" (157), which were only used by the Duchess of Edinburgh. The Ville Lumière thinks that they are princes, and they do not deny the misunderstanding. There is an ambiguity, because when the police expell the impostors, the only one to know the truth is Don Joan, and he hides it from his master: "Vaig voler suportar l'afront sense compartir-lo amb ningú i ja que sortia de la Ville Lumière amb la mort al cor, aconseguir, que els senyors en sortissin amb el somriure als llavis, el cap alt i honorats com a prínceps" (167).

The titles of the two parts of the novel allude to two quite significant names: Faust and Bearn, and refer us to the universal imaginary world, and the imaginary world specific to Villalonga. The first one, "Sota el signe de Faust," points to the impulses of the visit to Paris, and, through Gounod's opera and the allusion to the myth of Goethe's *Faust*, introduces the rejection of lost youth. Vain hope is confirmed in the second half, entitled "La pau regna a Bearn." An apparent peace finally appears, when Don Toni finds refuge in writing, and he reevaluates his past life: "La darrera amant del senyor, la més fidel, la que l'acompanyà en la seva soledat, fou la Memòria, i a les seves Memòries, en efecte, ho ha sacrificat tot: doblers, bon nom, fins i tot la bellesa de dona Xima" (110). The transition from the first to the second visit is marked by Don Toni's change of attitude: from action to reflection. So the narrator in turn can reflect:

> acabava de comprendre que l'eternitat no s'aconsegueix venent l'ànima al Dimoni, sinó detenint el temps, fixant-lo. L'eternitat que ell desitjava (eternitat terrenal, perquè era massa pagà per pensar en l'altra) se l'havia de crear ell mateix. Era tard per repetir, però no per recordar. Ja no necessitava dona Xima, sinó la seva imatge: les Memòries, el refugi de Bearn, una ploma, tinta i paper. (102-103)

This is the only passage in the novel where we can detect a more or less accurate trace of Proust's ideas. It also confirms how action, in a proustian operation of sorts, is replaced by remembrance.

Paris, The "Lumières," Bearn

Vidal i Alcover once wrote: "Aquestes anades al passat [draw on his memories to find material for his novels] no tenen res de proustià. Proust retornava a la seva infantesa i a la seva joventut a la recerca d'una felicitat esvaïda." According to this critic, Llorenç Villalonga was looking for a "codi moral, unes lleis del viure." Therefore, surpassing his own time, having to chose between several historical periods, he picks up the one closest to his ideal of human coexistence, as represented by eighteenth century France (47). In Bearn, eighteenth century Enlightenment ideas are dominant, but applied to realities of the nineteenth century. Paris, capital of the nineteenth century, gives Don Toni the space he needs to dramatize the contrast –read it as the critique of society–, between the backward and insular society of Majorca and the one that at that time was the leading civilized city.

Thus, in chapter 13 of *Bearn*'s first part we can read an almost anguished question that Don Toni inquires to Don Andreu, vicar of Bearn: "¿Però quants d'anys creu vostè –preguntà– tardaran les lumières a arribar fins aquí?" (79) It's a rhetorical question, because in the same sentence Don Toni articulates the answer:

> amb sos anys he anat construint una filosofia pròpia, podríem dir eclèctica: crec que a mesura que mos refinem anirem essent més cruels, perquè tot està sempre compensat. Es segle XIX és es segle d'es grans invents, de sa fraternitat i de ses guerres més horroroses. Tot presenta sa seva contrapartida. Allò que té anvers ha de tenir revers. Déu, summament misericordiós, condemna moltíssima gent. (79)

Paris and lights. The names of Paris. The names in Paris. Bearn in Paris. To complement Villalonga's use of place names and names of people or works associated with these sites, it is necessary to explain

the name of Bearn. "El nom serveix de tapadora a la persona, i sentintse en certa manera invulnerable, el poderós corre perill d'oblidar fins i tot els principis de l'ètica i de la religió" (162) says Don Joan when alluding to a characteristic of nobility, that of being able to take refuge under a name and to protect themselves from morality. This happened to Don Toni during the first half of his life, as the narrator tells us, "la vida escandalosa que el senyor dugué durant la primera meitat de la seva existència no hauria estat tolerada sense el conjur de les cinc lletres que componen el seu llinatge" (162).

It is this attitude that helps Don Joan to positively interpret the village name's meaning: "El nom de Bearn, ple de reminiscències antigues i pastorívoles, va associat als hàbits setcentistes del senyor i a l'amabilitat parsimoniosa de dona Maria Antònia" (123). But there is something else. Paris not only evokes the name of an illustrious city, leader to a model of industrial civilization, the center of the universe at which the novel's action is located, but it also alludes to the revolutionary ideology that carefully –and from a distance– Don Toni covets. His trips to Paris have an educational and transformational effect on his worldview. Each time he returns from Paris he makes an important change to the small village. The *sala de les nines* (hall of the dolls), mechanical inventions, the library, his *Memòries*. What happens throughout the novel is that, through misunderstandings and travel, the name of Bearn is impregnated with a Parisian taste. Going to Paris allows Don Toni to better know (and love differently) Bearn. Towards the end of reading the novel, Paris is replaced by Bearn. But the lights of France's capital illuminate the "possession" and give the name of Bearn a whole new meaning to justify the suspicions of priest Binimelis:

> Bearn,
> peix i carn. (64)

6. Exile in the City: Mercè Rodoreda's *La plaça del Diamant*

This chapter identifies a specific strategy of Rodoreda's writing: the presence of the city in her best known novel, *La plaça del Diamant* (1962), in a way that becomes an allegory to express the impact of exile and alienation. Her recourse to this rhetorical device was necessitated by the political constraints on expression imposed by censorship, on one hand, and the author's excruciating personal circumstance, which compounded the difficulties of her political situation, on the other. As in many realistic novels such as *Moby Dick*, *The Golden Bowl*, or *La febre d'or*, in *La plaça del Diamant* an element related to the title crystallizes many suggestive meanings related to the central plot and its development throughout the novel. Rodoreda's novel gets much closer to a genuine allegory than its nineteenth-century counterparts, as do some of Faulkner's and Joyce's novels. The public square, "La plaça del Diamant,"[1] becomes the center of a small world, and the main character's relationship with this space becomes an alle-

1. I quote from the Catalan original using the following abbreviation: *PD*: *La plaça del Diamant.* Barcelona: Club Editor, 1981.

gory of her state of mind and her evolution. Rodoreda's allegorical use of the city is, moreover, further evidence of what Josep-Miquel Sobré masterfully studied as Rodoreda's manipulation of reality. Since her early wartime writings, presentations of time and space have always had a particular strength and appeal in her work. In fact, we can identify two types of approaches to space in Rodoreda's writings. One is that of rural settings located in undefined countries, in works such as "La salamandra" or *La mort i la primavera*. The other uses well-known spaces, mostly related to her native Barcelona, but presented in indefinite terms, as in *La plaça del Diamant* or *El carrer del les Camèlies*. de Both settings have similar effects: they create a feeling of uncertainty, and perhaps a more decisive impact on our own reactions as readers, because we recognize a well-known territory that has been refashioned.

It would be too easy to portray the author as one who always had a bizarre but original approach to space for personal reasons. That would imply that Mercè Rodoreda's entire work represents a search for maturity. It could be seen then as a refuge within whose confines she could escape the difficulties of her younger life. Biographers do indeed posit that personal circumstances –she was supposedly married against her will to an uncle when she was only twenty years old–, as well as political turmoil –the Spanish Civil War– prohibited her free self-expression until she was over sixty years old.[2] Among other factors of turmoil that Rodoreda had to endure were those that repressed her creativity. These would include the four different varieties of exile she underwent after the end of the Spanish Civil War: political, because to a certain extent she had been a supporter of the Second Republic; geographic, since she lived in France and Switzerland from 1939 until 1973; linguistic, because she was a native Catalan, and so went through a double exile amidst the already exiled Spanish population;

2. Montserrat Casals i Couturier, "El 'Rosebud' de Mercè Rodoreda" 32–33. See also her biography of Rodoreda for a more detailed explanation of the circumstances of the author's marriage; *Mercè Rodoreda. Contra la vida, la literatura. Biografia*, especially chapters II and III.

and personal, for she separated from her husband and son the moment she left Spain and hardly saw them again.

This biographical approach, however, would not explain the internal difficulties of the work itself; the problems we encounter again and again as we read her writings would remain unsolved. Rodoreda's use of space as an allegorical expression in her first major novel, *La plaça del Diamant*, is particularly striking because it introduces an analogy with estrangement. Although critics have addressed her sophisticated approach to reality, few have underscored its non-realistic strategies. As Emilie Bergmann nicely put it: "the potential for the fantastic and the allegorical seen in *La plaça del Diamant* is realized in *La meva Cristina*… and later works" (89). Recourse to figurative discourse allowed the Catalan author to express what repression made unspeakable, offering her a vehicle through which she could accomplish a remarkable personal and national vindication that, once decoded, leaves us with a clear, unmistakable message.

The image of the city in *La plaça del Diamant* functions as a mirror for the main character's intricate destiny. Rodoreda thereby articulates the relationship between physical and psychic space with an effectiveness unmatched by any other author since who has used Barcelona as a fictional setting. The city –Barcelona– becomes a sort of character itself, going well beyond its function as a mere locale. This is a process that illustrates perfectly Mieke Bal's theory of the active role space plays in some narrative fictions: "Space thus becomes an 'acting place' rather than the place of action. It influences the fabula, and the fabula becomes subordinate to the presentation of space" (95). The city, the place of being, is transformed into a physical extension of what the main character herself cannot utter; Barcelona becomes an allegory of the unspeakable.

As Bal has stated, in such a case, space is thematized, becoming "an object of presentation itself, for its own sake" (95). This technique, used to present the city in *La plaça del Diamant*, is also evident in some of Rodoreda's other novels, short stories, and letters. My approach to the significance of the city differs from Arnau's, who affords the city a less prominent role in *La plaça del Diamant* when she writes:

> As is the case with typical events, the exact places and situations of the city are concentrated in the first part of the book. This is determined, on one hand, by the fact that the settings must be defined in the first chapters, and on the other, by the fact that as the story moves along and times become harder, the principle character loses her grip on reality. (My translation, 126)

However, what we find in the novel is not only an increase in the number of difficulties that Colometa has to endure, but also an allegorical strategy masterfully devised by the author to achieve a certain aesthetic and moral effect. It is better not to think in terms of mere realistic techniques, because Rodoreda is working with sophisticated tools to express uncertainty and, at the same time, to stress Colometa's internal evolution.

Allegory and City

Several qualities of the narration call attention to the city's non-literal nature. For example, in the references to the time when the action of the novel takes place, roughly between 1930 and 1950, there is virtually no outright statement of the historical circumstances that were racking the city and its inhabitants. All references to what is traditionally understood as "history," such as the mention of factions, figureheads, political details of war, and even evocation of the word "war" itself, hang silently and ominously, ever-present but untouchable, over the main character's personal history. Similarly, the reference to the city itself is always carefully masked behind a curtain of allegorical allusions and illusions. It is a remarkable example of a feminine approach to reality: emphasizing seemingly non-empirical reality, and stressing feelings and reactions, inner experiences and apparently insignificant changes.

Rodoreda's use of the city as a personalized background for Colometa's evolution calls for broader attention. As Kristiaan Versluys has remarked, after the first interest in the city as a literary topic in late Romanticism, writers went through a period of transition, hesitating between what they saw as the coexistence of harmony and confusion.

Later on, in Modernity, the writer reports her or his reaction towards the metaphysical chaos implied by the city.[3] This is what happens to Rodoreda's characters in general and most notably to Colometa: they are lost in a setting that seems labyrinthic to them. The two principle spaces evoked within the city in *La plaça del Diamant* to express these reactions are the streets and houses.

There are three houses with a specific symbolic value: the one where Colometa and Quimet establish themselves as a young married couple, the rich family's house where Colometa works as a maid, and, finally, Antoni's home. In the latter, a transition and transformation occur from the protagonist's experience as a maid to mistress of the house and of herself, from one controlled to one controlling, from Colometa to (senyora) Natàlia. These houses constitute three different settings for Colometa's movements and are extensions of her moral state. In the first, she is mercilessly dominated by Quimet's actions, friends, and family. The first time she enters the apartment we realize her silenced dislike: "El pis estava abandonat. La cuina feia pudor d'escarbats i vaig trobar un niu d'ous llarguets de color de caramel …" (*PD* 38). Only Quimet's complete disappearance, his death, frees her from the physical and emotional space in which she lived with him, suffocated and denied her natural state like the pigeons whose cages he forces upon her and their apartment.

The second domestic space is her work setting where, although temporarily freed from the repression of her husband, she endures yet another kind of domination by her employers and the place in which they live. Through the voice of her seemingly naïve protagonist, Rodoreda shrewdly evokes the abyss between the class of the innocent Colometa and that of her wealthy employers. As she begins her work, she is astounded at the way rich people live, and at the kind of diseases they have. The house itself is a space that is totally alien to Colometa, one that she finds disorienting and at the same time reflects her inner

3. Kristiaan Versluys 11–18. See also Edward Timms and David Kelley, eds., *Unreal City. Urban Experience in Modern European Literature and Art* New York: St. Martin Press, 1985.

insecurity. We notice this when she finishes her remembrance of the space by saying: "I si parlo tant de la casa, és perquè encara la veig com un trencaclosques, amb les veus d'ells que, quan em cridaven, no sabia mai d'on venien" (*PD* 109). The difference between the two worlds is underscored by Quimet's response: "vaig explicar la història del reixat a en Quimet i va dir-me que com més rics més estranys" (*PD* 116).

The third space, Antoni's house, strikes the maturing Colometa as oppressive because it does not have any natural light, and all the flowers in it are artificial. The only masculine space that has not been forced upon her, it calls her to enter it cautiously, focusing literally on its dark side: "La casa era senzilla i fosca, fora de dues habitacions que donaven al carrer que baixava a la plaça de vendre" (*PD* 196). This is not her first entry, since she once went into the shop, the public side of this space, to buy birdseed. The comments she recalls during her first visit are thus remarkable, because they enhance her positive association between the space and the person who occupies it: "La meva senyora sempre deia que feia bons preus i que era un adroguer honrat que sempre donava el pes. I era de poques paraules" (*PD* 119). The author inspires sympathy towards the taciturn man living there at this early stage, presaging some of the later developments in the novel. More important, this is the first of a series of connections linking her two domestic spaces, which are resolved after the suicide attempt when Colometa decides to marry Antoni. The moment she decides to wed him, she looks at his house from a very different perspective, that of an individual somebody almost at peace with herself, but still with some deep fears. The depiction of her new whereabouts is particularly remarkable as it contrasts sharply with that of her first apartment:

> Em vaig quedar plantada damunt de les rajoles tacades de sol, al peu del balcó. Del presseguer va fugir una ombra, i era un ocell. I damunt del pati, venint de les galeries, va caure un nuvolet de pols. A la sala de les campanes de vidre vaig trobar una teranyina. S'havia fet de campana a campana. Sortia del peu que era de fusta, passava per la punxa del cargol i anava a parar al peu de fusta de l'altra campana. I vaig mirar tot allò que seria la meva casa. I se'm va fer un nus al coll. Perquè d'ençà que havia dit que sí, m'havien vingut ganes de dir que no. No m'agradava res: ni la botiga, ni el passadís com un budell fosc, ni alló de les rates que venien de la clavaguera. (*PD* 210)

The mention of rats clearly underlines three kinds of affinity between both spaces. One of dissimilarity, since doves are associated with purity and rats to contamination; and one of similarity as doves are considered "flying rats" in Barcelona. Thirdly, the animals that menace Colometa-Natàlia's security come from opposite levels: from the roof in the first space, from underneath in the latter one. The three spaces mentioned above show us how sophisticated the use of allegory is throughout the novel: it succeeds in portraying elusively the main problems of the novel, but allegory also gives the reader a sense that the plot has to be read and understood at two levels.

Exterior spaces, particularly the streets, likewise teem with allegorical significance. The street is the place for knowledge, change, and self-discovery, menacing and alluring to Rodoreda's timid protagonist. At the beginning of the novel, the narrator refers to specific streets and places in the neighborhood of Gràcia: the plaça del Diamant, where she meets Quimet and his friends; the Carrer Gran, which is the street separating the poor from the rich, and also dividing the two periods in Colometa-Natàlia's life; and the Park Güell, also associated with Quimet. We learn very soon that his father supposedly took Gaudí to the hospital when he was run over by a streetcar. Colometa's dislike of Gaudí's architecture tangentially reflects her natural rejection of the mass of things Quimet will eventually impose on her. As the novel progresses, the names of streets become less important and anonymous avenues begin to dominate the novelistic space, representing Colometa's emerging rupture with her past and its control of her life. Urban space is transformed into a physical extension of what the main character herself cannot utter. Barcelona itself becomes the forbidden word.

As names and specific places begin to fade, certain objects and urban atmospheres acquire added dimensions. Actions particular to Natàlia's private spaces take on the relief previously allocated to the public sphere. Seeing dolls in a shop window becomes a marker for the passing of time and serves to remind the reader of the character's changes:

> Altra vegada un tramvia va haver de parar en sec mentre travessava el carrer Gran; el conductor em va renyar i vaig veure gent que reia. A la botiga dels

> hules em vaig aturar a fer veure que mirava, perquè si vull dir la veritat he de dir que no veia res: només taques de colors, ombres de nina… I de l'entrada sortia aquella olor antiga d'hule que, pel nas se'm ficava al cervell i me l'enterbolia. L'adroguer de les veces tenia la botiga oberta. (*PD* 179)

In this short fragment, we identify most of Colometa's points of reference as she walks through the streets (the dolls in the window, the streetcars, the grocer). Thus we recall Baudelaire's *flâneur*, who sees the streets either as landscape or a room, and finds shelter among the big-city crowd (Benjamin *Reflections* 156-158).

On many occasions when she is in the street Colometa focuses her attention on two other aspects of reality: smells and lights. Both are useful to Rodoreda to create the novel's historical backdrop and to help the reader relate the action to a specific time:

> I tot anava així, amb maldecaps petits, fins que va venir la república i en Quimet se'm va engrescar i anava pels carrers cridant i fent voleiar una bandera que mai no vaig poder saber d'on l'havia treta. Encara em recordava d'aquell aire fresc, un aire, cada vegada que me'n recordo, que no l'he pogut sentir mai més. Mai més. Barrejat amb olor de fulla tendra i amb olor de poncella, un aire que va fugir i tots els que després van venir mai més no van ser com l'aire aquell d'aquell dia que va fer un tall en la meva vida, perquè va ser amb abril i flors tancades que els meus maldecaps petits es van començar a tornar maldecaps grossos. (*PD* 90-1)

The second Spanish Republic was proclaimed on April 14. This is the elusive way that Rodoreda chooses to introduce information of this kind in the novel, producing a subjective, synesthetic effect.

The use of light constitutes a second example of this kind of localization of an urban atmosphere that becomes pivotal to express the inner life of the novel's characters. The appearance of blue lights in the streets is Rodoreda's reminder that a war is going on. Colometa and Quimet react very differently to them. To Colometa they offer the positive effect of dimming reality: "Tots els llums eren blaus. Semblava el país dels màgics i era bonic. Així que queia el dia tot era de color blau. Havien pintat de blau els vidres dels fanals alts i els vidres dels fanals baixos i a les finestres de les cases, fosques, si es veia una mica

de llum, de seguida xiulets" (*PD* 163). Quimet, on the other hand, is unnerved by the same lights: "En Quimet va dir que allò dels llums blaus el feia posar de mal humor i que si algun dia podia manar faria posar tots els llums vermells com si tot el país tingués el xarrampió, perquè ell, va dir, de bromes també en sabia fer" (*PD* 165). The reactions of the two to the same urban phenomenon are paradigmatic of their characters, more often than not totally at odds with each other.

In the most desperate moment of the novel, when Colometa is about to kill her children and commit suicide, the blue lights resurface as a reference to war and to dislocation:

> I vaig respirar com si el món fos meu. I vaig anar-me'n. Havia de mirar de no caure, de no fer-me atropellar; d'anar amb compte amb els tramvies, sobretot amb els que baixaven, de conservar el cap al damunt del coll i anar ben dret cap a casa: sense veure els llums blaus. Sobretot sense veure els llums blaus. (…)
>
> I altra vegada la casa dels hules i les nines amb les sabates de xarol… sobretot no veure els llums blaus i travessar sense pressa… no veure els llums blaus… i em van cridar. (*PD* 192)

That someone was Antoni, the grocer, and thus begins the great change in Colometa's life, about to find relief from the dizzying uncertainty of wartime illumination. This relief, however, comes slowly, and her adverse reaction to her urban environment must intensify before it can dissipate.

Toward the end of the novel, after her second marriage, senyora Natàlia refuses to leave her house. She reacts negatively to the street, where previously she had found refuge:

> Vivia tancada a casa. El carrer em feia por. Així que treia el nas a fora, m'esverava la gent, els automòbils, els autobusos, les motos… . Tenia el cor petit. Només estava bé a casa. De mica en mica, tot i que em costava, m'anava fent la casa meva, les coses meves. La fosca i la llum. Sabia les clarors del dia i sabia on queien les taques de sol que entraven pel balcó del dormitori i de la sala: quan eren llargues, quan eren curtes. (*PD* 217)

When finally she decides to go out again she goes to the parks, because at that moment she does not have to work anymore. In her

walks she always avoids the streets. These parks are the least urban setting in the whole novel, and of course, they may be related to her first visit to Park Güell with Quimet. She appears to be a crazy woman and becomes known as an anonymous person, "la senyora dels coloms" (*PD* 223), summarizing this way her loss of identity: "I per anar als parcs fugia dels carrers on passaven massa automòbils perquè em marejava i de vegades feia una gran volta per anar-hi, per poder passar per carrers tranquils" (*PD* 223). The main character's appearance and actions in all those spaces, houses, and streets, interiors and exteriors, remind us of the striking magnitude of this aspect of the novel. Because of the way it is introduced, space acts not as a "fixed frame" but as a "factor which allows for the movements of characters," (Bal 96) and then it operates fully in the development of the plot.

Liberation from Space

The final chapter in *La Plaça* includes a sort of liberation. She has just recuperated her original name, Natàlia. To her surprise at her daughter's wedding she has been addressed as "Senyora Natàlia." In her final dreamlike monologue, Colometa-Natàlia rethinks her past in terms of scents and stenches:

> I mentre pensava així van néixer les olors i les pudors. Totes. Empaitant-se, fent-se lloc i fugint i tornant: l'olor de terrat amb coloms i l'olor de terrat sense coloms i la pudor de lleixiu que quan vaig ser casada vaig saber quina mena de pudor era. I l'olor de sang que ja era com un anunci de mort. I l'olor de sofre dels coets i de les piules aquella vegada a la plaça del Diamant i olor de paper de les flors de paper i olor de sec de l'esparreguera que s'esmicolava i feia un gruix a terra de coses petites petites que eren el verd que havia fugit de la branca. I l'olor del mar tan forta. I em vaig passar la mà pels ulls. I em preguntava per què de les pudors en deien pudors de les olors olors i per què no podien dir pudors de les olors i olors de les pudors i va venir l'olor que feia l'Antoni quan estava despert i l'olor que feia l'Antoni quan estava adormit. (*PD* 246-247)

Many critics have pointed out that life in the big city was a repulsive experience: "Fear, revulsion, and horror were the emotions which

the big city crowd aroused in those who first observed it," wrote Walter Benjamin. And he added some important comments about movement in the big city: "Moving through this traffic involves the individual in a series of shocks and collisions. At dangerous intersections, nervous impulses flow through him in rapid succession, like the energy from a battery. Baudelaire speaks of a man who plunges into the crowd as into a reservoir of electric energy. Circumscribing the experience of the shock, he calls this man 'a kaleidoscope equipped with consciousness'" ("On Some Motifs" 174-75). In the 1950s, this was still a forceful impression. Colometa, the main character in Mercè Rodoreda's *La Plaça del Diamant*, literally has this kind of feeling. In the novel, the Carrer Gran in Gràcia is the street that separates the poor from the rich and also divides two periods in Colometa-Natalia's life. On several occasions, Colometa has a life-threatening encounter with streetcars, and they all happen on the Carrer Gran.

In a long, impressive "flash-back" she revives her whole life. It is one of the most moving episodes of the novel: after her daughter's wedding, Colometa leaves her new house at dawn and walks through the neighborhood where she had spent her youth, her early years of deep pain and fight for survival. Finally, she dares to go across the Carrer Gran, a street that repeatedly had been too imposing for her. This time she masters the situation; she is finally in control of her life and Rodoreda shows the character going across the street as if she were crossing a river: "I quan vaig arribar al carrer Gran vaig caminar per l'acera de rajola a rajola, fins arribar a la pedra llarga del cantell i alli em vaig quedar com una fusta per fora, amb tota una puja de coses que del cor m'anaven al cap" (*PD* 248). The street crossing is presented in a way that reminds readers of Maragall's metaphors about the Sagrada Familia, and it shows the strong intertwining taking place between nature and the city. Then a streetcar comes and helps her overcome her irrational fear of open spaces, and most important, of her past:

> Va passar un tramvia, devia ser el primer que havia sortit de les cotxeres, un tramvia, com sempre, com tots, descolorit i vell –i aquell tramvia, potser m'havia vist correr amb en Quimet al darrera, quan vam sortir com rates bo-

> ges venint de la plaça del Diamant. I se'm va posar una nosa al coll, com un cigro clavat a la campaneta. Em va venir mareig i vaig tancar els ulls i el vent que va fer el tramvia em va ajudar a arrencar endavant com si m'hi anes la vida. I a la primera passa que vaig fer encara veia el tramvia deixat anar aixecant espurnes vermelles i blaves entre les rodes i els rails. Era com si anes damunt del buit, amb els ulls sense mirar, pensant a cada segon que m'enfonsaria, i vaig travessar agafant fort el ganivet i sense veure els llums blaus […] I a l'altra banda em vaig girar i vaig mirar amb els ulls i amb l'anima i em semblava que no podia ser de cap de les maneres. Havia travessat. I em vaig posar a caminar per la meva vida vella fins que vaig arribar davant de la paret de casa, sota de la tribuna […]. (*PD* 248)

The streetcar is not only seen as an object that has witnessed her past. At the same time, its fantastic appearance ("aixecant espurnes vermelles i blaves entre les rodes i els rails") allows Colometa to overcome her fear of the future, her morbid attraction to the past. That is, being able to go across the street without any fear means that she is in control of her own life since streetcars are no longer menacing objects.

At the end of it, she realizes at last that she has gained control over her life: "i vaig ficar-me a la plaça del Diamant: una capsa buida feta de cases velles amb el cel per tapadora" (PD 249). This sentence in the monologue gives us a clear impression of how the city has become a doll's house, and how she sees, now from the outside, her past life and suffering as a far and forgettable experience. To this we can add the final word in the novel: "Contents." As analyzed by Victoria Hackbarth, "The final resolution in *La plaça del Diamant* symbolizes a rebirth, an opening to a new beginning" (229).

Thus, the use that Rodoreda makes of spaces in the city throughout the novel has a significant impact on the way the reader perceives the evolution of the main character. Rodoreda's use of interior and exterior settings can be decoded as an allusion to the main opposition of the novel, between an internal fight –that of Colometa trying to become Natàlia– and an external one –that of Natàlia trying to find her way out, physically and emotionally, of the past in which she was trapped. In the novel, as in most of her writings, Rodoreda achieves what can be called a dialectic of space, that is, a series of gestures that oppose several perceptions of space: inside (the houses) and outside

(life in the streets), up (the doves in the roof) and down (the rats in the sewer). Colometa-Natàlia is always trapped between two levels, both physically and morally, as she achieves what Raymond Williams has depicted as one of the themes of modern urban literature: "the intensity of a paradoxical self-realization in isolation" (16). The allegorical use of space throughout the novel exposes the evolution of its main character and gives us a sense of territory, from Natàlia's being dominated to her becoming the one to dominate: perhaps unconsciously, but certainly for her survival's sake.

7. Literary Construction: the Case of Eduardo Mendoza

Eduardo Mendoza's novels have been received with much interest by readers and critics alike. His first book, though, had a special reader, an anonymous censor ("Martos nº 6") who wrote one of the most accurate critical accounts of Mendoza's narrative when he evaluated *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta* in September 1973. He has been the only one who dared to write the truth about a novel that at the time was still entitled *Soldados de Cataluña*:

> Novelón estúpido y confuso, escrito sin pies ni cabeza. La acción pasa en Barcelona en 1917, y el tema son los enredos en una empresa comercial que vende armas a aliados y bajo cuerda a alemanes, todo mezclado con historias internas de los miembros de la sociedad, casamientos, cuernos, asesinatos y todo lo típico de las novelas pésimas escritas por escritores que no saben escribir. […] El título no tiene relación alguna con el contenido de la obra.[1]

These serious words remind us of the difficult task facing critics and readers, to decide: what is literature? As stated by Paul Ricœur,

1. I am thankful to my colleague and friend Elide Pittarello for providing me a copy of this invaluable document.

"la littérature est à la fois un amplificateur et un analyseur des ressources de sens disponibles dans l'usage ordinaire de la langue commune" (18). This is, in fact, one of the bases of literature: language's dual capability to amplify and analyze available linguistic resources. But the censor on duty did not realize, and perhaps neither did Mendoza himself while he was writing it, that here was a new type of text, one that started a small revolution in the hitherto closed Spanish narrative sanctuary. While the novel was starting a revolution against social oriented literature and experimentalism, there arose a group of young writers with very different opinions, who decided to communicate with reality in other terms. This group became known as "Novísimos," literature from the *Transición*, or just postmodern turn. Mendoza himself summarized it this way: "la novela […] era libre de utilizar cualquier convención a su antojo; […] vivió en las décadas de los setenta y ochenta un nuevo periodo de esplendor. En cierto modo, porque su actitud también definía nuestra forma de concebir la realidad: distanciada e irónica" (1998). Distance and irony in this instance were two key components generated in the literary world by this author, with the dual task, as defined by Ricœur, to *amplify* and *analyze*. This distinction was developed in a very specific setting. And Mendoza occupied a very distinguished position amongst a group of writers who have dealt with urban issues from a very different perspective than the rigid one defended by architects. Literature has analyzed and interpreted the city of Barcelona in many different ways. In doing so, literature has transformed urban space in ways that no architect could have anticipated, by proposing impossible utopic projects for urban planners, to be built on paper or with the help of cement.

When compared with other attempts at literary constructions or interpretations of Barcelona, Eduardo Mendoza's novels are of original stock. Many of them draw a world characterized by two features: the atmosphere in a bygone Barcelona, and secondly the focus around an ambiguous central character, of uncertain origin, who rises and falls, until he disappears in an unexpected twist. In Mendoza's fictional world we encounter a recurrent situation or chronotope: the wacky, weird, parvenu (Lepprince, Bouvila, Prullàs) consisting of an obscure character who manages to find his way into Barcelona society's upper

level milieu without ever being accepted fully. The narrator pays special attention to historical details and works artfully to reconstruct the period. As is well known, the chronotope is the main embodiment of time in space, the center of the realization and embodiment, which is representative of the entire novel. All abstract elements of the novel, philosophical and social generalizations, ideas, analysis of causes and effects, etc., revolve around a specific chronotope (Bakhtin 398). Mendoza uses the "historic inversion" discussed by Bakhtin, which enriches the bygone at the expense of the future by shifting everything desirable into a more authentic past.[2] The city serves not merely as scenery, but acquires the category of a character. A novel such as *Don Quixote* mixes the chronotope of the "wondrous strange world" with the "main road through the home country" in a way that substantially changes the meaning of both. Something similar happens in the novels of Mendoza, which are always filled with cervantine allusions: the mad hero exploring the strange world of normalcy through an adventurous life. However, he does little other than provide a distorted view of reality well known to the narrator and many of its readers. So are the characters of Miranda, Pajarito, or Lepprince in *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta,* or Bouvila himself in *La ciudad de los prodigios*, who is estranged and alienated from his family, and pursues the obsessive goal of recreating a collector's villa, in the vein of *Citizen Kane*'s Xanadu. Another example is Prullàs, the main character in *Una comedia ligera*, a playwright who flees his bourgeois family lifestyle and takes refuge in the squalid environments of the steamy summer city theater. There he watches a theater group rehearse his play *Arrivederci pollo*, when a

2. "The essence of such an inversion [historical inversion] consists of mythological and artistic thought locating in the past categories such as the goal, the ideal, justice, perfection, the harmonious condition of man and society, and so on. Myths about paradise, Golden Age, a heroic age, ancient verities, and later representations of a state of nature, of naturally given rights, and so on, are expressions of this historical inversion. Defining it somewhat simplistically, one could say that here we find represented as already part of the past that which in fact can be or should be realized only in the future, that which in its essence is a goal, an obligation, but by no means a past reality" (Bakhtin 147).

crime opens up the opportunity for the main character (Prullàs) to familiarize himself with Barcelona's poorest neighborhoods. To this series of novels we can even add the anonymous protagonist of such novels as *El misterio de la cripta embrujada, El laberinto de las aceitunas*, or *La aventura del tocador de señoras*,[3] in which the novels include a more contemporary perspective.

A Trilogy of Urban Novels

The relative unity of Mendoza's narrative project allows me to read these novels as a trilogy of urban novels, supplemented in part with the detective series. With this set the author presents his literary and urban vision of Barcelona, which in turn creates a new literary section, as opposed to other more established models such as the industrial city, detective, cubist, or cybernetics novels (Vidler 235), and results in a renovation of the city's library (or literary perspectives). The analysis I propose draws its foundations from the well-known city-book that was evoked by Roland Barthes and inspired by Victor Hugo: "Et nous retrouvons la vieille intuition de Victor Hugo: la ville est une écriture; celui qui se déplace dans la ville, c'est-à-dire l'usager de la ville (ce que nous sommes tous), est une sorte de lecteur qui, selon ses obligations et ses déplacements, prélève des fragments de l'énoncé pour les actualiser en secret" (Barthes 268). Indeed, the resident/user of the city makes a double movement, of exploration and enunciation/identification, because he gets to know the city while telling/ documenting/sharing and walking it. And the writer works very hard, creating an alternative city, made up of words and paths, choices and fragments. He writes books that are both texts and buildings, a sort of modification to the mental image of urban space. In fact, while writing urban novels Mendoza contributes to Gerard

3. Mendoza's bibliography includes, among others, the following novels: *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta* (1975) [VCS], *El misterio de la cripta embrujada* (1977) [MCE], *La ciudad de los prodigios* (1986) [CP], *Una comedia ligera* (1996) [CL].

Genette's vision: "je rêve parfois que je marche dans une rue de Paris dont les façades haussmanniennes se transforment peu à peu en rayons de livres superposés et alignés a l'infini, chaque étage devenant un rayon, chaque fenêtre un dos de livre. Je cherche une adresse, et je ne trouve qu'une cote" (Genette *Barbadrac* 38). Mendoza's work is a significant contribution to this kind of literary reconstruction of the city.

In the case of Mendoza's narrative, the literary construction of the city has generated great interest from different perspectives. One could say that it revolves around the juxtaposition of four complementary positions: the contrast between luxury and squalor, the incorporation of parodic texts that recreate and manipulate the city's history,[4] the documentary by way of introducing small details that recreate the spirit and the image of an era, and the visions and contemplations of the city. Here I will study aspects of the four modes as they are developed in this urban trilogy. I am thinking in the genettian use of "mode," or regulating narrative information (Genette *Figures* 183), which confirms the essential distinction Erich Auerbach made between two kinds of realism. The first kind of realism is recognized in Homer's *Odyssey*, where the novel is constructed from a specific description, under a similar light, with a connection without gaps, frank expression, use of close-ups, and a limited use of historical perspective and human problems. The second kind is the one recognized in the *Old Testament*, which provides unequal attention to the whole, illuminating some areas, leaving others in the dark, in a broken style, in which

4. Caragh Wells has rightfully indicated the danger of mistaking city mimesis through words in the novel with the city itself. She has also analyzed parodic subversion of the nineteenth-century urban bildungsroman, most notably through the inversion of descriptive accounts of urban space. Descriptions and historical references in Mendoza's novels produce a reverse effect to that of nineteenth-century passion for documentation: "in Balzac's fiction (…) they provide sociological and anthropological informations on Paris. The narrator therefore attempts to provide the reader with accurate impressions of the city whereas in *La Ciudad*, disgressions have the reverse effect" (Wells 721).

the unspoken suggestion dominates, with a universal claim of historical value, a representation of historical development and one that is explored in many problems (Auerbach I, 3-29). The combination of both types of realism in Mendoza's world presents a characteristic combination of the individual and the universal. It is a narrative strongly influenced by a particular setting, but with the ability to speak of the divine and human.

Mendoza recreates a city, Barcelona, that is appealing to him, because of its rogue air and the mixture of worlds and levels, which intersect, extend, and modify in dialogue between them. The ability to describe Barcelona from an ironic perspective is especially valuable to the author's narrative, particularly its bourgeois, sanctimonious elements, while paying special attention to the disparity between "la mugre y el lujo" as indicated by Costa Vila (40). Mendoza sometimes uses the description of the underworld to enroll a pessimistic view of the city, tempered always by the use of irony. For example, a particularly comical section of *El misterio de la cripta embrujada* presents the dirty streets of Barrio Chino (the old red light district in Barcelona located between the Rambla and Avenida del Paral·lel) as if they were a sewer, a metaphor that emphasizes the negative aspects of the neighborhood. But it is not limited to mere description, because he adds optical effects inspired by folk poetry (or nursery rhymes) to introduce unexpected complexity:

> Nos adentramos en una de esas típicas calles del casco viejo de Barcelona tan llenas de sabor, a las que sólo les falta techo para ser cloaca, y nos detuvimos frente a un inmueble renegrido y arruinado de cuyo portal salió una lagartija que mordisqueaba un escarabajo mientras se debatía en las fauces de un ratón que corría perseguido por un gato. (*MCE* 60)

The hyperbolic effect of converting the street into a sewer is tempered in this case by his use of climax, i.e., a continuous anadiplosis, repeating the last part of a syntactic or metric segment in the first part of the successive segment (Mortara Garavelli 191, 195). A fragment like this demonstrates ironic detail in the urban setting, but also the ability to intervene through the word that al-

lows the narrator to introduce a reelaboration of urban space. This re-examination appreciates the environment in terms of detail. By introducing these elements of popular literature, Mendoza modifies and expands our sense of setting, but above all he avoids any aesthical realistic claim.

In an episode of *Una comedia ligera* he describes the scene of a car that comes next to a market. The description of the urban environment ends with this comment: "Como en la ilustración edificante de un catecismo escolar, un hombre con el rostro blanco, que cargaba un saco de harina, se cruzó con otro hombre tiznado de negro que cargaba una espuerta de carbón." After describing several stores in the street, the narrator adds: "Prullàs aspiró el aire con delectación; le fascinaba el espectáculo de aquella Barcelona insólita, de blusón y mandil, ordenada, tenaz y laboriosa, tan distinta de aquella otra Barcelona de pechera almidonada y traje largo, frívola, viciosa, hipócrita y noctámbula, que la vida le había llevado a compartir y en la que se encontraba maravillosamente bien" (*CL* 156). As pointed out before, Mendoza's recreation of the city consistently examines the contrast between the underworld and the elegant environment of the upper middle class. Thus he attributes contradictory obsessions to single characters, such as social climbers who reminisce about their humble origins: Lepprince searching for María Coral, Bouvila haunted by the memory and ghost of Delfina, or Prullàs wandering around the Barrio Chino. Mendoza further creates this by contrasting the elegant homes, dreamed and reconstituted in all their details, with taverns, cabarets, and bars of the underworld.

Characters such as Miranda and Pajarito are charged with introducing the sense of the city in *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta*. In a novel that is initially strongly dominated by dialogue, extensive recollections by Miranda, with his peculiar pastiche of feuilleton, introduce a welcome break, and add necessary details to the setting:

> Circulaban por entre las barracas hileras de inmigrantes, venidos a Barcelona de todos los puntos del país. No habían logrado entrar en la ciudad: trabajaban en el cinturón fabril y moraban en las landas, en las antesalas de

> la prosperidad que los atrajo. Embrutecidos y hambrientos esperaban y callaban, uncidos a la ciudad, como la hiedra al muro. (*VCS* 72)

The same character introduces dark alleys where gunmen kill their enemies (*VCS* 74), bookstores on Aribau Street where anarchists meet (*VCS* 88), and cabarets and seedy bars, all within the borders of the bourgeois city. In the second part of the novel, a third-person narrator, focusing on Nemesio, or through the monologues of Javier Miranda, introduces us to the atmosphere of the tavern (*VCS* 171-4, 189) and the cabaret (*VCS* 177, 180, 189), respectively. The cabaret is an important space because there Miranda meets his wife, María Coral. The cabaret scene occurs during a long walk through Barrio Chino, which further adds to the confusion because of its labyrinthine nature and the effect of chance causing a sort of anagnorisis: "Perico y yo nos internamos más y más en aquel laberinto de callejones, ruinas y desperdicios, él curioseándolo todo con avidez, yo ajeno al lamentable espectáculo que se desarrollaba a nuestro alrededor. Así llegamos, por azar o por un móvil misterioso, a un punto que me resultó extrañamente familiar" (177). This place is none other than the murky cabaret "Elegantes Variedades." In these pages, the presentation of the underworld alternates with scenes from Lepprince's new bourgeois life, right after his marriage to the daughter of recently assassinated Savolta. She is now pregnant. Contrast between the underworld and stylish neighborhoods, between the villain and the bourgeois, leads to comic circumstances, which have, however, a tragic background. They are circumstances that express the double facade of the city, something that poet Maragall perceived many years before when writing: "Tal com ets, tal te vull, ciutat mala: / és com un mal donat, / de tu s'exhala: / que ets vana i coquina i traïdora i grollera, / que ens fa abaixa' el rostre / Barcelona! i amb tos pecats, nostra' nostra' / Barcelona nostra! la gran encisera!."

Pastiche and Parody

The pastiche (playfullness) and parody (degradation) of literary models offer the novel two tools needed to manipulate urban space. And

in the hands of Mendoza they serve to portray the city in a different way than we would recognize in a realistic documentary.[5] The city is not a simple background, but instead plays a central role in his narrative approach. In *Una comedia ligera*, for instance, the narrator takes us to a postwar Barcelona: unremarkable, asleep, and collapsed. The narrator struggles to show the contrast between a "red" city from before the Civil War and the politically narcotized one from the present, under Franco's dictatorship. The novel is set in 1948 and the main character's readings from newspapers such as *La Vanguardia Española* provide a similar function to the ones in the opening chapters of John Dos Passos' *Manhattan Transfer* (*CL* 245). We witness the Nuremberg trials (*CL* 20, 56) and Dalí's return from exile (*CL* 56); one can still feel the sadness after bullfighter Manolete's tragic death in Linares (*CL* 14).[6] These atmospheric notes mix with a subtle description of the occupied city, where under a superficially happy, normal, and francoism-sweetened atmosphere, one can detect something more sinister:

> Por doquier reinaban el orden, la mesura y la concordia, se valoraban sobre todas las cosas la discreción y la elegancia, y se observaban los buenos modales en todo momento y ocasión: en el tranvía y en el trolebús los hombres cedían el asiento a las señoras, y se quitaban el sombrero al pasar ante la puerta de la iglesia. El tráfico rodado se detenía al paso de un entierro y la gente se santiguaba al salir de casa y al iniciar un viaje, porque en aquellos años la religión desempeñaba en su vida un importante papel de contención y de consuelo […]. Nadie quería apartarse por ningún concepto del recto camino, porque aún flotaba en el aire el recuerdo conmovido de una época reciente en la que la irreligiosidad y el anticlericalismo habían conducido a todo tipo de excesos primero, y más tarde, como consecuencia inevitable, a unos años terribles, durante los cuales la ciudad vivió sumida en la violencia, el pillaje, la escasez y la zozobra. (*CL* 6)

5. Begoña González Ruiz's dissertation (154-384), and particularly her "Annexes," is a detailed annotation of the city rebuilt by Eduardo Mendoza. It is of great utility to verify this fidelity to, and manipulation of, original sources, which is characteristic of Mendoza's novelistic project.
6. Manuel Rodriguez "Manolete" (1917-1947) died of a goring in the bullring of Linares in September 1947.

This description belongs to the realm of "urbanity manuals," and one could say that it has a similar function as *pastiches* on history books or newspaper clips that we read in *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta* or *La ciudad de los prodigios*. It does not match the hidden world, wild and incoherent, of a recently occupied city, suffering a brutal repression, as the one represented in Juan Marsé's novels. These sentences have to be compared with etiquette manuals (Guereña), and they offer an obvious, stark contrast with them. The city and the new hypocritical mores after the civil war are the opposite of what Mendoza describes at the end of the same paragraph:

> En aquellos años terribles, como en la bíblica visión, cayeron sobre la ciudad relámpagos y truenos, granizo y fuego, mientras las calles eran escenario de luchas internas y al amparo de la confusión se cometían crímenes horribles. De las ruinas humeantes se alzaba noche y día el coro de las lamentaciones. (*CL* 6)

All of these references, typical in Mendoza's writings, are linked to a subtext, which in this case is of elementary school educational books from Franco's time. These books, meant to reeducate dangerous citizens, reds, and separatists, are in blunt disparity with ironic comments voiced by Prullàs, the main character, playwright of *¡Arrivederci, pollo!*, who spends his summertime rehearsing the play's premiere. When he leaves the city and sees again his in-laws and they ask him how are things in Barcelona, he answers: "Nada de particular; dijo Prullàs, salvo que la FAI ha vuelto a quemar tres o cuatro conventos" (*CL* 33).

Humor is of great importance in Mendoza's work, and in the trilogy it is the key to creating a parodist version of Barcelona's history. Read literally, these books create a terrible confusion in uninformed readers. Mendoza's narrative is often based on historical memory, yet distorted by a mixture of documents, false statements, quotes from newspapers, real or invented, and reinterpreted episodes in the history of the city put to the narrative's service. In a typology of literary discourse discussed by Bakhtin, one of three basic categories is the double orientation speech, i.e., speech that refers to something that

exists in the world, but also to another speech. We are particularly interested in two: stylization and parody. Stylization is a way to borrow expressions for other purposes (Lodge 33-37). Mendoza often stylizes speech to imitate the language and style of ethnology, journalism, guidebooks, and history manuals. He makes up the legend about mayor Rius Taulet, whereby, when the entrepreneur Serrano de Casanova withdrew to organize the Barcelona Universal Exposition, the mayor said: "*Hòstia, la Mare de Déu*." With this sentence, the narrator convinces us, "figura hoy, con otros dichos célebres, labrado en un costado del monumento al alcalde infatigable" (*CP* 37).[7]

At the same time, Mendoza often parodies a moralistic bourgeois discourse. Society's four pillars, we read, are "la ignorancia, la desidia, la injusticia y la insensatez" (*CP* 135). Many pages in *La ciudad de los prodigios* are written following pastiche and parody. The opening sentences in chapter IV offer a wonderful example of imitation of nineteenth century city guides: "El viajero que acude por primera vez a Barcelona advierte pronto dónde acaba la ciudad antigua y empieza la nueva" (*CP* 165). After the misguidance provided by this opening line, we read a series of nonsensical expressions. Overcrowding inside city walls, according to the narrator, provoked epidemics and made it necessary to "cerrar para evitar que la plaga se extendiera y los habitantes de los pueblos formaban retenes, obligaban a regresar a los fugitivos a garrotazo limpio, lapidaban a los remisos, triplicaban el precio de los alimentos" (*CP* 165). Or Mendoza might include quotes from fake authors: "Más conciso, escribe el padre Campuzano: *Raro*

7. Other excellent examples of stylization can be seen in his presentation of the city; historical allusions (mixing the real and the fictitious); the city dwellers' physical particularities (7-8); criticism of the city in fake letters to the editor of local newspapers (38); newspaper comments about the origins of the 1888 World Fair (42); the description of Barcelona and explanation about overcrowding, along with the distinction between old city and "Ensanche" (165-166); his explanation about the development of "Ensanche": growth of the neighborhood (183-185); his comical vision of Modernisme (190); the explanation of cinema's arrival to Barcelona (265-66) or new entertainment (282-4); or the aviation development related to the Sagrada Familia and Gaudí (347-348).

es el barcelonés que antes de tener uso de razón no se ha informado gráficamente del modo en que fue engendrado" (*CP* 166). In the same line, we see mentioned the mayor's vision about the future of the city (*CP* 167), an utopic "Ciudad de Dios" proposed by an unknown Abraham Schlagober (*CP* 168-169), a discussion about the future "Plan de Ensanche," with the intervention of the central government in Madrid and a criticism of "Plan Cerdà" (*CP* 170-173), a foolish narrative about Ensanche's growth (*CP* 183-185), and the scams with tram rails organized by Bouvila (*CP* 189). He also includes a satirical version of Catalan *Modernismo* art and architecture:

modernista

> Con estuco y yeso y cerámica menuda dieron en representar libélulas y coliflores que llegaban del sexto piso al nivel de la calle. Adosaron a los balcones cariátides grotescas y pusieron esfinges y dragones asomados a las tribunas y azoteas; poblaron la ciudad de una fauna mitológica que por las noches, a la luz verdosa de las farolas, daba miedo. También pusieron frente a las puertas ángeles esbeltos y afeminados que se cubrían el rostro con las alas, más propios de un mausoleo que de una casa familiar, y marimachos con casco y coraza que remedaban las *walkirias*, entonces muy de moda, y pintaron las fachadas de colores vivos o de colores pastel. Todo para recuperar el dinero que Onofre Bouvila les había robado. (*CP* 190-1)

Many of these pages could be read as real by an uninformed reader. Even the best informed reader may have doubts and have trouble distinguishing between what really happened and what Mendoza's imagination is adding.[8] As indicated by Mario Santana, "el discurso paródico apela al palimpsesto de voces reconocibles pertenecientes a un legado común" (140). Thus it is crucial to create an appearance of truth because it becomes inscribed in the collective memory of read and quoted texts.

La verdad sobre el caso Savolta is partially written as a detective novel. It follows the assassination of Catalan industrialist Savolta,

8. Mendoza made a brilliant parody of Balzac's cadastral chapters in *La comédie humaine*. According to Félix de Azúa "[l]a comparación con Balzac no es gratuita" (~~1998~~ 301).

who was an arms dealer during World War I. In this novel Mendoza does not make long descriptions of Barcelona. The city comes alive through a dialogue between texts and voices. Here Mendoza reveals an analysis of economical, political, and social reality, of a Barcelona in which there is a vague separation between the conservative bourgeoisie and the more liberal and powerful anarchist trade unions. José M. Marco explained with detail that the novel is organized around three narrative strategies and three main characters. All three of them can be related to picturesque or Hollywood characters (Marco 48-52). Javier Miranda narrates in the first person, beginning with a trial, which takes place in NYC many years after the events in the novel. This character echoes a sort of Lazarillo, whose wife has an affair with his boss, while he is the passive subject of events he does not understand or know about. From different perspectives, and dominated by dialogue, it introduces the documents used at the trial as evidence: depositions, police files, articles written by the main characters, conversation transcripts of meetings between Miranda and the police chief. Another character, the slightly crazy Nemesio Cabra Gómez, lives in mental institutions and is manipulated by anarchists, police, and the powerful. He is a typical Mendoza character, and in many ways is similar to the main character in *El misterio de la cripta embrujada* or *El laberinto de las aceitunas*. Third person narrative provides coherence to the many sections in the novel, as a way of supplementing testimonies by other characters. In this way Lepprince is introduced: a character deeply in debt with Hollywood Mafiosi, he induces his father-in-law's murder, and is a professional social climber. At the end of the novel, despite the promising title, truth is hidden by the inquiry itself. Focusing on Javier Miranda, the main voice of the narrative, gives us an idea of what defines the city. After listening to Doloretas, in a monologue plagued with Catalan expressions, where she tells Miranda about her husband's death at the hands of professional killers, he muses while drinking a shot of cognac: "Su historia era la historia de las gentes de Barcelona." Right after returning home, María Coral sees on his face a ghostly expression and asks him: "¿Te has topado con tu propio fantasma?" To which Miranda answers: "Un fantasma

muy peculiar: un resucitado del futuro. Nuestro propio fantasma" (*VCS* 350-2).

The city is the setting for a thorough reconstruction of historical facts, where one can appreciate the excellent documentation created by Mendoza during the preparation of his novels. More precisely, the city provides a background environment that is subtly mixed with the reality of the novel. Thus in *La verdad…* we recognize a Catalan regionalist demonstration in the first chapter, or the gunmen atmosphere characteristic of the "rosa de fuego," as Barcelona was known during the first third of the twentieth century. Little events in the novel are backed up by great historical ones: we know that lawyer Claudedeu lost his hand one fateful November night in 1893 in the Liceu when Santiago Salvador threw two "Orsini" bombs into the orchestra (*VCS* 96). Likewise, King Alfonso XIII attended a dinner at Lepprince's mansion. These are good examples of how history is used to legitimize fiction.

More generic historical events, such as the gunmen's activities financed by factory owners, are intertwined with the unhappy couple's fate. Mendoza obsessively uses many atmospheric elements from that time period to reconstruct it and give the narrative an accurate background. As a result, his novels have a rather aesthetic choice of realistic roots. In *Una comedia ligera*, perhaps because the place and time personally correspond to the author's childhood and youth, this reconstruction of reality is much more accurate. He provides detailed information on the public places Prullàs sees from the back of a tram: *Granjas la Catalana*, *Bar Términus*, or posters in cinemas *Fantasio* and *Savoy* (*CL* 57). In this context, the specific attention to detail makes as much sense as more generic details, such as frequent electricity cuts (*CL* 9-10), or the mention of the impressive amount of taxis running on gas generators. This attention to detail also makes him pay attention to long obsolete jobs and characters. He does this with clear subtle lines, as a way to recreate the city's human landscape. When Prullàs, in *Una comedia ligera,* talks to lawyer Fontcuberta in El Oro del Rhin cafe, he introduces the scene with a conspicuous description of the interior, including the people sitting there:

> Hombres graves y oscuros pontificaban sobre temas banales en largas y adornadas faenas retóricas que remataban con la certera estocada de un dicho sentencioso e irrebatible. Correteaban de mesa en mesa ofreciendo sus servicios tipos pálidos, sinuosos, de hombros escurridos, piel sebosa y mirada turbia, vestidos con sudorosos trajes de rayadillo, zapatos deformados por el uso, sombreros de paja y cartera. A sí mismos gustaban de llamarse falsamente interventores. (*CL* 217)

On other occasions there are more specific details that resurrect the Zeitgeist and give authenticity to the recreated period. In *El misterio de la cripta embrujada*, a black man appears in a dream singing *Cola-Cao*'s famous commercial music.[9] A taxi driver who moonlights as a secret police confides that he will vote for González in the first democratic Spanish elections, while he is in charge of spying on Catalan socialist leader Reventós. Or in the book's final pages, during his trip back to the mental institution where the main character lives, he remembers and evaluates the mysterious crime he has just solved while observing a bleak suburban landscape:

> Vi pasar por la ventanilla aceleradamente casas y más casas y bloques de viviendas baldíos y fábricas apestosas y vallas pintadas con hoces y martillos y siglas que no entendí, y campos mustios y riachuelos de aguas putrefactas y tendidos eléctricos enmarañados y montañas de residuos industriales y barrios de chalets de sospechosa utilidad y canchas de tenis que se alquilaban por horas, siendo más baratas las de la madrugada, y anuncios de futuras urbanizaciones de ensueño y gasolineras donde vendían pizza y parcelas en venta y restaurantes típicos y un anuncio de Iberia medio roto y pueblos tristes y pinares. (*MCE* 203)

Through a kaleidoscopic vision the narrator reconstructs the journey from city to suburb, and in turn creates a powerful portrait of post-Franco Barcelona.

9. "Yo soy aquel negrito del África tropical…" (*MCE* 184).

Contemplation of the City

Ultimately, contemplation of the city takes on a variety of complementary functions. In *La ciudad de los prodigios*, a novel inscribed in postmodernity, the city of Barcelona plays a particular role. First of all, Barcelona as a city becomes a stage-character. Barcelona is the stage for the rise and fall of Onofre Bouvila: he makes a pilgrimage there from a small town looking for work, and there moves up the social ladder through chance encounters, meeting places (bars, houses), and the use of street gangs. As the structure of the novel proves, there are strong parallels between Bouvila's fortune, the women he loves, and that of the city. In chapters I and II, Onofre Bouvila finds his place in the underworld. It is during the 1883 World Fair, the beginning of "Renaixença" (the development of the Catalan political struggle), and a strong period of economic recovery, and he falls in love with Delfina. In chapters III and IV, Onofre Bouvila struggles to ascertain his position between good and bad society, he begins to love Margarita, Figa y Morera's daughter, and he gets introduced into the world of gangsters and shady real estate dealings. It is at the time when Barcelona developed the *Eixample*. In the novel's last part, in chapters V, VI, and VII, the main character turns around his arms dealings and cinema adventures, and he falls in love with María Belltall. The city enters the twentieth century, prepares for the 1929 World Fair, and Onofre Bouvila escapes the public eye/limelight while rebuilding an old mansion. Opening and closing sentences establish the double movement of ascent and decline: "El año en que Onofre Bouvila llegó a Barcelona la ciudad estaba en plena fiebre de renovación" (*CP* 9). The last sentence is: "Después la gente al hacer historia opinaba que en realidad el año en que Onofre Bouvila desapareció de Barcelona había entrado en franca decadencia" (*CP* 394). A calculated parenthesis, these two sentences summarize what Barthes called a novel's black box (Barthes 1335). The city is not only the stage where they can develop the "exploits" of Bouvila, but also the spatial and temporal framework for the adventures of the protagonist.

In *La verdad…* the city is also always present. Miranda's walk with Teresa through the Plaza de Catalunya starts a confession to her. Teresa hates the city, whereas Miranda states: "Al contrario, no sabría vi-

vir en otro sitio. Te acostumbrarás y te sucederá lo mismo. Es cuestión de buena voluntad y de dejarse llevar sin ofrecer resistencia" (*VCS* 18). Lepprince in turn further questions a deep mystery: "¿Sabes una cosa? Creo que Barcelona es una ciudad encantada. Tiene algo, ¿cómo te diría?, algo magnético. A veces resulta incómoda, desagradable, hostil e incluso peligrosa, pero, ¿qué quieres?, no hay forma de abandonarla. ¿No lo has notado?" (*VCS* 252). There is also an identification between some characters and the city, as a variant of the embodiments of the city itself. When Miranda finds out about Lepprince's affaire with María Coral, he exclaims: "Soy el mayor cornudo de Barcelona" (*VCS* 336).

Sometimes the voice of Miranda reminds us of romance novels' codes, particularly when he describes the city: "recorrimos cada uno de los rincones de la ciudad dormida, poblados de mágicas palpitaciones" (*VCS* 68). They climb to rooftops and they feel as if they were "el diablo cojuelo de nuestro siglo." And he adds: "Con su dedo extendido sobre las balaustradas de los terrados señalaba las zonas residenciales, los conglomerados proletarios, los barrios pacíficos y virtuosos de la clase media, comerciantes, tenderos y artesanos" (*VCS* 68). When Nemesio Cabra Gómez observes the executions of anarchists in Montjuïc's castle, he comments while observing the city from an elevated position, similar to that of Miranda and Pajarito: "Frente a sí veía los muelles del puerto, a su derecha se extendía el industrioso Hospitalet, cegado por el humo de las chimeneas; a su izquierda, las Ramblas, el Barrio Chino, el casco antiguo y más arriba, casi a sus espaldas, el Ensanche burgués y señorial" (*VCS* 304). The execution of anarchist comrades that he witnesses from the castle leads to his (eventual) insanity. Miranda himself is the one who introduces urban loneliness: "cuando se vive en una ciudad desbordada y hostil" (*VCS* 93). In the same novel, a third-person narrator draws a vivid picture of the social situation in 1919 and the impact it has in the urban landscape: "en las paredes aparecían signos nuevos y el nombre de Lenin se repetía con frecuencia obsesiva" (*VCS* 175).[10]

10. When Miranda and María Coral return to Barcelona after their honeymoon, there is another scene that documents the social tensions of the time (*VCS* 300-1).

The same concern for social background, but with much heavier significance, predominates in *La ciudad de los prodigios*. In chapter VI, Onofre Bouvila buys an old abandoned stately home (*CP* 296). Much of the chapter is devoted to explaining the restoration operations. A significant moment occurs during the first visit to the house, when Bouvila looks out a window and sees the city at his feet:

> Los matorrales y arbustos habían borrado los lindes de la finca: ahora una masa verde se extendía a sus pies hasta el borde de la ciudad. Allí se veían claramente delimitados los pueblos que la ciudad había ido devorando; luego venía el Ensanche con sus árboles y avenidas y sus casas suntuarias; más abajo, la ciudad vieja, con la que aún, después de tantos años, seguía sintiéndose identificado. Por último vio el mar. A los costados de la ciudad las chimeneas de las zonas industriales humeaban contra el cielo oscuro del atardecer. En las calles iban encendiéndose las farolas al ritmo tranquilo de los faroleros. (*CP* 307-8)

Bouvila is basically a peasant settled in the big city. He has made a meteoric social rise, which is corroborated by his mastery and control of the space at his feet. However it is a space that is being overseen from a distance, with which, excepting the old part of town, he does not identify. Here begins his obsessive and twisted fixation with reconstructing the house, which is more complex than the simple illustration of the "synthesis of time by money" (Resina 962). What really defines the protagonist is his desire to build a kind of *Xanadú,* a la *Citizen Kane*. It is a "rompecabezas sin solución" in which "cada cosa tenía que ser exactamente como había sido antes" (*CP* 309). This maniacal reconstruction is matched with a return trip to his hometown, Basora, and a reunion with his family, which he has not seen in decades. The protagonist's personality, we are reminded by the narrator, is reflected in the appropriation of space:

> Aunque la reconstrucción podía considerarse perfecta había algo inquietante en aquella copia fidelísima, algo pomposo en aquel ornato excesivo, algo demente en aquel afán por calcar una existencia anacrónica y ajena, algo grosero en aquellos cuadros, jarrones, relojes y figuras de imitación que no eran regalos ni legados, cuya presencia no era fruto de sucesivos hallazgos o caprichos, que no atesoraban la memoria del momento en que fueron adqui-

> ridos, de la ocasión en que pasaron a formar parte de la casa; allí todo era falso y opresivo. […] la mansión adquirió una solemnidad funeraria. Hasta los cisnes del lago tenían un aire de idiocia que les era propio. El alba amanecía para arrojar una luz siniestra y distinta sobre la mansión. Estas características eran del agrado de Onofre Bouvila. (*CP* 332)

Bouvila's personal crisis is projected onto this private space, which is illuminated by a sinister light, far from the city, where everything is fake and oppressive, thus sharpening the opposition between an interior space that is private and under control, and another exterior one that is public and unpredictable. He has been touched by a collector's madness, and his actions at the height of his success, right before the beginning of his decadence, indicate his obsession with a funeral space, which refers to himself: the house can be read as a stone grave where his fall is inscribed.

What is the truth about Eduardo Mendoza's literary construction? A minor character in *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta*, lawyer Cortabanyes, hits the nail on the head when he says, half jokingly: "La vida es un tío-vivo que da vueltas hasta marear y luego te apea en el mismo sitio en que has subido" (*VCS* 371).[11] Eduardo Mendoza's literary world is like a carrousel. It is based on a series of disorienting movements such as the ones discussed here. Another important element in his world is the search for a truth, and solving mysteries. This is an impossible task, as another minor character reminds us in *La verdad sobre el caso Savolta*. As anarchist "*mestre* Roca" reminds us, ideas have to be replaced by action: "Ésa es la verdad, lo digo sin jactancia, y la verdad escandaliza; es como la luz, que hiere los ojos del que vive habituado a la oscuridad." And this is one of the main truths of this citizen writer, a follower of Cervantes' example, imitating the picaresque and gothic novels. He manages to recreate a long-gone urban world through documentation and parody, always combining misery and glory, luxury settings and the underworld. With unmistakable irony,

11. In an earlier section in the novel that sentence was slightly different: "La vida…, la vida es un tío-vivo, que da vueltas… y vueltas hasta marear y luego… y luego… te apea en el mismo sitio en que… has subido" (*VCS* 85).

he recreates a sort of "city lights," which is always a convincing, yet disfigured, recreation of urban space. Similar to Orson Welles, whose character Lelland says in *Citizen Kane*: "He was disappointed in the world. So he built one of his own- an absolute monarchy." In a similar way, in Mendoza's fake Barcelona, he is the king. In this case "construction" can be understood in the literal sense of echoing the construction of (physically building) a city, particularly in *La ciudad de los prodigios*, his most architectonic novel. But this novel also serves as a parodic play and recreation of a city that never existed. Mendoza's narrative project, his willingness to construct an urban trilogy, stands as a strong opinion against those who negate the real city. Contrasting what Paul Virilio wrote: "villes panique qui signalent, mieux que toutes les théories urbaines du chaos, le fait que la plus grande catastrophe du xxe siècle a été la ville, la métropole contemporaine des désastres du Progrès" (23), one can detect much more positive approaches such as the one by Mendoza. His project embodies a literary truth that can be summarized in a reflection by Don Quixote when he visits a printing house in Barcelona, where they are setting up the *Quixote*'s apocryphal second part as written by Avellaneda: "las historias fingidas tanto tienen de buenas y de deleitables cuanto se llegan a la verdad o la semejanza della, y las verdaderas tanto son mejores cuanto son más verdaderas" (11a46). Mendoza, skillfully combining *civitas* and *urbs*, or citizen and urban space, manages to build a true invented city, which is at the center of his world. And when we walk though it as Genette did in Paris, we recognize in the streets the same houses from the book, with the same call numbers.

8 In Transit: Exploring Travelogues

> *This relativizing of the exotic goes hand in hand with its banishment from reality –so that sooner or later the romantically inclined will have to agitate for the establishment of fenced-in nature preserves, isolated fairy-tale realms in which people will be able to hope for experiences that today even Calcutta is hardly able to provide.*
>
> Sigfried Kracauer, *"Travel and Dance"* (1925)

Travel and Travelogues

In recent years a growing interest in travel literature has developed in the field of literary studies. After the groundbreaking work of critics such as Paul Fussell or anthropologists such as Claude Lévi-Strauss, many critics have devoted crucial studies to the meaning of travel and its literary results. Among the many worth mentioning are the works of Eric Leed's *The Mind of the Traveler*, Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes*, and Caren Kaplan's *Questions of Travel*. Leed has explained that many travelogues are the chronicles of real trips –from Heredo-

tus to Bruce Chatwin– and present a bi-directional movement of the traveler's encounters with the unknown and of her/his inner self. Travelogues are a shortcut to self-discovery as travelers go to unknown places where they do not know the geography, the language, the culture, and hence every event becomes an adventure, every encounter a shock. The experience of navigating an exotic place begins a process of fierce learning, about the other and about the traveler. Pratt traces the development of what she calls Europe's "planetary consciousness," one that develops through interior exploration and the rise of universal categories of natural history, and introduces major theoretical contributions such as the "contact zone" and "anti-conquest" concepts. Kaplan conceptualizes travel as both an existential activity and discursive formation, and as a metaphor for reading postmodernism. She analyzes a "variety of historical constructs of modern displacements: leisure travel, exploration, expatriation, exile, homelessness, and immigration" as a way to establish provocative connections between travel, displacement, location, and exile, tourist, nomad (2-3). Travel has changed dramatically in recent years, as shrewdly predicted by Sigfried Kracauer in 1925. Where can people go in search of the exotic if the entire world feels like their own backyard? Having run out of new places to explore, many travelers have returned to the apparent comforts of daily life, using well-known tools such as the travelogue to re-examine previously conventional activities. The results are breathtaking. What kind of excitement can people expect from a Club Med adventure or a theme park expedition? How do people react in literary terms to these experiences? This section deals with several travelogues published in the last century, which offer a variety of possibilities for the traveling experience. My point is that with these books, a well-established literary genre is reinvented, and the travel experience progresses one step further.

After World War II, the kind of exploration and discovery of new spaces and different societies that started in the Renaissance and went all the way to the 1930s came to a sudden close. With the end of imperialism Western travel changed forever (Spurr). Fussell has pointed out the differences between exploration, travel, and tourism as a means to distinguish between three different moments and three so-

cial classes that are characterized by travel: in the Renaissance the nobility explored; from the end of the eighteenth-century the bourgeoisie traveled, and in the late twentieth-century the proletariat became tourists (39). His is a very nostalgic approach: "real" travel produced "real" travel books. Kaplan's criticism of Fussell shows us the reductionism of this approach. In fact, after 1960, mass tourism developed into a kind of secular pilgrimage for all social classes, a pilgrimage ruled by the search for artistic relics sacralized in world-famous museums, sun at renowned beaches, and the exotic at amusement (or "theme") parks where people could get a glimpse of what the word "exotic" meant. The works of Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist*, and Dennison Nash, *Anthropology of Tourism*, present a very different view, as they study tourism with much more sympathetic eyes. Nash, for example, has shown how tourism has been part of human behavior since early times (8-11).

Leed has acknowledged that tourists experience a "touching desperation" (287) because they are not able to distinguish themselves from the traveling masses, as travel is no longer a means of achieving distinction. Up to the 1930's, people lived in a world with far fewer images from distant places than what we experience today. Those images had to be provided by paintings, travelogues, or public exhibitions (panoramas, World Fairs, etc). Gradually through the 1950's, rich and vivid layers of information from foreign lands became readily available and permeated Western societies through picture books, movies, film, and TV documentaries, which provided specific images from distant and idealized landscapes that made the exotic familiar. By the 1960s, with the coming of the jet-age, mass tourism developed into a mainstream activity for many Western Europeans and North Americans. Their wanderings had a strong impact on the places they visited and in their subsequent sense of space. Spain, for example, previously a backward country, transformed seemingly overnight thanks to the impact of mass tourism in the 1960s. And yet the growing mobility of the masses created problems of its own. As Fussell indicated, "after the war all that remained was jet tourism among the ruins, resulting in phenomena like the appalling pollution of the Mediterranean and the Aegean" (226). Claude Lévi-Strauss previously observed

in 1955 that the world was so full of its own garbage that "journeys, those magic caskets full of dreamlike promises, will never again yield up their treasures untarnished… The first thing we see as we travel round the world is our own filth, thrown into the face of mankind" (37-38). In fact, there is nothing new about this antagonistic portrayal of tourism and mass travel. Buzard explained that the contrast between "traveler" and "tourist" was already obvious in the early nineteenth century: "Whereas the neoclassical traveler might feel that ritual contract with and imitation of classical originals was precisely what constituted full participation in his European heritage, the tourist after 1815 was likely to feel burdened by the Romantic dilemma of 'belatedness'" (110). If tourists at first wrote only postcards back home, with time their communication became more sophisticated, and they eventually dared to write some sort of travelogue.

Tourism played indeed a significant role in the transformation of Franco's Spain. In Justin Crumbaugh's essay, *Destination Dictatorship: The Spectacle of Spain's Tourist Boom and the Reinvention of Difference,* he argues convincingly that "the tourist boon came to bear on the local contours of governing in Spain by figuring prominently in dominant narratives about the country's process of modernization" (2). In fact, the representation of tourism came to act as an allegory of many changes in the 1960s.

A travelogue is basically a book that chronicles a travel experience. To create a travelogue, we need first of all a traveler/writer, a beginning and an ending, a space to visit, and an attitude from which to judge what the traveler sees. The movement between two points in space defines travel: one of origin and another of destination. Between the two the traveler encounters an indefinite space, one that cannot be measured in mere physical terms of distance. Secondly, there is a moral component to it that helps to establish the perimeters of another kind of distance, a mental one. By traveling, people construct a sense of their place of origin, where everything feels (more or less) familiar, and differentiate it from spaces visited. The mechanism of encountering different people and places triggers a process of self-analysis and comparison, which in turn creates for the traveler a space for difference, for encountering the other, where modifications of deep be-

liefs and stereotypes may occur, and where one's everyday life may be questioned. A contradictory situation arises when the traveler reviews his or her own reality from the distance imposed by the travel experience; (s)he may come to question –while at the same time asserting– a well-established "Weltanschauung." The impact of new spaces, people and attitudes as a result of exploration provokes reflections, which are based upon an exercise of comparison of his or her original world with the one (s)he encounters, or as Pratt puts it, by developing a "monarch-of-all-I-survey" attitude. This leads us to a third distinction. Change and transformation have been long associated with the experience of traveling. A traveler leaves behind a well-known place –home– to go looking for surprises and adventures –abroad–, new venues where (s)he can learn about different cultures, and meet other people. In some instances the travel experience is not only related to pleasure or knowledge (Bou *Papers privats* 155-185).

Travelers have to deal with space (geography) and people (sociology, anthropology). They embark on an experience, which in turn leads to taking notes and making comparisons. According to some authors, there is significant confusion between the two activities of traveling and writing. To travel is to write. Or as French writer Michel Butor puts it: "je voyage pour écrire" (9) ("I travel to write"). In fact, to write about traveling is an experience in itself and opens the door to other adventures, that of the writer and that of the reader. Travelogues explore freedom from the limitations imposed by the culture of whomever is traveling/writing/reading. The separation from home provokes a significant contradiction between this state of maximum freedom, attained when traveling, and the laws and restrictions of normal life. As stated by Karen Lawrence, "travel literature explores a tension between the thrilling possibilities of the unknown and the weight of the familiar, between a desire for escape and a sense that one never be outside a binding cultural network" (19). To travel is an experience of such intensity that, according to Butor, "c'est donc pour voyager que je voyage moins" (9) ("It is thus to travel that I travel less"). At any rate, what "explorers," "travelers," and "tourists" have in common is their willingness to explore a place far and different from home- and to write about it.

Traveling is a verb that puts humans in a special situation. First of all it is necessary to decide a destination, and then we have to make more practical decisions: lists of objects that are essential travel companions, means of travel. We also have two self-imposed options: "travel light" (with little luggage), as recommended by experts in the travel section of *The New York Times*, or we decide to drag all of our belongings behind us, an infinite number of small objects that we almost certainly will never use. With our suitcases full, we are about to leave. We begin more serious questions about where we are to go, the adventure itself, how to get to the airport while fighting with uncaring cabdrivers, airlines on strike, incomprehensible delays. The mere act of leaving the house and shutting the door behind us starts this clock, which creates an island away from the everyday until we return home. Or if it is a journey never to return, the island continues until we reach a new home. Then the anguish about our destination is combined with the pain of leaving (forever?) our place of origin. We are facing one of the hardest types of travel: exile, exodus, migration.

A trip has two interrelated levels: reality and literature. In other words, the travelogue or narrative of a "real" journey and fiction inhabit a no man's land, which combines the experienced and what has been dreamed, the real, and imaginary, and we can never completely discern one from the other. The alternative is, say, between what Carles Riba writes in his letters from Germany and Greece, and Homer's Odyssey, as examples among many stories of travel and real literary works that use a trip as a leit-motif or central organizing element. However, whether a trip is real or imaginary always weighs the merits of transforming the experienced reality recreated in the literary text. In narrating a real journey wherein reality is recreated, the writer cuts and rearranges the story, adding details and emphasis for the most exciting reading of that visit.

This clarifies Michel Butor's assertion, whereby the experience of the trip is so intense that "c'est donc pour voyager que je voyage moins" (9). An initial and important distinction to make here is between "true" travel and a simple shuttle-trip to get from one place to another. And this distinction, which supercedes the real or fictional trip, actually includes both possibilities. The experience of the transfer results in literature as the structure is built around an epic poem,

a novel, a play. Homer's *Odyssey*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Joanot Martorell's *Tirant lo Blanc*, Cervantes' *Quixote*, Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. So many works are built around movement, the mutation of scenery, and growth of characters through experiences that only take place when traveling. So many books are strictly travelogues, chronicles of a trip, or strong and unique experiences. Travels are always different in nature, and provoked by different motives: religious or artistic pilgrimmages (modern cultural tourism); travels of discovery in the middle ages and the Renaissance, or of self-discovery and exploration of lost exotic civilizations during Romanticism; travels fleeing political or religious prosecution, to save or seek a new life. Any trip has a potential for discovery and change (Gingras 1293 and 1304, Löschburg).

To travel has mythical connotations, as stated in Joaquim du Bellay's well-known line: "Hereux qui comme Ulyse a fait un beau voyage." Literature, through many different genres, has developed such a possibility. In William Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Prospero, Duke of Milan, and his daughter Miranda flee a sinister Naples seeking refuge in an enchanted island. The *Odyssey* could be described in a minimalist version as a tale of the many difficulties a man encounters returning home after war. In fact, to travel is a difficult task and thus on many occasions helps people appreciate much more their home and country. As Cavafy wrote, "This city will always pursue you." Very often we carry our suitcases filled with prejudices and our own limitations, without seeing what is around us. Opinionated travelers present a distorted and subjective view of the world. To travel, as discussed by Bakhtin, is at the core of a literary criticism concept, that of "cronotopos."[1]

A trip has a particular relationship with writing. This is a second crucial distinction about the importance of the interrelationship between literature and travel. Clearly a trip is defined as a movement between two points in space. There is a point of origin and a destination (or

1. According to Bakhtin, a cronotopos is "the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature" (1987 84). In this case, it could be related to a motif. An event or a certain space becomes a cronotopos, related to a much more general situation. See Morson & Emerson 372-380.

point of return). The distance between them is not only measured in terms of physical data, but rather in terms of "moral" changes: the distance between the inside or outside the place of origin or place of difference. But the extent of change and progress gives us the tension between writing and reading. Hence the presence and importance of the travel book. That voice narrating bears witness to the surprise of the unknown, how one faces otherness.

Travelers

Who travels? As I pointed out a moment ago, travelers can be of different kinds: pilgrim, journalist, political exile, etc. It can be a sort of professional *flâneur* who contrasts his/her personal experiences while searching for different forms of life; or the writer who has to flee because of physical danger or political oppression. Others are engrossed in a passionate search for surprising aspects, unknown landscapes in his/her own country, a place that everyone seems to know too well without ever truly seeing it. Here we find three sufficiently strong reasons for travel writing: curiosity (and the willingness to report), the need to flee, and the moral duty or the need to explain realities that are very dear to the traveler. Female travelers often adopt a different attitude. The trip allows them to experiment with different roles than the ones that are traditionally attributed to them by society. It represents an "expansion" of their field and an "extension" of their itinerary. The writing of the trip provides a discursive space for women, writing at home, on issues outside the house, away while discovering new social and aesthetic possibilities (Lawrence).

The traveler is a person who adopts an attitude towards life that can be related to that of the adventurer, because he/she meets the requirements analyzed by Georg Simmel: "And this is now the shape of the adventure in general: that it falls outside the context of life" (13).[2]

2. "Und zwar ist nun die Form des Abenteuers, im allerallgemeinsten: dass es aus dem Zusammenhange des Lebens herausfällt."

A journey or an adventure is part of our existence, but also happens outside the monotony of daily life. Due to its location in the psychological life, the memory of an adventure tends to have the quality of a dream and may even appear to have been experienced by someone else. Because of this isolation, the experience raises an intense need to write about it.

One of the peculiarities of a trip is being experienced as a kind of exile on the normal conditions of life itself. Travelers are "time millionaires "living in an abnormal situation. This is even more exaggerated in the case of tourists, whose elementary motivations include raising their social status and shaking up their uncomforting and boring life through some sort of erotic fantasies of freedom and, most importantly, getting a secret pleasure pretending momentarily that they belong to a class higher than their own, assuming the role of "buyers," whose lives become meaningful only when exerting their power as consumers (Fussell 42). As indicated by Claude Lévi-Strauss in *Tristes tropiques*, lower-class travelers often pretend to be somebody else by exaggerating their purchasing power. It is almost always richer and freer than the natives of the place they visit, and they are accepted by the inhabitants of the visited country without any problem, as an alien entity to the tribe. It is remarkable in the case of writer Aurora Bertrana how, in an Arab country, she could go to a theater and find herself in the unique situation of being the only woman among the audience; or the case of Josep Pla, another fellow traveler, who could visit a communist country as a capitalist. On a journey the traveler may be tempted by some alternative way of life, but he/she always knows how to revert, because s/he has a return ticket. This "reaction" of going back home facilitates the writing of the book, otherwise the final reflection would not be possible. Although it seems paradoxical, in many cases the travel book is born of contempt and rejection of the culture visited.[3]

3. It is remarkable the dialogue established on many occasions between traveler and "travelee." See, for example, responses to Claude Lévi-Strauss' *Tristes tropiques* by Brazilian intellectuals such as Caetano Veloso.

The separation between the person who travels and people visited is not only physical, and thus Marie Louise Pratt has developed a key concept, that of the "contact zone":

> It treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and "travelees," not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understanding and practices, often with radically asymmetrical relations of power. (7)

This problem is not sufficiently examined: the curiosity for or rejection against what is visited. This reaction is related to the attitudes adopted by travelers. Julio Cortázar, in *Historias de cronopios y de famas* (1962), defined a key difference between "famas" and "cronopios" according to their traveling habits. "Famas" carefully plan every detail, comparing prices, quality, signing life insurance, and they know where all hospitals are in the cities they visit; whereas "cronopios" "encuentran los hoteles llenos, los trenes ya se han marchado, llueve a gritos, y los taxis no quieren llevarlos o les cobran precios altísimos. Los cronopios no se desaniman porque creen que estas cosas les ocurren a todos, y a la hora de dormir se dicen unos a otros: 'La hermosa ciudad, la hermosísima ciudad'" (107).

The distinction between these two types of travelers is an important starting point, because the attitude of people traveling falls between these two cases. The first assumes a "Club Med" attitude, with programmed adventure, coded and controlled, or a more radical adventure in the way Bruce Chatwin did his travels. The range varies from those who plan the smallest details, and those who leave to embark into adventure. Two key concepts by Michel Foucault help us to advance this distinction I have just outlined. According to the French philosopher, arrangement of space in a "Panopticon,"[4] or in a prison, caused a kind of society in the aftermath of the Enlightenment in which there were (and still are) erected barriers and divisions in open

4. "By the term 'Panoptism', I have in mind an ensemble of mechanisms brought into play in all the clusters of procedures used by power. Panoptism was a technological invention in the order of power, comparable with the steam engine in the order of production" (71).

air. The basic principle, Foucault wrote, was one of isolation (*Discipline and Punish* 236). Society was divided between normal and crazy people, those who were inside, and those who were outside, that is, excluded from society. As Syed Islam pointed out, Foucault's purpose was that "[t]he knowledge through anonymous vision, the difusion of power through light, is the passion of the en-light-en-ment" (29). From this perspective we can say that the vast majority of travelers in Modernity only check and confirm what they already know: who they are. Travelers are more or less daring, but traveling blindly, without paying much attention to the discovery that provides the travel and, instead, focusing on what they left behind: home and country.

What is opposed to the social organization that promotes a Panopticon is defined by Foucault as the "heterotopia." This is the place for space and travel that escapes the control of power –a space that offers flexible borders and dangerous trips without limitation. The heterotopia contrasts with the utopia. According to an interview by Foucault, the heterotopias

> are disturbing, probably because they secretly undermine language, because they make it impossible to name this and that, because they shatter or tangle common names, because they destroy "syntax" in advance, and not only the syntax with which we construct sentences but also less apparent syntax which causes words and things (next to and also opposite one another) to "hold together. ("Questions on Geography" XVIII)

The difference between heterotopia and Panopticon presents an interesting distinction between two ways of dealing with reality. A crucial difference lies in what is perceived as unambiguous and a way of facing what is plural, or what is closed and limited, facing the open and unlimited. Put another way, command and control face what is not sorted and is still free. Applying these categories to the spatial phenomenon of a trip helps us to define with more precision two attitudes towards space: one of control and domain opposed to that of curiosity and receptiveness.

While adapting ideas of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's book *A Thousand Plateaus* (1980), Syed Islam provides another variant on this discussion of the types of travel and travelers. According to Islam there are two types of space:

> striated (extensio, strata) and smooth (spatium, metastrata). Two lines of travel: rigid (inside) and supple (outside). Two kinds of travellers: sedentary and nomadic. Two fundamental attributes of travellers: movement (departure and arrival) and speed (intensity, plane of consistency, body without organ). Two secondary attributes: dimension (points, gravity, immobility) and direction (trajectory, flight). Two kinds of individuation: molar (subjectivity, black hole, faciality) and molecular (haecceities, unformed matter). Two orientations: representation (centred perspective, white wall, reterritorialisation, coding, root tree, mots d'ordre) and encounter (multiplicity, deterritorialisation, performance, chance, event, decoding, abstract machine, diagram, rhizome, becoming). (Islam 57)

Representation affects the way a traveler interprets the signs he sees during a trip. The meeting determines the nature of unknown events that happen during the trip. Combining the distinction made by Julio Cortázar about "famas" and "cronopios" with the two ways of social organization discussed by Foucault and Islam's distinction between rigid and flexible lines of travel, we have some basic information to establish a complex typology of travel and travelers. When traveling we are normally carrying our visions and pre-concepts, we close our eyes and we are devoted to comparing the new things that we see with things we already know, with what is familiar and quotidian, which unconsciously we refuse to leave behind us.

In recent years there have been several travel books written by authors who stand astride the former imperial colonies. A traveler such as Pico Iyer destabilizes foucaultian parameters of inside and outside, of calm opposed to obsessive search. As a result of globalization and integration in the former imperial metropolis of non-pure citizens there is an emergence of new experiences that are characterized by the fusion and dissolution of boundaries. These new travelers are comfortable at the borders vague, distant, and close, with information on a native and scholarly vision.[5]

5. See, for example, Pico Iyer's *Tropical Classics. Essays From Several Directions* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997).

This is one of the fundamental paradoxes of traveling: it is an experience that has been associated with changes and transformations, whereby the traveler escapes from a known place and delves into the unknown, into uncertainty and adventure. Travel literature explores freedom from the limitations imposed by the traveler's own culture. There is an underlying contradiction in the attempt to reach maximum freedom and the self-imposed limitations of the traveler. As indicated by Karen Lawrence: "travel literature explores a tension between the thrilling possibilities of the unknown and the weight of the familiar, between a desire for escape and a sense that one never be outside a binding cultural network" (19).

Typologies

Experts distinguish between various types of travel. Travel can be a metaphor for the human life or a job; a suffering that occurs in response to a divine calling, atonement, exile or pilgrimage; or in other cases is evasion, deliberate or forced, as clearly exemplified in the model created by the picaresque novels. Already Emerson declared that "travelling is a fool's paradise," because "the rage of travelling is a symptom of deeper unsoundness" (Monga 16). A trip can also mean an improvement for the education of an individual, which brings to mind a quote from a famous Cervantes' statement in "Coloquio de los perros":

> El andar tierras y comunicar con diversas gentes hace a los hombres discretos. (…) al famoso griego llamado Ulises le dieron renombre de prudente por sólo haber andado muchas tierras y comunicado con diversas gentes y varias naciones. (III, 285)

The journey sometimes responds to a necessity imposed by the profession, that of traveling sales people, for instance. They make a trip looking for certain benefits (outcomes), and it is another kind of voyage, *pro panem lucrando*. In other cases travel is associated with the activities of a hero, as his war activities involve travel to new territo-

ries, and operations of conquest and appropriation (medieval Catalan chronicles are wonderful examples of this). There are voyages of discovery, to the other (to another civilization), to ourselves (as we get closer to discovering who we are). Pleasure travels are another instance, such as the ones by Petrarch, who walked up Mont Ventoux, or the Romantics discovering the countryside. In recent years, tourist expeditions have overcrowded the planet. In many parts of the planet people leave the city on Fridays to return on Sunday evening, creating massive traffic jams, such as the one cleverly described by Julio Cortázar in "Autopista del Sur." Tourists have been forced to forget about their desire to live an original adventure, to discover unknown lands, and must conform to theme parks designed for them by the brewing industry and Walt Disney. The boldest among them approach the temptation of a Club Med prefabricated aphrodisiac.

The trip, however, has several meanings. In antiquity it was considered as an explanation of human destiny and was undertaken only in the case of extreme need, from Ulysses to Jonah. In the modern world, a journey is an expression of freedom and can be an escape from the constraints of everyday life. It can be done without a specific purpose (Leed 7). The most important difference is that old travel was associated with pain and obligation, while in Modernity it is more often a source of pleasure and release.

In "Le voyage et l'écriture," Michel Butor identifies traveling with reading as discussed earlier, and makes a distinction between "reading as a journey" and the "journey as reading." He pays attention, for example, to passengers on the subway who read, or the act of reading as an act of escape from everyday life: "l'ailleurs que nous donne le livre nous apparaît, de par la traversée de la page, comme penétré de blancheur, baptize" (11). Therefore Butor proposes the creation of a new science, "itérologie." He lays down some "ideas préliminaires en VRAC":

–travels without definite point of arrival: wandering or nomadism.

–travels with only a defined point of arrival: exodus.

–displacement with a starting point and a different target of arrival: emigration.

–travels with the same point of departure and arrival: traveling back and forth.

–business travel, vacation.
–travel-abroad
–travel back to town.
–travel, pilgrimage, with a strong religious component.
–voyages of discovery.

In recent years there have been many proposals for a typology of travel. François Affergan outlines a systematization of travel books according to four categories: 1. Metonymical narrative, in which the discovery takes place in an uninterrupted continuity. 2. Synecdoche narrative, in which there is a utopian trip such as the one by Robinson Crusoe. 3. Metaphorical narrative, in which the traveler searches for similarities and differences, as in the case of *Gulliver's Travels*. 4. Narrative of real discovery, "dans le même temps où nous découvrons un discours narratif, nous avons accès à la realité telle qu'elle est rapportée: le réel y valide l'écriture" (416-417).

The special unit of the text is determined by the fact that the trip is a unit of meaning in the course of a lifetime. So we see some important variations with respect to other autobiographical genres (fiction for example): the weight of the protagonist's journey, and the intimate reasons that lead the traveler to leave his/her world; the explanation of the particular issues that provoke the travel, which are concentrated in the opening pages (the justification that motivated the trip); and the closing statement, which is the assessment of what has been learned. These are some formal features, together with the avowed in-plagiarism, a characteristic relationship between time and space, and metareflection on the way the book is written, as a way to define the literary genre under construction.

9. Back from the USSR. Travelers in the Land of the Soviets

The title of this chapter illustrates two conflicting attitudes generated by "pop" culture about trips to and from the former USSR. One is disappointment, which was the dominating attitude during the visit made by Tintin in 1930, the main character of a graphic novel. The other attitude is humorous, as conveyed in a famous 1968 Beatles song from *White Album*. Obviously, I leave aside a possible third one, that of a 1963 James Bond film, *From Russia with Love*, which could be considered as too demagogic at the height of the Cold War. It is useful to present these references together, not as an act of frivolity, but because they perfectly summarize some of the attitudes and literary models that generated the visit to the USSR in the 1930s, when it was considered to be a fascinating world, unknown to most people. The USSR dominated political discourse, and the Cold War, from 1917 to 1991. These two kinds of travel, reactionary and frustrating to the limits of embarrassment for the first one, and innocuously ironic, almost dear, for the second, draw an imaginary map of the many reactions to travels, and travelogues as a literary genre, to that area of the world in a very specific time period. I will discuss some very well-known examples, such as John Reed's *Ten Days that Shook the World*

(1919), Fernando de los Ríos' *Mi viaje a la Rusia sovietista* (1921), Josep Pla's *Viatge a Rússia* (1925), Walter Benjamin's *Moskauer Tagebuch* (1926-1927) [1980], and André Gide's *Retour de l'URSS* (1936). These are just a few examples of the thousands of books that were written before World War II, during that honeymoon period between hope and political will to change social structures in bourgeois societies, an era that has been deemed as the time of "political pilgrimage" (Hollander).[1] In recent years some scholars have developed an interest in the Soviet side, researching what the Soviet agenda was in that respect, and how the Soviets manipulated their visitors (Stern 2007; Coeuré).

The number of travelers who went to Russia in the years following the Soviet Revolution is as immense and monotonous as the Russian steppe itself, but Russia had an undeniable appeal. Right after the Revolution, devotion was aroused largely in response to curiosity, and disguised as obsessive political pilgrimage. The topic of travels to the USSR is of enormous proportions, because the country at that time had great attraction for hundreds of distinguished guests, many of whom felt compelled to write personal reports of the Revolution in action. At the same time, the topic is monotonous, because the results of many trips were almost always very unoriginal, and they pay attention to the same aspects and endlessly repeat similar conclusions. This repetition is truly astounding. Almost all of these books offer two interesting differences from the standard format in travel literature: no pictures, no maps or illustrations, and they are supplemented with large appendixes containing speeches, statistics, or copies of official documents, which were intended to "illustrate" what the author sees as the major difference between their world (shared by both writer and reader) and what is observed. The movement of discovering the world and oneself, which is so characteristic of travel literature, is considerably limited when writing about visits to the USSR. This kind of trip is inscribed in an ancient tradition of utopian narrative or pilgrimage, of a certain autobiographical view on extremely politically charged events.

1 See also Morel.

Traveling is an experience that from immemorial time has been associated with transformation and change. Whoever travels leaves behind a very well-known world and goes into one characterized by constant collision with the unknown –entering the land of adventure. Trips are varied, but generally intense. People travel for a variety of reasons: some are religious and artistic pilgrims, other are explorers as in medieval times, and in the Renaissance and Enlightenment, or in the nineteenth century, wealthy travelers did the Grand Tour following Goethe's footprints. Finally, there are those who travel because they have suffered persecution for political or religious reasons. For all of them, travel has meant the ability to substantially change their lives through knowledge of other worlds (Gingras, 1293 and 1304, Löschburg).

In a travelogue there is a specific textual unity, which is determined by the fact that the trip can be an event easily isolated in the course of a lifetime. Thus we see some significant variations with respect to other autobiographical genres, or even compared to other texts of fiction: the weight of the protagonist's journey, and the intimate reasons that push him or her away from his or her world, issues that affect a precise strength in the opening (when explaining the rationale that motivates the trip) and the ending (the assessment of what has been learned), some formal details such as the tendency –conscious and declared– to plagiarism, a characteristic relationship between time and space, and a metaliterary reflection on the written book. A travel book has a particular form, but as it happens in other cases of autobiographical literature, it is produced by contamination from other sub-genres: letters (such as the ones sent by Pedro Salinas to his family during his travels), or personal diary notes (as in the case of Benjamin), or newspaper articles, similar to essays (such as those sent to newspapers in Barcelona by Josep Pla), or they may be just a chapter of a memoir (those written by Francesc Cambó about his Mediterranean summer sailings). In all cases, kaleidoscopic impressions are deciphered from the thread of concrete experiences, and the interest that leads the traveler away from home. The experience of the trip, a tranche de vie, is inscribed on the layout of the text. Adventure is defined by its capacity, despite being an isolated and accidental event, and the need to generate and

attach meaning. Something becomes an adventure only by virtue of two conditions: that it itself is a specific organization of significant meaning with a beginning and an end; and that, despite its accidental nature and its difference with respect to the continuity (normalcy) of life, it nevertheless connects with the character and identity of the person living that life. And this happens as stated by Georg Simmel, "in einem weitesten, die rationaleren Lebensreihen übergreifenden Sinne und in einer geheimnisvollen Notwendigkeit zusammenhängt" (16) ("that it does so in the widest sense, transcending, by a mysterious necessity, life's more narrowly rational aspects"). The uniqueness of the experience determines the peculiarities of the text, because the trip has a beginning and an end much more pronounced than other experiences. It's like an island in life that errupts and washes away according to its own rules. Therefore, the German philosopher Simmel is emphasizing the existence of an affinity between the artist and adventurer. Both extract consequences of past experiences and separate them from everything else in the traveler's life and the writer gives it a form, which is defined internally.

Books such as the ones discussed here make us address a fundamental question: who travels? As shown by the texts, travelers to the USSR are widely varied: an adventurer educated at Harvard at the time of T.S. Eliot, with aspirations of becoming a tabloid journalist, who was already the author of a renowned book, Insurgent Mexico (1913), a product of his personal friendship with, and devotion to, Pancho Villa; the impressions of a Spanish Socialist professor and MP; a journalist, funded by Dr. Joaquim Borralleres' tertúlia in Barcelona's "Ateneu," who accepted the challenge to report live on the Revolution; a philosopher who, following an unrequited love, did not want to miss the occasion of getting to know the Revolution from inside; and a writer with an interest in political and social issues who had already written about Russia before coming to know it. Why travel to the USSR? We detect here three well-established reasons: curiosity (and willingness to report), the need to flee, and the moral duty or the need to explain realities that have upset the entire world. There is therefore a gradation from the most private reasons to very public ones.

One key feature of a journey is that those who undergo the trip create an exile from their normal conditions of existence. The traveler is a "millionaire in time," living in an abnormal situation. This is even more exaggerated in the case of tourists, because they have very basic motivations: they want to raise their social status and make peace with their own social concerns, or they try to fulfill their erotic fantasies, and, most importantly, they get a transient secret pleasure when they are seen as part of a higher class than theirs, posing as buyers and spenders. Life becomes meaningful for them only when they exercise the power to choose what they want to buy (Fussell 42). The traveler is almost always richer and freer than the inhabitant of the country he or she visits. In the case of travelers to the USSR, they are accepted among the "visited" with no problem, as somebody who is considered a supporter of the tribe: Josep Pla, and with him all his fellow travelers, can as capitalists visit a communist country. The traveler may be tempted to join some of their lifestyles, but he always has insurance, because he has the guarantee of a return ticket. He reacts and it is this "reaction" that provides the impetus for writing the book, which otherwise would be impossible to write. For while it may seem paradoxical, we can say that this travel book comes in many cases with contempt and rejection towards the country visited: towards the culture, lifestyles, and people who live there.

Often a travel book serves to make a subtle portrait of the traveler's society as seen from a distance, while taking advantage of the deformation created by two very different contrasting realities, that of the traveler and the new one experience abroad. Two very well-known examples illustrate this: Montesquieu's *Lettres persannes* and Voltaire's *Candide*. These are books written by philosophers, providing in-depth analysis of their own society as reflected in the imaginary and seemingly neutral mirror of the problems of primitive civilizations. Without reaching this far, Josep Pla often reflects on the differences between the reality he gets to know in the USSR and what he has left behind in his own country. This contrast effect is a rhetorical device used repeatedly in this kind of text. Pla aims to provide a first-hand testimony: "és idiota de perdre el temps llegint descripcions literàries escrites del bulevard estant" (20). Against sectarian views he writes that "hom es pot disposar a compren-

dre un xic l'URSS amb un criteri completament independent de qualsevol proselitisme"(20). But when the time comes to review the status of farmers in the USSR, local prejudices from his home country –and region– resurface: "Així i tot, els pagesos sempre es queixen. A tot arreu són iguals. No estan conformes amb cap fórmula que no sigui la propietat romana de la terra" (72). Other travelers had a very clear idea of the limitations imposed by the new Soviet reality. César Vallejo, for instance, was extremely critical of some travelogues: "[n]o basta haber estado en Rusia: menester es poseer un mínimun de cultura sociológica para entender, coordinar y explicar lo que se ha visto. No hace falta añadir aquí que los demás libros de 'impresiones' de viaje a Rusia no son más que pura literatura" (Vallejo 6).

Isolated from the Land

One of the peculiarities of trips to the USSR, as these books prove, is that they do not reflect many details from the physical journey. These travelers pay attention to a much more intellectual reality, thus they judge the situation in the USSR according to their own previous experience or their political ideology. The text is filled with capital letters and judgments: "Rusia no ha podido, no, romper con la historia, y al realizar su Revolución, llena de grandezas y nobles afanes, ha disuelto los restos feudales que en ella existían, como lo hicieron antaño los demás pueblos" (243), Fernando de los Ríos reminds us. André Gide adopts a tone of great simpathy: "En contact direct avec un peuple de travailleurs, sur les chantiers, dans les usines ou dans les maisons de repos, dans les jardins, les 'parcs de la culture,' j'ai pu goûter des instants de joie profonde. J'ai senti parmi ces camarades nouveaux une fraternité subite d'établir, mon coeur se dilater, s'épanouir" (19). Josep Pla adds from a very skeptical perspective: "L'experiència comunista és (…) el primer assaig d'occidentalització a fons que suporta aquest poble" (157). Or even: "M'agradaria d'arribar a vell per veure el desenllaç de totes aquestes coses tan curioses" (154).

división palabra: peu-ple

In the introductory pages these books focus on some of the secrets that hide behind the adventure they have experienced. Reed ad-

mits openly: "This book is a slice of intensified history –history as I saw it. It does not pretend to be anything but a detailed account of the November revolution" (VII). He does not hide the character of his book: a biased direct testimony, since his is not precisely a "pure" travel book, but rather a first-hand witness account with insider information. He writes notes and confessions directly witnessing the days of the Revolution. In Reed's book the personal diary form dominates, which starts after three introductory chapters. In the case of André Gide, he refers to the Revolution in extremely positive terms, because he is already convinced of the beneficial effects the Revolution entails. His account is filled with a sort of personal affection. Proof of this is in his use of expressions such as "admiration," "amour," "expérience (…) qui nous gonflait le coeur d'espérance, (11) "un terre où l'utopie était en passe de devenir réalité" (15). It starts as a quasi-poetic note that confirms a devotion towards the Revolution by him and many of his contemporaries: "Qui dira ce que l'URSS a été pour nous? Plus qu'une patrie d'élection: un exemple, un guide. Ce que nous rêvions, que nous osions à peine espérer mais à quoi tendaient nos volontés, nos forces, avait eu lieu la-bàs." (15). Gide's book is also an uncommon travelogue. He is trying to put forward a series of "réflexions personnelles sur ce-que l'URSS prend plaisir et légitime orgueil à montrer et sur ce que, à côté de cela, j'ai pu voir" (16). Albeit he does not resist some of the subgenre's temptation. Gide's vision is extremely poetical. He allows himself to play on words (with extremely dangerous political connotations) or poetical descriptions:

> De Léningrad j'ai peu vu les quartiers nouveaux. Ce que j'admire en Léningrad, c'est Saint Pétersbourg. Je ne connais pas de ville plus belle; pas de plus harmonieuses fiançailles de la pierre, du métal et de l'eau. On la dirait rêvée par Pouchkine ou par Baudelaire. Parfois, aussi elle rappelle des peintures de Chirico. (35)

Catalan journalist Josep Pla published his first impressions in a series of articles, in a Barcelona newspaper *La Publicitat*. Turned into a book, one can distinguish two very different parts. One is based on quotations and /or plagiarism of Soviet pamphlet literature provid-

ed to him by his guides and translators. The second one is filled with much more personal commentaries and observations. The result is a fascinating, atypical book. Pla went to the Soviet Union with a fellow traveler, Eugeni Xammar, another great journalist, and they crossed paths with Walter Benjamin. His distinguishing attention to detail becomes even more attractive after so many changes in Russia with Perestroika and the fall of the dictatorship. Swedish women writers had similar reactions. They were very disappointed that their hosts preferred to show them a distorted picture of extravagant May 1 processions rather than the everyday lives of ordinary people:

> We never managed to make contact with the women. In that respect, our otherwise highly accommodating hosts at Intourist were guilty of a serious omission, insomuch as the purpose of our journey was, first and foremost, precisely to study the current situation of women and children. (Swenson 5)

In Walter Benjamin's diary the impact of his present day situation is very obvious. On top of everything, besides confronting changes in Russia, this was a very difficult trip from a strictly personal perspective. He tells us more about the state of his love life than about what he sees in Moscow. He is even cruel to himself. He waits until his third day in Moscow to stop and write a general description of the city, "Einiges zur Signatur von Moskau" (26) ("Some words about Moscow's characteristics"). Three days later he writes some wonderful notes on Moscow's architecture. But it is all too evident that he was not really interested in this subject. He was much more attracted to Asja Lacis, a young woman who was refusing him, and who is the beneficiary of most comments in the diary. Thus his books became the chronicle of an unsuccessful romantic pursuit.

Travelers look always for what is more exotic wherever they go. And this has a repercussion on the text as they pay attention to everything that is most different from their native world. Fernando de los Ríos makes some insightful observations right after arriving to Petrograd:

> Casi todo el mundo lleva un saco a la espalda; esta imagen de hombres, mujeres y jóvenes con un bulto de tela tosca, de yute o cáñamo, no podrá fá-

> cilmente olvidarla quien haya visitado la Rusia actual. En muchas personas, especialmente señoras no acostumbradas y de alguna edad, se observa a menudo un gesto de fatiga y dolor que impresiona. (53)

Many comments are filled with distrust. When de los Ríos realizes that there are many differences in the way people dress, some trendy and fashionable, others with very old clothes, he asks himself: "¿Son los restos de la antigua desigualdad o un indicio de que ésta pervive en el actual régimen?" (52)

Pla, as with so many of the travelers I study here, pays attention to the founding moments of the Soviet Union. He evokes a Soviet Russia that is still a dream in the making, because there are still many traces from a war economy, which dominated the first years of the Revolution. The New Economic Policy is only in its early stages. It was a dreamer's world, when Stalin was only general secretary of the communist party, way before many of the sinister realities, which happened a few years later. Pla, as a good observer, with unassailable curiosity, pays attention to small details: he does not see people dressed richly, he is stunned by the landscape's vastness, and also by the abundance of bookstores. Most of his comments are quite skeptical, although he recognizes some positive changes introduced by the Revolution. On other occasions, some of his comments are premonitory: "És probable que, a distància, la Revolució russa no quedi més que com un fantàstic canvi de personal i com una inversió del significat verbal de les paraules" (174). It sounds now as a visionary prophecy, which at the time one could qualify as extremely reactionary, but even that now, so many years later, sounds like the words of the brightest political scientist.

And this is one of the most unquestionable truths that arise from these books: all of them include the chronicle of a disappointment. Gide leaves the country using his usual lyrical terms: "Mais, autant que le plus lumineux, ce que je pouvais voir ici de plus sombre, tout m'attachait, et douloureusement parfois, à cette terre, à ces peuples unis, à ce climat nouveau qui favorisait l'avenir et où l'inespéré pouvait éclore… C'est tout cela que je devais quitter" (91). Josep Pla recognizes he experienced some tough moments: "Com tothom que ha

anat a Rússia he passat per una gran crisi: no m'he pas deixat emportar per la primera impressió, perquè he considerat que la missió que tenia era la de comprendre" (183). Walter Benjamin, after an extremely cold good bye by Asja, leaves the city crying: "Mit dem grossen Koffer auf meinem Schosse fuhr ich weinend durch die dämmernden Strassen zum Bahnhof" (176) ("Holding my suitcase between my legs, I cried while walking to the train station").

In a travel book there is an elementary dialogue between the book written during a trip and a travel guide, which is previously published materials, which generally are of less literary value, or even books written by previous travelers to the same spot. These books are quoted and plagiarized. They generate a dialogue, which is crucial in travelogues to the USSR. The traveler acts as if (s)he were a tourist with the help of a travel aid. As stated by Jean Rousset: "les voyageurs s'appuient sur des guides, qu'ils citent, qu'ils démarquent, qu'ils critiquent volontiers" (126). This attitude leads unmistakably towards plagiarism. What Eugeni d'Ors once said in a well-known aphorism, "tot allò que no és tradició és plagi," becomes a *mot d'ordre* for travelers to the Soviet Union. Travelers gather some information before leaving, or they tenaciously read propaganda reports handed to them. One can read between the lines of those plagiarized official political pamphlets. Not knowing the language, not being able to move freely, it substitutes personal information gathered through conversations with the Russian population or free personal observations. A recent edition of documents related to French travelers to the Soviet Union stresses precisely that: for the Soviet authorities it was a major propaganda operation, trying to entice foreign travelers by the many wonders produced by the Revolution. It was a methodical campaign of cultural diplomacy, which included organizations such as VOKS (Vsesoiuznoe obschestvo kul'turnykh sviazei s zagranitsei or the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries), and Intourist, the State Joint Stock Company on Foreign Tourism in USSR (GAO Intourist) of the People's Commissariat for Foreign and Domestic Trade of the USSR. These organizations were devised as a way to attract foreign intellectuals and launch a very aggressive propaganda campaign to convince them of the good effects on the Russian popula-

tion of the achievements of the Revolution, thus hiding harsh political repression against dissidents and the social and economic price of the whole experiment.

In the case of travelers to the Soviets, they do not use guides, because there were none, but they use official reports provided to them by the authorities. Some of them are incorporated as an appendix to the travelogue. The use of these texts prove to what extent the travelers feel hesitant about what they see, and this fact provokes the final state of their travelogue: it feels more like a report dictated by somebody else than the chronicle of a real visit to a place. They are of literary value, because one notices the lack of evocations, or personal reactions towards reality, some of the most unmistakable traits of travelogues. The reader runs into two kinds of quotations disguised inside the text of the travelogue: those that are useful to validate the authenticity of the experience (a conversation, long quotes from documents the author read, quotes from newspapers, and notes he or she wrote while traveling); and those that are marked by what they encounter, marks of a different culture and that refer to another tradition or intertextuality (Grudzinska Gross 231). The combination of both sources introduces a characteristic alternation in travelogues between first and third person.

Josep Pla combined two types of information: official texts or propaganda, both of which are extremely precise and quite technical. Using these sources makes him write a rather boring text, with undertones of a Baedecker guide or "Guide Bleu"; other sections are summaries that are reminiscent of an encyclopedia. To this one can add the information he obtained first hand while talking to Andreu Nin, a Catalan translator and politician who was living in Moscow at the time as a member of the III Communist International secretariat. The addition of personal commentaries or conversations with other journalists has an added value: it gives the impression of a confidence towards the reader. Josep Pla travels through Soviet Russia and he is almost shocked by the appearance of people, or his own feelings about contemplating such a huge space: "La sensació dominant del viatge és, però, una sensació que jo no havia sentit mai: la sensació de la immensitat del paisatge. Tot es troba, relativament a les coses nostres,

multiplicat per deu: les distàncies, els pobles, les perspectives, les coses" (29). André Gide often quotes himself: comparing what he wrote in France before leaving for the USSR, and the tremendous surprise of seeing it. John Reed uses something similar to avant-garde techniques: he mixes all the time as if it were a sort of *collage* propaganda posters, manifestos, newspaper articles. He is one of the few to reproduce them in his books, as a sort of photograph.

There is a paradoxical aspect of the travel book: a text that draws on real evidence, but also has a spiritual meaning. As stated by Fussell:

> The travel book authenticates itself by the sanction of actualities –ships, trains, architecture, curious food. At the same time it reaches in the opposite direction, most often to the generic convention that the traveling must be represented as something more than traveling, that it shall assume a meaning either metaphysical, psychological, artistic, religious, or political, but always ethical. A travel book is like a poem in giving universal significance to a local texture. (214)

This leads us to emphasize the significance of transport, because the means of transportation the travelers use are quite fascinating. However, there is always some reflection about the means of transport used and its meaning. It is the essential tool to the trip they are making, and almost always arouses the comradery of fellow travelers, the only shared tiny common space, and helps them to stay in touch with their place of origin, and more or less reaffirms the possibility of a return.

The journey is, as I said before, an adventure. It is similar to a journey of discovery and an experience, which marks the beginning of a transformation. These are "real" travels, made from a non-tourist perspective, and they can be read as some sort of temptation for us readers living in a time when we can no longer travel under conditions of adventure and discovery. When the only thing we have left is tourism, in exchange we can still experience some benefits of traveling through an intermediary: the writers of travel books. In their company one can still achieve a goal expressed by Gaziel: "Viatjant per un país, sobretot per les seves entranyes, no mirant-li els ulls ni la cara, s'aprenen més

veritats definitives que llegint i especulant sobre els llibres" (II, 93). On the journey it is possible to perceive a heraclitean activity. Everyday life is monotonous and repetitive par excellence, because every day (week, month, year) tends to repeat itself as we do the same actions, or return in a sort of spiral effect to where we were. A trip is a unique little island of time. We cannot redo the photos we have forgotten to take, and we cannot re-live our memories; we can never go back. Therefore for travelers and their readers, the preservation of memories through writing can be crucial.

In this context the series of articles published by Joseph Roth in *Frankfurter Zeitung* between 1926 and 1927 deserves special mention, although they were not published as a book until 1976. Obviously they are an extraordinary collection of texts about the USSR, because of his degree of observation and the eloquent talent of Joseph Roth. His text sets itself apart from the group of books reviewed here. The main difference we notice is in the depth of his vision. This derives from an enviable knowledge of Russian culture and a near-native command of the language. His is not the vision of a convinced communist militant or of a skeptic observer, seeing everywhere future signs of defeat. He is able to talk with people in the streets, discussing face to face with the voices of the country, which gives us a much more reliable witness account. He looks with profoundly tender eyes, colored by a strong brush of sarcasm. Roth appreciates what is impossible about the revolution, particularly the goal of establishing a new order. He keeps announcing, almost without knowing it, some of the reasons for the future disaster of the Soviet experiment. There is a well-known aphorism he told Walter Benjamin when they crossed paths in Moscow: he had left Germany as a Bolshevik, but he was going back as a monarquist. Given the careful, thorough inspection to which the baggage of passengers in the train was subject, he writes: "it seems that this is not a border between two countries, this is a border between two worlds" (26). Surprised because of the avalanche of incomprehensible statistics and the difficulty of making sense of them, he mocks the fanaticism of statistics and their potential usefulness. He also criticized the newspapers for reasons that would be applicable to the present mass media: they lack independence from the govern-

ment, and they are too dependent on reader knowledge of the world (122). Interestingly, Roth as a traveler also allows his vision of the Revolution to be permeated by his obsessive vision of Europe between the wars, particularly his sadness and disquiet at the disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The big criticism of the Revolution is based on the arrival of a new type of bourgeois similar and different from the one that existed before, in a country where there had been only nobility.

The journey, of discovery, exploration, and exploitation, has played a major role in the conquest of new spaces and the formation of a modern mentality. A trip opens up two kinds of possibilities: to live new sensations and experiences, which change our familiar landscapes; observing and interacting with different human beings living their daily life. All this happens because the traveler has left behind a secure world and has chosen to live, and the adventure of knowledge. Secondly, in the case of trips to the land of the Soviets, it becomes a song to freedom at a time, before 1945, in which there were fewer direct controls, passports, currencies, customs. According to the sociologist Paul Hollander, visitors to the USSR in the thirties were deceived "not necessarily by staged events" (as insinuated by simplistic Hergé drawings), but "by the overall image of Soviet life and society conveyed to them. The Soviet case at any rate makes clear that 'being on the spot' and 'seeing things for oneself' are not a guarantee or sufficient condition for accurately assessing the nature of a country and its social system" (19). In fact these travelers go back to their countries with a very superficial and surprisingly similar overall impression of Soviet society.

Travelers in general have been accused of drawing conclusions too soon after a limited journey where they explore a very limited territory. Those travelers that went to Russia after the Soviet Revolution had the added problem of dealing with a vast territory with dozens of different languages and very diversified national cultures. What image, then, can they communicate? All of them certainly have a utopian component: they seek to check the performance of the Revolution, the spectacle of an ideal society in the making, and they return to their home country, back from the USSR, with a luggage full of

altered opinions, and mistaken opinions. More than in other type of travel, previous assumptions prevent them from overlooking what they have in the suitcase to grasp the difference. They travel with their eyes closed, just watching (reacting to) reality according to the color of personal ideology. It becomes a useless travel, which represents a limited gain in the pursuit of new knowledge. In fact, one of the last travelers to the (former) Soviet Union, Jacques Derrida, expressed the fatefulness of such a trip:

> Exemple particulièrement saisissant d'œuvres dont le «genre», le «type» mais aussi une certaine généralité thématique se lient de façon essentielle à une séquence finie de l'histoire politique d'un pays, de plus d'un pays, séquence que marqua un moment décisif de l'histoire de l'humanité. (Qtd in Coeuré 33)

10. Lightweight Luggage: Travel and Exile

For many readers of Antonio Machado, a few verses from "Retrato," the first poem in *Campos de Castilla*, sound like a painful premonition of events in the poet's life:

> Y cuando llegue el día del último viaje,
> y esté al partir la nave que nunca ha de tornar,
> me encontraréis a bordo ligero de equipaje,
> casi desnudo, como los hijos de la mar. (492)

As it is known, Machado died in 1939 in exile, right after crossing the Spanish-French border, in the small town of Colliure. Many critics attest to the relationship established between these verses and the fate of the poet (Pla y Beltrán, Franck, Zardoya).[1] The latter came to write that Machado "se fue por los caminos de su tierra y –al final de

1. Pla y Beltrán wrote: "Diecinueve meses después moría sobre tierras francesas. Debía de ir como él serenamente había presentido en uno de sus más conmovedores versos: 'casi desnudo, como los hijos de la mar'" (46). Franck when giving notice of the death of Machado quotes the verses of "Retrato" (56). Zardoya wrote: "se fue de España y de la vida, desnudo, sin equipaje, hambriento" (327).

su vida– por los de Francia, libre y sin equipaje, como Don Quijote" (341). Antonio Machado died in exile, when he had just begun the long journey to the Diaspora, which later impacted the dissemination and appreciation of his work. Thus, Colliure became a pilgrimage site for readers, scholars, and high officials of Spanish socialism, and the above verses have on the one hand been read in a strictly biographical sense, and on the other hand declare something characteristic of the trip into exile: the deprivation associated with death, highlighting the profound neglect of the self, essential to this kind of experience.

Studies of exile literature –from those of Harry Levin to Claudio Guillén– or the exile's condition –by Edward Said, Paul Tabori– have looked at the characteristics and the material aspects of writing under exile, and have been successful in relating exile to something inherent in the act of writing, and comparing it to the foundation of any serious intellectual activity. We know the recurring themes and modes, the melancholy, the long trip, the oscillation between the elegy and literature of counter-exile, or between an Ovidian mode and another Plutarchian. Moreover, until very recently, attempts to read literature of the 1936 Republican exile have been conditioned by the presence of a vindictive tone, one of fidelity to the memory of former fighters in exile. We can distinguish two phases in the evaluation of this literature. The first is marked by direct testimonies of the exiled protagonists: María Zambrano, Francisco Ayala, Max Aub, Manuel Andújar, Rafael Alberti, or Rosa Chacel. After the 1980s, there is a second, more analytical, phase, one conditioned by vindication. Critics discuss, for example, why from inside Spain the canon has not admitted a significant number of writers who deserve to be on the Parnassus: Manuel Andújar and Paulino Massip, for instance, or why this "transterrada" generation is continually forgotten.[2] From many different perspectives, in studies by critics such as Abellán, Ilie, Ugarte, Naha-

2. See, as a representative sample, the secondary place of exile narrative and poetry given in volume 8 of *Historia y crítica de la literatura española. Época contemporánea (1939-1980)*, ed. Domingo Ynduráin. Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1980.

rro Calderón, and Mangini,[3] there is a logical respect for ancestors, in an effort to fix the Republican Diaspora snapshots through literary expression. Their studies can be read as second-generation testimonies of some serious experiences.

I would like to inquire here about the relationship between exile and travel as a preamble to a more crucial question: what is particular to travelogues in Hispanic literature written by Spanish exiles? I want to raise a reflection from a perspective closer to what Edward Said in *Culture and Imperialism* calls "a kind of geographical inquiry into historical experience" (7). It is therefore necessary to elucidate how the condition of exile changes the travel experience. I'm going to primarily study texts by two writers, Pedro Salinas' *Cartas de viaje* and Max Aub's *La gallina ciega. Diario español*. Both writers traveled during ex-

3. Abellán edited a series of six volumes, *El exilio español de 1939*. He declared: "Sentía la necesidad de abordar la historia del exilio español de 1939 porque era "una laguna vergonzosa en nuestra bibliografía" (13). Ilie's *Literature and Inner Exile: Authoritarian Spain, 1939-1975*, raises two propositions: 1. "a bilateral relationship may be said to exist between emigrations and the gap it opens in the nation. (…) A deprivation occurs in both directions, for while the extirpated segment is territorially exiled from the homeland, the resident population is reduced to an inner exile. Each segment is incomplete and absent from the other." And 2. "the need for resident or inner exile to remodel itself and fill the absent shape." (3-4). According to Ugarte in *Shifting Ground. Spanish Civil War Literature*: "The particular nature of exile experience (displacement, the importance of correspondence and relations, comparisons, temporal and spatial disunity, self-duplication and division) leads the writer, perhaps unwittingly, into a dialogue with him or herself on the very nature and on the problems that arise from an attempt to record reality. Thus my contention is not that exile literature is a unique brand of literature with a language and a set of of conventions all its own. On the contrary: exile literature lays bare the workings of literature itself" (19-20.) Naharro Calderón, in *Entre el exilio y el interior: el "entresiglo" y Juan Ramón Jiménez,* aims to "aportar algo al caudal por el que creo debe correr la labor de revisión de los casi cuarenta años de 'silencio' que separan la autarquía franquista y el período de capitalismo 'democrático' que ahora vive España" (16). Mangini studies women writing: "hearing the voices of women – from their memoirs, oral testimonies, and other documents– we can understand their function in the Republic, the war, and its aftermath, and comprehend how they perceived themselves" (VII).

ile to different places and at very different times, but they generated a range of complementary comments.

In her reflection on the condition of exile, Maria Zambrano made a useful distinction between "exile," the "refugee," who "se ve acogido (…) en un lugar donde se le hace hueco," y el desterrado, que "se siente sin tierra, la suya, y sin otra ajena que pueda sustituirla" (31-2). This is a critical distinction and helps Zambrano to establish a typology of separation from the homeland. We can thus distinguish between refuge and exile. The exile would be defined by the expulsion and "la insalvable distancia y la incierta presencia física del país perdido" (32). Speaking of exile, it is important to distinguish the various types: internal exile, exile within exile (as in the case of Salman Rushdie), or in the case of minority cultures within a larger exile: Catalan, Galician, or Basque culture with respect to the Spanish Republican diaspora. At another level we would put the case of emigration, for it is a strongly economic reason, and the act of cutting past ties can be an advantage, such as with Don Antonio López y López, future marquis of Comillas, and so many others installed in Cuba in mid nineteenth century, who converted into a *de luxe* "indiano."[4]

As Zambrano says, a condition of emptiness is characteristic of exile: "Y es que anda fuera de sí al andar sin patria ni casa. Al *salir* de ellas se quedó para siempre fuera, librado a la visión, proponiendo el ver para verse; porque aquel que lo vea acaba viéndose" (33). This last point is essential since the exile carries a nomadic condition, whether physical –physical movement or in the mind– trying to adjust to a new situation. Exile, as Edward Said points out, is "the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home" ("The Mind of Winter" 49). And so exile puts the human being in a no-man's land (or occupied by others). Separation is key in the traumatic experience of exile. Millions of human beings have undergone this transition in our time, but the writer is an exile who tends to document his or her separation process. Through

4. A "New World reading" like the one James D. Fernández (1994) did of "El celoso estremeño" would be very useful in these cases.

a cathartic move, he or she shares with us a private experience and adds another dimension, which George Santayana defined: "The most radical form of travel, and the most tragic, is migration" (44). Given this experience and the tragic situation it involves, two different reactions emerge from the act of exile. Claudio Guillén makes a distinction between two types of exile, modeled upon Ovid and Plutarch. He distinguishes between a literature of "exile" and another of "counter-exile." The literature of "exile" is the direct evocation in autobiographical terms, with an elegiac tone of the ordeal, whereby "exile becomes Its Own subject matter." The literature of "counter-exile," on the other hand, turns the fact of being far from home into "triumph over the separation," and thus universalism and curiosity to explore new worlds and attitudes occur ("The Sun and the Self" 272).[5]

its own

Asserting this position, critics such as Said have seen some "advantages" in exile. Exile can be a relief, since it allows for an escape from an untenable situation. Among the "positive" aspects of it are: the originality of vision, having knowledge of more than one culture, and fusion of experiences. The latter involves the merging of time and space: "exile, habits, habits of life, expression, or activity in the new environment inevitably occur against the memory of these things in another environment" (Said "The Mind of Winter" 55). Here we have already detracted another key feature of the inquiry. The traveler in exile is not a mere tourist, happy at the discovery of new worlds, but carries a sorrowful feeling of absence. As we shall see in a moment, the inevitable spatial condition of exile, or journeying to another country, is accentuated by the superposition of time and experiences.

Away from Home

The journey in exile has some specific problems. Exile is an existence that affects the self. First of all it is an unwanted trip. I have indicated

5. See Claudio Guillén's reflection on exile in *El sol de los desterrados: literatura y exilio*.

before that exile causes separation. According to Joseph Brodsky, that is the key moment of the experience: "'Exile' covers, at best, the very moment of departure, of expulsion; what follows is both too comfortable and too autonomous to be called this name, which so strongly suggests a comprehensible grief" (9). Separation emphasizes an attitude of looking back, of elegy, and at the same time –because of the impossibility of returning– it casts doubt on the foundations of one's self. As Claudio Guillén has written, the elegy is torn between a "ser" and "estar" ("Sátira y poética" 222). Thus, the presence of the country left behind exists, but it is not accessible anymore. Max Aub was well aware of the limitations imposed by living in exile: "Es difícil hablar de su patria cuando uno se hace viejo lejos de ella, ¿cómo es, aún sabiendo cómo está? No hay más imágenes que las traídas por el aliento –o el desaliento– de las palabras ajenas" (*Hablo como hombre* 139).

The specific pain associated with the moment of separation is reflected by both Pedro Salinas and Max Aub. When the first was on a ship crossing the Atlantic he thought:

> ¡Y qué olvidado, o inexistente parece lo que ocurre en España, aquí en el barco! (…) He pasado de estar rodeado exteriormente por la preocupación de lo español todos los minutos, como en Santander, a tener que vivirlo yo en mi interior sin nada externo que aluda a ello. Pero lo sigo viviendo día por día angustiosamente, yo solo en mi mente. (64)

Max Aub remembered in 1943: "Llegué, hace hoy un año cabal, a México. Venía de las altas mesetas del Sahara, traspasado de cárceles y campos que la ceguera francesa fabricó para nosotros los españoles" (*Hablo como hombre* 17). The pain of separation is also reflected, very acutely, in many articles of the journal *España peregrina*.[6]

6. See, for example, "La travesía del Sinaia," or Pedro Garfias' poem "Entre México y España": "España que perdimos, no nos pierdas, /guárdanos en tu frente derrumbada, / conserva a tu costado el hueco vivo /de nuestra ausencia amarga, / que un día volveremos" (230). Federica Montseny published in *El éxodo: pasión y muerte de españoles en el exilio* (1969) the shocking testimony by thouands of anonymous exiles. Other similar testimonies can be read in María Teresa León,

A journey, as I have discussed before, is an adventure characterized by its ability to generate a sense of being an island in the context of a whole life. It is like an island in life that determines the start and end according to its own rules. The traveler sees what is new with eyes accustomed to other realities and can only measure it by past experiences, so that (s)he hesitates when facing the exotic and compares it with the memory of the familiar, and the desire to escape and of being a prisoner of his/her cultural limitations. The traveler compares what (s)he sees, what is new, to something (s)he already knows of his/her homeland. But this comparison is much more "tragic" for the exiled. In this instance, substituting what is seen in the present for what is already known in the past plays a significant role in the "habitus," a sociological concept developed by Pierre Bourdieu. The "habitus" is the set of schemes of perception, thinking, feeling, evaluation, speech, and action that structures the expressive manifestations, verbal actions, and practices of a person. The habitus is a modus operandi, a "generative principle of regulated improvisation" (78), which acquires a problematic status in exile, because it is experimented against a new environment, and also because of a need to defend or protect against intimacy. This can explain what José Luis Abellán mentions as one of the most persistent characteristics of Spanish exiles, the willingness to stand by their origins, always remembering their past, and with a desire to connect with new Spanish generations (19). It is a remarkable difference with exiles from other European countries, who succeed in integrating themselves into their new societies, whereas Spaniards had a much harder time.[7] Exile in this sense increases sharpness of perception. And this is compounded by a characteristic play by the traveler, comparing the new with what (s)he left behind. The trip has served in

Memoria de la melancolía (1970), Silvia Mistral, *Éxodo (diario de una refugiada española)* (1941), or Victoria Kent, *Cuatro años en París (1940-1944)* (1947). See also Mercè Rodoreda, *Cartes…* (70-73 and 77).

7. George Steiner has noted that change of language is much more radical in a situation of exile: "A great writer driven from language to language by social upheaval and war is an apt symbol for the age of the refugee. No exile is more radical, no feat of adaptation and new life more demanding" (11).

many cases to confirm the excellence of a personal situation, at home and in the country, and the futility of looking for alternatives.

In exile the longing for what has been lost increases substantially, made all the more unattainable by circumstance and distance. This, in turn, causes all kinds of reactions. Let's look at a curious coincidence: the reactions to the death of bullfighter Manolete. Such an event calls the "habitus" with all its unifying power. Salinas learned about Manolete's death during a trip to Colombia, Ecuador, and Perú. At the time he was living in an Anglo-Saxon country and suffering tremendously because of it. When news broke about the death, he was pleasantly surprised at the impact it had in Spain and Latin America:

> Hay una afición enorme a los toros. No deja de hacérseme raro que esto de los toros sea uno, sino el más fuerte, de los lazos entre España y esta América. (…) Ya ves, sumido en la España castiza, anteayer en las iglesias, ayer en el culto a lo taurino. ¡Qué de cosas se ven por esta tierra! (219)

Around the same time, Max Aub wrote an article that linked the death of the bullfighter with fourteen Republicans shot in Carabanchel: "Por fuera llora España a su torero sin mancha; por dentro se muerde el alma, de rabia, por los catorce fusilados" (*Hablo como hombre* 23). The attention of both writers to Manolete's death proves how they managed to keep the attention to their country, how relevant any news coming from home was for them, and how it affects the interpretation of events in the present.

As we know, the place of origin, or from where the adventure of a journey begins, and then later to the location where travelers return, also influences perspective. These travelers are out of their environment. Indeed, we might say Pedro Salinas and Max Aub travel blindfolded, and only see what they want to see, or what they have already seen, in a move to replace what they have before them with memories of the past. Salinas was surprised at the Anglo-Saxon way of life. After initial enthusiasm, he felt alienated, and increasingly distant from a reality he considered inhospitable and superficial: "Yo observo todo esto como un salvaje, me divierte a ratos, y a ratos, me aburre, y me encuentro un poco solo" (70). When he first arrived at Wellelesy –a

women's college– he felt relegated: "El hombre aquí es una excepción rarísima, como el vestigio de una especie medio desaparecida" (68), he writes with humor.[8] Therefore it is easier to feel at home, to reconnect with himself while traveling in Spanish speaking countries.

When Salinas visited Mexico, he also felt the need to compare what he saw with Spanish-European realities he had left behind. The first impression he had of Latin America was during his visit to Mexico in 1939. He made the trip from California to Guadalajara by train. The trip was a disaster: the train was filthy, was delayed eight hours, and on top of everything they lost his baggage: "En suma, el retorno a lo hispánico, a la raza" (134), he wrote to his wife, Margarita Bonmatí. But the next day he began to change his mind:

> Hay que vaciar estas sílabas –Guadalajara– de recuerdos viejos, de casas pardas, de ambiente sórdido, y luego llenarlas con casas claras, atmósfera alegre y sencilla, o impresiones nuevas. Es una operación proustiana, y me dan ganas de escribir algo sobre este proceso de convertir un nombre de una realidad en otra realidad. Porque lo cierto es que esta Guadalajara, está vibrando de reminiscencias andaluzas, y en gran parte sevillanas. (135)

Traveler-tourists tend to compare their country of origin with the country they visit, whereas the traveler in exile tends to substitute one space for another. Salinas replaces old Guadalajara near Madrid, a place he had visited during his childhood, with Mexico's Guadalajara. This substitution of a space that is seen in the present with the exile's own personal space from the past, one impossible to see or visit, because of political constraints, is further complicated when it introduces a time effect. The past, which belongs to the realm of memory, increases the sense of loss inherent in a situation of exile. As Salinas wrote:

> Y empieza México a operar sobre mí esa influencia espiritual deliciosa de recordar lo visto y no visto, de volver a ver lo que nunca vi, y sin embargo

8. See Gascón Vera, "Hegemonía y diferencia: Pedro Salinas en Wellesley College," 33-47.

> me parece haber visto. (…) Yo me paseo por México como por un jardín o museo, mitad del pasado, mitad del presente, donde cojo aquí una cosa y allí otra, que no encuentro en otras partes. Pasado en el presente, o presente en lo pasado, esa es mi impresión mexicana. (135)

In the case of Salinas there is also the mirror effect between Spain and the Americas. The presence of similar names further provokes the mixing of places and in addition allows Salinas to introduce a dual way of thinking about time. On the one hand, as a traveler in exile he replaces what belongs to the past for what he sees in the present, but then on the other, as an amateur anthropologist, he highlights the difference between the notion of time in the Anglo-Saxon and Hispanic world:

> El porvenir no existe aquí, para mí. Así como en América, todo te está hablando del mañana, todo está tendido como un caballo galopante, hacia el futuro, en México no hay más que dos tiempos, curiosamente entremezclados en mi sensibilidad. Y eso es un gran reposo del alma. Nada urge, nada aprieta, se puede uno entregar a una especie de contemplación actual y retrospectiva a la vez. (136)

The important thing here is that Salinas dissolves spaces from different times thanks to the homophony of words and names, which create pristine images associated with experiences, which in turn are clearly identified with specific geographic locations in his past. Exile imposes an acute polysemy to toponyms. The site visited in the present becomes, somehow, the site absent, distant in space and time. In Luis Cernuda's poem "Un español habla de su tierra," we read some noteworthy lines: "Pensar tu nombre ahora / Envenena mis sueños" (311). Verses such as these condense this difficult relationship with names of places experienced by people in exile.

In the United States, Salinas was experiencing a sort of literary limbo. He was also pleasantly surprised by "esta lluvia de curiosidad, de atenciones, de alabanzas, muy provinciana, claro, pero tan distinta" (202). To this one he could add his reaction as Spanish "transterrado," surprised at the depth of the footprint his ancestors left in the New World:

> Pero tanto en los tejidos como en los cacharros, se revela una concepción del mundo y de la vida mágica, extraña, infinitamente lejana de nosotros. (…) Salí transtornado, de la inmersión en ese mundo. Figúrate, pasar de allí, dos horas después, a Garcilaso, el Renacimiento, al mundo de las claridades, de las formas puras, de la eliminación de todo lo monstruoso por fuerza del espíritu ordenador. Tremendo viaje que yo hice, ayer. Pero estas gentes tienen los dos mundos dentro, y no hay duda de que se debaten del uno al otro trágicamente. Los voy conociendo mejor, y con más respeto. (220)

This leads him to more deeply appreciate the relationship between the two worlds and to examine more closely what he misses from his former world.

The logical result after traveling and wandering through strange and new, yet reminiscent, realities is a proclamation of loyalty to the source, which translates into a longing for the Mediterranean. Observing the Pacific in California in 1939, Salinas writes: "Y ya sabes lo que es eso para mí: el Mediterráneo. Me declaro ciudadano del Mediterráneo. Claro es que a este falso Mediterráneo le falta algo: la antigüedad de las cosas" (115). He gradually learns to draw an idealized landscape of what he has lost, which comes alive when recollecting previous travels: "esos patios con jardines, paredes encaladas, jazmín, palmeras, que me recuerdan nuestro mundo: desde Alicante a Sevilla, por Argel, donde nos siguieron siempre esas flores, esos árboles, esos muros blancos" (148). Ultimately, these trips generate another obsession, to join the New World, and to identify at each step his earlier Spanish mores. So he wants to contemplate the ocean from a cafe, he is pleased to shout at a "tertulia" gathering, joyfully recognizes voices and gestures, colors, on the streets of Mexico or Colombia (162, 174, 227).

Many years later, towards the end of his exile, when Max Aub returned to Spain in 1969, he made similar comments, although of a different nature. Similar to Salinas, Aub replaces what he sees in the present with his memories of the past. But in his case, he mixes spaces separated by a certain time period, the 30-year absence. Therefore, he experiences great difficulty in recognizing the "reality," i.e., to distinguish between what is remembered and what is real: "esto que veo es

realidad o esto que me figuro ver lo es. Esto que me figuro ver –esta figura– es realidad. Esto que veo, España, es realidad. Lo que pienso que es, que debe ser España, no es realidad" (122). When he visits Barcelona he writes: "La ciudad allá abajo, como tantas veces la he retratado. La misma luz, idéntico mar. También yo, igual a mí mismo. ¿Dónde las canas? ¿Dónde los años? Todo es ver sin verse a sí mismo. Nunca se ve uno, los espejos engañan que es una barbaridad" (137). He felt great anguish not recognizing anything in Valencia, "como no sea la Gran Vía" (144). This problem of not identifying and recognizing what he sees returning to his country spreads by contagion to himself. When he introduces himself to the Rector of the University of Valencia he writes: "No sé qué decir. No sé cómo presentarme. No sé quién soy ni quién fui" (156). The time factor affects the way in which he sees himself in the mirror and suggests a novel mathematical formula to express the time spent in exile: "¿Qué tienen los espejos españoles que no tengan los demás? Ignoro los secretos del azogue. Pero existen. Me veo más viejo; cosa que a nadie debe asombrar, pero no son sólo treinta años. Hace más tiempo: el tiempo multiplicado por la ausencia" (542).

In a similar way, Juan Ramón Jiménez stated in *Desterrado. Diario poético* the feeling of remoteness in exile, and how, because of forced distance, he experienced a mix of time, or a sort of return to childhood. In "Trópico jeneral. 'La fuente de la juventud'" he wrote:

> En este trópico (Puerto Rico, Cuba, La Florida, etc.) mi vida ha sido, es como un retorno a mi angustiosa vida juvenil de Andalucía. Moguer radioso y lamentable, imposible y gratísimo. La misma nostaljia de ajenas carencias ideales, el mismo romanticismo fatal y hueco de no sé qué concavidad mortal contra el mar vacío. (40)

The exile recognizes in himself what has not changed. It is there that he finds a snapshot of the past which is an essential reference point for checking how time has past in relation to himself. There, exiles may cling to a past that they control. José Bergamín wrote in *Al volver*:

> El viajero que (…) vuelve a ella después de alguno o muchos años de ausencia puede volver a encontrar la España de Goya y Velázquez donde esta-

> ban, en el Museo del Prado –como pudo encontrarla fuera en la lectura de Cervantes, de Galdós. Pero ¿la encontrará en la vida española, en la España viva que está viendo, oyendo, sintiendo? (14-15)

Similarly, among the few things Max Aub recognizes is the Museo del Prado. When he visits it, he realizes that he and the museum have not changed. Thanks to the immutability of art, he gets back the only memory that conforms to his first and original perception of what the country was when he left. It helps him notice the passage of time: "Todo más o menos lo mismo, dispuesto en orden distinto y con razón, los cuadros no engañan, si son como éstos: corresponden a los recuerdos mejores. Tampoco sorprenden, al no envejecer se conservan idénticos" (327). Art speaks of the past and occurs in the present. When Pedro Salinas views paintings by El Greco in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, he sees not only images of his country but also experiences strong associations with episodes of the Spanish Civil War (75-6).

Living in the Margins

Once settled at the other end of the journey into exile, these writers find themselves with the problem of integration or observation. Max Aub had it easier, as did many other exiles in Mexico and other Spanish speaking countries, since he did not feel forced to completely change culture, as José Gaos implies with his "transterrados" expression when he refers to exiles (177). For Pedro Salinas, Jorge Guillén, or even Salvador Dalí, to name a few examples of exiles in the United States, the situation was very different. One can clearly discern a marginal living situation, "en el borde," as Jorge Guillén put it in a letter to Américo Castro: "no tenemos ni un solo pelo de emigrantes de los que no son nada en su país y vienen a ser algo en el otro Continente." Guillén acknowledged positive influences of various kinds: "¿Quién no ha aprendido aquí más de una lección, desde el fregar los platos con gusto hasta el llegar a las citas con puntualidad?" He added:

> A pesar de todo, en el borde quedamos. Nunca creeremos con tal ingenuidad en el progreso, ni en el *success* como clave de la existencia, ni en un "estilo de negocio," *business-like*. No pondremos los pies en la mesa, si no es por afectación; no nos quitaremos la chaqueta en cuanto lleguemos a casa; durante las comidas no tomaremos café desde el principio. (*–No, later!*) No tenemos coche; tenemos radio, pero no creemos en ella; no asistimos a partidos de *baseball*; apenas oímos jazz; apenas bebemos whisky. ¿Qué plenitud habrá en este borde? No compartimos el lecho con la hermosa indígena… ¿Habremos pues de recurrir a la elegía para situarnos y expresarnos? (Jorge Guillén 1994)

Indeed, part of the reason for living "en el borde" is the radical decision of not wanting to join a new society. A traveler in exile, not integrated into the host society, is exhausted without finding repose in any part, as indicated earlier by María Zambrano. In a diary entry Julio Ramón Ribeyro remembers a pathetic expedition to Bordeaux; he went to give a couple of lectures and was vexed by the delays and misunderstandings with the public and the organizers. Thus he writes: "Está bien que no me paguen nada por dar una o dos conferencias, así hable ante un muro, pero al menos que no me cueste plata someterme a esas pruebas que nada me dan y todo me quitan" (213). This is a characteristic attitude of exile: self-imposed distance when facing a foreign culture in order to preserve the inner self. As a result, it reinforces a desire to refuse to integrate, perpetuating a life on the edge. Perhaps one of the best ways to define this situation is using a concept that comes from anthropology. Liminality is characterized by being *betwixt and between*, which allows for the suspension of normal rules and the ability to live above them, i.e., be between one and the other, and nowhere definitively.[9] Exiles maintain an ambivalence regarding

9. Liminality is "a moment of suspension of normal rules, a crossing of boundaries and violating of norms, that enables us to understand those norms, even (or perhaps especially) where they conflict, and move on either to incorporate or reject them," according to Arnold Van Gennep in *The Rites of Passage* (1908). Victor and Edith Turner defined the concept this way: "the state and process of mid-transition in a rite of passage. During the liminal period, the characteristics of the liminars (the ritual subjects in this phase) are ambiguous, for they pass through a

identity, withholding their membership into a new community, and tending to live in liminality.

Salinas adopted an attitude of rejection in two areas: language and habits. Against a saying by Juan Ramón Jiménez, "yo no hablo inglés para no estropear mi español," Salinas opposed his, "yo no hablo inglés para no estropear el inglés" (Solita Salinas 1976, 39). This is the result of his attitude to defend the purity of the Spanish language, which results in his constant linguistic subversion of English, so characteristic of this poet: survey courses become "sorbetes," trustees are "trastos," and "memos" (tontos in Spanish) are literally stupid.

When Max Aub traveled to Spain he realized his "en el borde" situation. His diary is notoriously full of admonitions and criticisms of present day Spain: "habéis hecho de España un conglomerado de seres que no saben para qué viven ni lo que quieren, como no sea vivir bien. Franco ha hecho el milagro de convertir a España en una república suramericana…" (140). He attacked the rampant consumerism and escapism, which to his despair had pervaded every aspect of Spanish daily life: "Quinielas, lotería, fútbol. Ni un soldado ni un guardia civil. Abundancia, despreocupación. Turistas, buenas tiendas, excelente comida, el país más barato de Europa. ¿Qué más quieren? No quieren más" (130). Because of comments of this caliber, literary critic Santos Villanueva could write that he noticed a "cierta destemplanza no disimulada en los enjuiciamientos" (137). It is precisely this "destemplanza" (unsettledness) that permeates Aub's book and gives it a particular strength. He does not write tourist souvenirs, but strong opinions from someone who complains about how much his own country has changed, a change he did not expect and that he feels has been imposed on him.

Aub reacted with surprise at new words he heard in Spain such as "Marisquería," or the change in mores and the scenery of daily life: compliments (*piropos*) were no longer heard in the streets, there were no taverns (598), people did not read, they payed attention only to

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cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state. Liminars are betwixt and between" (249).

jokes and soccer, "snack-bars" (before the war they were coffee shops) had been taken over by "manadas de mujeres" (177). So in interviews he lamented: "No he vuelto, he venido" (8). Salinas, for his part, refused to accept certain icons of American culture such as Coca-Cola. When traveling to Italy in 1949, he thought he was returning to civilization, but the advance of American culture in Europe surprised him:

> He vuelto a encontrar lo que hace 15 años no veía: las sábanas de baño, inmensas; los coches de punto; el vinagre de verdad, que se saborea; las pastas de almendras deliciosas; las mesillas de noche con sus preciosos orinales. Es decir, la civilización. (…) Lo de la Coca-Cola es verdad, por desgracia, pero no con exceso, aún. Otro inconveniente: las bicicletas con motor que pululan y meten un ruido infernal. También es escasa la luz eléctrica. (245)

As Andrés Soria Olmedo indicated, referring to the correspondence Guillén-Salinas: "La integración en la vida norteamericana (…) es más escasa. Por eso, para ambos, el regreso a Europa tiene un aire de repatriación" (23). I would further add they can extend the dichotomy between New and Old World.

A recurring question that haunted Max Aub during his trip –"¿Qué te ha parecido España?"–, gets a vigorous response: "Pues bien: no me ha parecido nada. ¡No me parece nada! No tengo la menor idea de cómo es. Se me ha hecho un lío del demonio" (395). Such a negative reaction to what he sees creates a pessimism that is the most characteristic substrate of the book. This produces images such as the one about the tunnel: "España se metió en un túnel hace treinta años y salió a otro paisaje. Desconocida, se desconoce" (321). It also colors a definite reason for not returning: "me parece que entre cielo y tierra existe aquí un enorme colchón, de lo que sea, de aire, forrado de seda, de lana, de pluma, tanto da, que me impide respirar a gusto y que, desde luego, no me deja hablar. Me parece que hablo y no me oyen" (339). Pessimism even pervades the title of the book, which focuses on images that express feelings of disorientation, or the brutal changes he notices. The "gallina ciega" can be linked to Goya, not the game portrayed in a famous tapestry, but of the prints, incomplete darkness, "anublados el juicio y la razón." He adds: "Hablamos de dos

mundos distintos. Al fin, yo soy la gallina muerta, desplumada, colgada en el mercado común. (…) Mi idea era que *La gallina ciega* era España no por el juego, no por el cartón de Goya, sino por haber empollado huevos de otra especie…" (593-4). As he wrote on the back cover of the Mexican edition: "Quizá la gallina ciega soy yo y España siempre fue así y no sólo hace treinta y tres años." He alludes to a serious difficulty of identification, similar to the blindfolded traveler referred to above.

Max Aub most certainly meets the moral destiny related to the situation of exile that Theodor Adorno wrote about in *Minima Moralia*: "It's part of morality not to feel at home in your own home" (39). The end of Max Aub's book is of an intense pessimism, as he realizes that the exiled may not return back home: "Regresé y me voy. En ningún momento tuve la sensación de formar parte de este nuevo país que ha usurpado su lugar al que estuvo aquí antes" (596-7). This is the traveler's destination in exile when s/he dares to return home: s/he finds him or herself with empty hands.

A trip in exile is a journey of two directions: a one-way trip, or a separation and later return to uncertainty. As Gracián put it: "cuando los ojos ven lo que nunca vieron, el coraçón siente lo que nunca sintió" (77). This speaks to the poised, resonating truth for those going away on a trip, but with a sense of tragedy for those made to travel into exile, because travelers from exile constantly seek what they have lost. Pedro Salinas and Max Aub travel and search without finding what they left behind in Spain. In both cases, a (con) fusion of spaces and times occurs in the minds of the travelers, the chroniclers. As Cristobal Suárez de Figueroa wrote in *El pasajero*: "los que discurren de tierra en tierra en vano se mudan, por llevar enfermo el ánimo y antojadiza la voluntad, imitando al imán, que jamás pierde de vista el norte, de quien es atraída" (Bergamín *El pasajero* 8).

Pedro Salinas, with an attitude closer to Plutarch, is enriched by his vision of the Americas and this development ultimately affects his own work as an essayist and creative author. Max Aub noted the mutability of memory, and the changes in his vision of Spain. With his newly found maverick attitude and inquisitorial mind, he mostly annoyed those he met during his trip back home. From a position close

to Ovid, he"cries" for what has been lost and changed, and so it is largely what happens in his work written in exile. Salinas and Aub left Spain "ligeros de equipaje," but they went back there through literature with suitcases filled with books. Being so prolific, Max Aub became "Más Aún," whereas Pedro Salinas waited for many years to find a publisher while his desk filled with new books.

"España peregrina" (Pilgrim Spain) looks for ways to return to the motherland, that is, to complete the cycle of pilgrimage. However, on the road the 'I' assumes a new condition, one that because of a situation of departure –one bearing "light luggage"– significantly affects the experience. The traveler in exile struggles to see what is not there. Recalling the words of María Zambrano: "librado a la visión, proponiendo el ver para verse; porque aquel que lo vea acaba viéndose," one can say that (s)he discovers new worlds, or unknown nooks of his/her own being. The trip is, thus, a euphemism for attempts to return, physically or mentally. During a journey in exile, time and space acquire new dimensions. The traveler does not move forward, but is often paralyzed, and if (s)he does move, it is to stand in a newly invented space. (S)he invents an imaginary, mental space, which allows him/her to return to a time before exile. Travelers in exile do not move in space but in time, thus refuting to accept the present, always going back to a happier time, before they left their country. They carry lightweight luggage, filled with impossible expectations to return to a time of happiness.

11. Threshold to Nowhere? Travelogues to Non-places

One's destination is never a place, but rather a new way of looking at things.

Henry Miller

The journey is a method of both detachment and attachment; it creates individuals as it creates communities.

Eric J. Leed

Non-Places and the Infra-Ordinary

Traveling has had an educational value since Antiquity. The Grand Tour provided exposure to both the classical world and the Renaissance for the upper classes in northern Europe while traveling to Italy between 1660 and 1840. Travelers have been mostly perceived as observers who do not always know where they are and that come into contact with people and cultures that they never quite fully under-

stand, always in need of a cicerone. In a characteristic maneuver of deterrence, far from home the journey hastens interaction with the Other, the observation of exotic lands, habitudes, languages, thus allowing the traveler to rather explore him/herself, without really gaining knowledge of the explored place (Fussell, Leed, Pratt, Liebersohn). Things change dramatically when exploring nearby territories (Brenner, Buzard). Romantic travelers such as those portrayed in Wordsworth's *Guide to the Lakes* (1810) or Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's *La Alpujarra. Sesenta leguas a caballo precedidas de seis en diligencia* (1874) paid homage to the dual version of travel: exploration in search of new knowledge, and attraction for distant *oriental* destinations. In this instance the objective is to discover the nearby exotic, and to recover medieval ruins. Trying to preserve a national heritage, Baron Taylor wrote 21 volumes of *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques de l'ancienne France (*1821-1878). Romanticism claimed medievalism in opposition to the massive growth of cities and the rise of industrialism, and vindicated the exotic, unfamiliar and distant as the most authentic way to exploit the power of the mind, thus to imagine and to escape (Thompson).

In contemporary Spanish literature there has been a strong tradition of travelogues exploring their own country. Because of censorship and alienation from European mainstream cultural trends, these books had a social and critical purpose. It was an obvious way to introduce social critique and commentary on the political situation just by observing a backward reality. Cela wrote in his *Viaje a la Alcarria* (1946): "este libro no es una novela, sino más bien una geografía" (16-17). Later on he explained that his travelogues were meant to be a kind of "geografía … esa cosa que el Estado, en España, históricamente ignora" (*Primer viaje andaluz* 20-21). As a result he included "tremendista" descriptions of intense realism (Henn *Old Spain and New Spain*). Similarly, Juan Goytisolo's *Campos de Níjar* (1960) or *La Chanca* (1962) are good examples of this kind of exploration. They can be easily related to his work of fiction, his move from a neo-realist mood into a much more experimental one, always fighting with provocation, to denounce and to inquire into his own sexual identity. These travels are just the tip of the iceberg of an extremely rich Span-

ish tradition of social travelogues written under Franco's dictatorship as a way to denounce the country's political, social, and cultural problems (Henn "Juan Goytisolo's Almería").[1]

Romantic and Spanish writers from the 1960s fall into the two categories distinguished by Kowalewski: "the authors may be celebrating the local and unfamiliar or –in a long tradition of social exploration– exposing and investigating conditions at home that most would prefer to ignore" (13). Since the 1980s one can detect a trend in the exploration of nearby realities, which has produced a series of travelogues to what could be called non-places, which in turn yield explorations of everyday life. Among them we may include books such as *Los Autonautas de la Cosmopista o Un viaje atemporal París-Marsella* by Julio Cortázar and Carol Dunlop,[2] *Les passagers du Roissy-Express* by François Maspero,[3] *Viatge als grans magatzems* by Josep Maria Espinàs,[4] *Blue Highways. A*

1. Among many others, it is worth mentioning co-authored books such as Antonio Ferres and Armando López Salinas' *Caminando por las Hurdes* (1960), Alfonso Grosso and Armando López Salinas' *Por el río abajo* (1960), Alfonso Grosso and José Agustín Goytisolo's *Hacia Morella* (1961), Alfonso Grosso and Manuel Barrios' *A poniente desde el Estrecho* (1962).
2. For a summary of scholarship on this book see Lindsay. Although the author briefly relates it to non-places, she misses the point when linking this travelogue only to Cortázar's political engagement and a contemporary travelogue to Nicaragua (213-14; 223-24). If anything, *Autonautas* is related to one of his best short stories, "Autopista del sur." Other critics have notoriously missed the point. Peter Standish writes: "*Los Autonautas* has some nostalgic value for former owners of Volkswagen campers, but it is most significant as testimony to the continuing eccentric playfulness of Cortázar and his new wife, to whom he was so devoted" (169).
3. Maspero echoes other readings as the instigation for his own trip. After reading a book review of Claudio Magris' *Danubio*, he decides to make a trip of his own. His book is aimed at exposing the inner world of the Parisian suburbs to an indifferent French society, and thus to pave the way for a better and more complete understanding of French history and identity.
4. In the nineteen nineties, Espinàs distinguished himself as a traveler by writing about a series of treks to remote regions in Catalonia and Spain. His visit to the department store completes with irony his series of visits to forgotten places. Espinàs' case is quite remarkable because he has done these kinds of travels and written about them at two separate times. In 1957 he went to the Pyrenees with C.J. Cela and published his own parallel version of their trip. A journalist of immense

Journey into America by William Least Heat-Moon,[5] or *Nunca llegaré a Santiago* by Gregorio Morán.[6] Cortázar travels with Carol Dunlop seven hundred kilometers of highway between Paris and Marseille in one month exploring it as if it were the Amazon; Maspero spends a month with photographer Anaïk Frantz visiting all the towns touched upon by a certain train line in the Paris *banlieue*, discovering as a result a concealed Paris; Espinàs travels through a Barcelona department store and discovers what is hiding behind the world of shoppers and consumption; Heat-Moon chronicles a journey through the U.S. heartland, never driving on an interstate highway; a non-catholic Morán tries to follow and observe the *camino de Santiago* as a pilgrim. Although the last two are not exactly non-places, the way both authors relate to travel, in terms of eccentricity and speed, helps us to make them akin to the previous ones. Heat-Moon finds a lost civilization hidden under supermodernity; Morán faces the *Camino* as if it were just another walking path, provocatively avoiding any religious consideration.

These books condense both Kowalewski's categories (celebration and exposure) mentioned above. They also partially comply with Marc Augé's definition of supermodernity. According to the French critic, it is an age filled with non-places that have defined a different

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popularity in his native Catalonia, in recent years he has walked through desolate regions in western Catalonia or remote Spanish provinces. In 1990, for example, he published *A peu per la Llitera. Viatge a la frontera de la llengua*, or more recently, *A peu per Castella. Terres de Sòria* (1999), *A peu per Andalusia. Sierra Mágina. La frontera cristiano-musulmana* (2003), *A peu per Aragó. El Somontano* (2006), *A peu per l´Alt Camp* (2007), and *A peu per Múrcia* (2009).

5. Although technically *Blue Highways* is closely related to a tradition of North-American road narratives, Heat-Moon explains in the opening pages his recent loss of both job and wife, failures which establish a freedom for him: "A man who couldn't make things right could at least go" (3). See Primeau, Walker. Heat-Moon's second book, *PrairyErth: a Deep Map* (1991), was a "vertical" exploration, a detailed field study of an apparently void place, Chase County, in the southeastern part of Kansas. His third book was *River-Horse: Across America by Boat* (1999).
6. Morán, a sharp-tongued political journalist is the author, among many books, of a biography of Adolfo Suárez and an evaluation of José Ortega y Gasset, *El maestro en el erial. Ortega y Gasset y la cultura del franquismo* (1998).

sense of geography and of the relationship between human beings and space. As Augé puts it, supermodernity stems "from three figures of excess: overabundance of events, spatial overabundance and the individualization of references" (109). It naturally finds its full expression in non-places. A certain place can be considered a "space" if it is defined as relational, historical, and concerned with identity, that is, has a meaning for an individual or a group. All others are non-places (77-78). Among them are non-personal spaces such as the airport, the highway, the supermarket, in which people are confronted with indifference and seldom face ontological questions, since everybody is just going about their business, just passing through. In fact, non-places are closely related to everyday life. The latter is a more general framework. Daily life in general can be defined as the routine, what happens day after day and that becomes our more permanent reality. It is what Henri Lefebvre called the "common ground" or "connective tissue" of all conceivable human thoughts and activities (Gardiner 2). The world of everyday reality is the world of common sense, one which is experienced in the waking state, one that provides order and gives sense and meaning to the here and now. Non-places provide some of the most anonymous decors for everyday life.

The world of supermodernity is ruled by instantaneity, where novelty is both a dream-like goal and an impossibility. It is in this kind of environment, and with a bogus cosmopolitan view of the world, that the distinction between us and them, here and there, has become fuzzy, creating difficulties for our perception of reality. It has become more difficult to distinguish the experience that ethnologists traditionally called "cultural contact," because with the disappearance of borders enabled by globalization, it is more difficult to distinguish clearly between center and periphery. The problem with the ethnology of the "here" is that it still deals with an "elsewhere," but an "elsewhere" that cannot be perceived as a singular and distinct (exotic) object (Augé 109).[7] Although one could say that these concepts are

7. For a perceptive overview of non-places, see Bosteels 2003. His piece is particularly insightful in the vindication of a central place for the non-place in old

somewhat mechanical and limited, they offer a starting point for my discussion of texts, which encapsulate some of the malaises, discoveries, and paradoxes of our time. I am thinking thus of a more complex non-place, closer to Foucault's point of articulation between continuity and rupture, between history and novelty, that is the only space from where one can speak in a critical manner (Bosteels 124). In this kind of non-place I am discussing, space without identity is an issue, but also is a critical approach to explaining it, as a critical way of looking at the world.

These travelers adopt an eccentric attitude. According to Hamburgsin eccentricity, understood as getting away from a center, is characteristic of any travel. Some travelers, though, avoid another center, a codified way of traveling and writing about it, as in the case of Xavier de Maistre's *Voyage autour de ma chambre* (68). Hambursin identifies Cortázar's trip with eccentricity (82), because eccentric travel and eccentric writing are indispensable to escape the conventions of a rigid society, thus *re-centering* existence, providing tools to "forzar el desgarramiento de una realidad con frecuencia demasiado superficial y quizá incluso engañosa, si la mirada no es más que un vistazo negligente y pasajero" (*Autonautas* 242). Simultaneously, these travelogues fall in line with the specifications often made up of self-imposed ordinances of the so-called "art of the project" (Forsdick, Gratton, and Sheringham). Specifications shape both space (itinerary) and time (duration), as well as mental acts and physical acts to be performed, such as a trip where the traveler feigns no familiarity with the places observed. The specifications have a strong sense of irony and gratuitousness. Because in many cases there is little to report, digressions

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French theory of the 1960s. For example, Bosteels claims the role of the non-place in Foucault's theoretical proposals as they stand at the crossover both historically between modernity and its postmodern endgame and methodologically between archaeology and genealogy. As summarized by Deleuze: "Between the visible and the sayable, a gap or disjunction opens up, but this disjunction of forms is the place –or 'non-place,' as Foucault puts it– where the informal diagram is swallowed up in an abyss and becomes embodied instead into two different directions that are necessarily divergent and irreducible" (Bosteels 123).

and deviations become the very essence of the project. There is an element of *pretending*: these travelers act as if they were exploring a distant unknown land. *Contraintes* or ground rules are essential for this kind of experience and they forcefully commit the traveler to a certain line of behavior in a specific context, thereby avoiding the pitfalls of more narrowly based discourse and methodologies (Gratton and Sheringham 19). I would add that it is precisely the parody of conventional traveling attitudes, and the use of irony, that allow the travelers to adopt a close-distant approach to what they see. It is not a merely frivolous, so-called postmodern attitude, but the deliberate use of a specific literary form. In reality, the ironic constituent of these trips is on occasions replaced by drama. When deciding to organize the trip some travelers (Cortázar, Maspero) emulate old-time explorers, while others (Espinàs and Morán) pursue a well-known pilgrimage on foot. Heat-Moon, on the contrary, after being left by his wife and failing to obtain tenure, flees his comfortable life to explore a nearby world, that of the "blue highways" to which he had previously paid little attention. Several critics have mistakenly related these books, particularly Cortázar's *Autonautas*, to what they call "travel Scepticism" (Metz) or "travel parody," a sort of reaction to the "politico-erotic" mode of travel and fiction writing represented by Pico Iyer's *Falling off the Map: Some Lonely Places of the World* (1993) (Brennan 183-4).

This kind of approach allows these travelers to observe their everyday lives from a vastly different perspective. It is an attitude very close to the anthropological interests of Georges Perec. In 1973, Perec coined the term *l'infra-ordinaire* (the infra-ordinary) for those minimal aspects of reality on which he hoped to zero in: "What happens everyday, the banal, the quotidian, the evident, the common, the ordinary, the infra-ordinary, the background noise, the habitual; how can one account for it, how can one question it, how can one describe it?" (11) Perec noticed that our eyes are conditioned to scan the horizon of our habitat only for the unusual, thus paying more attention to the exceptional, and forgetting about the anonymous *endotic*, a term coined by Perec in opposition to *exotic* (Botta 550-1). To begin investigating the *infra-ordinary*, Perec invites us to ask what may seem, at first, to be trivial and futile questions in order to provoke the nec-

essary discontinuity between signs and habits of observations. Defamiliarization, Perec notes, is a technique of inquiry, which requires both perseverance and inventiveness and which must also resist systematization. Without acknowledging it, this is precisely what these travelers are doing: traveling to non-places in order to get a close examination of the *infra-ordinary* and the *endotic*. Their travel does not face the many difficulties of geography, language, culture, mores, and ethos of a regular traveler in a distant, unfamiliar place, where the traveler does not have a clue of where (s)he is, what (s)he is facing, and only tries to communicate his/her shock at being clueless. The characteristics that burden and complicate traditional travel become advantages in the travelogue's journey to non-places and everyday life.

Travelogues of Non-Places

The above distinctions are necessary to stress some of the crucial differences between regular travelogues to those about journeys into non-places and the everyday life. The traveler who decides to visit a non-place makes a very distinct choice. This is a premeditated adventure with seemingly no risks, and, therefore, the amount of attention devoted to the road is of a significantly different quality. In a travel to an unknown country, people tend to measure what they see against the light of what they left behind at home. In a travel to a non-place, the lack of attention to geography itself opens up the doors to an inquiry into the past or into the ways people live in his/her society. Different attitudes are adopted by travelers to the scene of everyday life: they do not have a set route, because they know perfectly well where they are; they apply more attention to human, historical, and sociological data, and their comments are those of a well-informed observer; their attention is attracted by essential novelties, mixing exoticism with familiarity. I will explore aspects of these texts looking for several recurrent traits: imitation and irony, transformation of time, attention to names and territory.

Travelers are always very careful to underscore the purpose of their expedition and this constitutes a characteristic element of a trave-

logue. As mentioned above, irony and eccentricity is at the heart of these books, as they try to imitate real travelogues. Before starting their expedition, Julio Cortázar and Carol Dunlop specified a very strict set of conditions: not to leave the highway Paris-Marseille for a month, to explore two rest areas every day, to take scientific annotations of each one, and to write a book about the expedition (30). They reiterate their parody of scientific travelers by including facsimiles from their *diario de ruta*, with detailed annotations, hour by hour, of whatever happens to the *autonautas*. They were both aware of the possibilities offered by this kind of eccentric trip: "–¿Te das cuenta? Describir cada paradero, sus aventuras, las gentes que pasan. –Otra autopista, en realidad" (27). François Maspero and his companion, in their crossing of Paris *banlieue* by commuter rail, were careful to point out that what they were doing was a "vrai voyage" (15), because "Ils ne forceraient rien. (…) Ils ne cherchaient rien d'exceptionel. Ils ne cherchaient pas d'événements" (23). He was aware that "tous les voyages ont été faits" (13), and therefore he chose to travel to what his contemporaries consider a desert, the Paris *banlieue* as seen from the B line of the RER train, the Roissy-Express. Maspero does not want to write a "État des banlieues.". He longs for a journey that feels like a real one: "Il faut continuer à passer. Juste passer. Sans se retourner. Faire seulement provision des souvenirs. Comme dans les vrais voyages" (134). Josep M. Espinàs was very careful at reproducing exactly the same type of walking adventure he does every summer, but in this case he decides to undertake an indoor adventure and explore a department store. In the case of Morán's book, two atheists travel the way of Santiago de Compostela doing what a regular pilgrim is supposed to do: walk all day long, spend the night at a hostel run by a religious order, eat frugally. Throughout their way, they observe the contradictions of religious devoutness and realize how much they miss certain aspects of Spanish –urban– culture. Heat-Moon discovers in the places and people he visits a great deal about himself and his connection with specific characteristics of American culture. At the same time, they use all the amenities of travel and they act as if they were in far distant places: Maspero stays in small hotels and looks for museums and tourist offices. Two of them, Heat-Moon and Cortázar,

spend many nights in their own van, regressing to the ways of a nomadic culture. Espinàs tries unsuccessfully to camp in one of the tents at the sports department but he gets a warning from security, and therefore has to go back to the store every day. The real constraints of traveling are played with an ironic undertone.

A travelogue is a literary form that does not easily accept classification, as occurs at the crossroads of several genres. As stated by J. Chupeau: "La double nature –narrative et descriptive– du récit de voyage… révèle surtout l'ambiguïté d'un genre partagé entre les exigences souvent contradictoires de la documentation et du récit" (Monga 50). In this kind of travelogue there is a need to incorporate graphic documents to illustrate the "foreignness" of everyday life. There is a certain juxtaposition of elements, as these experiences are very close to what James Clifford calls "the surrealist moment in ethnography," that moment in which it is possible to compare in an "unmediated tension with sheer incongruity" (146). Pictures serve as these records in the cases of Cortázar, Heat-Moon, and Maspero. As a collage they unite very different elements, and try to make sense of an overly exposed reality. Alazraki pointed out that the best definition of Cortázar's book is "rosas de un caleidoscopio" (287), a definition that stresses this effect. What these writers do is show, visually or by means of description, our own world under a new lens, making the reader more aware of daily realities. In fact, by paying so much attention to normal details, their results often lead from mockery to brilliant conclusions. Thanks to this perspective that indulges in everyday life, Cortázar sees medieval knights where other people only see garbage cans, while Least Heat-Moon encounters the most amazing people (a former New York cab driver turned into a monk, for instance), and villagers living in a pre-industrial world.

Travelers tend to establish typologies of what they come across. Espinàs, for example, has a tendency to spot types of behavior in the department store, as if he were collecting and categorizing objects from one of his (nature) walks, or as Darwin did in Easter Island. Imitating his own style in previous books, he tries to establish eye contact with people and to start conversations with strangers, a task that proved to be more difficult than in his past journeys. Without a map

or any specific route, he devotes himself to following shoppers and coming up with inventive typologies. When he goes to the women's clothing department he sees "les apressades," "ocellets confiats," "visitant-papallona," "generala davant d'un camp de batalla" (28-29). Doing this, he comes up with a sort of bestiary, which in truth is a systematic classification of our shopping habits. The department store, like any chaotic place, is an ideal space to showcase his abilities as observer: he describes the *rebajas* phenomenon as a center of a consumer-crazy society, or the social mechanism by which piles of clothing are moved around according to taste and opinion of shoppers. Cortázar, in turn, pays attention to travelers who move through highways, discussing, for example, the change in nationality according to the days of the month, always trying to come up with a scientific explanation. Heat-Moon discusses different types of road restaurants according to the number of calendars on the wall. He has a foolproof method "to find honest food at just prices in blue-highway America: count the wall calendars in the cafe" (27). The more calendars on the wall, the better the food: "One time I found a six calendar café in the Ozarks, which served fried chicken, peach pie, and chocolate malts, that left me searching for another ever since. I've never seen a seven-calendar place" (27). He laments the disintegration of America's small town charm by the fast-food outlets and convenience stores, which were just then starting to make their impact. Morán, in turn, establishes a mock classification of priests he encounters in his journey. Their ironical critical perspective takes us close to Usbek, the main character in Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*. Irony allows them to present their own world from an extremely insightful critical perspective, an inverted standpoint, which in turn further illuminates our own world.

Nevertheless, time and space intertwine in these travels at a very different rate than in a regular trip. Because time is such an issue in contemporary life, the travelers to non-places are able to stress the difference they experience in their use of time. Cortázar and Dunlop are well aware of the change in speed and how it affects space when deciding the title of their book, *Autonautas de la cosmopista*. The way they explain the title provides a significant clarification of this issue:

> Cosmonautas de la autopista, a la manera de los viajeros interplanetarios que observan de lejos el rápido envejecimiento de aquellos que siguen sometidos a las leyes del tiempo terrestre, ¿qué vamos a descubrir al entrar en un ritmo de camellos después de tantos viajes en avión, metro, tren? (…) Autonautas de la cosmopista, dice Julio. El otro camino, que sin embargo es el mismo. (43)

This quote shows that space is not the issue, thus time has both a synchronic and a diachronic meaning. An example of the awareness these travelers have of a different law of relativity: they go by a well-known space at a much slower speed, paying much more attention. The play on words "autonautas de la cosmopista" stresses the change of dimension, and what is ridiculous in a world ruled by speed and immediacy. Choosing unusual or outdated means of transportation reflects the exploration of traveling itself. One may relate this to the case of other artists such as the filmmaker Jacques Tati, whose films (*Jour de Fête*, *Mon Oncle*, among others) present a melancholic portrayal of the processes of "de-frenchement" and fast modernization occurring in Europe. The same could be said about these writers who would like to look at their countries from a unique perspective. They observe how exceptional their own country is, or was, and how fast it is losing some of its most significant signs of identity at the hands of globalization. François Maspero acknowledges that he is facing "espaces incompréhensibles, désarticulés" (20). An important dimension of his book is, then, to challenge the stereotypes and prejudices transmitted in the discourses of representation of the margins in the city, and to hear the voices and stories of those who live there. It is a way to show the impoverishment of the environment of the immigrants and the poor, the harsh and shaming treatment they receive (Atack 445). Likewise, Heat-Moon compares his trip on a map to the Hopis' labyrinth of migration, inferring, "For me, the migration had been to places and moments of glimpsed clarity" (406).

Moreover, one could say that there is a subtle longing for a lost pre-industrial civilization. The kind of observation that is characteristic of a travelogue to a non-place results in both a vindication of the past and a critical analysis of the present. Gregorio Morán sees the

camino in historical terms, thus mixing it with a spatial perspective: traditional rural activities such as card playing or a rural police helmet (*tricornio*) become symbols of a lost Spain that –as Morán sees it– only survives in this sort of non-place. Morán, for a moment, has the impression of not only walking the *Camino de Santiago*, but also of visiting a lost Spain, and fears he has gone back to Franco's time:

> Me pregunto en este lugar incómodo, rodeado de miradas hostiles de parroquianos y guardias civiles, si no estoy recorriendo aquella España perdida quién sabe cuándo entre los entresijos de la historia, la que sobrevivió hasta el franquismo… Esta España del camino de Santiago juega al mus o al tute como si perpetuara un residuo, una marginalidad; la del campo, la estameña y el tricornio de la Guardia Civil. (178)

These travelers explore the past in the present, as they observe instead of accomplishing the tasks that should be occurring in these spaces: shopping, village life, and transportation. This unhindered leisure allows them to gain a quicker introspection than their counterparts who proceed through these spaces quickly, marked by the rhythm of everyday necessity. Travelers to non-places constantly compare what they see with a lost paradise: Maspero visits a *banlieue* filled with small town atmosphere and stories intertwined with the remains of the leftist history in the outskirts of Paris, Espinàs evokes how shopping was done before the supermarket age, while Heat-Moon's account has an inscribed nostalgia for the pre-highway era road. He is able to present a dismal report on the decay of American roads, which he presents as a powerful symbol of what has changed in his own society. In one instance he is in Old Frankfort, Kentucky, and compares it to the New Frankfort. They meet "where the highway ran the length of one of those carnival midway strips of plastic-roof franchises." It is time for lunch and he laments that he could have eaten from any of two-dozen frylines without knowing he was seven hundred miles from home. He has a tough reaction:

> Maybe America should make the national bird a Kentucky Fried Leghorn and put Ronald McDonald on the dollar bill. After all, the year before,

> franchisers did nearly three hundred billion dollars of business. And there's nothing wrong with that except the franchise system has almost obliterated the local cafes and grills and catfish parlors serving distinctly regional food, much of it made from truly secret recipes. (17)

We can relate this nostalgia to that we recognize in utopic travels –*voyages aux pays de nulle part*– as characterized by Raymond Trousson.[8] Most of these travels are either an ironic exploration of non-places (Cortázar, Espinàs, Maspero) or a vindication of real, ancient places against the alteration that they have suffered in the present (Morán, Heat-Moon).

Having time in their hands calls for a minute observation of the *infraordinary*. There is little attention towards geography, and instead there is much more attention to what names represent and to what they mean. Once could think that they are creating a more vivid version of toponymy. Heat-Moon, for example, establishes an admirable catalog of funny names found in American geography. In fact, his travel plans are organized according to names of exotic places, trying to avoid the most obvious tourist sites. Thus he goes, among other places, to Brooklyn Bridge, Kentucky or Nameless, Tennessee, Clouds, Dull, Subtle, Only, Wheel, Spot, Peeled Chestnut, Nameless, Why, and Whynot, to mention just a few. Cortázar and Dunlop spend much time giving names to people they encounter: "casi nunca he aceptado el nombre-etiqueta de las cosas y creo que eso se refleja en mis libros, no veo por qué hay que tolerar invariablemente lo que nos viene de antes y de fuera" (20). Morán denounces the many contradictions and artificiality of the *camino*: it does not coincide with the original one, all the religious hostels are fake, and even those who walk it do not know exactly what they are doing (185). Finally, disappointed with his quest, he decides to avoid the final destination and takes a bus to go to Finisterre for a gourmet bacchanal: "Preferiré siempre Finisterre para adorar sin límites, con

8. In the topic of the *âge d'or*, "il est nostalgie, regret d'un passé à jamais perdu, quand l'utopie est effort de construction, volonté humaine de s'affirmer et de conquérir un bonheur que l'homme ne devra qu'à lui même" (26).

delectación, paganamente, las dos cosas más suculentas de la naturaleza; sol y pescado" (273). Disgusted with the intense fake spirituality he observes everywhere, he decides to take the hedonistic and materialistic path. Espinàs goes to customer service asking for a map of the department store. When he is given just a general layout of the different floors he decides to name streets and avenues, in accordance with what is sold there. Again, these writers adopt an ironic attitude to subvert what we see blindfolded in everyday life, pointing out elements that are remarkably absurd or comic.

According to Leed's remarks in *The Mind of the Traveler*, we should direct our attention to the fact that by means of traveling a subject is created: "The objectification of the world and the subjectification of self as observer are mutually engendering processes in the experience of motion" (65). That is, a traveler looks at things from a more objective perspective and (s)he becomes somebody who looks for ways in the outside world to define him- or her-self as an autonomous individual. The world becomes a collection of alien objects that (s)he has to recodify (44-45). Travelers use the experience to self-analyze themselves or their society. This is why in these travelogues to non-places one may recognize a double process of estrangement and familiarity, because they call for a serious historical reflection. Maspero is astonished at the state of suburbia but recognizes some traces of history underneath. In a very subtle way he incorporates a history of the French political left in the Paris *banlieue* in his writing, including the 1871 Commune uprising, the Spanish Civil War orphans that were protected by municipal governments, the *résistance* against the Germans in 1944, and the FLN fights of 1960. He unveils little known (and embarrassing) episodes of French recent history such as the repression of Algerian immigrants in 1961:

> Ce fut une soirée de matraquages et de tuerie. Peu de manifestants parvinrent à se former en cortège. … On n'a jamais su le compte exact des morts sous les coups de la police parisienne. En faisant le compte des cadavres repêchés dans la Seine les jours suivants, de ceux recensés dans les morgues des hôpitaux, on donne, comme *Le Monde* en 1982, le chiffre de 200, auquel il faut ajouter 400 disparus. (257)

Travelers provide critical accounts of their/our worlds. At the same time, by focusing on the *banlieue*, Maspero offers a truly dissimilar view of Paris: "it seeks to overturn the traditional opposition between Paris and its periphery, marginalizing the 'centre' which is not at the center of the narrative" (Atack 443). William Least Heat-Moon pays attention to a lesser-known history of the US, that of the American Indians, or of loyalists to Great Britain. In general, he is interested in people who –like him at the moment– live in the fringes of a consumerist society. Through conversations and a few books he reads while traveling, Heat-Moon gives a moving account of the situation of American Indians through the ages. His grumble is constructed upon many conversations and chance encounters, which he incorporates into his account:

> the government's given a lot of our land to Navajos, and now we're in a hard spot – eight thousand Hopis are surrounded and outnumbered twenty five to one. I don't begrudge the Navajo anything, but I think Hopis should be in on making the decisions. Maybe you know that Congress didn't even admit Indians to citizenship until about nineteen twenty. Incredible –live someplace a thousand years and then find out you're a foreigner. (183)

He is challenging monocultural assumptions of North America (Bryzic 673-75). In fact, through this deliberate process of translating reality and what they see with eyes from the past, these authors do not perceive these spaces as if they were a theme park, where the immersive environment contains architecture, landscaping, stores, rides, and even food that support a specific theme. In their they unravel a historical past long forgotten or neglected. In this manner travelogues to non-places seek to simultaneously explore and vindicate the past. And in many cases they try to settle old conflicts or at least expose a different point of view.

A Mind of their Own

The aggressive (self-defensive) attitude, almost like an invader, adopted by travelers and explorers in an unknown land becomes much more tamed and responsive when they visit their own country. Travel be-

comes an exploration with a thesis. According to Leed: "Passage (…) dissolves the realities inseparable from place: the reality of boundaries, the recurrences of time and mortality, all inherited containments within the defining and confining orders of place" (79). But since we are dealing in this case with a space that has a double meaning, both 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 foreigner/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 between the traveler and the *travelee*. There is, nevertheless, what Mary Louise Pratt calls the "contact zone":

> It treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and "travelees," not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understanding and practices, often with radically asymmetrical relations of power. (7)

This can be explained because there is always some degree of observation between the traveler and the inhabitant of the unknown territories. Reactions to the encounter from both sides constitute much of what is at stake in the experience of traveling. In the cases I am discussing there is, to a certain extent, a coincidence between traveler and *travelee*, because both share the same space, the same cultural code, but not the attitude with which they observe daily life. However, one of the effects of visits to non-places is the deep change they instill in their and, even more importantly, our own sense of reality. Through the familiar relationship between traveler and *travelee*, the authors create a mirror effect, which allows for better analysis of the surrounding landscape of daily life.[9] Moreover, while traveling, with its chance encounters and observations, they reach a level of what Perec calls *defa-*

9. It is not incidental what Updike wrote in his review of *Blue Highways*: he described Heat-Moon's characters as "American originals" and applauded the author's judgment to "step aside and let them tell their own often remarkable stories in their own words" (121).

miliarization, a technique of inquiry that must resist systematization, thus improving their exploration.

In this kind of travelogue to non-places there is a fine line between ordinary life and the extraordinary situation created by the trip. This situation pushes the travelers to ponder the state of their lives. With the turn of a key, or in making the wrong turn, they can accelerate a process of comparison between their regular life and that of the trip. Morán and his companion, halfway through their quest, spend a night at a fancy hotel in Burgos and drink a cup of espresso. Then the author muses:

> En apenas unos días de ausencia el hombre descubre que las costumbres más inveteradas pueden ser gozos exquisitos. La cotidianeidad observada atentamente lleva en sí una carga de erotismo, pero exige ser vista con ojos alejados de la rutina y con una morosidad condenada por el ritmo de la vida urbana. (147-8)

Here he stresses the fact that in this kind of situation the traveler is both far and near, entering and exiting unintentionally daily life, seeing it simultaneously from a distant and a very close perspective. He also reacts against certain rural mores modified by the impact of urban culture: the ominous presence of TV sets in any bar at full blast. From time to time, Heat-Moon and Cortázar enjoy the comfort of a hotel room, which they can then compare to the limitations of sleeping in a van. When the travel is about to end, Cortázar and Dunlop feel emptiness.

Many travelers are too worried with their own self and security; what they have left behind is still with them and does not allow them to see new things. Other travelers are naturally curious and make all kind of efforts to accommodate the experience of the new. Two different attitudes towards space arise: one of control and dominance, and another one of curiosity and appreciation. Many travelers wander around the world without really paying much attention to what they encounter. What they see is so different that they cannot understand it, because they do not have the intellectual resources, or the willingness to do so. Other travelers display an innate curiosity, actively en-

gaged with their surroundings, taking notes, and are unequivocally geared towards making a real contact with the Other. Travel to a non-place results in the modification of one's perception of an overly-familiar place: where there are only generic nameless individuals (customers, passengers, users, etc.), these human beings all of a sudden become human beings with names and faces filling a place once anonymous with unexpected warmth.

Interestingly enough, this newfound connection is what happens to most travelers to non-places when typical restrictions are removed. When surrounded by familiar situations, they are able to make startling discoveries and gain much more depth in the process of self-analysis generally associated with travel (of both themselves and their societies), even more so than their counterparts –Chatwin, Iyer, and the like– who went to Patagonia and beyond. Travelers of non-places attain a better understanding of their own world and of their inner self. They are much more acute, they dare to take risks, and, paradoxically, leave behind everything they carried with them. Maybe the most outstanding discovery by these travelers is the fact that they make us realize that each and every human being is a discoverer of limited scope. From childhood to adult life people live through a slow process of enrichment, learning about their five senses, the alphabet, nature, and their other surroundings, only to realize by the end of their lives that they still do not know enough. These writers no longer occupy a position of a traditional sovereign subject; they introduce a new relationship between the subject and the space/environment.

These five authors represent a sample of a literature that shows us, anew, how the imitation of traditional travel invites powerful new ways of exploring daily life. At a much slower speed, seeing what is really there, ironizing about their own situation, evoking some sort of lost paradise: Morán depicts a dismal look at religious traditional life; Maspero longs for a lost small town atmosphere; Espinàs makes us think about the lost ways of shopping; Cortázar makes us drive more slowly, watching the smallest details in the highway, and Heat-Moon's account helps us discover another North America hiding under a glitzy fake aura. Everyday life is not a quantifiable, transparent, or palpable actuality, which offers itself straightforwardly mined for

information (Highmore 19). It needs to be explored. Thus travelogues to non-places offer a special insight into aspects of reality that are difficult to grasp.

These travelers' insights allow us to penetrate the intricacies of our daily life. If travel in general, as stated by Kaplan, is a way to look "for some relief from the rooted realities of dailiness"(IX), we could add that travel to everyday life and non-places is a way to return to and reexamine dailiness. Moreover, in non-places, there is a contradictory relationship between generic and concrete spaces. These places –supermarket, suburbia, highway– that are looked upon as mere arenas to exercise daily activities, receive a warm and affectionate gaze and are thus redefined; from a "nowhere" status they become destinations with new charisma. Only this kind of intimate and fresh exploration allows readers to break away from the cycle of moral disempowerment provoked by life in supermodernity. Traveling to these destinations provides the reader with a reassessment of his/her own destiny through restraint and irony. These travelogues to non-places become a threshold to somewhere: guides on how to better understand and face the complexity of everyday life. When closing the book the reader, like the traveler, has already learned something that (s)he can put immediately into practice. These travelers stress the cross-cultural estrangement of traveling, thus exploring the border areas between art and life, order and knowledge. By playing with the rules and constraints, they succeed in invoking innovative systems of understanding. These may be the only travelers going somewhere, mirroring their/our foolish situations in an always-surprising world.

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Ojo:
controlar nombres de autores que no están en versalita.
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