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LITERATURE, IBERISM(S), NATIONALISM(S): NOTES FOR A HISTORY OF LITERARY IBERISM (1868-1936)¹

Santiago Pérez Isasi

Universidade de Lisboa

Illustration || Jorge Mendoza

Translation || Ursula Scott

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0. Iberism(s), nationalism(s)

In recent times, the study of Iberian literary and cultural relations has been receiving increased attention —an indicator of which is this monographic edition —which has translated into numerous research and publishing meetings, in the Iberian Peninsula as much as the rest of Europe (particularly the United Kingdom) or the United States². The aim of these transnational analyses of Iberian relations is to get beyond the hermetic compartmentalisation (national and/or linguistic) which has, for at least the past two centuries, affected literary studies in general. Another intention, in this particular case, is to counteract a long tradition of mistrust and mutual ignorance between Spain and Portugal, which has by now turned into an entire critical and literary subject of its own. Following the hypotheses of the polysystem theory (Even Zohar, 1990), Casas defined the Iberian geocultural space as a *macropolisistema*:

De hecho, el espacio geocultural ibérico admitiría ser estudiado como un ejemplo de (*macro*)*polisistema*, entendido este, al modo de Even-Zohar, como un grupo de literaturas nacionales vinculadas históricamente que mantienen entre sí una serie de relaciones jerárquicas y de flujos repertoriales o interferencias [...]. Lo importante, para empezar, sería tan sólo la aceptación de que ese (*macro*)*polisistema* ibérico, que aquí se optará por denominar *polisistema interliterario ibérico* — o, a partir de una convención homóloga a la establecida por Even-Zohar, simplemente *sistema interliterario ibérico* — dista de consistir en una mera yuxtaposición de sistemas. (Casas, 2003: 73-4)

These analyses of Iberian dialogues, although inevitably tackling political issues such as collective identity, or the relation between power and discourse, do not, on the other hand, have a political agenda in its most obvious sense (in other words, the unification of Spain and Portugal). Nor do they promote a new essentialist nationalism to replace what exists at present: in other words, Iberian Studies are not a Trojan horse for Iberian aspirations. And yet, conversely, it is obvious that the Iberism (or Iberisms, as we shall see further on), as they emerged and developed during the 19th and 20th centuries, represent an integral aspect of the work objective of Iberian Studies, considering that they are the most obvious manifestation (although not the only one) of the various kinds of meetings that took place between the two countries during that period of time.

It is precisely this line of study of the cultural interrelations between Spain and Portugal into which this work is inserted, although political Iberism will not be our object of study, but rather cultural Iberism, as we shall define below. In particular an attempt will be made in the following pages to offer a panoramic analysis (which will hopefully be the object of further study in subsequent monographic works) of the interweaving of literature and Iberism in the final decades of

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2 | Amongst the many relevant publications in this new field, see Epps y Fernández Cifuentes (2005), Buffery *et al* (2007), Resina (2009), Domínguez *et al* (2010), Martín-Estudillo and Spadachini (2010) or Pérez Isasi and Fernandes (2013).

the 19th century and the first few of the 20th century, in two distinct senses (to which the two central sections of this text correspond). In the first place, we will offer some notes of what could or should be a history of literary Iberism, in other words, of the involvement of Spanish and Portuguese writers and intellectuals in the Iberism cause, fundamentally (although not solely) in a cultural sense. In the second place, and to a degree conversely, we will analyse the influence Iberism might have had on specific authors of histories of Spanish or Portuguese literature (authors with the stature or relevance of Teófilo Braga o Menéndez Pelayo), which questions the inevitability of literary history as a purely national, nationalist or nationalising endeavour, according to the model prevailing since the start of the 19th century.

It is necessary in the first instance, however, to clarify the concept of Iberism, given that the term lends itself to diverse interpretations and has been overused to refer interchangeably to very differing propositions and standpoints over the past two centuries. Therefore, following Sardica (2013: 24-6) and Matos (2007: 170), we can establish the following characterisation of the varied and diverse meanings of Iberism:

- A purely economic Iberism, which advocates the elimination of internal customs and the creation of an Iberian *Zollverein* such as that proposed by Sinibaldo de Mas in *La Iberia* in 1851 (although his foundational text on Iberism suggests a political union in addition to an economic one);
- A strictly political Iberism (commonly known simply as Iberism), which defends the integration of Spain and Portugal as a common political unit³. This Iberism also presents numerous variations historically, the most important of which are the unionist or dynastic (the fusion of both nations under a single crown) and the federalist-republican, predominant in Portugal in the final years of the 19th century. On the Spanish side, more than on the Portuguese, it is also possible to distinguish between the annexationist proposals, which recommend the absorption of Portugal as a Spanish province (as is the case in the controversial text *La fusión ibérica* de Pío Gullón, 1861), as against those which advocate a political union that does not presume the extinction of the previous individual nations (like the Iberian proposals stemming from Catalanism from the beginning of the 20th century);
- A cultural Iberism that calls for a greater closeness between Spain and Portugal, taking as its starting point the close historical ties between the two countries, but which does not promote any kind of political unification⁴. Perhaps the fundamental text representing

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3 | This political Iberism has also been referred to as “Iberian nationalism” by Rocamora (1994), since “os argumentos esgrimidos para defender la unión ibérica son asimilables a los utilizados por los nacionalismos europeos, especialmente los encaminados hacia unificaciones, como germanismo, italianismo, escandinavismo o paneslavismo” (19). Nevertheless, this statement seems debatable, since it is difficult to find, in Iberian documents, the assertion of the existence of a single Iberian nation; it is more common to find the defence of a political union of two (or more) nations, either under the same monarchy or in a federal format, but without dissolution of the nationalities. In fact, there are those who state that Iberism served, contrary to its intentions, as a stimulus for the development of Portuguese nationalism during the 19th century (Matos, 2006: 352).

4 | A fourth category might even be added, though not as a variation of Iberism, the simple “lusophilia” (in the case of the Spanish) or “hispanophilia” (in the Portuguese), which in the past two centuries is identified with Iberism without any greater or additional considerations.

this third kind of Iberism, thanks to the influence it exercised on later authors, is the *Historia de la civilización ibérica* by Oliveira Martins.

It is to this cultural Iberism that we shall devote the following pages; specifically to its implications in the literary field. However, some precisions about Iberism and its connection to other nationalist movements that developed throughout the 19th century are still necessary. Let us say then, in the first instance, that the emergence and evolution of Iberism (particularly in its more specifically political variation) is not an isolated phenomenon, nor did it arise independently of the political currents or schools of thought of the time. In fact, its appearance can only be understood in relation to the European nationalisms, and with its development from the end of the 18th century until the start of the 20th century.

In effect, from the French Revolution until around 1970, an initial version of the nationalist ideology, generally linked to the liberal idea of progress and adopting the form of unifying nationalisms, spread through Europe. It went along with the “threshold principle” call according to which small nations would have neither the resources nor the possibilities of guaranteeing the happiness and security of its citizens. This is the context in which economic and political Iberism emerged, bearing a strong liberal stamp. This first generation of pro-Iberianists, generally supporters of a monarchic model though not an absolutist one, proposed the unification (to varied degrees and with differing methods) of the Spanish and Portuguese states as a means of overcoming the decline afflicting both nations, visible primarily in their progressive loss of colonial territories and of international influence.

This first wave of Iberism, which had a considerable impact, especially in Portugal (although there are differences in opinion over its level of social penetration), wore out as a realistic political option from the 1870s. This rapid loss of ideological relevance may be due to various factors, as much internal as external. Thus, as Rocamora (1994: 111) states, closely following Eric Hobsbawm, from around 1870, European nationalist movements maintain their capacity to influence but reverse their sign: they stop being (for the most part) liberal and unifying, and tend to be increasingly conservative and secessionist (see the case of Basque, Galician or Catalan nationalism, which gain relevance in the final decades of the 20th century). On this new nationalist stage, the linguistic and ethnic factors become dominant compared to the civic, economic or *realpolitik* criteria of the earlier period. Hence political Iberism, unifying, nationalistic and heir to liberal utopias, moves from 1870 to a second phase responding to both state and marginal nationalisms and colonialist orientations⁵, though with upturns during moments of crisis such as that caused by the English Ultimatum of 1890 or the Disaster of '98.

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5 | “Como dice Jover Zamora, el Iberismo aparece en 1874 derrotado, siendo una idea perteneciente al pasado o al futuro, pero no al presente, siendo superado como proyecto por el africanismo al igual que ocurría en Portugal.” (Rocamora, 1994: 112).

However, from 1868 two significant phenomena were to be observed, both more encouraging than the decline of Portuguese Iberism we have just mentioned. On the one hand, and from an arena more cultural than political, Iberism received renewed impetus from the writers of the 70s Generation, with the publication of works such as *Portugal perante a Revolução de Espanha* (1868) or *Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares* (1871) by Antero de Quental, or the *História da Civilização Ibérica* (1879) by Oliveira Martins. These are works containing varying degrees of Iberism in the political sense⁶, but which present as established the close historical interrelation between Spain and Portugal, and which were to have a huge influence over the following decades on authors such as Menéndez Pelayo or Miguel de Unamuno.

On the other hand, Iberism also found an ally in Catalanism at the start of the 20th century, which saw the possibility of a Hispano-Portuguese federation as a means of resisting Castile's excessive (in its judgement) centralist power (Rocamora 1994:135; Martínez Gil 2013). Politicians such as Prat de la Riba and intellectuals such as Joan Maragall expressed their support of the establishment of an Iberian (con)federation in which the peninsular nationalities (Galicia-Portugal, Castile and Catalonia, and in some cases also the Basque Country) would conserve their individuality⁷.

There is no doubt, therefore, that Iberism, in order to be fully understood, must be studied in relation to European nationalisms, as well as marginal peninsular nationalisms. Indeed, Iberism is, in the first instance, the Iberian response to European unification movements (Italian and German in particular) at a point when the viability of small nations was being questioned. It is also an optimistic approach to dealing with the situation of two collapsed states, Spanish and Portugal, aware of their decline and anxious for regeneration. Finally it is also linked with the separatist nationalisms emerging in Spain towards the close of the 19th century, in particular with Catalan nationalism, with which it shares a decidedly anti-centralist and anti-Spanish drive.

1. Towards a history of Iberism in literature

The history of Iberism as a political movement has already been written, as mentioned earlier, in works such as those by Rocamora (1994), Matos (2006, 2007) or Sardica (2013) already cited. By contrast, cultural Iberism, as we defined it in the previous section, and in particular its literary manifestations and connections on both sides of the border, is still awaiting a thorough and explanatory study that goes further than a mere listing of Spanish and Portuguese authors

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6 | Far more accentuated in the case of Antero de Quental, who goes so far as to suggest the relinquishing of Portuguese nationality, something that provoked rejection of more moderate Iberians like Teófilo Braga or Oliveira Martins himself. Sérgio Campos Matos explains it in the following passage: "Entusiasmado com a revolução espanhola de 1868, em nome de um ideal democrático e republicano-federalista, [Antero] proclamou até que se devia renegar a nacionalidade (esta não passaria dum instrumento dos poderosos, um 'obstáculo desgraçado, resto das hostilidades fatais de séculos bárbaros'. [...] Ao invés do que frequentemente se escreve, embora sustentando a necessidade de uma aproximação diplomática e cultural com a Espanha, Oliveira Martins sempre defendeu a autonomia política de Portugal, ditanciando-se inequivocamente do unitarismo iberista" (2007: 173-4)

7 | The turn-of-the-century (and later) Galician nationalism also contained an annexationist and Lusitanist element, but, unlike the Catalan case, this unification interest was barely reciprocated in Portugal (Molina, 1990: 33). As regards Basque nationalism, and in the absence of broader studies, it does not seem as though Iberian formulations similar to those that emerged in Catalonia existed at that time.

and works with any connection, whether incidental or profound, to the neighbouring country⁸.

Such a history ought to include as many of those writers who share the cultural understanding of Iberism as possible (with or without *addendas* of political Iberism). In other words, those who promote a deeper connection between the literatures of both countries, taking as a starting point their common past and culture or, if not entirely shared, filled with interrelations and mutual interferences. This ideal history should also be capable of going beyond the mere annotating of the authors names and works, so as to provide a complex and reasoned view of the evolution of this cultural Iberism, relating it not only to the development of Iberism *tout court*, but also to other literary, cultural, social and political movements of the time⁹. It should also analyse whether group or generational tendencies exist (in some cases, this is obvious) which favour or limit the influence of cultural Iberism and distinguish the more or less turbulent individual relations of the systematic Iberian relations between peninsular cultural spaces¹⁰. And lastly, such a history ought to situate these Iberian relations in the context of other literary and cultural relations (with Europe, but also with foreign territories), as it is only in this way that the scale and significance of Iberian literary relations might be adequately assessed.

I do not expect, within the few pages that follow, to develop this history of cultural Iberism, but rather to note some of its main aspects along with its inevitable milestones in the period between 1868 and 1936¹¹. The dates chosen are not arbitrary: 1868 is the date of Spain's Glorious Revolution, which had, as has been mentioned, an important repercussion amongst Portuguese republicans, as exemplified by Antero de Quental's pamphlet, *Portugal perante a revolução na Espanha*. This date marks, therefore, two sharp turns in the path of Iberism: on the one hand, the abandonment in Portugal of the liberal-unionist option in favour of the republican-federalist one; and on the other hand, the majority substitution (although not complete of course) of the economic or political aspect of Iberism in favour of an emphasis on the historical and cultural ties that unite the two nations. Naturally the closing date of the studied period, 1936, is not arbitrary either: the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, as well as the establishment of Estado Novo in Portugal since 1933, mark the beginning of a new period of Iberian relations (political and cultural) that are not notably characterised by dialogue or proximity.

The history of cultural Iberism in the final third of the 19th century ought to start, therefore, with a study of the stance taken by the authors of the so called 70s Generation, in particular the previously mentioned Antero de Quental and Oliveira Martins¹². Thus to de Quental's afore-mentioned pamphlet from 1868, we should add his speech,

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8 | This does not in any way mean that in this field there are no studies of great value and which offer considerable information about "Iberian" authors and works in the suggested time period. Perhaps the contribution that most resembles this history of cultural or literary Iberism would be that of César Antonio Molina (1990), which nevertheless suffers, precisely, from an accumulation of materials without an historical analysis to connect them. The studies dedicated to specific authors and works are so numerous that it is neither viable nor useful to list them here, although some of them will be mentioned further on in the appropriate place.

9 | In particular, the connection between Iberism and the successive economic, social and political crises that shook Spain and Portugal throughout the 19th century (loss of Latin American colonies, the 1890 British Ultimatum, the 1898 Disaster...) still remains to be extensively analysed. The Iberian viewpoint, with its interrelations of authors, works and movements, could prove illuminating of the way in which the two countries dealt with their respective identity crises.

10 | It would be very controversial to say, for example, that Unamuno is representative of the Basque Country-Portuguese connection, while Maragall's Iberism does respond to a broader ideological movement that makes a condition, partially at least, of the Catalonia-Portuguese connections.

11 | The limited space available to me here and the character of primary analysis of these pages explains the preference for the main authors at the expense of secondary ones; naturally, a broader work on cultural Iberism would demand

Causas da decadência dos povos peninsulares, delivered in 1871 in the context of the “Conferências do Casino”, in which Augusto Soromenho, Eça de Queirós and Adolfo Coelho also participated, before they were stopped by governmental order. There is no doubt that the work *História da Civilização Ibérica* by Oliveira Martins holds a prominent position in this chapter, given that it encapsulates the idea of cultural (or civilisational, if preferred) Iberism and that its influence on authors such as Miguel de Unamuno or Menéndez Pelayo was fundamental. Let us recall that Oliveira Martins established in his work the existence of “una civilización representada por dos naciones”, and that “son comunes, no solo los sentimientos fundamentales, como también muchos de los trazos particulares de la historia de las dos monarquías” (Martins, 1879: 173; author’s translation).

The 70s Generation in Portugal has long been connected with the ‘98 Generation in Spain due to their shared concerns over the future of the nation, their regenerationist spirit and their involvement in national politics. However, it may be more fruitful and fitting with reality to connect it with a set of Spanish writers who, while they have not been commonly referred to as a “generation”, are nevertheless chronologically closer —authors such as Juan Valera, Leopoldo Alas ‘Clarín’, Emilia Pardo Bazán, the Giner de los Ríos brothers or Menéndez Pelayo, all of them prominent lusophiles and iberists. Perhaps the most complex and interesting case is that of Juan Valera, whose Iberism evolved from a degree of optimism towards a realistic scepticism¹³. Valera’s iberist spirit was mostly expressed in texts written for periodical publications, such as the *Revista Peninsular*, which he founded, and most particularly in a series of seven articles published between 1861 and 1863 in the *Revista Ibérica* under the title “Spain and Portugal”. Another two articles published in *El Contemporáneo* completed the series (cfr. Romero Tobar 2013: 192), which expressed his perception of Iberian relations at that time, and which were a response to Pío Gullón’s pamphlet, *La fusión ibérica* (a polemic for its annexationist character). For his part, Leopoldo Alas ‘Clarín’ was the promoter of a Hispano-Portuguese Literary League (cfr. Utt, 1988: 203-226), which was, as far as we know, unsuccessful, and for which he relied on the complicity of the Portuguese poet Joaquim de Araújo, and the appointment promise of Campoamor, Pérez Galdós, Giner de los Ríos, Núñez de Arce and Palacio Valdés, amongst many others.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the figure of Unamuno stands out clearly and unavoidably in terms of Iberian relations; but not only, as has been highlighted countless times, for his deep knowledge of the “Portuguese soul”, nor for his written communications with some of the most distinguished Portuguese writers and intellectuals of the time. Above all he was the key piece that permits the establishment of the afore-mentioned triangulation, on a cultural and literary plane,

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expanding not only the number of referenced authors but also the depth with which these authors are dealt.

12 | The relation of other writers of this generation with Iberism is more distant, or even non-existent, as is the case with Eça de Queirós, for whom the idea of unification with Spain was much like an incentive to awaken the very regenerationist patriotism of the pPortuguese. See Medina (1973).

13 | Remember that Juan Valera lived in Lisbon at various stages of his life, and remember also that the *História da Civilização Ibérica* by Oliveira Martins is dedicated to Juan Valera.

between Portugal, Catalonia and Castile (which even turns into quadrangulation if we consider the fact that Unamuno was of Basque origin to be relevant). Let us remember that in effect, Unamuno, together with Joan Maragall, planned the creation of an Iberian literary journal to be written in each of the peninsular languages; a review that was not published in the first place due to the doubts and logistical problems of its drivers, and finally due to Joan Maragall's death in 1911. In any event this initiative is representative of Unamuno's Iberism, which was never strictly speaking political but rather cultural or "spiritual", to use Marcos de Dios's term (1985: 28). In light of Miguel de Unamuno's hugely significant mediating role, the Iberian interests of other writers of the '98 Generation were forgotten and undervalued, writers such as Ramiro de Maeztu or Ramón María del Valle Inclán, who was not only a translator and the one who introduced Eça de Queirós to Spain, but also stood up for the creation of an Iberian federation (Molina, 1990: 20).

That was the period that saw the greatest interrelations between Iberism and Catalanism: also of Joan Maragall, "uno de los más exaltados iberistas de todos los tiempos, si no el más exaltado iberista español" according to García Morejón (1964: 365). We can also add to the iberista ranks, each with very personal approaches, other writers such as Ribera i Rovira (whose *Iberism* was prefaced by Teófilo Braga among others), Eugeni d'Ors, Josep Pla o Gaziel (cfr. Magalhães and Fernandes da Silva, 2013; Martínez-Gil, 2013). On the Portuguese side, the main Iberian representative at the start of the 20th century was Unamuno and "el más impenitente colaborador portugués en la prensa literaria española de ese tiempo" (Molina, 1990: 25). His Iberism is, in fact, closely linked with his *saudosismo*; thus, in a text published (not by chance) in the Catalan newspaper *La Vanguardia*, Pascoaes writes: "La saudade es portuguesa como es gallega y catalana. La saudade es Fray Agustín de la Cruz, como es Rosalía de Castro y Juan Maragall. La Saudade ciñe casi toda la Iberia en un abrazo, como las brumas del mar..." (quoted in Franco, 2013: 27).

The chapter concerning relations between the Spanish and Portuguese avant-garde movements have already benefited from considerable contributions, in particular the work of Antonio Sáez Delgado, *Órficos y Ultraístas* (2000). Some key names relating to cultural Iberism in the first decades of the 20th century, on either side of the border, are those of Fernando Pessoa¹⁴, António Sardinha, Almada Negreiros, Ortega y Gasset and Giménez Caballero. These authors are, in some cases, manifestly against a political union, but in favour of a cultural closeness and even strategic coordination between the two countries (the case of António Sardinha and his *Alianza Peninsular* of 1925). During this period (and not only during this period), the publication of periodicals is of vital importance, and

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14 | His texts on Spain and Iberism, unpublished for the most part, have been compiled and carefully edited by Jerónimo Pizarro and Pablo Javier Pérez López in the volume *Ibéria. Introdução a um Imperialismo Futuro* (2012), and translated into Spanish by Antonio Sáez Delgado.

many of them have yet to be adequately explored apart from the rescuing of contributions by outstanding authors¹⁵. We refer, for example, to publications such as the *Revista Contemporânea*, or the very well-known *Presença o Orpheu*, but also others such as *La Gaceta Literaria* founded by Giménez Caballero or *Sudoeste*, published by Almada Negreiros.

As was noted earlier, the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War as well as Salazar's Estado Novo in Portugal meant the opening of a new chapter in political relations, but also cultural and literary ones, between Spain and Portugal. It wasn't a question of a definitive termination since, although underground and sporadic, literary and cultural relations continued for the long years of Salazarism and Francoism; but now lacking either the intensity or the significance of those which took place in the decades that have just been briefly outlined.

2. An Iberian history of literature?

There is yet another barely explored perspective to the relationship between cultural and literary Iberism, which I would like to tackle in this section: I am referring to the influence that a transnational vision of Iberian literatures had, or could have ended up having, on the shaping of literary history in the second half of the 19th century and first half of the 20th.

Let us say, to begin with, that a collective vision of Spanish and Portuguese literatures was not at all outside the range of possibilities of 19th century literary historiography. As I have already shown elsewhere (Pérez Isasi, 2012), the Iberian Peninsula appeared, in the eyes of Romantic Europe which drew up the intellectual cartography of modern Europe, as a space that was simultaneously one and many. This was due not only to Iberia being part of the South (Latin and catholic) of Europe¹⁶, but also because the first historians of Iberian literatures throughout the 19th century suggested (or recognised, if you prefer) that extensive and powerful continuities and interrelations existed between the various peninsular nations.

Thus, for example, the work *De la littérature du Midi de L'Europe*, by Simonde de Sismondi, is a history of the literatures of the South of Europe (including Spanish and Portuguese literature), not due to a merely spatial criterion, but rather to demonstrate that a fundamental unity exists between them that permits creating this unification:

Je n'ai pu cependant exécuter qu'une partie du plan que je m'étais d'abord proposé. Il s'étendait à toute l'Europe, et je n'ai parlé que des peuples du Midi de cette contrée. Mais ces derniers forment un ensemble que

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15 | In the words of César Antonio Molina: "Como ya hemos podido ir comprobando, las fuentes imprescindibles para conocer los orígenes literarios (los políticos habría que seguirlos también por otros rumbos que nos son ajenos) del Iberismo se encuentran, como tantas otras veces, perdidas en las hemerotecas. La base para conocer los altibajos en las relaciones culturales entre uno y otro país peninsular, solamente saldrán a la luz tras un profundo y amplio levantamiento –al menos de un siglo- de la prensa diaria y periódica". (1990: 21)

16 | In fact, the division of European nations into "septentrionales and meridionales", is present in the hugely influential works of the Schlegel Brothers: "La poesía de los países católicos, la española, la italiana y la portuguesa, forman en [la Edad Media] un conjunto íntimamente unido" (Schlegel, 1843, II: 85); and also, somewhat modified, in *De l'Allemagne* by Madame de Staël: "On peut rapporter l'origine des principales nations de l'Europe à trois grandes races différentes: la race latine, la race germanique et la race esclavonne. Les Italiens, les Français, les Espagnols, ont reçu des Romains leur civilisation et leur langage; les Allemands, les Suisses, les Anglais, les Suédois, les Danois et les Hollandais sont des peuples teutoniques; enfin, parmi les Esclavons, les Polonais et les Russes occupent le premier rang. Les nations dont la culture intellectuelle est d'origine latine sont plus anciennement civilisées que les autres" (Staël, 1813: I, 45).

j'ai cru pouvoir détacher des peuples du Nord. (Simonde de Sismondi, 1813-4: I, ii-iii)

In fact, even those literary histories that deal with Spanish and Portuguese literature separately, as is the case with the *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit seit dem Ende des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, originally published by Friedrich Bouterwek between 1801 and 1819 and translated into Spanish ten years later, mentions an essential unity linking both Iberian literatures:

Así, se unieron españoles y portugueses desde los inicios de su cultura en uno y el mismo tipo de forma y espíritu poéticos. No obstante, lo que de diferente y peculiar tiene la bella literatura de ambas naciones lo mostrarán entre otros los libros que siguen. (Bouterwek, 1829: I, 24)

This tendency towards a consideration of the literatures produced in Spain and Portugal (although not only in Spanish and Portuguese) as unitary or at least interrelated was abandoned or buried, to some extent, when the task of constructing a literary historiography began to be developed by the Spanish and Portuguese themselves, from a nationalist and liberal perspective. The tendency towards cultural centralisation and homogenisation was accentuated around the 1840s and 50s in support of construction of a national state. Therefore quintessential Spanish literature (for example) was now not only defined as “literature written in Spain”, but rather, fundamentally, “literature written in Spanish”, which was also responding to a set of cultural, religious or moral requirements (Pérez Isasi, 2013)¹⁷.

On the Portuguese side, the nationalist exclusion of “foreign” elements in the body of the canon notably acquired the form of a defence against Spanish literature —either against the stylistic influences of Góngora’s Baroque, against the political and cultural power exercised by Spain during the Dual Monarchy (1580-1640) or against the Portuguese authors themselves who, particularly during the 16th and 17th centuries, wrote their work partially or entirely in Spanish. The most extreme expression of this nationalist defence of the canon consists in the total elimination of these authors¹⁸.

Literary historiography, however, was also to be affected by the development of cultural Iberism in the second half of the 19th century: with good reason some of the writers mentioned up to now who supported cultural Iberism were also notable historians. Thus, for example, the *Theoria da historia da litteratura portuguesa* by Teófilo Braga (1872), in which he prepares the ground for what would be his *Historia de la literatura portuguesa*, is clearly influenced by the *História da civilização ibérica* by Oliveira Martins. In accordance with his proposal, what separated Spanish and Portuguese national fates was the point on which they fixed their gazes and their interests: Europe and the Mediterranean for the Spanish; the Atlantic for the

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17 | It so happens even in those literary histories in which more room is given to other voices distinct from the dominant, as in the case of Amador de los Ríos’ *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, an ambitious work that aimed to embrace the totality of literature produced in the Spanish territory, in all languages and epochs (including Latin, Arabic and Hebrew, in addition to Spanish, Catalan, etc.) but which nonetheless privileges Castilian literature: “a pesar de la vitalidad que todavía entrañaba la nacionalidad catalana, y verdes aún los brillantes lauros ganados por sus más celebrados poetas, comienza a recibirse en aquellas regiones, y dentro de su propio parnaso, la influencia de la lengua y del arte, que florecen en la España Central, augurando ya claramente, conforme dejamos advertido, la grande unidad literaria, cuya realización no estaba en verdad muy lejana” (Amador de los Ríos, 1861-5: VI, 487).

18 | “Por esta difficuldade de encontrar os livros necesarios é que prescindi n’este Ensaio de mencionar os Poetas, que só escreveram em latin, e em hespanhol, bem que entre estes haja muitos de grande merecimento, e cujas obras possuo, ou tenho visto: mas fallando em rigor, esta falta nao deve tornar-se mui sensivel, porque Poetas, que só escreveram em verso Latino, ou Castelhana, posto que nacessem em Portugal, nao sam Poetas Portuguezes”. (Lopes de Mendonça, 1849: 5-6).

Portuguese.

No problema da raça não ha hespanhões nem portugueses. A separação começa na formação da nacionalidade. [...] O portuguez não distanciava bastante do hespanhol nem pela raça nem pelo territorio, para poder constituir-se em nação; comtudo a proximidade do oceano Atlantico creou um instincto, que nao nasceria longe d'este meio. (Braga, 1872: 12)

And some years later, in a *Curso de historia da literatura portuguesa* adapted to an education curriculum, he insists on the idea of unity of the Iberian race, and the diversity of the peninsular nationalities:

Assentando estes principios, nao pretendemos inventar uma raça portugueza; assim como esta nacionalidade se constituiu pela tendencia separatista dos antigos estados peninsulares, tambem a raça é a integraçao de todos os elementos ante-historicos e historicos que forma fusionando n'este solo, e que pela sua persistencia se podem distinguir em tres pahses sociais, os *hispano-romanos*, os *hispano-godos* e os *hispano-arabes*. (Braga, 1885: 11-12)

In Spain, for its part, a critic as influential as Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo defended the consideration of all the Peninsular literatures as a whole in several of his works, and even before the publication of the afore-mentioned *Historia de la civilización ibérica* by Oliveira Martins. Thus, for example, in his *Programa de Literatura Española* from 1878:

Españoles fueron en la Edad Media los tres romances peninsulares: los tres recorrieron un ciclo literario completo, conservando unidad de espíritu y parentesco de formas en medio de las variedades locales. Eran tres dialectos hijos de la misma madre, hablados por gentes de la misma raza, y empeñadas en común empresa. Las tres literaturas reflejaban iguales sentimientos y parecidas ideas, y recíprocamente se imitaban y traducían y cedieron el mismo paso a extrañas influencias. (...) Dios ha querido además que un misterioso sincronismo presida al desarrollo de las letras peninsulares. No hay transformación literaria en Castilla a que no responda otra igual en Lusitania. (Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, 1878)

The idea of a unit, or at least a strong similarity in the evolution of both literatures, was an idea that would repeat itself in other histories of Spanish literature from the last decades of the 19th century (for example, that of Rodríguez Miguel, 1892). In Portugal at the start of the 20th century, this suggestion of a parallel reading of Iberian literatures was to receive new momentum and a greater systematisation in the work of Fidelino de Figueiredo, one of the main promoters of Comparative Literature in Portugal, in essential works such as *Pyrene: ponto de vista para uma introdução à história comparada das literaturas portuguesa e espanhola* (1935) (cfr. Ângela Fernandes, 2013). Years previously, in his *Estudos de Litteratura*, he had already stated:

Ha uma tradição dramática peninsular, mas nenhuma das literaturas a possui em toda a sua plenitude, no conjunto do seu desenvolvimento histórico. Castella, o centro geográfico da Península, como afirmou Pelayo, teve a glória de possuir o momento áureo dessa tradição, mas sem a curva do desvio que para dentro da fronteira portuguesa descreve essa tradição, sem se considerar o teatro vicentino, até mesmo essa tradição (...) seria incompleta e ilógica, porque o teatro de Encina, Torres Naharro e Gomes Manrique tinha caracteres estéticos diversos daqueles que, depois do impulso genial de Gil Vicente, ostentou e se incorporaram na tradição peninsular. (Figueiredo, 1921: 19-20)

We should not fall into the temptation, however, of exaggerating the importance of these transnational approximations of Iberian literatures as regards their quantity and global influence. In the first place, since, in fact, histories combining Spanish and Portuguese literature in a single work, despite the theoretical or methodological assertions already demonstrated, did not exist. Moreover the national literary history (or, more correctly, nationalising), written with a centralist, canonising and homogenising spirit, occupies a central place in publications as much in Spanish as in Portuguese, assisted in no small part by the state education plans. Therefore the proposal of a contrastive or at least plural vision of Iberian literatures always came from scholars with a personal affection for their neighbouring country, and generally under the influence of Oliveira Martins' cultural Iberism. With the arrival of the Estado Novo and of Francoism respectively (and, in the case of Spain, with the development of the "castellanistas" thesis of the Generation of '98 and Ramón Menéndez Pidal), Iberian literary historiography acquired—or perhaps recovered—its hegemonic, centralist stamp that would dominate the following decades.

3. Provisional conclusions

It is not absurd, as we have shown, to describe political Iberism as a failed political movement that primarily infected a group of liberal intellectuals and politicians (firstly) and republicans (later), but which did not end up becoming notably established or having immediate political influence. Nevertheless, its evolution towards a cultural Iberism in the last part of the 19th century, and its interweaving with other political, literary and cultural peninsular movements up to, at least, the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War should be taken into account in its combined evaluation as an intellectual movement

In the preceding pages, I have tried to offer an analysis of the interrelations between literature and Iberism along parallel but interrelated lines. In the first instance, I have traced a generic panorama of the literary implications of cultural Iberism, in Portugal as in Spain (and Catalonia), by way of a summary of the authors,

works and movements that promoted the rapprochement of the two countries and cultures between 1868 and 1939. In the second I have proposed the restoration of a tendency of the literary historiography published during this time period by which the influence of this cultural Iberism can equally be appreciated, thanks to the interwoven or joint consideration of the peninsular literatures.

Both lines of enquiry, which demand broader future research, demonstrate that areas of study still remain in the field of Iberian literary relations. Even in periods (before or after that studied in this text) during which you could not, strictly speaking, discuss Iberism as either a political or cultural movement, it is possible to consider the existence of transnational relations in the Peninsula, be they institutional or underground, marginal or dominant. Iberian Studies are born, as I stated at the start of this text, of an attempt to identify and describe this flow, at the margin or through the established borders, which has been maintained continuously, if not uniformly, throughout history right up to the present day. As José Saramago states in his text “Mi Iberismo”, “¿El Iberismo está muerto? Sí. ¿Podremos vivir sin *un* Iberismo? No lo creo” (Molina, 1990: 9).

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