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The Role of Maps in the (Re-)Construction of Territorial Identity: the Example of Catalonia against the Background of Spanish and European Identity

Summary

At present, Spain is a good example of a state between separatism and transnationalization. Spain is taking part in the European integration process, while doubt is being cast on its national unity by various peripheral nationalisms like, for example, Catalanism. In this context Catalan, Spanish and European identities are becoming increasingly contested and ideologized. Maps have a central function in the discursive (re-)construction of these spatial identities, because they are the most important way to perceive larger spaces. This article illustrates how maps of an everyday context (in schoolbooks, weather forecasts etc.) contribute to forming several geographical and territorial images of Europe, Spain and Catalonia.

Keywords: identity; nationalism; maps; critical geopolitics; Spain; Catalonia

Gegenwärtig ist Spanien ein gutes Beispiel für einen Staat zwischen Separatismus und Transnationalisierung. Spanien ist in den europäischen Integrationsprozess eingebunden, während seine nationale Einheit von peripheren Nationalismen unter anderem in Katalonien in Frage gestellt wird. In diesem Zusammenhang sind europäische, spanische und katalanische Identität höchst umstritten und ideologisiert. Karten spielen bei der diskursiven (Re-)Konstruktion räumlicher Identität eine entscheidende Rolle, weil sie die am weitesten verbreitete Repräsentation größerer Räume sind. Dieser Artikel zeichnet nach, wie alltagsweltliche Karten (beispielsweise aus Schulbüchern oder Wettervorhersagen) dazu beitragen, verschiedene geographische und territoriale Vorstellungen von Europa, Spanien und Katalonien zu formen.

Keywords: identity; nationalism; maps; critical geopolitics; Spain; Catalonia

1 Introduction

Spain resides in an area of conflict between separatism and transnationalization. It is taking part in the process of European integration while at the same time doubt is being cast on the country's territorial integrity by peripheral nationalisms in Galicia, the Basque Country and Catalonia.

Especially this case makes it clear that the nation-state is no longer the predominant concept of political order. In Spain the 'contestedness' of national identity is not a new phenomenon. In contrast to other states, Spanish national identity was never established as a hegemonic spatial identity and was never naturalized as a territorial frame of social thinking and acting.

Because of this multiplicity, the example of Spain is very suitable to observe the complexity of the construction of spatial identity. Catalan national identity is chosen as an example because it is the oldest and most popular of the peripheral nationalisms in Spain. The paper at hand presents parts of the research project *Between separatism and transnationalization* funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), which retraces this process using an analysis of schoolbooks, print media, political documents and maps mainly from schoolbooks and media, based on discourse theory.

Two goals are pursued by this paper. First, to illustrate the role of maps in the (re)construction of territorial imaginations and, second, to give an overview of the origin of the territorial imaginations that are present in the current discussion about the constitution of the Spanish state. A short overview of the political and social context of this construction process and some theoretical presumptions about the construction of identities and the role of maps in discourses serve as a foundation.

2 Contested identities in Spain

The conflict of different political movements weakened the construction of a Spanish nation during the 19th century. Neither the conservatives, who understood nationalism as a secularist and democratic concept, nor the liberals applied on nationalism.¹ The education system was only slowly centralized,² while poor transport in-

frastructure obstructed interregional exchange.³ The reform of administrative borders, replacing the historical regions with 49 *provincias*, followed the centralist model of France and was not carried out until 1833.

Spain, at least after the loss of her last colonies in 1898, stood for political and economic backwardness, and thus offered little reason for proud patriotism, especially for liberals. This gap was filled by regionalistic and later by peripheral-nationalistic movements in various regions like the Basque Country, Galicia and especially Catalonia, which serves as a case-study for this paper.

In the former *principat de Catalunya* (principality of Catalonia) the romantic *renaixença* (rebirth) movement went on a quest for its own roots from the mid-19th century. Initially this movement had a strong cultural and linguistic orientation and was supported by intellectuals and the bourgeoisie.⁴ Around the turn of the century it became increasingly politicized. Instead of focusing on regional language and culture, calls for autonomy were made. The peripheral nationalisms that evolved from the regionalisms experienced initial success. Community organizations formed like the historical regions were founded. With the constitution of the 2nd Republic (1931–1936) Spain headed in the direction of a federal system of government. The dictatorship of Franco, which followed the Spanish civil war, resulted in a profound setback to the regionalistic and peripheral-nationalistic movements striving for autonomy. Not only were socialistic and democratic ideas suppressed, but also regionalism.

After Franco's death in 1975, the peaceful transition to democracy was threatened by the Sword of Damocles of an impending putsch. The historical regions, the territorial frame for the regionalisms and peripheral nationalisms, were institutionalized as *comunidades autónomas* (CCAA) with regional parliaments by the new constitution in 1977. Owing to the necessary hurry to reach a consensus in the elaboration of a document, the competences of the central state and CCAA were only very vaguely set out, e.g. in the field of education. Therefore the spatial categories of identities and the resulting constitution of the Spanish state have continued to be contested until the present day. Although in various ways the Spanish state resembles the structure of the German

1 Álvarez Junco 2002, 26–27; Boyd 2002, 43.

2 Vilar 2005, 112.

3 Núñez 2001, 488.

4 Núñez 2001, 487.

state, the term federalism is avoided by all sides. Spanish centralists fear the dissolution of Spain into its ‘federal states’ and the Catalan nationalists, who feel themselves to be a nation, call for an independent state or at least more competences than other CCAA, which they regard as mere administrative units.⁵

Spain has always been integrated in different large-scaled categories of identity. In a conservative milieu Spain was regarded mainly as a trailblazer and defender of the Christian Occident. Despite the independence of the Latin American states of the former colonial empire, until today *hispanidad*, as a uniting concept, is celebrated with the Spanish national holiday the *dia de la hispanidad* on 12 October. During the dictatorship of Franco, that found its equivalence in the dictatorship of Salazar in Portugal, parallels of the Iberian Peninsula were emphasized. Present schoolbooks reinforce this territorial model of cultures. Finally, at the latest when Spain joined the EC, ‘Europe’ became the most important reference.⁶

3 Maps and the construction of spatial identity

Especially for large-scaled identities it is rather impossible to experience the complete related space, so that besides symbolic places and landscapes different representations of space have an important role for binding space to identity. Maps are the most frequently used representations of space. They may even make territoriality “sensuously experienceable.”⁷ Therefore in the following I will concentrate on the role of maps in the construction of spatial identity.

The idea of essential, stable identities has been deconstructed in recent decades. Its place has been taken by the concept of a fluid, polysemous, fragmented and narrative identity. Individual and collective identities are situated culturally and historically and constructed discursively. Three moments are important for this construction.⁸ In actual articulations they are often interwoven

and can partly substitute for one another. For analytical reasons they are differentiated as follows:

- By exclusion and distinction the Self and the Other are constructed and thus a (collective) subject is constituted.
- The definition of stable, recurring and common characteristics and symbols enables the identities to be recognized.
- A national biography or rather a common historical narration constructs a incessant continuity and enables recognition despite changing characteristics.

In the construction of territorial identities all three moments have a spatial component: drawing up a frontier, the representation of homogeneous qualities linked to these ‘container spaces,’ and the narration of places of remembrance.

This list underlines the existence of different forms of linking space to identity. It can be associated to places. At places of remembrance like Catalan Montserrat or Spanish Covadonga a tourist industry has developed around visits to this ‘place of pilgrimage’ and the sale of nationalistic ‘devotional objects.’⁹ However, the particular focus of this article is on maps as representations of space and especially the question of their role in the construction of territorial identity.

Indeed this question is particularly interesting from the perspective of Critical Cartography, whereby maps are no longer regarded as objective “mirrors” of reality¹⁰, but are assumed to “make reality as much as they represent it.”¹¹ Maps are therefore texts “in the same senses that other non-verbal sign systems – paintings, prints, theater, films, television, music – are texts.”¹² Maps are a system of meaning, a sort of language and part of discourses. They construct knowledge about social order and are integrated in certain knowledge-power complexes. On the one hand, maps mirror social power relations, on the other hand maps reproduce them.¹³

5 Mose 2014, 115–126.

6 Mose 2014, 165–185.

7 Laba 2014, 221.

8 Hall 1994, 180–222; Ricœur 2005, 15.

9 Mose 2014, 107–112.

10 Pickles 1992, 193.

11 Crampton and Krygier 2006, 15.

12 Harley 2002c, 36.

13 Mose and Strüver 2009, 317.

Many authors¹⁴ give hints to the critical interpretation of maps by deconstructing maps as scientifically exact reflections of reality.

Deconstruction urges us to read between the lines of the map – ‘in the margins of the text’ – and through its tropes to discover the silences and contradictions that challenge the apparent honesty of the image.¹⁵

Interpretation may involve – considering the technical possibilities of map production: map projection, division in hemispheres, orientation, enlargement, scale, coloring, contrast, types of hierarchies and categories, choice of section and center of the map, labeling, symbols, decorative elements and toponyms.

Also elements not shown in the map, so called *cartographic silences*,¹⁶ are an indicator of geographical imaginations that are transported in maps. The reason for the silence of every map is the principle of selectivity. Selecting and accentuating particular elements also means simultaneously omitting and downplaying other elements. This silence may have technical reasons or be attributed to a lack of ‘geographical knowledge’. It may be “censorship, unintentional epistemological silence, or a mixture of both”.¹⁷ However, all expressions of this interplay between representation and avoidance have consequences for the imagination of spaces and are therefore, at least in the broad sense, (geo-)political. From there Harley¹⁸ proposes, echoing Foucault, to treat such silence as a “positive statement” and not as a “passive gap”.

As maps seem to be intuitively readable, they may be easily understood as a context-free representation of ‘reality’. An analysis inspired by discourse theory should, however, focus on the context in which maps are produced. The rules of cartography form a social corpus of knowledge, standardized like a language and taught in schools (reading maps) and universities (reading and producing maps). Maps reflect the spatial imaginations of cartographers and map-readers, so that one can understand them as inscriptions¹⁹ of social ideas.

The publication context can also be of interest for the interpretation of maps, because a particular position suggests particular readings of maps. Beside the surface of the map it is necessary to decode the subtexts that reveal themselves if one interprets maps in the context of their origin.²⁰ The following chapters direct the gaze on and under the surface of maps. The aim is to show how maps contribute to the separation of the Self and the Other, the connotation of homogeneous qualities with container spaces and the narration of a common past. The closing examination of weather charts from different print media gives an overview of the territorial imaginations that are bound to different identities in Spain.

4 Naturalization of territoriality and territoriality as a logo

Within the construction of spatial identity maps generate an imagination about territoriality, stabilize and naturalize this connection, and separate the own from the other territory.

Regardless of the theme of the map, the most frequently used type of lineal symbols apart from coastlines are administrative borders and especially national borders. On large-scaled thematic maps (i.e. maps of the world or Europe) national borders – and not mountains or rivers – serve as a raster of orientation. This form of depiction appears so ‘normal’; that only comparison with historical maps may call this naturalization into question: in nautical charts or *mappae mundi* territorial borders were used rarely.²¹ For early cartographers coastlines, rivers, cities, and mountains were obviously more important.

Many maps increase the effect of the classification into the Self and the Other by borders, by turning the Other into the strange, i.e. they only provide information about the Self and fade out or rather gray out the Other. Maps about fishery from diverse schoolbooks may serve as an example. The map in a schoolbook by the publisher Edebe²² only shows ports in Spain and the

14 Harley 2002a, 156–160; Henrikson 1999; Mose and Strüver 2009, 319–325; Pickles 1992; Schneider 2005.

15 Harley 2002a, 153.

16 Harley 2002b, 83–109.

17 Harley 2002b, 105.

18 Harley 2002b, 87.

19 Latour 2002, 372.

20 Schneider 2005, 2.

21 Matines 1587; Mercator 1587.

22 Edebe 1995, 34.

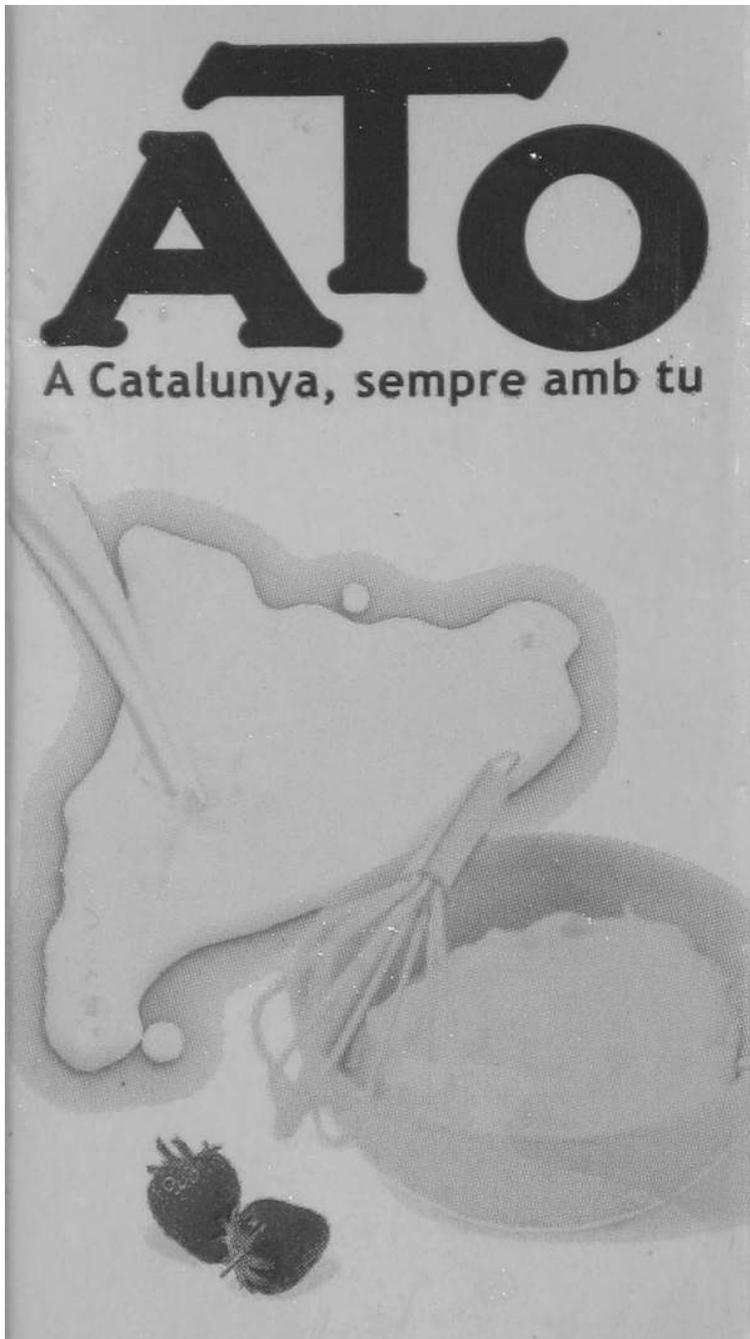


Fig. 1 The cream package depicted shows a drop of cream in the shape of the Comunidad Autónoma de Catalunya.

types of fish and seafood unloaded there, although the map section also shows parts of France. The French territory seems to be free of ports. As the nation-state is not questioned (naturalized) as a spatial category of polity, this form of visualization seems normal. Comparing it with the map from Comes,²³ it becomes clear that it is just the reproduction of an imagination about space (in

this case the hegemonic one). The Comes map only lists ports in the *comunidad autónoma de Cataluña*. The other parts of Spain and France, shown in this map section, are grayed out. The border of Catalonia is drawn in the same line-style and width no matter whether it is the border with France or with a Spanish region, and thus disguises the varying political relationships with the neighboring

23 Comes 1997, 140.

territories. Europe is depicted in the same fashion. The map *paisatges naturals europeus*²⁴ draws biomes like taiga and tundra only as far as the Ural. Beyond the mountains the map distinguishes only between land (gray) and ocean (blue).

Furthermore the outline of the territory is used as a logo in different contexts and at times used as a fetish. Typically the letterheads and seals of states or nationally operating associations are decorated with such logos.²⁵ In the context of the construction of identities in Spain this kind of representation can be observed mainly in political publications, leaflets etc. and on commercial products, because not only sex but also national *chauvinism sells* (cf. Fig. 1).

In addition to this omnipresent reproduction of the own territory, on large-scaled maps the Self becomes the center of the world. Symptomatic of this phenomenon is the dispute about the fixing of the prime meridian in the second half of the 19th century. Despite the international agreement on the Greenwich meridian, the meridian of Madrid was used as the prime meridian in Spanish school-atlases.²⁶ Spain is depicted at the center of other (Eurocentric) world maps, because the Greenwich meridian, which forms the central axis of such maps, also passes Spain (farther east). Many cartographers also manage to place Spain in the middle of the vertical i.e. in north-south direction, by depicting the surface of the earth only from about 80° N to 60° S.²⁷

The effect of self-centering can also be found beyond maps in a narrow sense. Graphic elements in schoolbooks like satellite pictures²⁸ or schematic representations, explaining the basics of geography (the four points of the compass, the origin of day and night etc.) tend to depict the Self (state, hemisphere or continent) in the center.²⁹

The fetishizing of the territory is the first step towards dividing the world into container spaces of the Self and the Other. Maps are also involved in the second moment of identity construction, the attribution of homogeneous characteristics to these discrete container spaces.

5 Maps and the constitution of national attributes

There are different cartographic possibilities to cultivate and establish national-territorial stereotypes. A first connection between the construction of identity and cartography can be shown without deconstructing maps as scientific representations of the surface of the earth or spatial patterns. Many everyday cartographic charts, maps for children and older/historical maps contain decorative visual elements. Often these illustrations represent characteristics that seem to be typical for the territory depicted.³⁰ Two examples may reveal this. In the map footer of a decorative wall map of Catalonia,³¹ which was published after Franco's death in the context of increasing Catalanism, a number of drawings represent Catalonia or 'Catalan' culture: the Catalan flag, the Montserrat, that serves as a symbol for Catalonia (see above), and traditions perceived as Catalan like *modernisme* (Catalan form of *Art Nouveaux*) and the *Sardana* dance.³² In a Catalan schoolbook³³ the symbols decorate not only the footer. Every *comunidad autónoma*, enclosed by monochromatic fill-symbols, is symbolized by a 'typical' dish. This fairly innocent map for primary school pupils implies two things: first, that culture – in this case food culture – is assignable to discrete spatial units and, second, that the *comunidades* are not 'only' administrative units, but also cultural homogeneous regions.

Furthermore, a tradition to interpret the outlines or positions of a territory graphically or textually can be detected in Spanish textbooks. An example is a world map³⁴ that depicts the Iberian Peninsula as an index finger pointing towards South America. This image is supposed to symbolize the function of Portugal and Spain as a bridge to Latin America, derived also from the peripheral position of the Iberian Peninsula. The long coastline of Europe is described in a geodeterministic manner as the reason for European hegemony in shipping and commerce.³⁵ The same metaphor is used for Spain,

24 Gomez Gejo 1996, 89.

25 Anderson 1991, 175.

26 E.g. Ambròs 1904, 29; Salinas Bellver 1949, 25.

27 Zubía 1963, 43.

28 Equipo Alambique Editex 2000, 8.

29 Ambròs 1904, 11 and 14; Trepà et al. 2002, 19.

30 García Rojas 2017, 3–26.

31 Caixa d'Estalvis Provincial de Tarragona 1977.

32 Mose 2005, 179–182.

33 Edebé 1995, 94.

34 Onieva et al. 1949, 146.

35 F. T. D. 1929, 52; Hijos de Santiago Rodríguez 1951, 515.

although it contradicts the image that Spain resembles a fortress, due to its orography.³⁶

Frequently, especially in older sources, visual and textual descriptions of Spain compare its outline with the form of a bullhide.³⁷ This metaphor reconstructs the symbolic linkage of the bull and Spain, which developed parallel to the institutionalization of bullfighting as a ritualized invented tradition.³⁸ At the same time the bull symbolizes Spanish national stereotypes, like the *furia española* (Spanish Fury), nowadays cited frequently in the context of football reporting.

The constructive power of maps appears not only in decorative elements, but also in the technical-scientific core of cartography. First of all, a dominance of administrative borders in thematic cartography can be detected. Statistical data, upon which most maps are based, stem from public sources and thus mirror the spatial division of the state. This means that regions, established as administrative units, are strongly represented in thematic cartography. No matter whether the visualized data is positive or negative, it is perceived as a quality of each administrative unit. Intraregional differences, for example urban-rural differences, are hidden.

In Spain various administrative units of differing importance for the identity of peripheral nationalisms have been established. For a long time the historical regions were the most important spaces for the identity of the peripheral regionalisms, at least in Catalonia and Galicia. Geographical imaginations of the Basque territory are far more complex and described in detail by Mansvelt Beck.³⁹ These historical regions have in the meanwhile become institutionalized as *comunidades autónomas*. The *provincias* were defined in the 19th century following the example of the French *departements*. Centralist or Spanish nationalist media visualize statistical data on the level of the *provincias* as an alternative to the meaningful *comunidades* (Fig. 2). This kind of ‘border dispute’ can also be traced in the depiction of Europe. Instead of the ‘usual’ depiction of Europe by states, Catalan schoolbooks frequently use maps of Europe displaying (NUTS 2-)regions, in which the contour of Spain disintegrates into the separate *comunidades autónomas*.

In contrast, physical-geographic maps or maps de-

picating cultural ‘facts’ may undermine the pre-eminence of administrative borders and therefore have the potential to question the hegemonic territorial imaginations that are cemented in administrative borders. But these maps are by no means politically neutral. The choice of the parameter by which the depicted sector of the surface of the earth is divided has an impact on the regionalization and therefore the reconstruction or avoidance of hegemonic territorial imaginations. Furthermore, the mapped properties like languages or climate are not discrete, but constantly changing in space. In this way boundaries are defined by cartographers or those who determine the classification of the parameter mapped. Subsequently, however, they seem to be objective boundaries.

Comparing different kinds of regionalization in a schoolbook from the 1950s clarifies this effect (Fig. 2). By the utilization of different line widths the historical regions are accentuated and the *provincias* fade into the background (see the main chart). In the map inset the historical-administrative regions, which are important for peripheral national identities, are cut up into different natural regions. The physical-geographic classification of Spain, or rather of the Iberian Peninsula, replaces the subdivision into historical regions in many geography books from the Franco era. Galicia forms a sector of the Basque country, Asturias and the north of Castile become part of the *región septentrional* (northern region). Catalonia disintegrates into the *valle del Ebro* (Ebro-valley) and the *vertiente catalana* (Catalan basin). But the map is not typical for the time of the dictatorship,⁴⁰ because one can observe both effects in it – the emphasizing and concealing of the historical regions.

Language has an exceptional position within the construction of Catalan identity (see also the papers of Philipp Krämer and Lars Zeige in this volume). Therefore it is obvious that language maps break up or expand hegemonic imaginations of Catalan territory, the *comunidad autónoma* that correlates with the historical region.

A precondition for mapping language is to understand language as a stable and homogeneous sign system that is distributed discretely in space. (Socio-) linguistics have deconstructed all these three properties of

36 Equipo Alambique Editex 2000, 123.

37 E.g. Editorial Magisterio Español n.d., 168.

38 Hobsbawm 2004, 1–14.

39 Mansvelt Beck 2006, 507–528.

40 Mose 2014, 186.

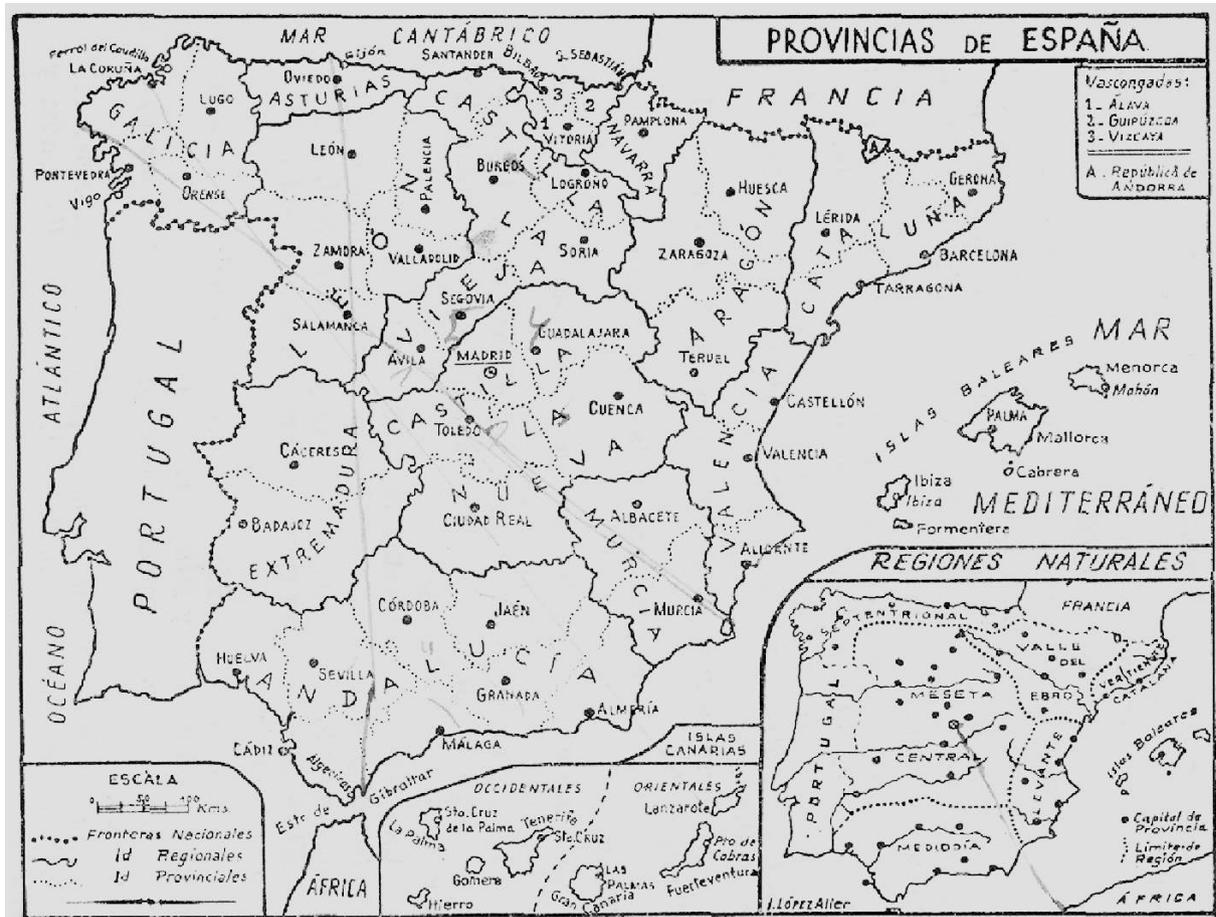


Fig. 2 Provincias de España y Regiones Naturales.

language. Language altered continuously in space until the beginning of modernity so that, for instance, a traveler from Madrid to Paris might only have noticed small linguistic differences from village to village. It was only during the centralization of (nation-)states that modern languages developed out of this dialect continuum through standardization.⁴¹ The Catalan language, for example, was not codified by the publication of a dictionary and a grammar until the beginning of the 20th century. Hence because of this constructed character, language and dialect boundaries are as political as the difference between language and dialect.

Just as dialects are only arbitrary subdivisions of the total surface of language, so the boundary that is supposed to separate two languages is only a conventional one.⁴²

Considering in addition the dynamics of language (e.g. by migration) and social differences in language use (sociolects and multilingualism), it is clear that language use is far more complex than a geographic classification by language boundaries suggests.

Nevertheless language boundaries are understood as objective cultural boundaries in space. Therefore many Catalanists demand independence not only for *comunidad autónoma de cataluña*, but for the *països catalans* (cf. Fig. 3).

This term refers to the areas where Catalan or Catalan dialects are or were spoken: besides the *comunidad autónoma de Cataluña*, this ‘Greater Catalonia’ is formed by the *comunidad autónoma de Valencia*, the Balearic Islands, a narrow stretch of Aragon and the Roussillon – which is part of France and Andorra. This list makes clear

41 Trudgill 1995, 3.

42 Saussure 1967, 244.



Fig. 3 “Neither France nor Spain: Països catalans Independence?”

that ‘new’ territorial imaginations, which evade current administrative borders, refer ironically to historical administrative borders that ‘doze’ in the collective memory.

An example for the dispute about such territorial and linguistic boundaries is the Valenciano. Generally it is seen as a Catalan dialect, but in the constitution of the *comunidad autónoma de Valencia* Valenciano is defined as a proper language. This example shows the dynamics of territorial distinctions of the Self and the Other and of the definition of common characteristics.⁴³

Breaches in the continuity of territoriality or the constructed common characteristics of spatial identities can be weaved together by a common historical narration.

6 Maps and historical narrations

In a multitude of the political maps examined, nation states are depicted by monochromatic areas. This naturalizes the idea of the respective territory and the idea of homogeneous national cultures in discrete container spaces (see above). The use of this kind of hatching in maps about history goes a step beyond. Monochromatic areas on political maps normally symbolize a sovereign state, constituted on the basis of a homogeneous national identity. Using this convention, unquestioned in maps about political history, leads to the monochromatically depicted realms being imagined as (national-) states and to projections of nationalism into eras in which other ideas about the organization of power predominated.

Maps portraying states or their predecessors at different points in time construct a territorial genealogical table, which is not mere description but is also used in political reasoning. The territory of the Catalan counts at around the turn of the first century is regarded as the origin of today’s Catalonia. With several marriages a dynastic-territorial pattern developed, named *Catalunya i Aragó* in Catalan historiography. More common – especially in Spanish historiography – is the term *Aragón*. Following Catalanistic integration of the ancestral line and regarding the maps of this era,⁴⁴ again the idea of the *països Catalans* comes to mind. *Catalunya i Aragó* or rather *Aragón* comprised today’s Aragon and Catalonia but also the Roussillon, Valencia and the Balearic Islands. Hereinafter supporters of the idea of the *països* appealed not only to a common language and culture but also to a common history.⁴⁵

There are also examples for a European ‘territorial ancestral line’. A Spanish geography book⁴⁶ includes maps of the Roman and the Carolingian empires under the title *Historical predecessors of unity in Western Europe* in the chapter about the European Union. These maps create the idea of a historical continuity of ‘Europeanness’ – suggesting that there are regions that are more European because they were part of the Roman and Carolingian empires like France, and countries that have no such European tradition.

The *reconquista* (722–1492) is regarded as the founding myth of Spain. Often this process is described by a series of historical maps.⁴⁷ These maps show the effect of an ancestral line particularly impressively: the various small territories, which expand in the direction of the ‘Muslim’ region, amalgamate together successively into

43 Mose 2014, 159.

44 E.g. Font y Sagué 1907, 97.

45 El Camí dels Països Catalans 2009.

46 Moll et al. 1997, 290.

47 I.e. Domínguez Garrido et al. 1995, 148; Artero y Gonzalez 1880, 10–12; Marqués y Sabater 1912, 33.

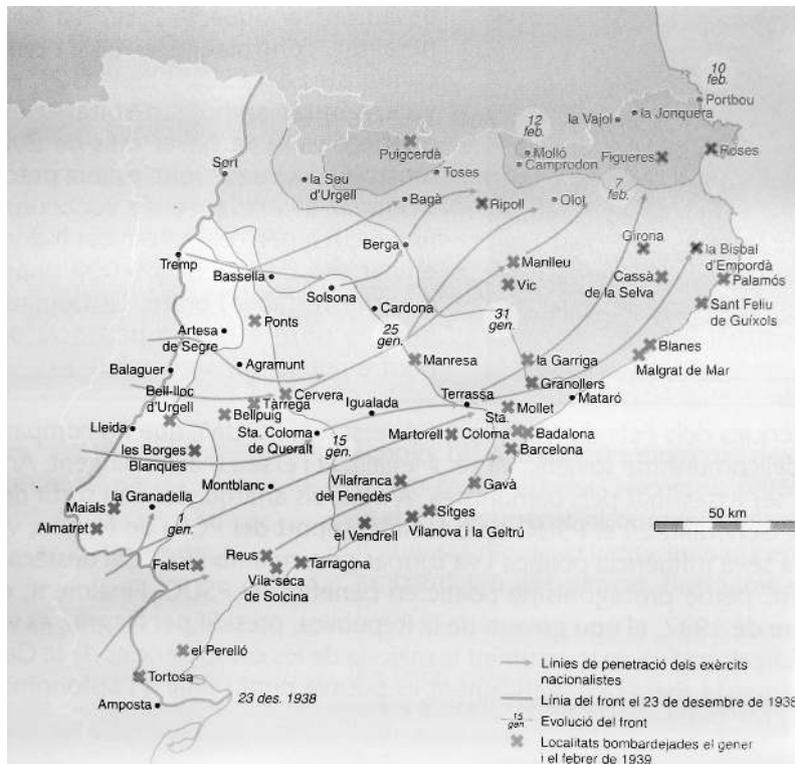


Fig. 4 Map *The military conflict in Catalonia* (occupation by the nationalist faction).

a territory that corresponds more or less to the territory of current Spain. In addition most maps construct a dichotomy between ‘Islamic’ taifas and ‘Christian’ kingdoms by the use of coloring. However, more differentiated historical papers accentuate that conflicts between Christian or Muslim sovereigns were also usual. This kind of depiction illustrates the weaving of the three moments of the construction of spatial identity. The definition of the Self and the Other assigns common attributes (e.g. Christian, defender of the Occident) and reproduces a historical motif about the Spanish nation.

For every nation a corpus of historical motifs exists, and this can be combined to a national historical narration.⁴⁸ Maps can visualize these motifs and so become elements of a complex historical narration. The nationalistic Catalan historiography views Catalonia as being pushed into a victim-role after a splendid imperial time – as a nation oppressed by Castile/Spain.⁴⁹

The map *The military conflict in Catalonia* (Fig. 4) reproduces this narration for the time of the civil war

(1936–1939) through a spatial and temporal concentration of the representation. Beginning from 23.12.1938, the depiction of the front positions and the color covering of the territory still controlled by troops of the Spanish Republic (orange-ocher in the original) highlights an area that corresponds to the imagination of a Catalan territory. The arrows imply a movement of conquest. The term ‘occupation’ is used in the caption.

Consequently, the picture of the conquest of Catalan territory by Spanish troops shines through. The depiction of the course of war from an earlier point in time would have shown clearly that it was a civil war and not a military conflict between two parties, distinguishable on the basis of long-familiar territorial patterns. Naming the army of the rebels led by Franco ‘nationalists’ also draws attention to the conflict between Spanish centralists (here called nationalists) and peripheral nationalists, although a lot of other conflicts led to the civil war, including disputes about the system of government (democracy or monarchy) and the social question.

48 Mose 2007, 132.

49 Mose 2005, 168–171.

7 Weather charts – An overview about territorial imaginations

After illustrating the general role of maps in the construction of identity I would like to close by analyzing one genre to give an overview of the territorial imaginations present in the current discourse that forms the basis of different spatial identities. Because of their ubiquity weather charts seem particularly suitable.⁵⁰ Like no other kind of map they are present in everyday life and represent the naturalized territorial imaginations that they form at the same time. Owing to their natural-scientific impression they appear neither political nor biased. Weather forecasts reflect the various levels of spatial identity as the dynamics of these territorial concepts.

Due to the nature of the technology used, weather reports and weather forecasts have a relatively young history in Spanish media. At first print media only published weather observations.⁵¹ The first vague weather forecasts were then seen from the turn of the 19th to the 20th century.⁵² These weather observations and forecasts covered only the city where the newspaper containing the report was published.⁵³ By 1929 the weather forecast was addressed to a national audience. A description of the phenomena that determined the weather in Spain (“a disturbance that moved from Biscay to the Netherlands”) was followed by a description of the weather in Spain (“the weather in Spain did not improve”), the minimal and maximal temperatures on the Iberian Peninsula and in Madrid, and the forecast for Spain (“moderate winds in the whole of Spain and [...]”).⁵⁴

However, weather charts did not appear before the mid-20th century when forecast and printing methods became more developed. At first weather charts of Spain predominated. Over time they were complemented by maps of Europe, regional maps and in the last few years by maps of the metropolitan areas. It would be overly hasty to deduct from this multiplication of maps a multiplication of levels of spatial identity, because the general enrichment of print media with visual elements plays a role that should not be underestimated.⁵⁵ It is though

interesting to note which areas were reproduced, as the representations of the respective territorial units also show the dynamics and heterogeneity of spatial identity.

Spain is always depicted using the same outline. But different systems of subdivision are established that serve as orientation for the map-reader. Currently the organization in *comunidades autónomas* is the most frequent kind of depiction. But centralist media use the *provincias*⁵⁶ or physical-geographic features like river systems as a raster of orientation⁵⁷ and ‘silence,’ i.e. thereby omitting the *comunidades autónomas* that are important for the identity of peripheral nationalisms.

Regarding the maps of Europe the different delimitations of Europe, marked by different map sections and hatchings, attract attention. But also the kind of information given in the weather charts of Europe changes over time. Older sources print isobars, which are important for predicting the weather in Spain.⁵⁸ Current maps visualize aspects of the weather forecast that are relevant for everyday life at different places in Europe, like temperature, precipitation and cloud cover⁵⁹ – a change in the form of depiction that illustrates the increased significance of Europe.

The regional weather forecast for Catalonia is visualized primarily by a weather chart of the *comunidad autónoma de Cataluña*. Some newspapers or TV stations (i.e. Flaix TV) in Catalan language use a map of the *països Catalans*. The *Avui*⁶⁰, that supports Catalanistic positions, replaces the map of Spain by a map of the *països*. This approach follows the identity construction of Catalanists, which does not include Spain as a level of identity.

8 Conclusion

It could be demonstrated how maps are involved in the three moments of the production of spatial identity: the construction of the Self and the Other, the adscription of common characteristics to the constructed (collective) subject, and the narration of its history. At the same time

50 Weather charts out of different volumes of the following newspapers: ABC, *Avui*, *El Alcázar*, *El Periódico*, *El Razón*, *La Correspondencia*, *La Vanguardia*.

51 E.g. *Vanguardia* 20.05.1888, 6.

52 E.g. ABC 12.05.1907, 7.

53 E.g. *Correspondencia* 21.05.1888, 3.

54 ABC 01.05.1929, 30.

55 Mose 2014, 43.

56 *Razon* 23.03.2006, 96.

57 E.g. *Alcazar* 14.05.1974, 14.

58 E.g. *Alcazar* 14.05.1974, 14.

59 *Periodico* 20.10.2003, 36.

60 E.g. 20.10.2004, 65.

it has become clear that contested identities are reflected in a 'clash of maps'. The territoriality of identity concepts like Spain, Catalonia and Europe and the question of which kind of territoriality serves for the generation of solidarity can be contested. Theoretical deduction shows that maps cannot be viewed as detached products. They

are part of a discourse and must be linked to it. The selection of examples from different social and historical contexts demonstrates that the interpretation of maps in the light of knowledge of the historical context suggests other readings than that of a mere intuitive map interpretation.

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