

PART 3

Mobility and Confinement

Masculinity on the Move from Barcelona to Bombay: The Men of the Catalan Bourgeoisie and Their Bodily Encounters in Colonial India

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Abstract

In 1908, two travelers from Barcelona embarked on a year-long world tour. Stage designer Oleguer Junyent and textile heir Marià Recolons' trip took them across the British Empire, with India as their most significant stop. The chapter examines their bodily encounters in India through the written and visual sources produced around the tour. In the spaces of the emerging global tourism of the time—the restaurant, the hotel, the club—Recolons and Junyent interacted with British elites and with Indian men, both elite and subaltern. While the travelers immersed themselves into British elite bodily practices, it was Indians who were at the center of their most intimate connections. The chapter argues that metropolitan Spanish masculinity was fleetingly transformed by embracing the trappings of British imperialism while forging links with the colonized. In this way, it makes an original contribution to our growing understanding of the contact zone of European and Indian masculinities.

Keywords: masculinities; Barcelona; Bombay; colonial India; Catalan bourgeoisie; global tourism

As the train pulled out of Barcelona's Estació de França, Marià Recolons and Oleguer Junyent made an unlikely pair. Recolons was the British-educated nineteen-year-old son of one of Barcelona's wealthiest industrialist families while Junyent, thirteen years his senior, was an award-winning stage designer well-known in Barcelona for his work on Wagner operas at the Gran Teatre del Liceu, the city's grand opera house. On 11 March 1908, with the luggage packed onto the train—travel guides, Junyent's drawing supplies, his camera—and the well-wishers having waved them off at the station, the two looked forward to reaching Marseille. It was the first stop in a year-long tour that would take them across the world. Their relationship at the start of this journey was ambiguous—they were friendly, certainly, but perhaps not quite friends. Junyent was, however, friends with Marià's parents, as well as

the go-to decorator for the entire Recolons family.¹ It was Marià's parents who had asked Junyent to chaperone their eldest across the globe and, crucially, provided the funds that made the tour possible. If Marià Recolons' goal was to see the world before joining the family business, Junyent hoped to find inspiration for his art in faraway lands, but also to burnish his reputation and further his career.²

Their starting point, Barcelona, was the second largest city in the metropole of a diminished empire. A major imperial power in the early modern period, most of Spain's American colonies achieved independence in the 1820s. For most of the nineteenth century, Spain held on to its colonies in Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and equatorial and northern Africa, in a phase of "imperial retreat."³ In 1898, war against the United States culminated in the loss of Spain's Caribbean and Pacific colonies. In the early twentieth century, however, Spain remained an empire: its African colonies, while modest in size, constituted a "new empire" that allowed metropolitan elites to imagine Spain as a colonial power.⁴ From the metropole of this remodeled empire, Junyent and Recolons visited Egypt, India, Ceylon, Australia, the Philippines, China, Korea, Japan, Canada, and the United States. A constant throughout their trip was an empire whose extension in the early twentieth century was formidable: the British Empire. Whether it was through direct rule or through indirect political, economic, and cultural pressures, the sinews of power of the British Empire stretched out before them. At the same time, this was an empire threatened by revolt and unrest in its most important colony, around which the entire imperial edifice was built: India. India loomed large in Recolons and Junyent's tour, as the place where they chose to spend the most time in the entire tour and as one of the two territories Junyent was most eager to visit—along with Egypt, a *de facto* British protectorate.

The chapter is an examination of the Indian leg of Recolons and Junyent's world tour against the backdrop of sometimes aligned, sometimes clashing masculinities—Catalan, British, and Indian. Its objective is to use their journey as a wedge

¹ Clara Beltrán Catalán, "Oleguer Junyent i Sans, pintor-escenógrafo: Entre la tradición y la modernidad (1899–1936)" (PhD diss., Universitat de Barcelona, 2020), vol I, 76.

² Teresa Segura-García, "A Barcelona stage designer in colonial India: Catalan travellers, transimperial mobility and the British Raj in Spain, c. 1908", *Historia y Política* 49 (2023), 185–214.

³ Josep M. Fradera, "Empires in retreat: Spain and Portugal after the Napoleonic wars", in *Endless Empire: Spain's Retreat, Europe's Eclipse, America's Decline*, ed. Alfred McCoy, Josep M. Fradera, and Stephen Jacobson (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 55–73; and "Canadian Lessons, Roads Not Taken: Spanish Views on Confederation", in *Globalizing Confederation: Canada and the World in 1867*, ed. Jacqueline D. Krikorian, Marcel Martel, and Adrian Shubert (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2017), 143–57.

⁴ William Gervase Clarence-Smith, "Spanish Equatorial Guinea, 1898–1940", in *Cambridge History of Africa*, ed. Andrew Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), vol. 7, 537–43; and "The Economic Dynamics of Spanish Colonialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries", *Itinerario* 15, no. 1 (1991), 71–90.

that opens a space to investigate a larger area of inquiry: transimperial mobility between the Spanish and British empires in the early twentieth century. This wedge conforms to a distinct method of historical writing: global microhistory, a practice that allows historians to explore global forces through the prism of individual experience.⁵ Microhistory allows us to examine the global forces behind these questions—in this case, the history of masculinity—through one singular case.

Recolons and Junyent's world tour is particularly well-suited to a global microhistorical approach. It is the most substantial—in terms of the quantity, quality, and diversity of sources—of all visits of travelers from Spain to India in an entire century, from the mid-nineteenth century to Indian independence. Throughout the tour, Junyent wrote to his friend Miquel Utrillo—an artist himself, but also a cultural promoter who edited and published these letters, first as a serialized travelogue and later as a book.⁶ There are other written sources about the trip: magazine articles by Junyent and Recolons published in the Catalan and Spanish press, Junyent's concise travel diary and his collection of ephemera from hotels and steamships. The latter two—along with Junyent's letters to Utrillo—are held in the Armengol-Junyent Archive by the stage designer's descendants. During the tour, Junyent also produced an important body of visual sources. He sketched and painted furiously, often on scraps of hotel paper that freed him from carrying his own paper supplies. In India alone he produced over 200 artworks in mediums such as gouache, watercolor, and oil painting. An amateur photographer, he also took pictures with his compact Vêrascope camera, complementing them with the purchase of professional images—a photographic collection now spread across the Armengol-Junyent Archive, the Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona and the Mas Archive at the Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic in Barcelona.⁷ The chapter examines these written and visual sources through the theoretical insights of microhistory, which invites historians to read documents “beyond the edge of the page”, delving beneath their explicit content to unearth indirect suggestions and involuntary implications.⁸ Through this approach, Junyent and Recolons emerge not as the “faceless globe-trotters” of John-Paul Ghobrial's critique of global microhistory, but as fully fleshed out participants in the imperial currents of the world through which they moved.⁹

Transimperial history has produced suggestive studies that have destabilized metropolitan-centered imperial histories, emphasizing instead the multidirectional

⁵ John-Paul A. Ghobrial, “Introduction: Seeing the World Like a Microhistorian”, *Past & Present* 242 (2019), 1–22: 16.

⁶ Oleguer Junyent, *Roda el món i torna al Born* (Barcelona: Edicions de La Magrana, 1981).

⁷ Beltrán Catalán, “Oleguer Junyent i Sans, pintor-escenógrafo”, 392.

⁸ Giovanni Levi, “Frail frontiers?”, *Past & Present* 242 (2019): 37–49 (41–42).

⁹ John-Paul A. Ghobrial, “The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory”, *Past & Present* 222 (2014): 51–93 (59).

contacts, alliances and contestations established between different colonies and metropolises. While some disparate projects have examined the circulation of people and ideas between the Spanish and British empires in the modern period, this remains an understudied field—largely because the historiographical traditions of these two empires have not always been in dialogue with each other.¹⁰ Within this transimperial framework, an even more unexplored issue is the contacts between metropolitan Spain and colonial India.¹¹ The chapter contributes to these two interconnected areas and, through it, to the history of Spain from a global perspective.

Finally, the chapter also critically re-examines and expands our understanding of Recolons and Junyent's experiences abroad. It has so far been described as Junyent the stage designer's tour—the journey of a tourist-artist preoccupied with documenting the “exotic” architecture of India, China, and Japan for later use in his artistic output. This is the case of the prologue for the 1981 re-edition of Junyent's travelogue *Roda el món i torna al Born* (“Around the World and Back to the Born”)—the edition most readily available to readers today—as well as two more recent studies of the tour undertaken.¹² By decentering the tour to include Recolons and examining both travelers not as uncomplicated tourists but as men who commented on British imperialism and anti-imperial resistance from the viewpoint of Barcelona's upper classes in metropolitan Spain, the tour emerges as something more than a “creative parenthesis” in Junyent's artistic production.¹³ Research on Catalan travelers to other colonial or semi-colonial spaces, such as Morocco and Egypt, has demonstrated

¹⁰ For some of these examples, see Laura Díaz-Esteve, “Aguinaldo's British Men: Defending the Philippine Revolution through the Hong Kong and Singapore Press, 1896–1902” (PhD diss., Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 2022); María Dolores Elizalde, “Dinámicas internacionales en Filipinas, más allá de patrias y banderas: Percepciones británicas en el cambio de soberanía entre españoles, americanos y filipinos”, in *Filipinas, un país entre dos imperios*, ed. María Dolores Elizalde and Josep M. Delgado (Bellaterra, Spain: Edicions Bellaterra, 2011), 209–250; and “Observing the Imperial Transition: British Naval Reports on the Philippines, 1898–1901”, *Diplomatic History* 40, no. 2 (2016): 219–243; Jeanne Moisand and Teresa Segura-García, “Marketing global y políticas imperiales de género: Las marquillas de tabaco entre La Habana y el mundo, 1860–1870”, in *El imperio en casa: Género, raza y nación en la España contemporánea*, ed. Xavier Andreu-Miralles (Madrid: Sílex, 2023), 67–94; and Ander Permanyer-Ugartemendia, “Opium after the Manila Galleon: The Spanish Involvement in the Opium Economy in East Asia (1815–1830)”, *Investigaciones de Historia Económica* 10 (2014), 155–64.

¹¹ Enric Donate Sánchez, “La etapa desconocida en la ruta del Índico: Comercio español en la India británica a inicios del siglo XX”, in *La investigación sobre Asia Pacífico en España*, ed. Pedro San Ginés Aguilar (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2006), 309–322; and Maria Framke, “Political Humanitarianism in the 1930s: Indian Aid for Republican Spain”, *European Review of History* 23, no. 1–2 (2016): 63–81.

¹² Junyent, *Roda el món i torna al Born*, 5–10; Carolina Plou Anadón, “La India: Turismo, experiencia personal e imagen en la obra *Roda el món i torna al Born*, de Oleguer Junyent”, *Indialogs* 3 (2016): 151–167.

¹³ Beltrán Catalán, “Oleguer Junyent i Sans, pintor-escenógrafo”, 387.

that they saw the places they visited with a political gaze, often opining about colonialism.¹⁴ Recolons and Junyent's gaze as tourists is inextricable from the European imperialism that enabled their movement across the world. By reading the written and visual sources produced around the tour "beyond the edge of the page", the article reveals how the two men engaged with a world of colonizers and colonized. It does so by exploring the intimate encounters of Oleguer Junyent and his travel companion with the bodies they came into contact with in colonial India—a multiplicity of bodies in terms of gender, race, and class. There has been work on the bodies of British men in India, and work on the professional activities of non-British European men in India. Work on the bodies of non-British European elites in the subcontinent, however, constitutes an unexplored area. Because they were neither colonizer nor colonized, this area of enquiry can complicate our picture of the body in colonial India and colonial Asia, by going beyond some of its binaries.

A Stage Designer and an Industrial Heir Go on a World Tour

Oleguer Junyent (1876–1956) was born in Barcelona's El Born neighborhood in a family of craftspeople and artists. He studied at the Escola de la Llotja, Barcelona's art school, from 1889 to 1895. He also trained as a stage designer, rising through the ranks in the workshops of Barcelona's leading stage designers.¹⁵ From 1899 he spent some years in Paris and traveled through Italy and Germany, again drawing copiously.¹⁶ In 1901, he began collaborating with the Gran Teatre del Liceu. With his innovative themes and techniques, Junyent soon became one of the opera house's leading stage designers—particularly for the Wagner operas that the Liceu audience loved so much.¹⁷ He was intensely well-connected with Barcelona's industrial and political elites, who patronized him as a decorator for their grand residences.¹⁸ From at least 1902 he was a close friend of the influential Catalan politician Francesc Cambó—and was equally close to the ideology of Cambó's party, the Lliga Regionalista de Catalunya ("Regionalist League of Catalonia"). The main party in Catalonia at the time, it was a conservative, monarchic and Catalanist organization.¹⁹ This brief sketch of Junyent and the Barcelona he inhabited would not be complete without mentioning a significant trend in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Catalan art, shared with

¹⁴ Rosa Cerarols Ramírez, "L'imaginari colonial espanyol del Marroc: Geografia, gènere i literatura de viatges (1859–1936)" (PhD diss., Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2008), 198–228.

¹⁵ Beltrán Catalán, "Oleguer Junyent i Sans, pintor-escenògrafo", 112–125.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 135–182.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 197–230.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 380.

¹⁹ Junyent, *Roda el món i torna al Born*, 8.

artistic movements in other parts of Europe: the taste for the exotic and the “Orient.” With the glut of operas and plays set in “the Orient” in the previous half a century, it made sense for a stage designer to visit territories such as Egypt, India, Ceylon and Japan—the lands, respectively, of Verdi’s *Aida* (1872), Delibes’ *Lakmé* (1883), Bizet’s *Les pêcheurs de perles* (1863), and Puccini’s *Madama Butterfly* (1904).

Junyent’s travel partner had no such artistic ambitions. He was, however, instrumental in facilitating the trip.²⁰ Marià Recolons was the eldest son of one of the richest couples of the Catalan bourgeoisie: Concepció Regordosa and Tomàs Recolons, both members of textile magnate families.²¹ It was this wealth that financed the trip for both travelers. All hotel bills were issued to Recolons, although a few added Junyent’s name after his.²² Junyent traveled with the financial means and the reference letters of the young man’s family, which were above what he would have been able to procure by himself even as an artist patronized by the Barcelona upper class. In exchange, Recolons’ parents expected Junyent to chaperone Marià and serve as a good influence—for instance, by prompting him to write letters back home if he failed in his filial duty to do so (Junyent was not very successful on this particular front, judging by Concepció’s complaints of lack of contact from her son).²³ There is one last important way in which Recolons was central to the trip: he was fluent in English, a language Junyent did not speak. As Junyent utterly depended on his translations, much of what he learnt about the places they visited was filtered through Recolons, in ways we unfortunately cannot reconstruct from the sources.²⁴ As for Recolons’ purpose in undertaking the tour, Utrillo argued that it was the same as all young men who travel: “to return made into men.”²⁵ A photographic portrait from 1909 reveals a self-assured young man with slicked-back dark hair and a small, neat moustache.²⁶ Whenever he appears with his travel companion in photographs and drawings, the physical contrast with Junyent—balding, shorter, with more angular features and a longer, wispiest moustache—is striking. These are, in short, our two travelers.

²⁰ Clara Beltrán Catalán and María Ángeles López Piqueras, “Maria Regordosa i Oleguer Junyent: Amistat i passió col·leccionista”, in *Mercat de l’art, col·leccionisme i museus, 2018*, ed. Bonaventura Bassegoda i Hugas and Ignasi Domènech Vives (Bellaterra, Spain: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2019), 107–154 (115).

²¹ Beltrán Catalán, “Oleguer Junyent i Sans, pintor-escenógrafo”, 375.

²² Armengol-Junyent Archive.

²³ Beltrán Catalán, “Oleguer Junyent i Sans, pintor-escenógrafo”, 405–407.

²⁴ Junyent, *Roda el món i torna al Born*, 20.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁶ Marià Recolons, “Alrededor del mundo”, *Mercurio: Revista comercial ibero-americana*, 89 (1 April 1909): 1883–86 (1895).

In some ways, Recolons and Junyent's tour was far from unique. It was part of a wider upper-class trend across Europe: the practice of international tourism. Across the nineteenth century, the progressive development of railways and steamships—and, from 1869, the opening of the Suez Canal—facilitated travel across long distances.²⁷ As the tourism industry emerged, so did travel agencies, travel guides and luxury hotels. The late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century European globetrotters that populated these spaces were financially elite, but not aristocratic, and saw global travel as a way to socially distinguish themselves.²⁸ They were joined by members of Barcelona's bourgeoisie, which in participating in global tourism invested in the cultural values of other European elites.²⁹ Catalan tourists mostly stayed close to home, however, generally traveling to Morocco or Egypt.³⁰ World tours including India were extremely rare. From the second half of the nineteenth century until 1908, the only other salient tourist from Spain whose world tour took him to India is Romà Batlló i Sunyol, who visited the subcontinent around 1900.³¹ Like Recolons, he was the son of a Barcelona textile magnate. In 1908 Barcelona, a world tour such as Recolons and Junyent's was an extraordinary marker of wealth, taste, and European-oriented modernity.

Recolons and Junyent's world tour was facilitated by the British firm Thomas Cook & Son, the world's most important travel agency at the time. Far from being "capricious",³² their itinerary largely adhered to the routes indicated by the travel

²⁷ Amy Miller, *The Globetrotter: Victorian Excursions in India, China and Japan* (London: British Library, 2019), 12.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁹ Maria Dolors Garcia Ramón, Antoni Luna, Lluís Riudor, and Perla Zusman, "Roda el món i torna al Born: Geografies imaginàries dels viatgers catalans al Caire (1889–1934)", *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia* 60 (2005): 71–85 (75).

³⁰ For the Ottoman empire, see Rodrigo Lucía Castejón, "María de las Nieves de Braganza y Borbón, apuntes de un viaje por la Mesopotamia Otomana", *Isimu* 20–21 (2018): 127–146; and Pablo Martín Asuero, *Descripción del Egipto otomano según las crónicas de viajeros españoles, hispanoamericanos y otros textos (1806–1924)* (Madrid: Miraguano, 2006), and "Estambul, capital imperial marítima en las descripciones de viajeros hispánicos (1784–1916)", *Tonos digital: Revista de estudios filológicos* 13 (2007). For China, see Qing Ai, *Nostalgia imperial: Crónicas de viajeros españoles por China, 1870–1910* (Madrid: Miraguano, 2019). For Morocco, see Cerarols Ramírez, "L'imaginari colonial espanyol del Marroc"; and Manuela Marín, "Un encuentro colonial: Viajeros españoles en Marruecos (1860–1912)", *Hispania* 56, no. 192 (1996): 93–114.

³¹ Romà Batlló i Sunyol, *De la China al Mar Rojo: Recuerdos de un viaje por el Asia meridional: China, Birmania, India inglesa, Java, Ceilán, Aden, Hawái* (Barcelona: Luis Tasso, n.d.).

³² Carolina Plou Anadón, "Roda el món i torna al Born: Aproximación al viaje y a la obra de Oleguer Junyent", in *III Congreso virtual sobre historia de las vías de comunicación (del 15 al 30 de septiembre de 2015): Comunicaciones*, ed. Enrique Escobedo Molinos, Juan Antonio López Cordero, and Manuel Cabrera Espinosa (Jaén, Spain: Asociación Orden de la Caminería de La Cerradura, 2015), 207–238 (215).

agency as early as 1881.³³ These routes followed the easiest transportation lines, which in turn followed the course of European—and particularly British—influence across much of the world.³⁴ Out of all their destinations, India was the one where they made more stops, staying there for a couple of months. While Junyent may have certainly been interested in exploring India out of artistic interest, the pre-eminence of the subcontinent in the tour is undeniably linked to the fact that from the late nineteenth century Thomas Cook & Son put a lot of effort and resources into the development of Indian tours.³⁵ The Indian leg of Recolons and Junyent's journey was bookended by the subcontinent's two most important urban centers, the port cities of Bombay and Calcutta, as was standard for most tourists. After landing in Bombay from Aden, they took a series of northbound trains: first to Ahmedabad, in the Bombay Presidency of British India; then to the princely states of Jaipur and Alwar, in Rajputana; then to Delhi; then to Rawalpindi and Lahore in the Punjab province of British India; and, finally, to the princely state of Kashmir. From this northernmost point they headed south to Agra. Turning east, they visited the holy city of Banaras and reached Calcutta, the capital of British India, before getting on a steamship bound for Ceylon.³⁶ This was a fairly standard tourist itinerary, with two significant exclusions: on their way from Agra to Banaras they skipped Cawnpore and Lucknow, two important stops for British tourists. Both were sites of imperial remembrance that commemorated British losses in two respective sieges in the Indian Rebellion of 1857—a series of military and civilian uprisings that came close to overthrowing British rule over much of central and northern India.³⁷ It is possible that Cawnpore and Lucknow, with their links to the recent political and military history of the British Empire in India, held little appeal for these two Catalan travelers. After all, they already felt the presence of the British Empire everywhere they went.

³³ Thomas Cook, *Cook's Indian Tours: Programme of Cook's New System of International Travelling Tickets, Embracing Every Point of Interest Between India and Egypt* (London: Thomas Cook and Son, 1881).

³⁴ Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750–1915* (London: Aurum Press, 1997), 272.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 273.

³⁶ Junyent, *Roda el món i torna al Born*.

³⁷ Stephen J. Heathorn, "Angel of Empire: The Cawnpore Memorial Well As a British Site of Imperial Remembrance", *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 8, no. 3 (2007); Nayanjot Lahiri, "Commemorating and Remembering 1857: The Revolt in Delhi and its Afterlife", *World Archaeology* 35, no. 1 (2003): 35–50; Alex Tickell, "Cawnpore, Kipling and Charivari: 1857 and the Politics of Commemoration", *Literature & History* 18, no. 2 (2009): 1–19.

Bodily Encounters from Barcelona to Bombay

In her foundational work, Mary Louise Pratt has argued that colonialism produced “contact zones”: spaces of colonial encounters where subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures intersect. Recolons and Junyent’s presence in colonial India constitutes an unexplored contact zone: that of male elites of non-British origin in the subcontinent. In this contact zone, the two travelers recorded their encounters with Indians of all classes, as well as with various non-Indian elites. In terms of gender, this is a record that is heavily weighted towards men, with a smattering of women. A few upper-class British women appeared on the ship that brought the two travelers to Bombay. Once they reached the Indian subcontinent, the sources produced around the tour only record the presence of one type of women: lower-class Indians with links to the tourism industry, such as two Rajasthani dancers and a Kashmiri boatman’s daughter. Neither the British nor the Indian women are mentioned by name.

Subaltern Bodies

The written and visual sources produced by Junyent are full of the bodies of Indian men employed in the travel and tourism industries. They appear for the first time well before Junyent and Recolons reach the subcontinent. They are the unnamed lascars and servants onboard the *Egypt*, the boat that takes them from Marseille to Port Said. Junyent describes them as both weak and sartorially different—they are “squashed under the whitest of large turbans”.³⁸ Once in India, the body of the servant and the unskilled worker with links to the tourism industry makes constant appearances in the sources produced around the tour. At the restaurant of the Kaiser-i-Hind Hotel, for instance, *punkhawallahs* (manual fan operators) kept them cool and kept flies away as they ate.³⁹ By dining comfortably under the *punkhawallah’s* labor, Junyent and Recolons participated in the bodily and domestic practices of British and Indian elites in the subcontinent.

Recolons and Junyent’s interactions with some of these servants reflected profound power imbalances. The only Indian who has a name in the travelogue’s illustrations is Mahomed, “our servant... interpreter and model, all for one *peseta* a day”.⁴⁰ Junyent boasted of his financial superiority vis-à-vis poorer Indians, who he could recruit for multiple roles for small sums. Recolons and Junyent spent about

³⁸ Junyent, *Roda el món i torna al Born*, 15–17.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 79.

a month in Kashmir. About half of it was devoted to a trip to Mount Harmukh—an ambitious trek enabled by the labor of forty Indian porters carrying beds, blankets, luggage, water, and alcoholic drinks. Junyent noted that these forty Indian porters had been commandeered “by the medieval authority of our friends from Srinagar” (more on those friends later) and that they were mistreated by their four handlers.⁴¹ Violence and coercion were also present in their interactions with Indians who unwillingly found themselves roped into supporting their Kashmiri adventure. Passing through the villages to find provisions, the party had to resort to “forceful seizure” from the locals to procure chickens, eggs and beans. Junyent: “Those people did not want to have anything to do with Europeans and only comply through the ‘persuasion’ of violence”.⁴² It was precisely these Indians, the servants, the poor and the working-class, that he would take back to Barcelona to present them to a metropolitan audience. They constitute the bulk of Indians who are presented in the illustrations of Junyent’s travelogue. This was a demonstration of class privilege, exercised in the context of tourism, over the colonized subjects of another empire. Elite individuals and their worlds, by contrast, were rarely represented. Junyent occasionally captured them on the ground, in quick sketches such as the one representing a princely wedding procession in Jaipur. These pieces, however, were not turned into polished artworks to be presented to metropolitan audiences.

Not all the subaltern bodies who appeared in the sources were servants. In India, Junyent registered his interactions with local crowds in the public open spaces of cities such as Bombay, Jaipur, and Banaras. In the streets of Jaipur, *Recolons* and Junyent stood out—Junyent imagined that the locals’ stares were caused by their “admiration at our tanned skin” and speculated that they noticed “that affinity with them as southern people”.⁴³ The fabrication of kinship through skin color, however, was undermined by the production of bodily difference, with non-elite Indian bodies more often being presented as underdeveloped or diseased.

The making of physical and sartorial otherness reached its zenith in Junyent’s account of Banaras. In the holy city’s *ghats*—the steps that lead down to the Ganges, used for bathing and cremations—he recounted an experience of utter repugnance at the sight of Indian bodies of all types: the men bathing on the river in various stages of undress; the women bathing in thin shawls that revealed the contours of their bodies; the sick and elderly pilgrims flocking to the city to die; the dead and partially cremated bodies. Metropolitan distaste at the encounter with naked or semi-naked colonized bodies has been noted in other European travel writing to

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 79.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 61.

India.⁴⁴ As Philippa Levine has established, it acquired a hierarchical significance: nakedness came to define primitiveness and savagery.⁴⁵ In Junyent's case, it affected his own body. As he attempted to paint the temples by a *ghat*, his own body failed him. He became ill with a fever—"perhaps out of revulsion", he speculated.⁴⁶ For most of their time in India, Junyent and Recolons sought refuge in exclusive spaces away from the crowds—spaces populated by other elite men.

Elite Male Sociability

Elite male sociability was an important aspect of Recolons and Junyent's bodily encounters in India. This section discussed it by first exploring their contacts with British men, to then move on to Indian men and non-British European men.

Meetings with elite British men happened in enclosed, exclusive spaces, far away from the open spaces populated by the Indian masses: the steamship, the train car, the restaurant, the club, and the hotel. On the steamships across their tour, they participated in the entertainment and games organized by British passengers. Junyent expressed his admiration for the British men he encountered in India. After leaving Bombay, Junyent recounted: "We spend the day on the train, with the pleasant company of metropolitan officers dressed like fairy-tale heroes". He described them with adjectives such as impeccable, shiny, strong, clean, wealthy, and happy.⁴⁷ This positive portrayal of the masculinity of rival colonizers stands in stark contrast with earlier depictions of British masculinity from the Spanish empire, where British men are derided as physically weak, ineffectual conquerors unable to master the colonial environment.⁴⁸

The bodily practices of the trip were in line with those of elite British men in India. They spent much of their time in clubs, a vital institution for male travelers in India.⁴⁹ They drank lemonade and soda on an almost daily basis.⁵⁰ They also adopted the sartorial style of British colonialists: a rare picture of Marià Recolons walking through Ajmer shows him wearing the *sola topi* worn by colonial officials

⁴⁴ Antoinette Burton, "Fearful Bodies into Disciplined Subjects: Pleasure, Romance, and the Family Drama of Colonial Reform in Mary Carpenter's Six Months in India", *Signs* 20, no. 3 (1995): 545–574.

⁴⁵ Philippa Levine, "Naked truths: Bodies, Knowledge, and the Erotics of Colonial Power", *Journal of British Studies* 52, no. 1 (2013): 5–25.

⁴⁶ Junyent, *Roda el món i torna al Born*, 85.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 69.

⁴⁸ Moisand and Segura-Garcia, "Marketing global y políticas imperiales de género", 86–93.

⁴⁹ Miller, *The Globetrotter*, 104–105.

⁵⁰ Armengol-Junyent Archive.

in India.⁵¹ Junyent himself described these hats as “a British hallmark”.⁵² But they did not quite blend in. After visiting Mount Abu, at the club of the Rajputana Hotel they aroused the curiosity of Englishmen and other visiting Northern Europeans. Junyent argued that this curiosity was due to their “ultra-southern nationality” which, he imagined, imbued them with “exoticism” in the eyes of the British men they encountered.⁵³ At the same time, the fact that the two Catalans’ skin was darker than that of most white Britons may have also cast a cloud of racial suspicion around them—that of being of mixed Indian and European ancestry.⁵⁴

Despite the admiration Junyent professed for these British men, the two Catalans’ most significant meetings—from an instrumental as well as an emotional point of view—were not with British but with Indian men. Crucially, these significant meetings with elite Indian men happened *exclusively* in princely spaces: Jaipur and Kashmir. One evening while they were having supper in Jaipur, a hotel employee introduced them to a group of local notables, “educated people, although dressed in a half-oriental fashion”.⁵⁵ The only person there who did not speak English was Junyent. One of the Indian men, however, had studied in Paris and spoke French. He became “the first friend of another race” Junyent had found since their departure from Barcelona.⁵⁶ The next day, with this group of friends they visited the palace of the Maharaja of Jaipur, the Jantar Mantar astronomical complex, and the Hawa Mahal.⁵⁷ This would not be the first time that Indian elites in a princely state would enable their travel or forge an emotional link with them.

From Rajasthan they visited the princely state of Kashmir.⁵⁸ On their way to Srinagar they met one L. N. Sharma.⁵⁹ Junyent described him as a “Europeanised” local who had returned from London, where he had studied Law with a scholarship provided by the Maharaja of Kashmir. L. N. Sharma introduced them to his brother, who was employed by the Maharaja as the state’s director of Agriculture. The Sharma brothers too were instrumental: they found accommodation for Recolons and Junyent, organized visits and excursions for them, and located a boathouse for them to hire.⁶⁰ They also opened doors to spaces they would not have been able to

⁵¹ Armengol-Junyent Archive; Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona.

⁵² Junyent, *Roda el món i torna al Born*, 15.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁵⁴ I would like to thank Kate Imy and Erica Wald for this excellent point.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁵⁸ Miller, *The Globetrotter*, 97.

⁵⁹ Armengol-Junyent Archive.

⁶⁰ Junyent, *Roda el món i torna al Born*, 73.

visit otherwise, such as a garden owned by the Maharaja of Kashmir.⁶¹ While the tour was facilitated by Cook, on the ground they gained access to exclusive spaces through their Indian contacts.

The two Catalan tourists saw the Sharmas as having an extraordinary influence, due to their foreign education and their links with the Maharaja. But also because of their links with other white men.⁶² It was the Sharma brothers who introduced them to Frederic Madrazo, another Catalan stage designer who happened to be visiting Kashmir at the same time. The Sharmas also introduced them to Ralph C. Whitenack, an American employed in another princely state—the Maharaja of Baroda had hired him to be the director of the Bank of Baroda.⁶³ With the Sharmas, Madrazo and Whitenack, plus a couple of ministers of the state of Kashmir, they went on the two-week trek through Kashmir I mentioned earlier.⁶⁴ Again, the trip was arranged by the Sharmas, “our friends from Srinagar”. During the trek they developed a great friendship, as Junyent saw it, with the group, but particularly with the Sharmas. The princely states thus emerged as spaces of elite male sociability that linked Catalan artists and industrialists, an American citizen employed in a princely state, and a small group of Indian men with princely connections. These upper-class homosocial circles reveal a gendered dimension of travel—part of the construction of masculinity through which Junyent and Recolons fashioned masculine selves abroad. These masculine selves were aligned with elite British masculinity in India, yet they found emotional connections with Indian and other white, but not British, men.

Conclusion

While some disparate projects have examined the circulation of people and ideas between the Spanish and British empires in the modern period, this remains an understudied field—largely because the historiographical traditions of these two empires have not always been in dialogue with each other. Jorge Luengo and Pol Dalmau have argued for the need to bring Spain into the fold of global history, to demonstrate its embeddedness in a wide set of global connections.⁶⁵ If this historiographical project is to be advanced, it requires specificity and texture: some of these

⁶¹ Ibid., 75.

⁶² Ibid., 76.

⁶³ Teresa Segura-Garcia, “Baroda, the British Empire and the World, c. 1875–1939” (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 2015), 117.

⁶⁴ Junyent, *Roda el món i torna al Born*, 76.

⁶⁵ Luengo and Dalmau, “Writing Spanish History in the Global Age”, 444.

global connections were simply denser and more lasting than others. Microhistory emerges as a tool to reveal these textures. Even seemingly “minor” linkages such as Recolons and Junyent’s, however, can shed light on how imperial masculinities were connected with each other and with colonized masculinities.

The spaces of the emerging global tourism of the time—the restaurant, the hotel, the club, the Kashmiri houseboat—Recolons and Junyent interacted with British administrators and officers, but also with Indian men, both elite and subaltern, and white men from other countries. While both travelers enthusiastically immersed themselves into the bodily practices of British men in the subcontinent, it was Indian men who were at the center of their most lasting and intimate encounters. This chapter argues that metropolitan Spanish masculinity was fleetingly transformed in this contact zone, by embracing the trappings of British imperialism yet forging connections with the colonized elite. In this way, it hopes to make a contribution to our growing understanding of the contact zone of European and Indian masculinities.

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