The Inter-Nation:
How International Connections Shaped Catalan Nationhood, 1880-1920

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Abstract

This thesis examines the shifting debates on Catalan nationhood in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Employing a transnational approach, this thesis explores the complex role of international contacts in the making of narratives of Catalan nationhood between 1880 and 1920. It builds on and extends historiography which has explored the connection of internationalism and nationalism. In doing so, it contributes to broader debates on collective identities, particularly in peripheral regions and small nations.

By drawing on extensive archival research from newspaper articles, private correspondence, pamphlets, conference proceedings and unedited manuscripts, this thesis highlights four narratives of how internationalism and nationalism reinforced each other in debates of Catalan nationhood between 1880 and 1920: (i) Nationalism as a trend, (ii) Alliance of the oppressed, (iii) Universal nationhood and (iv) Moral geography. It argues that these narratives were central in discussions of nationhood in Catalonia in the late nineteenth and twentieth century.

International cultural and political connections with scholars, artists and urban planners merged in debates over the form of Catalan nationhood. Catalan nationalists sometimes acted as mediators between the different foreign perceptions of Spain and sometimes as catalysts, sharpening the distinctions made between Europe and Spain in debates over the Spanish nation-state and its empire. Examining the international contacts of Catalan nationalists in the late nineteenth and twentieth century helps to highlight the reciprocal dynamic between local, regional, national and international collective identities.

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Extended Abstract

This thesis demonstrates how identity-making and the construction of Catalan nationhood between 1880 and 1920 was a transnational process. Situated in the context of studies of the development of regionalism and sub-state nationalism, and drawing on a myriad of sources, this thesis highlights the contributions of international connections to debates on Catalan nationhood. Foreign scholars, geopolitical events, performances abroad and artistic trends influenced and shaped definitions of Catalan nationhood, drawing new social and cultural boundaries between Europe, Spain and Catalonia.

Furthermore, the thesis reveals how through performances abroad, letters to foreign nationalists and changes to the façade and structure of Barcelona, Catalan nationhood was presented as exceptionally outward and forward-looking. In the absence of a common and clearly defined political project for either federalisation, increased autonomy or independence from Spain, as well as debates about 'cultural authenticity' and the dominance of historicist narratives, this thesis shows how Catalan nationalists pushed for four inter-national narratives of nationhood: (i) Nationalism as a trend, (ii) Alliance of the oppressed, (iii) Universal nationhood and (iv) Moral geography.

The first chapter highlights how press coverage of European nationalist movements and letters of solidarity sent to nationalists in Crete, Finland and other countries had significant effects on Catalan nationalism. Much more than indicating a 'mirror' or 'demonstration effect', according to which foreign nationalist

movements were useful models in providing guidance, this chapter argues that these exchanges formed a sense of an inter-national alliance of oppressed people who stood in solidarity with each other. Such an alliance was not the product of profound networks between nationalists but remained an imagined community. This imagined alliance of the resisting was rhetorically juxtaposed with established and forceful states. Despite also being discussed as possible sources of inspiration, letters to and press coverage of foreign national movements had substantial internal effects, pushing the limits of political responsibilities of the regions and contributed to discussions about the rights of the centre and the regions. In the name of a humanist cause, the letters of solidarity attracted larger groups to demonstrations of Catalan nationalists. They also radicalised the language and symbols of Catalan patriotic art.

The second chapter examines two artistic strands within the *modernisme* movement and their contributions to debates of nationhood. It highlights the importance of cultural diplomacy as a mechanism to counter images and narratives about Spanish and Catalan national identity but also the agency of foreign scholars in these definitions. The organiser of the performances of the choral society Orfeó Català in London and Paris in 1914 presented Catalan music as an alternative model of modern music which fused religious elements and folkloric songs with modern international music. The journalists and playwrights around the literary journal *L'Avenç* instead claimed that Catalonia's position at the edge of the Spanish territory and the region's smallness created a particular tendency to incorporate foreign dramatic works and ideas into its cultural landscape. A plurality of dramatic styles and ideas allegedly characterised this Catalan international exceptionalism. Catalan *modernisme* thus became both a category to defend Spaniards against pan-

European narratives of Spanish backwardness, as well as an approach to counter Castilian influences in the arts, contributing to the same stereotypical image of Spain.

The third chapter explores attempts to define Catalan folklore between ethno-historicist and civic universalist narratives, making use of previously unused sources of teacher and folklorist Rossend Serra i Pagès. It furthers recent works on folklorists and their international, national and regional allegiances. A focus on a region like Catalonia and the transnational connections of folklorists shows the process of the definition of Catalan culture as a complicated, multi-directional process in which both Catalans and international scholars participated. The promotion of Catalan folklore and culture was not only a process confined to the region's elites but also the work of local and international initiatives. Even though folklorists were supposed to be responsible for defining cultural difference or 'cultural authenticity', Serra y Pagès was also committed to connecting ideas of *Volksgeist* with the *zeitgeist*. His ideas that societal improvements could be achieved through nationalisation reflected the reformist aspirations of many Catalans of the time. Rossend Serra's definitions of Catalan culture and descriptions of national identity navigated international discourses about alleged Spanish and Catalan characteristics as well as continental trends of historical criticism.

The role of the past, religion and symbolism in definitions of Catalan nationhood were not only contested in the debates of politicians, artists and folklorists. They were similarly divisive in debates over the creation of a national day and when naming mundane monuments: urban streets. The final two chapters show that even though urban planners, ordinary citizens, and journalists pushed for international narratives in both areas, introducing elements of technology-infused

universalism and ‘nationalism as a trend’, they were constrained by the local habitus of the citizens of Barcelona. The fourth chapter analyses discussions in newspaper articles about the ideal date for a national day and its symbols. Economic interests and different visions of nationhood dominated the discourse. Catalan liberals and republicans mostly attempted to circumvent past-oriented narratives of Catalan nationhood, trying instead to emphasise nationhood as a ‘civic religion’ as well as Catalonia’s attachment to Europe. Local habits, values and the experiences of familiar festivities, such as the Lady of Mercy celebrations and the religious processions of Corpus Christi, ultimately determined whether the proposed national celebrations became successful. The Marseillaise as a Catalan hymn never left the republican nationalist circles and the Festival of the Tree was only able to connect to the liberty tree tradition, lacking a historicist element connecting to Catalonia.

The fifth chapter analyses the street naming reforms and changes to the structure and image of Barcelona, with an emphasis on reforms after the *Eixample* project. It shows how the street naming in the early twentieth century pushed back from the primarily historicist narrative which had driven the previous political street naming projects. Instead, the new names emphasised Catalan natural sites such as geological and geographical places, international representatives of science and technology, and foreign regions and nations. Through the street naming reforms between 1900 and 1920, Barcelona was portrayed as a secular, progressive European metropole closely connected to technological and scientific advances and nations across the world.

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Writing a thesis with a baby was a challenge and would not have been possible without the enormous help of my partner Joachim and my parents. For their last-minute proof-reading, continuous encouragement, and unconditional love, I will forever be grateful. Last, I will also have to thank my wonderful son Pau, who not only brought me so many sleepless nights but with his presence reminded me every day of the important things in life and that this thesis needed to be finished.

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Note on Style

Whenever possible English translations are provided. An exception is made for colloquial expressions and words, as well as poetry where the meaning might be slightly distorted through a translation. Here the original is given with an English translation in the footnotes or in brackets. Modern spelling of Catalan is used throughout, except for direct quotes which are kept in their original. In a bilingual space like Catalonia, a personal choice had to be made between Spanish or Catalan last name spellings. Names of people are given in their Catalan version despite irregularities in its use in the nineteenth and twentieth century. However, in the footnotes and the bibliography, names and spellings are used according to their original sources. One exception is Francisco Pi y Margall who preferred the Castilian version of his name, also when his work became translated into Catalan.

Introduction

> 'We tried "foreignness" as a means to counteract Castilian influences. Thus, we have shown foreign works, which are bearing a new label and informed you about the ideas that concern the nations across the Pyrenees'[1]

In 1893, the editorial board of the literary journal *L'Avenç* published their last edition, explaining in disappointment the end of the publication. Under the title 'See you later' they acknowledged that they had not quite managed to create the journal they had dreamed about: a journal that would be 'Catalan and foreign at the same time' and which would provide guidance in the debates of nationhood. This guidance seemed highly necessary as Catalan nationhood was underdetermined, according to the editors, and the national spirit still needed 'awakening'.[2] To possible critics, they explained that they had envisioned a journal that would encourage Catalan nationhood by providing a platform for modern plays and prose as a source for moral and political inspiration. They argued that they had balanced this foreignness with 'typical' and 'authentic' aspects of the Catalan past.[3]

Furthermore, the editors insisted, such international inspiration and influences had been helpful to Catalans centuries ago, when the Catalans, inheritors of the Franks, thanks to the 'sane influences' of these Germanic people, were able to develop their literature, art, and politics.[4] Thus, their gaze across the Pyrenees should not be seen as an unpatriotic act but as an attempt to encourage Catalan nationhood. The article ended with some observations on the incompatibility of the

[1] Editorial Board, "A reveure!", *L'Avenç* (Barcelona), 15-31.12.1893, pp. 23-24, p. 378.
[2] Ibid., p. 377.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid. For a critical account of ideas of heritage within Catalan nationalism and the rewriting of Catalan history in the 17th century, see Jesús Villanueva López, *Política y discurso histórico en la España del siglo XVII: Las polémicas sobre los orígenes medievales de Cataluña*, Monografías, (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2004) and Albert Balcells, ed., *Història de la historiografia Catalana*, Sèrie jornades científiques 18 (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2004).

Spanish South with the progressive, industrious, free-thinking, and international Catalonia.[5]

This example points to several aspects and processes that will be explored in a more extensive manner throughout this thesis. Even though the editorial board saw their mission of an international but simultaneously Catalan journal as a failure, the evidence of the case studies and protagonists discussed in this thesis suggests that similar attempts for 'internationalisation' continued through various channels and developed into a dominant feature of Catalan nationhood from 1880 to 1920.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Romantic regionalism in Catalonia transformed into Catalan nationalism.[6] From 1880 to 1920, multiple political, social and cultural actors contributed to the discussions about Catalan nationhood. The 'underdetermined character' of nationhood, as contemporaries called it, was countered by a 'true doctrinal anarchy' of what should define Catalan nationhood.[7] This thesis examines the reasons behind this plurality of doctrines and approaches shaping Catalan nationhood, concentrating on changing conceptions of the city, region and nation that resulted from public debates and practices. The thesis argues that the process of the definition of Catalan nationhood ought to be understood by examining international factors and how they interacted with domestic debates. For

[5] Board, "A reveure!.", p.377.
[6] Pere Anguera, "El Catalanisme etlla historiografia Catalana," *Recerques: Història, economia i cultura* 29 (1994): pp. 61–83; Jordi Casassas i Ymbert, *Intel·lectuals, professionals i polítics a la Catalunya contemporània (1850-1920): Estudis sobre les Bases culturals i estratègiques del Catalanisme*, (Sant Cugat del Vallès: A. Romero, 1989); Jordi Casassas i Ymbert, *Entre escil·la i caribdis: El Catalanisme i la Catalunya conservadora de la segona meitat del segle XIX* (Barcelona: Edicions de la Magrana, 1990); Agustí Colomines, *El Catalanisme i l'estat: La lluita parlamentària per l'autonomia (1898-1917)*, Biblioteca "abat oliba", (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1993); Joan Lluís Marfany, ""Catalanismo no es provincialismo": Nacionalisme Espanyol, Catalanitat, i renaixença," *Anuari Verdaguer* 17 (2009): pp. 373 -390.
[7] Joan Garriga i Massó was a Catalan lawyer and member of the nationalist organisation Unió Catalanista. By 'doctrinal anarchy' Garriga i Massó was referring to the competing and often contradictory definition of Catalan nationhood and the political project, see, Joan Garriga i Massó, *Memòries d'un liberal Catalanista (1871-1939)*, Biografies i memòries, (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1987), p. 92.

even though an 'anarchism of ideas' may have existed, an international paradigm emerged as a unifying focal point for a variety of different actors. Whereas in other cases, contacts and confrontations with other states and nationalities reinforced a distinctive national identity and served to display to the outside world the strength and authenticity of one's nationhood, in the Catalan case international symbols and narratives also became appropriated and deeply ingrained in the imagination of Catalan and Spanish nationhood.

The thesis thus analyses how Catalans imagined their nationhood through an inter-national paradigm.[8] Case studies examine why and how internationalism, or 'foreignness' as the editors of the journal *L'Avenç* called it, penetrated debates about Catalan nationhood to such a large extent. The thesis is divided into five thematic chapters, each exploring a different area where inter-nationalism manifested itself in narratives of Catalan nationhood. It examines the mechanisms through which the allegedly opposing forces, nationalism and internationalism, reinforced each other, and highlights four narratives crucial in understanding their interplay. The following four narratives crop up in all the chapters:

1. Nationalism as a trend: Nationalism was perceived both as an inter-national competition and as a timely development.[9] Aligned with the ideas of Enlightenment universalism and the language of Mazzini, who

[8] The term inter-nationalism has been employed by Callahan to analyse the extent of nationalist ideology within the socialist international movement, see Kevin Callahan, "Performing inter-nationalism in Stuttgart in 1907: French and German socialist nationalism and the political culture of an international socialist congress," *International Review of Social History* 45, no. 1 (2000): pp. 51-87. In this thesis the term serves to analyse international narratives within the debates of Catalan nationalists.

[9] One the inter-nationalist competition, see Oliver Zimmer, "Coping with deviance: Swiss nationhood in the long nineteenth century", *Nations and Nationalism* 17, no. 4 (2011); Oliver Zimmer, *A contested nation: History, memory and nationalism in Switzerland, 1761-1891*, Past and present publications, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). For mechanisms of inter-national competition in specific arenas such as World Fairs, see, Eric Storm, *The culture of regionalism: Art, architecture and international exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain, 1890-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

described the inevitable and natural evolution from small communities to statehood, Catalans imagined themselves as being part of an inter-nationalist movement, with successive phases from the individual, national to universal rights.

2. Alliance of the Oppressed: Catalan nationalists employed a rhetoric of belonging to an alliance of small, peripheral and oppressed nations, forming an international community of the 'resisting'.
3. Universal nationhood: Catalan nationhood was often narrated as part of a 'common European heritage'. Some Catalans imagined their nation as having historical and organic roots shared with other (European) nations.
4. Moral Geography: The cross-continental narrative that modernity was to be found in the European North. Most of the chapters show that Catalans imagined their nation following the logic of a dual civilisation theory which divided nations along a moral geography of North and South. Cultural and political models coming from northern countries were more readily adopted.[10]

Thesis Outline

The thesis covers the explosive period from 1880 to 1920 when different forms of nationhood were debated in Catalonia. The chapters are not structured chronologically but instead focus on different areas where discussions of nationhood unfolded. Different protagonists guide each chapter, enabling different perspectives and approaches of inter-nationalist nationalism. Structuring the thesis

[10] Löfgren uses the term 'moral geography' to refer to the desire to rank national projects in the context of the Swedish self-representation with Finns and Russians, see Orvar Löfgren, "Materializing the nation in Sweden and America", *Ethnos* 58, no. 3-4, 1993, pp. 166-168.

in such a way allows for a more panoramic and comparative approach, one that makes it possible to deploy the argument in different thematic fields, on the basis of different types of sources. The first three chapters explore how Catalans imagined their nation through experiences they made abroad and the contacts they formed with other nations. All three chapters demonstrate how Catalan nationalists pushed for an inter-national narrative of Catalan nationhood and how either political parties (Chapter I), cultural institutions (Chapter II) or individuals (Chapter III) drew new boundaries between Europe, Spain, and Catalonia. The last two chapters, which are concerned with forms of everyday nationalism, highlight the limitations of the inter-national paradigm. This will include investigations of the rituals and symbols of the national festivities as well as of the names of the streets of Barcelona. These chapters highlight how the four inter-national narratives intertwined with local, organic and historicist narratives of Catalan nationhood.

The case studies in the first chapter outline how a rhetoric of an alliance between oppressed people profoundly influenced how Catalan nationalists presented their political aspirations. The presence of small, oppressed, non-sovereign nations such as the Irish, the Finns, or the Czechs modified the semantics of nationhood. Whereas Germany, France, and Russia were part of old-fashioned nations, sovereign and unique but essentially imperial, some Catalans saw these new, smaller national movements as the future. Through letters of solidarity, sent between 1886 and 1919 to nationalists across the world, Catalans imagined their nation as part of an international resistance movement. The letters sent to Ireland, Finland, and the Transvaal movement created imagined temporal and spatial bonds with these groups. By drawing on the historiography of nationalism, the chapter emphasises that this was not an unusual practice but a central feature of many

nineteenth and twentieth-century nationalists.[11] In the Catalan case, these letters received little to no response, sometimes even mockery, from other nationalists. Nevertheless, they were still highly influential in penetrating the local, regional and national debates conducted among Spaniards on national pride, historic bonds and political legitimacy.

The second chapter examines how from 1905-1920, Catalan artists reached out to other nations through various activities such as attempts to build their own telegraphic system, performances and concerts abroad as well as attempts to duplicate Catalan festivities in cities across the world. It focuses on cultural institutions such as the visit to London and Paris by the choral society Orfeó Català and theatre critics connected to the literary journal *L'Avenç*. To them, the international arena presented itself as an opportunity. On the one hand, in the more obvious sense the international arena offered a chance to obtain cultural recognition by the most modern centres of the world by supporting a narrative about modernity beyond 'high art' concerts and atonality. On the other hand, theatre critics recontextualised and adapted foreign national figures such as Ibsen for the Catalan narrative of nationhood, creating a mediating image of their nation. As with the letters of support, the foreign responses to these attempts at cultural diplomacy were minimal. This chapter further highlights the emulation and adaption of mostly northern foreign models to counter influences of Castilian art in Catalonia.

[11] Bacchin has stressed the importance of bonds between Italian patriots and the Polish nationalists. These bonds were based on the 'circulation of ideas, practices and patriots', see, Elena Bacchin, "Oppressed nationalities: Italian responses to the Polish uprising of January 1863," *Nations and Nationalism* 23, no. 1 (2017). Gilles Pécout, "The international armed volunteers: Pilgrims of a transnational Risorgimento," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 14, no. 4 (2009). Róisín Healy, *Poland in the Irish nationalist imagination, 1772-1922: Anti-colonialism within Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

The third chapter used the personal archive of folklorists Rossend Serra i Pagès to shed light on the connection between organic, historicist and international elements in the construction of nationhood. It examines how and why members of the middle class in Barcelona adopted European narratives of two geographical zones in Europe when drawing their boundaries of collective self and the 'other'. As a folklorist and scholar with little impact in the Spanish state centre in Madrid, international contacts, visits, and conferences presented an opportunity for him to increase his scholarly reputation. His visits to other countries and exchanges with scholars abroad influenced his policies on women's education, libraries and museums. In his folklore scholarship, Serra i Pagès navigated historical criticism prominent across European countries at the time, as well as his patriotic feelings towards Catalonia and Spain, arguing that Catalan myths were part of a universal body of folklore. However, regions and nations were, according to Serra, also deeply influenced by their geological and geographical conditions which he linked to an ethnically-defined notion of Europe, divided into an 'Anglo-Saxon' North and an undisciplined South.

In the fourth chapter, internationalism still emerges as a strong narrative among the citizens of Barcelona in the debates on a Catalan national festivity. The discussion around when and how to celebrate the national day in Catalonia demonstrate how international references and framing of the debate helped to overcome the divide between very different political positions and conceptions of the future. Thus, the 'festival of the tree' was celebrated as an international event of civility and liberty by Catalan nationalist and Republicans alike, whereas the Marseillaise was championed as the ultimate national hymn of freedom by Catalan republicans. The case study of the 'festival of the tree' also demonstrates the

imagination of a moral geography where international discourses on civility drew new boundaries on where the North should begin. However, as this chapter will demonstrate, the inter-national paradigm had its limitations. Eventually, the Catalan national festivity was organised according to local symbolism. In terms of the visual and procedural logic, the national festivity was building on features found in religious festivities such as the Saints celebrations and Corpus Christi processions which were familiar to the citizens of Barcelona. International symbols and future-oriented visions were constrained by place-based habits and values.

The fifth chapter analyses the street-naming reforms in Barcelona between 1880 and 1920. It demonstrates how international models influenced how Catalans imagined the city of Barcelona. Historiography on toponomy and nationalism has argued that national states tend to commemorate only figures and events within a concrete geographic realm. Generally, they either stay within national borders or commemorate a lost or disputed territory. Commemorations of international figures, events or places are usually only associated with Communist regimes.[12] The changes of street names in Barcelona at the beginning of the twentieth century, however, show that Catalan naming practices followed not only a 'national' principle but also an inter-national paradigm of technology-infused universalism and ideas of an alliance between nations. Streets commemorated not only the provinces of Catalonia but also regions and nations with or without states from within Spain and outside.[13] However, international street names still represented a minority of the street names in Barcelona, and the impact of these naming policies

[12] For a concise recent overview on the scholarship of toponomy, see Brett R. Chloupek, "Public memory and political street names in Košice: Slovakia's multiethnic second city," *Journal of Historical Geography* 64 (2019): pp. 25-30.
[13] On the term 'nations without states' coined by Montserrat Guibernau, and a comparative analysis of such 'nations without states' on a political level, see Montserrat Guibernau, *Nations without States: Political Communities in a Global Age* (Hoboken: Wiley, 2013).

on citizens is difficult to determine. The chapter will thus end by pointing out the strength of local habits and some limitations to the international imagination of Catalan nationhood through toponyms.

Rethinking the conventional historiography on Catalan nationalism, which often portrays Catalan nationalism as a product of inner Spanish conflicts and a consequence of an economically stable Catalonia against a weak and backward Castile, this thesis shows how the debates around Catalan nationhood began as a story about international transfers and inter-national imagination across political fields.[14] Four international narratives developed among different social actors and across time. The conclusion re-examines the reasons why these four inter-national narratives came to fill 'the empty containers of nationalism' in the Catalan case.[15] It argues that it was Catalans division over the political project as well as over the dominance of historical, ethnic and civic narratives which let them turn to malleable inter-national narratives which often were able to provide a bridge between different ideological spectra and people. Another reason for this outward-facing orientation lies in the fact that the region did not seem to fulfil essential criteria such as territory, ethnicity or a history of statehood which typically constituted nations in the discourse of the time. However, similarly, the composite Spanish state had difficulties in fulfilling some of these criteria, leading Catalans to reinvent its image both domestically and internationally.

This peculiar inter-nationalism renders Catalonia such an instructive case to understand the interplay between centripetal and centrifugal forces. First, it allows

[14] For a conventional and insightful account on Catalan nationalism, see, for example, Albert Balcells, *Història del nacionalisme Català: Dels orígens al nostre temps*, Col·lecció textos i documents, (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1993).
[15] E. J. Hobsbawm and David J. Kertzer, "Ethnicity and nationalism in Europe today," *Anthropology Today* 8, no. 1 (1992): p. 4.

a reflection on the conditions under which nationhood is re-constructed, and on how international events modify the conceptual meaning of nationhood. When nationhood gained a new dimension, such as 'resistance', a push for new national narratives can be observed. Second, as the thesis demonstrates, it was not only the intellectual elite which introduced inter-national narratives into the debates. Even though they were the drivers of this process, a variety of actors moved between local, regional and international imaginations of nationhood (Chapters IV and V). Third, the thesis shows how this process is as much triggered by real (Chapters II and III) as by imagined networks (Chapter I). Moreover, it demonstrates how the construction of inter-national nationhood was a multifaceted process, not only linked to liberal internationalism, as often portrayed in the historiography, but also to a civilisational discourse which was built on the same language as that of empire and race. The conclusion will end by pointing to how late nineteenth and twentieth-century debates about Catalan inter-national nationhood continue to have relevance for political discourses today and beyond the Catalan case.

Sources and Methods

The thesis focuses on five areas with an evident impact on identity formation: political demonstrations, cultural activities and news management, folklore, popular festivals and mundane urban monuments. This thesis does not claim to be a full representation of Catalan identity. The 'anarchism of ideas', which allegedly dominated debates of nationhood already points to the difficulty – if not impossibility – of such an endeavour. Instead, the thesis offers a multi-dimensional perspective incorporating a variety of sources that reflect different political orientations and ideas of nationhood. This allows it to highlight how various social

and political groups navigated different, often conflictive identities belonging to the local, regional, national and the international sphere.

The analysis of the debates on Catalan nationhood draws on both primary and secondary sources. The former includes pamphlets, poems, theatre plays, magazines and periodicals, photographs, speeches, records of festivities and public ceremonies as well as private correspondence. The thesis makes extensive use of newspaper sources, some of which have been digitised in recent years, as well as the archives of cultural institutions and individuals. Additional information on the impact of the Catalan manifestations of solidarity and international relations came from foreign newspapers. The personal archive of teacher and folklorist Rossend Serra i Pagès forms the backbone of the third chapter.

Many of the sources stem from the orbit of the most effective Catalan nationalist party of the time, the Lliga Regionalista which won major successes in the elections of the city Council (1905) and the provincial government (1907). However, besides examining sources from individuals and publications close to the Lliga and the conservative Catalan movement such as the politician Enric Prat de la Riba, *La Renaixensa* and *La Veu de Catalunya*, the thesis also tried to reflect the tension between republican and conservative Catalans at the time and used sources from publications and individuals linked to the republican left of Catalan politics such as journalist Josep Roca i Roca, historian and politician Antoni Rovira i Virgili, *El Poble Català,* and *La Esquella de la Torratxa,* particularly in Chapter IV and V. The more Catholic branch of Catalan nationalism around the bishop Josep Torras i Bagès and writer Jaume Collell is not the focus of the thesis but remains somewhat included through their involvement in the Jocs Florals, the newspapers *La Veu de Montserrat*, *La Renaixensa* and *La Veu de Catalunya* and the Unió

Catalanista.[16] Furthermore, the thesis uses sources of protagonists beyond clear party politics but crucial in definitions of Catalan nationhood such as Rossend Serra y Pagès, working closely with cultural institutions linked to the more conservative and believing branch of the moderniste movement and Jaume Brossa, member of the influential periodical *L'Avenç*, and leaning to the anti-clerical and left-leaning moderniste movement which was critical of the conservative realm of the Lliga (Chapter II and III).

The city of Barcelona plays a central role in this analysis. Barcelona is particularly useful here as it allows the thesis to connect different levels of analysis. Barcelona was both the capital city of the region of Catalonia, as well as the second biggest city in Spain. It was home to a powerful middle class and an increasingly politicised working class. Historically, Barcelona's port had been closely connected to other European Mediterranean cities, and its upper class has engaged and supported the Spanish Empire. In the nineteenth century, Barcelona also became an important centre of avant-garde architecture and city planning. These various experiences also generated different loyalties and collective identities. In Barcelona, these different stories can be told as one.

Most sources pertain either to intellectuals, represented by or entangled with the artists of the *modernisme* movement or to the economic elite in Barcelona. These groups were naturally more entwined with international scholars, people in business and foreign artists.[17] Wherever possible the chapters try to use sources

[16] An account of their Catholic international connections would be fascinating in itself. See for references of Collell's visits to Rome, Joan Bonet i Baltà, *L'Església catalana de la Il·lustració e la Renaixença*, (Montserrat: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat 1984), pp. 160-163.
[17] Norbert Elias seeks to explain the transition from the solidarity between the upper classes to a feeling of belonging to a nation, Norbert Elias, *The Germans: Power struggles and the development of habitus in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries* (Cambridge, New York: Polity, Columbia University Press, 1996). In the nineteenth century, a 'we-feeling' beyond national borders was, of course, not restricted to the upper classes of Europe but found in the international solidarity among the working class as well.

creatively to point to other social groups, as in Chapter IV and to consider sources from smaller towns in Catalonia such as Sabadell, Girona, or Vendrell which, according to historiography, have been less involved in Catalan political nationalism. However, as the aim is not to give a full picture of the debates of Catalan nationhood and how nationhood was imagined across all social groups and localities, the imbalance of sources from Catalonia's biggest city and its local elite does not pose a problem for the analysis. Instead, the thesis offers an insight into how international contacts and foreign ideas influenced these individuals and groups, in imagining Catalan and Spanish nationhood, and in negotiating place-bound definitions within international narratives. Furthermore, the focus of the analysis lies on the narratives of nationhood, not the degree of mobilisation for Catalan political nationalism.

The thesis suggests a way of overcoming the 'methodological nationalism' dominating the majority of studies of nationalism by shifting the focus of attention to transnational influences in the making of narratives of nationhood.[18] The thesis uses methods pertaining to transnational history, including comparative elements and highlighting entanglements. It aims to analyse 'forces that have cut across national boundaries' and how these influenced imaginations of nationhood.[19] It

[18] In 2002, Glick and Wimmer criticised primarily the social sciences for their 'methodological nationalism', referring to a practice of some scholars in taking nation-states for granted and treating nation-states as sealed containers. Such practice would ignore important factors such as migrant flows, argued the authors. See, Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, "Methodological nationalism and beyond: Nation–state building, migration and the social sciences," *Global Networks* 2, no. 4 (2002): pp. 301-334. Chernilo has however argued that this should not lead to less but rather more attention to the nation-state, its key features and the development of national identities, see Daniel Chernilo, "The critique of methodological nationalism: Theory and history," *Thesis Eleven* 106, no. 1 (2011): p. 112. For a critique within historiography, see Eric Storm, "A new dawn in nationalism studies? Some fresh incentives to overcome historiographical nationalism," *European History Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (Jan 2018): pp. 113-129.

[19] Akira Iriye, "Transnational History," *Contemporary European History* 13 (2004): p. 213.

aims to shed light on the international traffic of ideas, the systems of symbols and transnational contacts as mechanisms of identity formation.

Molino and Cabo Villaverde have shown how Spanish historiography is dominated by an 'intense methodological and geographical localism' that make transnational approaches quite rare.[20] Methodological nationalism in also widely present in the terminology of Spanish and Catalan historiography which emphasise its exceptionalism despite apparent transnational influences.[21] Even though of late nationalism has been studied on different geographical scales, often departing from the traditional emphasis on the nation-state, this thesis connects to scholarship which emphasises the ways in which international events and trends and sub-state nationalism are entangled and interconnected.[22] Comparative analyses between regionalist movements have, for some time, triggered historians' and political scientists' interest.[23] Transnational approaches to the study of nationalist

[20] Fernando Molino and Miguel Cabo Villaverde, "An inconvenient nation: Nation-building and national identity in modern Spain: The historiographical debate," in *Nationhood from below*, ed. Maarten van Ginderachter and Marnix Beyen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 47-72, here: p.67.

[21] Examples of such terminology are manifold and include amongst other: *Noucentisme, Rregeneracionisme, Generación 98* and others. Even the term *Catalanisme*, used both by contemporaries and historians to describe values and ideas of Catalan regionalism and nationalism, suggests a unanimous, homogenous and organically evolved ideology.

[22] Langewiesche offers a general comparative analysis, Dieter Langewiesche, "Nationalismus - ein generalisierender Vergleich," in *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien*, ed. Gunilla-Friederike Budde et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), pp. 175–189. For a recent overview of the different geographical scales of analysis, see Eric Storm, "The spatial turn and the history of nationalism: Nationalism between regionalism and transnational approaches," in *Writing the history of nationalism*, ed. Stefan Berger and Eric Storm (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), pp. 215-239. Storm also points out how much of the regionalist scholarship argues that nationalism is a plural ensemble of diverse regions, see, amongst others, Xosé-Manoel Núñez Seixas, "The region as essence of the fatherland: Regionalist variants of Spanish nationalism (1840–1936)", *European History Quarterly* 31, no. 4 (2001): pp. 483-518.

[23] Comparative historical works which included Catalonia in their analysis are, for example, J. H. Elliott, *Scots and Catalans: Union and disunion* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2018); Michael Keating, "Do the workers really have no country? Peripheral nationalism and socialism in the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Spain," in *The social origins of nationalist movements*, ed. John Coakley, Sage Modern Politics Series (London: SAGE, 1992), pp. 62–80. Keating has also examined how regionalist policies in the post-war era influenced inter-regionalist competition, building a 'Europe of regions', Michael Keating, *The new regionalism in Western Europe: Territorial restructuring and political change* (Cheltenham, UK; Northampton, Mass.: E. Elgar, 1998). See also the classical work of Miroslav Hroch, *Social preconditions of national*

movements have focused on the role of networks of liberal intellectuals, international scholars and their ideas on political activists.[24] Parry explores how liberalism as an international trend interconnected with domestic politics in England, while Sluga, shows how international ideas such as the emancipation of women and cooperation of states were entangled with nationalist aspirations.[25] Studies have emphasised transborder influences on the process of nation-building such as the role of migrant communities and tourists.[26] There is, for example a large body of literature on Irish migrant communities in several countries, their

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revival in Europe: A comparative analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European nations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[24] In particularly Leerssen contributed to the role of networks in Romantic Nationalism, Joseph Th Leerssen, ed., *Encyclopedia of romantic nationalism in Europe*, 2 vol., (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018) and Joep Leerssen, "Nationalism and the cultivation of culture", *Nations and Nationalism* 12, no. 4 (2006). Scholarship has also examined the role of intellectuals such as Gladstone, Mazzini and Garibaldi in the processes of Italian unification and elsewhere, Keith A. P. Sandiford, "W. E. Gladstone and liberal-nationalist movements," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 13, no. 1 (1981): pp. 27-42; Guy Thomson, "Mazzini and Spain, 1820-72," in *Giuseppe Mazzini and the globalisation of democratic nationalism, 1830-1920*, ed. C. A. Bayly and Eugenio F. Biagini (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 237-274; Guy Thomson, "Garibaldi and the legacy of the revolutions of 1848 in Southern Spain," *European History Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (2001); Stefano Recchia and Nadia Urbinati, eds., *A cosmopolitanism of nations: Giuseppe Mazzini's writings on democracy, nation building, and international relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); Roland Sarti, "Giuseppe Mazzini and Young Europe," in *Giuseppe Mazzini and the globalisation of democratic nationalism, 1830-1920*, ed. C. A. Bayly and Eugenio F. Biagini (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Robert Gerwarth and Lucy Riall, "Fathers of the nation? Bismarck, Garibaldi and the cult of memory in Germany and Italy," *European History Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (2009): pp. 388-413.

[25] J. P. Parry, *The politics of patriotism: English liberalism, national identity and Europe, 1830-1886*, English liberalism, national identity and Europe, 1830-1886, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the age of nationalism*, Pennsylvania studies in human rights, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

[26] Storm has examined the influence of tourists in the construction Spanish national identity and dissemination of certain images, see Eric Storm, "Making Spain more Spanish: The impact of tourism on Spanish national identity," in *Metaphors of Spain: Representations of Spanish national identity in the twentieth century*, ed. Xosé Manuel Núñez Seixas and Javier Luzón (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017). Border studies has had an impact also for Spain. Sahlins work showed how important borders were in the making of French and Spanish Catalans, see, Peter Sahlins, "The nation in the village: State-building and communal struggles in the Catalan borderland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries," *The Journal of Modern History* 60, no. 2 (1988); Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). He suggests that concepts of nationhood (Spanish and French) appeared on the periphery before they were built from the centre. On the relationship of migrants with nationalism, Anderson coined the term 'long distance nationalism' to describe the way in which emigrants became ethnicised and developed strong emotional attachments with their homeland communities facilitated through modern communication technologies, see, Benedict Anderson, *Long-distance nationalism: World capitalism and the rise of identity politics*, Wertheim lecture, (Amsterdam: Centre for Asian Studies Amsterdam, 1992); Emmy Ready, "La renaixença in New/Nueva/Nova York: An exploration of Catalan immigrant print culture" (PhD thesis, New York University, 2016).

relationship with the host country and their contribution to Irish nationalism.[27] Recently, Isabella analysed the prominence of the transnational circulation of ideas and practices in the Risorgimento movement, while Whelehan incorporated a welcome transnational perspective for Ireland.[28] The thesis contributes both to the literature on Catalan nationhood in the Belle Époque as well as to the interplay of national and international ideas and trends. It is unique in transnational perspective and analysis of international narratives for the Catalan case. The thesis expands Catalan historiography which examined 'models of inspiration' on political groups by going beyond the immediate political realm and including sources from diverse protagonists from different political and cultural leanings and topics crucial in the definition of nationhood such as national celebrations, commemoration, folklore and the arts.[29] The thesis thus analyses how comparisons and exchanges with

[27] Niall Whelehan, *The dynamiters: Irish nationalism and political violence in the wider world, 1867-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Patrick Steward and Bryan P. McGovern, *The Fenians: Irish rebellion in the North Atlantic world, 1858-1876*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2013). On Ireland as a new host country for various European nationalists after The Second World War, Daniel Leach, *Fugitive Ireland: European minority nationalists and Irish political asylum, 1937-2008* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2009).

[28] Maurizio Isabella, "Nationality before liberty? Risorgimento political thought in transnational context," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 17, no. 5 (2012): pp. 507-515; Maurizio Isabella, *Risorgimento in exile: Italian émigrés and the liberal international in the Post-Napoleonic era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Niall Whelehan, ed., *Transnational perspectives in modern Irish history: Beyond the island*, Routledge studies in modern history (London: Routledge, 2014).

[29] Most historiography which examines influences on Catalan nationalism focuses on political groups, see brief articles pointing to some 'models of inspiration', see Enric Ucelay da Cal, ""El mirall de Catalunya": Models internacionals en el desenvolupament del nacionalisme i del seperatisme Català, 1875-1923," *Estudios de Historia Social* 28-29 (1984): pp. 213-221; Albert Balcells, "El Catalanisme i els moviments d'emancipació nacional a la resta d'Europa, entre 1885 i 1939," *Catalan Historical Review* 6 (2013): pp. 85-104; Giovanni C. Cattini and Carles Santacana, "International models of Catalan nationalism (1882-1914)," in *Empires and nations from the eighteenth to the twentieth century*, ed. Antonello Biagini and Giovanna Motta (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), pp. 327-336; Joan B Culla i Clarà, "From Budapest to Dublin: By way of Cristiania or some international models used by the movement of Catalan autonomy," *Catalonia Review* 1 (1987): pp. 45-55. Josep Burgaya's thesis '*La Formació del Catalanisme Conservador i els Models "Nacionals" Coetanis'* analyses Catalan reports on foreign national movements, Josep Burgaya, "La formació del Catalanisme conservador i els models "nacionals" coetanis: Premsa Catalanista i moviments nacionalistes contemporanis, 1868-1901" (PhD thesis Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1999).

foreign scholars, the arts and personal contacts were part of the mechanisms of identity formation of Catalan intellectuals from 1880 to 1920.

Timeframe

The period analysed in the thesis spans from the rise of Catalan political nationalism in the late nineteenth century until the establishment of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and the establishment of the League of Nations. However, the majority of the source material presented is from 1890 until the outbreak of the First World War and covers a time of rising internationalism within the labour movement, of tensions between the Catalan republicans and the conservative regionalists around the Lliga Regionalista as well as the first successes of Catalan nationalism and small nationalist movements across the world. Whereas the first three chapters focus on the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the last two chapters also include developments of national festivities and micro-monuments reaching into the early 1920s.

Most historians view the First World War as the turning point not only for Catalan political nationalism, but also for international intellectual connections.[30] Núñez Seixas and others have shown how the First World War led to an increase in new possibilities for political engagement in international platforms such as through

[30] Spain did not participate in the First World War. However, there were Spanish volunteers in the First World War. The number of Catalan volunteers was heavily exaggerated by contemporaries, David Martínez Fiol, *Els "voluntaris Catalans" a la Gran Guerra (1914-1918)*, Biblioteca Serra d'Or, (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1991); Fernando Díaz-Plaja, *Francófilos y Germanófilos: Los Españoles en la Guerra Europea*, Imágenes históricas de hoy, (Barcelona: DOPESA, 1973). On the conflicting identities of Spanish volunteers during WWI, Joan Esculies and David Martínez Fiol, "Spanish or Catalans? Competing identifications among Spaniard volunteers in the French foreign legion during WWI," *First World War Studies* 8, no. 1 (2017): pp. 1-15. More generally on accounts that emphasise the importance of the First World War for Catalan nationalism, see David Martínez Fiol, *El Catalanisme i la Gran Guerra, 1914-1918: Antologia*, Biblioteca dels clàssics del nacionalisme Català, (Barcelona: Edicions de la Magrana, 1988).

the League of Nations and other avenues for increased transnational cooperation.[31] Regionalists, ethnic minorities and public intellectuals all used various international organisations founded after the First World War as an arena to further their political and cultural agenda.[32] The thesis' primary focus on the years prior to the First World War highlights how despite limited political cooperation in those years, Catalan politicians, writers, folklorists and musicians were increasingly imagining Catalan nationhood internationally.

Spanish historiography has often emphasised the events of 1898 for the development of Catalan nationalism in the nineteenth century. In 1898 Spain lost some of her remnants of the Spanish Empire to the United States. This 'disaster of '98' as it is often called led to the loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines and damaged the image of Spain significantly.[33] Historians such as Borja de Riquer and Álvarez Junco have linked the rise of peripheral or regional movements, especially the Catalan and Basque nationalisms, to the alleged inability of the Spanish state to exercise its power over the edges of its territory, its supposed incapability to modernise society and industry, and the loss of credibility and prestige through the 'disaster of '98'.[34] These scholars follow the nineteenth-

[31] For an analysis of Catalan diplomatic efforts in international bodies, see Xosé Manuel Núñez Seixas, *Internacionalitzant el nacionalisme: El Catalanisme polític i la qüestió de les minories nacionals a europa (1914-1936)*, El món de les nacions, (Catarroja; València: Editorial Afers Universitat de València, 2010), pp. 31-113; Joan Esculies and Vytautas Petronis, "Self-proclaimed diplomats: Catalan–Lithuanian cooperation during WWI," *Nationalities Papers* (2015): pp. 1–17.
[32] See, for example, the pan European body *Congress of European Nationalities*, Sabine Bamberger-Stemmann, *Der Europäische Nationalitätenkongress 1925 bis 1938: Nationale Minderheiten zwischen Lobbyistentum und Großmachtinteressen*, Materialien und Studien zur Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung, (Marburg: Herder-Institut, 2000). Scholarship has focused on the First World War and the time after the Franco regime. For transnational cooperation beyond the First World War, see, for example, Ander Delgado, "Building bridges?: The Welsh and Basque nationalist parties during the Spanish Civil War," *International Journal of Regional and Local History* 9, no. 1 (2014): pp. 63–78.
[33] The 'disaster of 98' refers to the loss of the colonies. It is often falsely claimed to be the loss of the last colonies of the Spanish Empire, which overlooks its possessions in Morocco.
[34] Borja de Riquer i Permanyer, "La débil nacionalización Española del siglo XIX," *Historia Social*, no. 20 (1994): pp. 97-114; José Alvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa: La idea de España en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Taurus Historia, 2001); Borja de Riquer, *Regionalistes i Nacionalistes (1898-*

century ‘Sonderweg’ and ‘weak man’ of Europe theory propagated by many Spanish progressives of the ‘generation ‘98’, arguing that Spain was only partially industrialised, had corrupt institutions and was unable to instil a sense of national identity in its citizens.[35] However, the breaking up of composite states in the nineteenth century was not such an automatic and inevitable consequence of the modernisation process, and similar socio-political conditions can be found in different European countries of the time. Storm has shown, for example, that the historiography has overvalued the events of 1898 and how international ideas influenced liberal thought in Spain.[36] Similarly, this thesis argues that nationalism as a trend and a narrative of a moral geography reinforced both ‘official nationalism’ as well as sub-state nationalism in Spain.[37]

Setting the Scene

Inter-national narratives which fused both historicist-‘organic’ and more abstract international elements became prominent in Catalan debates about nationhood between 1880 and 1920. One of the main reasons for this phenomenon was Catalan nationalists’ division over the principles and elements which should and could constitute nationhood. In the contemporary discourse, nations were bound to have a clearly defined territory, have a history of statehood and some sort of ethno-linguistic particularities. Catalonia and Spain both lacked some of these criteria. To the foreign eye, the long-standing historical relationship as well as the history of

1931), Conèixer Catalunya, (Barcelona: Dopesa 2, 1979); Borja de Riquer, *Identitats contemporànies: Catalunya i Espanya*, Referències, (Vic: Eumo Editorial, 2000).

[35] Recent historiography which follows such argumentation of a weak Spanish state has generally examined sources of political opponents such as the Republicans. See Enrique A. Sanabria, *Republicanism and anticlerical nationalism in Spain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

[36] Eric Storm, *La perspectiva del progreso: Pensamiento político en la España del cambio de siglo (1890-1914)* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva. Sociedad Menéndez Pelayo, 2001).

[37] Anderson made the distinction of ‘official nationalism’ and ‘popular linguistic nationalism’, see, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, Revised ed. (London: Verso, 2006), pp. 86-109.

migrations between different regions made Catalonia and Spain appear as one. In the nineteenth century, only a few international scholars acknowledged Catalan as a legitimate separate language. Furthermore, Spain had a rather negative image abroad. Nationhood thus needed to be reinvented at home and internationally. All these factors made it difficult for Catalan nationalists to find a common narrative even more so as they were divided over the possible political outcome of Catalan nationalism (Catalanism). Accounts of political resistance and rebellion against central Spain and Castile served as the main inspiration for historicist narratives among Catalan nationalists in the search for a history of statehood and fixed territory.

Since 1137, the territory which would come to be known as Catalonia had belonged to the Crown of Aragon, a dynastic union between different territories.[38] These territories were joined together in the *Reconquista*, the movement to recover the Iberian territories from Moorish domination.[39] The 'Catalan Corts', a parliamentary and policy-making institution established in 1283, often served nationalists in the nineteenth and twentieth century to highlight Catalonia's history of constitutional independence. Under the Crown of Aragon, Catalonia and Barcelona's port were the driving forces of a significant Mediterranean empire. The Crown of Aragon conquered parts of Sicily, Sardinia, Naples, Malta and Greece. The memories of being the principal port in this prosperous Mediterranean empire also left their mark in the naming of streets, as is explored in Chapter V. The Crown

[38] In 1137, Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer IV, married Petronilla, daughter of the king of Aragon. This dynastic union formed the Crown of Aragon, see Thomas N. Bisson, *The medieval Crown of Aragon: A short history* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 24-25.
[39] For an overview of the history of the Crown of Aragon, see Norman Davies, *Vanished Kingdoms: The history of half-forgotten Europe* (London: Allen Lane, 2011), Ch. 4.

of Aragon and their kings were essential in historicist narratives of Catalan nationhood and in describing a bond with Europe.

However, a marriage between the heirs of the Crown of Aragon and the Crown of Castile in 1469 led to the de-facto unification of Spain. Elliott has stressed how this made Spain into a composite monarchy, where a newly added territory would be able to preserve its identity, customs, laws and institutions.[40] Even though a plural political entity, the composite state soon showed imbalances between the relative political and economic powers of the territories. Castile, as the most central and populous region, came to dominate the other territories.[41] Disparities already present in the fifteenth century were reinforced by an uneven share of the regions' access to the newly acquired transatlantic empire in the sixteenth century. The Spanish transatlantic empire, which had begun through the expeditions of Christopher Columbus, was treated as a Castilian acquisition.[42] The preliminary exclusion of Catalan merchants in the Spanish Empire fostered, according to Elliott, a separate Catalan identity, and a sense of difference from the rest of Spain. They 'felt themselves being gradually and irrevocably elbowed out of the lucrative' businesses of the Spanish Monarchy.[43]

The dissatisfaction with the distribution of wealth and representation manifested itself in social unrests in the following years. Many Catalans feared the

[40] J. H. Elliott, *Spain, Europe & the Wider World, 1500-1800* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2009), Ch. 1 and J. H. Elliott, "A Europe of composite monarchies," *Past and Present* 137, no. 1 (1992): pp. 48-71.
[41] On Spanish population figures, see Table 1 in: Vicente Pérez Moreda; David-Sven Reher, ed., *Demografía histórica en España*, Textos universitarios (Madrid: Ediciones El Arquera, 1988), p. 40.
[42] J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic world: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 120-121.
[43] J. H. Elliott, *The revolt of the Catalans: A study in the decline of Spain (1598-1640)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 13.

dominance of Castile and the possible restrictions of their liberties.[44] Most violently, Catalans revolted between 1640 and 1659 in what is often called the Reapers War. During this conflict, rural Catalonia protested against the Count-Duke Olivares, the chief minister of King Philip IV of Spain, and his misuse of Catalan resources in the ongoing war with France. During Corpus Christi in June 1640, frustrated Catalans brought their revolt to the towns to fight against the government of the Duke of Olivares. The revolt of the Reapers also led Catalans to turn towards the former enemy France and subsequently to briefly proclaim a Catalan republic under French protection in 1641.[45] The proclamation of the Catalan republic in 1641 is considered a turning point in the Spanish war with France and has left its traces in Catalan nationalist memory. The memory of the events of the Reapers War played a significant part in the finding of a national anthem and a national day in the nineteenth and twentieth century. The lyrics of the Catalan hymn 'Els Segadors', written in 1899 by Emili Guanyavents, reference the events of the Reapers War. The war with France ended with the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659. Northern Catalonia was then ceded to France and has been part of the French territory ever since.

Catalan historians of the nineteenth century often referred to the War of the Spanish Succession as the turning point in Spanish-Catalan relations. The year 1714, the moment when Barcelona surrendered, has since been imbued with meaning of the loss of the last political freedoms. King Carlos II had ruled Spain for thirty-five years when the war broke out. He had respected the institution of the

[44] For a recent account on the successful integration of the composite monarchy in those years, see, Alistair Malcolm, *Royal favouritism and the governing elite of the Spanish monarchy, 1640-1665*, Oxford historical monographs, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
[45] For an overview of these events and their aftermath, see, Elliott, *The revolt of the Catalans: A study in the decline of Spain (1598-1640)*, Ch. 14.

Catalan Constitutions, making sure that the events of the Reapers War would not repeat. As King Carlos II had no successor to the throne when he died on 1 November 1700, a war between different throne claimants and their supporters broke out.[46] European powers feared the dominance of France on the European continent and became involved in the subsequent War of Succession.[47] The Austrian Habsburgs supported Archduke Charles, second son of Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I. and King of Hungary, Croatia and Bohemia, whereas France supported the Bourbon claimant to the throne, Philip of Anjou (later called Philip V). Catalan forces joined the Habsburg army in the war. In 1713 the Austrians declared their defeat to the Bourbon forces. However, the army in Barcelona refused to accept the defeat and continued to fight the Bourbon forces. The Bourbon army entered the city of Barcelona after a fourteen-month siege in 1714.[48]

The siege of Barcelona 1714 and the victory of the Bourbon forces in the War of Succession have remained one of the most compelling narratives of Catalan nationalists, in the nineteenth and twentieth century and even today. The *Diada*, one of the possible contenders for the celebration of the Catalan national day, discussed in Chapter IV, commemorates the day of the defeat and surrender to the Bourbon forces on 11 September 1714. King Philip of Anjou then abolished the Catalan Constitution and foral laws in the Decrees of Nova Planta (1716). With the Decree, Castilian became the only official language in Spain. Nevertheless, Catalan

[46] Isabella I of Castile died in 1504 with no male heir. The Crown of Castile had thus been passed to the eldest daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile and eventually to the grandson Charles of Ghent, the future Habsburg Emperor Charles V.
[47] For the international dimension of the conflict, see Joaquim Albareda i Salvadó, *Felipe V y el triunfo del absolutismo: Cataluña en un conflicto Europeo, 1700-1714*, Col·lecció textos i documents, (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Entitat Autònoma del Diari Oficial i de Publicacions, 2002), pp. 69-70. See also, Joaquim Albareda i Salvadó, *La Guerra de Sucesión de España (1700-1714)*, (Barcelona: Crítica editorial, 2010).
[48] On new perspectives on the siege, see Albert Garcia i Espuche, *Una societat assetjada: Barcelona 1713-1714*, Biblioteca universal empúries, (Barcelona: Editorial Empúries, 2014).

continued to be used in official documents, in newspapers and even sometimes in schools. Catalonia had been and remained a bilingual space. To prevent possible destabilisations of political power, the central government built the *Ciutadella*, a military fortress to ensure the political obedience of Catalonia.[49]

In 1778, the trade ban with the Americas ended, leading to new opportunities for Catalan merchants and the industrial sector. Notably, the Catalan textile industry profited immensely from the new colonial markets, mainly in Cuba and the Philippines. In the nineteenth century, Catalonia therefore saw rapid industrialisation mainly around its capital Barcelona, but also in Catalonia's coastal towns, which gained considerable wealth, primarily because of opportunities in the textile market overseas and within Spain. In 1877, only 34.3% of Catalans worked in the agrarian sector, compared to 64.1% of the Spanish population as a whole.[50] Over the nineteenth century, Catalan society also became more stratified as a new industrial bourgeoisie emerged, and both Catalans and Spaniards from other regions became part of the rising working class. Whereas smaller urban centres emerged in Sabadell, Reus and other parts of Catalonia, Barcelona continued to have a significant status as the largest city in the region and the second-largest city in Spain by far.[51] Social inequality between the classes, housing problems, international contacts to revolutionaries abroad and tensions with the central government soon found an outlet in political movements such as anarchism but also in Catalan nationalism.[52]

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[49] See Chapter V for the symbolic significance of the Ciutadella and the process of defortification in the nineteenth and twentieth century.
[50] Perez Moroda quoted after Angel Smith, *The origins of Catalan nationalism, 1770-1898* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) ,p. 50.
[51] Whereas, Barcelona had more than 183.000 inhabitants in 1857, the second largest city in Catalonia, Reus only counted around 28.171 inhabitants, see ibid., p. 51.
[52] Angel Smith, *Anarchism, revolution, and reaction: Catalan labour and the crisis of the Spanish state, 1898-1923*, International Studies in Social History v. 8, (New York: Berghahn, 2007); Teresa Abelló i Güell, *Les relacions internacionals de l'anarquisme Català: 1881-1914*, Llibres a

Catalonia continued to be alienated from the political centre in Madrid. The working class was highly mobilised and organised in unions. Social unrest and left-wing rebellions within Barcelona, where radicals also dismantled parts of the *Ciutadella* fortress, increased the tension with the central government and led to the involvement of the Spanish army, the bombardments of the city of Barcelona in 1842 and the so-called Jamància uprising in 1843.[53] The anarchist bombs targeting the Liceo Opera House in 1893 and the Corpus Christi religious procession in 1896 catapulted Barcelona into the headlines of European newspapers, gaining it the fame of being the 'red city' in Europe. The unrests also increased worries within both the Catalan bourgeoisie and the central government in Spain, prompting incidences of police repression in Barcelona.

Such worries were further fuelled by the incidences of the *Cu-Cut!* in November 1905, when members of the army assaulted and destroyed offices of the satirical newspaper *Cu-Cut!* and a *Veu de Catalunya* after the publication of a humorous vignette ridiculing the military. Even though the attackers were arrested, they received support of the army and the king. Furthermore, it led to the approval of the Jurisdictions Law (Ley de Jurisdicciones) that established that military courts would judge over crimes against the homeland and the army. As a result of these incidences the Solidaritat Catalana was born, a coalition between almost all political forces in Catalonia which however only lasted until 1909.[54]

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l'abast, (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1987); Constance Bantman, *The French anarchists in London, 1880-1914: Exile and transnationalism in the first globalisation*, Studies in labour history, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013). And Angel Smith, *Red Barcelona: Social protest and labour mobilization in the twentieth century* (London: Routledge, 2002).

[53] Smith, *The origins of Catalan nationalism, 1770-1898*, p. 51.

[54] See on the Solidaritat Catalana as a result of the incidences with the newspaper Cu-Cut!, Jordi Casassas i Ymbert, "Efectes sobre el Catalanisme polític dels fets del Cu-Cut!," in *Els fets del Cu-Cut!, cent anys després*, ed. Jordi Casassas i Ymbert, Agustí Colomines, et. al. (Barcelona: Puresa S.A., 2006), p. 68.

The colonial wars fought in Morocco were another source of contention. Social inequality and the violent protests of the working class against forced conscription in the wars in Morocco culminated in the Tragic Week of 1909 with burning of convents, strikes and riots. During confrontations with the army, several hundred people were killed and wounded. The protests led by anarchists, socialists and republicans in Barcelona and other cities of Catalonia targeted the military, clergy, bourgeoisie, state institutions and the monarchy.[55] The Tragic Week led to several convictions, life imprisonments as well as death sentences for 'armed rebellion'.[56]

Against the backdrop of these events and the outbreak of popular linguistic nationalism across Europe, Catalan nationalism began to slowly grow in popularity. It drew inspiration from liberal ideas on the rights of citizens and political representation as well as from ideas of Romanticism and the search for the 'organic essence' of nationhood. Catalonia had its literary revival movement with a focus on vernacular language and traditions in the mid-nineteenth century, which became known as *La Renaixença.*[57] Similar to the *felibrige* movement across the Pyrenees, the *Renaixença* aimed to create a space for Catalan language and literature and celebrated the former political and cultural independence of Catalonia in Medieval times.[58] One of the most important institutions of the *Renaixença* was the Jocs

[55] For an account on the Tragic Week, see Smith, *Red Barcelona: Social protest and labour mobilization in the twentieth century*, pp. 5-9, 38-39 and Ch. 31 and Ch. 32.
[56] For the international solidarity campaign for the executed pedagogue Francesc Ferrer, founder of the Modern School, see Daniel Laqua, "Freethinkers, anarchists and Francisco Ferrer: The making of a transnational solidarity campaign," *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 21, no. 4 (2014).
[57] Josep M. Domingo, "Renaixença: El mot i la idea," *Anuari Verdaguer* 17 (2009): pp. 215–234; John Etherington, "Nationalism, Nation and Territory: Jacint Verdaguer and the Catalan Renaixenca," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33, no. 10 (2010): pp. 1814–1832; Marfany, ""Catalanismo no es provincialismo": Nacionalisme Espanyol, Catalanitat, i renaixença," pp. 373-390; Joan Ramon Resina, "33 - the Catalan renaixença," in *The cambridge history of Spanish literature*, ed. David Thatcher Gies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 470–478.
[58] However, importantly, the félibrige movement did not develop a similar political nationalism.

Florals, the Floral Games. This poetry competition, re-established in 1859, took place in different places across Catalonia. The Floral Games built on the tradition of the earlier poetry competitions of the troubadours in Toulouse.[59] It celebrated Latinity and the brotherhood between the Catalan speaking countries, complicating the territorial aspirations of the nationalists. The *Modernisme* movement at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century was a natural evolution from the solely literary *Renaixença* movement. Particularly, Catalan architecture thrived in the early twentieth century, with architects such as Domenech i Montaner and Puig i Cadafalch transforming the image of Barcelona. The *modernistas* blended trends of *Art Nouveau* present in the fin-de-siècle cultural capitals of Paris and Vienna with a modified Catalan Gothic style.

The goals of Catalan nationalism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were very diverse. Most Catalans and Catalan nationalist political parties supported cultural and financial autonomy from the central government or complete self-government.[60] However, many Catalan nationalists also argued for a type of regionalism within Spain, where Catalonia would act as a modernising force and role model to the rest of Spain.[61] In 1898, Spain lost its colonies in Cuba and the Philippines, seemingly confirming the foreign narrative of a weak and declining state which needed political reordering. In this model, Catalonia as one of the most advanced and prosperous regions would act as the saviour of Spain and take the

[59] Joep Leerssen, "The nation and the city: Urban festivals and cultural mobilisation," *Nations and Nationalism* 21, no. 1 (2015): pp. 2-20.
[60] Pich i Mitjana gives insight into the early developments of Catalan political nationalism in the late nineteenth century, see Josep Pich i Mitjana, "La génesis del Catalanismo político. De los inicios de la Restauración a la crisis del Centre Català," *HISPANIA. Revista Española de Historia* 68, no. 229 (2008): pp. 437-470.
[61] Michael Keating, *Nations against the state: The new politics of nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia, and Scotland* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996); Vicente Cacho Viu, *El nacionalismo Catalán como factor de modernización*, Publicaciones de la residencia de estudiantes, (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1998).

lead in a federalised Spain. Sometimes this vision included Portugal in an Iberian federation and sometimes only the Spanish regions.[62] As this thesis highlights, the significance of nation and the goals of the Catalan nationalists changed over the years, were highly permeable and acquired new connotations and meanings through the interaction with other nationalist movements and international events. However, unlike the Basque nationalists of the late nineteenth century, most Catalan nationalists did not campaign for independence but autonomy.

The 'revolutionary six years' between 1868 and 1874 led to the proclamation of the First Spanish Republic in 1873 and raised the hopes for increased autonomy among many Catalans. It had even led to a short-lived proclamation of a Catalan state within the Spanish Republic in March 1873. These hopes were crushed with the re-establishment of the monarchy under Alfonso XII in 1874. However, the re-establishment of the monarchy increased the political basis for republicanism and federal ideas in Catalonia and all of Spain, bringing more Catalan politicians into the political centre of Madrid. Between 1833 and 1868, only seven out of the several hundred government ministers were Catalan. In 1874, ten Catalans were appointed as ministers even though the number dropped again significantly in the following years.[63] Two of the most influential Catalan federalists were Francesc Pi y Margall and Valentí Almirall.[64] Pi y Margall called for 'unity in variety' and campaigned for a federalised Spain where the central

[62] Again, at other times the vision of a federalised Iberia would also include separate independent states overseas organised in a Spanish Commonwealth Project. For the changing position on Cuba and Pi y Margall's thought on this subject, see the collection of his speeches and articles on this matter, Josep Conangla i Fontanilles, *Cuba y Pí y Margall: Estudio preliminar seguido de un anexo con todos los artículos y discursos de Pí y Margall en pro de la autonomía y luego de la independencia de Cuba* (La Habana: Editorial Lex, 1947).
[63] Smith, *The origins of Catalan nationalism, 1770-1898*, p. 100.
[64] Francesc Pi y Margall (1824-1901) was a politician and theorist of federalism in Spain. He was a proponent of the federal system in the United States and wrote extensively about federal solutions to the 'regional problem in Spain'. He was in exile in Paris from 1866-1869 where he studied Proudhon and translated most of his theoretical work into Spanish in 1868.

government in Madrid would take the lead.[65] Almirall's federalism had a more Catalan nationalist colour. He established the first political newspaper written in Catalan, the *Diari Català* and the first Catalan political association, the *Centre Català*. He envisioned a 'truly liberal' association of states where the 'Catalan state' would form a federation with the other states of the Iberian Peninsula. Spain would become a federal state with a republican Catalan state as an equal partner. They took inspiration from the federalism of the United States, Switzerland, and the Hispano-American Republics.[66]

The first political parties linked to Catalan nationalism soon moved away from Almirall's liberal federalism and the men around his Centre Català.[67] The Lliga Regionalista, founded in 1901 in Barcelona by Prat de la Riba and Francesc Cambó, was the first party successful in elections which wanted to reform the Spanish state by advocating for Catalan autonomy.[68] Ehrlich points out how the Lliga was both a successful Spanish political party and an organisation promoting Catalan nationalism.[69] He highlights how the Lliga Regionalista was not only dominated by conservative members of Barcelona's economic elite such as industrialists and businessmen but also by rural landowners such as the party's founders.[70] In 1914, Catalonia received limited self-government in the form of the Mancomunitat, a project the Lliga had pushed for several years. It was one of its

[65] Francisco Pi y Margall, *Las nacionalidades*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1877), p. 93.
[66] Valentí Almirall i Llozer, *Lo Catalanisme. Motius que'l llegitiman. Fonaments cientifichs y solucions practicas* (Barcelona 1886), pp. 230-237. See for the change in Almirall's nationalist thought Smith, *The origins of Catalan nationalism, 1770-1898*, pp. 153-160.
[67] On this episode, Joaquim Coll i Amargós and Jordi Llorens i Vila, *Els quadres del primer Catalanisme polític, 1882- 1900*, Biblioteca abat oliba, (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2000).
[68] Charles E. Ehrlich and Raymond Carr, *Lliga Regionalista: Lliga Catalana 1901-1936*, Biblioteca Catalana contemporania. Estudis, (Barcelona: Institut Cambó, 2004).
[69] Charles E. Ehrlich, "Per Catalunya i l'Espanya gran: Catalan regionalism on the offensive, 1911-19," *European History Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (1998): pp. 189-191.
[70] Borja de Riquer, *Lliga Regionalista: La burgesia Catalana i el nacionalisme: (1898-1904)*, 1. ed., Cultura Catalana contemporània, (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1977) ,p. 204; Ehrlich and Carr, *Lliga Regionalista: Lliga Catalana 1901-1936*.

major political successes.[71] This institution mostly had administrative functions but also acquired symbolic significance as the first recognition of the territorial unity of Catalonia and its identity since 1714. It further protected the Catalan language and supported the institutionalisation of Catalan associations. Other Catalan nationalists, such as the Republican Nationalist Centre, had a republican left-wing vision for a future Catalonia and did not condone much of the historicist discourses of the conservative *Lliga*. To them, the Crown of Aragon was similarly anachronistic and should not serve as model.[72] Thus, a way to forge a common narrative of Catalan nationhood was through solidarity letters with other nationalist movements, by incorporating socialist and republican ideas in the arts, in national festivities and in the streets of Barcelona as well as through presenting a mediating Catalonia between modernity and romanticism abroad. This thesis investigates the circumstances, implementations and consequences of these strategies.

[71] Ehrlich, "Per Catalunya i l'Espanya gran: Catalan regionalism on the offensive, 1911-19," pp. 195-200.
[72] On left-wing and republican Catalan nationalism, see, Santiago Izquierdo Ballester, "El nacionalisme republicà a Catalunya (1904-1910)," *Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics* 23 (2012): pp. 19–63; Gemma Rubí and Santiago Izquierdo Ballester, "El Centre Nacionalista Republicà (1906-1910) i el Catalanisme d'esquerres," *Cercles. Revista d'història cultural* 11 (2008): pp. 106-122.

I. Imagined Allies: Overcoming Peripherality through Messages of Solidarity

HELÉNICA
De nou, Grecia 's desvetlla,
de nou, torna á brandar
la fulminant espasa
que al Asia soterrá.
Va á deslliurá una filla
dels braços del Sultá,
á la divina Creta
cautiva tant temps fa.
(…)
¡Enrera'l monstre, enrera!
La Grecia triomfará,
als braços de sa Mare
la filla 's llançará.
Per veure la abraçada
la mar s' axecará
y de les neus del Ida
la Creu 'n brotará.
Tota la terra lliure
la Grecia benehirá...
Catalunya, somrientli,
baix, baix sospirará.[73]

The above extract from the poem 'Hellenic' by Josep Franquesa i Gomis[74] was published in the newspaper *La Veu de Catalunya* in 1897 as part of a special edition on the Greek-Turkish War. The front page of the publication dedicated the edition to 'the Christian Greeks' and more generally to Greece, as 'the noble and heroic defender of her disgraced sons.'[75] In the poem, Greece, as the courageous mother, liberated her captive daughter Crete from the 'tyranny of the Sultan.' The poem described how one day the fight of the mother would succeed, and Greece would

[73] 'Again, Greece reveals; Again, it arises; the sudden sword, that will bury Asia. The daughter will be released from the arms of the Sultan; the divine Crete, captivated so much time (…) Move back monster, move back! Greece will triumph! And in the arms of the mother; the daughter will throw herself. To see this embrace; the sea will rise; And from the snows of the Ida; the cross will spring up. All the land free, Greece will bless…And Catalonia, smiling to her, will low and shortly sigh.', see for the full version of the poem, "Helénica", *La Veu de Catalunya* (Barcelona), 14.03.1897, p.89.
[74] Josep Franquesa i Gomis (1855-1930) was a writer and Catalan politician who was president of the *Lliga de Catalunya* and later the *Unió Catalanista*.
[75] La Veu de Catalunya, núm. 11, Barcelona, 14.03.1897.

be able to reunite with the island of Crete. The last lines established a parallel case with the 'sister nation' Catalonia. Here, Catalonia is described as a 'smiling sister', silently complicit and understanding of Crete's situation but still suffering from her own unfreedom. When in the future, Crete will be reunited with her motherland, Catalonia will 'briefly sigh,' still being unfree herself, implied the poem.[76] The special edition, published 14 March 1897, during the Greek-Turkish war, contained several other articles and poems which expressed support for the Greek military forces. The edition also reported that the political organisation Unió Catalanista (Catalanist Union) had sent a message of solidarity to the King of Greece, George I., on 6 March 1897.[77]

Acts of solidarity between different nationalist movements were a common feature of the nineteenth and twentieth-century nationalism.[78] The red shirts of Garibaldi are just one example of such a trend. The historian, Maurizio Isabella, argues that the Italian Carbonari and the Mazzinians' networks of organisations established a truly transnational civil society.[79] Technological advances such as the

[76] La Veu de Catalunya, núm. 11, Barcelona, 14.03.1897.
[77] The Unió Catalanista (UC) was founded in 1891 and brought together a variety of different Catalan nationalist groups. Some of its members were nationalists and some radicalised regionalists who had broken with the liberal Valentí Almirall in 1887. It linked different nationalist centres across Catalonia and published programmes for Catalan autonomy such as the *Bases de Manresa* in 1892 which brought forward a plan to reorganise the Spanish state. The newspaper *La Renaixensa* was the UC's most important outlet but other newspapers were also adhered to the organisation, see Smith, *The origins of Catalan nationalism, 1770-1898*, p. 193. Most members were skilled workers such as clerks and shop assistants. Llorens gives a thorough overview of the social composition of the members of the UC as well as its territorial expansion within Catalonia, Jordi Llorens i Vila, *La Unió Catalanista i els orígens del Catalanisme polític: Dels orígens a la presidència del Dr. Martí i Julià (1891-1903)*, Biblioteca abat oliba, (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1992), pp. 87-132.
[78] See for example, Sandiford, "W. E. Gladstone and liberal-nationalist movements," pp. 27-42; Róisín Healy, "Irish-Polish solidarity. Irish responses to the January uprising of 1863-4 in Congress Poland," in *Transnational perspectives on modern Irish history*, ed. by Niall Whelehan (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 49–165; John F. Kutolowski, "Mid-Victorian public opinion, Polish propaganda, and the uprising of 1863," *Journal of British Studies* 8, no. 2 (1969): pp. 86-110; Federica Falchi, "Beyond national borders: 'Italian' patriots united in the name of Giuseppe Mazzini: Emilie Ashurst, Margaret Fuller and Jessie White Mario," *Women's History Review* 24, no. 1 (2014): pp. 23–36.
[79] Isabella, *Risorgimento in exile: Italian émigrés and the liberal international in the Post-Napoleonic Era*, p. 96.

telegraph and translations of international press formed connections despite physical distances, creating 'imagined communities' not only contributing to the formation of national identities within states but also a sense of belonging across borders.[80]

Nationalists across the world established bonds with different movements either directly, by sending volunteers and financial support or indirectly, by expressing support through letters of solidarity and organising demonstrations with members of the respective communities. With the influence of Mazzini's and Garibaldi's thought on philanthropy and the duty of mutual solidarity, in the late nineteenth century, around 200 Italian fighters with red shirts were sent to the island of Crete in 1897 to support the Cretans in the fight against the Ottoman Empire.[81] In Ireland, Irish nationalists supported the cause of the Polish nationalists both financially and by rallying support through newspaper reports and public speeches.[82] In Spain, as this chapter covers, Catalan nationalists similarly sent letters voicing their solidarity to foreign nationalist movements.

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[80] Leerssen Encyclopaedia also shows the transnational nature and connections between different nationalist movements, see Leerssen, ed., *Encyclopedia of romantic nationalism in Europe*, 2 vol., (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018).

[81] Pécout describes how Italian nationalists became actively involved in the Greek cause and sent volunteers in the war of 1897, see Gilles Pécout, "Philhellenism in italy: Political friendship and the Italian volunteers in the mediterranean in the nineteenth century," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 9, no. 4 (2004): pp. 405-427; Pécout, "The international armed volunteers: Pilgrims of a transnational Risorgimento," pp. 413-426. For the discordance on the numbers, see Leonida Kallivretakis, "I garibaldini nell'insurrezione cretese del 1866–1897," in *Risorgimento Greco e filellenismo Italiano: Lotte, cultura, arte : Mostra promossa dall'ambasciata di Grecia e dall'associazione per lo sviluppo delle relazioni fra Italia e Grecia, Roma, Palazzo Venezia, 25 marzo/25 aprile 1986*, ed. by Enrica Lucarelli and Caterina Spetsieri Beschi (Rome: Edizioni del sole, 1986), pp. 172-174. Leonida Kallivretakis, "Les garibaldiens à l'insurrection de 1866 en Crète. (le jeu de chiffres)," in *Indipendenza e unità nazionale in Italia ed in Grecia : Convegno di studio Atene, 2-7 Ottobre 1985* (Florence: Olschki, 1987), pp. 163-179.

[82] Healy, *Poland in the Irish nationalist imagination, 1772-1922: Anti-colonialism within Europe*, pp. 205-210. For the British coverage of the Risorgimento, see Elena Bacchin, *Italofilia: Opinione pubblica britannica e Risorgimento Italiano, 1847-1864*, Pubblicazioni del comitato di Torino dell'istituto per la storia del Risorgimento Italiano, (Torino; Roma: Comitato di Torino dell'Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento Italiano Carocci editore, 2014). And for Italian responses to the Polish uprising in 1863, see, Bacchin, "Oppressed nationalities: Italian responses to the Polish uprising of January 1863," pp. 151-172. For Irish responses to India and other challenges of British imperial rule, see Jennifer Regan, "'We could be of service to other suffering people':

It appears that little was to be gained from sending such solidarity letters to other nationalist movements across the world. As this chapter will demonstrate, most of the time, these organisations such as the Unió Catalanista, did not even receive a response from the recipients. Why did they continue to send messages to nationalists, claiming a similar 'enslaved' or 'oppressed' situation as the Finns or the Transvaal people? What could be gained from asserting a bond between two entirely different political conditions and nationalist causes? This chapter seeks to offer an explanation. It argues that these letters of solidarity served to incorporate a rhetoric of an alliance between oppressed people into debates of Catalan nationhood even if international allies remained imagined. Furthermore, this chapter argues that the letters sent to foreign nationalist movements embody a shift in the semantics of nationhood that took place at the end of the nineteenth century.

The message sent to Crete in 1897 is the focus of the chapter, but it will also analyse letters of solidarity sent to the Finnish, and to a lesser extent the Transvaal and the Irish. These messages of sympathy to other nationalist movements are examples of the strategies employed by a radical minority of the Catalan nationalist wing to attract more people to the national cause, to disseminate their demands more widely and even internationally and to put pressure on the authorities in Madrid. The 'internationalisation of the Catalan problem' opened possibilities of new political alliances within Spain and the adherence of different classes to the Catalan national cause. How small nationalities cooperated in international organisations has been the focus of scholarship exploring the connection of

Representations of India in the Irish nationalist press, c. 1857-1887," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 41, no. 1 (2008): pp. 61-77; Paul A. Townend, "Between two worlds: Irish nationalists and imperial crisis 1878-1880," *Past & Present* 194, no. 1 (2007): pp. 139-174. Arguably, such international support for foreign causes is nothing new. See for reactions to the Confederate War in Ireland, Hiram Morgan, "News from Ireland: Catalan, Portuguese and Castilian pamphlets on the Confederate War in Ireland," in *Ireland: 1641*, ed. Jane H. Ó Siochrú Micheál Ohlmeyer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013).

nationalism and internationalism.[83] This chapter, however, does not focus on how politicians sought after statehood through an international platform but primarily on how politicians and journalists used international events to promote narratives of an 'inter-national' nation. Besides recognition and acceptance from other nations and states, this chapter sheds light on how letters of solidarity were used to frame the Catalan nationalist movement as repressed and connected to an international faction of small resisting nationalities.

The first section examines how letters of solidarity influenced debates in Catalonia over Catalan nationhood based on historian Llorens i Vila's analysis of these letters.[84] It demonstrates how the Catalan message of solidarity to the Greeks became a public manifestation of an 'imagined community' of solidarity, moving between symbols of Catalan nationalism, Greek Philhellenism, Mediterranean Christianity, and a coalition of enduring people. The political decision of the European powers to not intervene in the situation in Crete strengthened the idea that the letter of solidarity was part of a subversive act of an oppositional group. The message of freedom, nationalism, and solidarity contained in the letters stood against the political ideals and values of the big European powers. The letters

[83] Historiography has explored the political cooperation of different nationalities at international institutions most. Núñez Seixas, *Internacionalitzant el nacionalisme: El Catalanisme polític i la qüestió de les minories nacionals a europa (1914-1936)*; Xosé Manuel Núñez Seixas, "El mito del nacionalismo Irlandés y su influencia en los nacionalismos Gallego, Vasco y Catalán (1880-1936)," *Spagna contemporanea* 1, no. 2 (1992): pp. 25–58. Particularly, the First World War, the 'Wilsonian moment' and the League of Nation increased political cooperation. See Manela, *The Wilsonian moment: Self-determination and the international origins of anticolonial nationalism*; Bamberger-Stemmann, *Der europäische Nationalitätenkongress 1925*; Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, "Unholy alliances? Nationalist exiles, minorities and anti-fascism in interwar Europe," *Contemporary European History* 25, no. 4 (2016): pp. 597-617; Lucy Delap, Louise Ryan, and Teresa Zackodnik, "Self-determination, race, and empire: Feminist nationalists in Britain, Ireland and the United States, 1830s to World War One," *Women's Studies International Forum* 29, no. 3 (2006): pp. 241-254.

[84] Jordi Llorens i Vila, *Catalanisme i moviments nacionalistes contemporanis (1885-1901): Missatges a Irlanda, Creta i Finlàndia*, Episodis de la història, (Barcelona: Rafael Dolmau, 1988), pp. 326-332; Llorens i Vila, *La Unió Catalanista i els orígens del Catalanisme polític: Dels orígens a la presidència del Dr. Martí i Julià (1891-1903)*.

implanted an idea of oppressed small nationalities working together for political autonomy and independence long before the Wilsonian Fourteen Points, the international activism of the League of Nations, or the ethnic lobbyism of the *Office Central des Nationalités* and the *Bureau des Nationalités*. The chapter highlights how these messages fitted into a general way of imagining historical development on a linear timeline of progress. Catalans imagined their nation as part of an international movement where, along with the language of Mazzini, small peoples were inevitably and naturally evolving towards statehood.[85] The dawn of the twentieth century promised a new 'national time'.

The second section examines the aftermath of the message. The letters sent to Ireland, Finland, and the Transvaal movement, created imagined temporal and spatial bonds with these national movements. In the Catalan case, these letters received little to no response from other nationalists. Nevertheless, they were still highly influential in penetrating the regional and national debates on pride, historic bonds, and political legitimacy. The reactions of the Spanish government in the aftermath of the message also produced press responses from other countries. These manifestations of sympathy, in particular, the message to Greece in 1897, were transformative points where conflicts between Catalan nationalists, as well as the relationship with the cultural and political associations of Spain, were re-negotiated. Even though the letters of solidarity were not the result of extensive contacts between nationalist groups, an imagined alliance between these groups found their way into popular Catalan culture.

[85] Recchia and Urbinati, *A cosmopolitanism of nations: Giuseppe Mazzini's writings on democracy, nation building, and international relations*. In particular "Introduction" and "Part Three".

Beyond the apparent idea that geopolitics affected the trajectory of political nationalism and independence declarations might have even lead to a chain reaction or 'domino effect', this chapter argues that international events also significantly altered the meaning of nationhood.[86] This argument builds on what Greenfeld has called the 'zigzag pattern of semantic change' according to which a new meaning of the term 'nation' evolves out of its usage in a particular situation.[87] International events transformed and challenged the original significance of the term nation as 'unique sovereign people,' by outlining that Germany, France, and Russia were part of old-fashioned nations, sovereign and unique but also essentially imperial. What this highlighted to Catalan nationalists in the nineteenth century was that sovereignty was a necessary condition of statehood but not of nationhood. The movements of the Finnish, the Cretans, and the Transvaal changed the meaning of nationhood to non-sovereign, small, and resisting nations.

1. Catalan Messages of Solidarity

At the end of 1885, the complexity and urgency of the Irish question made Home Rule not only a question for Ireland but catapulted the issue into many other regions of the world. Compared to the Irish question, Catalan political nationalism was still in its infancy at the end of the nineteenth century. However, the successes in Ireland did not stay unnoticed. The Irish question was the most ardently followed by Catalan nationalists and received the most detailed and extensive coverage of all

[86] Conversi argues against the effectiveness of such a 'domino effect' arguing that it is principally a demonstration effect (Connor 'The Politics of Ethnonationalism', p.10) and change within nationalists movements dependent on internal factors, see Daniele Conversi, "Domino effect of internal developments?: The influence of international events and political ideologies on Catalan and Basque nationalisms," *West European Politics* 16, no. 3 (1993): pp. 245-270.
[87] Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five roads to modernity* (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 5-7.

the small nationalist movements.[88] The Catalan 'letter to Parnell and the Irish People', prompted by the successes of the Irish nationalists and the Home Rule Bill of 1886, was the first letter of solidarity written by the political organisation Unió Catalanista and published by the newspaper *L'Arch de Sant Marti* in April of that year.[89]

Josep Narcís Roca i Farreras, one of the editors of the newspaper, reasoned that Catalan nationalism should interest and attract both the rural and the urban classes.[90] The Irish nationalist movement appeared to be an ideal model to follow for the Catalan nationalists, combining cultural nationalism with similar arguments of a reviving language, and a form of 'Catholic nationalism.' The focus on religion within the definition of nationhood was a model for a strand of the conservative Catalan organisations such as the groups around the newspaper *La Veu de Montserrat* and the clergyman Jaume Collell.[91] These groups propagated a nationalism based on Catholic faith modelled after the Irish national movement.[92] However, the Irish were also a model for the more left-leaning Catalan nationalists who saw in it the successful example of including the working class in the national cause.[93] The historian Conversi argues that the 'Irish fever' among Catalan nationalists again assumed a new meaning between 1916 and 1936 when left-leaning Catalan radicals rediscovered the Irish as a model for their agitation.[94]

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[88] See for a thorough overview of the coverage of the Irish nationalist movement and Home Rule as a model to follow in the Catalan press, Burgaya, "La formació del Catalanisme conservador", pp. 297-303.
[89] L'Autonomia de Irlanda, L'Arch de Sant Martí, 04.04.1886 and Número Extraordinari: Catalunya á Irlanda, L'Arch de Sant Martí, Barcelona, 01.05.1887.
[90] Lo Poble Irlandés, L'Arch de Sant Marti, núm. 249, Barcelona 01.05.1887, p. 370.
[91] Collell, Jaume, *Sembrant arreu*, Vic 1927, pp. 71-72.
[92] Culla i Clarà, From Budapest to Dublin, pp. 45–55.
[93] Jaume Collell did not approve of the labelling of the Irish cause as a solidary fight of the classes, see, La Veu de Montserrat, Per exemple, any IV, 02.04.1881.
[94] Daniele Conversi, "Reassessing current theories of nationalism: Nationalism as boundary maintenance and creation", *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 1, no. 1 (1995): pp. 73-85; Terence

Llorens i Vila argues that the importance of the letters of solidarity for the Catalan nationalist movement has been underestimated, even though it gathered more support in terms of signatures than most other messages from Catalanist organisations in the late nineteenth century.[95] He demonstrates that the letter to Parnell published in *L'Arch de Sant Marti* also reached a more diverse group of people than the message from the *Lliga de Catalunya* to the Queen of Spain which formulated demands for increased autonomy in 1888, or than the numbers of inscriptions to the First Catalan Congress in 1880.[96] Furthermore, the message sent to Parnell attracted significant support from the working class, as Llorens i Vila's analysis of the signatories' occupational background has shown.[97] As the following cases will demonstrate, the messages of solidarity helped a radical wing of Catalan nationalists gain support from different parts of society. The popularity of the Irish, the Polish, or the Finnish cause went far beyond Catalan nationalist circles. The question of Crete mobilised Christians, as well as noticeable groups of Philhellenes across Europe. Similarly, in the Irish and Polish case, the suffering of a Catholic community in the face of much more powerful states was the centre of most of the reports on these nationalist movements.

Whereas the letter to the Irish marked the beginning of the letters of solidarity, it was the message to the King of Greece in 1897, which created the most

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Folley, "A Catalan trade union and the Irish War of Independence, 1919-1922", *Saothar: Journal of the Irish Labour History Society* 10 (1984): pp. 60-67.

[95] Llorens i Vila, *Catalanisme i moviments nacionalistes contemporanis (1885-1901): Missatges a Irlanda, Creta i Finlàndia*, p. 24. Catalanist is here used to describe Catalan nationalist organisations and people belonging to Catalan nationalist parties.

[96] Both had less than 2000 inscriptions respectively, whereas the message to the Irish had up to 2994 names of support according to Llorens Vila, see ibid.

[97] 38,14% of the signatories were people from popular professions such factory workers, shoe-makers and secretaries compared to 28,72% of property and factory owners and people of the intellectual and liberal professions such as lawyers and doctors, see, Llorens i Vila, *La Unió Catalanista i els orígens del Catalanisme polític: Dels orígens a la presidència del Dr. Martí i Julià (1891-1903)*, pp. 506-509.

tension between the central government and Catalan nationalist organisations. Unsurprisingly, the Spanish central government rejected any parallel with other nationalist movements, which they regarded as a tactic of Catalan nationalists to discredit Spanish rule.[98] Over the next three years, the Unió Catalanista, its student body Centre Escolar Catalanista as well as other Catalanist organisations decided to publish other messages of solidarity, for example, to the Finnish in 1899 and the Transvaal movement in 1900.[99] Whereas the large numbers of Polish immigrants in Britain and the visits of Polish migrants to nineteenth-century Ireland created an 'imagined community' of the oppressed through direct links, the Catalan messages of solidarity gained only limited international attention and could not built on the help of migrant communities in Catalonia.[100] It was only from 1918 onwards that Catalans came into closer contact with other nationalists, either through Sinn Fein activists in Barcelona or through international organisations.[101]

The Catalan interest in the question of Crete is surprising because the political situation of the island and the goals of the national movement were quite different from the conditions found in Catalonia in 1897. Most Greek inhabitants of Crete supported the union with Greece and the end of Ottoman rule on the island, whereas most Catalan regionalists were advocating for increased autonomy from the Spanish government.[102] Despite this apparent differences, member of the UC,

[98] Similarly, Unionists rejected the Polish-Irish comparison as propaganda of Irish separatists, see Healy, *Poland in the Irish nationalist imagination, 1772-1922: Anti-colonialism within Europe*, p. 278.
[99] Llorens i Vila, *Catalanisme i moviments nacionalistes contemporanis (1885-1901): Missatges a Irlanda, Creta i Finlàndia*, pp. 30-35.
[100] Healy, *Poland in the Irish nationalist imagination, 1772-1922: Anti-colonialism within Europe*, p. 29 and pp. 222-224.
[101] Núñez explores the contacts of Catalan intellectuals with politicians of national minorities across Europe in the interwar period. See Núñez Seixas, "Unholy alliances? Nationalist exiles, minorities and anti-fascism in interwar Europe"; Dermot Keogh, "The origins of the Irish Foreign Service in Europe, 1919-1922", *Etudes Irlandaises* 7 (1982): pp. 145-164.
[102] Llorens i Vila, *La Unió Catalanista i els orígens del Catalanisme polític: Dels orígens a la presidència del Dr. Martí i Julià (1891-1903)*; Jordi Llorens i Vila, *La Lliga de Catalunya i el*

Narcís Verdaguer i Callís, maintained in an article in *La Veu de Catalunya* in 1897 that 'the question of Crete' exemplified the 'fundamental principles of the regionalist doctrine' which had spread around the world.[103] The historian Rovira i Virgili, along similar lines, argued that the situation in Crete and other nationalist movements exemplified the inevitable development towards a new model of small nation-states in Europe.[104]

Catalan historians in the nineteenth and twentieth century have described the history of Crete as a story of rebellion against an 'unnatural state', and the annexation of Crete as a 'historical right' of Greece.[105] Historian and politician Antoni Rovira i Virgili, for example, began his description of the political situation of Crete in his 'History of the Nationalist Movements' from 1914 with the statement: 'In Greek antiquity, the island of Crete was occupied by the Helens.'[106] Rovira i Virgili went on to describe the history of Crete as one of constant occupations by Greece, the Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, Latin, Arabs, Muslims, Christians, and many other peoples, and a corresponding history of a strong 'natural resistance' by the Cretans against all foreign invasions. The island of Crete had been in Ottoman possession since the end of the Cretan War in 1669. It had rebelled against Ottoman rule several times. Rovira i Virgili validated the Cretans' vision of belonging to the Greek kingdom with ethnic and linguistic

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Centre Escolar Catalanista: Dues associacions del primer Catalanisme polític, Episodis de la Història, (Barcelona: Dalmau, 1996).

[103] Verdaguer i Callís, Narcís, La qüestió de Creta, La Veu de Catalunya, any 7, núm. 8, Barcelona, 21.02.1897, pp. 57-58.

[104] Antoni Rovira i Virgili, *Història dels moviments nacionalistes* (Barcelona: Ferré Trill, 1912-1914), pp. 385-399.

[105] Verdaguer i Callís, Narcís, La qüestió de Creta, La Veu de Cataluyna, any 7, núm. 8, Barcelona, 21.02.1897, pp. 57-58, Catalunya a Grècia. Estudis historics i literaris, Barcelona: Avenc 1906.

[106] Rovira i Virgili, *Història dels moviments nacionalistes*, pp. 385-399.

arguments:[107] 'the Cretans are of the Greek race, and their predominance on the island has resisted ethnic mixtures.' Moreover, even though there were times in which the number of Muslims on the island was higher than the number of Christians, this was 'more of a question of religious classification than of ethnicity' as many of the Muslims were of the Hellenic race, and had converted to Islam.[108]

The nationalist slogans 'unity with Greece or death' and 'everything or nothing' became a bloody reality for many Cretans in the pursuit of their national ideal. However, Rovira i Virgili described this violence as a historical and cultural necessity, arguing that every national cause needed different methods to succeed. Quoting Eleftherios Kyriakou Venizelos, the leader of the Greek national liberation movement, Rovira argued in his account of the Cretan nationalist movement that the spilling of blood on the soil had been necessary for the Greek national movement to be fruitful.[109] Rovira described the year 1897, when the Catalans wrote the letter to the King of Greece, as the moment in which the Cretan nationalist movement became a model for other nationalist movements, paving the way to a Europe of small nation-states.

When Rovira asked in his *History of Nationalist Movements* why all nationalist movements seemed to become 'hot' during the same historical time, he did not believe it was a coincidence.[110] Instead, he believed that these simultaneous processes were part of a new philosophy of history and time. Many Catalan intellectuals believed that history was ultimately and eventually developing towards small nation-states across Europe. Rovira i Virgili, for example, claimed that the

[107] His actual account of the 'national movement in Crete' starts with the first violent insurrection in 1770 and ends with official annexation by Greece on 14 December in 1913, ibid.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid., p. 399.
[110] Ibid., pp. 385-399.

nineteenth century had been the century of the recognition of human rights. The twentieth century, instead, would be the century of the acknowledgement of the rights of small nations through the politicisation of the masses. Rovira i Virgili assumed that Catalonia would be part of a third wave nationalism, which would lead to a complete restructuring of Europe and the creation of many new small states.

In 1889, architect Josep Puig i Cadafalch professed in a speech at the Centre Escolar Catalanista that Catalans were not a lost voice in the 'concert of people which were resuscitating'. Instead, they were part of a broader movement of nations in a century which heralded the return of the 'old nationalities' and natural Patrias. Small nations would replace the Unitarianism of the modern nations in the new century.[111] Similarly, Enric Prat de la Riba, theorist of Catalan nationalism and member of the Centre Escolar Catalanista, maintained that the 'collective liberty of people' would be for the twentieth century what individual liberty had been for the nineteenth century.[112] Likewise, Pau Colomer, member of the Unió Catalanista, declared in 1891 that the twentieth century would be the century of free nationalities.[113]

Catalan narratives concerning Finland ended with a similar teleological understanding of time. The letter sent to the Finnish in 1899 encouraged the Finns not to lose heart and to fight for their interests because eventually, the oppression of people was coming to an end: 'The big states will fall in order to give way to the redeeming idea of the liberty of the oppressed people. This idea is coming with

[111] Josep Puig i Cadafalch, Discurs del President del Centre Escolar Catalanista, La Renaixensa, 17.11.1889.
[112] Prat de la Riba, Enric, De lluny, La Veu de Catalunya, 01.01.1904, in: Articles, Lliga Catalana, Barcelona 1934, pp. 39-40.
[113] Pau Colomer, Discurs de Presidència, La Renaixensa, 02.06. 1891.

enormous steps in the new century.'[114] After the First World War and Wilson's Fourteen Points, this restructuring of Europe seemed to fulfil itself. In a petition for a Statute of Autonomy, Catalan deputies described November 1918 as an historic moment pointing to the realisation of their philosophy of history: 'this solemn moment of universal history, which throughout the world is witnessing the triumph of the principle of the collective right of peoples to dispose of themselves freely and to be ruled by the institutions to which they have given their assent'.[115]

Lawyer and folklorist Sebastià Farnés declared in an article of the journal *La Renaixensa* in 1890, that through the letters of solidarity and Catalan defence of external causes, Catalonia would eventually reclaim its autonomy.[116] This was in line with the ideas of civic duties and inter-national solidarity which Mazzini had formulated in Young Italy and Young Europe.[117] Political theorists Recchia and Urbinati have called Mazzini's philosophy a 'genuine cosmopolitanism of nations' which juggled and adapted universalistic elements of human liberty, emancipation, and equality with the realities of nation-states and within the legal margins of independent democratic states.[118] Free and equal nationalities were working towards a Europe of nations. By sending letters of solidarity, celebrating foreign successes 'as their own'[119] , and universalising the regional idea, Catalonia was

[114] ANC, AFH, Sole i Pla, 276-3.6-4.3, Sig. 03.04.13.04.02
[115] Cited in E. Allison Peers, *Catalonia infelix* (London: Methuen, 1937), p. 168.
[116] Sebastià Farnés, Lo nacionalisme á Bohemia, La Renaixensa, 05.01.1890, Universitat Rovira i Virgili, A2.1.6/9 Aplec de fulls amb un text de Sebastià Farnés que porta per títol "L'autonomia d'Irlanda".
[117] Sarti, "Giuseppe Mazzini and young Europe," pp. 275-297. Young Italy and Young Europe had also repercussions in Spain and led to the foundation of several newspapers and organisations such as *La Joven España* (Madrid), *La Joven Galicia*, *La Joven Asturias*, and between 1870 and 1875, *La Jove Calatunya*, one of the first organisations with Catalan nationalist aspirations, see footnote 90 in Thomson. Thomson also gives an overview of the attempts to send an Iberian legion as a part of a larger European volunteer force to help Italian unification, Thomson, "Mazzini and Spain, 1820-72," pp. 262-263.
[118] Recchia and Urbinati, *A cosmopolitanism of nations: Giuseppe Mazzini's writings on democracy, nation building, and international relations*, p. 2.
[119] Sebastià Farnés, Lo nacionalisme á Bohemia, La Renaixensa, 05.01.1890.

fulfilling a double objective stated the newspaper *La Renaixensa* in 1888. According to the editors, it proved and validated that their movement was a 'child of their times' and encouraged the Catalan nationalists to continue to challenge the Spanish state.[120]

Whereas the Irish message of solidarity managed to accumulate several thousand signatures from different sectors of Catalan society and received a short reply by the Irish man Edward O'Sikeley thanking them for their support, the message to King George I. of Greece transformed Catalan nationalism and international coverage of the Catalan question the most.[121] The case of Crete notably served to discredit the rule of big European states and their attitudes towards the peripheral Mediterranean as well as to stress a mutual Christian and European heritage. The references to such heritage united Catalan conservative regionalists, Christian Catalans, younger radical left-leaning students, and middle-class Philhellenics. First drafted by the Unió Catalanista as a universal message of Christian brotherhood, the demonstrations and acts of solidarity in the following days slowly transformed into an anti-Spanish and generally an anti-state message. A manifestation organised by the Unió Catalanista together with several other Catalan cultural associations and newspapers on 6 March 1897 attracted extensive crowds and subsequently led to a crisis not only between Catalan nationalists and the government authorities in Madrid but also produced inter-nationalist discussions of where the boundaries of comparisons with other nationalist movements lay.

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[120] Lo nacionalisme a Fransa, La Renaixensa, 28.10.1888.
[121] Número Extraordinari: Catalunya á Irlanda, L'Arch de Sant Martí, Barcelona, 01.05.1887. Also, foreign newspapers like the Diario de Pernambuco, 24.05.188, p.1 reported on the response. However, it is possible that the newspaper misspelled the name Edward O'Sikeley as no person of such a name appears in any Irish newspaper.

In February and March 1897, over several days, different newspapers published messages to King George I of Greece or more generally addressed to 'the Greek nation'. These messages were often embedded in comprehensive reports on the 'Question of Crete', comparisons with the Catalan case, or reports and photographs of the war.[122] Most of these early political messages emphasised Christian solidarity with the island of Greece. The first on 19 February 1897, was published in both Greek and Catalan in *La Veu de Catalunya*.[123] This message emphasised a shared Christian heritage and a shared memory of a fight against the Arabs as the reason for their message of empathy: 'from the Christian people of Catalonia who also have their memories of devastations of the Saracen enemies.'[124] The *Veu de Montserrat* as a religious, and conservative paper, also stressed the religious component of the Greek-Turkish War and described the Greek cause as a 'crusade against the Muslim tyranny' to liberate the archipelago from the 'domination of the Half Moon.'[125] Both of these messages had been signed by notable individuals of Barcelona but received only limited attention from larger associations or newspapers across Spain.[126]

On 6 March 1897, the Unió Catalanista organised an act of solidarity for the people of Greece in front of the Greek consulate in Barcelona. The university professor and Hellenist Antoni Rubió i Lluch[127] was later mentioned as the initiator

[122] La Esquella de la Torratxa, núm. 0948, Barcelona 12.03.1897, Verdaguer y Callís, Narcís, La qüestió de Creta, La Veu de Cataluyna, any 7, núm. 8, Barcelona, 21.02.1897, pp. 57-58.
[123] La Veu de Catalunya, any 7, núm.9, Barcelona, 28.02.1897, p. 67.
[124] Lo Catalanista, Barcelona, 07.03.1897.
[125] La Veu de Montserrat, 13 March 1897, p. 82.
[126] La Época reported on the message of 'adhesion' and 'affection' sent on 7 March, 'Catalanes y Cretenses', La Época, Madrid, 07.03.1897.
[127] Antonio Rubió i Lluch (1856 –1937) was a historian who researched and published widely on Greek folklore and history in relation to Catalonia, see his Catalunya a Grècia. Estudis històrics i literaris, Barcelona: Avenc 1906, as well as Antonio Rubió y Lluch, *La expedición y dominación de los Catalanes en oriente: Juzgadas por los griego. Monografía leída en las sesiones ordinarias celebradas por la Real Academia de las Buenas Letras de Barcelona, en los días 12 y 26 de Febrero y 12 de Marzo de 1883*, Memorias de la Real Academia de las Buenas Letras de Barcelona, tomo 4, cuaderno 1, (Barcelona: Imprenta de Jaime Jepus, 1883); Antonio Rubió y

of this 'demonstration of empathy.'[128] On 19 February 1897, Antoni Rubió mentioned to his friend and colleague Dimítrios Vikelas for the first time that he was preparing an 'act of solidarity' for the people of Crete in Barcelona. He described this act of solidarity which would demonstrate support for the fight of the Greek people against the Ottoman suppression as his duty and as a 'cause for civilisation'.[129] Antoni Rubió quickly found assistance for his endeavour, particularly within the Catalanist movement, many of whom were students at his university. In a letter to Dimítrios Vikelas, Rubió described how effortless it had been to awake the enthusiasm for a demonstration for the war, particular within the student groups of the University of Barcelona.[130] As proof that these students were easily motivated and supported the Greeks in the war, he reported on a concert given by the student's choir of the University of Barcelona for the Greek consul Petros Muzzopoulos. Rubió also mentioned that several cultural and political associations in Barcelona were supporting the act, amongst them the choral society *Catalunya Nova*, which planned to compose a message in 'admiration of the heroic acts of modern Greece'. The delivery of the message was planned around a 'solemnised

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Lluch, *Novelas griegas. Traducidas directamente del original* (Barcelona: Durán y C.a, 1893). Later in his life he published 'Els governs de Matheu de Moncada i Roger de Llúria en la Grècia Catalana (1359-1370)' in 1912 and 'La Grècia Catalana des de la mort de Frederic III fins a la invasió navarresa (1377-1379)' in 1920. For an overview of his work on Greek folklore, see, Eusebi Ayensa, "Antoni Rubió i Lluch i el folklore grec," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, no. 49 (2003): pp. 473-488.

[128] A full report of the manifestation is found in La Renaixensa, Barcelona, 07.03.1897, p. 1346. This was not the first time the professor had organised solidarity acts for the Greeks. Earlier, in July 1894, Barcelona had organised a collection of funds for the victims of the earthquake in Greece. This humanitarian act is documented in the letters sent to Antoni Rubió i Lluch's friend and consul of Barcelona Petros Muzzopoulos, in: Antonio Rubió y Lluch and Eusebi Ayensa, *Epistolari grec*, vol. 2, Memòries de la secció històrico-arqueològica, (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2006)pp. 282-283, 293-294 and 309-310. Rubió had also send a letter to the King of Greece in 1888 for the King's 25th birthday, see Llorens i Vila, *La Unió Catalanista i els orígens del Catalanisme polític: Dels orígens a la presidència del Dr. Martí i Julià (1891-1903)*, p. 329.

[129] Rubió to Vikelas in: Rubió y Lluch and Ayensa, *Epistolari grec*, 2, p. 362.

[130] Rubió to Vikelas in: ibid.

act' where the 'Catalan choirs' would stand at the balconies of the consulate and deliver the 'best songs of the Catalan soil'.[131]

The manifestation took place how Antoni Rubió had envisaged it. Forty-six Catalan entities participated and supported the manifestation, eighteen newspapers, and twenty-eight political parties and cultural associations, most of them from Barcelona but also some from the surrounding cities.[132] Both the president of the Unió Catalanista and the university professor Rubió spoke in front of a 'crowded street' and the several choirs sung on the balconies of the consulate.[133] The *Renaixensa* reported that the crowd which followed the event grew bigger and bigger throughout the morning and gathered in front of the Greek consulate where many people were shouting 'long live Greece' and 'long live Catalonia.' The 'transcending' act lasted an entire day from the dewy hours of the morning until midnight.[134] The choirs Catalunya Nova and the Orfeó Català directed by Enric Morera and by Lluis Millet respectively, both participated in the event and delivered alternating the most popular Catalan songs. Both choirs attracted more and more people, contributing to the thickening of the crowds and the long acclamations and applauses, according to the newspaper.[135] Especially the song 'Plany', and the 'Cant de la Senyera' were enthusiastically received.[136] The message to George I, claiming to 'represent the Catalan Patria' was signed by 'those who represent her spirit

[131] Rubió to Vikelas in: ibid., p. 364.
[132] For a full list of the participating organisations, see, La Veu de Catalunya, any 7, núm. 11, Barcelona, 14.03.1897, p. 87-88.
[133] La Renaixensa, núm. 7257, Barcelona, 07.03.1897, p. 1346.
[134] Ibid. As well as the more independent newspaper, La Vanguardia, Barcelona, 08.03.1897, p. 2.
[135] La Renaixensa, núm. 7257, Barcelona, 07.03.1897, p. 1346.
[136] Ibid., p.1348. *Plany* was a popular Catalan song edited by Enric Morera which lamented the loss of liberties of Catalonia and remembered historic glories, while the *Cant de la Senyera*, the 'song of the flag', was a composition by Lluis Millet which celebrated the flag of Aragon as a symbol of freedom and brotherhood.

because they are fully conscious of her national personality' and handed over to the consul Muzzopoulos.[137]

The global character of Christianity could both transcend the idea of the nation while staying aligned to it, and it furthermore allowed Catalans of different political colours to feel united for the Greek cause. The special edition of the *Veu de Catalunya* particularly stressed Christian solidarity as one of the reasons why the 'Catalan people' were organising this demonstration of solidarity. On the front page of the newspaper, the edition was publicised as a 'testimony of sympathy' and an expression of the 'prayers that renascent Catalonia is sending so that the good Lord can accord the national cause of the Helens with victory over their enemies.'[138]

The strongest motive apparent in the other articles was general sympathy for the cause of the Helens as a 'natural right', as Rovira i Virgili described it. The actions of the Greek government in the conflict around Crete were described as historically just, and as an almost overdue activity of a nation since antiquity. Rovira particular stressed the vehemence with which the Cretans refused to accept any other political solution than the 'pure and simple unity with the Kingdom of Greece', refusing occupation by any power, increased political autonomy, and even independence, thus showing their 'invincible courage, admirable steadfastness, and firm willpower.'[139] Furthermore, many articles of the press connected to the Catalan nationalists expressed an emotional and historical connection between the people of Greece and Catalonia, which led them to act in this manifestation. Several speeches such as that by Antoni Rubió and Antoni Sunyol, the president of the Unió Catalanista, emphasised a long historical tradition of love between Catalonia and

[137] La Veu de Catalunya, any 7, núm. 11, Barcelona, 14.03.1897, p. 87.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Rovira i Virgili, *Història dels moviments nacionalistes*, p. 398.

Greece and alluded to a shared heritage of both peoples. An article by the nationalist newspaper *La Veu de Catalunya* alleged that the message of sympathy was an 'act of love' and that through it, Catalonia and Greece were growing closer together.[140]

The Mediterranean as a geographic entity as well as the space of the expansion of classical and antique cultures was a typical reference frame for this message of empathy and, more generally, in the construction of Catalan nationhood.[141] The message to King George, for example, discussed the importance of Greek civilisation for Catalan culture by mentioning Empuries, 'the first centre of attraction of the Catalan race' which was founded in 575 BC by Greek colonists.[142] The Mediterranean and in particular Greece represented the former glory and power of nations. The Crown of Aragon's trading networks had been predominantly across the Mediterranean and had promoted Catalan as the language of commerce. Rubió explained in a letter to his friend Nikolas Politis[143] in April 1897 that 'nothing was more natural than the expression of brotherhood between the people of Catalonia towards Greece. (…) History has not made us brothers but has united us on several occasions and today has filled us with enthusiasm and admiration of the noble fight, which is upheld by the strong Greek population.'[144]

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[140] La Veu de Catalunya, any 7, núm. 11, Barcelona, 14.03.1897, p. 87.
[141] Jaume Vallcorba Plana, *Noucentisme, mediterraneisme i classicisme : Apunts per a la història d'una estètica*, Assaig minor, (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1994). Mose examines how classicism and the Mediterranean as a geographic entity informed debates of Catalan identity, Jörg Mose, *Katalonien zwischen Separatismus und Transnationalisierung. Zur Konstruktion und Dynamik raumbezogener Identitäten*, vol. 10, Forum Politische Geographie, (Münster: lit Verlag, 2014).
[142] La Veu de Catalunya, any 7, núm. 11, Barcelona, 14.03.1897, p. 87.
[143] Nicholas Politis (1852 – 1921) was a Greek folklorist who published on popular and contemporary Greek popular culture. He was also one of the founding members of Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Παρνασσός (Philological Society Parnassos) as well as the Hellenic folklore society, see, Nikolaos Politis, "Nikolaos politis: Study on the life of modern Greeks," in *Modernism: Representations of national culture: Discourses of collective identity in central and southeast Europe 1770–1945*, ed. by Ahmet Ersoy, Maciej Górny, and Vangelis Kechriotis (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2010), pp. 3-8.
[144] Rubió to Politis, 21 April 1897, see, Rubió y Lluch and Ayensa, *Epistolari grec*, 2, pp. 372-373.

All speakers garnished their talks with references to Greek mythology and history. Rubió i Lluch, for example, mentioned Homer and his claim that there should only be one prince and one king for all the Greeks, revealing his ethnic and cultural understanding of Greek nationhood. Antoni Sunyol, who handed the message over to the consul, referred to the King of Greece George I, as Theseus, who was liberating Crete from the 'modern Minotaur.'[145] More importantly, however, this message differed from the earlier messages in its emphasis on the manifestation as an anti-state event and as a popular democratic manifestation. This was intersected with an expression of sympathy for 'democratic and popular movements', and a critique of the European states and their political stance on the question of Crete also by newspapers that were not as closely connected to Catalan nationalists.

After violent rebellions against Ottoman rule between the years 1895 to 1897, violence broke out again in January 1897, particularly against the Christian population in Chania and Rethimno. Greek nationalist societies such as *Ethniki Etaireia* and the international public opinion encouraged and pressured the government of Greece to send military forces to Crete to occupy the island.[146] The arrival of Greek military troops on Crete provoked a war with the Ottoman Empire in January 1897. Spanish journalists from a variety of political spectra had reported on the violence in Crete, particularly in the years 1895-1896, and on the different attempts to gain more autonomy from Turkey. However, by 1897, many started to argue that the various attempts by the big European powers to secure more autonomy for the Greeks in Crete had been unsuccessful and that the only option seemed to be war. The manifestation of sympathy, therefore, was as much a

[145] Lo Catalanista, any 11, núm 452, 14.03.1897, p. 3-4.
[146] Kallivretakis, "I garibaldini nell'insurrezione cretese del 1866–1897".

demonstration of gratitude towards a nation to which 'many nations owed their flag of civilisation' as a 'protest of the culture of people against the European barbarism', the *Renaixensa* concluded.[147] Greece, as the 'mother of civilisation', was presented as diametrically opposed to the barbaric Turks and the indifferent big European states. The message of the Catalan Unió Catalanista became a symbol of resistance and was portrayed as an expression of the will of the European public versus the big powerful states.

[147] La Renaixensa, Barcelona, núm. 7257, 07.03.1897, p. 1348.

The Message to Greece as a Message of Popular Disobedience

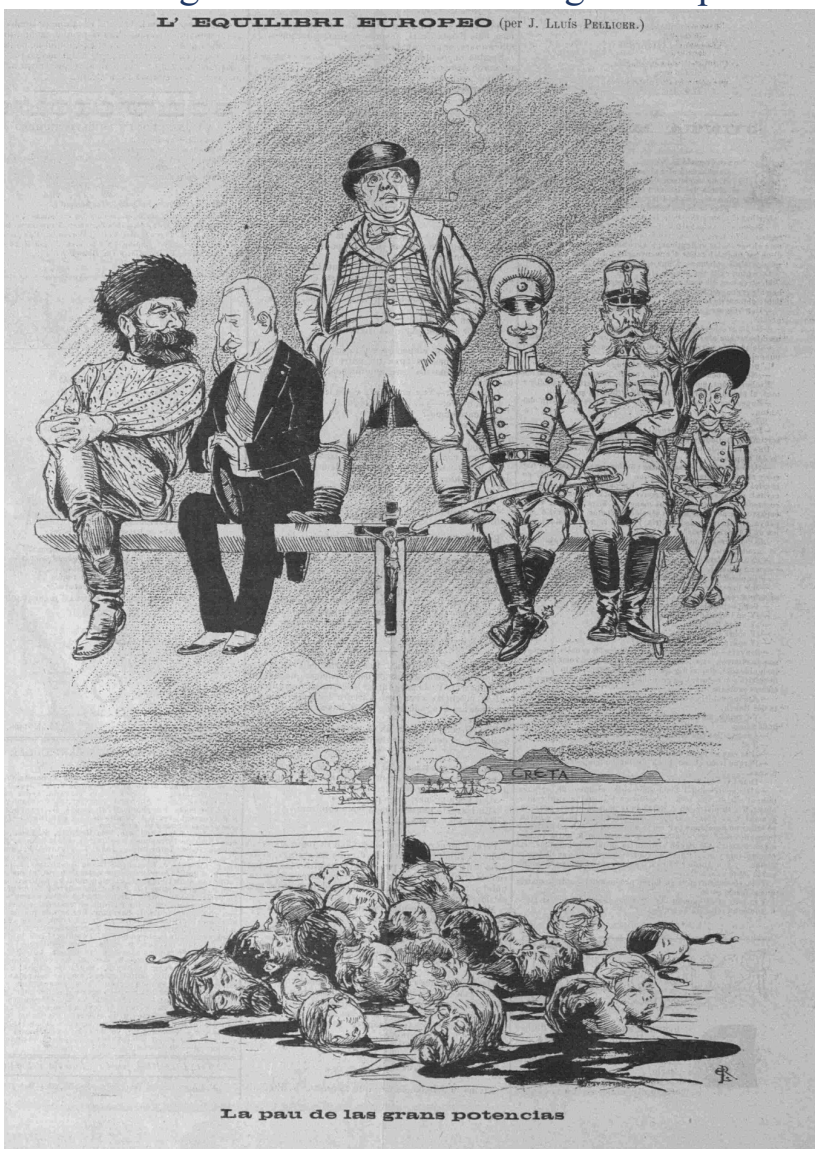


Figure 1: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 'The European equilibrium. The peace of the great powers', La Campana de Gràcia, Barcelona 03.04.1897

The European equilibrium. The peace of the great powers', Depicting Russia chatting to France (probably Félix Faure) on one side of the cross, whereas Germany (Willem II), Franz Joseph of Austria, and probably Italy are sitting still with crossed legs and arms on the other side of the cross. John Bull as the mediator of both sides is standing between them looking indifferent, while Crete is smoking in the background and the heads of the Cretans are lying underneath them.[148]

Part of painting the acts of solidarity as a message of popular disobedience was to stress their anti-state character. All articles in the Catalan nationalist newspapers *Lo Catalanista, La Renaixensa,* and *La Veu de Catalunya* declared that the

[148] La Biblioteca de Catalunya, La Campana de Gràcia, núm 1455, Barcelona 03.04.1897, p. 4.

demonstration on 6 March happened outside the realm of Spanish politics. The author of an article in *La Veu de Catalunya* maintained that the Spanish state (not 'Spain' or the 'Spanish nation') had disregarded the conflict in Crete almost entirely for fear of its dismemberment. The manifestation of solidarity with Crete was thus to be seen as an act of resistance against all unitary states. The event was portrayed as having a quasi-diplomatic character by the Catalan press with only 'French, Greek and Catalan' being spoken at the event, argued *La Veu de Catalunya*. Similarly, the Greek consul Muzzopoulos allegedly appreciated and acknowledged this anti-state context and the emotions on the Catalan side and decided to only speak French during the celebrations and to refer 'only to Catalonia and the Catalans in his eulogy.'[149] From personal correspondence between Rubió and Muzzopoulos it seems that this was less of a personal or political choice but the predominant language he corresponded in.[150]

Catalan regionalists had criticised Castilian dominance in the Spanish state in recent years. The newspapers' emphasis on the languages spoken during the manifestation followed a year of heightened disputes and protests between Catalan politicians and the central government. Catalan politicians wanted Spain to recognise Catalan as an official language. In 1896, the Minister of Posts, Telephones and Telegraphs refused to recognise Catalan as an official language but required that all dispatches and telephone calls be placed in Castilian. Many Catalan politicians protested this over the next several years by, for example, sending the Queen a dispatch written in German 'so that her majesty would understand it better than Catalan', and by sending 200 dispatches composed in all the European

[149] La Veu de Catalunya, 14.03.1897, Barcelona, núm. 11, pp. 84-85.
[150] Rubió y Lluch and Ayensa, *Epistolari grec*, 2, pp. 130-133.

languages but not one in the Castilian language. Both incidents had been reported on internationally.[151]

Most of the articles stressed that the question of Crete was representative of a wider European problem whereby many people lacked democratic representation. This problem, according to these newspapers, was found in many European states where governments did not know how to interpret the sentiments of the people and as a result were acting in complete disregard to national public opinion. The article 'Catalonia in favour of Greece' in the *Renaixensa* placed the letter of solidarity into a context of democratic disobedience against the central governments of Europe.[152] The author wrote that even though most people in Europe supported the Greeks' national cause, the governments of Europe were not prepared to help, mainly because they feared their intervention would cause a geopolitical imbalance.

A few days earlier, in February 1897, Verdaguer i Callís emphasised the discrepancy between public and official opinion, arguing that in Europe there existed 'two opinions: The one of the governments, which is against the actions of the Greeks; and the one of the masses which is totally in favour of the liberation of the people of Crete.'[153] The question of Crete was presented as a demonstration of a European popular uprising and resistance against old-fashioned, imperialist states which did not want to comply with democratic principles. A large number of European volunteers arriving on the island of Crete, as several newspapers reported, allegedly reflected this popular European attitude.[154]

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[151] Journal de Genève, National, Politique Et Littéraire, Genève, 12.06.1896.
[152] La Renaixensa, Barcelona, núm. 7257, 07.03.1897.
[153] Verdaguer y Callís, Narcís, La qüestió de Creta, La Veu de Catalunya, any 7, núm. 8, Barcelona, 21.02.1897, p. 58.
[154] For an account on Italian volunteers and involvement in the war of 1897, see Pécout, "Philhellenism in Italy: Political friendship and the Italian volunteers in the Mediterranean in the nineteenth century," pp. 405-427. He describes how Italian nationalists became actively involved in the Greek cause.

Verdaguer i Callís and other authors argued that the Catalan people were part of an international movement where 'eminent men of Europe, vexed in their beliefs of humanity (…) raised their voices in protest'.[155] The Catalan newspapers *La Renaixensa* not only portrayed Catalonia as representing a Europe-wide protest movement but also as a pioneer in that movement, speaking against the 'ignominy' of the powerful states in the name of the people of Europe.[156] Even though Catalonia did not have an official representation, nationalist newspapers such as *La Veu de Catalunya* claimed that the message of solidarity represented the 'unanimous aspiration of the Catalan people' and that with this act, the various Catalan nationalist groups had become the 'true spokespeople of these sentiments.'

> 'The Protest would have been almost completely mute within the Spanish state if it had not been for these people who, even though they do not have a voice in the political government and suffer from their own subjugation, preserve their spirit (…) protested what is suffered by other people'.[157]

The same narrative of a coalition between resisting people was found in the other messages of solidarity. When the nationalist student body Centre Escolar Catalanista sent a message to the Finns on 28 July 1899 in the newspaper *La Renaixensa* the same teleological reading of history and idea of alliances is found in the text of the letter and the press.[158] The message to Finland also criticised the big Empires which were described as belonging to former times.[159] It compared the activities of the Spanish government with the actions of the German Emperor and the Russian tsar and stated that the Catalans 'like Finland' also had their Patria enslaved, living like Finland under the power of the 'most powerful, most barbaric,

[155] Verdaguer i Callís, Narcís, La qüestió de Creta, La Veu de Catalunya, any 7, núm. 8, Barcelona, 21.02.1897, p. 58.
[156] La Renaixensa, Barcelona, núm. 7257, 07.03.1897, p. 1348.
[157] La Veu de Catalunya, 14.03.1897, Barcelona, núm. 11, p. 84.
[158] A copy of the Swedish and Catalan versions of the message is found in the National Archive of Catalonia (Solé i Pla), see La Renaixensa, Barcelona 28.07.1899.
[159] Ibid. The description by Rovira uses very similar language, see Rovira i Virgili, *Història dels moviments nacionalistes*, pp. 38-40.

but never the most advanced'.[160] Like in the message to the King of Greece, the message to the Finnish people was denouncing the ideals of assimilation and territorial integrity of the big nations.

Attacking Germany, Russia, Austria and Italy for their position on the conflict, the authors of the message explained that if Catalonia had a say in 'the concert of peoples', she would have been beside Greek's side as she had 'unluckily' experienced 'foreign domination' herself and would always, therefore, stand up for its abolishment whether it was coming from 'Turks or Christians'.[161] Similar tropes of the 'shameful Europe' were present in Spanish newspapers and particularly in the federal newspaper *Nuevo Régimen.*[162] Europe, as an ideally constructed continent, was presented as the keeper of peace as well as the protector of democracy and minority rights. That the European states did not support and help Greece was perceived by the Catalan press as a failure to protect peace in Europe.[163] According to the *Nuevo Régimen,* the narrow-mindedness of the politicians of the big states guided the question of Crete into an impasse even though the idea of holding a plebiscite, for example, had broad support in the parliaments of Europe. The federal newspaper then discussed the possibility of a democratic plebiscite as a solution for questions such as the one in Crete. Even though the plebiscite would probably be the most 'rational solution' for all the national questions, it would destabilise the rest of Europe.

> 'How many would preserve the integrity of their territory? England would lose after all Ireland; Prussia, Austria and Russia Poland; Germany, Alsace

[160] La Renaixensa, Barcelona 28.07.1899 and, see, La Veu de Montserrat, 13.03.1897, p. 82.
[161] Ibid.
[162] *Nuevo Régimen* was a principal organ of Spanish federalism, edited and founded by Francesc Pi y Margall, which also campaigned for Cuban independence after 1896. It was a newspaper which advocated for more popular sovereignty, the abolition of any hereditary rights and titles as well as extensive autonomy for the regions, see El *Nuevo Régimen*, 14.03.1896 and Conangla i Fontanilles, *Cuba y Pí y Margall*.
[163] La Veu de Montserrat, 13.03.1897, p. 82.

> and Lorraine; Russia and Turkey, all the people who are under their law only by the force of their weapons. It is not easy that these or any other nations agree to apply such a dangerous criterion.'[164]

The message further explained the big European states inactivity with their fear of territorial dismemberment. All these countries had their 'own Crete' within their territory which at any moment could reveal itself and demand parts of their 'stepped-on liberties', argued the newspaper *Renaixensa*. This was hindering the great powers to act freely and fairly in this conflict as they feared a domino-like chain reaction in Europe.[165]

This idea of a popular protest, disobedience and state resistance transcended the immediate reporting on the crisis and found their way also into later analyses of the Cretan crisis of 1897 and the reports on the Catalan celebrations of sympathy. Rovira i Virgili, even though most probably not present at the manifestation in 1897, described the situation in very similar terms almost twenty years later, sometimes using even the same wording as the articles from 1897. The Cretans had been 'left alone by the big powers' which were acting 'egoistically out of their own interest', wrote Rovira in his account of the nationalist movement in Crete. According to Rovira i Virgili, the larger states of Europe were afraid of alienating Turkey and feared that the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire would lead to the breaking up of their 'own Cretes.'[166]

2. The Aftermath of the Message

Approximately one month after the message to King George I., the *Veu de Catalunya* published a letter which Antoni Rubió i Lluch had received from Athens

[164] El Nuevo Régimen, Semanario Federal, Madrid 20.03.1897, p. 1.
[165] La Renaixensa, Barcelona 28.07.1899. See also Lluis Pellicer, Lo Catalanista, any 11, núm 452, Barcelona, 14.03.1897, p. 10-13.
[166] Rovira i Virgili, *Història dels moviments nacionalistes*, p. 399.

by the philological society 'Lo Parnás' (*Syllogos Filologikós Parnassós*) dated 13 March 1897.[167] A day earlier Rubió had already received the Greek newspapers *Estia* and *New Hellenic* the only ones to briefly mention the demonstration of solidarity in Barcelona.[168] The letter from 'Lo Parnás' referred to the special edition of the *Veu de Catalunya,* which they had received and thanked all the participants of the manifestation of sympathy in front of the consulate.[169] The letter described the initiative as a demonstration of 'common suffering' by the 'people of the city of Barcelona.' In the following days, Rubió received more letters by friends such as Dimítrios Vikelas, Andonios Miliarakis, Epaminondas Stamatiadis, and Simos Balanos thanking him for the support he had organised in Barcelona for the Greek government often referring to the 'Spanish manifestation of solidarity'.[170]

It was precisely the 'common suffering' to which several nationalist newspapers referred, and the parallels drawn between the political situation of Catalonia and Crete which led to a confrontation between the Spanish state and Catalan organisations. On the day of the manifestation, the authorities tried to disperse the crowd, which had gathered in front of the consulate and tried to hinder the singing of popular Catalan songs. The police were alleged to have intimidated the crowd and to have 'wanted to put an end to their impertinencies by prohibiting the Orfeó Català to walk down the Rambles with their beautiful Senyera.'[171] Before

[167] Rubió i Lluch had received a letter by the society earlier in 1892 inviting 'all members of his association' to assist in the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the literary society in, see La Veu de Catalunya, any VII, núm. 15, Barcelona 11.04.1897, p. 121.
[168] Rubió to Vikelas in 20.04.1897, p. 2: Rubió y Lluch and Ayensa, *Epistolari grec*, 2, p. 370.
[169] Letter printed and translated by Eusebi Ayensa in: ibid., pp. 365-366.
[170] Ibid., pp. 368-378. See letters of Politis and Vikelas, ibid., pp. 350-370. Rubió i Lluch responded that 'unfortunately only Catalonia had expressed their philhellenic sympathies publicly: the rest of Spain has remained indifferent', explaining that this was because Catalonia was in a similar position than Crete: 'In order for people to understand each other, they have to be in a similar position', see letter 20.04.1897, ibid.
[171] La Veu de Catalunya, núm. 11, Barcelona 14.03.1897, p. 85. See also La Vanguardia, 24.03.1897, p. 2.

printing the message to the King of Greece and the speeches in their entirety, an article in *La Veu de Catalunya* asked provocatively 'of what, mighty God, would the government be afraid?'.[172]

However, the repercussions of the manifestation of solidarity did not end on the day but also had consequences for the relationship between government authorities and Catalan nationalist organisations. Only a few days after the printing of the message, a complaint was filed against the newspaper *La Renaixensa* because of two articles which allegedly threatened the constitution. The authors were fined 1000 pesetas each but remained free. In the following days the *Veu de Catalunya* reported on more restrictions imposed by the authorities such as police searches in the middle of the night at some Catalan associations such as at the Centre Escolar Catalanista, the prevention of several public meetings and the prohibition of the founding of new newspapers with the name *Lo Renaxement de Catalunya, L'Autonomista* and *Lo Renaxement*.[173] Furthermore, it reported on the prohibition of the distribution of Catalan nationalist pamphlets on the streets of Barcelona, as well as a ban to talk Catalan at an extraordinary session of the city council of Cambrils.[174]

A public meeting, organised by the *Centre Català* of Sabadell which had also supported the manifestation was banned on the same day.[175] Even though until 1897 Catalan newspapers and cultural associations had enjoyed relative freedom, the message sent to the Greek king and the manifestation of solidarity on 6 March, provoked authorities to shut down newspapers like *Lo Regionalista* and *La*

[172] Ibid. And similar in La Renaixensa, Barcelona, núm. 7257, 07.03.1897, p. 1348.
[173] La Veu de Catalunya, Barcelona, 04.04.1897.
[174] A retrospective account of the incidents written by Jaume Maspons i Camarasa, the secretary of the Unió Catalanista in 1897, in: El Calendari Català per l'any 1898, pp. 19-20.
[175] Ibid., p. 19.

Renaixensa as well as to increase the police presence in Barcelona. From March 1897 until October of the same year, the newspaper *La Renaixensa* was suspended by 'governmental order'.[176]



Figure 2: 'The capture of the Patum: We have captured this predator which walked freely and without a muzzle on the street of Chuclá', Biblioteca de Catalunya, La Campana de Gràcia, Barcelona 20.03.1897[177]

The Reaction of the Press and New Political Alliances

Llorens i Vila suggested that the message sent to King George I travelled widely, not across Europe but within Spain, being spread in particular by the press in Madrid which classified the manifestation as an act of separatism.[178] The conservative newspapers *La Época* and *El Imparcial* responded immediately to the 'Catalanist message' condemning the 'anti-Spanish spirit of the document' and

[176] La Vanguardia, 24.03.1897, p. 2. However, the editors of *La Renaixensa* continued to publish in a supplement to the newspaper *Lo Somatent* in Reus, see Lo Somatent, any 12, núm 3227, Suplement escrit per los ex-redactors de la Renaixensa, Reus, 28.03.1897.
[177] The editorial office of the Renaixensa was based in the streets of Chuclá/Carrer d'en Xuclà in Barcelona, see, La Biblioteca de Catalunya, La Campana de Gràcia, núm 1453, Barcelona, 20.03.1897, p. 8.
[178] Llorens i Vila, *Catalanisme i moviments nacionalistes contemporanis (1885-1901): Missatges a Irlanda, Creta i Finlàndia*, p. 60.

showing understanding and support for censorship by the Spanish government.[179] It particularly viewed the war fought in the colonies as a reason why the Spanish authorities reacted promptly towards what would have been an otherwise unnoticed incident. Under normal circumstances, the Catalan newspaper *La Vanguardia* explained that the response would have been less harsh as the majority of Catalans knew where their patriotic feelings belonged to but 'today, when Spain is involved in two wars to maintain its territorial integrity it is doubly reprehensible that words like the censored ones come out, from Spanish lips'.[180]

In 1897, Spain was fighting colonial wars in Cuba and the Philippines. Additionally, it was struggling with revolts organised by the Carlists and violent attacks of the anarchists. Unsurprisingly, it was particularly *La Dinastía*[181], a newspaper whose name already suggests its proximity to the monarchical system, which attacked the publication of the message to the Greeks. *La Dinastía*, published in Barcelona, but close to the government of Canovas, attacked the actions of the Unió Catalanista describing its members as 'separatists' and the wording of the message as an 'act of treason.'[182] Some Spanish newspapers also reported an incident that did not appear in the Catalanist press, according to which a student who attended the manifestation of solidarity had exclaimed 'Long live Spain' and had subsequently been insulted by several demonstrators.[183] The article 'Distingamos -We shall distinguish,' published by the director of the newspaper *La Dinastía* Marcial Morano, was sympathetic to the government's actions arguing that such separatism, 'with all its hatred and antipathies of the ungrateful and

[179] La Vanguardia, 17.03.1897, p. 5.
[180] La Vanguardia, Edición del martes, 09.03.1897, p. 6.
[181] *La Dinastía* was founded in October 1883 to campaign for the return of power of the conservative party lead by Antonio Cánovas del Castillo which in that moment was in opposition.
[182] Marcial Morano, Distingamos, La Dinastía, Barcelona, 21.03.1897.
[183] Los Elementos Catalanistas, La Época, Madrid, 27.03.1897.

perverse son,' always needs to be suppressed with a 'firm hand.'[184] It emphasised that Catalan nationalism had enjoyed extensive governmental and institutional support for a long time and that comparisons with Crete were therefore incomprehensible. In particular, Catalan cultural initiatives had received continuous support and would continue to be endorsed as long as they stayed within constitutional limits.[185]

The writing of the message of solidarity and the manifestation in front of the consulate in 1897 divided not only the press across Spain but also Catalan nationalists who felt that the rhetoric of a similar oppressive situation went too far in the attack of the Spanish state. Catalan journalists such as republican Josep Roca i Roca and Juli Francesc Guibernau i Planas voiced their disagreement with the Unió Catalanista's action and with the message of solidarity. Under the pseudonym P. del O., Josep Roca published several articles in the satirical newspapers *La Campana de Gràcia* and *La Esquella de la Torratxa,* both of which were pro-republican and anti-clerical. Josep Roca felt that the Catalan nationalists had exaggerated the Catalan situation by comparing it to the situation in Crete. He specifically highlighted the phrase 'foreign subjugation' in the message to Crete as deceitful. At the same time mocking the emotional and vexed reaction of the government in Madrid, Josep Roca also criticised 'those Catalanists' who 'cannot imagine anything else but a Catalonia, tyrannised like Crete, vexed and oppressed like Ireland.'[186] These Catalan nationalists, he opined, were still living in the historical situation of 1714, disregarding any advantages a unified multi-national state like Spain could have. He described them as docile, simple, harmless dreamers

[184] La Época, Madrid, 27.03.1897.
[185] Marcial Morano, Distingamos, La Dinastía, Barcelona, 21.03.1897.
[186] P. del O., Cronica, La Esquella de la Torratxa, núm. 0948, Barcelona 12.03.1897, pp. 146-148.

and idealists whose vision would not lead to anything[187]: 'The longing to compare Catalonia with Ireland, with Crete and generally with all oppressed and humiliated people, is nothing more than the hyperbole daughter of the fantasies of some dreamers obsessed by an erroneous and anachronistic idea.'[188]

Josep Roca prophesied that the police who now tried to intimidate the cultural and political associations of Catalan nationalism would thereby legitimise the voices of the same nationalists and create support for their cause. Even though he described the whole situation as 'much ado about nothing', Roca argued that by closing the newspaper *La Renaixensa* the government gave 'Catalanism an importance which it would not have acquired out of its own force'.[189] With this analysis, Roca was somewhat right. It was precisely the closure of newspapers and the following demonstrations in Barcelona, which ultimately attracted the attention of the foreign press. Even though they had barely noticed the sending of messages of solidarity, some newspapers reported more extensively on the 'Catalan Question' which unsettled Spanish politics after the restrictions of the press followed.

The Swiss newspaper *Journal de Genève*, for example, reported on the Catalan question a few days after the Spanish authorities had placed restrictions on *La Renaixensa* and *Lo Regionalista*. On March 23, 1897, the *Journal de Genève* reported that 'since a couple of days, there is a new question in the world': 'It is the Catalan Question.'[190] The article described the incident of the manifestation for Crete briefly but mostly gave a general historical account about the Catalan political and cultural movement acknowledging that it was not an entirely new question, but that Catalonia had 'always been slightly different', was comparably prosperous to

[187] P. del O., El Monstruo y la Patum, La Campana de Gràcia, núm 1453, Barcelona, 20.03.1897.
[188] P. del O., Cronica, La Esquella de la Torratxa, núm. 0948, Barcelona 12.03.1897, p. 146.
[189] Ibid., pp. 4-5.
[190] Journal de Genève, National, Politique Et Littéraire, Genève 23.03.1897, p. 1.

other parts of Spain and had preserved 'for a long time privileges and traditions.' Catalan nationalist also saw their movement validated as the newspaper reported that the Catalan language was 'certainly a language and not a dialect of the Provençal or Spanish' and that they had possessed some 'independence' represented by the *fueros* under king Ferdinand and Charles V.[191]

La Veu de Catalunya partially reprinted the *Journal de Genève* article on 28 March, as a positive example of the coverage of the Catalan question.[192] Besides mentioning that Barcelona had become the capital of European anarchism, the *Journal de Genève* also emphasised the sudden increase in political support for Catalan autonomy which according to the newspaper had become visible in the streets: 'Suddenly a wind has come up in Barcelona, and the word of autonomy is pronounced everywhere.' The visible signs of this desire of autonomy were found in the 'multiplication of Catalan hats and in the *toilette* of the women' which consisted of the emergence of ribbons in red and gold - the colours of the flag of Aragon.[193] The *Catalan Calendar* of 1898, as well as newspapers across the ideological spectrum, reported a similar 'sudden increase' in the popularity of Catalan hats, known as 'barretinas'[194] particularly among the young workers and the students.[195] Even though the *Journal de Genève* judged the situation in Spain to be 'very serious,' it was pessimistic about the handling of the situation by the Spanish government, which it thought could provoke a revolution in Barcelona. The

[191] Ibid.
[192] La Veu de Catalunya, any 7, núm. 13, Barcelona, 28.03.1897, p. 102, Lo Catalanista, Barcelona, 11.04.1897, p. 10-11. See also, Verdaguer y Callís, La Veu de Catalunya, Barcelona, 04.04.1897.
[193] Journal de Genève, National, Politique Et Littéraire, Genève 23.03.1897, p. 1.
[194] The barretina, is a traditional hat worn by Catalan nationalists at the end of the nineteenth century. In appearance it was very similar to the Phrygian cap. See for an overview of the historic development of this symbol, Pere Anguera, *La barretina: La imatge tòpica del Català*, Episodis de la història, (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 2009).
[195] El Calendari Català per l'any 1898, pp. 20-22 and P. del O., El Monstruo y la Patum, La Campana de Gràcia, núm 1453, Barcelona, 20.03.1897.

Spanish government of Canovas del Castillo was not known for its 'prudence nor delicacy of the hand.' Instead, the article claimed, its method of treating any revolution was to never bend towards the revolutionaries and to respond instead 'with iron and fire'. Such an inflexible attitude would not succeed in the colonies, either in Cuba or Manilla, but would be even 'less effective in the Catalan country which is inhabited by a population which (…) has their head close to the *bonnet'*.[196] The *Journal de Genève* also reported on a possible alliance between the federalists in Catalonia and the Catalan regionalists, which had not cooperated until now but which could become allies as a result of the steps taken by the government.[197]

The delivery of the message let federalists and Catalan regionalists move closer together in their political demands to reorganise Spain. The Federalists and the Regionalists had not been able to find common ground until the late 1890s.[198] However, the restrictions placed on some Catalan nationalist organisations changed this at least temporarily. The *Nuevo Régimen* as the organ of the Spanish federalist and republican party *Consejo Federal Republicano* had condemned the actions of the government and had not described the Catalan nationalists as separatists who were endangering the territorial integrity of the Spanish state but as a group which was offering a viable and rational solution to reorganise the Spanish state.[199] Following the prohibition of *La Renaixensa,* the *Nuevo Régimen* published on 20 March 1897 several articles discussing the events of the delivery of the 'elegant message' as well as the restrictions placed on the newspapers.

[196] Journal de Genève, National, Politique Et Littéraire, Genève 23.03.1897, p. 1.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Angel Duarte Montserrat, "Republicans i Catalanistes. Reus, 1890-1899," *Recerques: Història, economia i cultura*, no. 29 (1994): pp. 25-28.
[199] El Nuevo Régimen, Semanario Federal, Madrid 20.03.1897, p. 1.

The article, presumably written by Pi y Margall himself, criticised the actions taken by the Spanish authorities and asked whether speaking of the Catalan Patria was now a crime. The author argued that all people had their own primitive Patria, the place where they were born, and that this Patria extended to the nation and even to the whole earth. As it was not Spain but Catalonia, which directed herself to King George, the author concluded that it was only fair and rational to speak in the name of the Catalan Patria.[200] Instead of a threat of the territorial integrity, the author of the article saw the message to Crete as another evidence that the regionalists of Catalonia wanted unity: 'Do they advocate that Crete should live independently? No, but that they unify with Greece'. [201] According to the author, the regionalists and the federalists were both advocating for more regional autonomy and the federalisation of Spain, the only difference being that the federalists were campaigning for autonomy for all the regions of the peninsula and even for the colonies: 'Today the monarchs live afar from the spirit of the century. From here derive their missteps, in the peninsula as well as the colonies'.[202]

Furthermore, the article claimed that the debate around this issue was not a question of nationalism. Instead, the 'harshness' with which the government had reacted as well as the 'arbitrariness of the penal system', revealed that this was a problem of democracy and freedom of speech in general. First, because the government was placing restrictions on 'free thought' and second, because the Spanish authorities seemed to be punishing the regionalists more frequently compared to their treatment of other political groups. In particular, in the context of Carlist agitation in recent weeks, the author voiced anger that the government

[200] Ibid.
[201] El Nuevo Régimen, Semanario Federal, Madrid 20.03.1897, p. 1.
[202] Ibid. On Pi y Margall's attitude towards autonomy in the colonies and particularly for Cuba, see Conangla i Fontanilles, *Cuba y Pí y Margall*.

authorities were so one-sidedly using censorship to punish the regionalists: 'The liberal government which is presided by Canovas doesn't dare to violate the right of association and reunion (…) against the Carlists but does dare to violate them against the regionalists of Catalonia.' The article mainly deemed the measures disproportional as the regionalists had never used violence and, unlike the anarchists, had never threatened to do so either. Therefore, if the government could restrict freedom of speech for the anarchists and regionalists, this tendency could be easily expanded to federalists, republicans, and even Carlists, 'leaving only the partisans of the ruling institutions.'[203]

The newspaper *Vanguardia* also reported on the Spanish government's attempt to prevent a possible alliance between federalists and Catalan nationalists by prohibiting a visit of the Unió Catalanista to the headquarters of the Catalan Federalist Party.[204] The same Josep Roca, who previously had mocked the message by Catalan nationalists, saw an opportunity in the situation. He maintained that this incident might encourage the politicisation of a less radical wing of Catalan nationalism which until now refused to become an active part in Spanish politics.[205] On 27 October 1897, the new civil governor of Barcelona Ramón de Larroca i Pascual put an end to the suspension of the newspaper, an event which was celebrated and reported on by newspapers of diverse political leanings throughout Spain.[206]

[203] El Nuevo Régimen, Semanario Federal, Madrid 20.03.1897, p.2. Similarly Josep Roca asked: 'Who can be save from such government actions?', see, P. del O., El Monstruo y la Patum, La Campana de Gràcia, núm 1453, Barcelona, 20.03.1897.
[204] La Vanguardia, 24.03.1897, p. 2 and La Vanguardia, Barcelona, 25.03.1897, p. 3.
[205] P. del O., El Monstruo y la Patum, La Campana de Gràcia, núm 1453, Barcelona, 20.03.1897.
[206] La Vanguardia, 27.10.1897, p. 2.

Anti-imperialism and an alliance of the oppressed

Historians have shown how Catalans and Catalan nationalists shared a somewhat ambiguous relationship to the Spanish Empire and colonies in general.[207] Even though Catalonia did not partake in the early colonial trade with the Americas, Catalan industrialists had quite a privileged position in the later colonies of the Spanish Empire, such as Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.[208] Krauel and Ucelay-Da Cal emphasise how these economic entanglements in the colonies also had a profound emotional and cultural impact on Catalonia and Catalan nationalists, for example, inspiring the famous poem of the literary movement *Renaixença*, Verdaguer's *L'Atlàntida* (1877).[209] Whereas Pi y Margall and other Spanish intellectuals such as Machado had criticised the illiberal character of Spanish rule as 'fomenting the spirit of rebellion' in the colonies, individuals such as Alomar and Prat de la Riba were claiming a hegemonic position for Catalonia within Spain and in the Empire.[210] Catalan theorist and politician Prat de la Riba, inspired by the imperial ideas of Theodore Roosevelt, explored prospects for a potential future Catalan Empire in his writings.[211] This imperial dream owed much to the close

[207] Enric Ucelay da Cal, *El Imperialismo Catalán: Prat de la Riba, Cambó, d'Ors y la conquista moral de España*, Ensayo histórico, (Barcelona: Edhasa, 2003); Josep M. Fradera, "The Empire, the nation and the homelands: Nineteenth-century Spain's national idea," in *Region and State in nineteenth-century Europe*, ed. Joost Augusteijn and Eric Storm (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Oscar Costa Ruibal, *L'imaginari imperial: El Noucentisme Català i la política internacional*, Biblioteca Catalana contemporània. Estudis, (Barcelona: Institut Cambó, 2002); María Elvira Roca Barea, *Imperiofobia y leyenda negra : Roma, Rusia, Estados Unidos y el Imperio Español* (Madrid: Siruela, 2017).
[208] Javier Krauel, *Imperial emotions* (Liverpool University Press, 2014), pp. 166-167. See for a detailed account on how the Catalan cotton industry of the nineteenth century owed much of its wealth to the Spanish colonies, Josep Maria Fradera, *Catalunya i Ultramar: Poder i negoci a les Colònies Espanyoles (1750-1914)*, (Barcelona: Ambit Serveis Editorials, 1995).
[209] Krauel, *Imperial emotions*, pp. 166-167.
[210] One of the theorists of Catalan nationalism who spoke against colonies and imperial pride was Domènec Martí i Julià, who argued that imperialism and Catalan nationalism were incompatible, Martí i Julià, Nacionalisme y Imperialisme, Joventut 1905, see ibid., p. 70.
[211] See on Catalan imperial thought Ucelay da Cal, *El imperialismo Catalán*, p. 227.

connection Catalan nationalism had with the Catalan factory owners and *haute bourgeoisie*.[212]

While many liberal nationalists across Europe celebrated imperialism as a source of pride, the messages of solidarity sent to Ireland, Crete, Finland, and the Transvaal, all introduced a new element into the narrative of Catalan nationhood: the idea that Spanish rule in the colonies and the peninsula was old-fashioned, anti-democratic and that Catalan nationhood was anti-imperial.[213] As previous sections have shown, a few Catalan nationalists made a case that the messages of solidarity were about resisting formal means of control by stronger states. The reaction of the Spanish authorities and the restrictions placed on newspapers as a result to the acts of solidarity fit well into this narrative. Several newspaper articles argued that Catalan nationalists were unable to express their thoughts due to the ongoing wars in Cuba and the Philippines which were dividing the Spanish state.[214] However, the colonial wars were not only restricting the possibilities of what could be articulated within the Spanish state, but they also posed an opportunity to mobilise all those Spaniards who were turning against the military interventions in Morocco, Cuba, and the Philippines.[215]

With Spain fighting two colonial wars defending their Empire and many soldiers who served in the wars in Cuba or the Philippines coming home in 1897, the moment may have seemed opportune to demand more regional autonomy. The

[212] Smith, *The origins of Catalan nationalism, 1770-1898*, p. 103, 133, 148.
[213] On the difference between anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism, see Fabian Hilfrich, "Anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism," in *The encyclopedia of empire*, ed. John M. MacKenzie et al. (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), pp. 1-7. Contemporaries used both concepts associated with 'colonies' and 'empires' interchangeably.
[214] La Renaixensa, Barcelona 11.03.1897, pp. 1424-6.
[215] On the war jingoism in the established press, see Sebastian Balfour, *The end of the Spanish empire, 1898–1923* (Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 11-48. On shifts in the Spanish public opinion concerning their colonial wars specifically on the war in Morocco see, for example, Alfonso Iglesias Amorín, "Los intelectuales Españoles y la Guerra del Rif (1909-1927)," *Revista Universitaria de Historia Militar* 3, no. 5 (2014): pp. 59-77.

beginning of 1897 saw a sudden increase in Cuban repatriates arriving back in Spain, mentally and physically harmed by the war.[216] Many Catalan associations organised support for these repatriates. Several cultural initiatives organised soirees to financially support individuals or local hospitals, as well as advertising fundraising events through newspapers.[217] Catalan journalists and politicians, involved in the Unió Catalanista, started to publish articles and books criticising the Spanish state and its policies in the Empires and began to move away from previous admirations of the Habsburg Empire.[218] This was in line with a pan-European criticism of Spanish colonial rule in the nineteenth century, as well as criticism of Russian, Ottoman, German, and British imperial policies.[219]

Only ten days after the incident in front of the Greek consulate, the Unió Catalanista published a manifest in which they explained their 'Catalanism within Spain' and their 'regionalism within Catalonia.' This manifesto stated that the Unió Catalanista wanted to limit its demand for autonomy to three areas and would limit

[216] The repercussions of the war for Cuban independence on Catalan nationalism as well as the declaration of independence a few years later were salient but still remain to be explored in detail. With the establishment of the *Grop Nacionalista Radical*, founded in 1908 in Havana, Cuba, Catalan nationalism also had a small group of nationalists abroad supporting a completely separate Catalan state, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Fons ANC1-1272 / CATALUNYA. GROP NACIONALISTA RADICAL. See also the memoir of a Catalan fighting for Cuban Independence, Josep Conangla i Fontanilles and Joaquín Roy, *Memorias de mi juventud, en Cuba: Un soldado del ejército Español en la Guerra separatista, 1895-1898 / Josep Conangla i Fontanilles; edición e introducción de Joaquín Roy*, Atalaya, (Barcelona: Ediciones Península, 1998).

[217] See La Veu de Catalunya, 10.01.1897, and 21.02.1897 as well as all the editions of La Campana de Gràcia of 1897.

[218] See Ehrlich who analyses how the Habsburg Empire served as a model for theorists of Catalan nationalism, Charles E. Ehrlich, "Early twentieth-century Catalan regionalist theory: Lluis Duran i Ventosa, his times, and the influence of the Austrian Empire," *Nations and Nationalism* 4, no. 2 (1998): pp. 207-226.

[219] See for connections between Nationalism in Empire in Britain, Sean Ryder, "Ireland, India and popular nationalism in the early nineteenth century," in *Ireland and India: Colonies, culture and empire*, ed. Tadhg Foley and Maureen O'Connor (Dublin and Portland: Irish Academic Press, 2006), pp. 12-24. Specifically for the Boer war, Donal Lowry, "Nationalist unionist response to the british empire age of South African war," in *Newspapers and empire in Ireland and Britain : Reporting the British Empire c.1857-1921*, ed. Simon James Potter (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004), pp. 159-176.

its activism to internal affairs:[220] The three main demands concerned cultural, legal and military affairs. Firstly, the Unió Catalanista demanded that Catalan would be granted the status of an official national language, secondly, they wanted separate Catalan laws and powers of jurisdiction and thirdly, they demanded power over their regional military: 'we want to contribute to the Spanish military through voluntaries or money, suppressing the forced military conscription (*levée en masse*) and establishing that the obligatory regional reserve would only serve within Catalonia'.[221] Such demands for increased autonomy were directly linked to the military conscription of the colonial wars. These demands became popular once again in the twentieth century when Catalans and many other Spaniards were unwilling to fight for the state in the Spanish Moroccan War.[222]

An even stronger sense of anti-imperialism and community of the oppressed was articulated in the messages to the Transvaal and the Finnish people.[223] Despite the substantial repercussions or probably because of the confidence gained through the incidents surrounding the delivery of the message of sympathy for Crete in 1897, two years later in June 1899, the Centre Escolar Catalanista sent a message to 'the people of Finland'.[224]

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[220] These positions were part of propositions of a previous manifesto, published in 1892 called *Bases of Manresa*, see, Josep Termes and Agustí Colomines, *Les Bases de Manresa de 1892 i els orígens del Catalanisme*, Col·lecció "textos i documents", (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de la Presidència, Entitat Autònoma del Diari Oficial i de Publicacions, 1992).
[221] Manifest de la 'Unió Catalanista', 16.03.1897 published in La Renaixensa, núm.7, Barcelona, 24.04.1897, p. 97.

[222] See how the first Moroccan War in 1860 led to demonstrations of Spanish nationalism, Smith, *The origins of Catalan nationalism, 1770-1898*, pp. 66-68.
[223] Culturally, Finland was present in Catalonia, first and foremost through the work of Angel Ganivet, a diplomat who spent several years in Helsinki. During his time in Helsinki he wrote several works, a critique of the Spanish state and society, Idearium Español, the Finnish letters (Cartas Finlandesas, 1896) which included observations about Finnish society and its government as well as 'Men of the North' (Hombres del Norte 1898) which was a study on Scandinavian authors such as Ibsen and the Finnish national epic Kalevala.
[224] La Renaixensa, Barcelona 28.07.1899.

The Finnish question had already escalated in 1898 when the Finnish Diet had examined a military law of the Russian Ministry of War which obliged the Finnish people to serve in the Russian army. The Diet rejected the law on the basis that this new military law violated previous agreements between Russia and Finland which had formed a dynastic union since 1809. According to these agreements, Finland had maintained extensive autonomy and had its own army of 6000 soldiers. During the crisis in February 1899, Tsar Nicholas II codified the constitutional status of Finland, deprived the Finnish Diet of most of its legislative powers, introduced Russian as the official language and dissolved the Finnish army. The conflict with Russia immediately led to organised protests among the Finnish population, including mass strikes in the commercial and industrial sector in the capital Helsinki, student demonstrations and a 'silent' but powerful protest of the Finnish women who dressed in mourning and brought flowers and crowns to the monument of Alexander II, the 'monarch and friend of Finland.'[225] A message to Tsar Nicolas II. which reminded the tsar of the promises made by his predecessors, collected over 500.000 signatures in only a few days.[226]

The student body of the UC, the Centre Escolar Catalanista, together with twenty other Catalan associations, fifteen smaller groups, and ten newspapers signed the letter of solidarity to Finland in 1899.[227] In its wording, the Catalan message to Finland was very similar to the letter sent to the King of Greece.

[225] Alexander II had the reputation of the 'friendly monarch' as under his rule (1855-1881) Finland experienced a period of liberalisation in education, the arts but also economically, Rovira i Virgili, *Història dels moviments nacionalistes*, p. 39.
[226] Ibid., pp. 38-41. Historian John Holland Rose who wrote a similar history of nationalist movements like Rovira a couple of years later described the situation in a very similar matter, describing the signing of the message as one of the first 'national' petitions, J. Holland Rose, *The development of the European nations, 1870-1914*, 5th ed., with new Preface and three supplementary chapters. ed. (London: Constable, 1915), p. 314.
[227] These numbers are reported by the Finnish newspaper Kansalainen, num 138, Pori 1899, p. 2. *Kansalainen* was published between 1896 and 1912 in Pori. The newspaper was first constitutional and encouraged passive resistance against Russian rule and then declared itself neutral.

However, unlike the Cretan letter which only spoke to a community of resisting, the letter to the Finns described the Catalans as being 'subjugated' and 'enslaved' by a foreign power and a centralising imperial state. The message to the Finns emphasised that nothing aligned Catalonia theoretically with Finland, 'not the affinity of race, not a community of origin, not language. Nothing brings the two people together, except for their unfortunate circumstances.'[228] Whereas Rovira described the Finnish cause in very affectionate terms, the Russian occupiers, on the other hand, were described with a lack of sympathy and as a 'semi-civilised' country.[229] Such terms, as well as 'semi-European,' were sometimes used by Catalan nationalists to describe Castile or the Spanish state. Such discourses on civilisation and Europeanness fitted into a broader pan-European discourse of backwardness, racism, and civilisation.

Most of the press also criticised the power balance in Europe. Again, Catalan nationalists claimed that the European public was on their side and that Catalans were part of a bigger movement resisting the big imperial states. Rovira reported that the Catalan people were not the only ones who addressed a message of solidarity to the Finns. He mentioned that most of the European press was outraged by the conduct of Russia regarding its politics towards Finland. Particularly the Scandinavians and the British realised a 'vibrant campaign in favour of the Finns.' In addition, 'in 1899, a group of European intellectuals

[228] National Archive of Catalonia (Solé i Pla). Interestingly, most Catalan historians and ethnographer were certain that Finland constituted a nation even though they seemed less certain what were the elements that formed this nationhood. Rovira i Virgili included Finland into his 'History of National Movements' but stated that 'surprisingly' Finland had no 'racial' or ethnic nor unity of language. Nevertheless, 'no one could deny that it was a nationality, very strong and alive'. Rovira suspected the Swedish-Finish minority to be absorbed over time by the Finnish speaking majority, linguistically and biologically particularly as many Finnish nationalists such as the poet Oksanen were campaigning of a unitary language: 'Yksi kieli, Yksi mieli (One language, one spirit), see Rovira i Virgili, *Història dels moviments nacionalistes*, p. 37.
[229] Ibid.

addressed to the tsar a message against the imperial manifest which suppressed the autonomy of the Grand Duchy of Finland'. Intellectuals such as the 'Duke of Broglie' and 'Ernest Hsckel [sic]' (Ernst Haeckel) signed the message. However, the delegation which went to St. Petersburg to hand over the document was not received.[230]

Rovira was referring to the 'Pro Finlandia-Movement' initiated by European intellectuals including Sven Palme, Baron Born, Konni Zilliacus, and Otto Nordenskjöld and signed by over one thousand European scholars, artists and politicians such as Florence Nightingale, Björnstjerne-Björnson, Henrik Ibsen and Emile Zola.[231] In the light of such eminent and well-known figures being involved in the 'Pro Finlandia-Movement,' it seems clear that the students belonging to the Centre Escolar Catalanista were not hoping to change Russian policy.[232] Instead, by aligning the Catalan cause with the Finnish, they were trying to overcome their peripherality and smallness within Europe by creating 'imagined allies.' These bonds were created even if these letters remained unanswered, as in the case of the message to the Finns.

An analysis of Scandinavian and Finnish newspapers has shown that, even though Catalan newspapers claimed that the message would appear in all Finnish newspapers, not many Finnish newspapers reported on it and the ones that published articles about it did not necessarily receive the letter of the Catalan nationalists with goodwill.[233] Instead, many only dedicated short paragraphs to the

[230] Ibid., p. 40.
[231] The message of solidarity by European intellectuals was later published in book format with all the signatures, see "Pro Finlandia: 1899 : Les adresses internationales à s. M. L'Empereur-Grand-Duc Nicolas II," (Berlin; Stockholm: Commission chez Otto Mertz, Impr. H.W. Tullberg, 1899).
[232] There was also extensive support for the Finnish cause across different countries. For the response of the French press, see Louis Clerc, "A feeling for justice: French reactions to the 'Finnish cause' between 1890 and 1917," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 38, no. 2 (2007).
[233] L'Atlántida: revista Catalana quincenal il·lustrada: Núm. 098, 29. 07. 1899, p. 8.

message describing it as 'very pretty but funny'[234] or accused the Catalan students of minimising the suffering of the Finnish by establishing a parallel.[235] The Finnish newspaper *Kansalainen* maintained that the message from such a 'southern country' would be beautiful, if it did not praise the Catalan's bravery while equating it with the pain of the Finns 'According to our concepts: these two matters should not be mixed up, and they have never been mixed up here.'[236]

The messages to Finland and the Transvaal received less attention from the Spanish government than the letter to King George I. of Greece. The reaction of the Castilian press to these messages was mostly contemptuous and mocking. Referring to the message to President Kruger, the newspaper *La Correspondecia Militar* stated: 'The Catalanist envision to send a message of support to the Transvaal Republic, in the same manner as they did to Greece and Finland. Gentlemen, what idiocy! The Catalanist will achieve that even the English will make fun of us.'[237] Similarly, reporting on the message to the Finns, the Catalan newspaper *La Publicidad* described the message as laughable and ridiculed Catalan nationalists as jokesters who were comparing apples with pears.[238]

Despite the only limited attention from the foreign press, the letters of solidarity and their narratives of nationalism as a trend and cosmopolitan patriotism

[234] See short description of message in, Päivälehti, Helsinki 03.08.1899, no 195, p. 3. Instead see Finnish newspaper *Tampereen Sanomat* which saw in the letter sent to the Finnish not a separatist outcry of Catalan nationalist but a 'heart-warming' symbol of solidarity, *Tampereen Sanomat,* no 280, 01.12.1899, p. 3.
[235] Healy speaks of similar accusations of the Polish association 'Literary Association of the Friends of Poland' which claimed that the Irish situation was not comparable to the Polish suffering, Healy, *Poland in the Irish nationalist imagination, 1772-1922: Anti-colonialism within Europe*, p. 208.
[236] I am grateful to Reeta Eiranen for helping to decipher the sometimes curly old Finnish. Kansalainen, Porissa, no.138, 1899, p. 2.
[237] La Correspondecia Militar, Madrid 15.09.1899. Similarly, on the Finnish message, see Heraldo de Madrid, 29.07.1899 and Correo Espanol, diario tradicionalista, 28.07.1899.
[238] La Publicidad: eco de la industria y del comercio, diario de anuncios, avisos y noticias: (29 Julio 1899), Edición Noche, p.1. and La Publicidad : eco de la industria y del comercio, diario de anuncios, avisos y noticias: 31.07.1899, Edición Mañana, p. 1.

introduced new elements into the self-understanding of Catalan nationalists. This not only stayed in the political realm but also found its way into cultural productions. The messages of solidarity increased collaboration between cultural and political organisations and established narratives of foreign domination in Catalan popular culture. The choir Orfeó Català which until 1897, had been mostly silent on political questions, chose to participate in the public demonstration in front of the consulate. The minutes of their board meeting reveal that the vote on whether to participate in the manifestation or not had been extremely controversial. Five members voted in favour while five voted against the participation.[239] The participation in the manifestation not only led to the loss of old members who disagreed with the new politicised route but also gained the choir new members particularly from areas of Barcelona where they previously had only limited support.[240]

Catalan poets and playwrights such as Josep Burgas and Angel Guimerà dedicated poems, articles and theatre plays to foreign national movements like Poland, Bohemia, Armenia and Cuba. Josep Burgas i Burgas' (1876 - 1950) plays, mostly published at the beginning of the twentieth century formed part of a canon of so-called 'patriotic plays,' regularly performed on 11 September, and in memory of Rafael Casanovas.[241] Most of Burgas' plays were neither set in modern-day

[239] Centre de Documentació de l'Orfeó Català, CEDOC_ 2.1.1-02. Acte del 02.03.1897.
[240] Ibid, Acte del 14.03.1897. Furthermore, the participation at the manifestation led to more collaborations between the choir and the political organisations of Catalan nationalism in Barcelona and Sabadell, see ibid. And Acte del 06.05.1897, La Publicidad, 11.09.1897 and La Renaixensa, 10.09.1897.
[241] Pere Anguera, *L'onze de setembre: Història de la diada (1886-1938)* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2008), pp. 125-127; Joaquim Capdevila, "Consciència nacional i consciència històrica. Els principals marcs," in *Imaginaris nacionals moderns. Segles XVIII-XXI.*, ed. Joaquim Capdevila, Mariona Lladonosa, and Joana Soto (Lleida: Universitat de Lleida, 2015), pp. 145-150. See for an overview of the patriotic theatre developing at the time and which also refers to Burgas plays, Joan Esculies, *Via fora, lladres! El separatisme Català i el teatre patriòtic* (Barcelona: Edicions de 1984, 2014).

Catalonia nor used a historical account of Catalan patriotism, but instead used international places and times to tell a story of an imagined community of the oppressed which would resonate with the Catalan audience. *Jordi Erin* (1906), *Estil Imperi* (1910), *Els Segadors de Polònia* (1912), *Sota'l cel de la pàtria* (1916) and *El drap sagrat* (1920) were all plays set in different geographical and temporal settings but were interpreted as expressions of a Catalan rebellious spirit and as a way to circumvent censorship by the reviewers.[242] The plays were set in Dublin, in the Ireland of 1845, in Poland, in the capital 'Poliatowna' in 1794, during the peasant rebellion, in Athens during the Peloponnesian War, and in Helsingfors, Finland, in 1904. Besides telling a story of a foreign national movement, they all

[242] La Escena Catalana, núm. 316, Barcelona 26.10.1912, p. 10. The author of this short article in the Catalan theatre magazine *La Escena Catalana* explained the conveniences of disguising the point of departure in plays and novels in order to circumvent censorship or problems with authorities. References to censorship are found in multiple newspapers of the time and were mostly related to the Ley de Jurisdicciones. However, see also, for example, these earlier references, La Tralla, setmanari satírich, núm. 58, 02.12.1904, and, for example, La Tralla, 26.05.1905.

played with references to the Catalan context and mentioned foreign domination, colonies, and a new time era where subjugated people would all be free.[243]



Figure 3: Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona, Actor August Barbosa in the play Jordi Erin by Josep Burgas [244]

Burgas most popular play became *Jordi Erin*, which premiered in the theatre *Romea* in Barcelona in 1906 and was described as the 'success of the season' by *La Escena Catalana*.[245] The play described a moment in the struggle of Irish History, where the Irish nationalist 'movement was almost dead and in need of a young generation of patriots.'[246] The play was set in a room in the house of the 'famous Irish political leader' Daniel O'Connell. Jordi Erin, a young patriot, visits the old

[243] See for example also the reference to the 'Segadors of Poland' in the Renaixement 1912. Here the Polish Reapers is referring to the artists Mela Muter, Elie Nadelman, leopold Gottlieb, Witolol Gordan, Michal Mutermilch who were visiting Barcelona and addressed as Polish heroes for the national cause by the editors, Renaixement, Barcelona, 13.06.1912, any 3, núm. 83, p. 277.
[244] Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona, 3-A-2-7-S0-130-12.
[245] La Escena Catalana, núm. 008, 24.11.1906, p. 2.
[246] Josep Burgas, *El drap sagrat i jordi erin*, 3. ed. (Barcelona: La Escena Catalana, 1921), pp. 37-39.

politician to reassure him that the Irish movement is not dead but indeed alive and ready to take on the fight for Irish independence. The play used many of the themes, symbols, and slogans of Catalan nationalists but also introduced themes such as the concept of colonialism and economic exploitation: 'They treat Ireland as the most inferior of the colonies', exclaims the protagonist of the play and talks about restrictions of the press and free speech.[247]

Jordi Erin enjoyed particular popularity among the smaller theatre companies, and as part of 'nationalistic meetings' and patriotic celebrations, as it only required two actors and was a relatively short play.[248] It also gained high acceptance among different sections of Catalan society and was performed frequently in the working-class districts in Barcelona.[249] Some years later, in 1922, the National Working Youth (Joventut Nacionalista Obrera) of the district Poblet founded a newspaper with the same name.[250] Like other plays in Burgas' series, Jordi Erin exploited the 'David and Goliath' trope thereby connecting Catalan nationalism with that of other small nations. In all his plays, Burgas also emphasised the populist vocation of nationalism, representing different groups of people on stage. Most of these groups, as the young radical Finns who assassinated the Governor-General Nikolai Ivanovich Bobrikov in 'El Drap Sagrat', did not believe that parliamentarism was going to help their cause. A similarly sceptical attitude towards participation in the Spanish parliament had been voiced by Catalan nationalists at the same time. They debated whether participating in the electoral

[247] Ibid., pp. 43-48.
[248] In Badalona and Rubí Jordi Erin was performed as part of a 'big nationalist meeting' La Escena Catalana, núm. 15, Barcelona 12.01.1907 and La Escena Catalana, núm. 18, 02.02.1907, see also for later representations, Renaixement, 18.09.1913, El Poble Català, 14.09.1913, La Veu de Catalunya, 09.09.1913 and 10.09.1915.
[249] Ateneu Obrer del Districte II, La Escena Catalana, núm. 21, 23.02.1907 and Revista de l'Ateneu Obrer del Districte II, October 1913.
[250] See Biblioteca de Catalunya, Jordi Erin, periódic nacionalista Català, Barcelona.

system and collaborating with the central government was sustaining a state which 'systematically had not done justice to Catalonia.'[251] Instead, they advocated for political actions such as strike, demonstrations, and political agitation.

Furthermore, the plays alluded to other themes present in the discourse on Catalan nationhood. In many of the plays, the oppressors were not only painted as colonialists but as thieves. 'Get out thieves' was not only a slogan present in many of Burgas plays but also in other theatre plays such as *Mestre Olaguer* by Angel Guimerà and in the title of the well-known play by Manuel Rocamora i Rivera from 1899 (*Via Fora, Lladres*). Here the thieves were robbing the country of its economic potential and its possibility to belong to the progressive and advanced societies. Similarly, the Prussian thieves in Burgas' play *Segadors de Polònia* ('Reapers of Poland') on the Polish uprising in 1794, are forced out by the people 'Get out invaders!...Get out thieves!'[252] Probably the most consistent element of all Burgas plays is the portrayal of the rebels as part of a bigger historical juncture. The characters refer in rather prophetic ways to the fulfilment to their own cause as inevitable and to an alliance with other national causes. In the last scene of the *Segadors de Polònia*, the principal character Sergi sees in the sunrise, the 'dawn' of a new era: 'Behind all this blood a sun of brotherhood will rise, which at the same time as it lights up the human hearts, will also lift all the people who lived oppressed on this earth'.[253]

[251] Quote here from Daniel Cardona, a young Catalan separatist in 1934, see Cardona: Espanya I les joventuts Catalanes. Per la Patria o la llibertat, Barcelona, Nosaltres Sols, 1934.
[252] Burgas, Segadors de Polònia, p. 9. Also, one of the officials reports that nationalists have been detained as they were shouting 'Get out foreigners', see Ibid., p. 39. Also compare to Burgas, Sota'l cel, p. 8 and p. 14.
[253] Burgas, Segadors de Polònia, p. 43.

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Catalan letters of solidarity created imagined temporal and spatial bonds with other nationalist movements. These 'imagined allies' helped to protest and challenge the rule in Madrid and placed Catalan definitions of nationhood into the context of Christian and Catholic nationalism, the Mediterranean, the West, Europe, and small and oppressed nations.

The example of the manifestation of solidarity with Crete highlighted how international events influenced Catalan nation-building by synchronising different situations in time and space. First, Catalanist organisations such as the Unió Catalanista used international events to evaluate their movement. Second, such public manifestations increased the public exposure and adherence to the Catalan cause and the aftermath facilitated political alliances such as between Catalan regionalists and federalists. The manifestation for the people of Crete, which depicted Spanish and even European rule as old-fashioned and anti-democratic increased Catalan nationalist legitimacy.

However, interest in other nationalist movements, establishing analogies and creating models for themselves was not only an egoistic, calculated and opportune thing but also sometimes a result of genuine interest. Cultural contacts and travelogues were another feature of the building of international connections, as shown in Chapter III of this thesis. Alternatively, as historian Núñez Seixas put it, a 'national movement of the geographical periphery can feel a certain international affection towards other such movements.'[254] The historiography of nationalist movements suggests that such acts of solidarity were, in fact, a common feature. What seems peculiar about these Catalan letters is that they received only

[254] Núñez Seixas, "El mito del nacionalismo Irlandés y su influencia en los nacionalismos gallego, vasco y Catalán (1880-1936)," p. 26.

minimal attention from abroad but were nevertheless successful in penetrating the imagination of Catalan nationhood as an inter-national movement and creating an idea of an alliance of oppressed people despite different historical contexts. This found expression in popular plays of the twentieth century as well as in new musical compositions.[255]

[255] See compositions such as the Transvaliana, El Autonomista and Els boers by composer Juli Garreta i Arboix, CEDOC 3.4. Fons Juli Garreta.

II. Exporting Catalan Culture and Importing Modernity

> 'Barcelona appears to me as an opulent city (…) the intellectual production of Barcelona – What sort of impression does it give? There exists Catalan drama which seems to be written in Norwegian, verses which could have been produced on the boulevards of Montmartre, tearful comedies like the ones by Rusiñol in which one finds oneself emerged in a sea of international mixtures; they have everything: Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and even Tartars; The only thing that you cannot find is anything Catalan, at least nothing of high culture, nothing powerful, nothing worthy of the country. All the products of the Catalanist intellectuals appear hybrid to me, without the insignias of the race.'[256]
>
> (Pío Baroja 1924)

In 1924, Pío Baroja, a Spanish writer who pertained to the Generation of 1898, visited Barcelona after a short trip to Paris. The newspaper *ABC* reported how unimpressed the writer was by the literary production of Catalan nationalists which he described as an accumulation of foreign influences.[257] Catalan contemporary drama was, according to Baroja, in essence, a copy of Northern cultural productions. He was mainly referring to the productions of intellectuals in Catalonia which, affected by other European artists and foreign ideas, were failing to construct their own 'national culture' with 'ethnic traits'. Obviously, Pío Baroja was no friend of Catalan nationalism which he described in several of his writings as reminding him of the internationalism of Jewish culture.[258] However, the enthusiasm for foreign works of literature and philosophy such as Nietzsche, Ibsen, and Tolstoy and the extent to which these were adapted in Catalan cultural

[256] Sagarra, Josep Maria de, Pío Baroja o el "Babalaismus", La Publicitat, Barcelona 06.04.1924, p. 1 and ABC, Madrid 03.04.1924, p. 21.
[257] ABC, Madrid 03.04.1924, p. 21.
[258] Pío Baroja, *Momentum catastrophicum* (Madrid: R. Caro Raggio, 1919), p. 77. And Baroja, Pío, El problema Catalán. La influencia judía, EL Mundo, 15.11.1910, p. 1. See also Ucelay da Cal, *El imperialismo Catalán*, pp. 696-697.

productions was not only a matter of concern to Baroja but also to some Catalan nationalists.

They feared a 'denaturalisation' of the Catalan personality by having too many international ideas and concepts introduced into their culture. This would lead to Catalonia being a 'feudal or spiritual colony of other races', also argued theatre critic and historian Francesc Curet in 1917.[259] More specifically, they criticised the specific introduction of Nordic ideas. Even though Catalonia had for many years upheld frequent intellectual relationships with many Latin countries and in particular with Paris, in the years between 1900 and 1917, Catalan artists felt particularly inclined to import 'Nordic ideas and tendencies.'[260] As several scholars have shown, the fear of importing foreign models was a prevalent topic in debates of nationalism.[261] Mishkova and Daskalov highlight that even the opposition to adapt foreign models and advocates for organic nationhood were in themselves a 'mouthpiece of European culture'.[262]

To discuss whether intellectual's concerns and Baroja's claim that Catalan literary scene lacked 'ethno-symbolic' traits were valid is not the aim of this chapter. In fact, the same uncertainties can be found about any 'national culture', whether 'German literature', 'French music' or 'Polish drama'. Instead, the focus of this chapter is on the cultural and social horizon which characterised the debates

[259] Curet, Francesc, *El arte dramático en el resurgir de Cataluña*, Barcelona 1917, p. 291.
[260] See ibid. Formerly, Curet argued Catalans artists had been too influenced by French culture, 'afrancesados', pp.285-293.
[261] In Western and Central Europe, fear of foreign imports and mainly of migrants was particularly marked in the patriotic discourse of the late eighteenth century. See, for example, on adaptions of Western models in the Balkans, Roumen Daskalov and Diana Mishkova, ""Forms without substance": Debates on the transfer of Western models to the Balkans," in *Entangled histories of the Balkans: Transfers of political ideologies and institutions*, ed. by Roumen Daskalov and Diana Mishkova (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 1-98; Zimmer, *A contested nation: History, memory and nationalism in Switzerland, 1761-1891*, pp. 72-73.
[262] Daskalov and Mishkova, ""Forms without substance": Debates on the transfer of Western models to the Balkans", p. 37.

about ‘Catalan culture’. It will examine how Catalan cultural institutions presented Catalan culture to the outside world and how artists used international influences for definitions of Spanish and Catalan nationhood. The aim of this chapter is twofold. First, it offers examples of the export and import of Catalan culture, the imaging and imagining aspects of nationhood, which demonstrate how nationhood was forged at home and how it was projected to the outside world, two essential processes for all nations at the time.[263] Second, the chapter argues that Catalan nationalists were dealing with significant challenges in this process of imaging and imagining nationhood. The outside world perceived Catalonia as geopolitically unimportant due to its size and marginal position and as culturally very similar to Spain. Catalonia and Spain in general were often described as backward and religious countries and its literary and musical scene as romantic and passionate but insignificant. These challenges made Catalan cultural institutions push more vehemently for an international platform and let modernist artists incorporate more foreign elements into their definition of Catalan nationhood.

Some of these campaigns were not necessarily conflictive with the political entity of the Spanish state but instead regarded their mission in disseminating a different, more nuanced and more progressive image of contemporary Spain. Theatre makers and composers tried to promote their work and their region’s cultural achievements abroad through their professional and personal contacts. Remarkably, these cultural contacts have not yet been the subject of an extensive study, even though they constituted the first attempts at micro-level of diplomatic,

[263] The ‘Imaging and Imagining’ aspect of nationalism is a term used by a term used by Clerc and Glover, see, Louis Clerc and Nikolas Glover, "Representing the small states of Northern Europe: Between imagined and imaged communities," in *Histories of public diplomacy and nation branding in the Nordic and Baltic Countries*, ed. by Louis Clerc, Nikolas Glover, and Paul Jordan, Diplomatic Studies (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

cultural relations.[264] It also presented a way for Catalan intellectuals to promote their name as artists abroad.[265] These international initiatives were supported by different strands of Catalan artists: Those who rejected historicist narratives and folklore as basis of their art, and those who had made it their mission to recover the 'traditional and unique character' of Catalan culture.[266]

The first section examines the attempts to gain international acknowledgement for the 'uniqueness' of Catalan culture. Between 1905 and 1920, Catalan artists were reaching out to other nations through various activities such as attempts to build their own telegraphic system, performances, and concerts abroad as well as attempts to duplicate Catalan festivities in cities across the world. Such initiatives to export Catalan culture can be regarded as part of the goal of the Mancomunitat of defining 'Catalunya endins' and 'Catalunya enfora': Catalonia inside and Catalonia outside.[267] The visits to London and Paris by the choral society Orfeó Català will serve as the case study to demonstrate such policies. The choral society is a particularly compelling case as it remains the cultural organisation 'most associated with Catalan nationalism'.[268] For them, the international arena presented itself as a chance to obtain cultural recognition by the most modern

[264] For an examination of later attempts to diffuse Catalan literature, see Cattini who examines how works of Prat de la Riba and Francesc Cambó were translated into Italian and have been associated with Fascist Italy, see Giovanni C. Cattini, "Joan Estelrich i l'expansió Catalana. La traducció de Prat de la Riba i Cambó en la Itàlia feixista," *Cercles: revista d'història cultural*, no. 12 (2009): pp. 75-89. Narváez Ferri also dedicates a few sections of her thesis to the external relations of the Orfeó Català. Manuela Narváez Ferri, "L'Orfeó Català, cant coral i Catalanisme (1891-1951)" (PhD thesis Universitat De Barcelona, 2005).
[265] A slightly later contemporary commentary was written by Josep Pla, L'expansió Catalana. Per a millor èxit de les exposicions d'art a l'estranger, La Veu de Catalunya, 24.11.1921, p. 9.
[266] On the two artistic movements, see, Jordi Castellanos, *Gaudí i Verdaguer: Tradició i modernitat a la Barcelona del canvi de segle, 1878-1912* (Barcelona: Museu d'Història de la Ciutat, 2002).
[267] A policy ascribed to Enric Prat de la Riba who envisaged Catalonia as the model for a modernised Spain, quoted in Borja de Riquer, *Història de la diputació de Barcelona*, (Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona, 1987), p. 13.
[268] Joan-Lluís Marfany, *La cultura del Catalanisme: El nacionalisme Català en els seus inicis*, 2nd ed., Biblioteca universal empúries, (Barcelona: Empúries, 1996), p. 307.

centres of the world by supporting a narrative about modernity beyond 'high art' concerts and atonality. They reinforced the idea that Catalan music was a form of modern vernacularism and popular music universal in its nationalising force.

The second section examines theatre critics and journalists mostly around the modernist magazine *L'Avenç* and how they recontextualised and adapted foreign national figures such as Ibsen for the Catalan narrative of nationhood. This chapter highlights the emulation and adaption of mostly Nordic foreign models which pushed the boundaries of 'otherness' further South. Modernity seemed to be directly linked to the notion of the 'North', whereas the North seemed to be almost all countries except France and Spain. However, Catalan left-wing artists also predominantly integrated figures and themes of Nordic theatre back into Catalan society, which made Catalan nationhood appear more aligned to ideas of socialism and created a mediating, less boastful image of their nation. Such practice of integrating different foreign ideas and figures into the 'national canon' was not particular to Catalonia but a practice prevalent in many countries. It created a narrative of Catalan nation embracing smallness and peripherality and which seemed to be a cultural referee in the international arena of nation-states.

1. Promotion of Catalan Culture Abroad

Cultural foreign policy emerged on Spain's agenda long before the historian Karl Lambrecht coined the term of 'auswärtige Kulturpolitik' in 1910. Catalan intellectuals such as writer Manuel de Montoliu, and politicians such as Francesc Cambó, started to continually stress the importance of a 'cultural foreign policy' for the region to create a space and cultural understanding for Catalonia and its

political aspirations.[269] The exchange between Lambrecht and the chancellor of the German Empire Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg was quoted in the *Veu de Catalunya* of 1913 in the context of the question of Alsace. The author of la *Veu de Catalunya* who supported the German position in the conflict claimed that the exchange between the chancellor and the professor of Leipzig showed 'the absolute necessity and high importance of cultural foreign policy'.[270] Years earlier, Lluís Duran i Ventosa, a journalist and political activist for the Centre Nacional Català held a talk in March 1897 at a congress in the city of Valls. In the talk, he highlighted the importance of disseminating not only the language but also other aspects of Catalan culture. He concluded that artists were successful in penetrating the region of Catalonia with their artistic successes, but they had to move abroad to achieve higher aims. Politician Manuel Folguera i Duran at the same congress in Valls pondered 'how to bring the (Catalan) voice to foreign countries.'[271]

Catalan newspapers followed international news meticulously – both relating to the political achievements of nationalist movements abroad and their cultural developments as well as the Catalan's own involvement in the international cultural scene. Many of the bigger Catalan newspapers such as the *Veu de Catalunya*, *El Poble Català* and others had reserved sections in which they informed their readers about the achievements of Catalan artists, scientists, athletes, businessmen and intellectuals. One of the areas which were most closely followed was the spreading of Catalan cultural work abroad, through exhibitions of Catalan

[269] Such expressions are for example used in the articles about the work of the *Protective Association of Catalan Education*, 'L'Associació Protectora de l'Ensenyanca Catalana', La Revista, any 02, núm. 015, 15.05.1916, p. 16 and in an article in the same newspaper (01.05.1917) as well as in Montoliu, Manuel de, Nacionalismo y Cultura, La Catalunya, 06.07.1912, pp. 420-421.
[270] Després dels incidents a Zabern. Nacionalisme i cultura, La Veu de Catalunya, any 23, 16-31.12. 1913, p. 1.
[271] Lluis Duran y Ventosa, L'esperit de la politica d'expansió Catalana, La Veu de Cataluyna, 04.04.1897, pp. 113-114 and Manuel Folguera, Lo Catalanista, 04.04.1897, p. 2.

painters or photographers as well as music, theatre, and dance performances by Catalan organisations or individuals. These performances of Catalan culture across the world, in New York, Berlin or Havana were mentioned and sometimes even reviewed in the local press of Barcelona. Catalan emigrants who served as foreign correspondents for these newspapers used to monitor the presence of Catalan culture abroad by sending information on the latest presentations, celebrations and book releases. In those articles, the authors often dealt with those performances as representative and collective productions of a people and discussed the reception of the local audience to a greater extent than the personal efforts and achievements of the individual artist or cultural organisation.[272]

Beside close observations on books published abroad about Catalan language, newspapers also had sections in which they discussed the international resonance and coverage in international newspapers of cultural and political activities taking place in Barcelona and across Catalonia. Often such articles were written by people who already had direct contacts either with the newspaper itself or with prominent individuals in Barcelona. These sections are testament to the influence of foreigners in shaping narratives of Catalan nationhood. In the article 'Germany and the Congress of Catalan Language', published on the 18 October 1906, the author claimed that the Congress of Catalan language interested Germany to such an extent that even the daily political newspapers were reporting on the events of the congress.[273] As an example for the German interest in their congress

[272] In several letters to Serra and to directors of the newspapers *Veu de Catalunya* and *El Poble Català*, Sebastià Cruset informed them on performances of Catalan culture in New York such as the theatre *performance by Angel Guimerà* in 1904, see AHCB, 5D.61-55/C19-9.
[273] La Veu de Catalunya, Any 16, núm. 2695-2711, 18.10.1906, pp. 2-3.

the *Veu de Catalunya* reported on an article published in 'the popular Gazette' of Cologne, apparently 'one of the most important organs of the German Empire'.[274]

The article was written by Eberhard Vogel , a professor in Aachen who had written his doctoral dissertation on the modern Catalan language in 1886.[275] In 1911 and in 1916, Vogel also published one of the first German-Catalan dictionaries with the popular editorial Langenscheidt.[276] This dictionary was praised by many Catalans for disseminating Catalan language at a low price (6 pesetas) across Germany, so that a broader audience would know of the existence of Catalan as a separate language and of its nationhood.[277] Vogel reported (often favourably) for German newspapers such as the *Allgemeine Rundschau*, on the Catalan question.[278] Vogel had also contributed to heated discussions in Catalonia about the need for a standardisation of the written Catalan in order to elevate it over the spoken dialects.[279] In an article for the nationalist newspaper *La Veu de Catalunya,* Vogel contributed to the narrative of Catalan resistance as an element of their nationhood. He referred to the 'glorious history' of the Catalan people, resisting the Castilian government as well as the 'immense progress of the last thirty years' in the contemporary Catalan literature which had elevated the reputation of Catalonia.[280] However, the article not only made references to Catalan culture but also referred

[274] They are most probably referring to the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*.
[275] Eberhard Vogel, *NeuCatalanische studien* (Paderborn, Münster: F. Schöningh, 1886). See also Benet R. Barios article on Vogel's influence in Catalonia, Catalanòfils. Eberhard Vogel, El Poble Català, Barcelona, 24.03.1906.
[276] Eberhard Vogel, *Diccionari portàtil de les llengües Catalana y Alemanya: Ab la pronunciació figurada segóns el sistema fonètic de Toussaint-Langenscheidt*, 2 vols. (Berlin Schöneberg: Langenscheidtsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1911).
[277] Benet R. Barrios, El Català a Alemanya II, El Poble Català, Barcelona, 27.04.08, p. 3.
[278] Vogel, E., Die Lage in Spanien. Der katalanische Block - Neue Parteibildung, Allgemeine Rundschau, VII, num. 9, München 26.02.1910, pp. 134-148 as well as Allgemeine Rundschau, VII, num. 10, München 05.03.1910, pp. 150-164. Both articles were sent to art critic Raimon Casellas, see Biblioteca de Catalunya, Fons Raimon Casella, Ms. 5244/22.
[279] Benet R. Barrios, El Català a Alemanya II, El Poble Català, Barcelona, 27.04.08, p. 3.
[280] Alemanya i el Congrés de la Llengua Catalana, La Veu de Catalunya, Any 16, núm. 2695-2711, Barcelona 18.10.1906, pp. 2-3.

to the political sphere. The newspaper quoted Eberhard Vogel who argued that despite one's political position for autonomy, one had to recognise that the 'Catalanist movement' was 'animated by such seriousness, detachment and activity and revealed such intelligence, idealism and ability for the literary, political and social tasks' that one couldn't deny it at least 'our most warm sympathy'.[281]

Besides monitoring Catalan cultural projects abroad, from 1905 onwards, there were more organised attempts by which individuals were trying to influence opinion abroad and specifically to push back against the narrative of a backward Spain. Most of these Catalan initiatives ended being blocked by governmental institutions, as the incident concerning the telegraphic agency exemplifies. In 1908, the same Eberhard Vogel who a few years earlier had written about the Congress of Catalan Language, wrote to the architect and politician Josep Puig Cadafalch suggesting that Catalonia should have their own telegraphic agency to promote their policies and culture better abroad and influence foreign public opinion, specifically in Germany.[282] Vogel argued that due to being an old rival to Castile and the Castilian dominance over the telegraphic system, Spain, Catalonia and the city of Barcelona had 'bad fame in Germany' despite being such a 'beautiful, clean and hard-working city'.[283]

Puig i Cadafalch was the right person to approach in such a matter as he was a member of the Spanish Congress at that time, representing the district of Barcelona. He had also been a member of the Catalan regionalist party Lliga Regionalista.[284] Vogel had probably met Puig i Cadafalch a year earlier during his

[281] Ibid.
[282] Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, Fons Puig i Cadafalch, 1794 Vogel, Eberard (1908-1927), UI: 175, 02.06.1908.
[283] Ibid. Letter from 4 July 1908.
[284] Puig i Cadafalch was elected as a member of the Congress in the 45th elections on the 21 April 1907 and served as deputy of the district of Barcelona for three years until 1910.

assistance of the 50th Floral Games in Barcelona after which he wrote his first letter to the architect describing Catalonia as the 'hope of Spain'.[285] In this letter from 1908, Vogel suggested that an effective way to change Barcelona's image and Catalonia's reputation in Germany would be to establish a completely independent telegraphic agency which would be organised in Barcelona and disseminate their information to the world from there. Even though it is unclear how or if Puig i Cadafalch took Vogels' advice to establish an independent telegraphic agency any further, several attempts to use telegraphic agencies politically were made earlier and after 1908.[286]

The most established news agency in 1908 was the agency Fabra-Havas which had been established by the Catalan poet and entrepreneur Nilo Maria Fabra i Deas in Madrid[287] and who had died five years earlier in 1903.[288] Fabra had negotiated a deal with the French Havas news agency in 1870 which provided Madrid with the most vital information from the world via the Paris headquarters of Havas making Fabra a 'Spanish agency under French control'.[289] By 1908 the

[285] Axiu Nacional de Catalunya, Fons Puig i Cadafalch, 1794 Vogel, Eberard (1908-1927), UI: 175_02.06.1908.
[286] Schulze-Schneider describes an attempt of the Spanish ambassador Count of Benomar in Berlin to establish a cooperation and a 'direct telegraphic news service from Madrid to Berlin using the service of Wolff' in the 1880s, Ingrid Schulze-Schneider, "From dictatorship to democracy," in *The Globalization of News*, ed. Oliver Boyd-Barrett and Terhi Rantanen (London: Sage Publications, 1998), p. 112.
[287] It is unknown to what extent Spanish newspapers used the services of the Fabra agency as many agreements between the telegraphic agency and the newspapers were made verbally without leaving proof. Additionally, Paz Rebollo describes how the agency was also subject to piracy and many newspapers were stealing information and publishing it without having the permission of the agency, cited in ibid.
[288] The Catalan Calendar of the year 1904 described Fabra i Deas in the obituary notice as a 'Catalan' not so much because of apparent proof he was giving as he was living in Castile but because he demonstrated typical Catalan 'traits', namely his activity and entrepreneurial character, Calendari Català pera l'any 1904, pp. 25-26.
[289] From 1885 onwards the most read daily newspaper of Barcelona, the Diario de Barcelona, received 4000 words a month directly from Paris. Even though these included mostly economic news, there were a few political news which were received directly from the headquarters in Paris. The news for the rest of Spain, Portugal and South America were received over the Fabra agency in Madrid, María Antonia Paz Rebollo, "Barcelona en el panorama informativo internacional: La Agencia Havas, la especulación y el nacionalismo (1908-1918) " *Gazeta: Actes de les Primeres Jornades de la Premsa* 1 (1994): p. 293.

French agency had purchased the name and all the rights of the Fabra family, making it an official French news agency.[290] Fabra had secured the contract between the *Diario de Barcelona* and the Havas agency and had recommended Havas not to enter any negotiations with other 'politicised' newspapers as they were inclined to the 'Catalanist movement' which would cause conflict with the national government in Madrid.[291]

In December 1918, the Havas agency opened a dependency in Barcelona. Claudi Ametlla became the director of this dependency and later remembered this as a 'veritable political revolution' in his memoirs with hopes not only to receive political information directly from Paris but also as an opportunity to internationalise the political aspirations of Catalonia and disseminate their political and cultural news to the rest of the world without the approval of the bureau in Madrid.[292] However, Paz Rebollo describes how this initiative failed as Paris was well aware of the political tensions this could cause with the national government. In 1919, Claudi Ametlla, director of the dependency and of the newspaper *El Poble Català,* tried to issue a statement about the last elections in Spain, claiming that Spain was not a legitimate democratic regime and had falsified the vote. Havas declined to publish Ametlla's note due to their 'impartiality' and neutrality in that issue and to protect the 'relationship between France and Spain'.[293] This partial

[290] For their direct links with Havas and the hegemony of the French agency over the Spanish news, Fabra had been under criticism for several years, being accused of serving mostly French rather than Spanish interests and for receiving instructions and guidelines from Paris, see Schulze-Schneider, "From dictatorship to democracy", pp. 109-111.
[291] Paz Rebollo, "Barcelona en el panorama informativo internacional: La Agencia Havas, la especulación y el nacionalismo (1908-1918)", p. 293.
[292] Claudi Ametlla i Coll, *Memòries polítiques* (Barcelona: Editorial Pòrtic, 1963) as well as Paz Rebollo, "Barcelona en el panorama informativo internacional: La Agencia Havas, la especulación y el nacionalismo (1908-1918)", p. 297.
[293] Paz Rebollo, "Barcelona en el panorama informativo internacional: La Agencia Havas, la especulación y el nacionalismo (1908-1918)", p. 298. Archives Nationales de Paris, 5 AR 10 (Correspondencia con Barcelona).

autonomy of the Barcelona bureau did not last for very long. By the end of 1919 the direct link between Barcelona and Paris closed, and the direction was handed back to Madrid.

The attempts made by Claudi Ametlla show how determined some Catalan nationalists were to make their voices heard abroad and promote their interests in Europe by using all their available channels. The suggestion of Eberhard Vogel in 1908 to establish their own telegraphic agency to influence opinion abroad exemplifies how the construction of nationhood abroad was a dialogue between international and local agents, both promoting Catalan nationhood as well as to paint a different image of the 'dark Spain'. In the beginning of 1900, several doctoral students started to work on the 'Catalan question' in the South of France but also in Paris.[294] Vogel and other international scholars published articles in popular newspapers about the 'Catalan question'.[295] These doctoral theses and articles in international newspapers mostly dealt with cultural aspects of Catalonia, emphasising differences to the prevailing image of Spain but also addressing the political question of an autonomous Catalonia within Spain. The direct effect of such cultural projects on the public opinion abroad is difficult to assess. However, the impact of these international exchanges and cultural initiatives was essential in shaping discussion of Catalan nationhood at home. The Catalan press not only reprinted and commented on most of the articles of the foreign press but also

[294] Writer Georges Normandy wrote in 1908 about 'La Question Catalane' and Raymond Lavondès published in the same year his thesis in law with the same title. A couple of years later, in 1911, Georges Freixe published a thesis under the same title at the faculty of law in Paris, Georges Freixe, *La question Catalane* (Paris: Arthur Rousseau, 1911); Raymond Lavondès, *La question Catalane* (Montpellier: Serre et Roumegous, 1908); Georges Normandy, *La question Catalane*, Bibliothèque régionaliste, (Paris: Bloud & Company, 1908).
[295] See for contemporary articles, the articles on the 'Catalan question' in the Journal de Genève and the Gazette de Lausanne from 16.05.1911, 20.11, 12.01, and 27.11.1905 and 03.01. and 18.11.1919 and the article in the New York Times from 22.12.1918.

discussed at length how these intersected with current debates on Catalan language, theatre, literature and the political project.[296]

[296] Amongst others, see Alemanya i el Congrés de la Llengua Catalana, La Veu de Catalunya, Any 16, núm. 2695-2711, 18.10.1906, pp. 2-3.

The Orfeó Català and its visits to London and Paris in 1914

> 'They have loved and honoured us abroad, and our art has been recognised because it contains a spirit inside. We were not the rude children of the universal art (…) In that lies our power, the power of all the modern Catalan Renaixença.'
>
> (Lluis Millet 1914)[297]

Lluis Millet, conductor and founder of the most influential choral society in Catalonia in the twentieth century, wrote these words retrospectively after his choir had performed in Paris and London in June 1914. The choral society Orfeó Català had their 'first appearance in England' in 1914. The concerts on 20, 22 and 24 June 1914 were advertised with the slightly exaggerated slogan the 'Three Great Spanish Concerts' by the 'most famous chorus in the world'.[298] The concerts took place in the Royal Albert Hall in London, an enormous concert hall with a capacity of more than 9000 seats.[299] A couple of days earlier, the choir had also performed in the Palais du Trocadéro and the newly built Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in Paris. All performances had been successful, according to Millet, in showing the world the 'Catalan spirit', captivated in the popular songs they performed to the audiences in France and England. Furthermore, he claimed the musical success of the choir translated into a recognition of the whole region. This position was echoed by the Catalan newspaper *Ilustració Catalana* which wrote about the solemnised reception the choir received and claimed that the 'national spirit of the Orfeó' had 'universalised the art of Catalonia'.[300]

[297] Lluis Millet, Mercès, Revista Musical Catalana, any XI, July-August 1914, Núms. 127-128, p. 198.
[298] Centre de Documentació de l'Orfeó Català (CEDOC), Programa general dels concerts celebrats els dies 20, 22 i 24 de juny de 1914, 2.2.1_OC_1914-06-20g.
[299] Lluirat claims that the Royal Albert Hall even offered space for more than 12.000 people, Revista Musical Catalana. July-August 1914, núm. 127-128, p. 207.
[300] La Ilustració Catalana, any XII, núm. 578, 05.07.1914.

Two main developments characterise the musical life in Barcelona in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The time between 1870 and 1915 was an extremely rich period in musical innovations, particularly in explorations into popular Catalan music as well as modern contemporary music. Cortès i Mir writes that the foundations of the Catalan musical nationalism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were basically 'folk music and Wagnerism'.[301] Lluis Millet i Pagès and Amadeu Vives i Roig founded the Orfeó Català in 1891.[302] The Orfeó Català followed the tradition of earlier choirs which had explored Catalan popular music. In the 1850s and 1860s, Josep Anselm Clavé i Camps had created several choral societies for workers of the emerging trade union movements and had made choral singing accessible to a larger number of people. These choral societies had also inspired the formation of many more choirs across Catalonia.[303]

Both Lluis Millet and Amadeu Vives came from rural backgrounds and had installed themselves in Barcelona for their careers in music.[304] Both were involved and connected with the cultural *moderniste* movement of the city. In contrast to Clavé's choir, the members of the Orfeó came mostly from a middle-class background. In the beginning, the members were only men.[305] However, after the visit of the Russian National Chapel Choir conducted by Dimitri Slaviansky d'Agrenev in 1895, the Orfeó Català became a mixed choir and open to women and

[301] Cortès i Mir, Francesc, El nacionalisme en el context Català entre 1875 i 1936, in: Recerca Musicològica XIV-XV, 2004-2005, pp. 27-45. Cortès also gives a good overview of the development of folk music over the course of the nineteenth century.
[302] The best overview over the development of choral singing in Catalonia gives Pere Artis Benach, *El cant coral a Catalunya: (1891-1979)* (Barcelona: Barcino, 1980). Since then Manuela Narváez Ferri's dissertation added a more detailed look on the Orfeó Català: Narváez Ferri, "L'Orfeó Català, cant coral i Catalanisme (1891-1951)." See also Xosé Aviñoa, "El cant coral als segles XIX i XX," *Catalan Historical Review*, no. 2 (2009): pp. 203-212.
[303] Xosé Aviñoa, ed., *Història de la música Catalana, Valenciana i Balear*, vol. 4 (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1999), pp. 84-85.
[304] Beside the Orfeó Català, Lluis Millet also founded and conducted the *Sant Felip Neri Choir* (1896) and was the chapel master of the church *Mare de Déu de la Mercè* in 1906, see ibid., p. 86.
[305] On the institutional development of the Orfeó Català, see Narváez Ferri, "L'Orfeó Català, cant coral i Catalanisme (1891-1951)", pp. 63-91.

children as well. [306] The success of the choir soon expressed itself in the number of its members: Whereas the choir had started with 28 members in January 1892, by June 1914 the Orfeó Català had acquired more than 260 members.[307] In addition, the visit of the Russian choir served to exchange repertoire between these choral societies, which meant that in the programmes after the visit, the Orfeó incorporated some popular Russian songs such as 'Kalinka' or 'The Volga Boatmen'.

Early from the beginning of its foundation, the Orfeó Català saw its mission in the connection of the different temporal rhythms of life in Barcelona, of modernity and historicity and religious life in Catalonia. Since July 1904, the Orfeó Català has organised a competition for Catalan music, the 'Festa de la Musica Catalana', which meant to celebrate Catalan music, encourage the composition of new pieces and incite Catalan composers to incorporate popular themes into their music.[308] In 1904, the steering committee of the choir also started to publish the musical journal *La Revista Musical Catalana* (RMC) with the subheading Bulletin of the Orfeó Català. Replying to why they had set up the journal, Millet wrote that he wished to research and 'form conscience of what is truly Catalan music' and to find their 'artistic traditions'.[309] Millet argued that pages of the journal should serve as a platform to study their songs, collections and as well as their 'history, their resemblances and similarities with other countries, the form and rhythm that characterise the songs and also to study their assimilation with old and modern

[306] In contemporary articles, we find different transcriptions of the conductor's name. In the joint concert of the 'Russian National Chapel' and the 'Orfeó Català' in the *Teatro Principal* in 1895 the director is advertised as 'Dmitri Slavianski d'Agreneff', see Programme 04.11.1895 CEDOC.
[307] CEDOC, 2.2.1_OC_1914-06-20lib. London Programme 1914, p. 11.
[308] Revista Musical Catalana, 1904, and Arxiu Orfeó Català, llibre de actes, 1904, p. 13 as well as p. 17. On this celebration, see Xosé Aviñoa, "L'activitat musical. El moviment coral. Les festes de la música," in *Història de la música Catalana, Valenciana i Balear*, ed. Xosé Aviñoa (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1999), pp. 162-165.
[309] Millet, Lluis, Per què?, Revista Musical Catalana. Any 1904, núm. 001, pp. 1-2.

songs.'[310] The journal, however, made sure to clarify in the first edition that the RMC would not be historical, folkloristic or a bulletin describing 'music archaeologically' and that even though they wanted to know their past, they were initiating the journal for the future. The editors emphasised that they were equally committed to progressive forms of music. The choir was meant to execute music from all periods, from the 'Gregorian melodies to Richard Strauss[311], passing by Palestrina, Victoria, Wagner (…)' and others.[312]

This passage from the first article of the *RMC* mentions another essential musical figure in Barcelona who gave the city its nickname of the 'Wagnerian city'. The Wagnerian Society, founded at the beginning of the twentieth century in 1901, reflected the fascination with the music and operas of Richard Wagner among the people of Barcelona and across Europe.[313] The society sought to increase the number of works by Wagner performed in the opera and theatre houses around the city. The emergence of the fascination with the German national musician can be traced back to people such as the Anselm Clavé himself who interpreted the *Tannhäuser* for the first time in Barcelona in 1862. The popularity of Richard Wagner among Catalan nationalists was, however, also heavily promoted by the German Hispanist and poet Johannes Fastenrath.[314] Richard Wagner soon became

[310] Ibid.
[311] Among the supporters of the Orfeó Català was Richard Strauss, who worked with choir several times over his career, see CEDOC, BIB 2_2.1.01, Contract between the Orfeó Català and the Philharmonic Society in Berlin directed by Richard Strauss, 29.02.1908.
[312] Millet, Lluis, Per què?, Revista Musical Catalana. Any 1904, núm. 001, p. 2.
[313] The 'Associació Wagneriana de Barcelona' founded on 12 October 1901 was one of the first of such organisations in the world. On the importance of Wagner's music in Catalonia, see Francesc Cortès i Mir, "El nacionalisme en el context Català entre 1875 i 1936," *Recerca Musicològica* 14 (2004): pp. 37-39; Alfonsina Janés i Nadal, "Catalonia's fascination with Wagner," *Catalonia Review* 1 (1987): pp. 134–144; Clinton D. Young, "The Southern slope of Monsalvat: How Spanish Wagnerism became Catalan," *19th-Century Music* 41, no. 1 (2017): pp. 31-47. As well as Catharine Macedo, "Between opera and reality: The Barcelona Parsifal," *OPR* 10, no. 1 (1998): pp. 97-109.
[314] Paloma Ortiz-de-Urbina, "Johannes Fastenrath als Vermittler der deutschen und der spanischen Musik in Spanien und Deutschland," in *Entre dos aguas. Kulturvermittler zwischen Spanien und Deutschland*, ed. by Hubert Pöppel and Jochen Mecke (Berlin: edition tranvía, 2016), pp. 80-82.

a reference for 'national music' and for composing the 'music of the future'. Similarly to Ibsen in the theatre scene, Wagner became a model for, and symbol of, those sections of Spanish society which aimed to shape a musical scene away from the popularity of the Spanish *zarzuela*[315] and more closely connected to European trends.

For a large part of Catalan nationalists, Wagner not only was the epitome for modern music, but also a way to create a space for Catalan musicians within Spain. As Llano has shown, many musicologists in France and Spain propagated in the late nineteenth and twentieth century the myth of an invasion of 'Italian music' in France and Spain.[316] This invasion was represented through the multiple Italian commercial houses which came to Madrid and Barcelona to perform Italian operas and allegedly influenced the zarzuela, which Pedrell regarded as being 'contaminated by the influence of Italian opera'.[317] The dominance of Italian commercial houses and Castilian zarzuela, many Catalan intellectuals argued, ruined the possibilities for young musicians from Barcelona to build up their musical career as they could not compete with the big commercial houses. Therefore, many modernists in Barcelona, musicians and journalists alike, saw in Wagner's music a way to oppose the aesthetic models of the Italian opera.

In 1891, Catalan composers founded the Catalan Society of Concerts, modelled after the organisation in Madrid of the same name.[318] The society wanted

[315] The Spanish zarzuela is a lyric theatre form which combined music, dance and drama and was highly popular among Spanish audiences in the nineteenth and twentieth century. For a recent account of the importance of the zarzuela in forging popular nationalism, Clinton D. Young, *Music theater and popular nationalism in Spain, 1880-1930* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016).
[316] Samuel Llano, *Whose Spain?: Negotiating "Spanish Music" in Paris, 1908 - 1929*, Currents in Latin American & Iberian music, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 54-90.
[317] Ibid., p. 56.
[318] Cortada, Alexandre, Necessitat de la formació d'una societat de concerts a Barcelona, L'Avenç, 2a època, any 3, núm. 02, 28.02.1891, pp. 48-50.

to provide a platform for Catalan artists to promote their compositions and to produce modern, symphonic music in Barcelona.[319] Alluding to the strong competition of the Italian commercial houses, French music and the productions from Madrid, some musicologists such as Alexandre Cortada saw the creation of such a new society as a way to free artistic production from financial and political constraints. It was a possibility to 'protect Catalan musicians from national and foreign competition' and to solve the problem of Catalan artists being at the periphery of a centralised state, Cortada claimed.[320] German composers such as Wagner and Beethoven served to counter these influences from abroad and the centre, creating new cultural alliances away from the Latin countries Spain, France and Italy. Besides, the Catalan Society of Concerts would also help increase their visibility internationally, argued Amadeu Vives in an article of *La Veu de Catalunya* in 1892. The society was helping to claim a 'musical space for Catalonia' so that it could 'musically speaking' march in front of the 'first nations of the world'.[321]

Also, the Orfeó Català saw in music a competitive arena to demonstrate the region's contribution to formulate a progressive Spanish music which would be seen as distinctive and independent, but also as connected to progressive musical trends and religious music. Before the Orfeó Català went on the international tour to Paris and London in 1914, there had been several successful and failed attempts to travel to other European countries. After a very successful first participation at

[319] Jeanne Moisand, "Protectionnisme culturel et Catalanisme: Les dramaturges Barcelonais face à l'invasion du théâtre commercial Madrilène (1870-1910)," *Bulletin d'Histoire Contemporaine de l'Espagne* 45 (2011): pp. 65-82. See also for the competition between theatres in Madrid and Barcelona, David J. George, *Theatre in Madrid and Barcelona, 1892-1936: Rivals or collaborators?* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002).
[320] Cortada, Alexandre, Necessitat de la formació d'una societat de concerts a Barcelona, L'Avenç, 2a època, any 3, núm. 02, 28.02.1891, pp. 48-50.
[321] Vives, Amadeu, La Societat Catalana de Concerts, La Veu de Catalunya, 28.08.1892.

the competition of Montpellier in 1896[322], which is generally not mentioned in any historiographic accounts of the Orfeó, and one in Nice in 1897[323], where the Orfeó won several prices for their performance, the choral society's artistic journeys focused mainly on the South of France. Contacts with the regionalist movement of the *félibrige* and correspondence between Catalan and French musicologists such as Charles Bordes, Henri Collet and Déodat de Séverac strengthened these ties between the French and Spanish regionalists.[324]

Catalan journalist and musicologist Alexandre Cortada claimed in 1892 that even though there has been 'almost no contact' between the two peoples across the Pyrenees, both movements had astonishingly developed almost identical ideologies and practices: 'In such a way that when Xavier de Ricard explains in his articles (…) the history of the félibrige in France, it seems that it could be the history of Catalanism in Spain.'[325] However, the two movements had not been out of contact. The Orfeó could build on contacts that had existed for some years, at least since some members of the *félibrige* movement had visited Barcelona during the World Fair in 1888 and for the Jocs Florals in 1892. Thus, after the performances in Perpignan, Montpellier and Marseille in 1901, *La Campana de Magalouna*[326], particularly stressed the 'fraternity' between both movements:

> 'The artists who have visited do not only sing! No, they give literary conferences and conferences on the economy, politics and more importantly, they sing in the Catalan language. They are patriots, unyielding of the Catalan Patria. They do what we, the félibriges, would like to do for our Patria (…) Barcelona and Montpellier can give each other the hand, as

[322] CEDOC, 2.01, Register 344, BIB 2_2.1.13, Concurs Musical de Montpeller 1896.
[323] CEDOC, 2.01. Register 283, BIB 2_2.1.08: Excursió artística de l'Orfeó Català al Concurs Internacional d'Orfeons a Niça and BIB 2_2.1.04 on the correspondence on the journeys with other Catalan cultural and political organisations.
[324] See correspondence with these composers, CEDOC, Lluis Millet, C10.01.03.06. R 184.
[325] Alexandre Cortada i Serra, La Campanya autonomo-federalista d'en Xavier de Ricard, L'Avenç, no 7, July 1892, pp. 217-218.
[326] A local newspaper, written in the Occitan language and with the subtitle: 'Popular Journal of the felibriges of Montpellier' (journal poupulàri das felibres de Mount-Peliè que parei lou 1è e lou 15 de toutes lous meses).

> Barcelona there and Montpellier here, are two fires of love for the affair of the Occitan language.'[327]

Llano has stressed how contacts between French and Spanish musicologists were part of Catholic propaganda, trying to push back against the negative image of French republican anticlericalism abroad.[328] However, the contacts between French and Catalan musicologists were also testament to a climate of enthusiasm for regionalism in music.[329] In April 1905, the section of Propaganda of the 'Schola Cantorum' of Paris invited the Orfeó to take part in another congress on popular music in Montpellier under the presidency of Frederic Mistral, the Provençal poet and the founder of the *félibrige* association. The letter asked for the co-presidency of Felip Pedrell and the participation of the choir, as the congress 'wanted to represent all Roman languages from the Pyrenees to the Alps'.[330] The tours to the South of France in 1901 and 1905 facilitated the publication of several articles about the Orfeó in the *Bulleti Français de la S.I.M. Société Internationale de Musique* in 1908 and 1909 as well as in the *Courrier Musical* in 1905.[331]

An international tour such as the one to Paris and London was something that the Orfeó had tried to fulfil for a long time and had not achieved due to financial pressures. The international correspondence of Lluis Millet and other members of the Orfeó Català reveals attempts to visit Germany in 1900 and 1909.[332] In 1900,

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[327] CEDOC, BIB 2_2.1.13, L'Orfeó Català, "Tournée artistique au midi de la França " novembre 1901, pàg. 1-2, *La* Campana de Magalouna*,* 'L'Orfeo Català à Mount-Peliè', 15.11.1901.
[328] Llano, *Whose Spain?: Negotiating "Spanish Music" in Paris, 1908 - 1929*, pp. 54-90.
[329] R.C., Concert de musique Catalane, Le courrier musical, 8e année, no. 10, 15.05.1905, pp. 310-311.
[330] CEDOC, C10.02.03.11, R.420.5 In the correspondence between Charles Bordes and Lluis Millet, 24.04.1905.
[331] Bulletin Français de la S.I.M. Société internationale de musique (section de Paris), Several 'letters from Barcelona' in 1908-1909. Another means of communication was the Orfeo's own journal, the RMC. Beside articles on the history of Catalan popular songs or religious music, the RMC editorial board also uphold constant national and international exchanges and correspondences with the capitals of Europe and the United States (Brussels, Paris, Washington, Berlin, Moscow, Rome and others). These correspondences meant to inform the readers about international musical trends, performances and interactions of Catalan musicians abroad.
[332] AHCB, Fons Personals Joan Fastenrath, JF.1512a-b, letters between Ribalta (Orfeó Català) and Fastenrath 09.09.1900. Similarly, in the letters from Albert Schweitzer, an organist who had

the Orfeó wrote to Johannes Fastenrath, the aforementioned Hispanist who had spent some years in Barcelona and had organised the Floral Games in Cologne, to ask him for help in the planning of a tour to Paris, Cologne and Brussels. Joaquim Cabot i Rovira, the vice-president of the Orfeó Català and the organiser or this tour, argued that the choir would bring the 'pure local character' to the world and had the support of all political organisations. The tour to Paris, Brussels and Cologne, however, never took place as Fastenrath and some other people raised concerns about the financial success of the journey.[333]

Thus, the success of the tour to Paris in London in 1914 heavily depended on the financial contribution of local business people in Barcelona and abroad such as Eduard Toda, a Catalan businessman living in London.[334] Their generosity, wrote Millet thanking them in 1914, denied the legend of the 'greedy poverty of the Catalans.'[335] Instead, it showed 'men of money and men of ideals, the liberal prosperity which knows how to understand and love and forms part of the spiritual value of the Patria.'[336] It was against the background of an established and internationally well-connected Catalan bourgeoisie that the choir could finance its trips to Paris and London. The performances were later celebrated as a mechanism to counter narratives of Spanish backwardness in London and to increase the influence of Catalan culture beyond its borders. Such cultural initiatives were the

performed with the Orfeó Català several times and had become a close friend of Lliurat and Millet, offered to organise tours to Germany in 1909, see CEDOC, R.190.12.

[333] Ibid.

[334] CEDOC, Letters by Eduard Toda to Joaquim Cabot, 19 and 22.05.1914 as well as 26.09.1914, CEDOC 2.1.0154.

[335] This phrase refers to phrase in Dante Alighieri's 'Comedia Divina', Paradiso VIII, where it says 'L'avara povertà di Catalogna'.

[336] Lluis Millet, Mercès, Revista Musical Calana, any XI, July-August 1914, Núms. 127-128, p. 199. Other contacts which, according to Millet's article, facilitated and supported the concerts in Paris and London were Catalan immigrants living abroad as well as the official Spanish ambassadors in both capitals and several societies such as the 'Society of Bach' and the 'Friends of the Music' in Paris.

'duty' of all Catalan artists, who, argued Millet, through their art always represented the 'whole people of Catalonia'.[337]

The internal writings of the Orfeó Català, distributed amongst the members who were participating in the international tour to Paris and London in 1914, emphasised the informal diplomatic and representative character of the tour for Catalonia.[338] Besides official instructions and orders how to behave in Paris and London, and to not drink or 'smoke excessively', the members of the choir were reminded that being on time and being disciplined was the most important Catalan virtue, and that they should make sure not to bring shame on themselves and the 'Patria'. The members of the choir should remember, according to the leaflet, that they were not visiting the capitals of France and England as tourists but as representatives of Catalan music and their country.[339] The leaflet recommended the members of the choir to think of themselves as 'soldiers of the army of the "Patria" who will proclaim to the big civilised world our artistic culture' and to promote the 'honour and dignity of Catalonia'.[340]

The importance given to the documentation of public support in the choir's publications is just one example which hints to the self-definition of the choir as ambassadors of the Catalan people. The organ of the choir, the journal RMC, listed detailed reviews and documentation of the monetary and moral support the choir received before and after they came back from their concerts in Paris and London. Their success has been, wrote Millet in August 1914, 'not ours but the (success) of the reviving Catalonia (renaixent), which gave us birth and made us grow and sent

[337] Ibid.
[338] CEDOC, 2.2.1_OC_1914-06-11g, Orfeó Català Barcelona. Excursió artística a París i a Londres del 11 al 16 de Juny 1914. Instruccions, pp .4-6 and pp. 8-16.
[339] Ibid.
[340] CEDOC, 2.2.1_OC_1914-06-11g, Orfeó Català Barcelona. Excursió artística a París i a Londres del 11 al 16 de Juny 1914. Instruccions, p. 4 and p. 6.

us through the world and receives us now with laurels: As if our work wasn't the work of everyone!'[341]



Figure 4: Centre de Documentació de l'Orfeó Català (CEDOC): Arrival at the Station 'Estació de França' in Barcelona in June 1914.[342]

When the choir returned from its international tour to Paris and London, the RMC listed all important organisations and representatives that came to welcome the choir at the station. According to the journal, the Wagnerian Society, the different music schools, the symphonic orchestra of Barcelona, representatives of the industry and small businesses, the workers and their unions as well as politicians from the all political parties united to applaud and to celebrate the victory of the Orfeó, chanting: 'long live the music of our country and long live Catalonia' and congratulated the choir for bringing the 'good name of Catalonia to foreign countries'.[343] To highlight that it was not only Barcelona's citizens who supported

[341] Lluis Millet, Mercès, Revista Musical Calana, any XI, July-August 1914, Núms. 127-128, p. 198.
[342] CEDOC, F_OC_0293/1914.
[343] Revista Musical Catalana, any XI, July-August 1914, Núms. 127-128, pp. 212-215.

these foreign cultural initiatives, the article continued by naming the cities in which the choir had received manifestations of sympathy when passing with the train and even mentioned farmers with the Catalan flag who waited and waved at the choir when its passed in the municipality of *Empordà*.[344] Lluis Millet stressed in a speech thanking the audience that the merit was really the merit of 'everyone': 'in Catalonia everything sings, and from everyone I learnt to sing, and that is what I have shown my choristers … The glory belongs to everyone.'

Similarly, the programmes distributed in London and Paris amongst the audience not only featured facts about the history of the institution, details about the members of the choir, the most prominent successes, concerts and collaborations with famous artists, but also more generally information on Catalonia's 'political, social, literary, artistic and scientific renaissance' which in the last years 'led to the redefining of a personality'.[345] Here the choir was presented as a leading institution of the 'Catalan Renaissance'. The article continued by praising the modern Catalan writers, architects, sculptors, painters, musicians and even politicians.[346] However, the programme not only highlighted the choir's links to Catalonia and its regionalist movement but also to the rest of the world, their connectedness to the contemporary European music scene and their openness to modern musical trends.

Paris as the 'capital of the nineteenth century', as Walter Benjamin had described it in 1939, and London as the centre of the British Empire represented 'the two world cities' of the time. The illustrated magazine *La Ilustració*

[344] Ibid.
[345] CEDOC 2.2.1_OC_1914-06-20lib, London Programme 1914, p. 8.
[346] CEDOC 2.2.1_OC_1914-06-20lib, London Programme 1914, p. 8.

Catalana[347] argued in 1914 when the choir arrived from their visits abroad that having Catalan music performed and represented at the centres of the world was a success in itself, which 'elevated Catalonia to the level of grand nations' and gave the institution of the Orfeó Català at least 'artistic citizenship'.[348] Another point stressed by newspapers and members of the choir was the recognition of popular and folklore songs by the international elites. Many newspapers, for example, celebrated the performance of the Orfeó Català at the Theatre de Champs Elisee in Paris as a demonstration that Catalan music was recognised by the affluent and fashionable elite of the city: 'the theatre was completely full. All of Paris was there (and when I say, 'all of Paris', you know reader, that we want to say *tout Paris*[349])'. In the first concert, the masters of modern music such as Debussy, Ravel, Bruneau, Widor, Schmitt, Pierné, Ducasse, Castera, Samazeuilh, Hue, Leborne listened to the choir. Frederic Lliurat then went on naming most of the critics who attended the concert by name as well the directors of orchestras and theatres, politicians and Catalan artists who were resident in Paris at the time.[350]

Millet and other members of the choir branded their tour not just as a professional duty, but as an opportunity to change foreign perceptions of Spain.[351] The background of the advertisements of the concerts abroad figured both the *senyera*, the Catalan flag, and the Spanish flag. The foreign press, but also by the members of the organising committee stressed the 'Spanishness' of the choir at

[347] Mallart points to the importance of such illustrated magazines in the promotion of Catalan national identity, particularly through their representations of architecture and design, see Lucila Mallart, "Illustrated media, the built environment and identity politics in fin-de-sicle Catalonia: Printing images, making the nation," *Cultural History* 4, no. 2 (2015): pp. 113-135.
[348] La Ilustració Catalana, any XII, núm. 578, 05.07.1914.
[349] On the expression of Tout Paris, see Anne Martin-Fugier, *La vie élégante, ou la formation du Tout-Paris, 1815-1848* (Paris: Perrin, 2011), pp. 5-28.
[350] Lliurat, F., Arribada de l'Orfeó Català, Revista Musical Catalana, any XI, July-August 1914, Núms. 127-128, pp. 205-207.
[351] 'The Tragedy of Spain', Revista Musical Calana, any XI, July-August 1914, Núms. 127-128, p. 217.

several points during the tours abroad. The programme of the performances in London emphasized that the Orfeó had sung several times for the King and the Queen of Spain and that the concerts were taking place under their patronage.[352] To acquire the patronage of the Spanish royalty had been the recommendation of the Catalan emigrant Eduard Toda, who assisted the choir during the preparation of the tour to London and who thought that this was a possibility to give financial security to the tour as the British public would find such a fact appealing and the patronage of the Spanish royalty would attract more visitors.[353]

In the writings before and after the tour, Millet and other members of the Orfeó emphasised the wish for the international recognition of Catalan art and their popular music as well as the goal to deliver a more nuanced picture of the Spanish state. Vicens de Moragas[354] saw the tour to France and Britain as a way to defend Spanish 'dignity' abroad and challenge the negative image of Spain, particularly in Britain. Notably, the British seemed to have a very 'stereotypical' image of Spain, complained Vincens de Moragas in the RMC in 1914, reflecting on the tour abroad.[355] Moragas wrote, 'London is less than thirty hours of travel away from our country and we know exactly where it is and we have a generally favourable image of it, from London, Catalonia is a country almost ignored, or even more depressingly, it is confused with other territories that constitute a Spain of which they hold a generally unfavourable image.'[356] Many Spanish journalists and

[352] To attract even more people the names of the 'Spanish soprano' Maria Barrientes and 'the wide-world-known violinist' Joan Manén were published in large capital letters at the centre of the advertisement, see CEDOC, London Programme of 1914.
[353] CEDOC, Letters by Eduard Toda to Joaquim Cabot, 19 and 22.05.1914 as well as 26.09.1914, CEDOC 2.1.0154.
[354] Vicens de Moragas (1861-1937) was a member of the choral society since 1896 and stayed a member until his death in 1937. He also was the vice-president of the Orfeó Català 1902 to 1909 and then again from 1916 to 1936.
[355] Moragas, Vicens de, L'Orfeó Català i la tragedia d'Espanya, in: Revista Musical Catalana, any XI, July-August 1914, Núms. 127-128, p. 217.
[356] Ibid.

politicians at the end of the nineteenth century complained about the negative image the foreign countries had of their society and state. Some Catalan regionalist felt that this had partially to do with a dominance of Castile and their expansionist policy which misrepresented other areas of Spain abroad. They argued that this was aggravated as other regions such as Catalonia were lacking a real foreign cultural policy and did not promote their cultural and industrial successes to other countries.

A critic of the concerts in London confirmed the scarcity of Spanish culture in London, writing: 'The people in London have not many occasions to hear Spanish music and artists. Therefore, the concerts celebrated in the Albert Hall by the Orfeó Català have triggered a special interest'.[357] According to Moragas, the real 'tragedy of Spain' was that they lacked foreign projection and that the few initiatives were poorly executed. Employing the images of the two Spains, the backward and the modern one, he complained that the 'good Spain' was not fighting for its image but was generally 'content to be represented by the other Spain'.[358] Moreover, the real damage was caused by the Spaniards themselves, who for example brought to the Exhibition of Tourism in London only very particular popular traditions and even those were presented 'sarcastically as picturesque, with harshness' and by 'ashamed people', not honouring the beautiful music and dances of those regions.[359] Therefore, Moragas concluded, stereotypes and

[357] CEDOC, Archive Press of the Tour, Lancelor, The Referee, 21.06.1914.
[358] The concept of the 'two Spains' is here referring to some articles published by Sants Oliver in La Vanguardia and the Diario de Barcelona in 1906 to 1910. Here Sants Oliver described a fight between the young Spain and the tired Spain, the lively and the official Spain' and placed Catalanism within this fight. He argued that Catalanism was not the leader of this contest but was the 'solid base' for the new and young Spain, see Sants, Oliver, Entre dos Espanas. Las dos revoluciones, La Vanguardia, 29.05.1909 and los dos patriotismos, El Diario de Barcelona, 12 and 19.05.1906. The image of the 'two Spains' was later also used by poet Antonio Machado in 'proverbios y cantares' and other contemporaries to describe the origins of the failure of modernity in Spain or to explain the outbreak of the Civil War in Spain. The concept of the 'two Spains' as an intrinsically Spanish characteristic has been developed by several historians and was explored in Santos Juliá, *Historias de las dos Españas* (Madrid: Taurus, 2004).
[359] With the objective to promote the Spanish cultural heritage, the Commission for Tourism (1911-1928) under Vega Inclán, tried to participate and organise exhibitions, congresses and

misrepresentations of the country were rising, and people in London thought that popular Spanish music was just 'hullabaloo and was not much more than noise'.



Figure 5: Centre de Documentació de l'Orfeó Català (CEDOC): Concert at Royal Albert Hall in June 1914.[360]

Even though photographic and archival evidence of the concerts in London suggests that the performances of the choir were poorly attended and not all well-reviewed, Moragas and the Catalan press argued that the choral society had been able to overcome the prejudices and prove the image of Spain to be wrong.[361] The

international fairs to promote their country and tourism. The international fair of tourism was called 'Sunny Spain' and was planned to be celebrated from May to October 1914 in Earl's Court in London but was interrupted by the war, see, Benigno Vega Inclán and Marques del Flaquer, *'Sunny Spain' at Earl's Court: The Anglo-Spanish travel exhibition. May to October, 1914* (Nottingham: Needham and Lugsdin, 1914). See also on the figure of Vega Inclán and developments of Spanish tourism contributing to national identity, M. Luisa Menéndez Robles, *El Marqués de la Vega Inclán y los orígenes del turismo en España* (Madrid: Ministerio de Industria, Turismo y Comercio, Centro de Publicaciones, 2006). See for an account of the 'Sunny Spain' exhibition and the stereotypes it promoted, Jorge Villaverde. "Una Arqueología Del Nation Branding: Las Exposiciones Binacionales Del Londres Eduardiano." *Amnis* (2018): Amnis, 01 March 2018 (online: http://journals.openedition.org/amnis/3392 03.04.2020).

[360] CEDOC, F_OC_0252/1914.

[361] La Ilustració Catalana, any XII, núm. 578, 05.07.1914.

members of the choir and the Catalan press were both proclaiming a victory for the region and the whole of Spain.[362] This was both a success in the penetration of public discourses of Spain as well as of government officials: 'A high official in London', stated the RMC, had supposedly confirmed that the choir 'has arrived to claim the name and the dignity of Spain and its cultural work' after the second performance in the Royal Albert Hall.[363] The organisers of the tours in Paris and London felt that the Orfeó's success was primarily one of demonstrating the 'second Spain' and a Spain 'which was more than the strumming of guitars, the clicking of the castanets and … suggestive movements.'[364]

The goal to portray a different, modern but deeply regionalised, religious and eclectic image of Spain reflected in the choices of songs for the concerts in London and Paris. The programme itself did not differ highly from other concerts given around Catalonia and included a mixture of regional and international composers as well as classical, popular and contemporary music. Notably, however, the concerts given abroad did not end with 'Els Segadors', the hymn of Catalan nationalists.[365] There is no reference to whether the hymn was sung spontaneously at the end of the concerts, but no newspaper reports of the time nor the programmes mention the singing of 'Els Segadors'. This is insofar surprising, as an analysis of the programmes of the concerts in Catalonia and Madrid (1900-1914) suggests that this had developed into a ritual.[366]

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[362] Moragas, Vicens de, L'Orfeó Català i la tragedia d'Espanya, in: Revista Musical Catalana, any XI, July-August 1914, Núms. 127-128, p. 217.
[363] Revista Musical Catalana, any XI, July-August 1914, Núms. 127-128, p. 214.
[364] Lliurat, Revista Musical Catalana, any XI, July-August 1914, Núms. 127-128, p. 207.
[365] Even though the melody is older than the text, 'Els Segadors' as an anthem which recounts the Catalan revolt of the reapers during the Thirty Years War, really only developed in the nineteenth century after a competition was announced to write national poetry and songs, Marfany, *La cultura del Catalanisme: El nacionalisme català en els seus inicis*, pp. 317-319.
[366] CEDOC, 2.2.1_OC_1900-01-14, Concert programme of the concert at the Teatre Lírich, 14.01.1900.

Instead, the programme seemed to establish an alternative musical modernity which, according to Millet, aimed to 'revive two kinds of music'. Both of these musics, the popular and religious music, had been dead or 'dormant' at the inception of the Orfeó Català.[367] The Orfeó Català tried to promote an eclectic image of Spain through their repertoire: They moved in between ideas and conceptions of a religious, traditionalist but also modern and democratic Spain which united all regions and classes of society. The music of the choir should represent the differently lived rhythms or the rural life in popular songs, of religious and transcendental as well as modern music. Much of the choir's repertoire came from international composers and can be found in the programmes of other choral societies across Europe. However, around 15-30% of the songs they performed were popular Catalan songs as well as original popular compositions by contemporary Catalan composers such as Antoni Nicolau, Felip Pedrell, and Antoni Noguera Balaguer. The rest of the programme constituted of classical compositions and mostly religious songs.[368]

Amongst the Catalan popular songs featured the 'Sota de l'olm' (Under the elm tree) and the 'Cant dels aucells' (The song of Birds), whereas in the section 'Orginal compositions' of contemporary composers featured ballads of island of Mallorca and the region Galicia, the 'hymn of the fruit tree' by Morera as well as compositions by Camille Saint-Saëns (Ave Verum) and Richard Strauss (Hymn).[369] All concerts of the Orfeó started with the 'Cant de la Senyera', translated in the official programme with the Hymn of the Orfeó Català. This composition by Millet was meant to be a homage to the Catalan flag and was based on the poem of the

[367] Palau de la Música, CEDOC, London programme June 1914, p. 6.
[368] CEDOC, 2.2.1_OC_1914-06-20g, Concert programme London 1917, pp. 5-6.
[369] Archive Orfeó Català, Palau de la Música, CEDOC London programme June 1914.

same name by Joan Maragall, often called the Catalan 'national poet'. Through this repertoire, the choir was opening the space and notion of Spanishness beyond the Castilian and Andalusian definition and separating Catalan music clearly from the prevailing image of Spanish music being dominated by Italian music and by Andalusian folk music.[370]

The promotion of Catalan music did, of course, not stop with the performances in London and Paris 1914, but continued over the years. Another enthusiast of Catalan popular music was Kurt Schindler, a German-born composer living in New York.[371] Schindler was in contact with several musicologists in Barcelona and exchanged knowledge about Spanish and, in particular, Catalan popular music with Lluis Millet and Francesc Pujol.[372] On 15 January 1918, the Schola Cantorum of New York performed a concert in 'Carnegie Hall (…) singing in Catalan with most meticulous pronunciation and accent'.[373] The New York Times announced this concert as a nuanced version of Spanish music, 'far from its stereotypes' and closer to the 'French Provencal than to the Castilian of Central Spain' and concluded that after the 'demonstrations of civic pride' in London and Paris, the repertoire of the Orfeó Català would have 'been spread about and have become popular in other European countries had it not been for the outbreak of the great war'.[374]

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[370] For a recent account on the importance of the Flamenco dance for Spanish culture and how regional nationalists were involved in transforming Spain's image for the tourist industry, see Sandie Holguín, *Flamenco Nation: The Construction of Spanish National Identity* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2019), in particular Ch. 5 and 7.

[371] Before coming to New York in 1905, to become the second director of the Metropolitan opera, he worked as a director in Stuttgart and as an assistant director to Richard Strauss at the Opera in Berlin.

[372] Centre de Documentació de l'Orfeó Català. 'El compositor Kurt Schindler, in the Programme of the Concert celebrated in January 26, 1919, p. 11 and the letters between Millet and Schindler, CEDOC_C10.02.03.11. R440.

[373] Ibid.

[374] 'Spain Sends New Choral Art and Folk Songs-Miracle and Nativity Pieces from Orfeo Catala', New York Times, 13.01.1918, p. 5.

2. Progress for the Small: The Import of 'Modernity'

On 6 November 1906, Jaume Brossa held a controversial lecture at the *Ateneu Barcelonès*.[375] His lecture, entitled 'Nationalism in the arts and literature', was a plea for a renewal of the literary scene in Catalonia. It heavily criticised the 'search of authenticity' and 'tradition' by Catalan nationalists in arts, such as the members of the Orfeó Català. Brossa belonged to a generation of intellectuals around the newspaper *L'Avenç* that challenged the romanticism of the *Renaixença* movement and the historicist elements of the *modernisme* movement. He propagated a political nationalism, which was critical of the Catalan mercantilism and the conservative branch of the Catalan nationalists. For Jaume Brossa, an 'anarchised young Barcelona intellectual', Catalan nationhood should be defined according to the vision for the future.[376] The cultural conservatives who romanticised the past and emphasised 'authenticity' would only produce insignificant works for the 'European soul' and therefore stand in the way of national progress, Brossa argued.[377]

Brossa's speech of 1906 was an attack on the conservative bourgeois art scene of Catalonia and a warning that Catalonia was 'running out of time'. The Catalan romantic movement of the *Renaixença* had been twenty years late in European comparison. Therefore, he argued that their literary revival movement was more a negation to consume than a real literary movement in the sense of

[375] The *Ateneu Català* was founded in 1860 to promote Catalan culture and engage in a dialogue about Catalan art with the civil society. Biblioteca de Catalunya, Jaume Brossa, El Nacionalisme. En l'Art i en la Literatura, Barcelona 06.11.1906. Jaume Brossa's lecture was very much criticised by the audience, so that he held another lecture to explain his position further on 27 November of the same year, see Biblioteca de Catalunya, J. Brossa, 'Els Constructors de Nacions', Barcelona, 27.11.1906.

[376] For information on the group around Jaume Brossa and their connections to anarchist groups, see Federica Montseny, *Els anarquistes educadors del poble: La Revista Blanca (1898-1905)* (Barcelona: Curial, 1977).

[377] Biblioteca de Catalunya, Jaume Brossa, El Nacionalisme. En l'Art i en la Literatura, Barcelona 06.11.1906, pp. 1-8.

innovation: 'The more patriotic, the more believing and sentimental our literature turned, the less humane, universal and less substantial it became.'[378] Thus, to him, it was not surprising that Catalonia was unknown to the rest of Europe. He complained that this 'traditionalist cultural movement' made Catalonia run in the opposite direction of the *zeitgeist*.[379] He juxtaposed those Catalans who were defining the *Volksgeist* with those fighting for a literary movement connected to the *zeitgeist* of Europe.

'Tradition' was, according to Brossa, establishing more or less arbitrary spiritual borders 'between nations and races'.[380] Instead, ideas relevant to humanity had come in universal waves. Furthermore, the focus on tradition had led to a disconnect between Catalan nationalists and Catalan society, failing to create a real Catalan nationhood. He proclaimed that even if all of their political demands would be met, Catalan nationalists would have failed to create a Catalan national identity. He asked provocatively what sort of society they were representing by opposing Spanish rancid nationalist models which stagnant Catalan historicist elements. 'We who want to make Barcelona a modern metropolis, ambitious, complex and aggressive' cannot be represented through song about shepherds and farmers, argued Brossa.[381]

His lecture was an appeal to the Catalan nationalists to abandon nationalism in the arts all together and adopt 'universalism' as a method to create a completely novel, rich, genuine and internationally relevant Catalan nationhood. Such claims were more radical than his cautious internationalism in his earlier writings in

[378] Ibid., pp. 10-11.
[379] J. Brossa, 'Els Constructors de Nacions', Barcelona, 27.11.1906, p. 17 and Biblioteca de Catalunya, Jaume Brossa, El Nacionalisme. En l'Art i en la Literatura, Barcelona 06.11.1906, p. 7.
[380] Ibid., pp. 10-11.
[381] Ibid., p. 9.

L'Avenç in the late nineteenth century. He not only argued that Catalonia's culture needed to be stimulated by ideas from abroad so that it could flourish and consequently be taken seriously by other nations.[382] Brossa also argued in 1906 that in order to continue to progress, in the artistic field but also to develop nationhood, Catalonia needed to import all possible aesthetic and political models from abroad:

> 'Catalonia will be modern, free and open-minded. Otherwise, her life, as a nation, will have no reason to be. Catalonia must be a free port, and her spirit must open its borders to the peaceful penetration of whatever big was produced in France, England and Germany (...) To enrich our thinking, we need to (...) exploit all humanity.'[383]

Jaume Brossa was arguing that as a small nation and a 'latecomer to the game', Catalonia could not allow itself to be self-centred but that it needed to open its horizon to other cultural models. The import and adaptation of foreign models and thus of 'progress' itself would help Catalonia to catch up and be on a par with other nations. His idea to 'exploit all humanity' was connected to the idea that being modern meant to engage internationally and produce literary works that were recognised by European audiences. Brossa's idea of progress and modernity was thus, as for many individuals across Europe, bound to ideas of space.[384] Progress, as much as it was a temporal concept, was at the same time connected to specific geographical conceptions. Progress could either exist in the intellectual centres of Europe or be directly tied to the cultural and political ideas of a more advanced nation. This connection of time and space by dividing the world in nations which are ahead in time and regions which lag behind is what theorists as Chakrabarty have called the 'spatialization of time'.[385] These advanced nations were considered

[382] Ibid., p. 7. He makes an exception for Catalan painting, which holds a 'superior paper' because according to Brossa the Catalan painters have been able to liberate themselves from traditions and become 'creative, inventive, bold and daring', p. 10.
[383] Ibid., pp. 10-11.
[384] For a contemporary account on the idea of progress, see J. B. Bury, *The idea of progress: An inquiry into its origin and growth* (London: Macmillan, 1920).
[385] Chakrabarty quoted in Chris Lorenz and Berber Bevernage, "Introduction," in *Breaking up time: Negotiating the borders between present, past and future*, ed. Chris Lorenz and Berber

to be 'ahead in time' and their cultural production as 'ultimate expression of modernity'. The modern is here understood, as Morris put it, as a 'known history, something which has already happened elsewhere, and which is to be reproduced, mechanically or otherwise, with a local content'.[386] Indeed, as Bury explained, in 1920 the notion of 'progress' as 'taking place in time is rooted in a spatial metaphor of stepping forward: The idea of human progress (…) is based on an interpretation of history which regards men as slowly advancing (…) in a definite and desirable direction, and infers that this progress will continue indefinitely'.[387]

Brossa and other Catalan intellectuals thought that due to its smallness and international insignificance, Catalonia needed external influences to create its own national culture. These artists argued that incorporating and opening their culture would be beneficial in the development of a Catalan national spirit. Importing foreign ideas and concepts should thus not be seen as an unpatriotic act or a sign of weakness, but of strength and creativity.[388] Brossa and other modernist intellectuals expressed dissatisfaction concerning the dominant cultural models in Catalonia and the need to develop a new language in art. In his critique, he linked the idea of progress with the names of Nietzsche, Wagner and Matthew Arnold, and presented their ideas of individuality, criticism of society and power structures as sources of inspiration for Catalan culture and the national project.[389] By introducing these figures and their works into the Catalan cultural context, sometimes imitating their

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Bevernage, Schriftenreihe der frias school of history (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), p. 18.

[386] Meaghan Morris, cited in Jonathan Boyarin, "Space, time, and the politics of memory," in *Remapping memory: The politics of timespace*, ed. Jonathan Boyarin and Charles Tilly (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), p. 9.

[387] Bury, *The idea of progress: An inquiry into its origin and growth*, pp. 2-5.

[388] Biblioteca de Catalunya, Jaume Brossa, El Nacionalisme. En l'Art i en la Literatura, Barcelona 06.11.1906, p. 12.

[389] Biblioteca de Catalunya, J. Brossa, 'Els Constructors de Nacions', Barcelona, 27.11.1906, pp. 15-17.

work or even declaring it as an expression of a 'Catalan spirit', these individuals could take shortcuts to modernity. One way to break free and change the pace of life in Catalonia in order to achieve progress, Brossa argued, was the incorporation of new philosophical, aesthetic and political models into Catalan culture and society. [390]

The ideas intellectuals such as Brossa articulated sounded very similar to opinions formulated by Nordic intellectuals such as Danish literary critic Georg Brandes and Swedish author August Strindberg, who advocated for open-mindedness and comparative mind rather than thriving for universalism and originality. Brandes, for example, claimed that the Danish literature would be 'the more glorious, the more open it could become to all the intellectual streams of the world.'[391] August Strindberg presented quite a similar perspective when he wrote about the Swedish fluid identity and the strength of the smallness of the Nordic countries:

> 'the Swede is more European than other European nations! Yes! The Englishman was born English with contempt of the French and some hatred of the Germans; the Frenchman was born French with hatred of the Germans and contempt of the English; the German is German with alternating hatred of the French and the Russians. The Germans learn at most one language besides their own, the English hardly any, the French none. They all read exclusively French, German, and English textbooks and regard their own country as the centre of the world. Hence one-sidedness and chauvinistic boastfulness. The Swede, by contrast, sits in his separate corner; learns all the three major languages; chooses between three kinds of literature, three philosophies, without much prejudice, and picks the best. It is, after all, a rather advantageous position, which makes him more universal than those of the other nations'[392]

[390] Editorial board, L'Avenç, any 5, num. 23-24, Barcelona 15-31.12.1893, p. 377.
[391] Lopez-Pico, J, Georg Brandes, La Revista, any 3, núm 36, Barcelona 01.04.1917, pp. 134-135.
[392] August Strindberg in his essay 'Nationalitet och svenskhet' from 1883, quoted in, Stefan Nygård and Johan Strang, "Conceptual universalization and the role of the peripheries," *Contributions to the History of Concepts* 12, no. 1 (2017): p. 18.

Similarly, as many other intellectuals in smaller states, Brossa argued that Catalonia's strength was not so much its originality but its possibility to work as a translator and a mediator between different ideas and concepts. Catalonia's spatial marginality within Europe and its backwardness made it a good place to start to develop strategies and ideas of how to use this peripheral position as an advantage. Its exceptionalism should not lie in ethnic or historicist narratives, but in unifying and absorbing the richest and best currents in the arts to form a new Catalan nationhood.[393]

This belief in universal nationhood or an 'internationalisation' of the Catalan spirit, as Brossa called it, also went against narratives present in Spain which used narratives of a regressive Spain and an advanced North to connect Catalan nationalism to a 'progressive North'. Brossa stated that the contemporary works by Ibsen, Maeterlinck and Wagner had been innovative and psychologically more complex, not because of a 'nebulous' Northern spirit but because they introduced ideas of socialism and emancipation. The way their works addressed pressing issues of all classes made them relevant for all societies.[394] In 1905, citing English poet Matthew Arnold's definition of poetry as 'criticism of life', Brossa argued that arts needed to reflect the social problems and political visions of Catalan society. The lack of incorporating novel foreign political ideas such as socialism was impeding Catalan society from developing towards a desirable and improved future. The main difference between Catalans and the people from Poland, Tyrol, Norway and Finland, according to Brossa, were the Catalans' lack of confidence in their own ability to change current circumstances and their narrative of victimhood.

[393] Biblioteca de Catalunya, Jaume Brossa, El Nacionalisme. En l'Art i en la Literatura, Barcelona 06.11.1906, pp. 10-12.
[394] Ibid.

Their contemplative art was just an expression of these self-absorbed 'kneeling rebels'.[395]

Earlier in 1893, the writer and poet Joan Maragall sent a letter to a friend describing his admiration for the Nordic literary movement. His letter was accompanied by *L'Avenç* from September 1893, where they had dedicated an essential section of the journal to the Belgian playwright and poet Maeterlinck: 'This I am sending to you so you can read 'Intruse' by Maeterlinck (…) Just to make sure you do not believe that Zola is still the master of all. No, son, no: Ibsen, Tolstoy, Maeterlinck, Nietzsche. (…) "c'est toujour du Nord – qui nous vient la lumière."'[396] Studies by Moisand and Mobarak show that the number of performances of foreign plays in Spain rose tremendously from 1890 onwards and that Catalonia seems to have acted as a doorway towards Spain for contemporary European dramatists like Maeterlinck, Hauptmann and Ibsen.[397] This infatuation with Northern trends can also be observed in the Catalan press, which from the late nineteenth century started to call Barcelona an 'Ibsenian' city.[398] Both the

[395] Ibid., p. 8.
[396] Maragall, cited in Heidi Grünewald, "Joan Maragalls Rezeption deutscher Literatur im Identitätsdiskurs der Moderne" (PhD thesis Universitat de Barcelona, 2011), p. 64. More generally on the influence of German Romanticism on the Catalan *Renaixença*, María Caro Valverde, "El mar, absoluto literario. La influencia del romanticismo alemán en la renaixença Catalana," *Signa*, no. 23 (2014). For several insightful essays on the relevance of Northern theatre on the literary scene in Barcelona, see, Enrique Martínez Ruiz and Magdalena de Pazzis Pi Corrales, eds., *Cuando la luz venía del Norte, Suecia, Noruega y la Cataluña modernista* (Madrid: Fundación Berndt Wistedt, 2001).
[397] Jeanne Moisand, "Entre tréteaux et barricades. Théâtre et mobilisation ouvrière à Barcelone, 1868-1909 " *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 1, no. 186-187 (2011): pp. 42-57; Armin Mobarak, "La recepción del teatro extranjero en Madrid (1900-1936)" (PhD thesis Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2013). Maeterlick's 'Intruse' was for example played at the 'festa modernista' in 1893, an art festival organised by artist Santiago Rusiñol in Sitges, see Fernández-Armesto, Felipe, "The asylum of modern times: Barcelona and Europe", in *The Barcelona Reader: Cultural Readings of a City*, ed. Enric Bou and Jaume Subirana, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press 2017), p. 111.
[398] On the influence of Ibsen on the artistic scene in Barcelona see, amongst others, Enric Ciruans Peralta, "La recepció d'Henrik Ibsen en els escenaris Catalans," *Matèria: revista d'art* 5 (2005); David J. George, "Ibsen in early twentieth century Barcelona," in *Nuevas aportaciones a los estudios teatrales*, ed. Héctor Brioso Santos and José V. Saval, Obras colectivas humanidades (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2007); Marisa Siguan, *La recepción de Ibsen y*

Norwegian writer and the German composer Wagner enjoyed a privileged status in Catalonia and the support of many intellectuals and organisations of the city of Barcelona. Ibsen's theatre was, according to these playwrights, an accurate model of inspiration for the Catalan movement as it provided them with a framework to create nationalist and socialist drama at the same time. Similar arguments were used by Irish intellectuals who promoted the performances and adaptations of Ibsen's plays in Ireland.[399]

> 'This spirit of rebellion, the individual struggle against the state and the written laws, the will constituting itself as sovereign…all these imperatives which we find strongly engrained in the modern Nordic theatre explain how the work of Ibsen was received which such openness by our intellectuality. Well, it adapted and accommodated perfectly, in this sense, with the Catalan character and the decisive moment of its development.'[400]

Ignasi Iglesias and Jaume Brossa, for example, wrote directly inspired pieces of work from Ibsen and founded the theatre company *Teatre Independent* in 1896 to perform Henrik Ibsen's 'Ghost'.[401] When Ibsen died in 1906, they published, along with several other authors from the modernist movement, a Festschrift to commemorate the legacy of the Norwegian playwright.[402] These Catalan left-wing intellectuals appropriated Ibsen for what seem to be several opposed purposes. Firstly, in the service of the nation and portraying him as a 'hyperborean defender of minority rights', himself being only of 'a population of less than two million'.[403] Secondly, and somehow diametrically opposed to this notion of a 'national writer', Ibsen was also referred to by these intellectuals as an

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Hauptmann en el modernismo Catalán, Estudios de literatura Española y comparada, (Barcelona: PPU, 1990).

[399] Tore Rem, "Nationalism or internationalism?: The early Irish reception of Ibsen," *Ibsen Studies* 7, no. 2 (2007): pp. 188–202.

[400] Francisco Curet, *El arte dramático en el resurgir de Cataluña* (Barcelona: Editorial Minerva, 1917), p. 297.

[401] AHCB, Fons Ignasi Iglesias, 50108.09.

[402] Biblioteca de Catalunya, Homenatge a Enrich Ibsen, Barcelona 1906.

[403] Alexandre Cortada i Serra, La Campanya autonomo-federalista d'en Xavier de Ricard, in L'Avenç, no 7, July 1892, pp. 216-218.

example of someone free of patriotic and ethnic sentiments and the pressures of the state who was part of the modernist European movement, revolutionising literature. Undoubtedly though, Ibsen's popularity was also due to his belonging to a small nation, which formed a dynastic union with Sweden but was not independent.

Alexandre Cortada, a theatre critic, argued that in the middle of the 'impressive nature', Ibsen had 'raised the cry out for independence of the small nations.'[404] This cry out for independence inspired other countries to also demand 'individual liberty and the regeneration of true personality'. He claimed that Norway was one of the first nations to establish through 'art and literature and then through politics, the movement of autonomy'.[405] For Cortada, Brossa and many other modernist Catalan artists, 'Ibsen and Wagner were the models for everyone who did not want to stay behind'.[406] By dislocating these international artists and integrating them back into Catalan space, musicians and writers were not only making Catalan identity but also blurring the lines between 'us' and 'them' and creating an inter-national Catalan nationhood which made Catalonia less 'boastful', as Strindberg had said about the Swedish, and its culture 'more universal than those of the other nations'.[407]

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In the notion that peripheries were lagging behind other countries, Catalan intellectuals were not alone. In fact, the so admired Norway, Finland and Sweden thought of themselves as outsiders in a temporal and geographical sense. As Nygård

[404] Ibid., p. 216. On Alexandre Cortada i Serra there is little information. He was a major contributor to *L'Avenç*. During the Cuban War of Independence, he formed part of a Catalan committee in Paris. From 1898 onwards he also participates and publishes articles in the journal *Catalònia*.
[405] Ibid.
[406] Ibid.
[407] Nygård and Strang, "Conceptual universalization and the role of the peripheries", p. 18.

mentions in his work on the Nordic countries, many intellectuals used their perceived backwardness to their advantage when seeking to improve their position in the concerts of nation-states.[408] Artists from small nations perceived their isolation and misinterpretation of their culture as a possible strength. Joan Estelrich, a Catalan politician and writer, argued that Kierkegaard and Ibsen exemplified this 'force of isolation' in quite a striking way.[409] Their isolation led to independence in thought and the development of a progressive individualism embedded into ideas of a positive future society. They were able to incorporate many diverse influences into their theatre and their philosophy, creating a mediating and encompassing narrative of nationhood.[410]

The openness to other cultures became part of the Nordic consciousness, as argued, for example, by Lopez-Pico in 1917, when writing about the Danish literary critic Georg Brandes. Like Denmark, he argued, Catalonia was small and geopolitically insignificant. The openness to international ideas made Catalonia, like the Nordic countries and in general all small nations, free of 'dogmatisms and moralised prejudices', so Lopez-Pico.[411] In the midst of the First World War, he further wrote about the importance of internationalism in Catalonia: 'For Catalonia, the work of Georg Brandes had another exemplary function. To overcome provinciality and insularity means to purify the national spirit and to incorporate oneself into the European community. There is nothing less Catalan than a

[408] Ibid., pp. 55-75.
[409] Estelrich, Joan: Kierkegaard. Dins el pensament Nordic, La Revista, any 5, núm. 83, 01.03.1919, pp. 64-68. Joan Estelrich was at the same time engaged in the diffusion of Catalan culture abroad as well as in the political acknowledgement of Catalan nationhood in the 1920s, Joan Estelrich, *Per la valoració internacional de Catalunya: Conferència a la associació Catalanista de Valls 14 març 1920* (Barcelona: Editorial Catalana, 1920).
[410] Estelrich, Joan: Kierkegaard. Dins el pensament Nordic, La Revista, any 5, núm. 83, 01.03.1919, pp. 64-68.
[411] Lopez-Pico, J, Georg Brandes, La Revista, any 3, núm 36, 01.04.1917, pp. 134-135.

Catalonia without air circulation, a Catalonia in a display box of an archaeological salon.'[412]

Brandes' comparative literary approach and his ideas of openness thus became a model to follow for many *moderniste* intellectuals in Catalonia. Instead of thriving for 'having the last word' and the need to define 'authenticity', these intellectuals aimed to create new narratives of universal nationhood out of imitation and the amalgamation of different ideas.[413] Nationhood was not to be treated as a sealed container but as an ever-changing and evolving narrative open to modern ideas. The self-understanding and awareness of the own geographical marginality and feeling of 'lateness' helped to actively select and appropriate those concepts and figures which seemed to correspond best with the individual aims of the intellectuals. Seeing Catalonia as a small nation, Catalan artists favoured works of similarly sized countries which were perceived as more advanced but still questioned the hierarchies and power balance of the international system. Sometimes these helped to further socialist ideas and sometimes it helped Catalan artists to counter Castilian and Italian influences in the arts. Whereas the Orfeó Català tried to present a different image of Spain abroad that presented both popular music and religious elements as modern and part of a nationalist movement, Jaume Brossa saw nationalism in the arts more as a way to reform society than as an ethnic and organic expression. Their definitions of nationhood reacted to the image of Spain as backward, one by advocating a modernity beyond mainstream definitions of high concerts and one by promoting through literature a truly internationalised 'Catalan spirit'.

[412] Ibid.
[413] Ibid.

III. "Our legends are always matters of current affairs": Folklorist Rossend Serra i Pagès

> 'Institutions change, generations follow each other, and frontiers are redrawn (…) only the mountains remain as the embodiment of the old spirit of humanity, separating the country, the languages, the habits, the flora, and the fauna. They serve as a living contrast, an insurmountable barrier to the unnerving cosmopolitanism which erases and confuses everything'[414]

In August 1900, at the International Congress of Alpinism, folklorist Rossend Serra i Pagès (1863-1929) gave a talk in favour of the protection of the 'natural beauty of the mountains'.[415] Deploring the commercial and touristic exploitation of the landscape, he argued for the conservation of the Pyrenees, which were ostensibly threatened by tourism, private constructions, and skiing. For him, like many other geographers of the time, mountains were unique organic monuments that would act as natural barriers to globalisation.[416] When exploring the mountains, why would anyone prefer to listen to Beethoven rather than to popular folksongs or choose to stay in a comfortable hotel instead of an original lodge, asked Serra in the same talk.[417] He seemed to reject such an 'unnerving cosmopolitanism' in favour of authenticity and local cultural expressions. Coming from a folklorist and in light of the interest in 'authentic' vernacular culture across Europe, such statements do not seem surprising. For Serra i Pagès, like many other folklorists, place mattered

[414] Biblioteca de Catalunya-(BC) 71-8-C 1/12, Rossend Serra i Pagès, *La conservation des beautés naturelles de la montagne* (Clermont: Imprimerie daix frères, 1902),p. 8. AHCB- 5D.61-2/C5-13.
[415] AHCB- 5D.61-2/C5-14.
[416] On the different modernities crafted in mountain spaces, see the historiographical review by Thomas Simpson, "Modern mountains from the Enlightenment to the Anthropecene," *The Historical Journal* 62, no. 2 (2018): pp. 1-29.
[417] BC- 71-8-C 1/12, Serra i Pagès, *La conservation des beautés naturelles de la montagne*, 7. And AHCB- 5D.61-2/C5-14.

immensely, mainly because he saw landscapes disappearing due to processes of industrialisation and globalisation.[418]

However, Serra i Pagès and many other folklorists' position in these debates was far more complex than this statement might suggest. Despite protesting human changes to the landscape, Serra was also rooted in a network of other progressives. He was both a defender of vernacular culture as well as an advocate to modernise local structures. As a teacher, he was employed by the city council, and as a folklorist, he researched the allegedly immobile popular culture of the countryside. In his talk at the International Congress of Alpinism, Serra was not criticising modernisation in general, nor did he argue for complete conservation of the original landscape. Instead, he even considered the increased accessibility of the mountains through technological advancements a substantial improvement. He was 'far from being a declared enemy of the steel rails or rack railway' which transported everyone 'in a few minutes' to the top of the mountains.[419] This is also in line with historiography which has depicted regionalism and as a 'product of modernity' instead of a regressive force.[420]

This chapter on teacher, geographer, and folklorist Rossend Serra i Pagès (1863-1929) will demonstrate how this individual negotiated the tension between a forward-looking and a nostalgic narrative of nationhood. It highlights how an individual like Serra i Pagès moved between different spheres – the local, national

[418] For a critique of the role of the folklorist beyond the national project, see David M. Hopkin, "Folklore beyond nationalism: Identity politics and scientific cultures in a new discipline," in *Folklore and nationalism in Europe during the long nineteenth century*, ed. Timothy Baycroft and David M. Hopkin, National cultivation of culture (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012), p. 389.
[419] BC- 71-8-C 1/12, Serra i Pagès, *La conservation des beautés naturelles de la montagne*, p. 7.
[420] See among the large body of historiography, for instance, Julian Wright, *The regionalist movement in France, 1890-1914: Jean Charles-Brun and French political thought*, Oxford historical monographs, (Oxford: Clarendon, 2003); Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: State-building and nationhood in nineteenth-century Germany*, New studies in European history, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) and Augusteijn, Joost and Storm, Eric, ed. *Region and State in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

and international and how he continuously negotiated the tension between civic universalism and ethno-symbolism. As a folklorist, Serra was moving between rural and urban lives as well as between local, national and international spheres. He mixed with the urban intellectuals across the Atlantic and in Europe, Spain and Catalonia, but also engaged with the people from rural and small localities. As a teacher in Barcelona and as an organiser of events and talks of cultural associations, he became an essential figure of the city. In Ripoll, a small town near the French border where much of his family lived, Serra established a museum and organised competitions of popular culture. In conferences and contacts with international scholars, he contributed to debates about Spanish regionalism and discussions of Catalan nationhood.

A multi-faceted figure such as Serra can help historians see the process of the definition of Catalan nationhood, but also general stories of nationalism, in a new light. Studying such a figure lets us draw new topographies of early twentieth-century culture in Spain by questioning hard binaries of civic universalism and cultural particularism. Catalan historiography has focused predominantly on the main political parties as well as journalists, neglecting those large numbers of Catalans outside the immediate political realm, such as Rossend Serra i Pagès who was not a member nor of the Lliga Regionalista nor any other political party. He was though heavily contributing to essential debates of nationhood in schools, museums, and at international conferences.[421] The three sections in this chapter show how Serra had to navigate cosmopolitanism and particularism. They show how questions of the validity of Catalan foundational myths, discussions of 'ethnic specificities' and a cultural canon were part of a cross-border and transnational

[421] Vanelti Camp, Santiago, La intelectualidad catalana, Nuevo Mundo, Madrid, 11.05.1911.

process between intellectuals. Through this transnational process, Catalan nationalists like Serra sometimes stressed universalist and sometimes ethno-symbolic elements.

The chapter focuses on a single intellectual. Despite being a prominent public figure at the time, both locally for Ripoll, internationally as a scholar and in the city of Barcelona, Rossend Serra i Pagès has been astonishingly neglected. So far there are no biographies of this individual, despite a sizeable personal archive held at Barcelona's City Archive.[422] Serra devoted his life to the collection of folklore. Most of the myths and songs he collected stemmed from the towns immediately surrounding him, but he also gathered material from other parts of the world. However, he did not publish much of the material he so continuously and diligently noted down. Much of this work ended up contributing to more extensive collections such as the unfinished work of the *Obra Del Cançoner Popular De*

[422] Serra i Pagès' archive, held at the *Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona* (AHCB) gives testament to the wide-ranging activities he was embroiled in throughout his life and the abundant intellectual correspondence. Serra i Pagès' mostly unpublished personal archive holds one of the most voluminous collections of the AHCB with more than 2600 letters and 7400 documents. These documents demonstrate the diversity of Serra's activities in the cultural life in Barcelona and account for his extensive exchanges with Spanish intellectuals but also with geographers and folklorists abroad. The collection of his sources is divided into two parts, his personal documentation, and professional activity as well as his correspondence, see AHCB, Fons Personals Serra i Pagès, HCB3-022/5D.61 (Part I and II). The sources were gathered after the death of Serra i Pagès by his students Sara Llorens i Carreres who also rescued his collection and personal sources in the years of the Civil War by sending most of them to Agustí Duran i Sanpere the director of the Historical Archive of the City of Barcelona and to Switzerland, see *Dipòsits i donatius 1936-1939. Donativo de los albaceas testamentarios de D. Rosendo Serra y Pagés.* The few publications are all dealing with his work as a folklorist. However, he mostly receives glancing mentions. An exception is a short chapter on Rossend Serra which calls him the 'founding father of the field of folklore studies' in Llorenç Prats, *El mite de la tradició popular* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1988), pp. 49-53. Also, lately there have been a few historians who have examined his work on local folksongs, see, for example, Maria Antònia Juan i Nebot, "Rossend Serra i Pagès i la recerca científica del folklore a Catalunya: El cançoner tradicional Català i el cançoner del Ripollès," *Annals del Centre d'Estudis Comarcals del Ripollès* (2011): pp. 55-76.

Catalunya.[423] In 1924, Ramon Miquel i Planas[424] lamented this fact, arguing that despite Rossend Serra having been one of the most illustrious folklorists and a 'propagator of knowledge' his work and experience had been mostly transmitted orally through courses, classes in schools, and through conferences.[425] However, it was people like Serra, involved in diverse activities and engaged on many different levels with international, national, and rural communities, who made debates on Catalan nationhood prevalent and diffused them to larger audiences. Such cosmopolitan nationalists served as crucial catalysts of Catalan nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

[423] The *Obra Del Cançoner Popular De Catalunya* was based on field research which documented details on the music, lyrics, performers and the places it had been recorded. It was based on a research manual edited by Batista i Roca who followed guidelines of the Folklore Society of London published in 1914. Rossend Serra and his pupils contributed with songs from the area around Ripoll. Juan i Nebot and Mascarella i Rovira argue that they collected over 500 songs with details on variants and informants between 1903 and 1922, see Maria Antònia Juan i Nebot and Jordi Mascarella i Rovira, *Cançoner del Ripollès* (Ripoll: Centre d'Estudis Comarcals del Ripoll, 1998). Josep Massot i Muntaner has indexed the material of the *Obra Del Cançoner Popular De Catalunya* which produced twenty-one volumes.

[424] Ramon Miquel i Planas (1874-1950) was an editor, book collector, and translator. From 1908 to 1932, he tried to establish a corpus of Catalan literature in his 'Catalan library'. This work of 32 volumes contained mostly editions of medieval and Renaissance texts, see Barry Taylor, "Ramon Miquel y Planas and his Biblioteca Catalana: Medievalism, publishing and bibliophilia in early twentieth-century Barcelona," *The British Library Journal* 19, no. 1 (1993): pp. 58-82.

[425] Miquel y Planas, Ramon, Resposta, Discursos, Almanach de la Esquella de la Torratxa, Barcelona 15.06.1924.



Figure 6: Rossend Serra i Pagès, Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona, author unknown 1920.[426]

During his life, Serra i Pagès researched and talked about Catalan popular culture in different geographical, institutional and social contexts, as a scientist at international conferences, as part of the hiking movement in public and private meetings, and as a teacher in schools in Barcelona. His travel notes, tickets from the Spanish railway company as well as his membership receipts from several European conferences are accounts of his trips through Spain, Europe, and the United States and reflect his interest in the geographies and societies of different countries.[427] He also was a member of several international associations such as the *International Society for the Development of Economic Education*, for whose

[426] AFB3-Editorial López, S0_141_048.
[427] AHCB, 5D.61-2/C1-2.

publications he was one of the constant collaborators.[428] The conferences and exhibitions he attended across Europe brought him into contact with geographers and teachers across the world and formed his ideas about the needs for reforms in the educational system, particularly regarding women and best-practice examples of schools for women around the world.[429]

Described as a child prodigy in the Festschrift made by his students in 1925, Serra i Pagès mainly worked as a librarian, administrator, and teacher in his adult life.[430] In the meantime, he also acted as an editor for smaller scientific journals in botany and geography and wrote several plays.[431] Besides a spare-time folklorist who studied foreign rituals and collected popular songs, dances, and children games from around the world, he was also an active member of the intellectual life of Barcelona, organising cultural events, festivities, and competitions. In 1902, he organised the presentation of popular dances at the 'Our Lady of Mercy' day, the official celebration day of the city of Barcelona. A year later, Rossend Serra became a member of the *Ateneu Barcelonès*, the platform for intellectual exchange in Barcelona and an organisation which promoted cultural activities, conferences, and exhibitions. He became responsible for their extensive library and its section on

[428] *Documents cartographiques de géographie économique = Cartographic documents of economic geography = Kartographische Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeographie*, (Berne, Paris, Leipzig: Société d'édition de cartes géographiques, Geographischer Kartenverlag, 1914).
[429] Eladi Homs writing to Rossend Serra in 1908, AHCB, 5D.61-57/C22-5.
[430] He allegedly started school with three, started his high school degree being nine years of age and had his first position as a Geography teacher at a local school in 1875 when he was 12 years old. After graduating with a high school diploma when he was fourteen and despite his love of medicine, art, and natural sciences, he decided for a career in Commerce to help his parents out of financial hardship, see Sara Llorens de Serra, *Alguns escrits del professor Rossend Serra y Pagès* (Barcelona: Estampa de la Casa Miquel-Rius, 1926), pp. VII-IX.
[431] From 1897 onward Serra i Pagès was a member of the editorial department of the 'Revista Hortícula', see AHCB, 5D. 61 4/C15, p. 188 and his theatre piece 'Revifalla d'amor' premiered in the 'Teatre del Casino' in Ripoll in September 1914, 5D 61 4/C 29, Casino de Ripoll, El Pirinieu Catala, 26.09.1914 as well as La Veu Comarcal: Setmanari Catalanista de Ripoll i sa comarca, any 1, núm. 25, 19.09.1914, p. 10.

foreign and domestic trade.[432] He was active in the Floral Games and the hiking movement of Catalonia, for which he organised and participated in several trips across the region to find and document cultural 'traditions'.[433] His interest in folklore also led him to take up the position of director of the Folkloric Library from 1906 to 1909 and he became a founding member of the Archive of Ethnography and Folklore in Catalonia.[434] For the cultural association *Patxot,* he directed, in the last years before his death, the work on Catalan myths and legends and gathered material for the project of the Catalan folkloric section for the World Fair of 1929.[435]

The first section of this chapter examines Serra's work as a folklorist, which is a useful corrective to the Catalan historiography of folklore. These individuals who travelled around Europe collecting old stories, games and other cultural artefacts have been described as 'nation-builders' who mappedout locally rooted cultural aspects of the nation. They were also perceived as activists who were trying to strengthen the voice of the region by emphasising vernacular particularities and adding them to the canon of 'national heritage'.[436] However, as Hopkin, Leerssen, and Pooley have emphasised, these folklorists and the myths they were studying

[432] The institution was formerly called the Ateneu Català,founded in 1860. Serra held the position of secretary of the Floral Games in 1905 and became a member of the *Centre for the Excursionists in Catalonia* in the same year.
[433] For an introduction to the rather vague concept of tradition, see, for example, Henry Glassie, "Tradition," in *Eight words for the study of expressive culture*, ed. Burt Feintuch (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), pp. 176-197.
[434] Dolors Llopart Llorenç Prats, Joan Prat Carós, ed., *La cultura popular a Catalunya: Estudiosos i institucions, 1853-1981* (Barcelona: Serveis de Cultura Popular, 1982), p. 49.
[435] Prats, *El mite de la tradició popular*, pp. 51-52. As well as the French text for the competition *Légendaire Populaire Catalan,* 30.04.1925, AHCB, 5D.61-48/C8-3.
[436] Folklore was particularly embedded into the national project in Scandinavia and Ireland, see, Hopkin, "Folklore beyond nationalism: Identity politics and scientific cultures in a new discipline", pp. 371-401. Pooley and other scholars have emphasised that folklore and traditions did not necessarily correspond to national boundaries but belonged to regions. Pooley describes how folklore itself thrived in a movement creating networks of regions rather than nations and provincial hubs rather than capitals, see William G. Pooley, "The singing postman: The mobility of traditional culture in nineteenth-century France," *Cultural and Social History* 13, no. 1 (2016): pp. 43-62.

were often not as immobile as previously portrayed. This section furthers arguments made by these scholars and demonstrates how Serra's activities did not fit neatly into regional or national boundaries, neither Catalan nor Spanish. It challenges the neat transition of a conservative, mythical and romanticised folkloric practice, linked to the emergence of the hiking movement, to a professionalised folklore endorsing nationalist theory in the 1920s.[437] Instead, Serra's contacts with international scholars of Catalan language and folklore around the world highlight how he negotiated scientific, rational discourses and romantic notions and challenged the notion of immobile Catalan folklore. Serra defined folklore as a universally nationalising tool.

Subsequent sections will draw on his work as a teacher, geographer, and reformer. The second section demonstrates how the notion of progress became linked to Northern landscapes. In his work as a folklorist, the focus was to portray Catalonia as unique but culturally similar to other nations. In contrast, as a geography teacher, Serra viewed the international as an opportunity to define Catalonia's self-image through the contrast with the most significant other – central Spain. Serra fed into an international narrative of a backward South that lacked dependency, punctuality, and order. Compared to the Southern regions, Catalans allegedly had a different relation to time and efficiency. The third section highlights how a competitive environment impacted his work as a teacher, where Serra argued for a more inclusive approach to women's education and new cultural initiatives in

[437] Scholars such as ÓGiolláin and Prats have divided the collection of Catalan folklore into two main phases. First, the Catalan folklore of the *Renaixensa*. This 'Renaixensa folklore' depicted rural life in an idealised manner as opposed to the urban world and its culture of foreign influence. Second, the folklore of the 'Noucentisme' which became professionalised and was carried out by architects and scholars to endorse nationalist theory scientifically, see Diarmuid ÓGiolláin, *Locating Irish folklore: Tradition, modernity, identity* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2000), pp. 84-87. Prats, *El mite de la tradició popular*, p. 170.

smaller local communities. Such initiatives question the misconception of folklorists as social and political conservatives.[438]

1. Between Romanticism and Science

Catalan artists such as Jaume Brossa often described the local and 'traditional' as unnecessary and disconnected from the modern city life they were leading. Serra, however, was convinced that folklore had a value for modern times and urban citizens as well. He described Catalan folklore as relevant for modern society and national myths as global tales which were sharing a transnational space with other European mythical stories. Serra i Pagès argued that all people who were disengaged from these ancient customs and stories were not to move forward. In June 1924, after more than twenty years devoted to the research, gathering, and transmission of Catalan popular culture, Serra delivered a speech in which he highlighted the importance of popular tales for modern society in the twentieth century:

> 'Our legends are always matters of current affairs which interest everyone: for some to tell them and for others to listen to them; for the artists to be inspired; for the historians to inquire it for certainty; for the critics to find out the sources and successive transformations; for the ethnographers and anthropologists to make consequential deductions from the origins (…) In short, for every individual from society (…) as they show us the path we walked and therefore the direction to follow.'[439]

This quote is telling for two reasons. First, because Serra did not see folklore divorced from the agency of the interpreter nor the performer. He recognised that

[438] Hopkin shows how many folklorists were socialists and republicans, see David M. Hopkin, *Voices of the people in nineteenth-century France*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 36-37.
[439] Rossend Serra i Pagès, *Les nostres llegendes, discursos llegits en la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1924), p. 12.

folklore could have different meanings depending on the intention of the interpreter. Second, he mentioned the successive transformations of legends and popular stories, acknowledging the change folklore underwent, always adapting to the changing lives of the people who told the stories, and those who used them for different purposes. Such acknowledgement stands in contrast to many other nineteenth-century folklorists who tried to present performers as mere transmitters of authentic, original and unchanged traditions.[440] In Serra's eyes, the sources and the interpreters, such as folklorists, historians and moralists would infer their meaning from the legends, transforming and adapting them to the actuality. Similarly, the life of the performer would alter and distort the legend. Thus the best thing the folklorist could do was to write down all versions of the legends they could find regardless of how the authors treated them.[441] The notes he took on legends and folk songs followed this approach and gave detailed information on the variances of the popular traditions he recorded. Serra's work did not deny popular stories, customs, rituals, and national myths dynamism, but acknowledged that they might have been altered and modified over time.[442]

Serra i Pagès sat somehow awkwardly in between the conservative and romantic folklore and the developing professionalised folklore of the *Noucentisme*. As other early twentieth-century folklorists, Serra saw himself as a scientist bound to empirical, positivistic methods, but no less as a 'nation-builder'. He was interested in 'patterns of cultural transfer and cultural persistence' that transcended

[440] For an illuminating account on how Arnaudin's (1844-1921) sources and stories might have been both more mobile and prone to transformation than the folklorist admitted, see, Pooley, "The singing postman: The mobility of traditional culture in nineteenth-century France", pp. 43-62.
[441] Serra i Pagès, *Les nostres llegendes, discursos llegits en la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, p. 12.
[442] For example, in the article on the Count Arnau, see AHCB3-022/5D.61-49/C1-1 and Serra i Pagès, Rossend, Preguntant pel Comte l'Arnau, Catalunya, February 1904.

and sometimes also undermined the boundaries of the national.[443] Contemporaries and historians called Serra the 'founder of the new discipline of folklore' in Spain because of his attempts to systematise Catalan and European popular culture.[444] In his work on Catalan folklore, scientific and political goals were not presented as two separate elements standing in contrast to each other, but appeared as two sides of the same coin. Serra i Pagès tried to combine scientific trends and international knowledge about myths and folklore with his own cultural project for Catalonia. He thus also engaged with pan-European debates about 'authenticity' and teleological national histories. As a scholar, he was aware of the accusations that historians and folklorists were 'inventing traditions'. This had sparked debates in these disciplines not only in Catalonia but across Europe.[445] Serra i Pagès' scholarship must thus be interpreted as an attempt to find a middle way in the debate between 'fiction' and 'truth'.

In the same speech from 1923, he referred to the popular Swiss legend of Wilhelm Tell and compared it to the Catalan legend of Otger Cataló, the soldier who allegedly gave 'Catalonia its name and shield'. Referring to the debate between historians around the turn of the century in Switzerland, Serra acknowledged the possible ideological implications of patriotism. Patriotism 'has always wanted to reinvent the history of people, region or nation, to the past furthest away possible.

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[443] Hopkin, "Folklore beyond nationalism: Identity politics and scientific cultures in a new discipline", p. 401. On the professionalisation of folklore as a science, see ibid., pp. 377-393.
[444] Llorenç Prats, *La cultura popular a Catalunya: Estudiosos i institucions, 1853-1981,* pp. 49-53. See also Miquel y Planas, Ramon, Resposta, Discursos, 15.06.1924.
[445] A good overview of the Catalan debate is given in Jordi Casassas i Ymbert, "La historiografia del positivisme," in *Història de la historiografia Catalana*, ed. Albert Balcells, Sèrie jornades científiques 18 (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2004), pp. 161-185. On the subsequent debate of the 1930s, see Aurell Jaume, "Historiadores 'románticos' e historiadores 'científicos' an la historiografia Catalana contemporánea: Nacionalismo historiográfico y revisionismo generacional," *Memoria y civilización* 3 (2000): pp. 237-273. For an overview of debates across Europe at the same time, see Paul Lawrence, "Nationalism and historical writing," in *Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, ed. John Breuilly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 713-730.

Moreover, with frequency, (…) a resemblance (…) or mere possibility has been enough to identify an origin.'[446] Referring to national heroes constructed by historians, Serra took an in-between line by recognising the possibility of 'inventions of traditions' through folklorists and historians motivated by patriotism, but also argued that myths had meaning for the population as it contained a 'collective soul'[447]:

> 'Even the heroes themselves are often enough creations of the first historiographers which did not know who to attribute their undoubtable facts to (…) Have the Swiss not created Wilhelm Tell, the liberator of the enslaved Patria? (…) It is the same case with our Otger Cataló. (…) Despite being pure fiction, in both cases, it demonstrates the spirit of the people and Wilhelm Tell and Otger Cataló are the symbols of the real and effective liberations'[448]

In Serra i Pagès' library, we find proof of his knowledge about the Swiss debate between two distinct versions and concepts of nationhood. The monograph 'Die Tell-Sage zu dem Jahre 1230 historisch nach den neuesten Quellen beleuchtet' by Dr. H von Liebenau engaged with Kopp's rejection of the Wilhelm Tell legend and the critique of former historians.[449] Even though Serra agreed with the canon of modern historical criticism and considered both the Tellian apple shooting and the myth of Cataló pure patriotic fantasy, he validated these myths as half-truths by referring to them as reflecting the real historical moments of liberation.[450] In both cases, he saw that historical background and the representation of the myth were

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[446] Serra i Pagès, *Les nostres llegendes, discursos llegits en la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, p. 15.
[447] Serra i Pagès, Rossend, Els Balls Populars, Almanach de la Esquella de la Torratxa. Any 1911, p. 76.
[448] Serra i Pagès, *Les nostres llegendes, discursos llegits en la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, p. 15.
[449] Serra had several books on the Tell myth in his library, amongst which are the 'Histoire de Guillaume Tell. D'apres les chroniqueurs et les poètes, Lausanne 1898', see AHCB, Collection of the Library of Serra i Pagès, SP 12° 102, and 'von Liebenau, H., Die Tell-Sage zu dem Jahre 1230 historisch nach den neuesten Quellen beleuchtet, Aarau: Verlag von Heinrich Remigius Sauerländer 1864', see AHCB, SP 12° 101.
[450] Oliver Zimmer, "Competing memories of the nation: Liberal historians and the reconstruction of the Swiss past 1870-1900," *Past & Present* 168 (2000): pp. 194-226.

not congruent, but saw an emotional link between what he perceived as 'historical facts' and passed-down memory. He argued that there was a plausible structure underneath the myths:

> 'The inherent traditions of the independence of a people are truths. They can be poeticised, giving name to unknown heroes (…) beautifying facts for the coats of arms as the symbol of the Patria but underneath palpitates the reality of the facts (…) the struggle of everyone'[451]

Serra i Pagès was part of a modern scientific school of folklore and historiography which was forming across Europe but was also embroiled in the fostering of Catalan national culture. Even though official Catalan historiography saw the Frankish kings as founders of Catalan nationhood, Serra i Pagès advocated for not dismissing the other legendary figures, but to research 'the vitality of popular myths' as they might give insights into historic memory as well.[452] An example was Serra i Pagès' research on the Count of Arnau. This legend about a nobleman from Ripoll who is condemned to be devoured by flames for eternity allegedly was not a simple ghost story, but indicated real memories, argued Serra. The 'force of vitality' of the stories as well as the spaces of memory in and around the city of Ripoll suggested, according to Serra, that the independence movement and reconquest of the territory from the Arabs started in the region of Montgrony. Therefore, people had impregnated their surroundings with the real memories of their lived experiences and turned them into myths.[453] The differentiation between 'human' and 'real history' shows how Serra navigated and combined rational, scientific and patriotic narratives. He argued that popular myths and traditions were

[451] Unpublished work on the Count of Arnau, a popular legend and one of the major interests of Serra i Pagès, see Llorens de Serra, *Alguns escrits del professor Rossend Serra y Pagès*, pp. 75-79.
[452] Wilfred the Hairy was the Catalan Count of Barcelona (878–897) and a Frankish King whom nineteenth century historians saw as the founder of the House of Barcelona, and thus as the 'father of contemporary Catalonian nationalism'. One of the myths attributes the coat of arms of Catalonia to him.
[453] Llorens de Serra, *Alguns escrits del professor Rossend Serra y Pagès*, pp. 75-79.

giving clues about the psychological history of the people and the experiences which formed the memories in specific areas.[454]

Comparisons with folklore around the world cemented Serra's belief that popular traditions were expressions of ethnic, geographic and linguistic communities but had universal traits. These universal traditions were then adapted and transformed by local communities according to their historic experiences and geographic differences. Like the better-known Violet Alford argued a few years later, Serra believed that all folklore had a common origin in a prehistoric ritual. In 1911, he stated that the Catalan popular dances such as the *sardana* were local manifestations derived from the universal sun dances.[455] Traditions had universal roots but adopted a local colour according to the landscape they were found in. Whether they changed and transformed over time, or whether they were poeticised for political purposes or not, they were always anchored in the local landscape.

When explaining the function of folklore, Serra referred to its nationalising function which he claimed applied not only to Catalonia, but could also be transported to other countries and have a similar effect on patriotic feelings abroad. Seeing folklore from this angle, it became a universal nationalising instrument. When, in May 1910, a 'great dance festival' took place in Boston, Massachusetts, which celebrated the popular dance traditions of several nations, the force of Catalan folkloric dances was highlighted.[456] The festival was deemed significant by the Catalan press as it included in the 'national dances' not only the popular dances of the big nations but also Catalan participatory dances. These were, according to the press, remarkably studied by the performers, as well as greatly applauded by the

[454] Serra i Pagès. Els Balls Populars, Almanach de la Esquella de la Torratxa. Any 1911, p. 81.
[455] Ibid., pp. 79-81.
[456] Crònica Del Centre, Maig De 1910, Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya, Barcelona, June 1910, p. 187.

audience. The festival was celebrated on 'the biggest public square' in Boston and was attended by several thousand spectators according to the Bulletin. 'Five of the most typical dances' of the Catalan people were performed during that festival.[457]

Lilla Viles Wyman, a teacher specialising in popular and classical dances, had organised the festival in Boston. She had visited Barcelona a year earlier to study traditional Catalan dances as part of a trip around Europe financed by the U.S. government.[458] With the help of Rossend Serra i Pagès' library and expertise, the secretary of the Society of Folklore of Barcelona Miquel S. Gatuellas and the director of the Dance company 'La Danca' Joan Guasch, she learned, studied and documented several Catalan popular dances in the summer of 1909. After her visit to Barcelona, Viles Wyman became a delegate member of the Excursionist Centre of Catalonia and taught her students about Catalan traditional dances back in Boston.[459] In an article about popular dances, Serra i Pagès argued for the nationalising effect of traditional participatory dances, arguing that it was one of the most ritualistic art forms. 'Dancing, you can also make the nation' he claimed and applauded the United States for subsidising Viles Wyman to come to Catalonia to study the traditional dances.[460]

Like Viles Wyman, Serra i Pagès and other Catalan folklorists believed that the 'characteristics of a nation' were not found in the works of grandmasters of high culture, but in the simple songs and movements of the people, and that it was these forms of art which represented the 'natural' and undivided people of Catalonia

[457] Ibid.
[458] Viles Wyman, Lilla, Una artista yankee a Catalunya, Feminal, Núm 30, Illustració Catalana, Barcelona 26.09.1909.
[459] Butlettí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya, Barcelona, October 1909, p. 310 and p. 313.
[460] Almanach de la Esquella de la Torratxa. Barcelona 1911, p. 81.

regardless of class and education.[461] Additionally, he saw the United States at the forefront for financing private artistic and cultural missions which would deepen the knowledge about their own cultural nationhood. He deemed it imperative to increase the political and state funding for the region's cultural projects which became easier after the establishment of the Mancomunitat in 1914. Serra i Pagès was not only convinced that the study and performance of popular dances had a nationalising effect for the people of Catalonia, but he was also confident that it had a similar effect beyond the borders of Catalonia, in the United States. The bulletin ended its summary of the festival of the dances of the 'big nations' by congratulating Viles Wyman for demonstrating to the world the power of popular dances. Furthermore, it showed people how Catalan folklore was not only crossing regional frontiers, but was adopted and found a 'new home on the other side of the Atlantic'.[462] By finding a new home across the Atlantic, folklore revealed its intrinsic national force and would continue to ignite patriotism in the United States. Even though legends and dances were possibly altered by American dancers or storytellers, they were retaining a nationalising power and the story of liberation remained ingrained in them.[463]

2. Geography makes modernity

> The Catalan woman needs more education than the Castilian woman, for example, because however poor the one of the latter is (and it is very poor) at the end the instruction responds to her way of being. The same does not happen with the woman of our house who receives foreign education

[461] Viles Wyman, Lilla, Una artista yankee a Catalunya, Feminal, Núm 30, Illustració Catalana, Barcelona 26.09.1909.
[462] Crònica Del Centre, Maig De 1910, Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya, Barcelona, June 1910, p.188.
[463] Llorens de Serra, *Alguns escrits del professor Rossend Serra y Pagès*, pp. 120-128.

without being prepared and being Catalan, cannot even write in Catalan nor knows the literature or history.[464]

This quote by teacher Serra i Pagès highlights how international contacts and Catalonia's peripheral position in Spain were seen as putting pressure on Catalan society. Besides making his stereotypes against 'Castilian women' known, in the article 'Four Words about the Instruction of Women' from 1901, Serra explained his demands for female education within the Catalan national project. He argued that due to Catalonia's close cultural and economic ties with Europe and geographical position at the border of Spain, it was more prone to foreign influences. Therefore, the Catalan woman would have to be educated in a different way than the women of other regions in Spain, Serra argued. Influences from abroad flowed into Catalonia, he contended, which made the understanding of the own nationhood an essential and compulsory process. The study of geography and folklore was, according to him, deeply intertwined, showing how historic borders drawn by governments were not able to alter natural and human factors.[465]

After Spain's first naval defeat against the United States in May 1898, Lord Salisbury spoke of Spain as one of the 'dying nations'.[466] This 'othering' of Spain developed in the eighteenth century in enlightened France and mainly through figures such as Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, and earlier figures such as Cromwell and William of Orange as well as through travel literature by mostly British and Dutch tourists.[467] These travel reports emphasised Spanish

[464] Serra i Pagès, Rossend, Quatre paraulas sobre l'instrucció de la dona, La Veu Comarcal, Ripoll 01.10.1901.
[465] Llorens de Serra, *Alguns escrits del professor Rossend Serra y Pagès*, p. 134.
[466] On Salisbury's quote, see Alvarez Junco, *Mater dolorosa: La idea de España en el siglo XIX*, p. 586.
[467] María del Carmen Iglesias Cano, "Una imagen "oriental" de España en el siglo XVIII", in *Homenaje académico a d. Emilio García Gómez*, ed. Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1993), pp. 409-432; María del Carmen Iglesias Cano, "España desde fuera," in *España: Reflexiones sobre el ser de España*, ed. Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1997), pp. 377-428; José Álvarez Junco, "España: El peso del

backwardness in comparison to other European countries and described Spain as the epitome of the 'absolute opposite for everything that modernity stands for: science, freedom and progress'.[468] The stereotype of a country of ignorant, fanatic, authoritarian, and Catholic inquisitors became so popular among European intellectuals that in 1914, Julián Juderías called the anti-Spanish propaganda the 'blackening' of the image of Spain abroad (*Leyenda Negra*).[469] Linked to these stereotypes was the question of whether and to what extent the Spanish Enlightenment, the so-called 'Siglo de las Luces', had penetrated Spanish society.[470]

Literary scholar Litvak and others have pointed out how ideas of a backward Spain among tourists and intellectuals across Europe were also connected to a polemic between the Latin and Anglo-Saxon nations.[471] Fin-de-Siècle intellectuals in Spain, France and other countries debated 'A quoi tient la supériorité des anglo-saxons?' and what made the 'Latin races' more decadent and backward than their

estereotipo," *Claves de razón práctica* 48 (1994): pp. 2-11. Álvarez Junco has examined the continuation of these perspectives in the nineteenth century, see Álvarez Junco, *Mater dolorosa: La idea de España en el siglo XIX*. Varela and Jiménez have shown how these stereotypes developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth century continue to persist today, Gema Cano Jiménez, "La imagen de España para unos curiosos impertinentes en el siglo XX: "Vaya país", John Hooper y William Chislett," *Historia y Comunicación Social* 22, no. 2 (2017): pp. 513-529.

[468] Lily Coenen, *The image of Spain in Dutch travel writing (1860-1960)* (Amsterdam: 's-Hertogenbosch: Uitgeverij BOXPress, 2013), pp. 24-25.; Mose, *Katalonien zwischen Separatismus und Transnationalisierung. Zur Konstruktion und Dynamik raumbezogener Identitäten*, pp. 179-180.

[469] See on different versions of 'black legends' to discredit empires,the insightful work by Roca Barea, *Imperiofobia y leyenda negra : Roma, Rusia, Estados Unidos y el Imperio Español*, Part II on Anti-Spanish Attitudes. DeGuzmán describes how racialisations of Spain as the not-quite-white other and the importance of its imperial past features in U.S. representations from the late eighteenth to the twenty-first century, María DeGuzmán, *Spain's long shadow: The Black Legend, Off-whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

[470] Tschilschke criticises the dominance of French Enlightenment on the European continent which questioned any deviances on enlightened thought within Europe, Christian von Tschilschke, *Identität der Aufklärung / Aufklärung der Identität. Literatur und Identitätsdiskurs im Spanien des 18 Jahrhunderts*, La cuestión palpitante. Los siglos XVIII y XIX en España 9, (Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert, 2009), p. 78. Tschilschke argues that whereas the French Enlightenment was challenging the power of the monarchy and the church, Spanish Enlightenment developed in dialogue and sometimes with the support of the Catholic Church and the Spanish monarchy.

[471] Lily Litvak, "Latinos y anglosajones. Una polémica de la España de fin de siglo," *Revista Internacional de Sociología* 33, no. 15 (1975).

Northern European counterparts.[472] Environmental determinism, which became fashionable in the nineteenth century, subjected Spain to a particular development trajectory. It argued that the alleged backwardness, inferiority and fanatism of the Spaniards was linked to a geographical predisposition of living in the South. The famous cliché that 'Africa begins at the Pyrenees', a statement which is attributed to several European intellectuals, devaluated Africa and Spain culturally and dislocated Spain from the European continent.[473]

Serra and many other Catalan scholars seemed eager to prove that their region belonged to a different time zone, where the pace of life was quickening. Culturally and linguistically, Catalonia, however, seemed similar to other regions in Spain, sharing Catholicism as major cultural elements as well as many popular festivities. Furthermore, the Catalan language was still in the process of gaining official recognition as a language by linguists across Europe.[474] Like theorists of Catalan nationalism, Serra did not define Catalans as a separate race within Spain. However, besides cultural and linguistic elements, Serra also included a vaguer ethnic notion of a 'modern spirit' as an essential component of nationhood. This notion seemed to pertain only to people in some geographical regions, mainly Northern Europe and Northern Spain. This modern and entrepreneurial spirit was a result of Catalonia's peripheral and vulnerable position in Spain, Serra contended.

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[472] Krauel, *Imperial emotions*, pp. 165-166; Edmond Demolins, *À quoi tient la supériorité des anglo-saxons?* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1897).

[473] See Martin-Márquez for an excellent account on the Spanish negotiations with their historical relationship to Muslim and African identity and how Spaniards have sometimes denied and sometimes embraced this legacy, destabilising the 'presumably fixed borders between Europe (…) the Muslim world' and Africa, Susan Martin-Márquez, *Disorientations: Spanish colonialism in Africa and the performance of identity* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008).

[474] Even though there exist earlier grammars, the codification of the Catalan language only happened later with the spelling rules and Catalan grammar monographs which were published by Pompeu Fabra (1868-1948) in 1913 and 1918 respectively. AHCB- 5D.61-2/C5-17-21 Primer Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana, Barcelona, 1906, and see Serra's talk on the Catalan language, 'Formació i caràcter de la llengua Catalana en la Filologia novo llatina', La Renaixensa, Barcelona, 10.08.1903.

Such a peripheral position had allegedly required economic contacts with other nations, which then had altered their relation to time and timekeeping.

Attaching a relationship to time in the discourse of national identity was not particular to Catalonia. At the end of the nineteenth century, we can see the development of a narrative where time and time-keeping were not only ways to measure the own position in an objective and supposedly linear framework, but more importantly become symbols of one's belonging to the 'civilised nations' and of being European. How people passed their time had become a comparable and measurable category. The 'Mastery of time'[475] became a sign of a nation's position in historical time. How people used their time thus reflected the position within the framework of 'progress'. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, time was becoming more standardised and unitary. The standardisation followed the North Atlantic group and thus their time model soon became synonymous with 'civilised'.[476] The economisation of time and the idea that 'Time is money' was perceived as a civilised character trait, whereas 'wasting time' seemed completely un-European, as Ogle mentioned.[477]

Europe was not only a place but also a way to live life under a certain time-order. To use time efficiently and to be disciplined about time management also became one element in the Catalan nationalists' stories of nationhood. At the same time, the rest of Spain was branded as an exemplary Latin country, where the government and the citizens were passive and lived without a thought for tomorrow. It followed the idea that the rest of Spain was living under a different time order.

[475] Thomas Allen, *A Republic in time: Temporality and social imagination in nineteenth-century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), p. 2.
[476] Vanessa Ogle, "Whose time is it? The pluralization of time and the global condition, 1870s - 1940s," *The American Historical Review* 118, no. 5 (2013): p. 1376.
[477] Ibid., pp. 1376-1402.

Time was passing slower in the rest of Spain. Therefore, Spain was presented as backward and slow whereas the people of the other regions of Spain were often described as lazy and wasting valuable time to regenerate the country.

Catalan business owners had profited from the Spanish empire and continued to do so until the loss of three colonies in 1898. This, as well as the rapid industrialisation of the region in comparison to other parts of Spain, intensified the widespread feeling among many Catalan nationalists that the principality was more advanced and industrious, and that productivity was part of a specific 'Catalan personality'. The expression 'a good Catalan will make you a loaf of bread from a stone' is another indication of how the Catalans perceived themselves as prosperous and industrious.[478] Additionally, Catalonia's traditional 'foral laws', which had survived in the Catalan legal system, emphasised the status and loyalty to family as the foundational unit of the region. In the popular imagination, as Elliott put it, these foral laws laid the 'root of the nation's long tradition of liberty and were the source of its prosperity'.[479] In 1851, Madrid dismissed these laws and tried to introduce a civil code that was heavily influenced by the Code Napoléon. Catalan lawyers and journalists highly criticised the dismissal of the laws as an attack on their Catalan personality and productivity. The mastery of time, productivity and their pragmatic outlook on life was what commonly was referred to as Catalan *seny*.[480] This included characteristics as being reasonable, practical, frugal, industrious and diligent, having an entrepreneurial mind and being part of modernity. These Catalan

[478] Santiago Ángel Saura, *Refranero castellano-Catalán. Refranes, adagios, proverbios aforismos, frases proverbiales, etc. Separata del novísimo diccionario manual de las lenguas Castellana-Catalana* (Barcelona: Librería de Esteban Pujal, 1884), p. 642.
[479] Elliott, *Scots and Catalans: Union and disunion*, p. 171.
[480] Mossen Norbert Font Y Sagué, *Historia de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Estampa 'La Catalana' de J. Puigventós, 1899), pp. 9-11.

characteristics made them more successful than other parts of Spain, argued some intellectuals at the time.[481]

For an 'economic geography course' in the year 1920, Rossend Serra i Pagès prepared a geographical analysis of the climatic, topographic and geological circumstances of all the countries he wanted to cover during the classes. Besides geographical and geological information, he also included an analysis of the economic situation, the ethnic composition and the governmental organisation of these countries.[482] The course would only include European states, covering a total of twenty-two countries. Besides established nation-states, the analysis also included Catalonia as a region as well as the whole territory of the 'Catalan Countries' as a separate entity (*Països Catalans*).[483] With forty-eight hand-written notes, Rossend Serra's study of Catalonia and the Catalan Countries was the most extensive lecture in his course. The course predominately focused on existing states in Central and Eastern European in 1920, but also included regions and nationalities without a state or under multiple states such as the Catalan Countries and the Cossacks.[484] Serra's international travels and scholarship made him see Catalonia and the regions where Catalan was spoken in comparison to other countries with similar geographical and spatial features, either in size or geological predisposition.[485] Writing that Catalonia's surface of 31.194 km² was 'bigger than Belgium and only a little smaller than Holland', Serra was not only trying to

[481] For example, Alfonso Moreno Espinosa, *Compendio de geografía especial de España. Distribuido en lecciones y adaptado a la índole y extensión de esta asignatura en la segunda enseñanza*, 6 ed. (Barcelona: Tip. EL Anuario de la Exportación, 1917).
[482] AHCB, 5D.61-9/C3-1.
[483] The concept of the Catalan Countries refers to both the regions and territories where Catalan language or a variant of it is spoken as well as the political and cultural aspiration by some nationalists to unite these regions. The Catalan Countries generally include Catalonia, Valencia the Balearic Islands, parts of Aragon, and Murcia, parts of the French Roussillon, Andorra as well as the parts of Sardinia in Italy.
[484] Ibid.
[485] AHCB, 5D.61-9/C3-5.

increase the geographical significance of Catalonia, but also to bring the Catalans' own sense of smallness and spatial constriction into perspective. Similarly, he compared the numbers of the population of Catalonia with other states such as 'European Turkey, Liberia, Uruguay, Guatemala, Albania' as well as Denmark and Norway. While Catalonia, with an estimated two million inhabitants, had more than the former five countries and only a little less than Denmark and Norway, Serra was also making a point for the economic power of the region and the possibility of self-sufficiency. He argued that the Catalan people seemed to possess an entrepreneurial character and a different understanding and management of time than the people in the Southern regions of Spain, who were lacking time-management and discipline.[486] He termed this time-consciousness the 'entrepreneurial spirit'. For him and many other intellectuals, time-management and consciousness were directly linked to economic efficiency and productivity.

Different times prevailed, not only between Europe and the rest of the world, or across Spain but also within the city of Barcelona. In newspaper articles, but also guides of Barcelona, different time zones are described between the city and the countryside and within the districts of Barcelona. In an article called 'Barcelona celebrating' (Barcelona de festa) for a tour guide of the city, playwright Adrià Gual gave an insight into the Catalan festivities and traditions for the interested tourist.[487] The article first described the 'working Barcelona', the city of smoking chimneys and efficient, industrious people. These modern, 'hard-working' people, however, earn their holidays and days to rest.[488] Thus, the tourist visiting the city would also be able to get an insight into the 'fool-bloodedness' of the 'Latin city', where people

[486] Ibid.
[487] AHCB- Guia 1917.
[488] Ibid.

embraced each public holiday. For the holidays of the Saints, for example, a tourist would experience a completely different city than on ordinary days. Barcelona presented itself as an in-betweener, a city caught amid the modern future of European cities with efficient timetables and the enjoyment, relaxation, and breath of former times.

Already a few years earlier, in 1917, during Spain's economic crisis, Serra i Pagès had published an analysis of the economic condition and geographical composition of Spain, comparing the country with other European states.[489] In this description, Serra i Pagès claimed that there existed no real, natural Spanish inhabitants, but that several distinct ethnicities lived in the state, which more or less corresponded to the people who resided in the regions. He wrote that there is no 'Spanish type', but that there only existed 'the old Castilian, the Galician, Basque-Navarro, the Andalusian and the Catalan type (…) each very different from each other'.[490] Serra i Pagès went on to describe the most 'distinguishable differences' between the different people of the regions, which he saw in their cultural variations and their 'entrepreneurial spirit'. The most notable difference between the people of different regions in the Spanish state are their distinct languages as well as their 'vocation for work', concluded Serra i Pagès.[491]

More generally, he reiterated that Spain was a 'backward' nation, lacking a sense of time-management and vocation. The 'people in the North' were slightly 'more active' than the ones in the South, who instead had 'more imagination'.[492] Complaints about the backwardness of Spain and comparisons with more progressive and productive states was particularly prevalent during the economic

[489] AHCB, 5D.61-15/C5-2.
[490] Ibid, p.3, 5D.61-11.
[491] Ibid.
[492] AHCB, 5D.61-15/C5-2, p. 3.

crisis in 1917 but can also be found earlier in the writings of Spanish intellectuals such as Joaquín Costa and politicians such as Antonio Maura and José Canalejas of the Conservative and Liberal Party respectively.[493] This lack of a purposeful sense of time also transcended into other areas of the Spanish state, such as the political and administrative levels. Tapping into the contemporary discourse of Spain as a 'nation fallen behind' and backward, Serra i Pagès described the government and its administration as regressive and decadent. The people's attitudes towards their government were reflecting a former time and demonstrated a sense of lack of purpose. Serra i Pagès described Spain as a nation made of 'poor, undisciplined and passionate people, who do not understand what needs to be done but are guided by people who talk well. A state that is elected by these Spaniards cannot be good.'[494] Instead of following people who would address pressing issues and would fulfil tasks within their time in office, people were passive and wasted time. According to Serra, the Spanish administration was corrupt, and the staff were elected through bonds of friendships instead of competency. 'Instead of facilitating initiatives, they crumble and put obstacles to them', he wrote in his analysis, lamenting the possibilities for economic regeneration in the country.

Looking at the United States and European countries of the North, Serra i Pagès accused Spain of lacking an entrepreneurial spirit. He claimed that the real problem behind the Spanish economic situation was the country's lack of personal initiatives and that the population did not think about the future in most parts of the country. He argued that 'everyone just waited', 'wants to be employed' and expected the 'state to solve their problems'.[495] Even though Serra described

[493] Costa described Southern Europeans of having a 'third class' head, see Storm, *La perspectiva del progreso,* p. 142-144.
[494] AHCB, 5D.61-15/C5-2, p. 3.
[495] Ibid.

Catalans as a nation in other works, in the summary for his geography classes in 1917 he argued for regional differences of the people of Spain. Despite their intelligence, they were all relatively backward to the rest of Europe, and there existed only a 'relative activity in the North'.[496] Such an image fitted well into the narrative of other Catalan nationalists who presented Catalonia as the saviour of an old-fashioned and unorganised Spain.

3. From the international to local initiatives

In 1916, Rossend Serra i Pagès lamented the state of national consciousness in Spain particularly in comparison with other European countries he had visited. The prospect of falling behind in an international competition was a persistent concern among many European nationalists and also among cosmopolitan scholars like Serra. He felt that nationhood and the nation-building process through state institution was part of a race towards progress and that Catalonia and Spain were somewhat 'late to the game'.

> If one travels through the advanced countries, one thing that catches the attention the most is the existence of museums, even in the most insignificant towns. It seems to be clear that this is carried out by a state of superior culture. Such a state disseminates the complete knowledge of the modern needs of urban life.[497]

Serra's visits across Europe, particularly to Belgium, Holland, France and Switzerland in 1909, formed his sense of lagging behind other nation-states.[498] For Serra i Pagès, a way to overcome this was the establishment of libraries and collections, locally and with the support of state institutions. In his writings, Serra

[496] 5D.61-15/C5-2, p. 6.
[497] Serra i Pagès, Rossend, Pro Cultura Ripollesa, La Veu Comarcal. Setmanari Catalanista De Ripoll i sa Comarca, Ripoll, any 2, núm 102, 11.03.1916, p. 2.
[498] See correspondence send to Miquel y Planas, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Secciò Manuscrits, Fons Ramon Miquel i Planas, Correspondència, Capsa 9.

i Pagès pushed for more institutional and financial support from Catalan and foreign cultural associations and the local government to avoid dependence on the central Spanish organisations. He further advocated the establishment of libraries and collections in smaller towns to reach new parts of the Catalan population. In an article for the local newspaper *La Veu Comarcal*, he argued for a local museum in Ripoll. Even though there had been a few personal initiatives to locate heritage and build collections, many smaller cities in Catalonia had no libraries or museums. Serra argued that the establishment of libraries and museums in smaller communities and towns across Catalonia would not only be a 'title of beautification for the population, an attraction to foreigners and teaching material for the inhabitants themselves', but that they would also serve to 'strengthen national ties' and form patriotic people. Citizens of local communities would be able to actively participate in the making of the national project, discovering and 'defining together the collective spirit'.

> A museum of Natural History, of Modern Art, of Crafts, of Reproductions, of Ethnography, is a beautiful thing that helps to make men of worth. However, a museum of retrospective art, of archaeology, of prehistory or of folklore not only teaches a lot but more importantly makes patriotic people.[499]

Serra mainly complained about the concentration of museums in Barcelona and the lack of archaeological and folkloric collections in the smaller cities of Catalonia. To 'live progressively' and to 'honour the past', such smaller cities in Catalonia needed to build museums or smaller collections of local products and historic artefacts. He acknowledged the initiatives in Lleida and Manresa of the last couple of years as well as the earlier ones of people such as Víctor Balaguer (1824-1901), who built the Víctor Balaguer Museum and Library in 1884 in his

[499] Serra i Pagès, Rossend, Pro Cultura Ripollesa, La Veu Comarcal. Setmanari Catalanista de Ripoll i sa Comarca, Ripoll, any 2, núm 102, 11.03.1916, p. 2.

hometown Vilanova i la Geltrú. However, Serra lamented the fact that these few initiatives were coming late and that many valuable objects had been bought by foreigners. This national heritage would never return to these newly established and forming museums but stay abroad: 'This is the sin of our ignorance and neglect for which we will repent. And if we want to know about home we will have to go to Paris, London or to Berlin to study it', concluded Serra.[500] In several editions of the local newspaper, Serra advertised and advocated for popular participation in the collection of antiquaries, popular toys, and clothing.

Intellectuals such as Serra i Pagès believed that the pulse of Barcelona needed to be quickened and transferred to other parts of the Catalan regions and the rest of the Spanish state. Therefore, he and other intellectuals supported initiatives such as the building of schools, museums and libraries in smaller towns, and the fight of tuberculosis within Barcelona.[501] All these initiatives should eventually demonstrate the country's development in a framework to compare national progress. Progress, as a comparative and competitive element, developed through international contacts and the movement between spaces. Serra i Pagès argued that, compared to other modern cities in Europe, modern nationalising institutions such as libraries and museums were lacking in Barcelona, but even more so in smaller cities of Catalonia. In his eyes, backwardness could only be extinguished by introducing international models and creating a synthesis between the international and the local.

[500] Ibid.
[501] Marfany argues that the fight against tuberculosis was, in fact, the fight to become the most advanced nation in Europe, see Marfany, *La cultura del Catalanisme: El nacionalisme Català en els seus inicis*, p. 142.

Locating and disseminating heritage: collections and libraries as networks

According to Serra and many other Catalan nationalists, not only museums but also libraries were an essential element of progress. Even though Barcelona had a few libraries and archives at the end of the nineteenth century, among which the library of the *Ateneu Barcelonès*, most of them were small and products of private initiatives. These individual projects collected rare books and built specialised collections and libraries. They were mostly carried out through personal investments. The majority of these private libraries were centred on specific topics or disciplines and collected books and journals. One of these collectors was Serra i Pagès who, throughout his life, built up a private library of more than 3700 works of different formats and diverse topics.[502]

His library contained works from all continents and included monographs, journals and conference proceedings on foreign and Catalan folklore, philology and ethnography. More specifically, the library contained collected work on popular literature, music, traditional instruments, dances, proverbs, (children's) games, beliefs, popular medicine, traditional clothing and festivities. Compared to other collectors active at the same time, such as Frederic Marès and Eduard Toda, who collected 80,000 volumes of books in their respective fields in their lifetimes, this is a rather small collection.[503] However, Serra's library incorporated not only works from all over the world, but also became a meeting point for intellectuals in Barcelona and folklorists abroad to study and exchange ideas about diverse aspects of folklore. It became part of an international network for cultural nationalists

[502] The catalogue of the library AHCB, 5D.61-2/C6-1, 2 and 3 according to the 'closest classification of Serra's thought' compiled by Sara Llorens, in November 1929.
[503] Aitor Quiney and Jordi Estruga, eds., *Col·leccions privades, llibres singulars* (Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 2005), pp. 53-65. Eduard Toda's library is particularly well-known for his Spanish bibliography of Italy on which he worked over 40 years and which contains over 5000 books of Spanish authors which were edited in Italy.

around the world, slowly forming Serra's idea of nationalism as a universal movement and of seeing Catalan popular culture in a global context.[504]

Thus, most of the international contacts Serra maintained over the years were related to the collection of works across the world, either through directly contacting the authors and scholars, such as the ethnographer Robert Lehmann-Nitsche (1872-1938), or by writing to publishing houses from across Europe and the United States.[505] The latter helped Serra i Pagès acquire specific editions and collections of popular cultural production of a specific nation.[506] The prospect of falling behind also mobilised Catalans abroad who had experienced the allegedly advanced states. Catalan emigrants such as painter Sebastià Cruset facilitated contacts between the collector at home and the libraries and bibliophiles abroad.

Cruset, for example, established contact with music critic and writer Frederick Martens in Rutherford, enabling Serra to obtain monographs which dealt with the popular music of indigenous populations of North America. With Frederick Martens, a writer for the 'Music Quarterly' and 'Musical Americana', Serra developed an extensive correspondence (1903-1924).[507] Both academics helped each other with their research; Serra provided Martens with works on Catalan, Basque and other region's popular music and translated regional folk songs

[504] Josep Batista i Roca, a Catalan historiographer and ethnographer working in Oxford wrote to Serra in 1917 to inform him of a visit he would make to his library, AHCB, 5D. 61-55/C18-3, 22-6-1917. American dance teacher Lilla Viles Wyman came to Barcelona and used Serra's library for her studies on folkloric dances. In her letters from 1910 and 1911, she thanks Serra for making her studies easier, see 5D.61-61/C18-1 and C18-3.
[505] Robert Lehmann-Nitsche, then director of the Folkloric Museum in La Plata, Argentina, 10.03.1916, AHCB, 5D.61-57/C29-5 and 20.07.1923, C29-6.
[506] Five letters from the Publishing House Thury, Baumgartner & Cia. in Geneva, for example, confirm the purchase of several books on folklore between 1913 until 1914 amongst which is, for example, the French translation of the Grimm tales of 1838, see AHCB, 5D.61-60/C25-1 until 5D.61-60/C25-5. Other contacts were made with publishing houses in Amsterdam (Abrahamson & Van Straaten, 5D.61-55/C1-1) or with publisher Renzo Torriani in Milan (5D.61-60/C36-1 until 5D.61-60/C36-8).
[507] AHCB, 5D.61-57/C47-1 until 5D.61-57/C51-3.

into Spanish. Marten helped to find collections on foreign music for Serra, including Finnish, Armenian and Hawaiian music, and particular compilations of popular music from the American indigenous populations. They worked and sent the books they obtained for each other for free, often writing to scientific institutions and publishing houses in their respective countries on behalf of each other.[508] From his connections in the United States, South America and Europe, Serra was able to acquire not only monographs and rare collections over the years from 1900 to 1920, but also the newest scientific journals in his field, such as the Journal of American Folklore, slowly transforming Barcelona with his personal library into a second intellectual platform next to Madrid.[509]

There were also several attempts to identify national heritage abroad by assessing and documenting Catalan monographs and collections stored outside the region.[510] Thus, at the end of the year 1895, the city council of Barcelona received a formal request for an official commission to collect Catalan works on Catalan literature and history by Fernando de Arteaga i Pereira, a poet and linguist who prepared several Spanish textbooks on grammar and vocabulary.[511] Arteaga i Pereira, who at the beginning of the twentieth century was a Lecturer at the Institute

[508] AHCB, 5D.61-57/C49-4, 'Myths of the Cherokees' and AHCB, 5D.61-57/C51 on the music of the Indian 'Hopis' published by the Field Museum in Chicago.
[509] AHCB, 5D.61-55/C21-4 and 5D.61-57/C22-4.
[510] Josep Batista i Roca who later became one of the most prominent figures in the internationalisation of Catalan culture and worked for the UNESCO amongst other institutions, contributed to the assessment of Catalan works in foreign libraries with his monograph on the works of Ramon Lull in the Bodleian Library of Oxford which he Catalogued during his stay at that university in the 'historical summer of 1914'. In London, he also founded the Anglo-Catalan Society after Second World War, see Letter to Mr. F Madan in January 1917 included in his 'Catalèch de les obres Lulianes d' Oxford', Barcelona 1916, Bodleian Library, 18. January 1917, Oxford. It was also Batista i Roca who helped Serra in finding several riddles and popular songs across Catalonia and in the United Kingdom and amongst others sent him information about the tale of the 'Comte d'Arnau' as well as parts of Irish riddles published by 'firm Irish nationalist' Douglas Hyde in his 'Beside the Fire. A collection of Irish Gaelic Folk Stories' (London 1890), letters from Batista i Roca to Serra i Pagès, 09.08.1915, AHCB, 5D.61-55/C18-1.
[511] Arteaga prepared Hossfeld's *A New English and Spanish Vocabulary* and *Spanish Grammar and Vocabulary* (London, 1908) and (London 1902) as well as *Practical Spanish* (London, 1902-12), AHCB, 5D.61-55/C8-7, March 1899, p. 2 and 5D.61-55/C8-8, September 1899.

of Modern Languages in Oxford and was later appointed Professor of Spanish in 1921 by the same university, formed part of Serra's extensive network.[512] He requested in a letter to the city council the official commission to 'research, copy, and send to (…) the archives of the city, the Catalan manuscripts, in Catalan or Limousin language, as well as the ones important to the language and history of Catalonia which exist in the public and particular libraries of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland'.[513]

In January 1896, the city council approved Arteaga's request, writing that they valued his initiative as an emotive, 'important and valuable service to his city of birth' and argued that the contributions to the municipal archives could be of great historical interest and increase the importance of the already rich diplomatic collection held by the archive. The city council particularly emphasised the fact that Arteaga's service came at no charge arguing that it showed the honourability of the lecturer and emotive quality of his work for the nation. Such activities seemed to be 'imposed (…) out of an emotion or affection for his country', concluded the city council.[514] Even though the absence of further sources that document his findings render it unclear what the outcome of Arteaga i Pereira's venture to assess the presence of Catalan language work in British libraries was, his private initiative to locate Catalan works mirrored many other initiatives by Catalan and international scholars around that time.[515] Like Arteaga, those intellectuals were mostly offering

[512] AHCB, 5D.61-55/C8-21. Oxford, 30.07.1904 and C. H. Firth, *Modern languages at oxford, 1724-1929* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), p. 68 and p. 105.
[513] Arxiu Municipal Contemporani de Barcelona AMCB1-001, A 183 Comissió de Governació, any 1895, Sèrie D, Exp. Núm. 327, 4-E-04-01-C-40009: Expediente de delegación a D. Fernando de Arteaga para examinar los Archivos de la Gran Bretaña.
[514] Ibid., Num 5.
[515] Quiney and Estruga, *Col·leccions privades, llibres singulars,* pp. 53-71.

unpaid work to collect and promote Catalan literary heritage and evaluate how foreign scholars had established canons of Catalan literature abroad.

From 1905 onward, there were several attempts to institutionalise these personal initiatives or at least to remunerate some of the activities. The prospect of falling behind in the nationalisation of Europe concerned many Catalan intellectuals, particularly those who had experienced the efforts and activities of other countries. In 1911, the poet Joan Maragall wrote about the value of rescuing the project of the 'Library of Catalonia' for the city of Barcelona and the whole of Catalonia. Maragall was concerned that the city of Barcelona was not supporting the Catalan language and literary scene enough and warned authorities by using the words of Spanish historian and literary critic Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo.[516] In 'Antología de poetas líricos castellanos desde la formación del idioma hasta nuestros días', Menéndez y Pelayo reminded the reader of former times in which Barcelona, even though 'powerful and opulent', had 'never distinguished herself in the protection of the letters'. Menéndez y Pelayo claimed that the Catalan population – even though hard-working and economically successful – had been unable to cultivate an artistic spirit and that this was now the duty of the current generation.

Joan Maragall, using Menéndez y Pelayo's words, ended his letter demanding the rescue of the 'National Catalan Library' by the city council. He explained that the 'youth' needed 'water' for their thirst and 'books for their yearning of knowledge'. Further, if the country was not able to provide these, the youth's spirits

[516] Menéndez y Pelayo had praised and supported the Catalan literary renaissance and participated in several Floral Games in Barcelona, see Joan M. Corominas, "Menéndez y Pelayo and the Catalan Renaixença," *Catalan Review* 1, no. 1 (1986): pp. 43-41.

would die of thirst or emigrate and leave the 'Patria' without hope of a 'rebirth'.[517] This last quotation reveals that Maragall and the individuals involved in the construction of the 'Library of Catalonia' saw this library almost as a spiritual basis for a future Catalan nation rather than a solely cultural project. It was not only about establishing a library, as Barcelona already had two significant libraries with the library of the University and the library of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon. Instead, they envisioned as a centralist institution that could represent the whole region. The provincial administration of Catalonia followed this demand by the Institute of Catalan Studies and over the years bought an ample collection of books, starting with a collection from the Catalan collector Marià Aguiló i Fuster in April 1908 and ending with the inauguration of the 'Library of Catalonia' in May 1914 with the support of the Mancomunitat and located in an section of the Palau de la Generalitat in Barcelona.[518]

Education as a motor for nationalisation

Serra i Pagès did not feel completely satisfied with his role as a teacher but described to several of his friends a feeling of 'lack of recognition'. In a letter to his former pupil Sara Llorens in 1919, Serra lamented the fact that many of his pupils did not see his enthusiasm and did not acknowledge that he was more a 'preacher with a high social mission for the future of the Patria' than an ordinary teacher.[519] Similarly, he acknowledged to his friend and former teaching colleague Arteaga i Pereira that the international sphere offered him an opportunity to not only gain acknowledgement for Catalonia's culture, but also for himself. As he was finding

[517] Addressed to the mayor of the city of Barcelona, printed in: Joan Maragall, *Obres completes d'en Joan Maragall: Sèrie Catalana*, vol. 2 Escrits en Prosa (Barcelona: G. Gili, 1912), pp. 180-181.
[518] It later became situated in the gothic building of the Hospita de la Santa Creu in Barcelona.
[519] Laura Villalba Arasa, "Adelaida Ferré i Gomis, folklorista. Edició, Catalogació i estudi del seu corpus rondallístic" (PhD thesis Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 2014), pp. 98-99.

it hard to find a voice in the debates between the intellectuals of Madrid, he would therefore focus on international conferences, correspondences and visits abroad. [520]

Serra i Pagès trusted in the power of education as a means of transforming society and thus considered the education of women as an essential component for building a 'progressive nation'.[521] Researching the past, the local and vernacular was for Serra i Pagès a project for the future. Thus, he organised competitions where children had to re-tell their favourite stories of a collection of old and forgotten 'Catalan fairy-tales', or where young women had to compare Catalan folktales with tales from other European countries.[522] In 1904, Serra i Pagès was a member of the jury of the first writing competitions in the Catalan language organised by the Lliga Regionalista. These competitions were mostly held in Barcelona. However, Serra also organised competitions and festivities in Ripoll and other smaller cities in Catalonia and tried to reach and bring together people from different social backgrounds.[523] Serra i Pagès was involved in the founding of the School of Governesses and Other Careers for the Women in 1893. At this school, he first taught political geography and ethnography, economics and different fields of geography.[524] Between 1910 and 1925, he also established and covered the subjects

[520] 5D.61-55/C8-18. 10.02.1903.
[521] See also letters to Enric Prat de la Riba in Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, ANC-137, dated from 1907 to 1911 and referring to the School of Governesses and Other Careers for the Women.
[522] AHCB, 5D.61-43/C4-3, Programme of the folkloric competition for children organised by the recreative Union of Gràcia, Barcelona, 15.08.1904, and see Gent nova. Any 18, Núm. 744, 04.03.1916.
[523] Article from La Veu de Catalunya, 17.07.1902, see AHCB, 5D.61 4/C17 and 5D.61 4/C20 as well as Concurs folklórich, La Veu de Catalunya, 22.07.1904, see 5D.61 4/26.
[524] He gave classes at the St. George's School for Ladies, Calle Lauria 17, Barcelona (AHCB, 5D.61 4/C31) in the 1920s and 'Clases de Segunda Enseñanza para Señoras, directora: Inés de Vaudrey (see his correspondence with Inés de Vandrey), many of his former pupils also taught at this school later (Maria Oller, Adelaida Ferré) and see Barcelona 03.07.1919. AHCB, 5D.61-2/C4-4.

Catalan literature and language, and Catalan Folklore at several institutions across Barcelona.[525]

Between 1890 and 1920, he researched women's institutions across Europe and published about their role within society, advocating for broader participation of women in Spanish society.[526] In a letter from 1908, pedagogue and teacher Eladi Homs explained to Serra i Pagès why he thought that his research on the education of women was so essential for societal progress. Eladi Homs had studied the latest pedagogic and educational methods and techniques at the University of Illionois (Urbana) with a stipend of the city council of Barcelona before moving to the University of Chicago a year later. He endorsed Serra i Pagès' studies in female education and his work in female institutions in Barcelona, arguing that he could see women's education as a 'nationalising project': 'I have absolute faith in the education as the primary and probably the only factor of civilisation. Before, I believed that educating the youth one could renovate society, but I was mistaken, one must go further than that, one had to start with the boy. Now, like Rousseau, I believe that probably one should go even further, to the mother. The education of the woman is at the same time a product and an agent of education. I am saying all this to show you how conform I am with the foundation and amplification of the culture for the Catalan woman project that you envision.'[527]

Serra i Pagès vision for female education was framed within the parameters of a conservative cultural nationalism still prominent among at the beginning of the twentieth century.[528] His moderate bourgeois vision was in line with the values of

[525] AHCB, 5D.61-41/C12.
[526] Notes on German schools for women, see AHCB, 5D.61-4/C8.
[527] AHCB, 5D.61-57/C22-5.
[528] Serra i Pagès, Rossend, Quatre paraulas sobre l'instrucció de la dona, La Veu Comarcal, Ripoll 01.10.1901.

the Lliga Regionalista and feminist writers such as Dolors Monserdà and activist Francesca Bonnemaison.[529] In their vision the woman had to be educated separately from men.[530] However, he also emphasised the need for spaces for Catalan women to voice their opinion with their own organs in the press.[531] In his function as a teacher, Serra i Pagès thought 'a full new generation of folklorists', mostly making women the new transmitters of Catalan popular culture.[532]

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'The truest cosmopolitanism goes with the intensest local colour, for otherwise you contribute nothing to the human treasury and make mankind one vast featureless monotony.'[533]

Instead, of describing tradition as a complete antipode to modernity, Serra's position came much closer to Zangwill's statement, which argued for a cosmopolitanism with a 'local colour'. Here, folklore and tradition were more the 'intimate other of modernity' or a regulatory instrument than a complete opposite.[534] Cosmopolitanism and questions of progress also influenced Serra's work as a folklorist and geographer. Serra i Pagès met his professional contacts through conferences, research stays as well as through emigrant networks – often transcending language barriers. His contacts informed how he thought Catalan

[529] With that believing conservative vision of education for women, he was
[530] This stood in stark contrast to the progressive Modernist School of Francesc Ferrer Guardia which promoted co-education.
[531] See correspondence with Carme Karr, Sara Llorens and with Eladi Homs, AHCB, 5D.61-57/C26-3 until C26-5 and C33.
[532] Llorenç Prats, *La cultura popular a Catalunya: Estudiosos i institucions, 1853-1981,* pp. 52-54; Villalba Arasa, "Adelaida Ferré i Gomis, folklorista. Edició, Catalogació i estudi del seu corpus rondallístic", p. 91.
[533] Israel Zangwill, *Without prejudice* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896), p. 290.
[534] Dorothy Noyes, "Humble theory," *Journal of Folklore Research* 45, no. 1 (2008): p. 40.

folklore transnationally, with common roots and a shared understanding of its importance to research and maintain it.

Serra i Pagès used his connections to further his career by offering help with Spanish translations, by writing articles about Catalan language, literature and the political movement and by giving talks in universities and educational institutions. For the dissemination of news and articles in foreign journals, he relied on transnational contacts and networks. Cosmopolitan nationalists such as Serra i Pagès are examples of the cultural mobility of Catalans across and beyond Europe. The example of Serra illustrates Leerssen's point for the twentieth century on how cultural exchange and identity construction not only happened through centres such as Vienna, London and Paris, but predominately through a web of personal ties.[535]

Scholars like Hopkin have highlighted that the nineteenth and twentieth century folklorists' position towards nationalism was both more complicated and diverse than previously acknowledged. He emphasised that folklorists could be both nationalists in political terms but internationalists in their scholarship. The example of Serra i Pagès shows that these spheres not only could be deeply intertwined, but how definitions of Catalan nationhood, both ethno-symbolic and universalist, were shaped through a transnational process.

[535] Leerssen, *Encyclopedia of romantic nationalism in Europe*, 2 vol., (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

IV. The Timing of the National Day

> 'Once a year the modern people halt their activities and their tools (…) to give pause to their tiring journey on earth and (…) celebrate a holiday which will be the condensation of their most delicious memories and their most ardent aspirations (…) All people who have been recognised with a right to continue their history have established such a national holiday. '
>
> (Als Catalans, Joventut, 1905)[536]

In 1905, the organising committee of the 'Catalan National Holiday' published an article in the newspaper *Joventut* explaining to the readers the motives behind the recent attempts to establish a national holiday in Catalonia. Addressing 'all Catalans' in their title, they explained that the creation of such an event was a pressing issue as every 'modern people' needed to celebrate their past and future. In order to be on a par with other nations, Catalans needed a national holiday, a symbolic birthday of the nation, argued the committee. Furthermore, the timing to establish such a national holiday seemed right. In 1880, France had established 14 July as their day, commemorating the Storming of the Bastille, and the Portuguese inaugurated their national day on 10 June, in memory of the death of their national poet Luís de Camões.[537] The national and international atmosphere seemed, to the committee, to 'oblige' them to create 'a great annual festivity'.[538]

The article presented Catalans united on the establishment of a national day. However, the difficulty in finding a common ground for the timing and space of such a national holiday was only mentioned in passing. As much as national

[536] Als Catalans, Joventut. Núm. 281 Supl. 29.06.1905.
[537] Both states institutionalised days which had been celebrated by groups before. In France, the Republicans had been celebrating this day since 1872, see Gabriella Elgenius, "Expressions of nationhood: National symbols and ceremonies in contemporary Europe" (PhD thesis London School of Economics and Political Science; University of London, 2005), p. 177. As well as Amalvi on the celebration of 14 July, see Christian Amalvi, "Le 14-juillet: Du dies irae à jour de fête," in *Les lieux de mémoire*, ed. Pierre Nora, Bibliothèque illustrée des histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), pp. 383-423.
[538] Als Catalans, Joventut. Núm. 281 Supl. 29.06.1905. The composition of the committee is discussed in the second section on the 'Festa Nacional Catalana'.

holidays could be seen as encompassing homogenisers of time, when all people would collectively 'halt their activities' and disrupt their daily rhythms to celebrate together, festivities and the debates surrounding them could also accentuate the differences in experiences of the population, and the variance in people's political and social visions for their city, region or nation.[539] In the years from 1880 to 1920, Catalans debated which national holiday would unite and bring them together in the best form. When should the Catalan people celebrate such a national holiday and what should it represent? Did Catalonia already have a popular festivity that could serve the purpose of a national holiday? Which 'delicious memories' could serve for a new 'invention'? Which holiday would bring together the different rhythms of Catholics and anti-clericals, of regionalists and progressive liberals? This chapter examines different attempts to establish a national holiday and reveals the internal differences among Catalan nationalists. The varying successes of local actors' attempts at asserting their specific visions for the Catalan festivity are at the core of this chapter.

The chapter builds on the historiography which sees national celebrations not only as 'inventions of tradition' but as 'competitive projects'.[540] It furthers arguments made by Zimmer and Confino that disrupt the readings of national holidays as state instruments to homogenise all national experiences and emphasise

[539] Ibid.

[540] For a concise account of two opposing views in the study of national holidays see, Zimmer, "Competing memories of the nation: Liberal historians and the reconstruction of the Swiss past 1870-1900", pp. 194-226. For *a longue durée* perspective of how French nationhood was celebrated in different ways see, Rémi Dalisson, *Célébrer la nation : Les fêtes nationales en France de 1789 à nos jours* (Paris: Nouveau Monde éditions, 2009). Waldstreicher gives an account which emphasises how political differences were overcome by the festive calendar and how patriotic celebrations helped citizens to connect to the project of nationalism in the United States, David Waldstreicher, *In the midst of perpetual fetes: The making of American nationalism, 1776–1820* (Chapel Hill, 1997). For the classical account of 'invented traditions', not only with regards to festivities, see Eric Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger, eds., *The invention of tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

the contestations and creative activities of local actors in making nationhood.[541] Zimmer has developed Confino's argument that the conflict around Sedan Day did not only indicate acceptance or rejection of the notion of German nationalism, but reflected different temporal and conceptual meanings associated with nationalism and how these penetrated urban space.[542] Zimmer highlights how local actors' interpretations of Sedan Day reflected their community-centred notions of place. This chapter builds on these insights but argues that local actors were not only imagining the nation as a 'local metaphor' or a 'local creation', but that international symbols and narratives heavily penetrated these local imaginations of the nation.[543]

The chapter thus connects to historiography that has examined how local, national, and international narratives have intersected and asks how local, national and international symbols and patterns were used and combined in the construction of national festivities in Catalonia.[544] Catalan debate did not centre as much on the question which pasts should inform the celebrations, but instead how to reconcile historic and place-bound visions with future-oriented and more abstract international narratives. On the one hand, foreign models of celebrating national days became a natural point of reference, both to argue for the necessity of national days and to highlight different political allegiances; on the other hand, international

[541] Alon Confino, "The nation as a local metaphor: Heimat, national memory and the German Empire, 1871-1918," *History and Memory* 5, no. 1 (1993): pp. 42-86.
[542] Alon Confino, *The nation as a local metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and national memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Oliver Zimmer, *Remaking the rhythms of life: German communities in the age of the nation-state*, Oxford studies in Modern European History, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), in particular Chap. 6.
[543] Zimmer, *Remaking the rhythms of life: German communities in the age of the nation-state*, p. 296.
[544] See, for example, Umbach for an account which examines all three spheres: local, national and international, Maiken Umbach, "The vernacular international: Heimat, modernism and the global market in early twentieth-century Germany," *National Identities* 4, no. 1 (2002): pp. 45-68; Maiken Umbach, "The modernist imagination of place and the politics of regionalism: Puig i Cadafalch and early twentieth-century Barcelona," in *The re-enchantment of the world: Secular magic in a rational age*, ed. Joshua Landy and Michael T. Saler (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

narratives helped overcome the divide between 'self' and 'other' in a peripheral region like Catalonia. How did Catalans use such narratives, and how did they connect them with antecedent patterns or festivities? The chapter answers this question by highlighting the different visions for the Catalan 'national project', and by examining how national identities were closely intertwined with other collective identities.

The chapter is divided into three sections, each analysing different attempts to establish a national holiday at the beginning of the twentieth century. All three demonstrate that as much as there existed a divide between Catholics and anti-clericals at the time, the more contentious issue was over how Catalan nationalists related to the past and the future, as well as to international concepts of nationhood and local places. Each of the sections of the chapter demonstrate how international myths and symbols both intersected with regional and national narratives but were also highly reliant on local place-based traditions.

This chapter further examines how multiple actors negotiated the timing of the national day, drawing on different ideas of what should constitute the collective past and future. Foreign references and symbols highlighted the nationalists' different political positions and contrasting conceptions of the future. The first sections demonstrate how religious and economic rhythms intersected with the visions for a modern and attractive city of Barcelona, a Pan-Latin community of Catalan speakers and a Catalonia embedded in a narrative of liberty. The second section focuses on three attempts to establish a national day, questioning the Spanish historiography's narrative of a 'successful Catalan national day',

emphasised by Balcells, Anguera and Cattini.[545] Instead of the national day being a successful performance of unity for 'political Catalan nationalism' in the early twentieth century, this section argues that debates around the different dates and alternatives to celebrating a national day highlighted the different horizons of expectations for the national project between republican nationalists, religious regionalists and those Catalan nationalists who supported a mixture of different positions. It demonstrates how different political memories and visions for the future were competing with each other in the public realm.[546] Whereas Catalan republicans championed the Marseillaise as the ultimate national hymn of freedom, Catalan regionalists were successful in establishing a more popular and historic vision of Catalonia, connecting the story of Catalan defeat with an international narrative of cosmopolitan patriotism.

The festival of the tree is the focus of the third part of this chapter. It argues that the festival of the tree, even though it did not become a national festivity, accentuated the discourse on Spanish and Catalan nationhood in Catalonia. Even though initially established as a Spain-wide festivity to promote the conservation of landscapes, Catalan nationalists presented the festival of the tree as an international event of civility and liberty, drawing on the imagination of a moral geography of an advanced North and backward South. It helped Catalan nationalists draw the lines

[545] The complex genesis of the Diada is discussed in Anguera, *L'onze de setembre: Història de la diada (1886-1938)*. However, it gives only little insight into the controversies and alternatives of the celebration. Similarly, Balcells, Cattini and Martinez Fiol argue that the Diada symbolises the revival of popular national and democratic memory, Giovanni C. Cattini, "Myths and symbols in the political culture of Catalan nationalism (1880-1914)," *Nations and Nationalism* 21, no. 3 (2015): pp. 451-452; David Martínez Fiol, "La construcción mítica del «onze de setembre de 1714» en la cultura política del Catalanismo durante el siglo XX " *Historia y Política*, 14: pp. 219-242.

[546] This is in line with recent scholarship in memory studies which highlights that consent was not necessary for keeping collective memories alive, see Ann Rigney, "Divided pasts: A premature memorial and the dynamics of collective remembrance," *Memory Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008): pp. 89-97.

between them and their 'most significant other'- the other Spanish regions as much as it was helpful to Spanish nationalists to propagate a liberal, enlightened and diverse Spanish nation project.

1. Floral Games, Lady of Mercy, and Saint George

> Every state should celebrate their national holidays, yet only very few countries are celebrating their actual own: a national festivity should transport (…) the spirit of all the people, like a joyful ex-territorialisation, a synthesis of all the different habits and modalities which characterise the people. Not the 14 July in Paris, and not 2 May in Madrid, for example, are authentic national holidays, because rather than demonstrating us the real spirit of the people, (…) they tell us with all their battalions and cannon shots that the wars are not over and that it is really the states and not the people which are manifesting themselves during these festivities.[547]

A national holiday should not be a demonstration of state power, argued the Republican and Catalan nationalist newspaper *Joventut*. Instead, it should be a cultural expression, a representation of the capital city or a day representing the religious, geographical or historical specificities of the nation. These and other arguments were brought forward by Catalan intellectuals of different ideologies at the beginning of the twentieth century. Taking other national days as models, they debated what would be a good national day for Catalonia. Generally, most countries had established anniversaries of revolutions, of unification or political independence as their national days.[548] Choosing a date to commemorate was trickier in the case of Catalonia, which did not possess political autonomy from Spain and had not been an independent state before the unification of the two

[547] Notes de la Festa, Joventut. Núm. 281 Supl. 29.06.1905.
[548] Elgenius demonstrates that national days on the European continent were either celebrated as days of national personification (saints, monarchs, heroes) or in honour of a significant political event (union, independence, constitution, sovereignty, liberation or republic), Elgenius, "Expressions of nationhood: National symbols and ceremonies in contemporary Europe", pp. 246-247.

crowns of Spain. Hence different models were discussed. The first question was whether the national day should represent a specific place or a particular time or whether instead, it should include more general timeless and space-less symbolism.

These debates demonstrate that definitions of what could constitute a national day deviated widely at the time and ranged from cultural performances during religious festivities to civic celebrations and those more commonly associated with national days which drew on national Saints and political events. The debates mainly centred on four main options of how to celebrate a national day for Catalonia. Some intellectuals argued that a national day should first and foremost represent the city of Barcelona and thus the 'capital of Catalonia'. Like the national days celebrated in Paris, Madrid and Berlin, these intellectuals argued, such a festivity would need to represent the urban liberals and should be a marketing opportunity for the city and the nation. They were looking to increase tourism and, through that, emotional support for the Catalan cause beyond the border of the region. For them, the national day was an occasion to demonstrate Barcelona's 'arrival in modernity'. They advocated for an adapted programme of the city's festivities celebrated in honour of 'Our Lady of Mercy', one of the Patron Saints of Barcelona, to include more rituals from the region.[549] Others argued for celebrations of Saint George as a symbol of Catalans' 'Europeanness' and as a festivity which would incorporate religious symbolism with inter-national virtues. Religious nationalists, however, claimed that Catalonia and Barcelona already had festivities which transcended geographical boundaries and bound people together, either

[549] Our Lady of Mercy is an image in Christian art, portraying a group of people which are seeking shelter under the Virgin Mary. According to the liturgical calendar the day of Our Lady of Mercy is celebrated on September 24. The Lady of Mercy is also the patron saint of the city of Barcelona and is celebrated each year in a festivity which last several days in September. It has been an official city holiday since 1871, when the local government first organised the festivity.

through religious festivities such as the Corpus Christi processions or the Pan-Latin celebrations of the Floral Games.

The *Catalan Calendar*, an annual literary journal which published poetry, translations and prose by a range of writers from different sections of the Catalan movement, attempted to present national identity in time. In the first publication of the *Catalan Calendar*, Jaume Collell reminded the reader of the antecedents for this publication and thus placed the publication itself in time. [550] The *Catalan calendar of Briz*, which had been published a couple of years earlier, now told the story of the early, steady developments of Catalanism and had established an 'annual paradigm that demonstrated the constant increase of Catalanism'.[551] However, these predecessors not only demonstrated the benefits of mapping the nation in time, but also provided examples of neighbours and other movements which did the same. The 'brothers' across the border, as Collell called the *félibrige*, had also chronicled their movement in time. Their journal *Armana Provencau* was a similar attempt to record the developments of the félibrige movement. This example demonstrated that a calendar was not only a system of time-keeping, but a testimony of a specific time and their successes: The continuous publication had ensured that the Provencal language and the félibrige activities had spread across France and even entered the noblest houses, argued Collell.[552]

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[550] Calendari Català, 1898.

[551] The first *Calendari Català* was founded and directed by writer Francesc Pelagi Briz. It collected articles, poems and annual assessments of the literary and artistic scene in the Catalan mainland, the Baleares and Valencia. It was published between 1865 and 1882 and had a similar structure than the publication by the same name some years later. Francesc Matheu published the 'Anuari Català' only in 1875. Following these first examples of annual accounts of the Catalan literary movement by Francesc Pelagi Briz and Francesc Matheu the librarian Joan Bta Battle founded and published the *Calendari Català* in 1898. It was 147x81 mm small and included a few illustrations, see, Joan Torrent and Rafael Tasis i Marca, *Història de la premsa Catalana*, vol. 1 (Barcelona: Editorial Bruguera, 1966), p. 223.

[552] Calendari Català 1898.

The editors had a similar vision for the Catalan Calendar. They believed it should present the Catalan movement, give an overview of its developments in different areas and thus become a historical document for future generations. The calendar should not just be 'a loose almanac which you read and then throw away'. This calendar was meant to be kept for future times and should represent the editors' Pan-Latin aspirations. All editions of the calendar had a necrology of 'renowned' Catalans which had died in the previous year. Jaume Collell explained the obituary as a 'tribute of a family to the memory of those who go'.[553] Most of these deceased Catalans were famous artists, lawyers, doctors or members of the Church. However, several are just referred to as being 'fervent' or convinced 'Catalanists' active in the Catalan movement.[554] The calendar not only paid tribute to deceased Spanish Catalans but also honoured Catalans beyond the Pyrenees`, in Valencia and the Balearic Islands. In 1902, French Catalan and member of the félibrige movement Felix Gras died. His death was mentioned in the obituary because of the 'brotherhood' and his love for Catalonia.[555] Furthermore, the Catalan Calendar reported on the developments of the literary movement, the musical events organised by Catalan societies and associations, the successes of 'Catalan theatre', the events and demonstrations organised by the political parties as well as the achievements in the fine arts and from 1903 also in the sports.[556]

Even though this 'national calendar' tried to 'monitor' the routes taken, as folklorist Sebastià Farnés wrote in the introduction of the calendar, it is striking that

[553] See Calendari Català, 1901 and Calendari Català 1898, pp. 35-38.
[554] One example is the Francesc Padró y Marti who is described as young man who died in the town Gracia as a 'convinced Catalanist'.
[555] Calendari Català 1902, Barcelona, pp. 24-5.
[556] See Calendari Català, 1898-1905. The edition of 1900 was slightly different than the former publications. Instead of starting with an introduction and general assessment of the Catalan movement this edition started with the calendar of saints followed by a section on Gestes Catalanes, Catalan heroic deeds, which were divided into an overview of former sovereigns of Barcelona by date of death as well as the Kings of Catalonia and Aragon.

it did not mention a national day. Instead, the calendar presented the diversity of opinions of the groups advocating for national days, hence representing heterogeneous national times. However, the calendar also evidences how deeply religious rhythms dictated social time in Catalonia. Religion was a highly important factor, both for social celebrations in Spain but also within the Catalan movement. In his major work, *La Tradició Catalana* in 1892, bishop and national theorists Josep Torras i Bages had defined Catalan nationhood as primarily Catholic, making religion the organic marker of Catalan identity. The slogan 'Catalonia will be Christian or will not be' is attributed to Torras i Bages as much as the phrase that 'perhaps there existed no other nation' in the world as 'Christian as Catalonia'.[557]

The calendar recognised Catholicism as a central feature of Catalan nationalism. Like other religious almanacs, the calendar began with a *Santoral Català*, a liturgical calendar, associating each day of the month with one or more saints. As a specific regional touch, the Catalan Calendar not only referred to the saints according to their date of death, birth or benediction like in other almanacs, but also made reference to their relationship with the region of Catalonia, either by naming the place in which the saint allegedly died or by identifying the town in which the saint was venerated. Many of the saint venerations mentioned in the calendar were specific and limited to a particular town, such as the martyrs celebrated on 20 April in Olot. The Catalan Calendar combined different local schedules and clearly anchored the Catholic religious dates into a political movement for autonomy.

[557] Josep Torras y Bages, *La tradició Catalana: Estudi del valor ètic i racional del regionalisme Català*, 3 ed. (Barcelona: Editorial Ibèrica, 1913), p. 28.

Similarly, Jaume Collell and the clergymen in the town of Vic argued that the Catholic Church needed to be preserved under all circumstances as one of the essential components of the Catalan patria. A national holiday would thus have to demonstrate their conservative and, above all, Catholic vision for Catalonia. Family and the region were understood as natural God-given entities which no state or revolution would be able to alter. This traditionalist, regional Catholicism also linked conservative Spanish Catalans with the French Catalans on the other side of the Pyrenees. Berjoan points out how the clergymen on the French side imported the discourse and the methods of Spanish Catalan nationalists into Roussillon to preserve and protect the Catalan language against what they perceived as an aggressive republican France.[558] Jaume Collell and other regionalists argued for a festivity which would demonstrate Catalans' 'unique' qualities, but which would also have an international reach and embody a Pan-Latin self-understanding.[559] For them, the literary festival of the Floral Games embodied these qualities while also being a celebration of the revival of their language.[560]

Whereas the calendar mentioned celebrations taking place on 11 September in Barcelona, and celebrations in many Catalan towns on St. George's Day, the patron saint of Catalonia, the edition of 1898 described the yearly festivities of the *Jocs Florals* as the authentic national celebration of Catalonia. It argued that 'all Catalans were taking part' in this festival and it 'filled the hearts' of Catalans in Spain and France, uniting them in the celebration of their language, history and

[558] Nicolas Berjoan, "La croix et le drapeau. Le Catalanisme de Monseigneur de Carsalade du Pont, évêque de Perpignan (1900-1932)," *Annales du Midi* 121, no. 267 (2009): pp. 385-406.
[559] See for the Catalan movement in Rousillon and connections to the Spanish Catalans, Francesca Zantedeschi, *The antiquarians of the nation: monuments and language in nineteenth-century Roussillon* (Leiden, Boston: Brill 2019), in particular Ch. 6.
[560] Calendari Català 1898.

cultural achievements.[561] Leerssen has pointed out how the city as a transcultural space led to the modular replication of these Floral Games as urban festivities and cultural mobilisers. The Floral Games were established in a similar fashion across cities in Southern France and Northern Spain.[562] However, despite creating a transcultural space for a pan-Latin movement to mobilise Catalan nationalism in Barcelona, the Floral Games as a national festivity were controversial, both for their romanticism and focus on the medieval Catalan Golden Age and its troubadours, and for their connection with the conservative Catholic branch of Catalan nationalism. Vanguard artists saw in the Floral Games as anti-thesis of the *moderniste* movement. These artists saw the Floral Games as a celebration of a romanticised and traditionalist art form which did not correspond with their vision of a progressive and ambitious Barcelona.

An incident with the Catalans in France and the félibrige movement illustrated this division. In 1893, the Floral Games in Barcelona wanted to commemorate the 500 years since their establishment in Valencia. For this commemoration, the directors of the festivity announced four honorary vice presidents, each representing the regions where Catalan was spoken or the geographical areas where languages were spoken which were similar to or derived from Catalan. Frederic Mistral was to represent Provence, Teodor Llorente would be the delegate for Valencia, Marian Aguiló for the Balearic Islands and Justi Peratx was to represent French Catalonia. As Mistral could not attend the festivities, Felix Gras, member of the félibrige movement, attended the festivities for him.[563] Rafanell argues that the speech of republican Gras at the Floral Games irritated

[561] Ibid., p. 24.
[562] Leerssen, "The nation and the city: Urban festivals and cultural mobilisation", pp. 2-20.
[563] Verdaguer Callis, Narcis, Festas Catalanistas, La Veu de Catalunya, any3, num. 20, 14.05.1893, p. 233.

many Catalan Catholics and that Gras, in turn, was surprised to hear so much about the Church and the protection of saints at a festivity which was supposed to represent Catalan nationhood.[564] Catalan progressives writing for *L'Avenç* sympathised with Gras' irritation at the infiltration of Catholicism into the national day, describing themselves as having been 'excommunicated from Catalanism'.[565]

However, the conservative and religious aspect was not the only factor inhibiting the Floral Games from becoming Catalonia's national celebration. Despite creating a transcultural space, which Leerssen calls 'Urbania', of inter-linked provincial cities which shared a stand-offishness against the central capital, the accessible reach of these festivities was somewhat limited.[566] The Floral Games were not only solely reserved for the Catholic branch of Catalan nationalists, but they were also exclusively attended by the most educated elite of Barcelona. From an accessibility standpoint, the religious and civic festivities of Our Lady of Mercy, one of the patron saints of Barcelona, were much more popular.

A Catalan saying states that it always rains during the festivity of Our Lady of Mercy because Saint Eulàlia, the other patron saint of Barcelona, is crying over being neglected in the festivities. In the early twentieth century, the city council of Barcelona organised extravagant festivities on the day of Our Lady of Mercy. Pope Pius IX declared her the patron saint of the city of Barcelona in 1868, and since 1871 it has been an official holiday for the city. The festivity bore some similarities to the other religious festival of Corpus Christi, featuring a similar procession with paper-mâché giants. However, the Lady of Mercy festival also included some more unique elements such as figures and symbols of the different districts and quarters

[564] See August Rafanell, "La solitud Catalana de Fèlis Gras," *Els Marges* 102 (2014): pp. 54-71.
[565] Una carta d'En Felis Gras, L'Avenç, any 5, núm. 12, 30.06.1893, pp. 191-2.
[566] Leerssen, "The nation and the city: Urban festivals and cultural mobilisation", p. 10.

of Barcelona. The festival, celebrated in September, became in the early twentieth century Barcelona's biggest community event. Citizens brought out paper-mâché giants representing historic local and national figures as well as symbols from cities across Catalonia, honoured the patron of the city through religious processions and took part in football matches, regattas, public dances, choral concerts, exhibitions, children's events and many more.[567]

How the festival was celebrated changed over the years, in particular in 1902 when the organising committee tried to expand the festivity's reach and introduced new elements to the festivities. The changes in the programme introduced more traditions from other municipalities into the celebrations in order to 'invite the whole of Catalonia to partake in the festivities'. This initiative - pushed by politician Francesc Cambó among others - was taken up by the city council which since the last election in November 1901 was dominated by the Lliga Regionalista.[568] One of the key features was a dance competition of the *sardana,* the participatory popular dance which developed into one of the symbols of Catalan political nationalism. Nagel argues that this dance symbolised the 'unity between poor and rich, workers and capitalists' and made the national experience something tangible and participatory.[569] Several dance groups from very different corners of Catalonia participated in the competitions, demonstrating the folkloric diversity of Catalonia and transcending the particular relevance of the religious festival. Furthermore, in

[567] See for an overview with illustrations of the giants and symbols used during the procession, La Veu de Catalunya, any XII, núm 1331, Barcelona, 28.09.1902.
[568] Sebastià Farnés, La Manifestació d'enguany, Calendari Català 1902, pp. 5-7, La Veu de Catalunya, any XII, núm 1253, Barcelona, 10.07.1902, pp. 1-2. In 1902, 17 of the 50 seats in the city council in Barcelona were held by the Lliga Regionalista and 12 by Republicans, 4 were held by the liberal Party.
[569] Klaus-Jürgen Nagel, "Festes i costums i el seu ús polític: Exemples de la Catalunya del començament del segle XX," in *La festa a Catalunya. La festa com a vehicle de sociabilitat i d'expressió política*, ed. Joaquim Capdevila i Capdevila and Agustí Garcia Larios (Barcelona: Abadia de Montserrat, 1997), pp. 211-220.

1902, the Catalan flag began to be displayed prominently during the festivities, which until then had been a community festival not attached to the cause of the nationalists. This can be partly explained by the dominance of the Lliga Regionalista in the city council of Barcelona in that year.

The organising committee hoped that the festival of Our Lady of Mercy would become a model which could be followed by other towns and villages. The celebrations should transcend the specific place of Barcelona and become a 'Catalan' festival. Therefore, besides the aforementioned sardana, the committee introduced other popular dances from several different communities such as the *Ball de bastons*, a stick dance performed in various communities of the Catalan-speaking countries. The committee also introduced *castellers*, a tradition originating in Valls in Tarragona which took the form of a competition to erect human towers. This tradition of building human towers was transferred to the festivity in 1902 and became a fixed element of several festivals in different towns across Catalonia in the subsequent years. Beside new procedures and elements which were introduced to the celebration, the programme of 1902 also included the renaming of a street to honour the recently deceased Catalan poet Verdaguer, and the laying of a stone as a monument to him during the festivities.[570]

In the Catalan Calendar, Sebastià Farnés described the ubiquitous presence of the national flag during the festivity of the Lady of Mercy of 1902. For him, the celebration of that year had become a national celebration of all Catalan people, not only for the Catalan-speaking community in Spain but for Catalan speakers across the whole of Europe. He saw the celebration organised by the city council as an opportunity not just for the Spanish region of Catalonia but also for the international

[570] En las Casas Consistorias, La Dinastía, núm. 6850, Barcelona 15.08.1902, p. 2.

community of Catalan speakers formerly 'united under the banner of Peter III of Aragon'.[571] This reference to the Aragonese king alluded to the idea of a Pan-Latin Catalonia: 'From everywhere the flag with the four stripes appeared to show that this was not Barcelona which celebrated but Catalonia, not official Catalonia known in Madrid, but the Catalan people who wandered the Latin Mediterranean Sea united under the banner of Peter the Great'.[572]

The celebration of Our Lady of Mercy worked well as a national celebration as it satisfied both the Catalan Catholics who wanted a religious festivity as the basis for the national day as well as the Catalans eager to transform the city into a more laic and civic space. The latter hoped to install a festivity which would reflect the city's transformation to a modern and secular space that would present Barcelona as more attractive to tourists and international investment. The discussion around which date to choose for the celebration was thus also driven by economic reasoning, wrote Sebastià Junyent in the journal *Joventut* in January 1904.[573] The first 'new' Mercè celebrations in 1902, attracting more people, had grown out of such a desire, having been invented with the aim of increasing commerce in Barcelona. The city council had given in to a request by Catalan republicans in May 1902 to not participate in the Spanish-wide festivities of the coronation of King Alfonso XIII.[574] This had deprived businesses of the revenues

[571] Peter III of Aragon (1239-1285) was sovereign of the Crown of Aragon, holding the title of King of Aragon, Valencia, Count of Barcelona (1276-1285) and with the conquest of the island, also King of Sicily (1276-1285). In the Spain he holds the epithet of 'the great'.
[572] Calendari Català 1902, p. 6-7.
[573] Sebastià Junyent (1865 - 1908) was one of the representatives of the first generation of modernist painters and led the Association of Catalan Painters and Sculptors of 1904. He was not politically active but was an editor and writer for the weekly magazine Joventut, the voice of the Unió Catalanista, writing mostly on matters concerning the arts.
[574] For an insightful essay on how royal visits and coronations made Spanish nationhood, see David San Narciso, "Being a nation through the crown. Banal monarchism and nation-building in Spain, 1833–68," *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* (2019): pp. 1-20.

of such a usually well-attended celebration.[575] Extending the days of celebrations and introducing new elements to the festivity was thus also a decision made in order to satisfy the demands of the business circles of the city. According to the newspaper *Dinastía,* the celebrations of 1902 attracted around 65.000 visitors.[576]

Organisations of the city such as the *Fomento del Festival Barcelonés* were hoping to increase monetary revenue by switching the date of the celebration of the city from September, when the celebration of Mercè took place, to May or to June.[577] The main reasoning behind this was that May and June were the most popular months for tourists and September was the harvesting period, which prevented the farmers in the countryside from participating.[578] Tourists would not only be able to experience Catalan culture and engage with it, but they would also spend more days in the city and profit from different street performances and sales. A switch of dates and a move away from the Mercè celebrations would thus allow Barcelona to gain the most profit from its 'national celebration'.

As the city of Barcelona represented Catalonia, the date of the celebration needed to have a national symbolic significance besides economic reasoning, argued journalists at the same time. One option, therefore, would be to switch the date of the celebration to the date of Saint George, who was the patron of Catalonia, and was celebrated annually on 23 April. Junyent, writing in *Joventut* in 1904, argued that this earlier date in April would not only be more representative for Catalonia and could eventually become a 'national celebration', but also the

[575] Borja de Riquer, "Del Dinastisme al Catalanisme: Sobre el fracàs del "Círculo Conservador-Liberal"," in *Industrialización y nacionalismo: Análisis comparativos: Actas del i coloquio vasco-Catalán de historia celebrado en sitges, 20-22 de diciembre de 1982*, ed. Manuel González Portilla, Jordi Maluquer de Motes Bernet, and Borja de Riquer (Bellaterra: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 1985), p. 426.
[576] La Dinastía, Barcelona, 10.10.1902, p. 2.
[577] Sebastià Junyent, La Festa Major de Barcelona, in: La Joventut, num.207, 28.01.1904, p. 67.
[578] Crónica local, La Dinastía, núm. 8658, 23.08.1902.

temperatures would be better in April than in May or in September when 'it can be very warm'. The mild temperature would attract more foreign and Spanish visitors to Barcelona and increase the possible revenue during the national day. Spring was always the preferable time 'for foreigners to travel', argued Junyent.[579]

Furthermore, Junyent noted, that during spring there are 'no profane processions and other spectacles' that could ruin the atmosphere of a national celebration both for the citizens as well as the foreign visitor. This statement revealed the concerns that the date for a national day should not interfere with any other festivities or processions taking place at the city. Some citizens feared that other festivities and processions could be a competition to the national holiday and that groups could hijack the festivities. Additionally, a national celebration should not only be for the urban populations, but also be celebrated by the rural population and the people in smaller towns and villages.[580]

Junyent concluded that in addition to all these economic interests of businessmen and industry, everyone should also think about the 'sentimental' and national reasons why the celebration of the city of Barcelona should take place at the same date as the celebration of Saint George. He argued that with the date of Saint George, religious and liberal nationalists alike would be able to connect to the festivity. Even the modernist, 'always looking towards Europe', would feel that Saint George could be a good choice.[581] Besides Saint George's religious symbolism, the saint was also a universal symbol of liberation. As the patron saint of Catalonia, Saint George was already highly present in the names of small business, organisations and images and sculptures of public places and buildings,

[579] Sebastià Junyent, La Festa Major de Barcelona, in: La Joventut, num.207, 28.01.1904, p. 67.
[580] Ibid.
[581] Ibid.

most prominently in the town hall. Architect Domenech i Montaner included a Saint George pavilion with a mosaic of the dragon slayer in his Hospital Santa Pau. The Casa de les Punxes, a private house which the architect Puig i Cadafalch started to build in 1903, also featured a mosaic picturing Saint George and the inscription: 'Patron saint of Catalonia, give us back our liberty'.

Saint George was not only celebrated in Catalonia but many other places such as Malta and England. Being a universal symbol of liberty, it connected Catalonia to many other nations across Europe, argued several Catalans. The legend tells of Saint George who was able to tame and slay a dragon which demanded human sacrifices. He thus liberated the princess chosen next as offering. By celebrating Catalonia's national day on the day of Saint George, Farnés argued that Catalonia was connecting its history and national aspirations to the European continent and demonstrating its universal character argued Farnés.[582] In the legend of Saint George, 'innocence, virtue and beauty' were liberated from evil, represented by the dragon, Farnés stated. This 'beautiful story' reflected the current times of national liberation and was representative of the story of Catalonia concluded also Junyent.[583] He argued that by placing the date of the holiday of Barcelona on the same date as the festivity of Saint George, 'the capital' would create a festival for the whole region and 'make it a national celebration'.[584]

The celebration of Saint George did remain a popular festivity throughout Catalonia, where lovers would exchange gifts such as books and roses, but it never acquired the official standing of a national celebration. Llobera highlights the universal, civic, present-orientated, and accessible character of the festivity. This is

[582] Sebastià Farnés, Lo Pensament Català, pp. 421-2.
[583] Sebastià Junyent, La Festa Major de Barcelona, La Joventut, num.207, 28.01.1904, p. 68.
[584] Ibid.

a narrative stressed already by contemporary Catalans in the early twentieth century. The celebration of Saint George, Our Lady of Mercy and the Floral Games all built on existent religious and local elements such as the processions of giants and used international narratives. Whereas the Floral Games were celebrated as highlighting the community of Pan Latin speakers, the celebrations of Saint George drew on the language of liberty as an element of 'universal nationhood'. Llobera juxtaposes Saint George with the other Catalan national festivity, the *Diada*, the subject of the next section, which he describes as a particularistic, ethnic, past-oriented, and official celebration.[585] The same language of a universal versus an ethnic celebration, of a historicist and a progressive vision, was used in the debates over the national day in the twentieth century. The next section stresses this division between those who saw the nation as an inter-national project and those who saw it as bound to a specific time and place.

[585] Josep R. Llobera, *Foundations of national identity: From Catalonia to Europe*, New directions in anthropology, (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004), p. 124. I will use the term *Diada* here even though the term was not used to refer exclusively to the celebration on 11 September by contemporaries.

2. The *Festa Nacional Catalana*, *La Diada* and New Year's Eve



Figure 7: Dancing of Sardanes at the end of the Festa Nacional Catalana, A. Mas 1905, Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona.[586]

As of 2019, 11 September, known as the *Diada* in Catalan, has become a popular national festivity for most Catalan nationalists.[587] Millions of people have gathered on the streets of Barcelona on 11 September each year to demonstrate for a referendum, for a separate state from Spain or for Catalan nationalism in general. This was not always the case. By the end of 1904, two festivities were proposed as national days with clear connections to patriotic themes. One of them was the *Festa*

[586] Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona, S0_43_63. Also reproduced in La Esquella de la Torratxa, Núm 1484 (7 juny 1907), pp. 372-373.

[587] 11 September was established as the official Catalan national day in 1980, see "Llei 1/1980, de 12 de juny, per la qual es declara festa nacional de Catalunya la diada de l'onze de setembre" 25/06/1980, 15.11.2019, https://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/eli/es-ct/l/1980/06/12/1. 11 September has become the most symbolic festivity if the Catalan separatists in the last decades. Thus, the mayor of Barcelona, Ada Colau, in 2018 decided against participating in the yearly parade through the streets of Barcelona to make sure to 'represent all Catalans' and not only the ones seeking independence.

Nacional Catalana, and the other one was the celebration of 11 September, later known simply as the *Diada*. Another date discussed by Catalan nationalists from the republican side was a national celebration on New Year's Eve. International narratives of universal nationhood and cosmopolitan patriotism informed the debates on all of these possible national celebrations and intertwined with other collective identities.

The *Festa Nacional Catalana* was inaugurated in 1905 and commemorated the 'Corpus of Blood'. The Corpus of Blood was a political uprising of Catalan farmers and took place in June 1640 during Corpus Christi. It marked the revolt of some Catalan farmers against the government of Philipp IV and the Duke of Olivares. The *Festa Nacional Catalana* was a civic celebration bringing together an international future-oriented vision of Catalonia and a more historical idea of nationhood. How participants navigated these two visions is highlighted through the singing of the *Marseillaise* and the *Segadors* at the festivities. The *Diada*, on the other hand, commemorated the day of the defeat of the Habsburg forces in the War of the Spanish Succession. Even though the *Diada* had initially been a celebration which mostly attracted the conservative Catalan nationalists, the prohibition of both festivities in 1909 due to the events of the Tragic Week opened the possibility to find new spaces to celebrate the *Diada* and to imbue the date with a new meaning of international protest and resistance. Similarly, the *Cap d'any* (New Year's Eve) celebrations were debated as a beautiful symbolic beginning of new national aspirations linking Catalonia to the international movement of nationalists.[588]

[588]Antoni Rovira i Virgili, *La nacionalització de Catalunya*, vol. 14 (Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'edicions, 1914), p. 69.

In the beginning, the committee of the *Festa Nacional Catalana* was influenced by the conservative regionalists which selected the day of the Corpus for their national celebration.[589] It comprised of different entities among which were the Lliga, the Floral Games, the Unió Catalanista, and the Associació de Lectura Catalana. The latter two also provided funds for the establishment of the festivity.[590] The committee, justified its decision by arguing that the day of the Corpus, done in the mid of spring with the 'most beautiful flowers blooming', symbolised the blooming of the Catalan nation. Additionally, they continued, that no other day marked the tragic memory of Catalan history in a better way.[591] Attaching the national symbol of the flag to the landscape surrounding the people, the committee argued that the blooming carnations and Spanish brooms would remind the attendants of the Catalan flag[592]: 'See how the sea of the red carnations breaks with the flames of the flowering yellow Spanish brooms', symbolising not only the renewal of nature but also the renewal of Catalan nationhood. [593]

However, according to Josep Roca i Roca and other liberal federalists, the Corpus of Blood was not a celebratory event, as it led from one subjugation to another. 'If there were something to discuss about this holiday, it would be the choice of the date.' He and other Catalans saw in the day of the Corpus of Blood a symbol of Catalonia's move from Spanish to French subjugation. At the end of a long war, it led to the division of Catalonia, into a French and a Spanish part, Roca i Roca argued in an opinion piece on the Catalan National Day. It 'made the reality of a Catalan nationality move further away' as 'the Catalan people on the other side

[589] Notes de la Festa, Joventut. Núm. 281 Supl. 29.06.1905.
[590] Catalunya artística, Barcelona, 23.03.1905. See for a full list of the member of the committee, Notes de la Festa, Joventut. Núm. 281 Supl. 29.06.1905.
[591] La Tralla, 30.06.1905, p. 1 and p. 4.
[592] El Poble Català, any 02, Núm. 32, 17.06.1905.
[593] Notes de la Festa, Joventut. Núm. 281 Supl., 29.06.1905.

of the Pyrenees are quite comfortable within France'.[594] This historicist narrative could not form the basis for the national day as it highlighted Catalans divisons over what could form the future territory.

However, it was not just the shameful memory which bothered people like Roca i Roca. As a liberal Republican, who was first a supporter and founder of federal republicanism and then became a member of the Republican Union, he believed there was something more at stake than a euphemistic vision of the past. He argued that these memories represented a wholly different vision for a future Catalonia which conflicted with the ideas of how to organise a republican society. Instead of instilling the idea of political action, this festivity was pure historical glorification. He accused the regionalists and the Catholic branch of Catalan nationalists of not being able to compromise and of dominating most of the festivities. He wanted to change the historicist discourse dominating the festivities and instil a modern international and future-oriented vision for the celebration. This vision should transpire in the way the celebration was organised, where it took place, and what elements would form part of the festivities.

> We will not be able to participate, not because we do not love everything original, representative and genuine of our country but because some people are mixing with the genuine, typical and original some bad and sad memories which conflict with the aspirations of the century in which we live.[595]

Similarly, Mas i Roura, a regular commentator in the republican newspaper *El Poble Català* on national movements across the world, wished for a national holiday which reflected the 'advancements and renovations of our times'. Instead of commemorating dynasties and honouring old belief systems, Mas wanted a

[594] La Esquella de la Torratxa, núm 1382, 30.06.1905, p. 434.
[595] Ibid.

national festivity to reflect social and political revolutions of the time.[596] The location of the national celebration should also reflect this forward and outward-looking vision of Catalonia.



Figure 8: Festa Nacional Catalana at the Fountain in the Parc de la Ciutadella, Frederic Ballell 1907, Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona[597]

The Catalan National Day was first celebrated in the Desert de Sarrià, a recreational space outside Barcelona, but was moved to the Parc de la Ciutadella in 1907 and the station of Vallvidriera. Josep Fontseré designed and inaugurated the Parc de la Ciutadella in 1881. European and North American examples of parks, such as the gardens in England and the green spaces in Rome and Florence, served as an inspiration. It was also conceptualised as a scientific park which should diffuse the knowledge of scientific advances to the public. It accommodated museums in zoology and geology and a large botanical garden. It had also hosted

[596] Mas i Roura, J, La diada d'avui, El Poble Català, any 03, núm. 211, 11.09.1906.
[597] Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona, S0_006_012. And reprint in La Esquella de la Torratxa, núm 1484. 07.06.1907, pp. 372-373.

part of the World Fair in 1888. The Vallvidriera funicular station, which opened in October 1906, was vital in the development of the neighbourhood at the outskirts of Barcelona and was designed by modernist architects Bonaventura Conill and Arnald Calvet. The move to the Parc de Ciutadella and the station of Vallvidriera also reflects the reconciliation with the Catalan republicans which became part of the festivities in 1907.[598]

Roca i Roca argued that even though the places chosen to celebrate Catalan National Day imitated former festivities of the republicans (*brendadas republicanas*) where different individuals and centres came together to celebrate together under the free sky, he also criticised how the national holiday was celebrated.[599] He argued that despite all efforts to accommodate different political ideas for the future of Catalonia, the festivities were still dominated by conservatives regionalists, something that was demonstrated in the hymns they chose to sing during the celebration. Whereas for most Catalan nationalists the *Segadors* was the song which represented the national struggle for autonomy, republicans like Roca pressed for the Marseillaise as an international symbol of liberty and as a universal patriotic song of revolution and change.[600]

The song 'Segadors', composed in its modern version in 1892 and receiving its new lyrics in 1899 as part of a competition of the Unió Catalanista, was one of the national hymns sung at patriotic events next to the 'Cant de la Senyera' (Song of the flag). The events during the Corpus of Blood, which started the Revolt of the Catalan Reapers, and where Catalans fought against the chief minister of King Philip IV of Spain, formed the basis of the song. The French anthem, the

[598] Gent Nova, Badalona, 09.02.1907, núm 273, p.6.
[599] La Esquella de la Torratxa, núm 1382, 30.06.1905, p. 434. These Republican festivities were modelled on French revolutionary festivals.
[600] 'La Marsellesa' y 'Els Segadors', La Tralla, núm. 119, 22.06.1906.

Marseillaise, had been suppressed by various monarchical regimes in the nineteenth century and had only become the national anthem again in 1879. For many Catalan republicans, it represented an international and Catalan song for change and was thus representing their future aspirations in a better way than the Segadors. It linked their aspirations with other nationalist uprisings and protest movements across the world which had used or adapted the Marseillaise for their purposes. The Marseillaise had, for example, been the revolutionary anthem in Russia and across Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth century.[601] Furthermore, it had been used during the 1848 revolutions across Europe and in Latin America, often in localised versions of the song.[602]

Mosse argues that the flag, the anthem and the national celebrations all include elements of the 'nation-in-arms (…) even in times of peace'.[603] Both songs, the Segadors and the Marseillaise were songs of war. Many Catalans wanted a song which would depict their civic values and peaceful character in history. The choice of the Segadors as the national anthem and the decision to celebrate a national holiday commemorating the Corpus of Blood were highly contested. Catalan republicans and younger Catalan nationalists wanted to free themselves from a past-oriented definition of nationhood and the militarism and bloodthirstiness associated

[601] Hudde Hinrich, *L'histoire d'une fascination: La Marseillaise en Allemagne, 1789-1989: Musique, histoire, démocratie*, vol. 2 (Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1992), pp. 307-312. An adaption of the Marseillaise in Russia became a popular revolutionary song sung at the October Revolution until it was replaced over the years by the *International*. See for an overview of all adaptions of the Marseillaise in the Russian context, Faith Hillis, "The "Franco-Russian Marseillaise": International exchange and the making of antiliberal politics in fin de siècle France," *The Journal of Modern History* 89, no. 1 (2017): pp. 39-78.
[602] Axel Körner, "Ideas and memories of 1848 in France: Nationalism, république universelle and internationalism in the goguette between 1848 and 1890," in *1848 - a European revolution? : International ideas and national memories of 1848*, ed. Axel Körner (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 85-105; Jean Descola, *Les messagers de l'indépendance: Les Français en Amérique Latine, de Bolivar à Castro* (Paris: R. Laffont, 1973), Chap. 4 on Mexico and the Marseillaise.
[603] George L. Mosse, "National anthems: The nation militant," in *Confronting the nation: Jewish and Western nationalism*, ed. George L. Mosse (Hanover: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press, 1993), pp. 14-16.

with both the date and the Segadors. 'A memory of blood is not a good fundament for a holiday of a people who never have been tyrannical, or oppressive, or quixotic.'[604] The Marseillaise, even though a song of war itself, was perceived in the light of republican successes and as a revolutionary song directed at internal tyranny rather than at foreign armies.

The Marseillaise had also found its way into Spain and had been sung across the country, for example, during the proclamation of the First Spanish Republic in 1873, and by republicans in the twentieth century to commemorate the revolution leading to said proclamation.[605] It also had a profound effect on Catalan republicans and composers who saw the song as a universal hymn of liberty and patriotism. Josep Anselm Clavé i Camps, founder of the choral movement in Catalonia, adapted the French Marseillaise for the Catalan context in 1871, giving it the name 'Marsellesa' and translating the lyrics.[606] Instead of referring to the French 'motherland' the song referred to the 'Catalan earth' and people who would rather 'die than be enslaved'.[607] Another adaption of the French hymn was made by playwright Ignasi Iglésias. In his translation, he called Catalans 'to take up the arms'. The song and the Catalan versions of it were also highly popular among workers who often sung the Marseillaise during the First of May celebrations, not only in Barcelona but also in smaller towns such as Vendrell.[608]

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[604] Notes de la Festa, Joventut, núm. 281, 29.06.1905.
[605] Catalan republicans for example commemorated republican values during the 'Celebration of liberty' in 1901 when according to the newspaper *La Campana de Gràcia* 20.000 citizens participated or on 11 February 1908 commemorating the proclamation of the First Republic by the *Centre Republicà Autonomista* in Vendrell, see La Festa de Llibertat. La Campana de Gràcia, núm 1690, 05.10.1901, pp 1-2 and Baix Penedès: setmanari autonomista, any 3, núm 99, 15.02.1908. p. 2.
[606] Clavé's explanation for the adaption of the Marseillaise and his translation was printed in the journal *Eco de Euterpe*, núm 388, 01.10.1871, pp. 149-52.
[607] Ibid., p. 151.
[608] Baix Penedès: setmanari autonomista, any 2, núm 58, 04.05.1907. For an overview of the intersection of music and revolution also with a particular emphasis on Catalonia, see, Aurélie

Left-wing Catalan nationalists argued that signing both hymns, a practice followed by the choir Nova Catalunya or the Centre Nacional Republicà, was increasing the social base of Catalans nationalism, uniting the working class with the goals of Catalan nationalism.[609] One symbolised the 'aspiration of Catalonia', while the other was the 'protest hymn against a regime', the ruling elite and the monarchy which they wanted to take down, also argued the satirical newspaper *Cu-Cut!*[610]

From 25 July to 5 August 1909, violent confrontations between the army and the working class of Barcelona led to several deaths and many injuries. The confrontation followed a strike of the biggest unions to resist the subscription to forces for the Second Melillan campaign in Morocco. The central government decided to bring in the army and declare a state of war in Barcelona. Army units from other regions were brought into Catalonia as the Catalan conscripts were deemed unreliable. Convents and churches were burnt, and riots and violent confrontations between authorities and the strikers continued over a week.[611] Socialists, anarchists and some of the republicans of the city assisted or became part of the protesters. Republicans accused the conservative Catalan nationalists of being bystanders in the conflict, as many had condemned the burning of churches and convents by anarchists but had not positioned themselves clearly against the authorities during the conflict.

Vialette, *Intellectual philanthropy: The seduction of the masses*, Purdue studies in romance literatures, (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2018), Chap. 1.

[609] Baix Penedès, any 3, núm 119, 04.07.1908, p. 2 and Auba: revista mensual s'arts I lletres, núm 4, February 1902, p. 68.

[610] Cu-Cut! any 1, núm 6, 06.02.1902, p. 92.

[611] See Smith, *Red Barcelona: Social protest and labour mobilization in the twentieth century*, pp. 5-9 and pp. 38-39.

Reflecting on the celebration of the Catalan National Day on the Corpus of Blood and the historical significance of the date, a year after the Tragic Week, Gabriel Alomar drew parallels with current politics. Alomar moved between republican and socialist parties during his lifetime and wrote pamphlets supporting a republican and working-class Catalan nationalism which would discredit the conservative regionalism of the Lliga and the liberal nationalism of the time.[612] For him, the celebrations were more than acts of remembrance but a reflection of traditional ideas in Catalan society. 'How does 1640 integrate into the general psychology of the Catalan people?', he asked. 'Do we have to understand these incidents as the last flaring up of Catalan independence (…) as a distant announcement of the actual spirit, a 'Pre-Catalanism'?'[613] For him, the celebration of 1640 should be a celebration of a 'war against a war'. By reinterpreting the festivity, as a 'popular war against the private and the royal war', also republicans and socialists would be able to participate.[614]

Catalonia, according to Alomar, was not rebelling as a nation capable of democracy in that historic moment. There was no revolutionary nucleus as in England at the time or in future France. Similarly, Alomar argued that a traditional and conservative part of Catalan society was participating in the celebrations, imposing an outdated worldview on the rest of the progressives. So 'while for Catalan nationalists, the farmers (…) of 1640 were stormers of the Bastille, the men on the barricades of July are the enemies.'[615] Alomar accused the Catalan nationalists of forgetting the other parallel fight: the fight of the working class

[612] Gabriel Alomar, *Negacions i afirmacions del Catalanisme* (Barcelona: Antoni López, 1910).
[613] Alomar, Gabriel, Valor històric y poètic de la Guerra dels Segadors, El Poble Català, any 09, núm. 2639, 29.05.1912, p. 1.
[614] Alomar, Gabriel, Valor històric y poètic de la Guerra dels Segadors II, El Poble Català, any 09, núm. 2639, 04.06.1912, p. 1.
[615] Ibid.

against the capital. He alleged that many Catalan nationalists saw socialism as nothing more than a nuisance. Its presence seemed to bother Catalan nationalists as it influenced social pacification negatively and complicated the process of nationalisation. Instead, Alomar argued that 'in Catalonia, as in the rest of the world, two fights' existed in parallel: the one of Catalan nationalism with the central government and one of the workers with capital.[616] Singing the Marseillaise alongside the more popular Segadors was a way to combine both the international fight of the workers with the nationalist cause for people and gain a wider social base for Catalan nationalism. It would reinterpret the Catalan cause as an international fight for 'liberty'.[617] The satirical *Tralla* remarked that the approximately 8000 participants in the 1905 festivities also included many workers protesting both their social and patriotic conditions.[618]

Some radical republicans from the Lerroux party who had adopted the Marseillaise as their hymn and stood in opposition to Catalan nationalism had proclaimed the incompatibility of both anthems.[619] For republican Catalan nationalists, the only solution was thus to sing both the 'Catalan separatist hymn' and the hymn igniting a revolution and calling for a change of government.[620] The editors of the Tralla argued that Marseillaise and Segadors essentially shared the same historical origin and meanings. Both songs embodied 'the protest of a people against monarchic absolutism and the wish for the same ideals: the republic and

[616] Gabriel Alomar, "El futurisme," in *Conference in Ateneu Barcelones* (Barcelona, 18.06.1904 1905), p. 48; Alomar, *Negacions i afirmacions del Catalanisme*, p. 14.
[617] El Poble Català: Any 11, Núm. 3279, 08.03.1914.
[618] La Tralla, Barcelona 30.06.1905.
[619] La Marsellesa, La Tralla, any 2, núm.35, 23.06.1904, p. 4. Alejandro Lerroux García (1864-1949) was president of the Radical Republican Party which existed between 1908 and 1936 and won significant support among the working class in Barcelona. It was known for its progressive, anticlerical rhetoric and stand against Catalan nationalism. Later Lerroux became president of the Spanish government for some years during the Second Spanish Republic.
[620] L'Intransigent: periodic nacionalista de joventuts, adherit a la Unió Catalanista: Núm. 12, 22.11. 1918, p. 4.

liberty', wrote the author of a lengthy article on the origins of the two hymns.[621] Others argued that it was the Segadors which truly represented Catalan nationhood as the Marseillaise was an 'imported' foreign hymn, whereas Pere Tarragó argued in *La Tralla* that nowhere in the lyrics of the Marseillaise you could find a reference to republicanism. The 'Catalan song' was the 'most autonomist' of all Catalan patriotic hymns, the most 'radically nationalist', argued Tarragó, and its lyrics could as well become their new nationalist slogan.[622]

The *Festa Nacional Catalana* thus tried to circumvent the controversy between the Marseillaise and Segadors by composing a completely new hymn especially for the festivities which would embody its orientation towards the future. This new hymn, composed by Lluis Millet and written by Francesc Matheu, was sung alongside other patriotic songs. It was perceived as less controversial and was performed by the children present on the national holiday. Like the national day of Norway, the *Festa Nacional Catalana* was organised as a civic festivity without any liturgical elements. The celebration included a children's parade and activities directed at children. More than ten schools from around Barcelona participated in the celebration and sent their pupils to the procession.[623] The children's smallness and promise for the future were to stand symbolically for Catalonia's trajectory. The lyrics of the song affirmed the Catalan smallness and their devotion to the future, exclaiming that they belonged to the 'new era which is beginning (…) for the reign of Catalonia'. The song ended again with a dedication to the future rather than the past: 'Of today will come tomorrow. We are the seeds, we are the grains, we are the harvest which will come.'[624] However, as a newly composed hymn,

[621] La Marsellesa' y 'Els Segadors', La Tralla, núm. 119, 22.06.1906.
[622] La Marsellesa, La Tralla, any 2, núm.35, 23.06.1904, p. 4.
[623] Revista Musical Catalana, any 1905, núm 19, July, p. 145.
[624] Joventut. Núm. 281 Supl., 29.06.1905.

people still needed the lyrics on paper and the Segadors sung at the end of the festivity was met with much more enthusiasm than the new hymn by Millet, reported the newspaper *Gent Nova*.[625]

The *Gent Nova*, when reporting on the Catalan National Day, emphasised that even though the festivities developed according to plan and matched the announced programme, a few creative changes were made along the way. Whereas many school choirs sang different popular songs, and all choirs and political parties sang their respective 'national' hymns, waving their flags along with them, the school of *Mossén Cinto* added a 'very likeable note'. The choir of the school combined verses of the Segadors with strophes from the Catalan Marseillaise by Clavé to show the unity between a historicist and an internationalist and future-oriented vision of Catalan nationhood.[626] Several associations organised the singing of hymns 'and the clapping of hands' as well as the dancing of the Sardana.[627] Furthermore, all the participants of the national day received a manifest redacted by poet and politician of the Unió Catalanista Franquesa i Gomis. To ensure a uniform look, the committee organised the distribution of the Catalan hat, the *barretina*: 'it was made sure that no *barretines* were missing.'[628]

Earlier in 1905, tensions between Catalan nationalist newspapers and central authorities such as the military had led to several imprisonments and restrictions on the liberty of the press facilitating a rapprochement between republican, left-wing and conservative Catalan nationalists. During the first celebration of the Catalan National Day in 1905, psychiatrist and politician Domenech Martí i Julià of the Unió Catalanista reminded the reader of the circumstances under which these

[625] Festa Nacional Catalana, Gent Nova, any 7, núm 188, 24.06.1905, p. 2.
[626] Festa Nacional Catalana, Gent Nova, any 7, núm 188, 24.06.1905, p. 2.
[627] Joventut. Núm. 281 Supl. 29.06.1905.
[628] Noves, Joventut. Núm. 279, 15.06.1905.

celebrations took place. He emphasised the gathering of Catalans of different political ideologies. To illustrate the unity of the branches of Catalan nationalism coming together in light of pressures from the central government, he mentioned Marcel Riu, the political editor of *La Tralla*, who had been arrested a few months earlier and remained imprisoned. On 19 May 1905, *La Tralla,* a satirical newspaper tied to the Unió Catalanista, had published a special edition celebrating the third anniversary of the independent Cuban Republic. The authorities had ordered the director and three editors to trial. Martí i Julià argued that it was the common suffering which brought them together as Catalans: 'Tribulation equals all human being; the true patriotism comes out in front of the adversary.'[629]

The restrictions in the freedom of the press and the portrayal of common suffering which followed the incidences of Cu-Cut in November 1905, brought together conservative Catholics, regionalists and republicans not only in the celebration of the national day. From 1906, with the establishment of the umbrella organisation Solidaritat Catalana, which succeeded in amplifying social adhesion to the Catalan cause, the Catalan National Day developed into the national festivity most accepted by republicans and regionalists alike. Over the years, everyone was singing their own hymns, combining the hymn of the national day with the Segadors and the Catalan Marseillaise.[630] However, despite the political union, the celebration remained a contested festivity. In particular, the lack of official endorsement and the close ties to the conservative Unió Catalanista led many workers, and left-wing nationalists continue to search for a different, more encompassing celebration.

[629] Joventut. Núm. 281 Supl. 29.06.1905.
[630] La Tralla, 16.05.1905, El Poble Català : Any 04, Núm. 469, 30.05.1907.

Another contender for the national day since the late 1880s had been the celebration on 11 September. This day was not officially called a national festivity but for many years was advertised as a 'patriotic commemoration'.[631] It was first celebrated in 1886 by a small group of Catalan nationalists. During the World Fair in Barcelona in 1888, a statue was set up in honour of Rafael Casanova, the mayor of Barcelona and commander-in-chief of Catalonia during the siege of the city in 1714. Over the years, the statue became a central gathering point for the celebrations on 11 September. The central piece of the day was the large parade through the city and down the Rambla of Catalonia, passing the statue of Casanova, where the politicians and representatives of Catalan associations laid wreaths at the bottom of the sculpture.

However, as a national holiday, 11 September remained contested, primarily because some liberals argued that a national holiday should celebrate a positive historical event rather than commemorate a 'dark' hour of Catalan history. In 1906, Gabriel Alomar stated 'I cannot feel a complete fraternal spirit with the heroes of 1714', mainly because he felt that those individuals had been fighting for a very different cause from his left-wing republican nationalism. Alomar saw in the celebrations of 11 September an idealisation of history whereas he wished to 'create' a new republican and liberal Catalonia and not 'remake Catalonia' of before 1714.[632] To him, the Catalonia of 1714 had not been a progressive force.[633] Thus, the date of 1714, 'written like a reminder' on the marble of the statue of Casanova 'did not mean anything'. Instead, it was the future date of a progressive,

[631] See for an excellent overview of the development of the commemorative festivity into a national day, Stéphane Michonneau, *Barcelone: Mémoire et identité (1830-1930)*, Histoire, (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2007), pp. 169-180.
[632] Alomar, Gabriel, En l'aniversari II, Poble Català, any 03, núm. 214, 14.09.1906.
[633] Alomar, Gabriel, En l'aniversari I, Poble Català, any 03, 13.09.1906.

autonomous and socially fair Catalan society which he wanted to celebrate.[634] Another Catalan republican attacked the conservative Lliga Regionalista and their way of commemorating 11 September. He accused them of 'confusing the interests of the Catalan society with those of a dynasty.'[635] For him, a national celebration should be a reflection of popular nationalism, evolving organically and projecting the international vision for Catalonia. He was inspired by the Polish, Irish and particularly the Finnish model of nationalism and wanted to reflect this popular nationalism in the celebrations of a national holiday.[636]

Pere Coromines, president of the *Republican Nationalist Federal Union* since 1909, who had been working together with Catalan nationalists, liberals, regionalists and even anarchists, tried to reinterpret the historical significance of 11 September for his republican friends. Instead of being an 'ethnic celebration of archaic traditions', as some Republicans and liberals had argued, the celebration was protesting all forms of political centralisation which had been introduced with the French influence of 1714, argued Coromines. All the participants of the celebration were protesting and resisting the Spanish state. This reinterpretation of the historic significance seems minor but reveals how citizens inferred deeper meaning to the participation in the national celebration. Thus, Coromines' reinterpretation of 11 September as a democratic struggle instead of a dynastic one eased the way for the participation of republican and socialist groups.[637] Around the same time, in 1910, the national celebration of 11 September developed from a conservative display of the middle classes to a symbol of social stability and union

[634] Alomar, Gabriel, En l'aniversari II, Poble Català, any 03, núm. 214, 14.09.1906.
[635] Layret, Conmemorando una fecha, La Publicidad, 12.09.1913.
[636] Ibid.
[637] Pere Coromines, El 11 de Septembre, 1714-1910, La Publicidad, 12.09.1913.

between different political factions and to a symbol for public protest and resistance.

As Vernet Roca points out, the prohibition of the Catalan National Day in 1909 and, after the Tragic Week, the *Diada* in 1910 bore the opportunity to find new spaces to celebrate and contributed to the triumph of the *Diada* over the Catalan National Day.[638] The *Fossar*, the central cemetery in Barcelona where the citizens had been buried after the Siege of Barcelona in 1914, gave new meaning to the celebration of 11 September. It not only symbolised the city's resistance but also picked up on elements used in other commemorative acts, using similar routes and places in central Barcelona for their processions.[639] The moving of the statue of Casanova in 1913 to the centre of the city (Ronda de St. Pere) as well as the incorporation of the *Fossar de Moreres* as a central location for the celebration helped to reinterpret the festivity and to move from a historic vision of Catalan nationhood to a celebration of public resistance, protest and cosmopolitan patriotism. The Marseillaise as both a Catalan and a universal hymn of freedom continued to be part of the celebrations of 11 September.[640] Similarly, republican and various workers associations organised theatre performances in the evening of the celebration, which highlighted their inter-national vision for Catalonia, performing plays predominantly by Burgas and Guimerà.[641]

Even though the republicans and also many left-wing Catalans started to participate in the festivities around 1906, different schedules of the celebration of

[638] Jordi Roca Vernet, "De la Festa Nacional Catalana a la Diada de l'Onze de Setembre. Revisió de les commemoracions del Catalanisme (1905-1914)," *Revista de Catalunya*, 287 (2014): pp. 102-117.
[639] Ibid., 113; Anguera, *L'onze de setembre: Història de la diada (1886-1938)*, p. 166.
[640] El Poble Català, Barcelona 09.09.1914, El Poble Català, Barcelona 11.09.1914, Veu de Catalunya, Barcelona 11.09.1919, La Vanguardia, 12.09.1919.
[641] Jordi Erin was performed as part of the celebration on 11 September. See, Veu de Catalunya, Barcelona 11.09.1908, El Poble Català, Barcelona 10.09. 1908, La Veu de Catalunya, Barcelona 12.09.1913, El Poble Català, Barcelona 12.09.1913 and 14.09.1913.

11 September made sure that also the Catholic Catalans were still able to join the festivities. Since the early celebrations in 1903, the *Spiritual League of Our Lady of Montserrat* had organised a morning mass remembering the sacrifice of the Catalans.[642] Michonneau argues that from 1914 there is a normalisation of the celebration and the language shifted from a more religious one to republican and nationalist vocabulary. Whereas the celebration had been in honour of the 'martyrs' and 'heroes' in the early twentieth century, by 1914 the celebration pays a tribute to the 'defenders of the liberties of Catalonia'.[643] In 1916, a new monument for Rafael Casanova was inaugurated which had been funded by popular subscription to the cause.[644] In 1914, the celebrations can be found in many of the smaller cities and villages around Catalonia, and the Catalan flag was hoisted in many town halls across the region.[645] Even outside Catalonia, émigrés started to commemorate the day. Celebrations were held on 11 September by Catalan communities in New York, Buenos Aires, and Havana. By 1914, the celebration gained an official status. The town hall of Barcelona hoisted the Catalan flag alongside the city's flag and several politicians such as the councillors of the Commonwealth of Catalonia (Mancomunitat) participated in the laying of the wreaths at the statue.

The editors of *El Poble Català* first formulated the idea to celebrate the national day on New Year's Eve.[646] Instead of establishing a historic and place-based festivity, the national holiday should be a genuinely inter-national celebration looking 'towards the future' instead of 'dwelling on memories'.[647] Reporting on the idea, the weekly periodical *Gent Nova* argued that Catalans had a duty to celebrate

[642] El Poble Català, any 09, núm. 2745, 12.09.1912.
[643] Michonneau, *Barcelone: Mémoire et identité (1830-1930)*, pp. 169-180.
[644] El Poble Català, any 13, núm. 4184, 12.09.1916.
[645] Roig y Pruna, La Bandera, El Poble Català, any 11, núm. 3464, 11.09.1914.
[646] Cap d'any nacionalista. Un projecte de festa nacional Catalana, El Poble Catala, any 7, num 2470, 10.12.1911, p.1.
[647] Ibid.

inter-nationally. ‘When celebrating our national day, Catalans should also remember all the other people who are fighting courageously for their national liberties’[648] Thus, every year, the national holiday would also be an opportunity to connect to all other nationalities by sending them telegrams and messages of solidarity. For the coming year, 1912, they suggested celebrating Ireland and Finland, which were close to achieving their autonomy. This would, on the one hand, increase awareness for the Catalan cause abroad, which was ‘almost unknown’, but would, on the other hand, also strengthen ties with other nationalities.[649]

Underlying the debates over the timing of the national day were fundamental differences in how to structure and organise society. International narratives of Catalan ‘Europeanness’, ‘progress’ and ‘revolutionary spirit’ captured in the singing of the Marseillaise, for example, helped to overcome the divide between the different branches of Catalan nationalism, ‘annihilating the discordance and disagreements for a few hours’.[650] Whereas international narratives and symbols were framing the debate, historic and place-bound visions of Catalan nationhood persisted and were essential in the making of the national days. In the meantime, Catalan nationalists reinterpreted a festivity established by progressives in Spain, as a demonstration of their cultural advancement and superiority over Castile. Tapping into the pan-continental discourse of the religious and backward South, Catalan nationalists argued that the Catalan ‘national celebration’ of the tree demonstrated their future-oriented and progressive vision, drawing new moral

[648] Festa Nacional Catalana, Gent Nova, any 13, num. 525, 16.12.1911, p. 3.
[649] Cap d’any nacionalista, Baix Penedès: setmanari autonomista, any 6, núm 299, 23.12.1911. p.2.
[650] Joventut. Núm. 281 Supl. 29.06.1905.

geographies according to which Africa began not at the Pyrenees but at the Catalan border.

3. The Festival of the Tree – A Civil and Civic Celebration



Figure 9: Festa de l'arbre, Frederic Ballell 1903-1917, Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona[651]

This photograph in the figure above, taken by photojournalist Frederic Ballell Maymí, shows a crowd at the edge of the Tibidabo mountain in Barcelona. Among the crowd are some adults with flags and others who seem to hold small tree seedlings. Several children are also present. The photograph shows a scene of the 1903 edition of the celebration of the tree, an annual public holiday in Barcelona. The celebration had been established in the 1890s in Barcelona by engineer Rafael Puig i Valls. During the celebration, residents of Barcelona were encouraged to plant and care for the trees to conserve the local forests and to counteract their diminishment around the city. The holiday was organised by the city council of

[651] Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona, AFB3-117 Editorial López, S0-12-97.

Barcelona together with the schools of the city, accompanied by a campaign to educate the youth and a programme of lectures and performances by local associations.[652]

While it later developed into a political project, the initial impulses driving the festival were from the conservationist movement. Through the rapid industrialisation of Catalonia in the nineteenth century, many citizens saw the transformations of urban and rural environments as necessary conditions for development and progress. Some individuals, however, were more reluctant to accept the changes in their landscape which were occurring as a consequence of the industrial revolution. These people observed how deforestation led to soil erosion and flooding, particularly in hilly parts of the cities, and advocated more careful forest management of their cities. By planting trees on the hills around the city and the streets, they argued, the soil could be stabilised, and floods prevented.[653] In the late 1880s and early 1890s, several journal articles were published in Catalonia and also in other Spanish regions reporting on the problems of deforestation around Europe and on national initiatives to protect the environment in the United States, Switzerland and neighbouring France.[654]

These journal articles came at a time when people across Europe started to direct their view to 'nature of the nation' or the 'naturalesa patria' and began searching for their region's distinctive natural characteristics through literature,

[652] See BC, Crónica de la fiesta del árbol en España, Asociación de los Amigos de la Fiesta del Arbol en Barcelona, 1902-1913.
[653] La Fiesta del Arbol, Hispania, 15.05.1899, pp. 44-46.
[654] La Fiesta de los árboles de los Estados Unidos, Revista Hortícola. Periódico mensual de horticultura práctica. Órgano de la Sociedad Catalana de Horticultura, 11-1893, pp. 161-162, Udina, Jose, Origen de la Fiesta del Árbol. ¿Cuándo se celebró en América? La Fiesta del Árbol en Francia. Su instauración en España, Revista Hortícola. Periódico mensual de horticultura práctica. Órgano de la Sociedad Catalana de Horticultura, 04.05.1901, pp. 52-57.

photography and other art forms.[655] However, to the same extent that nature was a source of inspiration for a collective identity, collective identity triggered changes in the significance of nature and its protection in a scientific manner.[656] Particularly the end of the nineteenth century saw moments of collective concern for the protection of nature and attempts to establish the first national protection of natural reserves.[657] They tried to link the conservation and preservation of place and the known landscape to the notion of progress. Technological advancements and the processes of modernisation were not criticised as such. Instead nationalists argued for a coexistence with the 'natural landscape' as an expression of modernity.[658]

This section outlines how a variety of competitive political ideas were applied to landscape, tree planting and the mountains in Catalonia. As much as the celebration of the tree can be seen as a story of the 'nationalisation' of nature, it is also a story of the entangled trajectories of the scientific community, and how a narrative of an unscientific, religious Spain was reinforced both by those wanting to change this image from within and those who wanted exclude themselves from such a narrative

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[655] In Catalonia the Pyrenees represented national virtues of purity and the organic link to the past. Such characteristics are best portrayed in the nationalist drama *Terra Baixa* by Angel Guimera, see Joan Nogué, "La génesis y la evolución de la valoración moderna del paisaje en Cataluña," *Cuadernos Geográficos* 55, no. 2 (2016): pp. 28-45. And dissertation on the importance of flora and fauna in the architecture of Barcelona in the late nineteenth century, see Fàtima López Pérez, "Ornamentació vegetal i arquitectures de l'oci a la Barcelona del 1900" (PhD thesis University of Barcelona, 2012). She also mentions the 'festa de l'arbre', pp. 80-92. How the Alps had a similar function for the Swiss national discourse where the superimposed themselves on linguistic differences, a process Zimmer terms 'the nationalization of nature', see Oliver Zimmer, "In search of natural identity: Alpine landscape and the reconstruction of the Swiss nation," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, no. 04 (1998): pp. 637-665.

[656] Connected to that was also the establishment of hiking and mountaineering societies, see Nogué, "La génesis y la evolución de la valoración moderna del paisaje en Cataluña."

[657] Among these are the first initiatives to establish national parks as the Yellowstone Park in the United States. For an account on the importance of American policy in this context, see Ian Tyrell, "America's national parks: The transnational creation of national space in the progressive era," *Journal of American Studies* 46, no. 1 (2012).

[658] William H. Rollins, *A greener vision of home: Cultural politics and environmental reform in the German Heimatschutz movement, 1904-1918*, Social history, popular culture, and politics in Germany, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

Rafael Puig i Valls was a Catalan engineer, journalist and conservation activist who worked for the forestry department of Barcelona, Girona and the Balearic Islands. He was also part of the organising committee of the World Fair in Barcelona in 1888 and the president of the Royal Academy of Science and Fine Arts of Barcelona from 1892 to 1894 as well as from 1904 to 1906. As a member of the Spanish delegation and committee member of the *Fomento del Trabajo* of Barcelona, a confederation of the commercial organisations in Catalonia, Puig i Valls attended different World Fairs around the world. During these visits, he wrote reports and journal articles for the public back in Catalonia and for the government of Spain. Some of the exhibitions he visited included the World Fair in Chicago in 1893 and the international exhibitions in Paris in 1900 and Antwerp in 1904. Puig i Valls' vision for the protection of the natural surroundings comprised a combination of ideas gained from his research, his experience in the forestry department and his international exchanges.

Puig i Valls' initiative of the Festival of the Tree was probably inspired by the American celebration of 'Arbor Day', either through his visits to the United States or by reports of the celebration that were published in the Spanish press at the end of the 1880s. These articles often discussed the problems of deforestation and the need for more conservation. In 'Our friends the trees', an article published in 1893 in the newspaper *El Diluvio*, the author Emilio Gautier described the situation in the United States which led to the establishment of the American Arbor Day. The carelessness of the first settlers and their aggressive expansionist actions led to a complete change of the climate and the environment in the 'New World', argued Gautier. However, the author attributed the search for a solution to the problem of the degeneration of the soil to the 'businessman' -like nature of the

American people and to the tradition of taking individual action instead of waiting for a solution from the state for which he holds the 'Latin people' responsible.[659] He went on to describe how an American individual called Sterling Norton initiated a celebration called 'Arbor Day' in the state of Nebraska which is now a '*national* celebration' and has a 'legal and obligatory' character for every citizen in the United States.[660] This initiative, as the article continued, had already been installed in over 30 states in the United States, in Canada, and in France. He concluded that the celebration of the tree is one of the best ways to serve the nation as it directly works against the decadence and as an antidote to the ills of the industrial society. He argues that the celebration works as a kind of '14 of July *sui generis* for Nebraska, Colorado, Chode Island and Sdaho [sic]'. The plantation day would not only serve as an environmental day but also had a patriotic element where 'useful' citizens could be honoured, like 'the wise men and women of the city, artists, soldiers, legislators and philanthropists'. He concluded that 'instead of building a statue of bronze, these people are honoured with a statue out of wood', which is not only more eternal but also served the public good.[661]

The United States was for many Spaniards a model to follow – politically as a federal republic but also culturally as the epitome of modernity. The United States was celebrated for its successes in science, technological advancements, urban infrastructure and democratic freedoms. In 'Viaje a America', published in 1894, Puig i Valls reflected on his visit to the U.S. and the World Fair in Chicago a year earlier. The World Columbian Exposition in Chicago, which celebrated the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in the New World in 1492, is

[659] Emilio Gautier, Nuestros Amigos los Árboles, El Diluvio, 21.12.1893, p. 11.
[660] Emphasis in original.
[661] Ibid, pp. 11-12.

often credited to be one of the first examples that initiated the 'City Beautiful' movement in the United States which aimed to improve the beauty, hygiene and utility of cities by introducing linear lines, parks, boulevards and new attractive buildings to city's centres.[662] Highly critical of many aspects of American life and also of the exhibition, Puig i Valls still admired the execution of the World Fair in Chicago in 1893, noting that he had to praise the model city planning of the 'White City': 'Converting a swamp into an urbanised space, using the waters (…) in the canal and decorating its margins with grasslands and gardens, bringing up the soil from the swamp for the plants and the forest trees (…) are things which in themselves show a truly amazing effort.'[663]

In his account of the World Fair in Chicago written for the *Foment de Treball Nacional*, an umbrella organisation for industrialists and businessmen in Catalonia, he stated his admiration for the American industrial achievements but also particularly for the cultivation of their landscape and the integration of nature when designing their cities. He mentioned, amongst other things, the vast number of trees and flowers in 'the Washington Park, Lincoln Park, the Garfield Park, the Jackson Park'.[664] This 'rage of park making', how Foglesong described the integration of landscape in many US and European cities, mostly followed the lines of New York City's Central Park, which was constructed in 1850. Puig i Valls' memoirs of the World Fair reflect his conviction that industrial excellence cannot work at the expense of the natural environment. He argued that a strong state must always protect the natural resources of its country, as those constitute its success. Additionally, creating parks and incorporating nature into the city could act as a

[662] Daniel Baldwin Hess, "Transportation beautiful: Did the City Beautiful Movement improve urban transportation?," *Journal of Urban History* 32, no. 4 (2006): p. 517.
[663] Rafael Puig y Valls, *Viaje á América* (Barcelona: Luis Tasso, 1894), p. 51.
[664] Ibid., pp. 50-52.

corrective to the negative effects of crowded cities.[665] Similarly, in Barcelona the council's architect Josep Fontseré had planned 'the lungs of the city', a symmetrical arrangement of gardens and horticultural buildings to give the residents of Barcelona some fresh air amid the populous city.[666]



Figure 10: Festa de l'arbre, F. Ballell 1909, Arxiu Fotográfic de Barcelona[667]

Even though Puig i Valls was mostly concerned with nature conservation and the inclusion of landscape into urban space, the idea soon developed into a political project with nationalist connotations. At the international Congress of Silviculture in June 1900 Puig i Valls, as a representative of the Spanish delegation, suggested that his celebration initiated in Barcelona a year earlier should be installed as a 'national holiday' not only in Spain but in every country in Europe. His proposition was echoed by a French and a German delegate who reminded the members of the congress that such a 'happy ritual' existed already in the United

[665] Cited in: Antònia Casellas, "Barcelona's urban landscape: The historical making of a tourist product," *Journal of Urban History* 35, no. 6 (2009): p. 820.
[666] Ibid.
[667] Arxiu Fotográfic de Barcelona, S0_012_100.

States, Germany, Switzerland, Hungary, France, Italy and Spain.[668] In 1891, in France, the Society of Agriculture established the 'Association of the Friends of the Tree in the Maritime Alps' which installed the celebration of the tree in some municipalities.[669] Participants in the congress saw the festivity as a 'method of education', particularly to instil a love of trees into the youth and to educate the rest of the population to become more careful with their natural surroundings.[670] The congress then decided to install such a festivity in every country so that 'every child of the civilised world' planted a tree on the same day and at the same time as in the United States.[671]

Puig i Valls not only published journalistic articles to encourage a debate about deforestation and urban life, but he also encouraged political action in this field. Spanish progressives first established the Festival of the Tree in Madrid. In later articles published in *La Vanguardia* and *La Esquella de la Torratxa*, Puig i Valls and Catalan regionalists encouraged its official establishment in Barcelona and its financial support by the city council.[672] After a private investment by Puig i Valls and negotiations with the city council of Barcelona, a commission was established to initiate the celebration of the tree in Barcelona. The commission was made up of Puig i Valls as president and seven schoolteachers of the public schools of Barcelona. Puig i Valls himself was an engineer and closely collaborated with the central government in Madrid. He felt that science needed to be vulgarised and

[668] Congrès International de Sylviculture, *Congrès international de sylviculture tenu à Paris du 4 au 7 juin 1900*, ed. Ministère de l'agriculture République Française, Administration des eaux et forêts, Exposition universelle internationale de 1900, à Paris, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), p. 490.
[669] Josefina Roma i Riu, "Els rituals i les festes del arbre," in *Tradicionari. Enciclopèdia de la cultura popular de Catalunya*, ed. Joan Soler i Amigó and Josefina Roma i Riu (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 2006), p. 63.
[670] Sylviculture, *Congrès international de sylviculture tenu à Paris du 4 au 7 juin 1900*, p. 424.
[671] Ibid., p. 490.
[672] Puig y Valls, Rafael, la patria y el árbol, La Vanguardia, 21.09.1898, Barcelona, p. 4.

that the celebration of the tree needed to become a popular holiday accepted by all inhabitants of the city of Barcelona.

The planting of liberty trees had been a significant symbol during the political and social revolution in France, but also in Spain, since 1789.[673] In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the tree developed into a symbol of freedom and protest across Europe, being used both as a metaphorical symbol of conquest (for example by the French armies) and as a sign for the liberation from the political status quo in the street scene (for example during the 1848 revolutions in Europe and in 1870).[674] Unlike in May tree celebrations, the tree of liberty was supposed to take root and grow into a 'living and lasting monument of freedom'.[675] However, the idea that trees symbolised liberty preceded the time of the French revolution. The oak tree in Guernica in the Basque Country is just one example which tradition allegedly dates back to the Middle Ages when kings of Castile had to pledge their respect for the Basque region and their laws.

Furthermore, liberty trees were planted as a symbol of political independence from Spain in several Latin American countries.[676] Spanish

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[673] For a contemporary account, Henri Grégoire, *Essai historique et patriotique sur les arbres de la liberté* (Paris: Chez Desenne, Bleuet, Firmin Didot, 1794). Albert Mathiez, *Les origines des cultes revolutionnaires (1789-1792)*, Bibliothèque d'histoire moderne, (Paris: G. Bellais, 1904).

[674] Suzanne Anderegg, *Der Freiheitsbaum. Ein Rechtssymbol im Zeitalter des Rationalismus*, Rechtshistorische Arbeiten, bd.4, (Zürich: Juris Druck + Verlag, 1968); Giulia Pacini, "Arboreal attachments: Interacting with trees in early nineteenth-century France," *Configurations* 24, no. 2 (2016); Brecht Deseure, "Boom van vrijheid / boom van slavernij. De antwerpse vrijheidsbomen tussen oud en nieuw," *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 88, no. 2 (2010): pp. 221-225; Mona Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire, 1789-1799*, Bibliothèque des histoires, (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), pp. 281-310. In times of political tension, the liberty tree was very often also a target of aggression, see for accounts in Spain from the early nineteenth century, when liberty trees planted by the French during the Peninsular War (1808-1814) were attacked, taken down or 'rescued' as symbols for republican values in 1814 and 1815, see Sevilla, Diario Crítico General, 22.03.1814 and El Procurador General del Rey y la Nación, 09.01.1815.

[675] Deseure, "Boom van vrijheid / boom van slavernij. De antwerpse vrijheidsbomen tussen oud en nieuw," p. 223. Ozouf describes how the folk tradition of the May trees developed into the rather uniform and rigid planting of liberty trees with its political connotations, Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire, 1789-1799*, pp. 280-315.

[676] To my knowledge there is no substantive literature comparing the change of usage and symbolism of the tree in its different geographical and temporal contexts. For references on the planting of liberty trees in Latin America, Hans-Joachim Koenig, "La función de las imágenes en

republican federalists also used the planting of the tree as a symbol of adherence to republican values, the most prominent being the 'liberty' oak tree planted in February 1869 at the university square in Barcelona and many other smaller towns in Catalonia.[677] Thus, when people across Spain were planting trees as part of their celebration, they drew on antecedent symbolism of the liberty tree. In Barcelona, Catalan nationalists interpreted the planting of the tree not necessarily only as an act for the conversation of nature but as an act of protest and a sign for the desire for liberty from the Spanish government.

Caricatures in the press of Barcelona highlighted the resemblance between the tree plantings. The trees planted at the celebrations in Barcelona were appearing as liberty trees, drawing on the symbolism of the French revolution but reinterpreting them in the light of Catalan nationalism. The liberty tree during the French revolution was generally depicted as a young tree with a smooth trunk and its branches decorated by revolutionary colours and crowned by a hat of freedom.[678] The Catalan newspapers picked up this symbolism and depicted the trees planted at the celebrations similarly. The crown of these trees wore the Catalan *barretina*. In light of the establishment of the Solidaritat Catalana in 1906, the newspaper *La Esquella de la Torratxa* depicted the tree planted at the annual festivity crowned with three hats. Each branch represented one of the groups associated with the new political umbrella organisation, with one branch sporting the cap worn by Carlists, another the Phrygian cap which stood for the Republican parties associated with the Solidaritat Catalana and lastly the *barretina* worn by Catalan regionalists. The

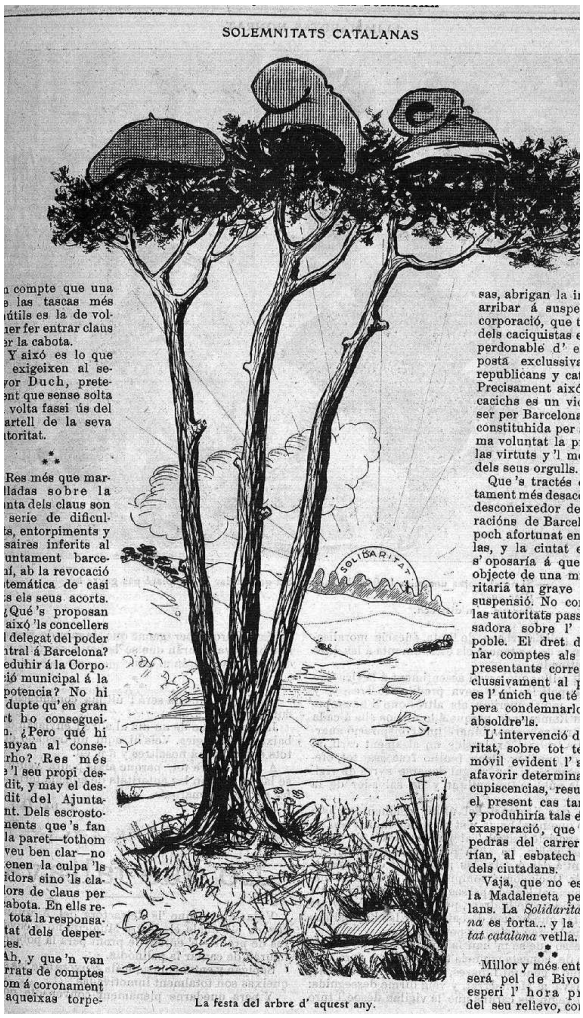
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el proceso de construcción de las naciones Latinoamericanas," in *La nación expuesta. Cultura visual y procesos de formación de la nación en América Latina*, ed. Sven Schuster (Bogotá: Editorial Universidad del Rosario, 2014), pp. 19-22.

[677] El Imparcial, 13.02.1869 and La Esperanza, 06.03.1871.

[678] Anderegg, *Der Freiheitsbaum. Ein Rechtssymbol im Zeitalter des Rationalismus*, p. 57; Deseure, "Boom van vrijheid / boom van slavernij. De Antwerpse Vrijheidsbomen tussen oud en nieuw," p. 223.

bright future of the new political alliance made the 'liberty tree' grow and blossom.[679] The newspaper *La Tralla* also referred to the 'liberty tree' of 1906 as a symbol of endurance, peace, progress and freedom.[680]


SOLEMNITATS CATALANAS

La festa del arbre d' aquest any.

Figure 11: Biblioteca de Catalunya, La Esquella de la Torratxa 18.05.1906.

The celebration of the tree was portrayed as a civic manifestation in which every possible point of conflict between the diverse members of the city of Barcelona was avoided. For example, the Commission who formulated the principles of the celebration avoided any mention of a religious element to the

[679] La Esquella de la Torratxa, 18.05.1906.
[680] L'arbre nostre, La Tralla, Barcelona 20.05.1906, p. 2.

celebration and recommended that only the flag of the Association of the 'Friends of the Tree' should be carried during the parade. Furthermore, the city council should be the only governmental authority represented at the celebration. Neither the Spanish flag nor the national anthem were mentioned as part of the celebration. Instead, their principles defined the celebration as an 'opportunity to celebrate the citizenship of Barcelona'. Therefore, every resident of the city ('all Barcelona') was invited as well as 'all corporations and associations of the city'.[681] The Commission signed and published the founding principles of the celebration on 11 February, 1899.[682] This date coincided with the anniversary of the proclamation of the First Republic of Spain, which was one of the major republican holidays. The publication of the principles of the festivity in 1903 and the caricature of 1906 fell at a time when Barcelona was one of the cities with the highest number of republicans in Spain. They had a high social mobilisation amongst the residents in Barcelona, and many Republicans won seats in the parliamentary elections. From 1903, the Partido de Unión Republicana had the most seats in the city council of Barcelona and in the Spanish general election of 1903, the republican parties had been highly successful in the province of Barcelona, winning more seats than the Conservative Party or the Lliga Regionalista.

[681] M., Barcelona, la fiesta del árbol de 1903, La Ilustración Artística, 25.0.5.1903, núm.1117, p. 350.
[682] The principles of the festivity were re-printed in M., Barcelona, la fiesta del árbol de 1903, La Ilustración Artística, 25.05.1903, núm.1117, p. 350.



Figure 12: Festa de l'arbre Sabadell, Rusqueta 1905, Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona[683]

Even though the celebration of the tree had been initiated as a public holiday with no political links, the festivity soon served other interest groups for their arguments. A group of Catalan intellectuals which included writer Josep Roca i Roca saw the festivity as a reflection of Catalan superiority within Spain. He argued that within Spain, Catalonia was the 'advanced North' whereas the South of Spain represented the 'Backwardness' of the Latin races. Writing about the 'beautiful and civilised' first celebration of the tree under his pseudonym P. del O. in the newspaper *La Esquella de la Torratxa* in May 1899, he continued to contrast the festivity with what he called 'the barbaric festivities of the Spanish people', referring mostly to the popular bull-fights. Those bullfights, even though they were not only popular in central Spain, had a similar 'degrading and dirtying effect as alcohol' argued Roca. They were holding Spain back and hindering national progress, he concluded: 'if only half of what the Spanish spent each year to see' the

[683] Arxiu Fotogràfic de Barcelona, S0_036_038.

bull-fighting 'was spent to plant trees (…) after a short while our nation would be rich and would not need to feel envious of the richer nations.'[684] Many intellectuals supported the planting of trees because they were thought to have a civilising influence on the citizens by providing cleaner air and contributing to the hygiene of the city. This idea was shared across the globe and had gained momentum since the City Beautiful movement in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century.[685]

Some Catalan nationalists perceived the success of the festivity as proof of Catalan superiority in the fields of science, hygiene and civic virtues. Even though a large part of Catalonia's population was as religious as the rest of Spain, Roca stressed the secular and civic character of the celebration of the tree and the scientific background of the celebration as something 'intrinsically Catalan'. He juxtaposed his explanation with an event taking place in Toledo in the same year where 10,000 people participated in a pilgrimage to the Virgen del Valle to pray against drought. Suggesting that these 10,000 people should instead celebrate the holiday of the tree and were ignorant of scientific progress, he concluded that 'these people forget that fate is in their own hands.'[686]

We can see the presentation of the celebration of the tree as a national festivity by various agents of public life, Catalan regionalists, republicans and Spanish progressives. In liberal circles, it was quite common to blame the Church for the national decline, Spanish backwardness and the loss of the colonies. Puig i Valls' article, calling for the establishment of the 'Fiesta del Arbol' in the

[684] P. del O., Cronica, La Esquella de la Torratxa, núm. 1060, 05.05.1899, p. 274.
[685] Jodi Frawley, "Campaigning for street trees, Sydney botanic gardens, 1890s-1920s," *Environment and History* 15, no. 3 (2009): pp. 303-322.
[686] P. del O., Cronica, La Esquella de la Torratxa, núm. 1060, 05.05.1899, p. 274.

Vanguardia on 21 September, 1898, only a month after the defeat in the Spanish-American War, starts by describing a scene from the Philippines which a returning Spaniard had told him a couple of weeks ago. Puig i Valls re-tells the story of the misbehaving Spaniards in the colonies and how clerical misjudgements seemed responsible for the wars in the Philippines.

Progressives like Puig i Valls were arguing that Spain required regeneration as the country was culturally and politically inferior to other nations in Europe. Some Catalan nationalists tapped into this Spanish-wide discourse but drew new boundaries 'where Africa should begin', arguing that it was not the Pyrenees which marked its beginning but the demonstration of civil and progressive spirit during national and popular festivities such as the celebrations of the tree. Employing the racial discourse of the time they argued that instead of being Latin, they were culturally and ethnically much closer to the 'Northern countries'. This was influenced by pseudo-scientific European discourses of Social Darwinism and assumed a superiority of the Northern nations compared to the backward 'South'. The progress of nations such as Germany, Britain,the United States as well as the Scandinavian countries was contrasted with the alleged decline of Italy, Portugal and Spain.

However, most people saw the celebration as an incident where the urban intellectuals were moving the 'train of progress' rather than a festivity that demonstrated regional advancement. Catalans portrayed the urban elite of Barcelona as the forerunners of progress fighting against the 'ignorance and inertia of farmers'.[687] In an article in the magazine Hispania, the author linked the celebration of the tree back to the necessity of the regeneration of Spain. He

[687] La Fiesta del Arbol, Hispania, 15.05.1899, p. 45.

concluded that the celebration was a significant step towards accepting scientific knowledge and that every municipality in Spain should 'solemnise this celebration', arguing that if everyone 'contributed to it the same enthusiasm (…) as to some so-called 'national' events', a valuable step would have been made in the 'material and moral regeneration of the country'.[688] Many Spanish liberals argued that a change in behaviour were not just the product of intellectual discussions and governmental laws but that, more vitally, the population needed to change their perception towards their landscape. Therefore, he thought the power of the celebration of the tree was to generate an emotional attachment to the land and its flora and fauna. Against the backdrop of the argument of the 'backward' nation of Spain, weakened by the loss of the colonies 1898, Puig i Valls argued for an action which would have a 'perpetual' effect. He claimed that through this celebration, they could win over the hearts of the people who were unable to be convinced by reason: *'If we manage to propagate the celebration through the whole of Spain, we will have accomplished a great triumph, as with a celebration you achieve more than with laws and people's eyes and emotions are more easily convinced than brain or reason.'*[689]

By 1918 the celebration of the tree had become a popular festivity around Spain, and similar festivities had been established around Catalonia. The 'Festival of the Fruit Tree' was established with closer links to the Catalan Lliga Regionalista and with a stronger focus on Catalan farmers.[690] The initiator of the festivity in the small town of Moià, Francesc Viñas i Dordal, attributed in a lecture the origin of the festivity to the knowledge gained from the problems of deforestation in the late

[688] Ibid.
[689] La Fiesta del Arbol, Hispania, 15.05.1899, p. 46.
[690] See for an extensive overview of the festivities and its changes from 1904 until 2003, Jaume Clarà i Arisa, *L'obra cívica del tenor Francesc Viñas: Cent anys de la festa de l'arbre fruiter (1904-2003)* (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2004).

nineteenth century. In his lecture, he draws on examples from Geneva, where according to him from '1700 to 1750 they were transforming their wood into vineyards, and with the disappearance of the trees hail started to appear. The Federal government then asked for the re-planting of the trees in these localities, and with the trees, the hail slowly stopped.'[691] He concluded that at the end of the nineteenth century 'all advanced and old societies were concerned with the conservation of their woods' and that the protection of nature was a sign of national progress.[692] A national festivity should, therefore, embody such a spirit of progress.

Even though the Holiday of the Tree has to be understood in the symbolic context of the tradition of the liberty tree in Spain, the celebrations that took place at the end of the 1880s were of a different character and the initiative in Barcelona by Rafael Puig i Valls was motivated by the scientific discourse of the 'forest dieback' across Europe rather than by the republican symbolism of liberty and oppression. The example of deforestation and natural protection shows that these initiatives grew out of the Spanish elite's integration into the European scientific and professional community and their knowledge of European discussions of 'progress'. These individuals were professionally connected to other parts of the world and participated in the 'transnational circulation of information on the apparent destruction of – or imminent threat to – nature on a global level', as their engagement in scientific congresses demonstrates.[693] Other examples of this

[691] B 1918 12°op.42, Arxiu Historic de la Ciutat de Barcelona Viñas i Dordal, La Festa de l'Arbre Fruiter, pp. 13-17.
[692] Ibid., p. 13, This lecture given at the celebration of the tree in Moià in 1918 is part of a collection of programmes and reports of this festivity collected by folklorist Rossend Serra i Pages. Fons Personals, AHCB3-022/5D.61 Rossend Serra i Pagès.
[693] Tyrell, Ian, America's National Parks: The Transnational Creation of National Space in the Progressive Era, in: Journal of American Studies, 2012, Vol. 46, 1, p. 1.

integration are the first attempts to establish nationally protected Natural Parks and participation at the events of geographers and excursionists around Europe.

While Puig i Valls was concerned about environmental protection and felt that the Spanish state was doing too little to protect regional nature, he was also trying to encourage the city council to incorporate foreign models of how to combine landscape in the urban life. In a speech he gave at the 5th Festival of the Tree on 6 April 1902, Puig i Valls explained why the mountain of Montserrat could not continue to be what it had been for so many years. Formerly, it had just been a 'place of prayers for some people and of leisure for others.'[694] However, it should become a 'public space which should be conserved, improved and embellished by all.' Thus, he urged the principal 'public and private associations in Catalonia' that the mountain and the corresponding chapel should become a 'public monument, so no one is allowed to attack its conservation anymore.'[695] A few days earlier, Puig i Valls had put forward a petition for the first natural reserve in Spain. He wanted to create the 'national park of the Mountain of Montserrat'. The purity and calmness of nature, as well as the religious component of the myth surrounding the mountain of Montserrat, became a source of social orientation and cultural imagination for many Catalans. The mountain just outside Barcelona featured in many songs, paintings, buildings and literary works of the nineteenth century.[696]

Contemporaries portrayed the regeneration of Spain as a 'national enterprise'. This new patriotism also required Spanish patriots to fight against the

[694] La Publicidad, 06.04.1902.
[695] La Publicidad, 06.04.1902.
[696] Millet i Pagès the founder of the Orfeó Català composed music about the myth of the 'Montserrat'. The choral society also performed concerts and festivals at the mountain – often together with excursionist societies of the city of Barcelona which wanted to 'embed the love of their nature in the minds of the Catalans', Estatut de la Associacio Excusionista, Barcelona 1898, p. 1. And for a more extensive account of mountains in the imagination of Catalan nationhood, see Nogué, "La génesis y la evolución de la valoración moderna del paisaje en Cataluña."

separatist tendencies at the peripheries of the country, especially in Catalonia and the Basque country. The example of the celebration of the tree, which could be either portrayed as a Catalan enterprise or a Spanish national project, shows how periphery and centre collaborated and festivities were reinterpreted along political lines. The celebration of the tree was a popular and a collaborative project. Scientists, engineers, politicians, intellectuals, teachers and eventually the public participated in this festivity, each drawn in by the specific advantages which this project seemed to offer them. Some were engaged out of a motivation to achieve national progress for Spain, some because they wanted to celebrate their regional particularities and vernacular culture. The diverse ways in which individual actors interpreted the festivity of the tree helps to understand the different and evolving interpretations of nationhood. The flexibility of the principles of the celebration of the tree allowed different individuals to engage in the debate around the celebration of the tree.

The celebration of the tree became an annual public holiday initiated and advertised by the local authorities in Barcelona and soon in many smaller cities around Catalonia. In the early 1900s, the celebration also transcended the borders of Catalonia and became a Spanish public holiday.[697] The connection to 'soil and fatherland' but also to the 'patriotic education of the youth' could be used by Catalan regionalist, Catalan separatist and Spanish nationalists alike. It was a celebration that united many different actors under the same popular holiday. Besides, it is also a story that contradicts the common assumption of historical disruptions in Spain. The holiday of the tree was celebrated in Barcelona and smaller cities from 1899 until 1920 and is still celebrated in many Catalan

[697] Real Orden, decreed of 05.01.1915 makes it obligatory for every municipality of Spain to celebrate either the Day of the Tree or the Day of the Fruit Tree, Gaceta de Madrid, 05.01.1915.

municipalities today. It survived the political changes with the establishment of the Second Republic, the Spanish Civil War and the first years of the Franco Regime. The fact that it continued to be a public festivity even in the early years of the Franco government shows that the festivity was not seen as a solely Catalan nationalist tradition by the central government.[698] The celebration of the tree could thus be interpreted as a story of nationalisation through urban agency at the peripheries and as a story of how international debates find their way back into national discourses.

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'The festivities of Barcelona do not resemble the celebrations of any other people', argued Marius Aguilar in 1920 in the yearbook of the *La Esquella de la Torratxa*, which gave an overview of all the significant festivities celebrated in 1920. Signed with his pseudonym Paradox, he wrote a satirical piece addressed to the 'new generation' which would look back on Barcelona's festive, revelling and fun-loving character as a memory of former times. The piece was a 'nostalgic look back' on the year 1920, written for a hypothetical future generation. Employing the narrative of the 'old men' who like to dwell on their sweet memories of an intact world, the article titled 'Post Festum, Festum' described the times 'when citizens of Barcelona still celebrated 'carnival and the Lady of Mercy (…) with giants, processions and artificial fires'.[699] However, times were changing and 'looking into the future' the city will have transformed its 'soul, façade, and its festivities', predicted Aguilar. The idea of Catalunya-Ciutat (city-Catalonia) had required a subtle rereading of the role of festivities in terms of collective identity: 'Now every festivity of the city' represented the whole of Catalonia, and all festive symbols had to be reinterpreted.

[698] Several photographs of photojournalist Brangulí of the festivities in the Arxui Historic de la Ciutat de Barcelona and Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya.
[699] Paradox, Post Festum, Festum, Almanac de la Esquella de la Torratxa per l'any 1920, p. 7.

Instead of 'naïve' paper-mâché giants you now only had 'civic processions', and instead of artificial fires you could only hear 'fiery speeches.'

Aguilar lamented the fact that through the adding of new collective identities, whether national, radical republicans or inter-national progressives, the festivities would have lost their original naiveté. These new celebrations were 'as ingenuine' as the old ones, as legitimate and authentic, but they added 'spiritual pretentions' and the 'anxieties of patriotism'. In this new Barcelona, it was not just 'the citizens' anymore who celebrated, romanticised Aguilar of the 'former times', now all festivities were infused by patriotic concerts, inter-national manifestations, and political homages.[700] Aguilar's look into a 'sombre festive future' demonstrates how different conceptions of future and Spanish and Catalan nationhood were moulded through the festivities. The overview of the festivities of 1920 highlights how there was no uniform and univocal way when and how to celebrate. The celebrations were drawing on local traditions such as the giants and the use of festive colours from different districts and neighbourhoods of Barcelona. However, the different projects for Barcelona and Catalonia were negotiated through the introduction of inter-national symbols and narratives which drew on the different collective identities of the different agents involved in the debates on national celebrations.

[700] Ibid.

V. Streets as Micro-Monuments for Cosmopolitan Patriotism and Progress

> Almost all of the movements which disrupted Spain in the course of the last century as well as the perturbances of other neighbouring people have been commemorated in one way or the other in the streets of Barcelona. Either by mentioning a particular event or by honouring a person who in one way or the other was important to the movement[701]

Changes of street names in Barcelona have until today been direct reflections of developments in the political landscape. Besides several regime changes, nineteenth and twentieth-century Spain saw economic, social and urban reforms which drastically transformed the image of the country's cities. From the establishment of the first trade union in Catalonia for cotton workers in the 1840s - over social revolts which resulted in the bombardment of Barcelona in 1842 and 1843 - to the building of the first tramline between Mataró and Barcelona[702] and plans for defortification, the city of Barcelona underwent a dramatic remodelling of façade and structure. These changes went hand in hand with other significant movements which disrupted Spain, such as the Catalan renaissance and the Glorious Revolution of 1868, which resulted in the removal of Queen Isabella II, and ultimately in the declaration of the First Spanish Republic. Barcelona's nineteenth century can be described as tumultuous, to say the least. As the editors of a compendium of street names suggested in 1910, these events were reflected in the built environment of Barcelona and foremost in the streets and the meanings attached to them.

Scholarship on street names has shown how toponymy represents contemporary socio-political realities and has focused mostly on toponymic adjustments of places linked to political changes at the level of the state. Marin

[701] Història dels Carrers de Barcelona, AHCB4-236/C06-Ms.B Manuscrits B-138.
[702] The first tramline in Madrid was built twenty-three years later, in 1871, see Deborah L. Parsons, *A cultural history of Madrid: Modernism and the urban spectacle* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), pp. 66-67.

argued that renamings function as temporal boundary markers as they often occur at moments of political transition.[703] Thus, in recent scholarship, we see particular emphasis on the connections to regime changes such as dictatorships, democratisation processes, and decolonisation.[704] In the Spanish case, the 'Glorious Revolution' and the first Spanish Republic led to significant street name changes. In 1869, the city hall of Barcelona altered various of the former royal street names to reflect its commitment to republican values and the new form of government. Thus, the road of the former Queen María Cristina was renamed the Street of the Republic, whereas the avenue dedicated to her husband, the former King Fernando, became the Street of Liberty. In the same fashion, the Royal Square which had been constructed in 1848 was called the National Square and the Rambla of Isabel - one of the most well-known streets in Barcelona today - was renamed the Rambla of Catalonia.[705] Similarly, during the two dictatorships in the twentieth century, the re-naming of roads was a ubiquitous political tool used for the 'legitimisation of the socio-political order'.[706] Instead of reflecting republican values, government officials at the time mainly instigated the renaming of significant streets in order to decrease the number of references to Catalan patriotic themes and in order to introduce Spanish nationalist symbols into the map.[707]

[703] Anaïs Marin, "Bordering time in the cityscape. Toponymic changes as temporal boundary-making: Street renaming in Leningrad/St. Petersburg," *Geopolitics* 17, no. 1 (2012): pp. 192-216.
[704] On the problematics of street naming policies in decolonised Nairobi, see Melissa Wangui Wanjiru and Kosuke Matsubara, "Street toponymy and the decolonisation of the urban landscape in post-colonial Nairobi," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 34, no. 1 (2017): pp. 1-23; Henry S. Grabar, "Reclaiming the city: Changing urban meaning in Algiers after 1962," *Cultural Geographies* 21, no. 3 (2014): pp. 389-409. Liora Bigon, *Place names in Africa : Colonial urban legacies, entangled histories* (Switzerland: Springer, 2016).
[705] Jaume Fabre and Josep M. Huertas, *Carrers de Barcelona: Com han evolucionat els seus noms* (Barcelona: Edhasa, 1982), p. 39.
[706] Maoz Azaryahu, "The power of commemorative street names," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14, no. 3 (1996): p. 311.
[707] On the renaming during the two dictatorships and the Second Spanish Republic, see Fabre and Huertas, *Carrers de Barcelona: Com han evolucionat els seus noms*, pp. 39-41 and pp. 77-93.

Few studies examine the variation in the naming of streets in regions or smaller towns. Likewise, scholars have neglected to examine the fluctuations of street naming on a local level which occurred despite national political continuity.[708] As Simpson argues, these toponymic changes on a local level can also be regarded as cultural arenas of political contestation and debate. The naming policy in Barcelona is an illustrative example. Names of roads changed drastically between 1860 and 1920 despite relative political continuity at the state level. Being a region or 'nation without a state'[709], Barcelona is a suitable case study to illustrate how cities and questions of nationhood were dependent on each other, and how the relationship between cities and nations enabled the definition of local, regional, national and international identities.

As this chapter demonstrates, municipal agents contested Spanish power by introducing new concepts of space into the map of Barcelona at the same time as they were also showcasing Spanish nationalism. This chapter extends arguments made by Resina but also by Kramsch that urban elites in the twentieth century tried to establish Barcelona as a 'total work of art' and a city-Catalonia.[710] Aragay described in 1916 that many of Barcelona's public spaces should be considered places of art 'from the outline of the streets and squares to the beautifications of the outsides of buildings'.[711] This shifted Barcelona's identity from an ordinary city to

[708] A counter-example is Simpson's article which examines how street names become an area of political debates on a local level where radical republicans used street naming to demonstrate their group's control over the city of Toulouse, 1880-1890, see, Martin Simpson, "Republicanizing the city: Radical republicans in Toulouse, 1880–90," *European History Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (2004): pp. 157-190.
[709] Guibernau, *Nations without states*.
[710] See Resina's Chapter on the Imagined City in Joan Ramon Resina, *Barcelona's vocation of modernity* (Stanford University Press, 2008), pp. 64-93; Olivier Thomas Kramsch, "Towards the 'ideal city' of Noucentisme: Barcelona's 'sirens' song' of cosmopolitan modernity," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 4, no. 2 (2003): pp. 223-241.
[711] Josep Aragay, *La pintura Catalana contemporània: La seva herència i el seu llegat* (Barcelona: Publicacions de la Revista, 1916), p. 39.

an ‘extraordinary city, the unrivalled city, the city par excellence, the capital, the complete city’, which should radiate its ‘nationness’ in all aspects of life.[712] This chapter uses street name proposals and changes to reveal how nationhood was made on a local level and how it engaged with ideas of progress, policies of modernisation and urban change.

In 1910, Ramon Comas i Pitxot and Josep Roca i Roca started to create a guide to the existing streets of Barcelona, giving an overview of their names and historical meanings. Comas i Pitxot (1852-1918), who was a librarian of a hiking association in Barcelona and an editor of the newspaper *Veu de Catalunya* in 1897-1898, had been asked by Barcelona’s city council to create a compendium of the current street names in Barcelona in order to help the process of giving small placards to the roads of Barcelona. He was joined by the journalist, writer and republican politician Josep Roca i Roca (1848-1924) who continued the work after Comas’s death and who wrote for republican, left-wing and Catalan nationalist periodicals.[713] The commissioned work carried out by Comas and Roca sought to clarify the street names for the public and create small descriptions ‘of the origin, the motive and the significance of the names’.[714] Even though the town council never published the survey on the ‘Streets of Barcelona’, the unedited manuscript sheds light on the major name changes in the twentieth century and the authors’ understanding of the categories of names of the almost 2200 streets in Barcelona at

[712] Ealham in Anna Ross, "Down with the walls! The politics of place in Spanish and German urban extension planning, 1848–1914," *The Journal of Modern History* 90, no. 2 (2018): p. 322.
[713] Careta y Vidal, Antoni, En Ramon Nonat Comas (necrològica), Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya, any XXIX, 295, August 1919. Roca’s understanding of “Catalanisme” was not seperatist. He rejected the historicist discourse of the Lliga and envisioned a democratic republican Spain. He was member of the Jove Catalunya in his early years and later a member of several Catalan republican parties, see for an early explanation of his “catalanisme”, Catalanisme II y prou, Campana de Gràcia, Barcelona, 20.10.1878.
[714] Observacions Preliminars, Història dels Carrers de Barcelona, AHCB4-236/C06-Ms.B Manuscrits B-138, p. 10.

the time, as well as their historical and commemorative significance.[715] However, why did the city council feel that such a catalogue of road names in Barcelona was necessary?

Until the end of the nineteenth century, Barcelona and many other cities across Spain had neither a policy regarding the naming of roads nor a catalogue which identified the existing streets. Barcelona was a bilingual space, and neither the grammar of Catalan nor its spelling had been codified. Many roads lacked street signs, which meant that multiple pronunciations, spellings and even completely different names existed in public usage. Furthermore, similar to capital cities across Europe, Barcelona also saw a growing politicisation of the process of street naming in the nineteenth and twentieth century.[716] Until then, the few streets that emerged through new urban development in Barcelona had been named after Catalan individuals who owned property in the street or after sites such as churches, landmarks or old farmhouses which were located nearby.[717] As a result of the urban reforms in the nineteenth century, which incorporated new districts and redesigned the layout of the Barcelona, the city drastically changed its image and map. For all of these reasons, many of the names were unclear and unknown to officials.[718] The end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century therefore saw several attempts by the town council to produce a document which would classify and describe the existing streets, the common usages of names as well as the origins

[715] The inedited manuscript can be consulted at the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, Història dels Carrers de Barcelona, AHCB4-236/C06-Ms.B Manuscrits B-138-141.
[716] Simpson, "Republicanizing the city: Radical republicans in Toulouse, 1880–90", pp. 157-190; Chloupek, "Public memory and political street names in Košice: Slovakia's multiethnic second city", pp. 25-35.
[717] Fabre and Huertas, *Carrers de Barcelona: Com han evolucionat els seus noms*, pp. 10-30.
[718] On the relevance of street and place naming for multi-lingual and multi-ethnic societies in a more global context, see Chloupek for Slovakia and the extensive literature for Israel, for example, Tovi Fenster, "Belonging, memory and the politics of planning in israel," *Social & Cultural Geography* 5, no. 3 (2004): pp. 403-417; Chloupek, "Public memory and political street names in Košice: Slovakia's multiethnic second city," pp. 25-35.

and meanings of the names of the streets in Barcelona in order to assign placards to roads, squares and buildings.[719]

As Comas and Roca argued in the introduction to their compendium, the streets of Barcelona formed a mnemonic map. But what is particular about this? The commemoration of historical movements and people from Spain, and specifically from Catalonia, followed a general process of a 'nationalisation' of public space, as seen across the rest of nineteenth and twentieth-century Europe.[720] Next to buildings[721], public squares and statues[722], political street naming was part of this nationalisation of public space. Through renaming several hundreds of roads between 1880 to 1920, towns, districts and events from around Catalonia and Spain were placed into the map of Barcelona, following the lines of how street naming

[719] Arxiu Municipal Contemporani de Barcelona AMCB-Q100 Urbanisme i obres, 7 - 00 - B - 11 - 000 - Volum – 9417 (Registre de Numeració dels Carrers de Barcelona Coetani i Anterior a l'Any 1853), AMCB-Q100- 2 - B - 11 - 01 - C – 15039 (Servei Retolació Carrers I Places d'Aquesta Ciutat, 1897).

[720] For on overview of different European cases, see William Whyte and Oliver Zimmer, eds., *Nationalism and the reshaping of urban communities in Europe, 1848-1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Helke Rausch, "Staging realms of the past in 19th-century Western Europe: Comparing monumental strategies of middle-class nationalists," *East Central Europe* 36, no. 1 (2009): pp. 37-62. For the case of Madrid and French cities, Rebecca Haidt, "Visibly modern Madrid: Mesonero, visual culture, and the apparatus of urban reform," in *Visualizing Spanish modernity*, ed. Susan Larson; Eva Woods Peiró (Oxford: Berg, 2005), pp. 32-34; James A. Leith, *Space and revolution : Projects for monuments, squares, and public buildings in France 1789-1799* (Montreal; London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), pp. 37-62.

[721] See examples how buildings and architecture were to represent national ideals, Vivian Bickford-Smith, "Introduction: The case for studying cities and nationalisms," *Journal of Urban History* 38, no. 5 (2012): pp. 855-861; Maiken Umbach and M. Umbach, *German cities and bourgeois modernism, 1890-1924* (Oxford University Press, 2009); Erhart Walter, "Written capitals and capital topography: Berlin and Washington in travel literature," in *Berlin - Washington, 1800-2000 : Capital cities, cultural representation, and national identities*, ed. Andreas W.; Mauch Daum, Christof (Washington : Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 51-78. Architecture was also infused with civic pride and local sentiments, see Umbach, "The modernist imagination of place and the politics of regionalism: Puig i Cadafalch and early twentieth-century Barcelona", pp. 81-103; Jennifer Jenkins, *Provincial modernity: Local culture & liberal politics in fin-de-siècle Hamburg* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 261-293, Chap. 268: Architecture and Liberal Politics.

[722] Petterson showed how local and national stories of statues interacted in Amsterdam, see, Anne Petterson, "The monumental landscape from below: Public statues, popular interaction and nationalism in late nineteenth-century Amsterdam," *Urban History* 46, no. 4 (2019): pp. 722-746; Nuala Johnson, "Cast in stone: Monuments, geography, and nationalism," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13, no. 1 (1995): pp. 51-65; Nuala C. Johnson, "Mapping monuments: The shaping of public space and cultural identities," *Visual Communication* 1, no. 3 (2002): pp. 293-298.

has been used by political elites in the process of the 'symbolic construction of national identity'.[723] Scholarship across disciplines has argued for the relevance of street naming for commemorative purposes,[724] as well as being a tool of political elites to maintain power, reinforce identity and communicate hegemonic ideologies and national histories.[725] However, the case of Barcelona offers a variance to the other cases of political toponymy. The reforms in the twentieth century introduced names which not only triggered a new sense of expanded space and time but also introduced foreign cities, countries, values, and individuals into the everyday surroundings of the citizen of Barcelona. Such 'international toponymy' is typically found in communist regimes or post-socialist countries with 'leftover landscapes' of the communist era.[726]

This chapter analyses how individuals and neighbourhood groups in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century proposed new names for streets around Barcelona. The first part of the chapter analyses how urban reforms of the city, such as defortification, opened up the possibilities for political street naming. The

[723] Maoz Azaryahu and Rebecca Kook, "Mapping the nation: Street names and Arab-Palestinian identity: Three case studies," *Nations and Nationalism* 8, no. 2 (2002): p. 195.
[724] Much work has been on North America, see for example work on the use of Martin Luther King in the South of the U.S., Derek Alderman, "Street names as memorial arenas: The reputational politics of commemorating Martin Luther King Jr. in a Georgia county," *Historical Geography* 30 (01/01 2002): pp. 99-120; Derek H. Alderman, "Street names and the scaling of memory: The politics of commemorating Martin Luther King, Jr within the African American community," *Area* 35, no. 2 (2003): pp. 163-173; Maoz Azaryahu, "The critical turn and beyond: The case of commemorative street naming," *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 10 (2011): pp. 28-33; Maoz Azaryahu, "Renaming the past: Changes in "city text" in Germany and Austria, 1945-1947," *History and Memory* 2, no. 2 (1990): pp. 32-53.
[725] See for example on Central and Eastern Europe, Zoran Stiperski et al., "Identity through urban nomenclature: Eight central European cities," *Geografisk Tidsskrift-Danish Journal of Geography* 111, no. 2 (2011): pp. 181-194; Maoz Azaryahu, "Street names and political identity: The case of East Berlin," *Journal of Contemporary History* 21, no. 4 (1986): pp. 581-604.
[726] Czepczynski, Cultural Landscapes of Post-socialist Cities, quoted in Chloupek, "Public memory and political street names in Košice: Slovakia's multiethnic second city," p. 27. See also Emilia Palonen, "The city-text in post-communist Budapest: Street names, memorials, and the politics of commemoration," *An International Journal on Geography* 73, no. 3 (2008): pp. 219-230; Emilia Palonen, "The politics of street names. Local, national, transnational Budapest," in *Local memories in a nationalizing and globalizing world*, ed. Marnix Beyen and Brecht Deseure (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 51-71.

process here resembled that in other parts of Europe: Catalan urban planners mostly named their places according to national, regional and political categories and used place names as a tool to vinculate Catalan nationhood within the European Mediterranean and in Medieval times (Middle Ages). Place-naming can also be seen as regional contributions to the construction of Spanish nationhood.

The second part of the chapter examines how internationalism in the 'streetscape'[727] of Barcelona went further than that. It not only represented reminders of former colonies, lost territories and territorial aspirations. Likewise, ideas of progress, technological advances and a sense of inter-nationalist solidarity found a way into the fabric of the city. Inter-nationalism was not only a project designed to showcase Catalan nationhood to the outside world and to gain international acceptance as outlined in Chapters I to III, but had a direct impact on a local level and in the everyday spaces of the citizens in Barcelona. This section reflects on how the local, regional and international scale interconnected and the impact of political street naming on the ordinary Barcelonian.

1. A changing city: Barcelona's urban projects

The 'advent of political street naming'[728] across Europe in the nineteenth century went hand in hand with other significant changes to the urban landscape of many European cities, such as the construction of public buildings, public art such as statues and fountains and defortification plans.[729] Like other European cities,

[727] Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek H. Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu, eds., *Political life of urban streetscapes: Naming, politics, and place* (Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2018).
[728] Chloupek refers to the time between 1869 and 1912 as the advent of political street naming, see Chloupek, "Public memory and political street names in Košice: Slovakia's multiethnic second city", p. 28.
[729] See for a comparative perspective on the 'improvements in the cityscape' in Berlin, Madrid and Barcelona, Ross, "Down with the walls! The politics of place in Spanish and German urban extension planning, 1848–1914", pp. 292-322. More generally on urban planning in European cities, see Thomas Hall, *Planning Europe's capital cities: Aspects of nineteenth-century urban development*, Planning, history, and the environment series, (London: Routledge, 2010).

Barcelona underwent dramatic transformations in its urban landscape in the nineteenth century, emerging as the city we know today through defortification in 1854 and the adoption of an extension plan in 1860 which introduced new districts.[730] From 1850 to the end of the nineteenth century, Barcelona evolved from an industrial town with its medieval walls to an open city which became the host of the first World's Fair beyond the Pyrenees.[731] These drastic changes, however, were accompanied by heated debates among the city's citizens. As Yair Mintzker has shown for the German case, the demolition of the city's old fortifications was not a linear and uncomplicated process, but part of intense and often dramatic disputes among the citizens and professionals.[732] These debates affected the relationship citizens had with the built environment around them and altered their sense of place.

Up until the destruction of the old walls, Barcelona had struggled with a lack of space and infrastructure, particularly in the medieval part of the city.[733] A thorn in the eye of many people of Barcelona was the old medieval quarter of the city and the *Ciutadella*. This citadel near the harbour, a large pentagon which covered some 150 acres, was constructed after the War of the Spanish Succession in 1714 in order to control the city militarily. Barcelona's fortified status prohibited the construction of any new buildings within firing range.[734] By 1842 military installations such as these had taken over the city and almost rivalled the numbers of the civilian

[730] For an overview of the different urban projects in Barcelona, see, Manuel Torres i Capell, Josep Llobet i Bach, and Jaume Puig i Castells, *Inicis de la urbanística municipal de Barcelona: Mostra dels fons municipals de plans i projectes d'urbanisme 1750–1930* (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1985).
[731] Jordi Olivar, "Writing Barcelona. Reflections on city planning and urban experience, 1854-1888" (PhD thesis University of Illinois, 2010), p. ii.
[732] Yair Mintzker, *The defortification of the German city, 1689-1866*, Publications of the German Historical Institute, (Washington, D.C.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
[733] Robert Hughes, *Barcelona* (London: Harvill, 2001), p. 190.
[734] Malcolm Miles, "Drawn and quartered: El Raval and the Haussmannization of Barcelona," in *City of quarters: Urban villages in the contemporary city*, ed. David Bell and Mark Jayne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 45.

buildings.[735] The citadel also created a physical barrier between the old town and its surroundings, as a government decree prevented extramural construction. The port grew more rapidly in population than the capital Madrid in the centre of the country. Barcelona's industry was also rapidly expanding, and the old quarters sat awkwardly in the middle. Some industries thus migrated to the outside of the city walls with residents and workers living close to the factories.

Nevertheless, the city remained densely populated and unhealthy with regular epidemics sweeping through the old quarter.[736] Yet, similar to the German case, it was not urban expansion or industrialisation which eventually brought down the walls.[737] Instead, political disputes between the central government and the municipal authorities, and the availability of financial means of private investors to execute the demolition led to the defortification of the port city.[738] In the nineteenth century, Barcelona's industry and economy flourished, mainly because of a vital textile industry and the monopoly over the Cuban market.[739]

Furthermore, through the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the Ciutadella had become a sign of the alleged loss of independence in 1714, and a symbol of oppression by the central government.[740] The destruction of the old quarter Ribera to build the citadel was remembered in many popular stories, poems and songs.[741]

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[735] Hughes, *Barcelona*, p. 190.
[736] For an overview on population growth and the hygienic conditions in Barcelona, see Lluis Permanyer, *L'Eixample: 150 anys d'historia* (Barcelona: Viena Edicions, 2008), pp. 15-30.
[737] See Mintzker for a detailed elaboration of this argument and an emphasis of human agency within this process instead of the inevitability of the modernisation paradigm, Mintzker, *The defortification of the German city, 1689-1866*.
[738] On the involvement of private investors and individuals involved in the process of defortification and the redesign of the cities in Barcelona and Mataro, see Manuel Guàrdia and Albert Garcia Espuche, "Transformacions urbanes a la Catalunya del segle XVIII.", *Pedralbes: Revista d'historia moderna* 1 (1988): pp. 193-222.
[739] Resina, *Barcelona's vocation of modernity*, p. 28.
[740] Josep Maria Torras i Ribé and Jaume Sobrequés i Callicó, *Felip V contra Catalunya: Testimonis d'una repressió sistemàtica (1713-1715)*, Col·lecció bofarull, (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 2005), pp. 268-283.
[741] Hughes, *Barcelona*, pp. 190-192.

The debates on the destruction of the old fortifications thus not only reflected ideas of creating a modern 'bourgeois city'[742] and attempts to market Barcelona as a capital city for tourists[743], but also became part of a Catalan narrative of how to overcome the 'shameful' past and move forward. Clearly, the citadel and the walls bore a more complex meaning than merely being inhibitors of expansion and economic growth.

A contest by the city council, which had only attracted a limited response by the public, wanted to answer the question of the merits of the defortification. The winning essay by Pedro Felipe Monlau i Roca (1808-1871), 'Abajo las murallas!', Down with the walls, described the fortifications as an obstacle to industrial growth and economic progress, and 'industrial development as one of the great objectives in the rivalry between nations'.[744] 'To confine a population with strong walls is like wanting to oppose its physical development and its progress in all aspects; it is like imprisoning its citizens; it is like wanting to mimic the fixation of the *non plus ultra*.'[745] For Monlau i Roca, the citadel was all of the above and more. It was a symbol of oppression and was contested for sentimental reasons, as well as offering an opportunity to settle extensive debates on hygiene and working-class districts, and to attract more capital investment and tourists to the city. Describing the openness of ports and channels of communication around the continent, he argued that there was no room for 'old walls of former times'. In addition, the city council argued that defortification would also employ several

[742] Jesus Cruz, *The rise of middle-class culture in nineteenth-century Spain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2011), pp. 141-165.
[743] Kramsch, "Towards the 'ideal city' of noucentisme: Barcelona's 'sirens' song' of cosmopolitan modernity", pp. 223-241; Casellas, "Barcelona's urban landscape: The historical making of a tourist product", pp. 815-832.
[744] Pere Felip Monlau, *Abajo las murallas!!! Memoria de las ventajas que reportaria Barcelona, y especialmente su industria, de la demolición de las murallas que circuyen la ciudad* (Barcelona, 1841), pp. III-IV.
[745] ibid., p. 3.

people in the process and thus might even help to alleviate tendencies for rebellion in the cities.[746] Campaigns such as 'Down with the walls' in 1841 and debates within the city council over restructuring the city brought several plans to redesign the city centre to light.

In 1850, the city council elaborated plans for an expansion of Barcelona.[747] Ross, comparing Spanish and German urban planning, highlights how these processes of urban reforms were interwoven with a narrative of 'catching up' to urban development models such as the projects by Haussmann in Paris and the new street system of the Ringstrasse in Vienna.[748] The enlargement plan of Barcelona proposed by engineer Ildefons Cerdà i Sunyer won the support of the government in Madrid even though many in Barcelona preferred a more conservative plan by municipal architect Antoni Rovira i Trias.[749] The *Pla Cerdà*, as the plan became known to the citizens of Barcelona, expanded the medieval core of Barcelona – at that time only 190 hectares - by an additional 1600 hectares. It implemented a grid system of 'hierarchically ordered streets filling in the entire military zone between the core and the ring of the peripheral villages'.[750] However, not everyone supported the enlargement plan and Cerdà's vision of the grid system, which reflected his egalitarian ideas, and was meant to regulate the traffic and ease social tensions.[751] For many citizens, the *Pla Cerdà* lacked creativity and was too

[746] Ross, "Down with the walls! The politics of place in Spanish and German urban extension planning, 1848–1914", p. 302.
[747] On the competition to rethink defortification, see ibid., pp. 300-301.
[748] ibid., p. 294.
[749] Cruz, *The rise of middle-class culture in nineteenth-century Spain*, pp. 142-143.
[750] Antònia Casellas, "The Barcelona model?: Agents, policies and planning dynamics in tourism development" (PhD thesis State University of New Jersey, 2003), p. 51.
[751] Hall, *Planning Europe's capital cities: Aspects of nineteenth-century urban development*, p. 136. See for the debates and different positions, Joan-Anton Sánchez de Juan, "'Lo mejor es enemigo de lo bueno': Las ambigüedades del discurso municipal sobre la reforma urbana del interior de Barcelona (1872– 1896)," in *Barcelona-montréal : Desarrollo urbano comparado*, ed. Horacio Capel Sáez and Paul André Linteau (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona. Edicions i Publicacions, 1998), pp. 399-411.

technical and rigid for a 'diverse' and 'rebellious' city like Barcelona. 'He was a mathematical genius and a man of incredibly bad taste', wrote local journalist Josep Pla retrospectively in 1945. Catalan star architect of the twentieth century, Josep Puig i Cadafalch criticised the plan in a series of articles in 1901. There he argued that the plan lacked any space for human diversity as it subjugated all citizens to the same conditions.[752] Similar arguments against the monotonous straight lines were brought forward in the discussions of streets in newspapers and tourist guides.

Many Catalan intellectuals felt that Cerdà's grid system was too technical and boring and that the spirit of the Catalan nation was much better represented in the architecture and streets of the old quarter of Barcelona. 'The old Rambla', wrote Roca i Roca in a tourist guide with contributions by the most prominent intellectuals of the city in 1914, 'represents the autonomous spirit so deeply ingrained in the soul of Barcelona'.[753] Roca ascribed to the Rambla the embodiment of the true character of the Catalan nation. He proceeded by saying that this example of the Rambla showed that despite, or maybe because of, the heterogeneous population of Barcelona, which was due to a large influx of immigrants from all the regions of the peninsula and many places abroad, Barcelona had maintained its original character. The city represented a 'varied and mixed society', whose population

[752] Cruz, *The rise of middle-class culture in nineteenth-century Spain*, p. 143 and Hughes, *Barcelona*, pp. 283-284.

[753] This guide was made by the *Union Gremial* of Barcelona, a board representing small corporations and businesses, as well as people from the industry and the cultural sector in April 1914 and printed in Spanish, French and Catalan. Compared to other guidebooks of the city during that time which all included relevant information to visit the 'condal city', the guide from 1914 additionally included literary works by distinguished artists, poets and important individuals of the cultural life in Barcelona. Before the recommendations for museums, archives and public buildings as well as information on the transport system with timetables for trains and boats, prices for accommodation, and practical facts for foreigners, twenty-one intellectuals published on the important sights and itineraries through their 'beloved capital'. Well-known literary figures such as playwright Angel Guimerà and Ignasi Iglesias described their favourite parts of Barcelona in poetic ways, while others chose to contextualise important buildings such as the Sagrada Familia or the Palau de la Música in the historic and urban picture of the city, see Barcelona: descrita por sus literatos, artistas y poetas. Barcelona: Unión Gremial de Barcelona 1914, p.15, AHCB Guies B 1914 4°op.1.

possessed a peaceful and egalitarian look between all the classes and a had a true 'democratic soul'.[754] The Rambla connected the old and medieval centre of the city with the modern urban features of Barcelona.

Whereas the 'Rambla de Catalunya' of the new modern city had not managed to unify the different aspects, the old Rambla maintained its autonomous character and translated the 'palpitations of the heart of the old city' into modern life. Roca saw the street as a mediator between the modern and the medieval world which he wanted the tourist to experience. On the other hand, the street represented the rebellious personality of the citizens. The old Rambla, he wrote, characterised Barcelona with its 'irregular trail' and trajectory in the world's history. This uneven trajectory revealed itself against 'the tyranny of straight and monotonous lines.'[755] This metaphor was both meant as a critique of Cerdà's architectonical style as well as a reflection on the people revolting against the uniformity imposed from the central government. This 'rebellious personality' against 'all sorts of uniformist reforms', Roca i Roca clarifies further, is reflected in all the peculiar corners of the street. Moreover, even though the old Rambla had been modernised and renovated, it had managed to keep its distinct features. It was still the 'medulla' of the city as it represented 'all the picturesque aspects of the population and its lively spirit', which is present in the street at all times and reflects the condition of Southern people.[756]

As much as there might be 'two Spains', as some contemporaries argued, with one Spain being efficient and hard-working and another one being lazy and

[754] Barcelona: descrita por sus literatos, artistas y poetas. Barcelona: Unión Gremial de Barcelona 1914, p. 17, AHCB Guies B 1914 4°op.1.
[755] Ibid.
[756] Ibid.

relaxed, there might also be 'two Barcelonas,' as Apelles Mestres put it in the same guide. He portrayed Barcelona as the perfect tourist destination for both the *comfortable* tourist who only looks for the joy of life and animation of a 'modern' city, as much as for the artistic and thoughtful tourist who is a man of culture and searching for aesthetic pleasure. The modern city, like other European capitals, offers grand avenues with impressive constructions, beautiful stores and boulevards, multiple theatres and 'music-halls'. In addition, the working city is represented by a gigantic port, factories and in short a 'totally modern city with all the modern things and civilised things that one can imagine'. In a heartbeat, the massive network of trams and public transportation transferred the tourist between these parts of the city.[757]

The other part of Barcelona, the old Barcelona, is best experienced in the old quarters, or the 'egg yolk', as the 'racially pure citizens' of Barcelona call it.[758] This small, quieter Barcelona was full of nostalgia and served as a reminder of the former grandeur of the principality. This 'medieval microcosmos' represented the foral laws (…) and the Crown of Aragon with its executive and self-governing functions. Wandering through this quarter of the city, the tourist could see that 'what was called corner now, was formerly the centre'. Thus, they could experience the stories and 'customs of a vanished world'. Whereas most modern cities lacked an anchor in time, this could be experienced in the old quarter, which was under a different time order. The modern Barcelona surrounded the old part of the city. Adrià Gual described it as the 'complete city', the future European part with its entrepreneurial character as well as historic, laissez-faire appeal of Barcelona. The modern part had no history yet, 'almost not even a yesterday', as Apelles Mestres

[757] Ibid, 'Las Dos Barcelonas'.
[758] Ibid.

wrote. However, this civilised part of the world spoke with so much pride of 'tomorrow' and gave every tourist an insight into what could happen to Barcelona in the future.

Through urbanisation projects and social reforms such as the *Eixample* (Enlargement) project by architect Cerdà in 1859, new streets and neighbourhoods emerged onto the map of Barcelona which had to be named. With the annexation of formerly independent neighbourhoods such as Gràcia or Sants at the end of the nineteenth century, many street names were repeated in different parts of Barcelona. To reduce confusion, the town council wanted to change many of the duplicated names and affix physical street signs to each road.[759] This offered an opportunity to turn streets into 'micro monuments' and constant reminders of Catalan nationhood.[760] Whereas Cerdà had proposed a numerical and alphabetical system to name the streets in his enlargement plan, the city council decided to ask Victor Balaguer, a progressive liberal politician and historian who had produced the influential 'History of Catalonia and the Crown of Aragon' to propose names for the roughly fifty new streets which emerged through the *Eixample* in Barcelona.

Victor Balaguer thought that the history of Spain was too often told as the story of Castile, even though Spain was a composite state of different nationalities.[761] He thus accepted the city council's offer and used the opportunity to create a new sense of place in Barcelona. Balaguer wanted the streets to reflect a new sense of Catalan nationhood and the Catalan relationship with the rest of Spain,

[759] AMCB-Q100- 2 - B - 11 - 01 - C – 15039 (Servei Retolació Carrers I Places d'Aquesta Ciutat, 1897), AMCB-Q100- 3 - E - 02 - 01 - C – 29960 (Carrers Repetits Corresponents a la Zona de l'Eixample i Retolació de Carrers, 1922).
[760] Simpson speaks of micro monuments of Republican values, see Simpson, "Republicanizing the city: Radical republicans in Toulouse, 1880–90", p. 175.
[761] Balaguer on this point: 'The History of Catalonia is (…) the history of Aragón (…), Mallorca (…) and of Spain', see Victor Balaguer, *Bellezas de la historia de Cataluña* (Barcelona: Imprenta de Narciso Ramirez 1853), p. 3.

and to reflect on Catalonia's place within Europe. He linked the map of Barcelona to the Catalan land itself, its history and cultural heritage and thus used Barcelona's streets to showcase his version of the history of Catalonia. In accepting the task, he informed the city council of his decision to 'baptise the streets' with names which recalled different moments of Catalan history, fulfilling, as he said, the 'duty of all people to remember their past'.[762]

The town council adopted most of his proposals.[763] As Balaguer had proposed, Barcelona's streets were renamed according to Catalan patriotic themes and in commemoration of people, places and institutions from Catalonia's past. Subirana argues that the naming followed a pattern whereby Catalan political and administrative institutions such as the Catalan Corts - the legislative body of the Principality of Catalonia which existed from the 13th to the 18th century - and, for example, the Provincial Deputation of Barcelona (*Carrer de la Diputació*) were remembered first. Only secondly, the street names honoured significant Catalan personalities, either from the cultural, the military or the scientific spheres. Examples include the streets named in honour of Ausiàs March, Roger de Flor and Ramon Llull.[764] As Subirana stresses, most of these personalities were individuals active in the Middle Ages, anchoring the beginnings of Catalan nationhood in Medieval times.[765] Third, the new street names commemorated the warriors of the

[762] See FN 2381, see Francesch Carreras y Candi, *Geografía general de Catalunya. La ciutat de Barcelona*, vol. 3 (Barcelona: Establiment Editorial de Albert Martín, between 1913-1918), p. 877.
[763] Victor Balaguer also published a book in 1865 which gave an overview of the existing streets and their names in Barcelona, see Víctor Balaguer, *Las calles de Barcelona: Orígen de sus nombres; sus recuerdos, sus tradiciones y leyendas; biografias de los personajes ilustres que han dado nombre á algunas*, vol. 1-2 (Madrid: Establ. Tip. Editorial de Salvador Manero, 1865-1866).
[764] Ausiàs March (1400-1459) is considered on of the most important poets from Valencia writing in Catalan. Roger de Flor (1267-1305) was the commander of the Great Catalan Company, a group of mercenaries hired by the Byzantine Emperor to combat the Turks. Ramon Llull (1232-1316) was a philosopher, mathematician and author of the first major work in Catalan literature.
[765] Jaume Subirana, "Batejar carrers, imaginar països. Raons del nomenclàtor, de Víctor Balaguer a Barcelona '92," *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 19, no. 3 (2013): pp. 255-256.

Crown of Aragon and the conquests which led to its Mediterranean expansion into Provence, Sardinia, and Corsica. Fourth, and often connected to the latter point, the roads commemorated the people, values and institutions linked to the loss of liberties (such as *Carrer de Pau Claris*).[766] They also remembered poets and artists of the Renaixença movement, as well as old Catalan myths and symbols. Thus from 1863[767], when most of the street names were adopted, we find Naples Street, remembering the Catalan-Aragonese domination from 1443-1707 as well as the street of Aribau, named after Bonaventura Carles Aribau i Farriols, the writer of 'Oda a la patria', which allegedly triggered the Renaixensa movement.

Victor Balaguer, according to the notes by Roca i Roca and Comas i Patxot, had 'inscribed the mercantile and glorious past of Catalonia' directly into the grid of the city.[768] However, this inscription had not gone uncontested. Subirana suggests that the city council might have altered some names.[769] As Balaguer himself notes in *Calles de Barcelona,* not all of his names were approved. It seems that the names of Pelagi I, as the streets of Bergara, Bailén and Casp might have been added to the propositions made by Balaguer. By changing some of Balaguer's propositions and introducing, for example, Pelagi I, who was allegedly the protagonist in a rebellion against the Muslim government in Asturia in the eighth century, figures were introduced to the map of Barcelona which were relevant to the whole of Spain.

However, the vast majority of the 48 new streets of the Enlargement project acted as a reminder of the former 'glorious history' of Catalonia and linked

[766] Ibid., pp. 255-257.
[767] Marina Cuccu, "Las calles de Barcelona de Víctor Balaguer," *Barcelona quaderns d'història*, no. 14 (2008): pp. 147-161.
[768] Història dels Carrers de Barcelona, AHCB4-236/C06-Ms.B Manuscrits B-138.
[769] See footnote 3 in Subirana, "Batejar carrers, imaginar països. Raons del nomenclàtor, de Víctor Balaguer a Barcelona '92", p. 262.

Catalonia to the Mediterranean and Europe.[770] The renaming of the streets reflected the uncertainty about the place Catalonia belonged to. How was Catalonia different from the other regions in Spain? What other geographical entities did it belong to, historically and in the present? The Eixample project and the renaming of the streets for a future Barcelona reflected the need for a secured place in the past. The names selected by Balaguer manifested his vision of Catalan nationhood being rooted in the Middle Ages and his idea that the Crown of Aragon was the historical predecessor and closest to what could be defined as a Catalan state.[771] References to Catalonia's former territories made Catalan nationhood seem broader and more deeply anchored in the European Mediterranean, connected through the many ports to the Crown of Aragon. These dramatic changes in the urban landscape, from defortification and new construction, to the erection of micro-monuments in the form of street signs, were much more than just a physical transformation of space. They affected the relationships citizens had with the built environment, their experiences and the emotions they attached to it, and thus their sense of place.[772] From 1880 to 1920, we see again how ideas of modernity and progress, as well as an idea of a coalition between oppressed nations, find their way into the streetscape of Barcelona.

2. The street-naming reforms of the twentieth century

Despite receiving almost no attention from historians compared to the 48 streets named by Balaguer, more extensive changes of toponymy were still to come in the

[770] AHCB4-236/C06-Ms.B Manuscrits B-138.
[771] The Crown of Aragon was, however, not a nation state in the modern sense but a composite monarchy.
[772] On the concept of place, see Tim Cresswell, *Place: An introduction*, Second ed. (Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Son, 2014), p. 12. On place, see also Jen Jack Gieseking and William Mangold, eds., *The people, place, and space reader* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014).

twentieth century. From 1900 until the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in 1923, we find a total of six changes of street names by the city hall, namely in 1907, 1908, 1911, 1913, 1917, and 1922.[773] In the name changes of 1907 and 1908, alone, a total number of 256 street were either newly named or renamed.[774] Compared to the streets of the Eixample, these were often shorter and smaller, and in comparison to over 2000 streets at the time, only a minority were renamed. The guide by Comas and Roca gives an overview of the names given during these years, many of which might otherwise have been lost due to the political ruptures of the twentieth century. Even though this document does not reveal who introduced the new streets into the map of Barcelona, it sheds light on the authors' conjectures regarding the connections between specific categories of names and the aesthetics and politics of the time.

The majority of the new street names commemorated illustrious personalities from either the towns newly combined into the expanded Barcelona or from wider Catalonia. Examples of these individuals include Eusebi Planas, Frederic Soler and even the aforementioned Victor Balaguer. However, the re-naming strategies in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century also followed the lines of inter-nationalism drawn out in previous chapters. It placed international figures and places into the map of Barcelona and remembered other nationalist struggles, establishing Catalan national aspirations in an international context. Besides the patriotism and rebellion, we also see individuals and names related to the concepts of progress and technological innovation reflected in the new map of Barcelona. Many of the remembered personalities were, for example,

[773] Fabre and Huertas, *Carrers de Barcelona: Com han evolucionat els seus noms*, p. 66.
[774] Fabre and Huertas claimed in the re-naming of 1907 and 1908 a total of 386 streets received new names, ibid., p. 57.

international artists or scientists such as Jules Verne, composer Anton Rubinstein, Rubens, and Pythagoras. Furthermore, the naming of streets echoed a general process of secularisation at least on a political level, as well as reflecting political shifts at the municipal level such as the rise of republicanism in Barcelona.

Until today, however, most of the streets in Barcelona have been named after saints, although the name-changing policy of the twentieth century replaced some of these street names with non-religious concepts. In Balaguer's proposal of names, it is already possible to trace a process of secularisation expressed through toponymy. As Subirana highlights, the introduction of Balaguer's *Las Calles* does not contain the hagiography typical of the time but rather a historical account of the 1714 siege of Barcelona and the construction of the citadel.[775] The name changes in the years between 1880 and 1920, however, were not proposed by a single liberal politician, but represented a trend of secularisation of Catalan national politics. At the end of the nineteenth century, the national theorist Bishop Torras i Bages had defined Catalan nationhood as essentially Catholic and Christians as Catalonia's basic social unit. However, in the twentieth century, this changed and new theorists such as politician and leader of the *Lliga,* Enric Prat de la Riba, began challenging this definition.

In 1906, Prat de la Riba noted in an article in *La Veu de Catalunya* that any idea, 'however sublime it may be', could not be turned into the essence of a national spirit: 'To claim, for example, that a people, no matter how religious' could only be alive because of its religiousness and without it, 'the people would cease to exist' is absurd. 'It is as absurd as claiming that a man who has been intensely devout for

[775] Subirana, "Batejar carrers, imaginar països. Raons del nomenclàtor, de Víctor Balaguer a Barcelona '92", p. 256.

many years, would cease to exist the moment he lost his faith'.[776] Resina stressed that even though the Lliga has often been characterised as a conservative force by historians, this highly successful party contributed to the secularisation of the public imagination. By replacing the Christian principle which allegedly shaped Catalan nationhood with 'a social' and 'public spirit', Prat de la Riba was turning Catalan regionalism into a modern national movement.[777] This trend of secularisation in political theory also transcended academia into public life and transformed the urban image of the city. Not all of the changes were part of a conscious process of secularisation, but were also due to the fact that there existed a high degree of repetition in the street names honouring saints.[778] However, around 50% of the roads dedicated to Saints changed their names to worldly concepts during the name changes of 1907.[779]

These modifications were reinforced by political changes that took place during these years. Many of the personalities, as well as ideas and concepts introduced through the road naming, belonged to the liberal and republican political field or to the socialist movement. Simpson has argued for the efficiency of street naming as a perfect 'symbolic mechanism, cheap and swift to effect' to reinforce a republican identity.[780] Renaming streets was much cheaper than building new statues or monuments to remind the public of political values. Statues in Barcelona were mostly built as part of grand urban projects such as the building of the university, the Ciutadella park[781], or in the context of the city's 'beautifications' for

[776] Enric Prat de la Riba, De dret i de revés, La Veu de Catalunya, 09.07.1906, III, p.188, quoted in Resina, *Barcelona's vocation of modernity*, pp. 68-69.
[777] Ibid.
[778] AMCB-Q137 EIXAMPLE- 3 - E - 02 - 01 - C – 29960.N-93, Carrers Repetits Corresponents a la Zona de l'Eixample I Retolació de Carrers 1922.
[779] AHCB, Ms B 138-140.
[780] Simpson, "Republicanizing the city: Radical republicans in Toulouse, 1880–90", p. 175.
[781] AHCB-5D.33-5/5 (1858-1879) on the monuments to Prim and Méndez Núñez and 5D.33-8/8 on the Parc de la Ciutadella project.

the World Fair in the 1880s.[782] Statues often need private investment to be constructed, whereas street naming was immediate and inexpensive. Thus, in 1907, with some urban projects on hold and a rising republican faction in Catalan politics, we suddenly have space for cheap micro monuments to republicans. The Republican leader and defender of the First International, Nicolas Salmerón (1830-1908), was elected member of parliament after his return from exile in 1884. He was one of the principal supporters of the Solidaritat Catalana in 1906 and was highly popular in the district Gràcia, where he was elected several times. In honour of his achievements, the district of Gràcia named its 'main street' after him. Similarly, the working-class movement received two monuments in the shape of roads named 'the International' and of the anarchist and geographer Eliseu Reclus.[783]

Scholarship on toponymy has argued that there is perhaps no more direct means by which political ideology and a sanctioned version of history can be communicated to both visitors and residents. Through political street naming, history and politics were transformed into geography.[784] Most of the names of the streets ingrained ideas of place and territory into the everyday life of Barcelona's citizens. A large majority of the new street names in 1907 and 1908 placed municipalities and cities from across Catalonia into the map of Barcelona, such as the historic and natural wine region Penedès.[785] Others referred to other Spanish regions such as Asturias, which allegedly was 'similar in patriotic and progressive

[782] The sculptor Elies Rogent built several statues for the façade of the university between 1863 and 1882. Among the individuals commemorated with a stature were as many Catalans as personalities from other regions in Spain.
[783] AHCB, Ms B 138-140.
[784] Reuben Rose-Redwood, Maoz Azaryahu, and Derek Alderman, "The urban streetscape as political cosmos" in *The political life of urban streetscapes: Naming, politics, and place*, ed. Reuben Rose-Redwood, Maoz Azaryahu, and Derek Alderman (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), p. 11.
[785] AHCB, AHCB4-236/C06 Ms B 140.

spirit to Catalonia'.[786] How contested the Catalan 'national territory' still was among Catalan nationalists is revealed through the eclectic choices for the naming. Many other geographical names alluded to the concept of the Catalan Countries.

Other places referred to French Catalonia and territories lost in the Nueva Planta Decrees signed between 1707 and 1716. The 1907 naming thus introduced Marsella, Portbou, and Ibiza into the map, as well as the small city Dènia in the south of Valencia and the town Fraga in the southwest of Catalonia.[787] Similarly, some streets directly or indirectly refer to the idea of Iberia, such as the road of the same name, or the street dedicated to Portugal in 1908. Achieving a federal union of Iberia, composed of all the regions and nations of the Iberian peninsula, was a project supported or considered by some Catalan nationalists such as Pi y Margall, Prat de la Riba, D'Ors and Rovira i Virgili at some points in their political lives.[788] Catalonia would have had a leading role in such a federal constellation and would have even been able to fulfil its imperial aspirations.[789]

Many of the roads referring to Castilian cities today are remnants of name changes that took place during the two dictatorships in the twentieth century. It is

[786] AHCB, Ms B 138_núm 127.
[787] Compare with electoral register, La Veu de Catalunya, Any 17, Núm. 2837. 08.031907.
[788] Ignasi Ribera i Rovira, *Iberisme* (Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1907); Ignasi Ribera i Rovira, *Portugal y Galicia nación : Identidad etnica, histórica, literaria filológica y artística* (Barcelona: R. Tobella, 1911). Also see journal by the name Iberia (Barcelona, 1915-1918) with texts in Catalan and Portuguese. For an overview of the Iberian idea among Catalan nationalists, see Jesús Revelles Esquirol, "Bautizar la utopía. Iberia como solución Catalana a España," in *Procesos de nacionalización e identidades en la península Ibérica*, ed. César Rina Simón (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 2017), pp. 373-383. Jordi Cerdà, "Eugenio d'Ors i Portugal," in *Congreso internacional de historia y cultura en la frontera : 1er encuentro de Lusitanistas Españoles : Cáceres, 10, 11 y 12 de noviembre de 1999*, ed. Juan M. Carrasco González, Ma Jesús Fernández García, and Maria Luísa Leal, Actas del congreso internacional de historia y cultura en la frontera--1er encuentro de Lusitanistas Españoles (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 2000), pp. 525-541.
[789] See Enric Prat de la Riba, *La nacionalitat Catalana* (Barcelona: Tip L'Anuari de la Exportació, 1907), p. 118 see for an excellent account of imperial thought within Catalan ideology, Ucelay da Cal, E*l imperialismo Catalán*; Costa Ruibal, *l'Imaginari imperial*; Maximiliano Fuentes, "Tensions i contradiccions. Charles Maurras i Eugeni d'Ors dins l'ambient intel·lectual de les primeres dècades del segle XX," in *Maurras a Catalunya, elements per a un debat*, ed. Xavier Pla (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 2012), pp. 86-109.

quite striking that the capital Madrid was not present in the map of Barcelona until 1942 when it replaced the road of Industries. Also, the language 'Castilian' received a dedication under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera.[790] That no cities from other parts of Spain were commemorated in the street changes of 1907 did not mean that they were not present in the map of Barcelona. Instead, we do find the streets of Granada and Sevilla, for example, in the old quarter of Barcelona, most probably proposed by communities originally from those cities and residing in that neighbourhood.

In 1907, during the most considerable name change, where 231 streets were affected, 67 were dedicated to Catalan personalities or institutions, while 85 were connected to Catalan geography or historical territorial concepts. Nevertheless, it was also a medium for locals to participate in the discussion on what formed part of a canon of Catalan nationhood. Residents from neighbourhoods brought forward proposals of local sights and personalities who should be included into the map of the city. Through this, they actively made the streetscape local and national at the same time. During the changes of 1907-1920, some newspapers gave a platform to upset citizens who thought the streets of Barcelona were still 'too Castilian'. In 1911, the satirical newspaper *Cu-Cut!* described an incident where a young man was voicing his anger about dedicating a street to a Catalan Greek-Roman fighter. The newspaper showed no sympathy for the young man's anger as they argued that 90% of the streets the city had names referring to Castilian personalities.[791]

Even though a more moderate calculation shows that in the name reform of 1907 only roughly 10% of the roads were dedicated to Spanish personalities outside

[790] La Veu de Catalunya: diari Catalá d'avisos, noticias y anuncis: Any 39, Núm. 10267, 30.04.1929, Ed. Vespre, p. 8.
[791] Cu-Cut!, any 10, núm 483, 24.08.1911, p. 538.

of Catalonia, the incidents point to two aspects.[792] First, there was a shift to include more people in the street map beyond the Middle Ages. This gaze towards the Classical Antiquity was a general European trend which also had strong advocates in Barcelona. Most famously it was triggered by Eugeni D'Ors and the Noucentisme movement which also altered the Modernist and gothic appearance of Barcelona to include a more classical architectural style.[793] In the name changes of the twentieth century, Catalan urban planners and citizens continued to propose street names connected to the history of the Crown of Aragon, introducing, for example, the street 'Alacant', 'Rei Martí' and 'Maladeta'. However, the personalities and events commemorated were not confined to the Middle Ages but were also from earlier historical periods. The 'national' road crossing the district Horta-Guinardó and Nou Barris, two very heterogeneous areas, was renamed road of 'Amílcar', honouring the Carthaginian general Hamilcar Barca. Some Catalan historians attributed Amilcar with the founding of Barcelona. The street of Escipió referred Publi and Corneli Escipció, the head of the Roman army, called Africa.[794]

Second, the street name changes of the twentieth century apparently felt to some, like the young man in 1911, as an imposition of a Catalan nationalist narrative who argued that there was no place for another region's or nation's identity markers in Barcelona. Those nationalists, however, essentially meant that there was no place for Castilian identity markers in the city. As the chapter shows in the subsequent sections, Catalan nationalists had no problems with commemorating other European and non-European nations and regions as we do find several street names

[792] The name changes of 1907 dedicated 18 roads to personalities from other regions in Spain, see AHCB4-236/C06-Ms.B Manuscrits B-138-141.
[793] Vallcorba Plana, *Noucentisme, mediterraneisme i classicisme : Apunts per a la història d'una estètica*.
[794] AHCB4-236/C06-Ms.B 141.

alluding to independent small nations or streets which honour foreign nationalist movements.

In the name reform of 1907, we find 29 streets which commemorated international personalities or virtues with links to Catalonia, and ten which honoured international places without a prior apparent historical connection to Catalan history. Suddenly we find the street of Finland in the district of Sants which until 1897 when it became part of Barcelona, had been an independent village. Sants was a working-class district where some of the major textile factories were located.[795] It had powerful worker's unions and many cultural organisations for the working class such as choirs, cultural soirees and sports associations. The street which formerly had been San Joaquin was renamed street of Finland 'in honour' of the 'newly independent' Finland in 1907.[796] Even though Finland would not gain independence until 1917, in 1910, the authors were probably referring to Finland gaining its unicameral Parliament (Eduskunta) in 1906 as a result of the Finnish general strike and the Russian Revolution of 1905. In the description of the street of Finland, the authors explained that the street was dedicated to Finland, the 'land of the forests and lakes, which is populated by peaceful people who are very advanced in their ideas and culture' and who have now 'conquered their independence' from Russia.[797] It was not, however, its natural beauty which gained Finland a street in Barcelona but its years fighting for political autonomy. Finland was perceived as a progressive small 'sister nation' which was a model to follow for Catalonia. Their progressiveness derived from the degree of nationalisation they

[795] Other distinctly working class districts were Poblenou, Raval, and Poble Sec, see Chris Ealham, *Class, culture, and conflict in Barcelona, 1898-1937*, Cañada blanch studies on contemporary Spain, (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 23.
[796] Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, Ms.B-139_n.649.
[797] Ibid.

had achieved, their technological and cultural advancements as well as their peaceful rebellion. The description also referred to the immediate political changes in Finland: 'Finland, great Duchy of the Septentrional Europe, under Russian domination until recently and now constituting an independent Republic.' The authors had crossed out the word 'Republic' substituting for it the word 'nation'.[798]

The street of Finland was, however, not the only street dedicated to a small foreign nation. In the street renaming of 1907, the town council also decided to rename a street in San Gervasi from San Joaquin to the small European country of 'Switzerland'.[799] The street was 'dedicated to' Switzerland, 'the beautiful and famous country of liberty and culture' explained the notes of the description. Switzerland had been selected, on the one hand, because of its natural beauty and, on the other hand, because of its long tradition of democratic values and federal rule argued the authors. The impressive mountains, the lakes and rivers as well as the 'deep roots of its free institutions' made it the 'jewel of Europe' and thus a perfect candidate to be honoured and remembered by the city of Barcelona.[800]

In a similar fashion but with more emphasis on patriotic values, the authors argued for the renaming of a street in the district of Sant Andreu de Palomar where they decided to honour 'the most occidental and smallest of the two Britannic Islands' in 1907. The street was dedicated to Ireland, which was 'dominated by the English since the 12th century' but had 'maintained great fights sustained by their ideals of liberty' over the last centuries.[801] By honouring Ireland with a street, Barcelona was demonstrating its support and sympathy with Ireland, the authors

[798] Ibid. The handwritten annotations seem to have been written in 1921, compare with MS.B-139_n.847 on Ireland.
[799] AHCB, Ms.B-141_n.1994.
[800] Ibid.
[801] AHCB, MS.B-139_n.847.

stated. Handwritten annotations, presumably made by Roca several years later, reveal the sympathy of the author towards the national aspirations of Ireland, even though he is seemingly shocked about the amount of bloodshed it created. Due to their persistence, the author noted, they obliged the 'metropolis' to create an autonomous statute for Ireland which elevated its status to a similar level as that obtained by Australia, Canada and South Africa.[802] 'The title of this street includes a small pledge of Barcelonan sympathy towards the island of Ireland, defender until martyrdom of national liberties'.[803]

Similarly, a few years later in 1921, the mayor of Cork, Terence James McSwiney, who died in a hunger strike in prison, received a street in honour of his work for the national cause. According to Fabre, the street only existed for a few years and was renamed Copernic during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera.[804] However, there exists no record of such street, and it seems possible that a street named after McSwiney had been proposed by lawyer and member of the Catalan Christian democratic party, Manuel Carrasco i Formiguera, and was planned but never came to realisation due to the establishment of the dictatorship in Spain. The dedication of a street in honour of the Mayor of Cork was, however, in line with the affection many intellectuals felt for the Irish in general and also indicated how deeply the death affected many Catalans. After McSwiney's death in 1920, Catalan nationalists from across different political fractions organised tributes and memorial services in his honour.[805]

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[802] Ibid.
[803] Ibid.
[804] Fabre and Huertas, *Carrers de Barcelona: Com han evolucionat els seus noms*, p. 66. Similarly, many other street names were deemed as separatist e.g. the recently named Diagonal to 'Catalan Nationality' was changed to its former name.
[805] For an overview of the Catalan commemorative acts see, Joan-Carles Ferrer i Pont, *Nosaltres sols: La revolta Irlandesa a Catalunya (1920-1923)*, Biblioteca Serra d'Or, (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2007), pp. 283-293.

There were articles and poems dedicated to the 'ideal patriot' and commemorative acts such as music sessions, theatre plays and demonstrations.[806] Catalans even designed commemorative postcards in honour of MacSwiney, as well as including the mayor in speeches and dedicating wreaths to him on Catalan national day, the eleventh of September.[807] Many organisations lowered their flags to half-mast when he died, and many Catalans wore a black ribbon to demonstrate their condolences to the Irish. These events took place not only in Barcelona but in smaller towns across Catalonia too, where Catalan nationalists similarly demonstrated their international commitment by celebrating the former mayor of Cork.[808]

Of McSwiney as 'martyr of the fatherland' and an example to other nations, Antoni Rovira i Virgili wrote in 1921 that, 'Swiney was a lesson in the force of patriotism and the depth of national sentiment'. While Rovira saw in the acts of McSwiney an isolated heroic act, Negre i Balet argued in 1921 that the great strength of the example of Ireland was the 'intensity and the extreme diffusion of the patriotic conviction' which was essential for the success of the nationalist movement.[809]

Besides a few small nations and regions such as Flanders (again in the working-class district of Sants) and Scotland, international individuals such as Johannes Fastenrath, Cesare Cantu and Simon Bolivar also received honours. Fastenrath was

[806] La Veu de Catalunya : diari Catalá d'avisos, noticias y anuncis: Any 30, Núm. 7683, 27.10. 1920, Ed. Matí, p.8, see also La Veu de Catalunya, 18.10.1920, 21.10.1920, 25.10.1920, 26.10.1920, 01.11.1920, 11.11.1920.
[807] Papitu : Any 14, Núm. 619, 26.01.1921, p.60 and, for example, La Veu de Catalunya : diari Catalá d'avisos, noticias y anuncis: Any 30, Núm. 7644, 10.09.1920, Ed. Vespre, p. 8.
[808] So, for example, the Catalanist organisations of the town Vendrell, see, El Baix Penedès: setmanari autonomista: Any 15, Núm. 0763, 30.10.1920, p. 3 or the small coastal town Torroella de Montgrí, see Emporion : periòdic quinzenal: Any 6, núm. 137, 07.11.1920, p. 7.
[809] Introduction, in R. Negre i Balet, *Irlanda* (Barcelona: Atenes A.G., 1921), p. II.

a German scholar of Roman languages who had a long history of connections with several intellectuals in Barcelona.[810] He had attended the Floral Games in Barcelona, had argued for the independence of Catalan language within the Roman languages.[811] He was honoured with a street named after his hometown Cologne, where he had installed the Floral Games.[812] Cesare Contu, the Italian historian and author of the 'Universal History', a work 'translated into all European languages and loved around the world', also received a street dedicated to him in 1907.[813] In addition, Simon Bolívar was honoured with a street in St. Gervasi, as was the hero of the Philippine Revolution, José Rizal, who had been shot on the orders of the Spanish Army troops in an attempt to stop rising anti-colonial nationalism. The notes of the compendium of 1910 attempted an explanation of the reasoning behind naming a street after an independence fighter whose efforts had resulted in the loss of many colonies of the Spanish Empire. Bolívar as the victorious leader and the most important figure in the independence wars of Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, and Peru was not only called 'the liberator' but had also 'tasted the bitterness of ingratitude' despite his 'sweet victories', explained the text.[814] This trend to name streets after small independent nations, independence fighters or international patriotic symbols continued over the years. Other examples of nationalist uprisings and small nations can be found in the streets of Barcelona, such as the street of Poland in the district of Horta-Guinardó, the street of Cuba, a street in honour of

[810] So, for example, with Angel Guimera, Joan Maragall, Cabot, and many others see correspondence, Fastenrath a Cabot-CAT CEDOC 2.1.0103 and personal correspondence held at AHCB, AHCB3-257/5D.29 Joan/Johannes Fastenrath.
[811] Johannes Fastenrath, *Catalanische troubadoure der gegenwart* (Leipzig: C. Reissner, 1890).
[812] AHCB, Ms B 138_ núm 483.
[813] AHCB, Ms B 138_núm 414.
[814] AHCB, Ms B 138_núm 234.

'Wilhelm Tell', and the 'Square of the Transvaal' which was inaugurated in the 1920s.

However, it was not just models of patriotism and national advancement, which were inscribed into the new spaces of Barcelona. Similarly, to these 'patriotic spaces', more and more street names relating to notions of progress and technological advancement appeared in Barcelona at the beginning of the twentieth century. The notion of 'progress' was built into the physical space of Barcelona, either in the naming of new streets after certain international models or through the buildings of the *Modernisme* architecture.[815] Inter-Nationalism made time and space into comparative and competitive categories. Catalan nationalists' experiences and understandings of time and space were understood in relation to other people's understandings of time and space. As Green phrased it, progress was not only a 'model of its time' but also and much more a 'model of time produced (and then reproduced) in space'.[816]

Thus, progress became inscribed into buildings and the streets of Barcelona, both by Catalan regionalists as well as Catalan republicans like Josep Roca i Roca. The street 'Progress', situated between the 'Street of Liberty' and 'Voltaire' in the district of Gràcia, was dedicated to all the successful and 'enthusiastic' manifestations of progress which the population of this district had performed over the years.[817] The district of Gràcia developed into an industrial district in the mid to late nineteenth century, primarily as the important textile industry established their

[815] Umbach, "The modernist imagination of place and the politics of regionalism: Puig i Cadafalch and early twentieth-century Barcelona", pp. 81-103.
[816] Nile Green, "Spacetime and the Muslim journey west: Industrial communications in the making of the "Muslim world"," *The American Historical Review* 118, no. 2 (2013): p. 413.
[817] AHCB, Ms.B-140_n.1616.

factories in this area of Barcelona.[818] The first worker's society of Catalonia, the 'Association of the Textile Workers of Barcelona', established in May 1840, included many workers from Gràcia. It is slightly unclear which 'manifestations' of progress the authors are referring to. However, Gràcia had a long tradition of popular revolt as well as an active anarchist and Catalanist scene in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.[819] The street of 'progress' was re-named to the Catalan version before 1900 but had been the street of progress in its Castilian version for at least twenty years by then.[820]

Wagner, as a symbol of modern music, also made an impact on the appearance of the city. The Palau de la Musica, the headquarter of the Orfeó Català was built between 1905 and 1908 by architect Lluis Domenech i Montaner and was financed mainly with the money of its members. The Palace of Music mixed symbols of the Catalan landscape such as the mountainous regions, historical myths and universal musical themes with Catalan modernist architectural styles such as mosaics and columns. As one of the most symbolic places of Catalan music its façade featured not only the statue of Wagner alongside the statue of the founder of the first choral society in Catalonia Josep Anselm Clavé but also featured a relief of a horde of valkyries in honour of the 'progressive' musician. As in the on-going debate over when and where to celebrate Catalan nationhood, Catalan nationalists from the conservative Lliga Regionalista made sure to incorporate religious and

[818] The district of Gràcia had been an independent municipality of the wider 'Pla de Barcelona' from 1850 until 1897 when it was formally annexed to the city of Barcelona.
[819] During the 'Revolta de les Quintes' in 1870, a popular revolt where people protested the attempt of the Spanish military to oblige the regional police forces to serve in Spanish military, Gràcia had been bombarded heavily. The general responsible for the bombardment was since then known as 'General Bum-Bum'. Since then Gràcia had an active anarchist and federalist hub, with strikes, demonstrations and manifestations. Some local newspapers included the anarchist *La justícia humana* and the Catalanist newspaper *Las Barras Catalanas*.
[820] A royal decree of 1860 wanted to force street names in its Castilian versions. However, the royal decree was mostly disregarded, see Fabre and Huertas, *Carrers de Barcelona: Com han evolucionat els seus noms*, pp. 30-34.

vernacular symbols into the urban landscape as well. Palestrina, as representative of religious music, stood just beside Beethoven and Wagner. Umbach, when analysing the architectural style of Puig i Cadafalch, argued that he represented a *vernacular modernism.*[821]

The reform of streets and the references to Wagner and other 'progressives' gave the abstract concepts of modernity and progress concrete places in the daily lives of Barcelona's citizens. It affixed 'progress' to a local place by naming streets after the representatives of modernity or by integrating symbols of progress into the buildings of Barcelona. The major street naming changes in 1907 and 1908 had to be approved by the members of current city council which was dominated by the Unió Republicana and the Lliga. International scientists who were connected to ideas of progress and advancement also found their way into the map of Barcelona, as urban planners and citizens wanted to demonstrate their commitment to the concept. Therefore, in the 1880s, the street 'Municipality' was named after the inventor of the light bulb Thomas Edison whose 'compatriots call him the sorcerer' and who 'gave us the phonograph, microphone, and other marvellous inventions', explained Roca, and Comas.[822] Similarly, the major name changes of the twentieth century also introduced streets dedicated to the 'railway', to 'aviation', 'emancipation', to the individuals 'Galileo', 'Jules Verne', 'Denis Papin', 'Robert Fulton', and to the 'telegraph'. In the renaming of 1907, the street of the Orient was also renamed after engineer James Watt whose most 'notable and transcendental invention was the steam engine'.[823]

[821] Umbach, "The modernist imagination of place and the politics of regionalism: Puig i Cadafalch and early twentieth-century Barcelona,", pp. 81-103.
[822] AHCB, Ms.B-139_n.570.
[823] AHCB, Ms.B-141_n.2178.

The commitment to ideas of progress and technological advances were shared across political leanings, from Catalan regionalists to Catalan republicans such as Roca i Roca and even posed an opportunity for Catalans to demonstrate their commitment to the Spanish state project. Between 1908-1915, only 48 changes took place. The international places in these changes show how local agents introduced former colonies of the Spanish Empire, such as Colòmbia, Guatemala and Cuba into the map showcasing Spanish nationalism. There were no names of Castilian cities represented and of the 24 personalities who were commemorated with a street, only four were from not central regions in Spain. These individuals had international reputations, wove Spain into a European context and were 'progressives' as contemporaries called them.

In 1915, the painter Diego Velazquez (1599-1660) obtained a street name in honour of his artistic achievements. The other three individuals were personalities recognised for their progressive principles and advancements in science. In 1911, the Spanish geographer Carlos Ibáñez e Ibáñez de Ibero (1825-1891) received a street named after him in the district Sants-Montjuïc. He was born in Barcelona and became the first president of the International Committee for Weights and Measures. He tried to disseminate the metric system, known as the Spanish Standard and was the first Spaniard to be awarded the Poncelet Prize for his contributions to meteorology and geography in 1890. The scientist 'with European reputation' received the street name for his 'unforgettable professional achievement' for the patria, argued Roca and Comas.[824] The other two individuals who received a street named after them in 1908 were the Spanish politician and Catholic priest José Antonio Ruiz de Padron (1757-1823) and the aeronaut Jesus

[824] AHCB, Ms B 138_núm 546.

Fernández Duró (1878-1906). Ruiz de Padron was best known for his contribution to the Spanish Constitution of Cadiz (1812), which aimed to abolish the Inquisition across the Spanish territory. He was a promoter of a more enlightened Catholic faith, and discussed faith and the Church with various personalities across Europe and with George Washington and Benjamin Franklin in the U.S. The street of 'Fernández Duró' commemorated the achievement of the first person to cross the Pyrenees in a hot air balloon and the first European to build an aeroplane in 1906.[825]

Many of these streets named after so-called 'progressives' were once again re-named during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in the 1920s.[826] Voltaire, Victor Hugo and Mariscal Joffre were examples of individuals associated with ideas such as Enlightenment, liberal and republican political views and freemasonry, values which the new dictatorship did not support. Thus, many of the street names honouring these 'progressives', as well as street names connected to Catalan nationalism, were replaced with less controversial names, sometimes even creating completely new ahistorical figures which never existed. So we can, for example, find a road dedicated to the imaginary 'Guillem de Lluria' during that time which substituted the street of Roger de Lluria.[827] In a similar manner, the renaming of streets which had previously been named after 'uncomfortable' personalities was used to introduce Castilian places into the daily lives of Barcelona's citizens. The boulevard in honour of the French Marshal Joffre, who was celebrated by Catalan nationalists as their hero, became the avenue of Borbó, paying tribute to the royal

[825] However, he never got to use the airplane as he died shortly after.
[826] See on Primo de Rivera's nationalising project, Alejandro Quiroga, *Making Spaniards: Primo de Rivera and the nationalization of the masses, 1923-30* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
[827] See Fabre and Huertas, *Carrers de Barcelona: Com han evolucionat els seus noms*, p. 84.

house of the ruling monarchs in Spain. Similarly, the square of the Marshal had to make way for the square of Vázquez de Mella, a Spanish traditionalist thinker.[828]

The reforms of the street names of Barcelona reveal how progress was not only an idea to aspire to but also a model of time which could be reproduced in space by naming streets after the 'representatives of modernity'. Similarly, Wagner, as a symbol of modern music and the embrace of progress was reflected in the built environment. Scholarship on toponymy has warned us not to take the effectiveness of street naming for granted. On the one hand, political street naming and the communication of an ideological message is not always straightforward. The public might not understand the ideological message in the intended way or might associate different ideas with the given names.[829] Furthermore, scholarship has shown that street naming is often contested, either actively or passively as old names persist in the minds of the citizens.[830] Notes in newspapers on where to find a shop, factory or office often had to explain the name changes as old names were still foremost in the minds of the reader. Many advertisements referred to the old names of the streets in brackets when describing where their locality could be found.[831] Similarly, the *Catalana*, a weekly journal reported that it was difficult to convince citizens to use the new names and noted that the official denomination differed from public usage. When the avenue of 'Fernando' became the sign 'of

[828] On the importance of Josep Joffre as 'Catalan' military hero in the First World War and the veneration in his honour after the war, see Xavier Deulonder i Camins, *França i Catalunya* (Barcelona: bubok Editorial, 2017), pp. 486-495.
[829] Duncan Light and Craig Young, "The politics of toponymic continuity: The limits of change and the ongoing lives of street names," in *Political life of urban streetscapes: Naming, politics, and place*, ed. Reuben Rose-Redwood, Maoz Azaryahu, and Derek Alderman (Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2018): pp. 184-201.
[830] Duncan Light and Craig Young, "Habit, memory, and the persistence of socialist-era street names in postsocialist Bucharest, Romania," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 104, no. 3 (2014): pp. 668-685.
[831] See for example, the name change to the Street of Castellà, La Veu de Catalunya : diari Catalá d'avisos, noticias y anuncis: Any 39, Núm. 10267, 30.04.1929, Ed. Vespre, p. 8.

liberty', the people continued to call it 'Fernando', and the street of the 'Conde de Asalto' which had been built in 1788 was always referred to as 'Nou de la Rambla'.[832]

> 'Everyone knows that the streets of Barcelona are the topic of the day at the moment: whether they are clean, or dirty…whether we should put trees up… whether they should be straight, or whether they could have an s-form to present perspective (…) We do not even know which names to give them'.[833]

In 1914, Pep Captaire reflected on the name changes of the streets of Barcelona for the newspaper Academia Calasancia, the organ of the religious schools of Barcelona. He described entertainingly the different street names of Barcelona, the repetitions despite officials' efforts, and the new names given by the authorities. According to him flora and fauna were well represented. More interestingly, Barcelona 'developed excellent relations with the old wise men' such as Plato, Aristoteles, Socrates, Muntaner and Pitagoras who all received streets in Barcelona. The 'Langue d'Oc', the sister and mother of the modern Catalan was the only language which received a street in Barcelona. Additionally, in the political sphere, independence and the republic had a street named after them. Furthermore, the author noted that the monarchy was missing, whereas autonomy, Regionalism, solidarity and democracy all had a street or passageway named after them. Progress and fraternity were located close to liberty and Voltaire as well as to equality, revolution and cooking pots, the author commented humorously. Barcelona even had 'justice' even though it often would not seem like it, he noted. According to Captaire, almost all of the names fell in the category of 'progressive', 'civilised' and 'Europeanised', thus giving Barcelona a new international and modern

[832] Catalana, Revista Setmanal, Any l, Núm. 27, 06.10.1918, Barcelona, p. 191.
[833] Pep Captaire, Captant, La Academia Calasancia, ano 23, n. 575, 30.05.1914, p. 329-330.

appearance.[834] In this case, we can see how street and place naming was consciously or not transforming the fabric of everyday life in Barcelona. Slowly, Barcelona was evolving into a city of international figures of progress, independence fighters and national ideals.

Already in 1843, Balmes mentioned that 'Barcelona seemed not to belong to Spain but to be an import from Belgium or England'.[835] The changes in Barcelona's urban landscape suggest that this impression was deepened further in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Examining those urban projects in the context of each other and their influence on concepts of place can show how multiple groups of local actors, republicans and conservative regionalists, architects, ordinary citizens and politicians, with varying success, attempted to establish Barcelona as an ideal urban space of civility, solidarity and international nationhood. The political street-naming in the twentieth century communicated a rather direct message to citizens, visitors and tourists alike. Toponymic changes influenced practically all everyday activities at least in a theoretical sense.[836] Street names have a commemorative character but also evoke norms and narratives of 'future projects'. They 'spatialise multiple temporalities and work as space-times'.[837] A narrative of progressiveness and belonging to an international movement of nationalists was intersected with the 'spatial practices of everyday life'.[838] These changes were driven by ordinary citizens, the urban elite and professionals in the city council.

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[834] Ibid.
[835] Balmes, Jaime Luciano, La Sociedad, 2: Revista Religiosa, Filosófica, Política y Literaria, vol. 2, Barcelona: Imprenta de A. Brusi, 1843, p. 367.
[836] Rose-Redwood, Azaryahu, and Alderman, "The urban streetscape as political cosmos", p. 11.
[837] Myriam Houssay-Holzschuch, "The political life of urban streetscapes: Naming, politics, and place," Review, *The AAG Review of Books* 6 (2018): pp. 257-259.
[838] Azaryahu, "The power of commemorative street names", p. 311.

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> 'My own childhood in Paris found me taking, on numberless occasions, the Rue [de] La Fontaine, the Place Victor Hugo, the Pont Henri IV (…) The same is true of the German-speaking world, of the myriad Goetheplätze and Schillerstrassen, of the squares named after Mozart or Beethoven. (…) Very often, the street sign will carry not only the illustrious or specialised name, but the relevant dates and a summary description.'[839]

When Steiner remarked in 'Idea of Europe' that the streets and squares he walked in Europe were named after 'hundredfold after statesmen, military figures, poets, artists, composers, scientists and philosophers', he lamented that all these were national spaces imbued with national memories of war and intellectual greatness. The only thing 'European' about the urban landscapes across countries was the focus on nation-states' successes. To some extent the examples in this chapter feed into this narrative of a nationalisation of public spaces. However, they also reveal attempts to intersect national stories with narratives of nationalism as a trend, and an alliance between nations. While national identities were prominent in the renaming of streets, sometimes these national spaces were Catalan, sometimes Spanish, and sometimes they referred to foreign nationalist movements. Street naming in Barcelona reveals how other collective identities also informed the image of the city. Republicans, socialists and scientists introduced figures not only important for their local context but to their wider international allegiances.

[839] George Steiner, *The idea of Europe. An essay* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2015), pp. 23-25.

Conclusion

> Nationalism is not a localist movement to gather people but is universal and manifests itself everywhere as a sign of resurrection and of force.'[840]

Jean Pélissier, a French journalist who had visited Barcelona for the first time in 1909 to interview anarchist Francesc Ferrer on the eve of his execution, pronounced these words in an interview with the Catalan newspaper *La Veu de Catalunya*, published on 11 September 1912. During his stay in 1909, he met several Catalan nationalists among whom were the architect Josep Puig i Cadafalch and the folklorist Rossend Serra i Pagès.[841] Since then, Pélissier had published about the Catalan question in the newspaper *Le Matin* and was trying to gain support for his organisation 'Office of Nationalities', also in Catalonia.[842] The idea that political and cultural autonomy could be a socially liberating and economically modernising force was already 'floating a long time in the atmosphere of all of Europe', argued also Puig i Cadafalch when reporting on the work of the Office of Nationalities.[843]

Identity-making and the construction of Catalan nationhood between 1880 and 1920 was a complex, multi-faceted and fundamentally **transnational process,** this thesis has demonstrated. The debates of defining ethnic or cultural, as well as civic elements of Catalan nationhood were influenced by foreign scholars, international geopolitical events, performances abroad and artistic trends. This thesis thus presents debates of nationhood as they were perceived by

[840] La qüestió Nacionalista a Europa. Entrevista ab M. Jean Pélissier, director del 'Office Central des Nationalités' de París, La Veu de Catalunya, 11.09.1912, p. 2.
[841] In the year 1911, Serra received the first letters by Jean Pélissier to discuss the Catalan membership in his *Office Central des Nationalités*, see AHCB, Fons Personals Serra i Pagès 5D.61-59/C10-3 and 4.
[842] D. R. Watson, "Jean Pélissier and the Office Central des Nationalités, 1912–1919," *The English Historical Review* 110, no. 439 (1995): p. 1193.
[843] La qüestió Nacionalista a Europa. Entrevista ab M. Jean Pélissier, director del 'Office Central des Nationalités' de París, La Veu de Catalunya, 11.09.1912, p. 2.

contemporaries, namely within the context of European, Spanish and Catalan politics. Furthermore, the thesis has revealed that many nationalists presented Catalan nationhood as **exceptionally outward and forward-looking**. This narrative of international exceptionalism presented Catalonia as ethnically, culturally and historically closely connected to a progressive European continent.

In the absence of a common and clearly defined political project for either federalisation, increased autonomy or independence from Spain, as well as debates about 'cultural authenticity' and the dominance of historicist narratives, Catalan nationalists pushed for inter-national narratives of nationhood. Between 1880 and 1920, Catalan nationhood became defined by the social and cultural boundaries drawn between Europe, Spain and Catalonia, often leaving interpretive room of who was the 'collective self' and its implicit negation of the 'other'.[844]

The quote by Pélissier captures an essential finding of this thesis. Besides the religious symbolism and rhetoric of presenting nationalism as a civic religion[845], this quote reveals how contemporaries did not see nationalism as a home-grown and insular movement but perceived it as a collective international undertaking conducted by a group of cosmopolitan intellectuals. This universal movement would be a socially liberating and economically modernising force, ultimately bringing prosperity and peace. In the rhetoric of newspapers, politicians and artists, political and cultural nationalism became inextricably linked to ideas of progress. These often drew on diverse understandings of the term, such as increased

[844] This comes close to Sahlins description of national identity which he described as the 'social and territorial boundaries drawn to distinguish between collective self and its implicit negation, the other' instead of being dependent on cultural, ethnic or civic factors, Sahlins, *Boundaries: The making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*, pp. 270-271.
[845] Presenting Nationalism as a civic religion was not a new thought but similar ideas were pronounced earlier by Rousseau and Toqueville, see Smith's section of the idea of sacrifice and the quasi-religious hope for renewal and redemption through nationalism, Anthony D. Smith, *Ethno-symbolism and nationalism: A cultural approach* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 78.

industrialisation, advancements in science which would improve daily life, a vibrant and influential cultural scene, bureaucratisation and political stability.

Comparative historical analyses of regionalism and nationalism have argued that both were pan-European currents which shared significant aspects in symbolism, artistic representations, rhetoric and political developments, countering previous historic accounts of national exceptionalism.[846] This thesis strengthens these insights by emphasising how 'nationalism as a trend' impacted the self-understanding of Catalan regionalists and nationalists in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Throughout the chapters, the thesis highlights four narratives of how internationalism and nationalism reinforced each other in debates of Catalan nationhood: (i) Nationalism as a trend, (ii) Alliance of the oppressed, (iii) 'Universal nationhood' and (iv) Moral geography. It argues that these mechanisms are applicable to other cases but were central in discussions and negotiations of nationhood in Catalonia in the late nineteenth and twentieth century.

Nationalism as a trend

This thesis builds on and extends existing historiography that challenges simplistic and linear accounts describing Spanish history in the long nineteenth century in the light of a 'weak nationalisation theory'.[847] According to such theory, the rise of

[846] Storm, *The culture of regionalism: Art, architecture and international exhibitions in France, Germany and Spain, 1890-1939*; Joseph Th. Leerssen and Ann Rigney, eds., *Commemorating writers in nineteenth-century Europe: Nation-building and centenary fever* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

[847] See, for example, Miguel Cabo Villaverde and Fernando Molina, "The long and winding road of nationalization: Eugen Weber's peasants into frenchmen in modern European history (1976—2006)", *European History Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (2009): pp. 264-286; Ferrán Archilés, "Narrar la nación fracasada. Narrativas del fracaso e historiografía Española contemporánea' " in *Mundos de ayer*, ed. Encarna Nicolás and Carmen González (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2009), pp. 217-248. For a comparative account on national symbols trying to escape Spanish exceptionalism narrative, see Javier Moreno Luzón and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, *Los colores de la patria. Símbolos nacionales en la España contemporánea,* (Madrid: Tecnos, 2017).

regional movements or sub-state nationalism in Spain was linked to weak Spanish political and cultural institutions which failed to 'nationalise' citizens at the periphery of the territory. Similarly, the defeat in the Spanish-American War in 1898 demonstrated to the prosperous and more industrialised regions, Catalonia and the Basque Country, the inability of Castile to modernise Spain.[848] Or, as political theorist Linz put it: 'in the era of nationalism, Castilian-speaking Spain was not strong enough to assimilate the periphery to the degree France was capable of doing.'[849]

The focus of this thesis on international exchanges questions such a reading of Spanish history by emphasising how the rise of other nationalist movements had a significant impact on the self-perception of Catalan nationalists and their narratives of Spanish and Catalan nationhood. Between 1880 and 1920, nationalism developed as a transnational trend. This transnational cultural and political movement created both feelings of inter-national rivalry as well as narratives of an inter-national community. Some nineteenth-century Catalan politicians, writers, and historians seemed convinced that the trend they were observing would lead to the inevitable breaking-up of composite states in Europe. These three elements of competition, alliance and nationalism as a transnational trend are captured in a caricature by the satirical newspaper *La Tralla* of 1905.

[848] See for another critical account of such narratives, Molino and Cabo Villaverde, "Molino, cabo villaverde 2012 – an inconvenient nation", pp. 47-72.
[849] Linz (1973, p. 104) cited in, Cabo Villaverde and Molina, "The long and winding road of nationalization: Eugen Weber's peasants into frenchmen in modern European history (1976—2006)", p. 270.



Figure 13: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 'The Race of Progress'. La Tralla, Barcelona, 17.11.1905.

The caricature, entitled 'The Race of Progress' shows several regional and nationalist movements getting into or sitting in a state-of-the-art car. Cuba and Norway are already sitting comfortably in the back seat, whereas Finland is driving the vehicle. The car is making a stop on the road to let Hungary, Brittany and Poland join the others to drive off into their bright future, leaving behind the dark tower and gloomy times of 'tyranny, centralism and oppression'. Finland, from the driver's seat, is calling out to Catalonia, sitting next to the road and chained to the historic year of 1714: 'Comrade, are you not getting on?' Catalonia, depicted here with typical attire, is unable to join the others driving towards the promising sun of liberty at the end of the road.

The caricature epitomises the idea that nationalism comprised both of a competitive element as well as a component of timeliness. The timeliness component draws on a view of history according to which small nation-states would eventually and inevitably develop out of the composite states. The competitive element is a testament to the worldwide growth in the promotion of nationhood and nation-states in the nineteenth century which reinforced the necessity to prove equivalent standing to other nations. The feeling of competition and a sense of an unfair predisposition in the race was not restricted to Catalan nationalists campaigning for political autonomy, but a mood experienced across Spanish society. It is most strikingly captured by painter Manuel Urgelles i Trias when he tries to describe his feelings of how Catalonia and Spain needed to increase their pace to catch up with other countries: 'It seems as we are running but with a lame leg.'[850]

Alliance of the 'oppressed'

The other aspect present in the caricature is the idea of an emotional and political alliance between nations which were subjugated in larger political entities. Whereas signs of solidarity between nationalist movements such as the sending of volunteers was nothing new in the twentieth century, the thesis shows how the idea of an alliance between allegedly suppressed nations penetrated the cultural realm and the imagination of Catalan nationhood. This idea of an alliance was stressed through images and press reports in newspapers, in popular plays about foreign nationalist movements of the twentieth century, in the letters of solidarity sent to other

[850] Urgelles, M, Un viatge a l'Argentina, La Veu de Catalunya,any 20, núm. 4068, 01.09. 1910, p. 1.

nationalist movements, and in the naming of some streets in Barcelona which honoured 'nations without states' and independence fighters from other countries. This imagined coalition between oppressed people strengthened resistance and narratives of victimhood present across political leanings in Catalan society basing solidarity on historical or geographic elements, religious ones or upon the idea of a 'common struggle'. As shown in the first chapter, the comparison of the Catalan movement with foreign oppressed nationalist movements was seen as a provocation to which the central government in Spain had to react. The repression that followed enforced the perception of an *Alliance of the 'oppressed'* and helped attract different groups of people such as the Philhellenic, Socialists and Republicans to the Catalan nationalist cause.

As the fourth Chapter has demonstrated, republican and conservative nationalists debated heavily which historical memory would be appropriate to represent a future national day. The year 1714 as an element of the historicist narrative of victimhood was predominantly stressed by members of the conservative political parties such as the Lliga Regionalista. Republicans championed the Reapers War as a constitutive element of Catalan oppression, which should be reflected in the national festivities, and used the melody of the Marseillaise as a symbol of liberation and freedom from the oppressive monarchical system.

To some extent, a similar narrative of an alliance between the oppressed can still be observed today. However, there has been a shift in the historical references. Whereas nineteenth century Catalan nationalists emphasised oppression in the seventeenth and eighteenth century and particularly the date of 1714 as a symbol of their loss of independence, Catalan nationalists since the democratisation of Spain

have highlighted the legacy of the Spanish Civil War and the oppression of Catalan culture during the Franco dictatorship. The moral authority of a coalition of the oppressed has been re-aligned with victims of Franco's nationalism.[851]

Universal Nationhood

Catalan nationalists argued that Catalonia's position at the edge of the Spanish territory and the region's smallness created a particular tendency to incorporate foreign dramatic and musical works into its cultural landscape. The second chapter has shown how *moderniste* artists characterised some, mostly Northern literary figures and musical trends as universal cultural models which could help define national culture in Catalonia. They were perceived as useful both to counter Castilian influences in the arts as well as to counter foreign narratives of Spanish cultural isolation. Adopting foreign trends in music and theatre enabled Catalan nationalists to present their nation as less boastful and its culture as deeply connected to European modernity. Connecting innovative musical trends with popular music also helped define a distinct form of modernity which included Spanish and Catalan religiosity and vernacular elements.

By exploring the interactions and motives of politicians, journalists, urban planners, teachers and artists, the thesis has highlighted how different collective

[851] See Xosé-Manoel Núñez and Maiken Umbach, "Hijacked heimats: National appropriations of local and regional identities in Germany and Spain, 1930–1945," *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 15, no. 3 (2008). Catalan nationalists and even historians have argued that the 'Catalan question' presented itself as an antithesis to the homogenising Franco regime, see Antonio F. Canales Serrano, "El robo de la memoria. Sobre el lugar del Franquismo en la historiografía católico-Catalanista," *Ayer* 59 (2005). This, however, disregards the support of parts of the Catalan bourgeoisie and some Catalan nationalists for the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in the 1920s as well as for the Francoist troops during the Spanish Civil War, see for a bibliographical overview, Martí Marin Corbera, "Els estudis sobre el Franquisme Català i a Catalunya, 2001-2016. Una desacceleració," *Journal of Catalan Studies*, no. 20 (2017): pp. 22-30.

identities reinforced and interacted with each other and how Catalan nationalism should be seen as a reaction to a discourse of modernity which excluded Spain and Catalonia.

Moral Geography

A pan-European discourse about environmental determinism made Spain appear as a weak, declining state and Latinity as source of unpunctuality and religious intolerance. Narratives of backwardness and a 'sense of inferiority' were both shaped from within the country as well as in exchanges with international scholars, politicians and journalists. Catalan nationalists used and played with these stereotypes, sometimes defining Barcelona as a city in between the modern northern metropoles and Latin exoticism and sometimes strengthening Catalan 'ethnic' particularities. Whereas Rossend Serra stressed in his geography classes the existence of a specific Catalan practical and entrepreneurial spirit in contrast to Castilian's weak institutions, guides for the city of Barcelona, the naming of streets and the search for a national celebration also revealed Catalan attempts to emphasise Spain's connection to Europe and its commitment to scientific progress, secularism and morality.

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This thesis showed how international contacts and four inter-national narratives often reinforced boundary mechanisms and contributed to debates of Catalan nationhood across different ideological spectra. These narratives were not only linked to liberal internationalism, as often portrayed in the historiography, but also to a civilisational discourse which built on the same language as that of empire,

progress and race. The recent crisis of the Catalan independence movement is another reminder that Spanish and Catalan nationhood remain contested. To understand the persistence and the rise of national identities, it seems more important than ever to look at how they are formed, strengthened and altered through international contacts and as part of a transnational process.

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- Library collection of Rossend Serra i Pagès
- Newspaper archive
- Manuscript collection
- Diverse correspondence

Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya

- Personal archives (Fons Francesca Bonnemaison, Puig i Cadafalch, Solé i Pla, Enric Prat de la Riba)
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