

The literary Construction of the Spirit of Catalonia: The Chivalrous Ideal and Modernity (1833-1874)

Magí Sunyer
Universitat Rovira i Virgili

1. Introduction

The contemporary nations – the ones that emerged from the revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries whether they had any previous substance or not – were constructed on the basis of a narrative that gave them an identity in the eyes of both insiders and outsiders. This construction involved all the sectors of society and all sorts of artistic and scientific disciplines. Literature played a major role. Alongside painting, sculpture and music, architecture and urbanism, literature provided a model of myths and symbols that represented the country with old and new icons to. In this process, the past is referred to not for archaeological reasons but as a model of the nation aspired to. So, historical episodes are selected and manipulated in accordance with the ideological interests of those in charge of the process. It is in this context that concepts such as “the invention of tradition” (Hobsbawm & Ranger) and “the social construction of reality” (Berger & Luckmann) acquire their full meaning. The interpretation of the past is not innocent. Never. Nowhere.

In the sense that the term is habitually used, the Catalan nation can be traced back to the Middle Ages and it was defeated and humiliated at the beginning of the 18th century. It had been mutilated quite considerably fifty years before when Philip IV illegally sold Rosselló, Vallespir and a part of Cerdanya to Louis XIV of France. With the Nova Planta decrees, Catalonia was stripped of its democratic and modern institutions and laws, and was annexed to the kingdom of Spain. In these conditions, under the domination of Spain and France, Catalonia experienced the construction of the modern states. It was in the 19th century that a contemporary Catalan identity started to emerge, although at different intensities in its component regions. Without the powerful mechanisms generated by modern states, this process coexisted and clashed with the constructions of the French and Spanish states, which did have the official structures at their disposal. This is not the place to describe all the vicissitudes of the process. I have done so elsewhere (Sunyer 2006 and 2015).¹ The purpose of this paper is to explore the role that the chivalrous ideal and modernity played in the construction of contemporary Catalan national identity. The analysis focuses on literary texts in Catalan or Spanish written between 1833 and 1874. The first of these dates was the beginning of an attempt to build a modern Spanish state. The second, with the end of the First Republic and the Democratic Six Years, certified the failure of this attempt and Catalanism set out to add the adjective *political* to the adjective *cultural* that had described it up to that point.

Historical studies have pointed out substantial differences between the Spanish and Catalan pre-national identities. The following features have been attributed to the Spanish identity:

¹ In various passages of this article I use ideas that I have discussed in greater depth in these two previous studies and in Sunyer 2011. In these cases and in other works of mine that I shall mention below I will not give specific references so as to avoid awkward self citation. This article is a product of the research carried out by the Universitat Rovira i Virgili's National Identity and Gender in Catalan Literature group which is part of the Research Group Identities in Catalan Literature (GRILC) (SGR 2014 755).

Intolerant Catholicism as encoded by the Council of Trent heterophobia and even racism, which is manifested as a concern for the purity of old Christian blood, attachment to traditions (including the monarchy and the established social order), a feeling of being superior to other peoples and the self-attribution of a range of character values and features (nobility, courage, pride, sense of honour, disdain for lowly professions, etc.). (Granja, 13-14)

It is pretty close to a definition of the chivalrous ideal. The same historians point out that these features were not shared in Catalonia, where manual and commercial jobs were held in much greater esteem, as is shown by “the pride with which the *consellers* in Barcelona spoke of their professions” (Granja, 13-14). The long tradition, dating back to medieval times, of limiting royal power with the power of the Generalitat (Catalan government) and the municipalities, and the lack of a royal court as from the 16th century had forged another character. The differences in the pre-national identity were clear cut before the advent of the modern state.

Before going on to examine the personality that is portrayed from this point on, I should describe the chivalrous ideal at the beginning of the contemporary age. After the Middle Ages, the knights had survived in the form of the aristocracy. As discussed by Arnold Hauser (187), as far back as medieval times the primitive heroic virtues of the knight – contempt for danger, pain and death; absolute loyalty, desire for glory and honour – were tempered with characteristics such as magnanimity for the defeated, protection for the weak, respect for women, courtesy and gallantry, as well as other features of the modern knight: generosity, little interest in making money, correctness and decorum. Many of these features were in direct conflict with the commercial spirit of the bourgeoisie, who enjoyed a lifestyle based on extravagance, ostentation, contempt for manual work and constant commitment to making money. The Spanish picaresque novel of the 17th century had caricatured this attitude when it was not supported by favourable economic conditions.

The revolutions in the 18th and 19th centuries dismantled this hierarchically structured society that justified the survival of the aristocracy. Concepts such as citizenship, secularism and republic replaced a chivalrous ideal based on a stratification of society that was attributed a divine origin. Nevertheless, this ideal was re-created by medievalizing Romanticism.

2. Literature and ideology

Cultural and political Catalanism are a consequence of the liberal revolution. Pere Anguera (24-25) showed that Carlism had nothing to do with it until well into the last third of the 19th century, during the Third Carlist War, and even then only timidly. In the first stage, from the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833 and the publication of *La Pàtria* by Bonaventura Carles Aribau to the restoration of the Floral Games in Barcelona, the Catalan Romantic writers showed considerable ideological variety ranging from Aribau’s moderate liberalism to the socialist republicanism of Abdó Terrades. Of course, between these two extremes there were few similarities and, for reasons of diglossia and the prevailing market conditions, the Catalan romantics of this period tended to write in Spanish. Catalan was reserved for more popular genres, such as the *sainet* and some learned poetic manifestations by poets who, in the main, also tended to write in Spanish. In both languages, however, the attraction of the Middle Ages was considerable. The “old language” was imitated – Pau Piferrer in Spanish and Antoni de Bofarull in Catalan, to give just two examples – and the poems, novels and dramas were full of knights, troubadours, damsels, almogavars, kings and vassals. This was the case throughout Europe, as a mere medievalist fashion or with a real intention to express

identity. Honour, and the nobility of blood and attitudes prevailed among the heroes. It should not be forgotten that all this came about in the century of progress, inventions, revolutions and reason. We should not be surprised that another type of literature appealed to liberal and democratic principles, denounced oppression and injustice, announced the world that was about to begin and encouraged people to join in the struggle. In the second stage, from 1859 to 1874, the most significant change was the increase in the use of Catalan. Romanticism still dominated the world of literature but poetry and theatre – not prose so much – became much more widespread. In all the genres, the chivalrous ideal was expressed with a new vitality after the success of the Floral Games and the performance of Catalan plays. All around, the spirit of the age could be seen. On the one hand, there were confirmations of the changes being undergone by society in the popular reviews, the comedies and the Costumbrist dramas. And on the other there was the literature that expressed ideological and political viewpoints, particularly the serialised novels and, in the Democratic Six Years, political theatre. Between Ceferí Treserra and Manuel Milà i Fontanals, between the hot-headed republicans and the moderate liberals, there were also many differences, and these differences became even more pronounced in such troubled times.

No direct correspondence can be established between historical setting and reactionary spirit; we have to be able to interpret what lies behind the seemingly obvious image. The aim of a historical picture may be simply to reconstruct a much loved age, or it may be a pretext to explain other things that do not necessarily coincide with the moment portrayed. Only some of the 19th-century Catalan texts set in the near or distant past were written to reconstruct customs, characters and places from other ages; all the others have other intentions. Some readers of historical texts read to rediscover a bygone age, even to learn some history, and some authors try to fulfil this expectation although this is not always so. When Marguerite Yourcenar wrote *Memòries d'Adrià (Memoirs of Hadrian)* her intention was not to advocate a return to Roman customs or provide a historical re-creation, and most of her readers surely realised as much. Despite the obvious differences, the same can be said of the 19th century in Catalonia. It will be useful to identify how the chivalrous ideal and modernity intersect with historical and contemporary fictions in each of the four possible combinations.

3. Ideals and fictions

3.1. The chivalrous ideal in historical fiction

The first romantic text in Catalan that looks back to the Middle Ages is *La Pàtria* by Bonaventura Carles Aribau. Language and homeland of the heart are associated by referring to the past as a mark of prestige: “It pleases me to still speak the language of those wise men, / who filled the universe with their customs and laws, / the language of those strong men who respected their kings, / defended their rights and avenged their grievances” (Bofarull 1858, 18). Aribau recollects that, when the homeland was strong and powerful, the language had been used by “wise men” – Ramon Llull and Arnau de Vilanova, among others – and “strong men” – Ramon Muntaner, the House of Entença, the House of Montcada, etc. The poet, who restricts his language and homeland to private and family domains, idealises the time when it was a language of wise men and knights. He confirms its survival and he expresses his emotion but he does not show any desire to go back in time. Neither does he claim that the past serves as a model for the present.

This is hardly surprising. The model provided by Walter Scott justifies regressions of this type. Also, the troubadour fashion became all the rage after the publication of

Choix de poesies originales des troubadous (1816–1821), by François Raynouard. Soon writers began to Catalanise the medieval features of their texts. As from the 1830s, with the novels by Joan Cortada and the plays by Jaume Tió i Noè, historical literature began to feature Ausiàs Marc and the Prince of Viana, the war John II waged against the Catalan government, almogavars, Wilfred the Hairy, etc. At first, the intention was probably not patriotic but the effects were unexpected. Readers and spectators learned from these texts that Catalonia had had its own, illustrious history, even an empire! And soon some of this literature was written with the purpose of teaching it as can be seen in the prologue to *Lo gaiter del Llobregat*, by Joaquim Rubió i Ors, or *Hazañas y recuerdos de los catalanes*, by Antoni de Bofarull.

This sort of Romanticism is well defined by the adjectives used by Josep Maria Domingo (2003, 361) to characterise the competition held by the Acadèmia de Bones Lletres (Academy of Good Arts) in 1842: “medievalizing, historicistic, Ossianic, troubadouresque.” He believed that the feature central to the poem *Roudor de Llobregat* by Rubió i Ors was “the theme of opposition between glory and love, being a soldier or being a *joglar*” (Domingo 2003, 366-367). *Roudor* has to decide whether he wants to be a knight or a troubadour in a story that takes place at the beginning of the 14th century and which Rubió uses to reflect much more current problems in which other romantics were intervening through the arts or through action.

The competition organised by the Academy was imbued with the chivalrous ideal. The themes imposed on the participants in the sections of history and poetry were, respectively, the Compromise of Casp and the expedition to Greece. The prize for the historians was a copy of *Los condes de Barcelona vindicados* by Pròsper de Bofarull and the book by Antoni de Capmany about the Consulate of the Sea. Among the awards given to the poets, courtly elements were particularly important. The first prize was “a flower or *golden violet* capped with a black velvet hat with brooches and feathers in the style of the old troubadours; and the second, or *consolation prize*, was a *silver jasmine* with exactly the same sort of hat” (Miracle, 285). The idea cannot be more evident: the history of the medieval sovereigns, maritime trade and jewels in the form of flowers. The maximum knightly, commercial and courtly expressions.

The Floral Games in Barcelona were even more explicit when they were re-established in 1859. The Games were based on the desire to bring back the past, a desire that was confirmed by constant references to the Consistori de la Gaia Ciència (Council for Poetic Science) and John I, “lo amador de la gentilesa” (“the lover of gentility”) (*Jochs*, 41). The Games smacked of the Middle Ages because of the place they were held – the Saló de Cent – and because of the prizes, the queen of the Games and the number of assistants. And right from the start they were criticized for encouraging an archaic form of the language and looking to the past. The prizes, as in the event held in 1842, were also jewels in the form of flowers but the knightly features were highlighted. While the prize for the theme of Country was a golden eglantine and the prize for the theme of Faith was a golden and silver violet, the prize for the theme of Love was a natural flower, ephemeral and of no financial value. This showed that honour prevailed over money: the poet who won the most valuable prize did not receive a jewel but an real flower – *metrossideros lanceolata* (*Jochs*, 51) – that had been alive and still conserved its perfume although it would soon wilt and have no monetary value. And on top of all this, the prize involved a ceremony that highlighted its chivalrous nature: “He who wins this prize must offer it to one of the ladies in attendance, who, as if she were Clemència Isaura or one of the queens of the old tournaments, will be entrusted with awarding the first two flowers to the troubadours who have won them” (Miracle, 307-308). The poets were troubadours; the event, a tournament; the ladies were honourable

and honoured the poets – and, on this occasion, a poet won the Natural Flower. Generosity, beauty and poetry dominated the discourse.

This was the setting and we shall now move on to analyse various issues behind the first Games which will raise questions about the purely archaeological nature they have often been assumed to have. Three decades later, the critic Josep Yxart (1889, 60) likened those who had revived the Games to herbalists enamoured with the language as if it were a beautiful plant, dry and dead, and said that they witnessed a revitalisation that they may not even have wanted: “but to their surprise they suddenly noticed that, even enclosed behind the green glass of the display cabinet, it began to sprout new leaves and unexpected flowers, with bright colours and a sharp aroma. And they saw that its sap, absorbed by the rancid humidity of the parchments, became exuberant and vigorous” (Yxart 1889, 60). The passage is brilliant but it lacks certain nuances which means that it does not apply to intellectuals like Bofarull or Balaguer, the main agents of the ceremony. Below we shall see why.

The Games promoted historical fiction. As a result, the action of all sorts of literary texts, with a preponderance of poetry, was set in the age of chivalry and tried to convey what they understood, or wanted to understand, to be the spirit of the time. Some historical texts before the Games were re-established, such as the ballads by Tomàs and Marià Aguiló, were set in uncertain periods and were populated with anonymous knights who waged war and exacted, or were victims of, revenge, with damsels who were haunted by some terrible secret and, in the background, with vassals who were always inferior and had no rights. The same can be said of the unspecified monuments, often in ruins, witnesses to a beautiful past that may have been better than the present, in poems such as “Un temple antic” (“An Ancient Temple”) by Manuel Milà i Fontanals, and “La veu de les ruïnes” (“The Voice of the Ruins”) by Adolf Blanch. The relationship with the mother country, which is the focus of many of these texts, is represented by the Living-Dead allegory. One day, a queen who has been asleep for centuries and who seems to be dead (a symbol of the mother country) is brought back to life by her young, living descendents. This patriotic version of the tale of the Sleeping Beauty is usually set in a castle or palace with empty suits of armour. It is often associated with the symbol of the harp.

When the characters and events are specific and historical or legendary, the complexity increases quite considerably because some of them are highly symbolized and have acquired values and significance: the birth of the nation, plenitude, rebellion, heroism. It is difficult to sustain the assumption that these texts have no present or future implications. A single character can be portrayed as having features that clearly belong to the past or that are more modern. Ramon Berenguer III’s defence of the honour of the empress of Germany can be reduced to the exaltation of an extreme model of chivalry or it can be seen as the result of the beginnings of a Catalan presence in Occitania. Likewise, Peter the Great can be lauded as a daring, model knight – as he was by Dante and Boccaccio – for his intervention in the tournament in Bordeaux or as the instigator of the expansion in the Mediterranean. This complexity also means that the significance of the characters evolves. The scope of the term “almogavar” was not the same in the 1850s as it is now; Joan Maragall incorporated Nietzschean elements into the legend of Count Arnau and transformed him from a simple ghost into a representation of the Catalan spirit.

Whether their characters are recognisable or not, the historical texts are imbued with a “chivalrous spirit” which manifests itself in behaviours, rituals, ceremonies and a way of thinking that is inextricably associated with Christianity. Oaths are sworn with great solemnity and differences are settled by duels of honour that are subject to the

judgement of God. The meaning of chivalry is inseparable from service to God: the sword is a cross, Jacint Verdaguer reminds us after Gentil has been initiated as a knight in the first part of *Canigó*, the great poem that shall merely mention in passing here because it is beyond the scope of this analysis. The first duty of the medieval knight was to reconquer land from the Moors, so the new knights of the 1800s had to fight to win back the social influence that the Catholic church was losing in Catalonia. The spirit of these new knights, then, was a reactionary one. They did not shun the struggles of the new century; rather, history served as a model and as a weapon. The leading propagandist of the re-Christianisation of the country was Jacint Verdaguer. The great poems by means of which he spread the word were also written after the year 1874, which we have set as the end of the period under study. Here we shall merely list them and give the briefest of descriptions: *L'Atlàntida (Atlantis)*, the evangelisation of America; *Canigó*, the emergence of Christian Catalonia; the *Llegenda de Montserrat (Legend of Montserrat)*, the struggle against Liberalism, against the Revolution.

3.2. The chivalric ideal in contemporary fiction

Since the aristocracy is opposed to the bourgeoisie, it is hardly surprising that artists in the 19th century who had not been successful (yet) and had sought shelter in a bohemian lifestyle claimed an aristocracy of spirit to distinguish themselves from the bourgeoisie. Despite their different guises, in terms of this distinction – and only this distinction – bohemians and dandies coincide with aristocrats. Some of these types are portrayed in novels. The dichotomy between *El poeta y el banquero (The Poet and the Banker)*, by Pere Mata, is quite explicit in this respect. The feuilleton *Los hijos del trabajo (The Sons of Toil)* by Antoni Altadill, describes the extremes of an artist's life – from absolute poverty at one extreme to abundance and squandering money at the other. These ups and downs are the result of their being aware that they are out of the ordinary. Artists can just as easily “be found occupying a miserable room, sitting on a rickety chair with their elbows on the table and holding their heavy heads in their hands” or, if by some good fortune some money has come their way, “At 2 o'clock you can see a well-dressed gentleman leaving the Cisne or Lardy's smoking a Havana cigar; he looks wholly satisfied with his lot. And he has every right to be so because he has no worries, he has just had an expensive lunch and he is about to finish off with coffee in the Suizo” (Altadill 1866, 146). This scene takes place in Madrid because that is where, in Altadill's and Ceferí Tresserra's feuilletons, the marginality of the artist and the influence of the aristocracy can be fully observed. Even characters of more progressive ideologies often adopt the chivalric code of honour, which leads to duels by pistol with absolute confidence in divine justice. We shall see that when these same stories are set in Barcelona there is a significant change.

These values can also be seen in another completely different aspect. The great transformation that shook the economic and social structures of the Western countries was the result of the industrial revolution. The migrations from the country – particularly mountain regions – to the cities and manufacturing areas, the different ways of earning a living and the considerable changes in how people led their lives were just some of the consequences. Then, in association with the love of nature and the primitivism so characteristic of pre-Romanticism, emerged a school of thought that idealised the country and the old ways of life, which were still common, although clearly in decline, in a good part of the country.

This idealisation consisted of attributing to places, their inhabitants and the organisation of family and society in the countryside a range of characteristics similar to those that historical texts attributed to the chivalric ideal. With the play on words “from

past to peasant”, Joep Leerssen (15) describes the shift that 19th-century art made from historical to rural themes. The characters were no longer warriors and were not expected to win battles; rather, they belonged to a hierarchical order and had the same values. From this point of view, rural landscapes contained positive qualities that contrasted with cityscapes. They could be reduced to peacefulness, beauty and simplicity, which compensated city dwellers for their hectic contemporary life, but very often they had other ingredients. This conviction is expressed by writers of all sorts of ideologies but conservatives and reactionaries added other components. The bucolic conception of these settings often ignored the unpleasant or problematic aspects, and was associated with the idea that the countryside was proof of a past that had been, and still was, better. Taking the argument one step further, the conclusion was that the nation in its genuine form was preserved in the countryside. This is the “myth of the high land” (Sunyer 2011), which claims that the supposed essence of the nation lives on intact in the countryside and rejects the innovation and progress that the city represents. It is made up of symbols such as the tree, the ancestral home, the mountain, the traditional Catalan hat, considerations about the purity of the language, folklore and the organisation of society according to the tenets of *pairalsme* (rural familism).

Although it may seem strange – knights would not have recognised themselves in the peasants, they looked down on them or, at best, they looked on them with the condescension usually reserved for inferiors – this is where the rustic version of the chivalric ideal sought refuge. In this paradise, the basic cell is the family which, like feudalism, has a pyramidal structure at the top of which is God’s vigilant and demanding eye. The head of the family is a small but all-powerful feudal lord in his limited world. On a basis of obedience, personal relations are governed by submission and domination, features of the Old Regime. People do not have rights, the family-based economy is extremely old fashioned, and the system is closed. The only way out is to abandon the family and the texts often show that when this option is taken and obedience is not respected, the guilty party is punished by being expelled from the clan, by being drummed out of the group.

As from the 1880s, this issue became part of the defence of Catalan Law undertaken by the Catalan Agricultural Institute of Saint Isidore. It was at this time that the basic texts by Carles Bosch de la Trinxeria, Martí Genís i Aguilar and a long etcetera were published. It is indicative that then, when Carlism timidly joined the *Renaixença*, writers such as Marià Vayreda defended the ruralist option. In our period of analysis, Manuel Milà i Fontanals provided a body of theory that justified it. Manuel Jorba (181) explains it in the following way: “Milà identifies Catalonia with ancestral customs and habits to such an extent that, if they were to disappear, so would Catalonia.” Literary ruralism began with the narratives of Gaietà Vidal i Valenciano collected in *La vida en lo camp*. Poetry also played a major role, particularly *La llar* and *La muntanya catalana* by Josep Lluís Pons i Gallarza. In the former the basic symbol of the system, the ancestral home, is linked with the values of religion and a conception of the country: Holy household of the peasants! / Nest of tender loves and Christian peace, / in your blazing logs / burns the fire of the Catalan mother country” (Pons, 48). In the latter, the mountain is presented as the blood and the force of Catalanness and is contrasted with the city through epic references.

Migrant sons of the towns, if you have lost the vitality
of the men of Vesuvius, of Etna ablaze,
of those who died the sea blue with their turquoise blood
and took to the Levant death, vengeance and tears.

Come: feeling the wind and the hail,
 climbing with great fatigue the deserted slopes,
 you will take deeper breaths, as at the top of the mountains
 the coarse vine sprouts green leaves. (Pons, 103-104)

In theatre, rural drama also exploited this theme. Titles such as *La dida* (*The wet nurse*), *El didot* (*The Wet Nurse's Husband*), *Senyora i majora* (*The Lady of the House*), *El pubill* (*The Heiress' Husband*), *La creu de la masia* (*The cross in the farmhouse*), by Frederic Soler, presented figures and scenes from family histories, and were a great success with the general public. Josep Yxart classified the plays that presented the other side of the coin as “legal dramas”: “Inheritances, the situation of the widow and the second son, the preoccupation with accumulating great wealth by violently bringing together heirs and heiresses etc. has inspired, as could hardly not be the case, dramas that aim to breach such institutions by putting on stage the numerous real cases and their consequences” (Yxart 1896, 270). He was well aware of the ideology underlying *pairalisme* (rural familism): “The reactionary spirit also embellished many rural customs, which may be very good but, of course, cannot please those of us who do not practise them” (Yxart n. d., 54). The apparent contradictions caused by the anachronism of lifestyles that are not in accord with economic and moral reality are explained by Llorenç Prats: “Nobody disputed the need for industry nor the benefits generated for the country by the cultural and economic vitality of Barcelona where nearly everyone lived and worked; but they did dispute the cultural and social consequences of these facts” (Prats, 172).

The cliché that positioned “the genuine mother country” in an idealised rural setting is not exclusive to the Catalan mythical system or to the stateless nations; rather it is common to those countries influenced by Romanticism. At critical moments, as has been shown by Herman Lebovics for Vichy France, it has been used as a base for ideological manipulations with severe consequences. On a more positive note, it led to the emergence of a country-wide movement of great importance: hiking. And now, when *pairalisme* belongs to the past rather than the present, the myth of the high land lives on in forms of neoruralism that has little to do with the chivalric ideal, although it may have something to do with another sort of idealism.

3.3. Modernity in historical fiction

Above we have pointed out that only a part of the literature set in the past has an exclusively archaeological mentality or aims to transmit a reactionary ideology. Very soon, from a conservative standpoint, the defence of the Catalan language and the invocation by Joaquim Rubió i Ors’ *Lo gaiter del Llobregat* to revitalise Barcelona showed implications with the present. In the 1840s, the novel *Enrique y Mercedes* by Joan Illas i Vidal and the play *El conceller en cap* (*The Chief Minister*) by Josep Pers i Ricart shifted the focus to the War of Succession, which implicitly involved confrontation with Castile and the denouncement of the loss of Catalan liberty. At the same time, *El Consejo de Ciento* (*The Council of One Hundred*), a play by Antoni de Bofarull, focused not on the chivalric values of the Middle Ages but on democratic values.

It should also be borne in mind that the characters and plots of Catalan historical literature in the 1800s helped to construct the Catalanist interpretation of history. In its desire to depict a country that had once been independent and powerful, this narrative found the most glorious episodes in the Middle Ages and the reminder of defeat in the Modern Age. The efficiency and topicality of these re-creations can be seen by the extent to which they managed to construct a solid mythical building.

Above we have described the chivalric aspects of the Floral Games in Barcelona 1859. Let us now take a look at them from another angle. Apart from their formal setting, as Josep Maria Domingo has shown us (2009, 219), the Games were part of a much larger operation to modernise the city of Barcelona along the lines of “a liberal state under construction, industrial capitalism, the new urban order. These dynamics [...] led not only to a desire to aggrandize the Eixample² but also to organise a major literary event (the Games).” The event was an important part of the planning of the contemporary city, as were the names of the streets in the Eixample, which, among others, recall the ancient Catalan institutions – Consell de Cent, Diputació del General, Corts Catalanes –, heroes – Roger de Flor, Roger de Llúria, Entença, Muntaner, Borrell, Casanova – and the territories that had been part of the Crown of Aragon – Majorca, Valencia, Rosselló, Aragon, Provence, Sicily, Sardinia. This look back to the past was the work of the exalted progressive Víctor Balaguer and an expression of the contemporary spirit in chivalric dress.

History was not only re-created; it was also exploited for particular purposes. It was interpreted in accordance with certain interests. In the dedication to the book *Los trovadors nous*, the moderate liberal Antoni de Bofarull (1858, 9) wrote: “For past time... a tear. For the present... a sigh. For the future... a glance.” The first poem of the collection was entitled “Crit a la joventut catalana. L’esperança” (“Call to Catalan youth. The hope”). After the first flush of the initial stages, troubadourism helped to keep the Catalan-Occitan brotherhood alive. The most persistent example of updating the past is the long tradition of using the myth of the almogavar from the historical expedition to the East, particularly in the 1800s. The poem “La indústria catalana” (“Catalan Industry”) by Josep Sol i Padrís, which uses the almogavar war cry to defend industry, and the recurrence of the theme in the texts about the war in Morocco in 1859 are just two of the many examples. Hundreds of fictions decorated with chivalric forms really explain contemporary ideals and interests.

This is made particularly evident by the prevalence of medieval episodes that develop the “democratic myth”: the confrontations between Francesc Vinatea and Alfons the Kind, the councillors of the Unió Valenciana and Pere III, Joan Fiveller and Ferdinand of Antequera, the Generalitat and Joan II. The 19th-century writers did not focus on these episodes from the point of view of their significance or results at the time, but from the point of view of the present. *L’orfeneta de Menargues* by Antoni de Bofarull clearly shows that the myth defends the foundations of contemporary citizenship. As representative of the city of Barcelona, Joan Fiveller speaks to the King in the following terms: “If the King refused to pay the tax, which had been imposed by the Republic, then for the same reason the Republic could refuse to pay what they owed the King,” (Bofarull 1862, 330). The lesson that the councillor gives Ferdinand I, unversed in Catalan practices, is a perfect example of monarchic constitutionalism:

You have a proposition, but parliament may have others, which you cannot ignore. The parliament is a body that has arms and you are the head, not the whole. When a law leaves its sanctuary, it states that *it pleases the King* but it begins with the words *Parliament orders*. This tells you, Sire, what everybody’s rights are, and it will teach you that in this world the head can never be separated from the arms and the body. (Bofarull 1862, 181)

The most deliberate and collective manoeuvre for using chivalrous matter with a contemporary political intention was initiated in the middle of the 1850s by Víctor

² A district of the city of Barcelona set out in a strict grid pattern.

Balaguer's literary circle. Well-known progressives and democrats, immediately after the Progressive Biennium, unfurled an extensive literary battery based on the doctrine set out by Lluís Cuxet in *Cataluña vindicada* and by Víctor Balaguer in *La libertad constitucional*. Víctor Balaguer's theory is essentialist: the Catalans have always been "independent", peaceful when their rights and institutions, which he associates with the constitutional monarchy of the 19th century, are respected and rebellious when they are not. Not long afterwards he expounded these arguments in the *Historia de Cataluña*. This defence of liberty by the Catalans found expression in the war the Generalitat waged against John II, in the War of the Reapers and the War of the Spanish Succession. These three Old Regime conflicts were interpreted in a favourable light for the interests of 19th-century progressivism and republicanism, and once again chivalry is used to publicise the contemporary ideal. In the late 1850s, the emphasis was on the medieval war – *Amor a la patria* (*Love of Country*) and *Áusias March* by Víctor Balaguer – and, particularly, the War of the Reapers (see, for example, *Un Corpus de Sangre* [*Bloody Corpus*] and *El pendón de Santa Eulalia* [*The Banner of Saint Eulalia*], by Manuel Angelon and *Les vespres catalanes* [*The Catalan Vespers*], by Josep Anselm Clavé. This operation had an interesting complement in banditry. In the novels and plays that Manuel Angelon and Víctor Balaguer wrote about them, Perot Rocaguinarda and Serrallonga are always described as aristocrats, whose generosity and nobility have condemned them to seeking refuge in the mountains. Both Rocaguinarda and Serrallonga's widow, Joana Torrelles, who also seems to be from one of the most important Barcelona families, are patriots who play a decisive role in the War of the Reapers and are in touch with such leading politicians of the age as Pau Claris. Balaguer goes a little bit further and unashamedly transmits the 19th-century political tension in which he was immersed: "The way we see it, the *Narros* were the liberal and popular spirit of the age; the *Cadells* represented the aristocratic spirit and the spirit of the prerogatives and privileges of the nobility" (Balaguer 1863, 19). This is a manipulation of historical reality which, against all evidence to the contrary, Balaguer always respected. It is an extreme example of how those people who condemn themselves to social alienation to maintain their chivalrous ideals are really campaigning in favour of the contemporary spirit, that of liberty, and not the liberty of the 17th century but the liberty that arose out of the revolution. In a Hamletian – or Zorrillian – appearance, the ghost of Serrallonga's father warns him, "Undoubtedly just on this earth is / the cause that you have embraced; / but, although your secret longing / is of noble hearts, it is not of this century, don Juan, / but only within the reach / of future generations" (Balaguer 1858, 93). Victory was not possible for Serrallonga, because in the 17th century the conditions were not right, but the bandit-knight could serve as an example, as a myth for those who, like Víctor Balaguer, were preparing the revolution that finally came about in 1868.

At the beginning of the 1860s, the group led by Frederic Soler, alias Serafí Pitarrá, made an obvious parody of the "ancient" features of the Floral Games and he argued in favour of a modern model of language – the "Catalan that is spoken now" – and not the "ancient" solutions put forward by the Games. Soler wrote a series of irreverent parodies of medievalism which portray the aristocratic principles and actions in a grotesque light. His portrayal of the myth of all myths, *Don Jaume el conqueridor*, was that of a highly unlikely hero, and in *Don Pere d'Aragó*, perhaps in collaboration with Conrad Roure, the scene of the hero's conception takes place in a brothel in Montpellier. The parody becomes generic in nature in *El castell dels tres dragons* [*The Castle with Three Dragons*], in which he uses humour to dismantle the commonplaces applied to aristocrats: nobility of blood, distinguished behaviour, high ideals. The

character Ganyota explains it to Manfredo thus: “What you have always thought, / is wrong from start to finish. / I’ll tell you just how it is; / they go for walks and eat their fill, / and even blow their noses and catch colds, / just like everybody else” (Soler n. d., 4). They have red blood like other people and, in short, as is announced in the last lines of the play, “Don’t be taken in, the warriors / are just like you and me” (Soler n. d., 56).

However, as we have seen, the ideologies that aimed to construct modernity also needed historical references. Alongside characters from all over the world and different ages, the Catalan progressives and republicans found in Pau Claris, Rafael Casanova, the Majorcan and Valencian brotherhoods and, to a slightly lesser extent, Joan Fiveller, the myths that best represented their ideals. For this reason, the leaders of the Brotherhood Joan Colom and Joan Crespí were championed by those Majorcans of advanced ideas and the Catalan republicans placed portraits and busts of Pau Claris and Rafael Casanova in their science and arts associations (Gabriel, 99).

3.4. Modernity in contemporary fiction

Between the 1830s and 1850s, most Catalan writers who struggled for modernity used Spanish. Pere Mata, Antoni Ribot i Fontseré are some of the prime examples. The most notable exception is Josep Robrenyo, author of antiabsolutist political *sainets* that had considerable repercussions. They defended liberalism and constitutionalism during the Liberal Triennium (1820-1823), and were openly anti-Carlist and anti-clerical in the 1830s. Abdó Terrades, the pioneer of Republicanism, wrote in Spanish the short novel *La Esplanada* (*The Esplanade*), a denouncement of the absolutist repression of 1828, but in Catalan the anti-monarchic theatrical satire *Lo rei Micomicó* (*King Micomicó*) and the poem that ended up becoming the anthem of Catalan republicanism, *La campana* (*The Bell*). His writing is explicitly anti-monarchic – “The day has come / that the people have so yearned for; / be off, tyrants, the people wish to rule” (Terrades, 24-25) –, anti-aristocratic – “The court and the nobility, the pride of riches, / have finally fallen to our level” (Terrades, 25) – and they praise people and freedom – “Look how elegant / the banner of the people is, / what freedom it promises us if it is ever raised” (Terrades, 25).

In the 1860s, Víctor Balaguer, who made considerable use of historical literature for progressive purposes and whose *Historia de Catalunya* provided the material for 19th-century *englantisme*, launched a manifesto in favour of current poetry, *La nova musa* (*The New Muse*). In it he attacked out-of-date poetic forms: “And why should we, when it is no longer part of this century, / go back in time, and resuscitate the verses / of a dead poetry that is lying underground?” (Balaguer 1866, 129). As an alternative to poetic candidness, he suggests the struggle for contemporaneity: “This century is one of struggle. Struggle, then, oh poets, / at once soldiers and apostles. These are no longer times / for writing playful, graceful verses / and spending the days at our loved one’s feet, / reciting innocent, tearful poems” (Balaguer 1866, 129). The contrast between the gaze to the past – folklore, medievalism – and the gaze to the future leads to a clear confrontation between the chivalrous ideal and modernity: “Can we while away the time by listening to tales / when the train is taking us to and fro, / when the idea and not the sword wins battles, / and our thoughts can be whisked from one of the world to the other / with no limits and no barriers by the talking wire?” (Balaguer 1866, 130). The conclusion, which focuses on the substance of poetry, is a proclamation in favour of a poetry that struggles for people’s rights and against tyranny. It is a struggle that is not based on military force but on new ideas. It does not exclude history as Balaguer understood it, alongside the concepts that are the driving forces behind contemporaneity:

Poetry is regenerative and noble
 when it defends the oppressed from the unworthy tyrant
 when it upholds virtue and scorns the ignoble...
 the cause of the poet today is the cause of the people.
 Today, might is not strength: strength lies in the spirit.

[...]

He who best sings to faith, country,
 progress and industry, liberty and glory
 shall be the best of all poets. (Balaguer 1866, 131)

In opposition to the “innocent school” of the pure historicists, Balaguer developed this line of argument in the description of his literary “national school”:

To this latter school belong those who are inspired by the ideas of the century, those who demolish and then construct, those who live from the powerful life of the modern generations, those who feel in the throbbing of their brain the pulse of life of a people called for great things, those who find the possibility and hope of better times to come in their mourning and sorrow for the memory of past ages; in a word, those who mourn the ruin of the Catalan nation and praise its glorious memories, weep with the people and speak to them in the language of their fathers (Balaguer 1866, 80-81).

This poetics gave rise not only to his own poems on the myths of the revolution such as “Lo cant d’en Garibaldi” (“The Song of Garibaldi”) or the poem dedicated to Espartero, which became a eulogy for freedom fighters of all ages, but also to poems by other writers about progress, liberty, egalitarianism and their referents.

Some of the feuilletons in Spanish written by Catalan republicans, systematically and in a wealth of detail, attack the referents of the Old Regime and defend modernity. The novels by Ceferí Tressera denounce ecclesiastical conspiracies – *El poder negro* (*Black Power*), narrate the attempts to construct a response to oppression and reveal the clandestine life of Masonic or Carbonari secret organisations. A long feuilleton by Antoni Altadill, *Los hijos del trabajo* (*The Sons of Toil*) is particularly relevant. The first part is set in Madrid and the influence that the aristocracy still has in parliament is clear. The novelist regards this as an anachronism, an indication that Spain is behind the times. He uses the description of a marquise to juxtapose the ideas and signs of modernity:

She had all the preoccupations of breeding that the unenlightened nobles have in Spain more than in other countries, still struggling to come to terms with the spirit of equality that pervades our century, and which are perfectly represented by the powerful agents of the railway and photography, which transport the rich and the poor, the noble and the plebeian at the same speed and portray without the slightest flattery and with the same accuracy (Altadill, I: 267).

When the novel moves to Barcelona, it changes quite drastically. The forms are different and so is society. Barcelona is a city with factories, where work establishes the guidelines of society. The contemporary ideal dominates or strives to impose itself:

Barcelona was regarded at the time as the place where all revolutionary plots were hatched and carried out, and, as such, it was considered to be a constant threat to public order. And its sensible people, who have proven their good sense

time and time again, were thought to be a constant element of disruption (Altadill 1866, II: 6).

Costumbrism also gave the aristocracy up for dead. In the costumbrist work *El ball de Serrallonga* (*The Serrallonga Dance*), Robert Robert contrasts the first advances made by progress and the horrors of the Old Regime, which “means convents and things like that, evil customs, streets with no lights, provinces with no roads or postal service, and four-wicked lamps; it means that the man of leisure was a person and the working man a swine in the eyes of the law. It means men being hung, having their throats slit, being dismembered, having their tongues cut out” (Robert, 79). It’s not difficult to identify “the man of leisure” and “the working man” that the law treated so differently.

The theatre in Catalan revealed the new ways of living and the interests of the new age: current affairs, revolutionary events, new forms of spirituality, alternative medicines, the bad living conditions of the workers. The Revolutionary Six-Year Period produced plays that denounced the evil effects of military campaigns on the working classes (for example, *Quintes i caixes* [*Drafts and New Recruits*], by Gervasi Amat) and the abuses of parapolice organisations (for example, *La ronda d’en Tarrés* [*Tarrés’ Beat*] by Ermengol Marquès). Others, like Silvestre Molet celebrated the proclamation of revolution in *Lo 29 de setembre* (*The 29 September*). These years also saw satires written about the monarchy (for example, *L’últim rei de Magnòlia* [*The Last King of Magnolia*] by Frederic Soler). These satires, and sometimes parodies, revealed the complete repertory of the Republican demands. The revolutionary concepts Liberty, Equality and Fraternity spawned secondary concepts such as the rejection of slavery and of war, praise of the people and the exaltation of the Revolution in works such as *La passió política* (*The Political Passion*), by Joan Alonso del Real and Josep Roca i Roca, and *Lo primer any republicà* (*The First Republican Year*) and *Mai més monarquia!* (*No More Monarchy!*), by Rossend Arús i Arderiu.

An interesting conceptual derivation came about in some of the songs by Josep Anselm Clavé at the end of the 1850s and beginning of the 1860s. The use of Republican principles in songs that had become anthems popularised them among the workers and in great swathes of the population. One of these poems, *La Maquinista*, proudly uses the lexis of work and places it on the same level as the words normally regarded as “poetic.” The revolution of language put an end to a secular tradition in passages such as the following:

When the iron begins to spark
fine sand is sprinkled,
until the glowing bar
is removed from the furnace.
The light hammer is used to shape it,
and within arms reach,
he can find the sledgehammer, the cross pein hammer,
squares and cutting tools. (Clavé, 877)

The substitution of the troubadouresque language for the language of work announces another, deeper revolution that fully impacts on the so-called chivalrous virtues. Although honour had been described as the exclusive patrimony of knights, or aristocrats, who boasted about not having to work, from that moment on, there was a spectacular rhetorical turnabout. Now that workers could be proud of their condition and that the words belonging to particular jobs and industry in general were regarded as poetic, work became the new supreme value and all those who did not work were no

longer considered to be honourable. Poetry proclaimed that “the most honourable bells / are the bells of work” (Clavé, 878). All this is possible because progress has released the people and given the workers a different position in the world:

The dawn of progress,
 By manumitting slaves,
 Removed the stigma of the glebe
 From our brows.
 At the banquet of the world,
 Today, the worker now has a place;
 The troubadours preach the glory of work.
 Progress, virtue and love
 Is our holy motto;
 We are soldiers of industry,
 We are soldiers of peace. (Clavé, 878)

The troubadours moved on and started to sing about Work, Progress, Industry and Peace. Clavé penned an alternative motto for the Floral games – Faith, Country, Love – in which Faith and Country were replaced by Progress and Virtue. Virtue is associated no longer to Christianity but to citizenship, and citizens are no longer subjects but participants in the life of the republic and the life of work, the most sacred duty, essential for honour. With this operation, modernity appropriated words from chivalry and applied them to another social group. The same occurred in the novels and dramas written by republicans during the same period; pride in work – remember that this was already traditional among Catalans towards the end of the Old Regime – replaced pride in the nobility of blood.

There are numerous examples of this semantic substitution. In *Barcelona y sus misterios* (*Barcelona and its mysteries*), by Antoni Altadill (1860–1863, 290), one of the characters exclaims, “My equals call me Augusto, but there should be no inequality between people merely because one is more fortunate than the other.” *Jorge el artesano* (*Jorge the craftsman*), a play in Spanish that Antoni Altadill wrote in conjunction with Enrique Pérez Escrig, puts forward the argument that “all men are equal; / but an honest craftsman / is worth more than a rich man / who has neither virtue nor heart.” (Pérez Escrig – Altadill, 27). *L’ajuda de Déu* (*With the Help of God*), by Francesc de Sales Vidal (34) argues the same principle: “With pride and without dishonour / I display my humble condition: / I prefer to be an honourable poor man / than to have gold but no honour.” It is argued that workers earn what they have whereas the rich either inherit it or obtain it by exploiting the workers. For example, in *Lo 29 de setembre*, by Silvestre Molet, Patrici is proud of his “dignified poverty” and asks a rich man a rhetorical question about who is most honourable, “I, who wear a shirt / or you who stole it from me?” (Molet, 74). In *Un poll ressuscitat* (*A Resuscitated Louse*), by Marçal Busquets, Manel, the poor suitor of the daughter of a family that has unexpectedly come into money, compares the aristocracy of a baron – who is finally revealed to be an impostor – with his nobility as a worker: “Of the two, I know not who is most noble: / he who eats and does little else, / or he who works and maintains / the prosperity of the people” (Marçal Busquets, 32). In *Amor i gratitud* (*Love and Gratitude*) by Modest Busquets, a waiter who is being made fun of by an officer exclaims, “He thinks he has the right / because he is a military man and noble / to treat a son of the village / like a child, like a simpleton” (Modest Busquets, 8). In one of the most popular plays of 19th-century theatre, *Lo ferrer de tall* (*The Bladesmith*), by Frederic Soler, a historical drama that

turns on the issue of honour, when the Baron proclaims that he is noble, the blacksmith replies, “And I am even more so! I am a bladesmith / an honourable man who lives from his work!” (Soler 1981, 114). And he goes on to say that “it is as honourable to work as / a masked bladesmith / as to be a noble, tanned / by the sun on the battlefield” (Soler 1981, 18). The play has been likened to the drama of the Spanish Baroque, but the republican Frederic Soler added to it the greater dignity of work so characteristic of the 19th century. In the first proletarian drama of Catalan theatre, *La virtut i la consciència* (*Virtue and Conscience*), by Eduard Vidal i Valenciano, Angeleta, a working woman who has just lost her job, defends the virtues of work:

I remember reading
That work is the wealth
That is to kill off poverty,
So off to work I have always gone.
After all, father, you
Were a worker:
I come from your seed
And my breast swells with pride. (Vidal i Valenciano, 15)

The exaltation of work as the heritage of workers exhibited and defended with pride became one of the main topics in republican and anarchist literature

4. The spirit of Catalonia

Spirit and identity are more or less equivalent words for defining the personality of a country. In the title, I have chosen the first, which is less used at present, in tribute to the book by Josep Trueta *The Spirit of Catalonia*, published by Oxford University Press in 1946. This essay was written in 1941 by an eminent surgeon – who saved the life of millions of people wounded in the war and was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Medicine – to explain to the English-speaking public how Catalonia had contributed to Western civilization. Democracy and pacifism were described as constituent features of the Catalan people, who would be able to overcome the extreme difficulties that they were experiencing: “Once again, in the near future, Catalonia will return, peacefully and anxious to be a good neighbour, if she too is shown good neighbourliness; rough, distracted, and a source of permanent trouble, if she is tortured” (Trueta 189). These are the same principles espoused by Pau Casals, to whom Trueta’s book was dedicated, to the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1971, when he was awarded the Peace Medal. By way of gratitude, he played *El cant dels ocells*, a traditional Catalan song, on the cello for all the world dignitaries. Josep Trueta and Pau Casals externalised the qualities that were characteristic of the Catalans of the Middle Ages; Casals, what is more, introduced a traditional song. Two men who were fully representative of their age, contemporary geniuses of medicine and music, claimed that radically contemporary values rooted in the times of chivalry were inherent to the country from which they had been exiled by a Fascist dictatorship. In a recent book, Josep Fontana confessed that the motivation that led him to write it was that he wanted to “seek explanations for the fact that we Catalans are today a people with a strong sense of identity, of belonging to a collective that largely shares not only language and culture but also ways of understanding society and the world” (Fontana, 7). He explains this identity as the result of a political evolution “that eventually formed a social contract that made them aware that they were participants in the rights and freedoms that characterised their society” (Fontana, 8). With the exception of the anachronisms of each period, these rights and freedoms are more in keeping with modernity than a forgotten chivalrous ideal. The

conclusion drawn by historical science is not too far removed from the essays and impressions of Trueta and Casals

In this article I have decided not to go directly into the historians' debate on the bourgeois or popular origin of Catalanism – Jordi Solé Tura and Josep Termes, respectively – but, inevitably, as part of the literary analysis I have touched on it. Having clarified some clichés, it is obvious that historical literature does not always reflect a reactionary spirit but, just like literature set in the present, can have a wide range of intentions. We have seen that even cultural platforms that have been so criticised for their archaeological spirit such as the Floral Games of Barcelona were following a plan for modernisation. We have witnessed the historical manipulations of Víctor Balaguer and other writers of the same ilk in an attempt to promote such up-to-date ideologies as progressivism and republicanism. We have given examples of the literature that 19th-century Catalans wrote to fight against the Old Regime and contribute to extending progress and social justice. And we have discussed a significant conceptual substitution that took place when a clichéd chivalrous value – honour – was used by workers to exalt work, something that was alien to the aristocrat's world.

This focus on the past has affected modern-day Catalans in that they have an interest in history and in the physical country that does not involve a desire to return to former times. Although establishing a connection with a rural landscape does involve conservationism or a return to the country, looking back to the past tends to be associated with advanced ideological options, as is the case in the whole of Western culture. The persistence of many Catalans in their struggle for freedom and democracy, insistently proclaimed by Víctor Balaguer in the middle of the 19th century, has been confirmed by the attitude adopted in response to the social and national circumstances in the last two eventful centuries.

Works Cited

- Altadill, A. *Barcelona y sus misterios*. Madrid-Barcelona: Librería Española de Emilio Font/Librería Popular-Económica, 1860-1863.
- . *Los hijos del trabajo*. Barcelona: Librería Española de López Bernagosi, editor, 1866.
- Anguera, P. *Els precedents del catalanisme*. Barcelona: Editorial Empúries, 2000.
- Balaguer, V. *Don Juan de Serrallonga o Los bandoleros de las Guillerías. Drama en cuatro actos y un prólogo*. Barcelona: Salvador Manero, 1863 [third edition].
- . *Don Juan de Serrallonga. Novela*. Salvador Manero, 1858.
- . *Esperansas y recorts*. Barcelona: Jaume Jepús, 1866.
- Berger, P. L. & Th. Luckmann. *La construcció social de la realitat*. Barcelona: Herder, 1996.
- Bofarull, A. de. *Los trovadors nous*. Barcelona: Salvador Manero, 1858.
- . *L'orfeneta de Menargues o Catalunya agonisant*. Barcelona: Salvador Manero, 1862.
- Busquets, M. *Un poll ressucitat. Comedia en un acte y en vers*. Barcelona: Estampa de Lluís Tasso, 1865.
- Busquets, M. *Amor y gratitud. Drama bilingüe en un prólogo y dos actos*. Barcelona: Salvador Manero, 1867.
- Clavé, J. A. "La Maquinista." In R. Canadell i Rusiñol. *Josep Anselm Clavé i l'escriptura: obra poètica i periodisme cultural. Edició, índexs i estudis* (Vol. II). Doctoral thesis. Supervisor: Rosa Cabré i Monné. Universitat de Barcelona, 2012.
- Domingo, J. M. "Ser poeta. Sobre Roudor de Llobregat de Joaquim Rubió i Ors." In *Professor Joaquim Molas. Memòria, escriptura, història* (vol. I). Barcelona: Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2003. 357-370.
- . "Renaixença: el mot i la idea." *Anuari Verdaguer* 17 (2009): 215-234.
- Fontana, J. *La formació d'una identitat. Una història de Catalunya*. Vic: Eumo editorial, 2014.
- Gabriel, P. *Símbols i mites a l'Espanya contemporània*. Reus: Edicions del Centre de Lectura, 2001.
- Granja, J. L. de la, J. Beramendi, & P. Anguera. *La España de los nacionalismos y las autonomías*. Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 2001.
- Hauser, A. (1966). *Història social de l'art i de la literatura* (Vol. I). Barcelona: Edicions 62.
- Hobsbawn, E. & T. Ranger. *L'invent de la tradició*. Vic: Eumo, 1998.
- Jochs Florals de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Llibreria de Salvador Manero, 1859.
- Jorba, M. *Manuel Milà i Fontanals en la seva època*. Barcelona: Curial, 1984.
- Lebovics, H. (1995). *La "Vraie France." Les enjeux de l'identité culturelle, 1900-1945*. Paris: Berlin, 1995.
- Leerssen, J. *When was Romantic Nationalism? The onset, the long tail, the banal*. Antwerp: Nise, 2014.
- Miracle, J. *La restauració dels Jocs Florals*. Barcelona: Aymà, 1860.
- Molet, S. *Lo 29 de setembre. Drama en tres actes y en vers*. Barcelona: Estampa de Salvador Manero, 1871.
- Pérez Escrig, E. & A. Altadill. *Jorge el artesano. Drama en cuatro actos y en verso*. Madrid: Imprenta de José Rodríguez, 1854.
- Pons i Gallarza, J. Ll. *Poesies*. Palma de Mallorca: Editorial Moll, 1975.
- Prats, Ll. *El mite de la tradició popular*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1988.
- Robert, R. *La Barcelona del Vuit-cents*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1965.

- Soler, F. *El ferrer de tall*. Barcelona: Editorial Selecta, 1981.
- . *Lo castell dels tres dragons. Gatada cavalleresca en dos actes, en vers y en catalá del qu'ara's parla*. Barcelona: Antoni López editor, n. d., 5th edition.
- Sunyer, M. *Els mites nacionals catalans*. Vic: Eumo, 2006.
- . "El mite de la terra alta." *Caplletra* 50 (2011): 158-180.
- . *Mites per a una nació. De Guifrè el Pelós a l'Onze de Setembre*. Vic: Eumo, 2015.
- Terrades, A. "La campana." In J. Molas. *Poesia catalana romàntica*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1974. 24-26.
- Trueta, J. *L'esperit de Catalunya*. Mexico: Institució de Cultura Catalana, 1950.
- Vidal, F. de Sales. *L'ajuda de Deu. Comedia bilingüe en un acto*. Barcelona: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Jaime Jepús, 1865.
- Vidal i Valenciano, E. *La virtud y la conciencia. Drama en quatre actes de costums catalanas*. Barcelona: Establiment Tipogràfic de Jaume Jepús, 1867.
- Yxart, J. *El año pasado. Letras y artes en Barcelona*. Barcelona: Librería Española de López, 1889.
- . *Obres catalanes*. Barcelona: Tip. L'Avenç, 1896.
- . "Prolech." In À. Guimerà. *Poesies*. Barcelona: La Renaixensa, n. d., 4th edition. 7-66.