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13 *Renaixença*

Abstract: This chapter provides an overview of the *Renaixença* movement, that is, the revival of Catalan language and literature in the second half of the 19th century. For a better understanding of the linguistic, cultural and socio-political changes associated with the movement, this article also describes the conditions in the early 19th century in terms of break and continuity. This includes the “roofing” of a mainly monolingual Catalan society by Spanish, the prestigious but foreign language, more closely linked with formal and written usage. The construction of the modern Spanish state and its ongoing centralisation are documented through the series of laws restricting the use of Catalan. This chapter’s main focus is the recovery of the language for literary use through the *Jocs Florals* poetry competition which was reinstated in 1859. The second focus regards the use of Catalan in the press. The late 19th century also saw the emergence of political Catalanism, a key ideological component of which became the nurturing of a separate language. As references to a common writing tradition had been lost over the previous centuries, the reintroduction of Catalan for most written uses triggered a debate over which model should be adopted for standardisation: one concerned with the past or one that took as its reference point the use of spoken Catalan at the time.

Keywords: language revival, literary use, print-media, language awareness, code conflict

1 Origin and meaning of the term *Renaixença*

The concept of *Renaixença*, that is to say, the revival of Catalan language and literature in the 19th century, is today a controversial notion (cf. Marfany 2001, 465–492). The term should not be confused with the *Renaixement*, the European Renaissance of classical ideas after the Middle Ages. The term *Renaixença* reflects the anthropomorphic view of language development starting with the birth of a language (or literature), followed by its golden age, its decline (formerly known as *Decadència* in Catalan) and either its revival or death (cf. Domingo 2009, 216).

Recent research has questioned this anthropomorphic model, arguing that the use of Catalan as a spoken language never really declined, therefore making the term *Renaixença* a misnomer. What is clear, however, is that the mid-1800s did see a surge of interest in the renewal of Catalan literature and the recovering of Catalan as a language for the literary (written and formal) use. Contemporary witnesses in the 1860s and 1870s expressed this idea through terms such as: *despertament* (‘awakening’), *desvetllament* (‘arousal’), *renaixement* or *renaixensa* (‘re-birth’), *resurrecció* (‘resurrection’), *restauració* (‘restoration’), *revifalla* (‘revival’) or *reviscolança* (‘resurgence’) (Duran i Tort 2001, 51–52). While these

terms commonly appeared in collocations such as literary, artistic, industrial or scientific revival (Duran i Tort 2001, 52), what the Catalan language needed, however, was to be awoken, not revived.

The consolidation of the term *Renaixença* during the 1890s, written in uppercase and without qualifying adjectives, may have been influenced by the prestigious publishing company “La Renaixensa” (Duran i Tort 2001, 53), which published a fortnightly magazine of the same name (1871–1880), which was later converted into a political newspaper (1881–1905). In its first period, the magazine provided a platform for those parts of Catalan society that shared a love for their homeland and for the Catalan language (Duran i Tort 2001, 207).

The *Renaixença* movement shows similarities with other attempts to renew language and literature, such as the Italian *Risorgimento*, the Galician *Rexurdimento* or the Occitan *Felibrige*, with which the Catalan movement shared a rather unfruitful and conflict-laden relationship.

In this first approximation of the concept of *Renaixença* it should be mentioned that, in parallel with the Romantic idea of language, the idea of *patria* was also taking shape. Therefore, it is no surprise that different political movements deeply linked with the different linguistic manifestations appeared and formulated their objectives about the place of Catalonia and other Catalan-speaking areas within the framework of the different nation states to which they belonged.

2 The language policy of the modern state

The revival of Catalan language and literary culture coincides with the construction of the modern state in Spain, as well as in France and Italy where Catalan was also spoken. During the Spanish War of Independence (1808–1814) the 1812 Constitution represented the first liberal programme in Spain and established a limited hereditary monarchy with a government of elected representatives and based on the division of power. Although the liberal programme included some fundamental achievements such as freedom of thought and of the press, its centralism and demands for national unity clearly reflected the programme’s Jacobin legacy. Until the Spanish Constitution of 9th December 1931, none of the earlier constitutions or constitutional projects echoed the linguistic diversity of Spain.

From the beginning of the 19th century until the First Spanish Republic (1873–1874), there were several revolutionary periods followed by periods in which the previously implemented reforms were recalled and the old regime is re-installed. Despite these political upheavals, towards the end of the reign of Isabel II (1833–1868) liberalism was properly implemented and the centralist and unitary character of the state improved. This period of political instability, but eco-

conomic expansion gave way to the Bourbon Restoration (1875–1931), which consolidated the two-party system and fostered the values of bourgeois culture. At the end of the 19th century the former mainly monolingual society shifted definitively into a society where use of the language fulfilled the criteria of diglossia. This means that the use of Spanish (or French, respectively) was associated with formal communication (in the fields of political and legal, scientific-technical as well as socioeconomic communication), while Catalan was connected to the symbolic space of every-day expression and intimacy, as well as certain genres of high and popular literature (Ferrando Francés/Nicolás Amorós 2016, 304).

Throughout the entire 19th century several measures were taken by the central government which solidified the unification of Spain and strengthened the diglossic distribution of language usage. After the enactment of the *Nueva Planta* Decrees by which Philip V (1700–1724) suppressed the institutions, privileges and ancient charters in all parts of the former Crown of Aragon (###12 The Origins of Modern Catalan), other measures were established to support the construction of a centralised state and a homogeneous internal market. Among the multiple changes introduced in this period the most significant include the creation in 1844 of the *Guardia Civil*, a military force with the purpose of restoring order and protecting property, and the division of Spain into 49 provinces (1833) following the model of the French departments. After joining the Latin Monetary Union on the eve of the 1868 Revolution, the currency unit of the peseta and the decimal system of measurement were introduced.

In the second half of the 19th century, centralistic legislation was directly imposed on language use. The most important law due to its long-term impact was the *Ley de Instrucción Pública* or *Ley Moyano* (1857). This law made elementary education compulsory and free for all children attending public schools (article 7). Subjects to be taught in schools included, among others, Spanish language with spelling exercises (article 2), for which the only textbooks permitted were the grammar and orthography published by *Real Academia Española* (article 88). By this means, Spanish was set as the sole language of education.

There followed other laws concerning the civil code, which provoked protest from Catalan civil society. Firstly, the *Ley del Notariado* (1862) decreed that all public documents had to be written in Spanish (article 25). Secondly, the *Ley del Registro Civil* (1870) required all municipal courts to create a civil registry (article 2) thereby invalidating parish records and language used in them. The use of Spanish for marriage ceremonies was explicitly mandated (article 58). Finally, the *Ley de Enjuiciamiento Civil* (1881) required all documents be produced in Spanish (article 601).

Returning to the education system, the *Decreto Romanones* (1902), so named after the man who introduced it, Álvaro Figueroa, the Count of Romanones (1863–1950), is also worth mentioning. The decree made it a punishable offence to teach the catechism in languages other than Spanish (article 2). The “national

language” – so the argument went – should be known by all Spanish citizens and a lack of this knowledge would mean serious harm to the national interests (“los altos intereses de la Patria”).

3 Catalan in the early 19th century: break and continuity

Unlike the use of written Catalan in formal registers and genres, there are more than a few eyewitness testimonies for the healthy state of spoken Catalan at the beginning of the 19th century. Foreigners who visited Catalonia bear witness to the fact that Catalans largely spoke their own language, using Spanish either to a lesser extent or not at all. One such visitor was Alexandre Laborde (1773–1842) who travelled across the peninsula between 1800 and 1805 working as an archaeologist. He said of the Catalan language:

“Les Catalans ont une langue qui leur est particulière [...]. On la parle dans toute la Catalogne avec beaucoup de variations, suivant les divers cantons, avec plus de pureté sur les montagnes, avec plus d’altérations dans les grandes villes. La prévention nationale du Catalan lui fait préférer sa langue à celle des Espagnols; aussi le castillan est-il fort peu en usage dans la Catalogne; et, lorsqu’on l’y rencontre, il est défiguré et méconnaissable par le mélange d’expressions et de tournures catalanes” (Laborde 1827, 191–192).

While this quotation focuses more on Catalan and the language skills of the Catalans, the following quotation makes a more political assessment. Another famous traveller Richard Ford (1796–1858) visited Catalonia in 1831 and in 1845 published his book in which he attests to the otherness of Catalans and Catalonia: “The Catalans are neither French nor Spaniards, but a distinct people, both in language, costume, and habits [...]. Catalonia, [...], is the strength and weakness of Spain; and no province of the unamalgamating bundle which forms the conventional monarchy *de las Españas* hangs more loosely to the crown than this classical country of revolt, which is ever ready to fly off” (Ford ³1855, 392–393). According to these and many other eyewitness accounts, despite the restrictive legislation of the Spanish Crown (###19 Language Law and Language Policies), the language that most of the population acquired spontaneously at home was Catalan. Nevertheless, the influence of Spanish only continued to grow, not because it was taught at school, but rather due to its social and literary prestige. The status of Spanish as the language that provided access to knowledge and intellectual exchange should not be underestimated. This might have inspired the frequently quoted verdict of Antonio de Capmany y de Montpalau (1742–1813), who saw Catalan as an “idioma antiguo provincial, muerto hoy para la República de las

letras, y desconocido del resto de Europa” (1779, vol. 2, *Apendice de algunas notas*, 54). Therefore, in his in-depth reconstruction of the discourse on language in Catalonia in the early 19th century Kailuweit (1997) distinguishes between four types of ‘learned languages’ (*grammolects*) in contrast to the language transmitted at home (*genolect*): standard Spanish, regional Spanish, Spanish-influenced Catalan and traditional written Catalan (Kailuweit 1997, 124; 1999).

It appears that Catalan occupied a low status in this regard, while standard Spanish enjoyed a high status (diglossia). The lack of standardisation and the ongoing fragmentation of traditional spelling into dialectally marked practices contributed to this devaluation. One of the tasks of the *Renaixença* movement in the second half of the century was to readjust the functional distribution between Catalan and Spanish, not in terms of a break, but a ‘sudden linking’ of the concepts of language and the development of a social identity (Kailuweit 1997, 114). However, the process of *Überdachung* (Kloss 1978) or ‘roofing’ of Catalan by Spanish continued throughout the whole century (cf. Brumme 1997, 58–80).

At the end of the 18th century, but mainly during the Spanish War of Independence (1808–1814), the politically motivated use of Catalan initiated a break in the perception of the language and in the longer term led to essential changes in language awareness. One of the first signs of this awareness can be found in the *Gramatica i apologia de la llengua catalana* (1814), compiled in the middle of the Napoleonic invasion by Josep Pau Ballot (1747–1821). In his bilingual (Spanish and Catalan) dedication to the Spanish Royal Board of Commerce of Barcelona, Ballot, a priest, professor of rhetoric and author of several didactic works on Spanish and Latin, claimed that his grammar “pretende axáltar la lengua catalana y elevarla al mas alto grado de perfeccion” (1987, VI). On several occasions in the book, Ballot stresses that Catalan is a language in its full sense and not a dialect or jargon (Ballot 1987, XV and XXIX). He also viewed Catalan as a different language from Provençal or Limousine (Ballot 1987, 259). His grammar tried to systematise the different orthographical and morphological solutions that existed in parallel at the time. In his attempts to connect the contemporary usage of Catalan to the writing traditions of the 16th and 17th century, Ballot is to some extent in line with the advocates of ‘academic Catalan’ (Segarra in Ballot 1987, [29]; cf. 6).

Nevertheless, Ballot also poses the relevant question of whether it is worthwhile ‘cultivating the Catalan language if the language of the entire nation is Spanish’ (Ballot 1987, XXIV). Throughout the 19th century, the authors of grammars and dictionaries both for Catalan and Spanish edited in the Catalan-speaking areas would return to this question and more than a few authors endeavoured to provide resources for learning Spanish (Schmid 2014). There are distinct reasons for this, but one was to facilitate learning Spanish from the basis of Catalan as a mother tongue, which ultimately attests to the uninterrupted presence of the language in society. This can be seen in the *Gramática catalana-castellana* (1847)

by Magí Pers y Ramona, which set out to introduce Spanish through Catalan. According to Pers y Ramona, Catalans urgently needed to learn the ‘general language of the Spanish nation’ (Pers y Ramona 1847, 6) and with a little study they would be able to do so. This trend of promoting the acquisition of Spanish was countered by the trend of highlighting the drawbacks of writing in Catalan, with several authors criticising the lack of standardisation (cf. 6).

Another source of difficulty is discussed in the foreword to the first novel in Catalan. Antoni de Bofarull (1821–1892) (cf. 4.1) pointed directly to the lack of writing habits and the absence of a regulating authority to standardise the orthographical chaos. Over the years he would repeat and elaborate on this type of remark: [Since Catalan] ‘stopped being official, it has been written in many ways, with each author or publisher adopting the system that he thinks or knows is the best’ (Bofarull 1862, 10). In this context, it does not come as a surprise that the restitution of writing practices in Catalan was accompanied by several controversies surrounding spelling and morphology through the second half of the 19th century.

4 The recovery of written usages

4.1 Usage in poetry and literature

Traditionally in the case of Catalan, the decline of the language (*Decadència*) has been identified as the period from 1500 to the early 1800s, while the *Renaixença* was seen to start in 1833 with the publication of the poem *La pàtria. Trobes* (‘The Homeland. Minnesongs’) by Bonaventura Carles Aribau (1798–1862). This poem, published in the newspaper *El Vapor* was later renamed *La pàtria* (‘The Homeland’) and is generally known as *Oda a la Pàtria* (‘Ode to the Homeland’).

However, the impact of this poem has always been overestimated, as has Aribau’s contribution to the *Renaixença*. Indeed, this appraisal of the ode was target of criticism in one of the first extensive outlines of the *Renaixença* movement. In his *Historia del Renacimiento literario contemporáneo en Cataluña, Baleares y Valencia* (1880), Francisco María Tubino (1833–1888) argued that, though the ode is seen as the starting point of the movement, there are not sufficient grounds for this assessment (1880, 162; Domingo 2005, 41). This is in line with the opinion of more recent research that stresses Aribau’s lack of commitment to Catalan in his literary work, which is mainly written in Spanish (Rafanell 1999, 131). In fact, it is worth mentioning the point made by Hina that the ode can neither be seen as a parody of Romantic lyrics nor as a declared attachment to Catalan as a mother tongue (Hina 1978, 107; 1986, 119). Nevertheless, the ambivalence of this

lyrical masterpiece has contributed to perpetuating the traditional view of this poem as the starting point of the *Renaixença*.

The real beginning of the *Renaixença* should be situated somewhere between 1836 and 1839, when Joaquim Rubió i Ors (1818–1899) started publishing his first poems. In 1839, the first of what would later become his most popular poems came out under the pseudonym *Lo Gayter del Llobregat* ('The Piper of the Llobregat'). From February 1839 to November 1840 the *Diario de Barcelona* published 19 of these poems, which in 1841 were collected in the volume of the same name. The foreword to this volume would prove highly significant for his contemporaries. As well as advancing both the metrical and linguistic basis of Catalan poetry in the latter half of the 19th century, these poems are also set against an unmistakably Catalan backdrop. Instead of the troubadours and their world, these poems are concerned with the piper, Barcelona, the *Llobregat* river, the local craft world, and popular culture in the guise of high literature.

In 1863 Rubió i Ors was awarded the title of *Mestre en Gay Saber* ('Master in the Art of Poetry') and in 1890 was nominated president of the *Jocs Florals*. Despite his commitment to Catalan poetry and the literary revival he published and would continue to publish his works as an educationalist and biographer in Spanish. This is in line with the contemporary use of Catalan, which probably reached the low point in its recovery in the 1830s and 1840s before gradually rebuilding genre by genre up until the end of the century and beyond.

The *Jocs Florals* poetry competition was reinstated in Barcelona in 1859. The title harks back to medieval 'floral games' (###14.1 The Emergence of Modern Literary Catalan, and its Aftermath). The *Renaixença* movement was nostalgic for the glorious heyday of the Catalan empire in the Middle Ages, when Catalan political power and the Catalan language were at their zenith. The initiative in 1859 was followed by others in the other Catalan-speaking areas and contributed to restoring the usage of Catalan in literary (formal and written) contexts.

It has always been stressed that the *Renaixença* movement emerged under the influence of Western European Romanticism, particularly such medieval-style authors as Walter Scott (1771–1832) and Victor Hugo (1802–1885). Although the primary form of literary expression in Catalan was in verse, Catalan literature shared many of the main motifs and topics of European Romanticism (Ferrando Francés/Nicolás Amorós 2016, 316). The ongoing expansion of the literary use of the language gave rise to the full development of poetry, theatre and narrative fiction in the 1870s and 1880s thanks to authors such as Jacint Verdaguer (1845–1902), Àngel Guimerà (1845–1924) and Narcís Oller (1846–1930). The most difficult literary form to recover proved to be that of the novel, because the Catalan writing tradition of this type of prose had been lost in the Middle Ages and the new literary genres and trends of the 19th century were introduced via Spanish translations (Tayadella 2012, 98–99). The genre of the novel was not re-estab-

lished in Catalan until the publication of *La Orfaneta de Menargues* ('The Orphan Girl from Menargues', 1862) by Antoni de Bofarull. As Bofarull stated in the prologue to the novel, an impoverished vocabulary and lack of standardisation greatly hampered this revival of the genre in Catalan (Tayadella 2012, 104). Thanks to the predominant literary trends of Naturalism and Realism writers such as Oller consolidated the credibility of narrated facts and speech by describing and evoking everyday reality in Catalan.

The council of the *Jocs Florals* conceded the title of *Mestre en Gay Saber* to Guimerà in 1877 and to Verdaguer in 1880. There were three categories in the contest: *Patria, Fides, Amor* ('Country, Faith, Love'). The title *Mestre en Gay Saber* was awarded if a poet won all three prizes for a patriotic poem, a love poem and a religious poem. Verdaguer's contribution to the revival of Catalan literature cannot be overstated. Among his extensive output figure two important epics. At the time, the general idea prevailed that a literature had to possess an epic, that is to say, an artistic and linguistic referent, in order to count among the other national literatures (Pinyol i Torrents 2009, 219). The first epic *L'Atlàntida. Poema* (1878) formed the basis for Verdaguer's international reputation as it chants the mythical origins of the Iberian Peninsula and not those of a specific nation. The second epic *Canigó* (1886), which takes its name from the Pyrenean peak, articulates in a singular and metrically diverse way the birth of Christian Catalonia. In its entirety, this work constitutes the culmination of Catalan epic poetry in the 19th century.

The *Renaixença* reached its zenith around 1890 (Ferrando Francés/Nicolás Amorós 2016, 329), when the new artistic, literary and architectonic movement of Modernism took root. It was also during the late 19th and early 20th century that the first attempts to codify Catalan were made. A group of Catalan intellectuals from the modernist journal *L'Avenç* (1881–1893) started to think about how to bring an end to the prevailing (ortho-)graphic anarchy through a new codification of the language (Ferrando Francés/Nicolás Amorós 2016, 492–495). The beginning of the 20th century was marked by two events of major importance: the *Primer Congrés Internacional de Llengua Catalana* ('First International Congress on the Catalan Language', 1906) and the foundation of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (1907) as an "academic, scientific and cultural corporation the aim of which is scientific research, principally that involving all the elements of Catalan culture" (IEC 1992, 5).

4.2 The use of Catalan in the press

One of the most significant indices for the recovery of Catalan in the written domain is its use in the press. In contrast to the elevated and sophisticated, but often hackneyed use of language in the poetical creations of the *Jocs Florals*, the press

was able to reflect the more everyday use of the language. Although Spanish-speaking periodicals prevailed throughout the entire 19th century, following the restoration of the *Jocs Florals* the inclusion of Catalan compositions became more frequent to the point that some of the periodicals can be considered bilingual (Marcet i Salom 1987, vol. 2, 81). The earliest periodical publication related to the *Renaixença* movement in Catalonia was the fortnightly *Lo Verdader Català*, which only appeared from March to May of 1843 (six editions) and fell flat in a society still unfamiliar with this type of written Catalan (Marfany 2003, 649). Even its motto referred to the backward-looking view of the *Renaixença*: ‘The prosperity of Catalonia and memories of its greatness’. Another early periodical is *Lo Gay Saber* (1868–1869 and 1878–1883) the title of which alludes directly to the cultural background of the *Jocs Florals*. It is important to stress that this fortnightly publication presented itself as ‘made by Catalan, Majorcan and Valencian writers’, a claim reflected, for example, in the collaboration of Joaquim Rubió i Ors from Barcelona, Teodor Llorente (1836–1911) from Valencia and Marià Aguiló (1825–1897) originally from Majorca.

As already mentioned, the main organ of the Catalan revival movement was *La Renaixensa*, founded in 1871 by Pere Aldavert (1850–1932), who served as its director and was later seconded by the playwright and poet Àngel Guimerà. The main ideas published in this periodical revolved around Catalonia as a nation with the defining characteristics of its own language, history, law and economy and therefore in a position to restore its lost sovereignty (Duran i Tort 2001, 197). It should be highlighted that the periodical always strove to serve as a politically neutral platform for all those who felt strongly about Catalonia and the Catalan language. Only when *La Renaixensa* became a daily newspaper (1881) did it adopt political positions and lend its support to the *Memorial de Greuges* (‘Petition of Grievances’, 1885), el *Missatge a la Reina Regent* (‘Message to the Queen-Regent’, 1888) and the ‘Basis for a Catalan Regional Constitution’ (1892), known as *Bases de Manresa* (cf. 5.1).

Still within the framework of political Catalanism, May 1879 saw the publication of the first daily newspaper written entirely in Catalan. Founded by the father of the Catalan left-wing nationalism Valentí Almirall (1841–1904), the *Diari Català* was in circulation until June 1881. The paper had to change its name several times throughout its lifetime due to the multiple repressive allegations commonly made against the progressive press during that period in Spain (Figueres 1999, 33–52). The newspaper attempted to raise awareness of issues specific to Catalonia and Catalans, particularly among the working classes, and was a vocal supporter of federal republicanism (Figueres 1999, 348–355). Nevertheless, it should be stressed once more that the political press – like most of the press printed in the Catalan-speaking areas – was in Spanish. In this regard, Almirall’s engagement with federalism was visible in the biweekly journal *El Federalista*

(October 1868–March 1869) and the newspaper *El Estado Catalán* (Barcelona, 1869–1872 and Madrid, 1873), both written in Spanish.

Special attention should also be paid to the very healthy satirical press in Catalan. These periodicals had a great impact among the working class and peasants, who were not used to reading the daily newspapers and got their information through picture-based publications, mainly read aloud. One of the most influential and long-running publications with a federalist standpoint was *La Campana de Gràcia* (1870–1934). It was initially produced with a print-run of just 3,000 copies, but circulation increased rapidly, soon averaging around 10,000. In 1888, it ran 20,000 copies and is thought to have reached 30,000 copies in 1903 (Capdevila 2014, 61). It was followed by *L'Esquella de la Torratxa* (1872, 1874, 1879–1939), which achieved, for example, a print-run of 25,000 copies in 1898 (Capdevila 2013, 34). This is particularly significant given that in 1900 Catalonia's entire population was less than two million. *L'Esquella* was a republican, freethinking publication that presented itself as 'a satirical, humoristic, illustrated and literary periodical' (Capdevila 2013, 15). There was a considerable price gap between the two periodicals, with *L'Esquella* costing twice as much as *La Campana* in the late 1880s. While *La Campana* was more popular and belligerent and primarily written for the working classes, peasantry and a general public, *L'Esquella* had a moderate, more playful and less combative character aimed at a readership in a higher income bracket (Capdevila 2013, 32). It should also be mentioned that at the beginning of the 20th century both periodicals voluntarily adopted the orthographic norms of the IEC, which contributed to their popularisation (Capdevila 2013, 41).

In the other Catalan-speaking areas this type of press was also in rude health too. In fact, it was in Valencia that the first satirical magazine in Catalan *El Mole* came out (1837). It was founded and directed by Josep Maria Bonilla (1808–1880) and showed a particular interest in the issues affecting farmhands and day labourers. It adopted an anti-centralist position and had an acute awareness of Valencian history. The use of Catalan in *El Mole* should be understood in pragmatic terms, subordinated to its proselytism: to instruct the people it was necessary to speak the language most widely understood, in this case, Valencian (Balaguer 1988, 76). This position influenced the written form and spelling solutions adopted in the magazine, which obeyed the principles of Valencian "tal i com es parla" ('as people speak'; cf. 6.) and its closeness to the *apitxat* dialect (Balaguer 1988, 77).

In Palma (Majorca) a weekly satirical and humoristic magazine appeared in 1879. Called *La Ignorancia* (1879–1883), it continued in 1887 under the name *La Roqueta*. Contributors included the Majorcan writer and philologist Tomàs For-teza i Cortés (1838–1898) and the priest, folklorist, linguist and historian Antoni M. Alcover (1862–1932).

5 Language and nation building

5.1 Political Catalanism and language

After the failed attempt to redefine Catalonia's place in the Spanish state during the six revolutionary years (1868–1874), the 1880s and 1890s saw the development of political Catalanism. In September 1868 the Glorious Revolution, a military uprising, supported by Spanish liberals and republicans, led to the dethronement and exile of Queen Isabel II. In 1869 a liberal constitution was enacted and on 11th February 1873 the First Republic was proclaimed. This short-lived political regime – it came to an end on 29th December 1874 – went through five presidents, among them the Catalan republican and federalist Francesc Pi i Margall (1824–1901).

These events obliged several political movements to critically revise their positions. It can be assumed that during the first phase of the *Renaixença* movement 'Catalanism' covered more or less a sense of devotion to Catalan language and history. In this second phase, however, the term gained a more political connotation as the belief that Catalonia's political identity – or that of the Catalan-speaking areas – as a 'poble' ("Volk") or nation should be recognised. Thus, the fruitless attempts to establish a federal state in Spain during the First Republic sowed the seed for the emergence of a new political doctrine, that of political Catalanism and, more precisely, Catalan nationalism with the aim of restoring self-government (cf. Rafanell 1997, 229–269).

Although Catalonia's identity or otherness embraces different elements such as language, culture, history, economy and law, language as a distinguishing sign was promoted as the most important. From the very beginning of the organisation of political Catalanism, language has been a defining feature, as can be traced from the discussions of the *Primer Congrés Catalanista* (1880), which brought together all those interested in 'the progress and development' of Catalonia ("Bases", Figueres 1985, 67). Despite the discrepancies between the rather apolitical group including the editors and contributors of *La Renaixensa*, and the political group of Almirall's followers, the more than 700 participants agreed on the creation of an Academy of Catalan Language (*Acadèmia de la llengua catalana*). It was decided that the 25 members of this academy would be chosen from the *Mestres en Gay Saber* of the *Jocs Florals*. Based on the model of the French and Spanish Academies, this future Catalan academy was charged with fixing and polishing the language and compiling 'a good dictionary and a good grammar' (Figueres 1985, 146), in other words, 'to watch over our dear Catalan language' (Figueres 1985, 157). Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that a small minority made the case for other future options such as the adoption of a universal (though

artificial) language or the adoption of one major existing language, implied to be Spanish.

As a result of this First Catalanist Congress, the *Centre Català* (Catalan Centre) was founded with the aim of defending Catalonia's moral and material interests and achieving the union of all interested parties in that aim. Its first president was Frederic Soler (1839–1895), an outstanding playwright of Catalan Romantic theatre, although the driving force was Almirall. In 1883 the Centre organised the *Segon Congrés Catalanista* ('Second Catalanist Congress', 1883), which presented participants with a Programme of Catalanism (*Programa del catalanisme*). It is significant that the third point of this programme directly addressed the language: 'The Catalan nationalists aim that: [...] THIRD. The Catalan language is declared an official language of Spain to the same extent as the other languages spoken in the nation' (Illa i Munné 1983, 77).

On the initiative of the Catalan Centre, in 1885 the so-called *Memorial de Greuges* or *Memoria en defensa de los intereses morales y materiales de Cataluña* was handed to Alfonso XII of Spain (1874–1885). The complaints were formulated mainly by Almirall and a non-party commission and were adopted in a public ceremony chaired by Joaquim Rubió i Ors and in the presence of many figures in Catalan civil society. This first expression of political Catalanism requested that the Spanish government take a differentiated approach and implement a regional system in accordance with the existing Spanish regions. The predominant and 'unifying nature' of the Castilian people was contrasted with the 'analytical character' of the Catalans, a perspective that is also applied to the linguistic differences between Spanish and Catalan (1885, 40–41). Though the document mainly protested against the unification of Spanish civil law, at several points the Catalan language and its value to the Catalans was drawn upon to support their arguments. At the reception on 10th March 1885, the conservative politician Marià Maspons i Labrós (1840–1885) attested to the contemporary state of Catalan in his speech (Duran Solà 2009, 33): "No podemos usar nuestra lengua más que en nuestros hogares y en conversaciones familiares; desterrada de las escuelas, lo ha sido más tarde de la contratación pública y también de los tribunales, en los cuales muchas veces, y por muy ilustrados que sean, ni los jueces entienden a los testigos y procesados, ni éstos entienden a los jueces" (Maspons i Labrós 1968, 31).

The amalgamation of forces which represented distinct political directions broke apart when the more conservative elements separated to form the *Lliga de Catalunya* ('League of Catalonia', 1887), among them Àngel Guimerà and the highly influential architect and politician Lluís Domènech i Montaner (1850–1923). The *Lliga* also took an active role in drafting the *Missatge a la Reina Regent*, which was brought to the Queen-Regent María Cristina (1885–1902), who was named queen of the *Jocs Florals* in 1888. The Queen-Regent visited Catalonia for the inauguration of the Barcelona Universal Exhibition (1888), for which

the redesign of the former military garrison at the *Ciutadella* was completed. It is worth noting that the Queen-Regent was addressed in Catalan, a symbolic, but nonetheless remarkable act.

On the initiative of the *Unió Catalanista* ('Catalanist Union'), a platform founded in 1891 to fight the Spanish civil code, a meeting in Manresa was organised. This resulted in the *Bases de Manresa* (1892) or *Bases per a la Constitució Regional Catalana* ('Basis for a Catalan regional constitution'). The main points comprised home rule for Catalonia and the concession of administrative, economic and fiscal powers. One demand was that Catalan be made the sole official language: 'BASIS 3rd. The Catalan language will be the only one that, with official character, will be able to be used in Catalonia and in the relations of this region with the central power' (1900 [1892], 7).

After the decline of left-wing Catalanism under Almirall's leadership, the conservative wing gained influence. Most of its ideas were formulated around the periodical *La Veu de Montserrat* (1878–1900). Published in Vic and founded by Jaume Collell (1846–1932), this publication was the organ of moderate Catalan Catholicism and could count among its collaborators of the extremely influential bishop Josep Torras i Bages (1846–1916). The Catalanism defended from its pages focused mainly on Catalonia's religious identity and tradition, demanding the establishment of Catalan denominational schools and the use of Catalan in all religious services (Ramisa 1985, 87–92 and 161–163).

Perhaps the three most prominent articulations of Catalanism at the turn of the century were *Lo catalanisme* (1886) by Almirall, *La tradició catalana* (1892) by Torras i Bages and *La nacionalitat catalana* (1906) by Enric Prat de la Riba (1870–1917). In his book, Almirall reassessed and systematised the main ideas that can be identified in the left-wing manifestations of Catalanism. The subtitle of *Lo catalanisme: Motius que'l legitiman, fonaments científics y solucions practicas* ('Motives for its legitimisation, scientific bases and practical solutions') provides a brief overview of the book's content. The language issue is addressed as the most visible element of Catalan identity (2009, 98) and its use is defended in the following words: 'We talk and write in Catalan, and we will not stop using it until such time as we have obtained the great reparations that are owed to us. The use of our language is the most eloquent demonstration of our personality and an unanswerable argument in favour of the justice of our cause. As long as the Catalan language lives, every act of unification, carried out in any territory, will be a veritable act of tyranny' (2009, 90).

At the other end of the ideological spectrum was the right-wing Catalanism expressed in *La tradició catalana. Estudi del valor ètic i racional del regionalisme català* ('The Catalan Tradition. Study of the ethic and rational value of Catalan regionalism'), which was intended as a response to Almirall's *Lo catalanisme*. For a long time, it served as the breviary of Catalan Catholics, popularly

summarised with the motto ‘Catalonia will be Christian or will not exist’. According to Duran Solà (2009, 45), in *La tradició catalana* Torras i Bages stresses that Catalanism has been more concerned about its external and visible expressions, and less about its spirit or soul, that is to say, the national spirit, which is the life-giving element that connects the institutions of the nation. The Catalan spirit, forged over the centuries, is essentially Christian and the Catalan language is its expression:

‘[...] between the thought and its expression, that is, the language, there is an intimate relationship, like between a mould and the moulded one; [...]. Among all the social bonds, once Religion has been taken out, the language is what binds most strongly; it makes interaction closer, facilitates conversation and makes mutual relations warmer; therefore, it is the element that must not be forgotten by those who want to influence the people’ (Torras y Bages ³1913, 38–39).

More than one decade elapsed between these two contributions to political Catalanism from 1888 and 1892 and *La nacionalitat catalana* (1906). This period was characterised by two decisive events: the Hispano-American War (April–August 1898) and the subsequent loss of Cuba and the Philippines. Spain’s new status as an empire without colonies also had consequences for Catalonia, particularly, the industrial bourgeoisie. This particular class was suddenly obliged to channel its political and economic potential into the creation of Catalanist parties and a joint programme of Catalanism.

In 1899 the *Centre Nacional Català* (‘Catalan National Centre’) was created to pursue the cultural and political aims set out in the *Bases de Manresa*. Two years later the right-wing *Lliga Regionalista de Catalunya* (‘Regionalist League of Catalonia’, 1901–1936) was formed, by merging the former militants of the *Unió Regionalista* (‘Regionalist Union’, 1899) and the *Centre Nacional Català*. It disseminated its ideology through the periodical *La Veu de Catalunya* (1899–1936), which started with a print-run of 3,000 copies (Figueres 2014, 166).

One of the most notable members of the *Lliga Regionalista* was the lawyer and politician Enric Prat de la Riba who argued that Catalonia was a nation with its own laws, language, art, collective spirit and thought (2007, 49 and 100). In line with German Romanticism and Johann Gottfried Herder’s (1744–1803) idea of the *Volk* (Prat de la Riba 2007, 79–80), the language plays a crucial role in *La nacionalitat catalana*: ‘The nation [poble] that has been unable to construct its own language, is a crippled nation, because the language is the most perfect demonstration of the national spirit and the most powerful instrument of nationalisation, and therefore of the conservation and life of the nationality’ (Prat de la Riba 2007, 91)

By reviewing Catalonia’s distant, but also recent past and that of the “països de llengua catalana” (‘the Catalan-speaking countries’; 2007, 97–100), Prat de la Riba set out the principal ideas on the decay and restoration of Catalan, ideas

which often persist to the present-day research on these topics despite sometimes being disguised as a new approach.

5.2 The construction of a symbolic repertoire

The last two decades of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century saw the establishment of the now generally acknowledged benchmarks of the Catalan community. As has been stated, language was defined as the most significant unifying element of this community. Another very important reference was law (cf. 2). However, as in many other cases, the concept of belonging to a group, particularly a nation, is transmitted through a set of elements such as the flag, the coat of arms, the national anthem or the national holiday.

Around 1890 the so-called *senyera*, that is to say, the flag of four red stripes on a yellow background, took root as the symbol of Catalanism and was accepted as the national flag in times by *Solidaritat Catalana* ('Catalan Solidarity', 1906), a broad-based Catalanist coalition (Anguera 2010c). The flag itself is based on the coat of arms of the Crown of Aragon.

The anthem *Els segadors* ('The reapers') is a song from the oral tradition and refers to the Catalan Revolt (*Guerra dels segadors*) from 1640–1652. It was performed for the first time in 1892 heard in the adaptation made by Francesc Alió (1862–1908). Its incorporation into the repertoire of the *Orfeó Català* (Catalan Choral Society), founded in 1891, was key to its dissemination (Anguera 2010a). In 1931 it was declared to be the national anthem of Catalonia.

Among other popular and well-established dances, in the second half of the 19th century the *sardana* circle dance became the 'symbol and mirror of the inner union of the people' (Anguera 2010b), as claimed in 1894 by the Catalan lawyer, politician and writer Terenci Thos i Codina (1841–1903).

Other elements from the religious tradition were also integrated in the symbolic repertoire of nation building. In 1881 Pope Leo XIII declared the *Mare de Déu de Montserrat* ('Our Lady of Montserrat') Catalonia's patron saint. She shares this status with *Sant Jordi* (Saint George), who gained in popularity throughout the *Renaixença* due to a more secular and combative patriotic component (Anguera 2010d, 7). In 1881 the *Associació Catalanista d'Excursions Científiques* ('Catalanist Association of Scientific Excursions') began holding an award ceremony on 23rd April (Saint George's Day) that turned into an annual ritual (Anguera 2010a, 33). Both this day, on which offerings of roses were made, and the 11th September were adopted as national days. According to Anguera (2008, 8), the marking of the 11th September started in 1886 with a commemoration of those who were killed defending the city during the siege of Barcelona at the end of the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714). The commemoration took place at Santa Maria del Mar (Barcelona), the parish of the *Fossar de les*

Moreres (‘Cemetery of the Mulberry Trees’) where the remains had been buried. For many years, the day was celebrated on a rather informal basis or even clandestinely. It was declared the *Diada* (‘national holiday’) in 1980 by the Catalan parliament.

Nothing comparable to these changes has occurred in Valencia or the Balearic Islands.

6 Language evolution and code conflicts

The evolution of Catalan during the 19th century is characterised by the further increase of exogenous interferences, particularly from the official national languages used in the different Catalan-speaking areas. Additionally, the lack of a reference standard encouraged the fragmentation of the traditional spelling into dialectally marked practices. The weight of the omnipresent foreign orthographies (Spanish, French) became more and more tangible. Furthermore, the urban-rural differences contributed to the widening gap between the, linguistically speaking, conservative local dialects in the countryside and the evolving urban forms of expression.

Nevertheless, in the second half of the 19th century the (historical) description of Catalan began to be approached scientifically. As a result, the myth of Catalano-Limousine unity (cf. Rafanell 1991) was invalidated and the identification of the Catalan dialects in terms of Limousine was deprived of its theoretical basis. Particularly notable contributions came from Manuel Milà i Fontanals (1818–1884), who also participated actively in the reestablishment of the *Jocs Florals*. In his work *De los trovadores en España* (1861) he became the first to identify the division of Catalan-speaking areas into two major dialectal blocks, Eastern Catalan and Western Catalan:

“Entre las muchas diferencias locales de pronunciacion en diversos puntos de Cataluña [...] se distinguen dos grandes divisiones: la parte occidental-meridional [...] en que se pronuncia el catalan con mas limpieza y en general como se escribe, y la parte oriental en que se altera la pronunciacion, en que las vocales son menos limpias y en que hay sustitucion de vocales. *Esta sustitucion es la de la a á la e y de la u á la o en todas las sílabas no acentuadas*” (Milá y Fontanals 1861, 462).

This and other pioneering elucidations deeply influenced the perception of the Catalan language among his contemporaries.

From the 1860s onwards, the need to standardise the language in order to achieve the full restoration of Catalan was also articulated. The use of Catalan in the press and in novels and theatre, beyond popular theatre, raised awareness

about the spelling and grammatical problems originating from the lack of standardisation. It became imperative to define the reference model for literary use. Two main currents of opinion can be distinguished: the advocates of “català acadèmic” (‘academic Catalan’), who stood for a restoration based on the historical stages of the language, and the advocates of “català que ara es parla” (‘Catalan as people speak now’). Their differences arose in the solutions they stipulated for spelling, as can be seen in the controversies surrounding the values of the letter *x* and the feminine plural-ending *-as/-es* (Segarra 1985, 172–218), which also responds to diatopic patterns in line with Milà i Fontanals.

The current of academic Catalan can be subdivided into two further groups. On the one hand, there were those who wished to construct the literary language on the basis of Catalan as used until the middle of the 16th century (“català acadèmic de tradició antiga”) and, on the other, those who considered the Catalan from 1600–1800 to be the appropriate starting point for constructing the modern language (“català acadèmic de tradició moderna”; Segarra 1985, 218–224; Solà 1991, 102–103). The latter current can be traced back to Ballot (cf. 3) and included authors such as Antoni de Bofarull and the Hellenist Josep Balari i Jovany (1844–1904). Unlike this group, the advocates of the ancient tradition gave priority to archaisms and dialectal expressions that were assumed to be more authentic. Tomàs Forteza i Cortés (cf. 4.2) formulated the principles of this opinion in “Observaciones generales sobre la lengua materna”, written in 1886, but not published until 1915 (Forteza y Cortés 1915, 1*–27*).

Radically opposed to the current of academic Catalan, the advocates of ‘Catalan as people speak now’ pleaded in favour of the everyday, contemporary spoken language. This was consistent with the literary genres they dealt with, for example, comedies and farces, and the target audience, that is to say, the common people. The most famous exponent of this view was Frederic Soler (cf. 5.1), who went by the pseudonym Serafí Pitarra. However, the current had many other followers in each of the Catalan-speaking areas. The debate reached its peak between 1864 and 1874 (Segarra 1985, 231–243). Echoes of the debate can be traced in several grammar and spelling books as well as periodical articles of the time (cf. 4.2).

The idea of a literary language based on the spoken language was subject to heavy criticism. In their grammar Antoni de Bofarull and Adolf Blanch (1832–1887) put forward the ground-breaking argument: “No pretendemos [...] que sea la nuestra, gramática de la lengua catalana segun ahora se habla, pues sobre que en ningun tiempo y en ningun país se ha hablado generalmente como se ha escrito ó perorado, no nos hallamos en el caso de tomar mas del lenguaje comun que del literario, ya que de restauracion y de perfeccionamiento se trata” (Bofarull/Blanch 1867, 6). At the end of the century *L’Avenç* promoted the definition of a modern standard, with the first seminal attempt being Pompeu Fabra’s *Ensayo de gramát-*

ica de catalán moderno (2005, ¹1891) (###14.1 The Emergence of Modern Literary Catalan, and its Aftermath). Nevertheless, it seems that this codification followed certain trends in written use that were not yet mainstream but clearly becoming more widespread (Ginebra 2009, 332).

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