Stephen Jacobson

THE ORIGINS OF THE AMBIGUITY

NATION AND EMPIRE IN CATALONIA FROM THE MIDDLE

AGES TO THE 1880S

When addressing the subject of nationhood, tracing 'origins' is a risky affair. After all, origins are the stuff of which nations are made. Invariably, nationalists hark back to the existence of an ethnic community of descent, usually from the Middle Ages, but sometimes from even before, in order to infuse their political claims with the legitimacy of history and the gravity of destiny. As such, the historian has a hard time disentangling his or her studies from nationalist narratives, and is forced to perform discursive gymnastics in order to avoid misinterpretation. Another difficulty is that many studies tend to be teleological. More often than not, they consist of a series of events and ideas, presented in a decontextualised though intelligible order that culminate with the birth of a nation state or a nationalist movement.[1] For this reason, it is necessary to avoid projecting contemporary definitions onto the past and to strike the correct balance when evaluating the relationship between modern nationalism and earlier forms of nationhood. On one level, it was not until the late eighteenth century that important sectors of the population realised that ethno-cultural identities harboured political potential and power. On another level, the contours and characteristics of modern nationalisms were conditioned, though by no means determined, by their early modern and

medieval pasts. A conservative approach would be to leave the subject to experts in each period, and to abandon master narratives to the nationalists themselves. A more risky but potentially more rewarding endeavour is to analyse the subject of nationhood over the *longue durée* while being aware of the methodological challenges.

With respect to Catalonia and indeed many places in Europe, the question of origins is intriguing because Catalans have long possessed multiple political identities and allegiances. Throughout their history, they have belonged to different composite monarchies, imperial constellations and nation states (the Crown of Aragon, the Kingdoms of Spain, the Kingdom of Spain) and have shared institutions with other peoples of the Iberian Peninsula. Dual and multi-layered identities have been a permanent feature of the political landscape, although the meanings of such identities have changed over time and not all individuals or social groups have understood them in the same way or were even always aware of their existence.[2] The foundation of a modern political movement, in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, did not end or resolve such ambiguities. Catalan nationalism – or 'Catalanism' as it is often called – has included various organisations from the right and the left that have proposed diverse relationships with the Spanish state. Maximalist political demands have ranged from independence to home rule to federalism to the periodic defence of regional interests. Catalan nationhood (the sense of belonging to a community of Catalans) has been alternatively interpreted as being antagonistic to and compatible with Spanish nationhood. Catalan nationalism can appear as an anti-colonial movement against Castilian imperialism or as an imperial movement led by Catalans who consider themselves more practical, hardworking, constitutionalist and better fit to govern than Castilians or other peoples in Spain.[3] In order to explore origins, then, it is necessary to embark on the history of a dual political identity, of being Catalan and being Spanish.

This article ends in the 1880s when the first Catalanists began to demand home rule, also known as 'political autonomy'. Initially led by a small group of lawyers and intellectuals, it was not until 1901 that a political party, the Lliga Regionalista, contested elections and sent deputies to the Spanish Congress. From the outset, Catalanism was forward-looking

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rather than a romantic defence of a bygone way of life. Its founders argued that Catalonia, the most affluent and economically developed region in Spain, deserved its own government, directed by native politicians, judges and administrators, familiar with the language, customs and laws of the people and sensitive to the complex needs of an industrial society. As was the case with many nationalist movements, its ideologues harked back to the history of the medieval principality in order to legitimate political claims. In its nascent stages, few foresaw that Catalanism was to become the most everlasting political force in the region. The study of 'origins', then, explores how the unforeseeable was possible, and how the past can help illuminate present ambiguities.

Origins: the idea of a Catalan nation

The origins of what could be termed nationhood – or better yet, the existence of an ethnic community of Catalans – can be traced to the Middle Ages. As is obvious, the ethnic component of this phrase does not imply the existence of a genetically defined community of descent. Rather, feelings of shared identity developed around the institution of the monarchy, or in the case of Catalonia, the Counts of Barcelona, in addition to the estates in parliament (the *Corts*) and its standing commission (the *Diputació*). The name 'Catalans' first appeared in Pisan chronicles of the twelfth century, written in Latin. At the time, the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer III, in tandem with his Pisan counterpart, was mounting a series of raids on the Islamic island of Mallorca.[4] Later in the century, the name appeared in writing in Catalonia itself. As Susan Reynolds has argued, 'regnal communities' have existed since the Middle Ages as 'communities of the realm' (to borrow an expression born in thirteenth-century England), bound together by common laws, myths of descent, histories, loyalties and rivalries, duties and liberties.[5]

Medieval historians of Catalonia have analysed the formation – or 'invention' if you wish – of this community by studying myths of origins, names of children, juridical ties, language and the development of feelings of solidarity among the nobility, clergy and rich men (*richs hòmens*, to use

the medieval Catalan expression).[6] The definition of such a community was of considerable political importance given that Catalans belonged, since the twelfth century, to the composite monarchy of the Crown of Aragon. The Counts of the House of Barcelona reigned as the Kings of Aragon, and their subjects included Catalans and Aragonese, who spoke different languages and possessed different constitutional privileges. In the late twelfth century, shortly after the Count of Barcelona became the King of Aragon, royal documents began using the name 'Catalonia' to distinguish the original counties from the Aragonese territories acquired by marriage. The distinction between Catalans and Aragonese was as commonplace then as it is today. It is present in the thirteenth-century *Book of Deeds*, the royal 'autobiography' of Jaume I, 'the Conqueror' (r. 1213-1276), the first of the mythical 'Four Great Chronicles'. For example, the autobiographer recounts the holding of *Corts* (a parliamentary session) in the town of Lleida, in which both Catalans (*cathalans)* and Aragonese (*aragoneses)* attended. In another passage, he refers to a military campaign in which it was necessary to separate physically the Catalans from the Aragonese ('*metem los aragoneses d'una part e els cathalans de l'altra*').[7] The distinction is also clear in the fourteenth-century *Chronicle* (1325-1328) of Ramon Muntaner, the third of the four Chronicles. In a passage often cited as evidence of precocious nationhood, the author boasts that he knows of no people who speak a single language as numerous as the Catalans. In contrast, 'Castile has many provinces in which all have their own language, and they are as divided as the Catalans are from the Aragonese.'[8]

Medieval 'citizenship' laws codified the distinction between Catalans, Aragonese and the other peoples of the territories of the Crown of Aragon, which also came to include, at one time or another, the Balearic Islands, Valencia, Occitania, Sicily, Sardinia, Naples and other places in the western Mediterranean. In the fourteenth century, the *Corts* passed laws for the purpose of determining eligibility for royal employment in Catalonia. The *Corts* of Montblanc in 1333 adopted the *jus soli* and considered a native anyone who was permanently domiciled in Catalonia or the Balearic Islands. In 1422, the *jus sangunis* made its debut. A native was not only a permanent resident in Catalonia; the category also included any person

who, domiciled elsewhere, could claim a father or grandfather who were natives.[9] To use contemporary terminology, Catalonia's medieval citizenship regime exhibited both 'ethnic' and 'civic' characteristics.[10] Aragonese, although they formed part of the same political community and shared *Corts* with the Catalans, were excluded from royal posts in Catalonia based upon blood and language. In contrast, Valencians – who spoke the same language and could claim a similar line of descent – were excluded because they belonged to a different political community, the Crown of Valencia with its own *Corts*. It is a subject of debate the extent to which members of the various peoples of the Crown of Aragon understood their place within a hierarchy of ethnicities in – or shared a sense of belonging to – a greater confederal 'empire'.[11] What is obvious, though, is that elite Catalans (as well as Valencians, Aragonese and others) possessed identities as well as juridical forms of identification as a specific community or people, which distinguished them from others.

The word 'nation' emerged slowly and was used sparingly until the eighteenth century. During the Middle Ages, the expression entered Catalan through Latin, from the word *natio,* one of the various (but not the only and certainly not the most common) biblical translation of the Greek *etnos.*[12] In the thirteenth-century *Book of Deeds*, the expression does not appear. Nor did the author recur to an alternative expression, such as *gens* (people). In the fourteenth-century *Chronicle*, Muntaner did not employ the word *nació* to refer to Catalans, although he used it on occasion to describe other peoples (Provençals, Islamic Mallorcans, the French). In each instance, however, he invoked it when referring to nobles or persons from good families.[13] One early reference to the Catalan nobility as a *natio* came from the pen of the Queen Regent María de Luna in the early fifteenth century. She was not Catalan by birth and hence used the expression to distinguish herself from the nobility with whom she was in conflict over the persistence of peasant servitude. In a message to Pope Benedict XIII written in Latin, the good Queen requested him 'to extirpate […] this abominable, putrid, servitude […] this pestilent and reprobate servitude […] for the good of the Catalan nation and to free it from ignominious opprobrium'.[14] The existence of some of the most oppressive legal institutions associated with servitude (the so-called *mals usos* or 'bad

customs'), long abolished in the rest of Europe, gave the Catalan nobility a dreadful reputation.

Even though the use of the terms *natio* (in Latin) or *nació* (in Catalan) was restricted to the nobility and elite, it was possible to invoke the existence of a broader linguistic or political community. In an attempt to include everyone and lacking a single expression, King Jaume II (r. 1291-1327) claimed authority over the 'catalan nation, people and language' (*cathaloanorum nacio, gens et lingua*).[15] Ramon Muntaner claimed that Catalans were a 'community of the people' (*comunitat del poble*) who shared a single language and flag (*la senyera*). By so doing, he distinguished Catalonia from France, England, Castile and Greece where the diverse peoples of the realms spoke different languages even though they shared a flag.[16] All this must be read in context. It is one thing to cite influential men who asserted the existence of an ethno-political community and quite another is to believe that all of the members of such an imagined community were conscious of its existence. The horizons of Ramon Muntaner and other educated men of his day were limited. In another part of the *Chronicle,* he described Catalan society as consisting of 'nobles, rich men, counsellors, merchants, captains and mariners, crusaders and peons'.[17]

It would be erroneous to believe that ordinary medieval people had any clear notion of such a community, although some may have been vaguely aware by way of coinage, flags, coats-of-arms and, if they came into physical contact with it, the majesty of kingship and parliament. Nor did nobles and good families believe to share ancestors with commoners despite being able to speak to them and to order them about. In Catalonia, as elsewhere, the nobility and clergy propagated legendary myths of descent in which they asserted superior lineage and bluer blood. The presence of Frankish or Carolingian ancestry distinguished the heroic nobility from the cowardly peasants of Gothic or even mixed-race origins. As such, Catalan legends were similar to French ones. A thirteenth-century myth, which grew popular in the seventeenth century, distinguished the heroic nobles of Frankish descent from the docile peasants of Gaulish blood. In England, the idea of a 'Norman Yoke' was also based upon a similar opposition, although it was the commoners who marshalled ethnic

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difference to their advantage. During the seventeenth century, revolutionaries claimed that England languished under nobles predisposed toward absolutism and papistry due to their Norman descent, while the commoners were the ones with true Anglo-Saxon blood running through their veins.[18] Interestingly, in the nineteenth century, Romanticist democratic historians in Catalonia spun an imaginative version of the Norman Yoke argument. They asserted that the heroic medieval peasants were of 'pure Catalan race' and that the oppressive nobility consisted of 'barons of Frank and Germanic races'.[19]

The creation of the composite monarchy of 'Spain' in the late fifteenth century did not cause elite Catalans to rethink medieval conceptions of nationhood, although it did alter how they saw themselves within a hierarchy of ethnicities. On the one hand, the existence of various peoples within a single polity was hardly a novelty. It had existed previously in the Crown of Aragon and was the norm in all of Europe.[20] On the other hand, Catalans were no longer a dominant, imperial group who governed and populated foreign lands and implanted, at least in some places, their law, language, feudal and political organisation and architectural styles. In contrast, they found themselves in a situation of inferiority with respect to Castilians. The Union of the crowns of Aragon and Castile, a decade following the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabel in 1469, created the Kingdoms of Spain. In theory, the union was to be one of equals. But following the discovery of the Americas and the arrival of Peruvian and Mexican silver, Castilians came to dominate royal councils and to occupy key positions in the Mediterranean and Atlantic empires. In the sixteenth century, Cristòfor Despuig assured the Spanish Kings that the Catalans were an 'obedient nation' (*fidelíssima nació*) who should be given a greater role in imperial justice and administration.[21]

In the early modern period, writers and speakers used various expressions and ideas to convey a shared sense of belonging to a political community, which more closely resembled modern conceptions of civic nationalism and sovereignty than the word 'nation' did at the time. When the Catalan *Corts* entered constitutional conflicts with the Habsburg monarchy over fiscal and military obligations during the seventeenth century, deputies and jurists marshalled the terms *terra* and *patria* to

refer to the land and the liberties of Catalonia as expressed in parliament.[22] The nobleman and jurist Francisco Gilabert, in his *Discourses on the quality of the principality of Catalonia, the temperament of its inhabitants and its government* (1616), invoked both the 'Catalan nation' and the *patria* in his defence of parliamentary institutions. Echoing Aristotle and predating Montesquieu by more than a century, Gilabert argued that the political traditions of Catalonia sprung from the distinct temperament of the people, which derived from its peculiar geography and climate.[23] Throughout the seventeenth century, Gilabert and others defended the Catalan tradition of *pactisme* (shared sovereignty between king and parliament) against the march of royal absolutism. Although it is possible to interpret Gilabert as a precursor to modern constitutionalist thought originating with John Locke, most have portrayed his work a defence of aristocratic privilege, the feudal law, corporate structures and even an apology for banditry. Whatever the case, *pactisme* came to serve as a watchword for Catalan political identity, often counter-posed to a splenetic Castilian penchant for hierarchy and authority.

Although avoided by jurists embroiled in constitutional conflicts and used infrequently by others, the word 'nation' could serve propagandistic ends, hence foreshadowing later developments.[24] By the seventeenth century, it had ceased being reserved for the nobility and families of superior lineage, and referred to a 'community of the people' who shared language, humours and customs. An anonymous document, the date of which is unclear, referred to the first Castilian-speaking king of the Trastámara dynasty to sit on the throne of the Crown of Aragon (an occurrence that had taken place in the fifteenth century), as 'a foreign man, from a foreign nation, who was not of our language and our custom'.[25] On the eve of the Reapers' War (1640-1652), in which the *Corts* rebelled from the Spanish monarchy by declaring allegiance to the French King Louis XIII, one commentator described the coming of royal troops: 'His majesty the King and our lord has just sent a great power to plough through us with fire and blood with the purpose of transforming the people of the Catalan nation into another nation.'[26] Such incendiary quotations must be tempered with the observation that the 'nation' was by no means a monolithic concept. More often than not, it was a banal expression, used to describe the

Catalans as well as smaller cultural groups within Catalonia or from other places from China to Africa.

For the most part, exalted expressions of Catalan patriotism defended the rights and liberties of the *patria*, represented by the estates in parliament, threatened by the onslaught of political absolutism. Patriotic rallying cries were widespread during the two international wars in which the Catalan *Corts* allied with the European enemies of the monarchy in Madrid: the Reapers' War (1640-1652) and the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714). Such patriotism was not only expressed by the nobility, rich men and upper clergy, who defended traditional privileges and liberties, but it was also felt, albeit less passionately, among middling groups of society. Literate guildsmen and tradesmen, peasants with high incidences of ownership, lower clergy and other conservative men of town and country were comfortable in the corporate structure of the society in which they lived and were weary of creeping royal authority, synonymous with onerous fiscal obligations.[27] What the great majority of the population – illiterate and living precarious existences – thought about the *patria* or the nation (or about anything else for that matter) remains a mystery in Catalonia as elsewhere. It is likely that most thought very little about the nation until the era of the French Revolution, remaining faithful to traditional, meaningful and visible bonds of solidarity, such as family, town, church and confraternity.[28]

When writers referred to 'nations' or 'nationalities' of Spain, they juxtaposed Catalans with Castilians and other peoples, each with its own humours, virtues and vices. In contrast, the term 'Spaniard' was an all-inclusive identity, more imperial than national, consisting of various ethnic groups. As one French observer wrote in the first decade of the seventeenth century:

> Among themselves the Spaniards are at daggers drawn, each extolling his own province over that of his companions out of an exaggerated desire for singularity creating far greater differences between their nationalities than we have in France. The Aragonese, the Valencians, the Catalans, the Basques, the Galicians, the Portuguese bait each other, throwing in each others'

faces the vices and failings of their provinces; but should a Castilian appear among them, then see how at one they are in launching themselves upon him all together, as bulldogs upon a wolf.[29]

Although one can imagine someone uttering similar words today, the relationship between Catalan and Spanish identity in Catalonia was to change over time. Over the course of centuries, Catalans steadily came to feel increasingly 'Spanish'. What is more, 'Spanishness' would become transformed from an imperial to a national identity. It is here where the ambiguities set in.

The ambiguity: Spanish identity in Catalonia

In the first history of Spain, the *Historia general de España*, initially published in Latin in 1592, the Aragonese Jesuit Juan de Mariana employed the word *natio* to describe Spaniards, claiming that all shared a similar ancestry. According to legend, Spaniards descended from Tubal, the son of Noah who migrated to Iberia following the destruction of the Tower of Babel.[30] It does not appear that Catalan writers adopted this biblical genealogy, then commonplace among many such peoples in Europe at the time.[31] In this respect, Catalans were quite different from Basques, who were regarded as the most authentic of all Spaniards, the speakers of the original Iberian language and the repositories of pure Noaic blood. For this reason and others, Basques enjoyed the privilege of universal nobility (*hidalguía universal)* and – in contrast to Catalans – were over-represented at the royal court in Madrid and within imperial administration.[32] Catalan writers, for their part, remained faithful to the legendary origins as expressed in medieval sources. Jeroni Pujades's *Universal chronicle of the Principality of Catalonia* (1609) and Narcís Feliu de la Penya's *The annals of Catalonia with a brief epilogue on the Catalan nation* (1709) reworked noble and royal legends, disabusing them of their medieval attributes. They blended them into coherent historical narrative that proclaimed Frankish origins of the original conquerors and counts as a means to differentiate Catalans from Castilians and others in Spain. To

early modern Catalans, to be Spanish was not an ethnic description. Nonetheless, it was a crucial form of imperial identification, especially to the elite.

The idea of Spain had been present in learned circles for centuries before the union of the crowns. In the Middle Ages, 'Spain' had been an intellectual concept present in Catalonia and other places. Like 'Britain' or 'France', it was a classical ideal, which covered the territories of various Iberian monarchies of the Middle Ages, the old Roman *Hispania.* But it was also an ideological (rather than merely a geographical) construct that distinguished the Christian realms from the Islamic ones and expressed a simultaneous desire, a manifest destiny for Christian, and perhaps regnal or imperial, unity of Iberia.[33] Once such regnal unity had been achieved, Catalans embraced this imperial ideal, although they increasingly complained that Castilians usurped royal positions and conflated 'Spain' with 'Castile'. As early as 1557, Cristòfer Despuig complained that 'Castilians enjoy saying publicly that our province is not Spain.'[34] In the seventeenth century, the jurist Francesc Ferrer expressed his annoyance that the laws of the kingdom of Castile were called 'Spanish laws' while those of Catalonia were deemed exceptional. 'They are not the only Spaniards', he wrote, 'We are also Spaniards, and it could be that we deserve the title more. Moreover, we do not live under their laws, nor does the great majority of Spain. Despite this, they always use the expression "Spanish laws", something I cannot stand.'[35]

'Spanishness' was an overarching imperial identity in Catalonia rather than one that could be considered 'national'. Included were the neighbours (*vecinos*) of the municipalities who were natives *(naturales)* of the crownlands in Iberia and the Americas. To state the obvious, Catalans, Castilians, Basques, Andalucians, Navarese and Aragonese were all Spanish, as were the peninsular and creole inhabitants of New Spain, New Granada and Peru. On one level, it was an 'inclusive' identity, given that newcomers naturalised and assimilated comparatively easily, providing they were Catholic and got along with their neighbours who did not suspect or accuse them of having any traces of Muslim, Jewish, Protestant, African or Indian blood.[36] However, it was also exclusive. As is well known, early modern Spain and its empire developed a diffuse but precocious

citizenship regime based on statutes of 'purity of the blood' (*limpieza de sangre)*. To be a true or 'good Spaniard' – and hence qualify for various religious, royal and municipal posts and privileges on the Peninsula or in the Americas – one had to pass a test, called a *probanza,* proving uninterrupted ancestry from Old Christians rather than from converts. One of the enduring images of seventeenth-century 'Golden Age' literature (a frequent source used by historians to chronicle emerging Spanish patriotic sentiment) was a country obsessed with racial purity and genealogy.[37] Although the *probanzas* stopped along with the last Inquisitorial persecutions of heresy in the early eighteenth century, 'purity of the blood' remained part of the political lexicon well into the modern era, especially among the political right. As late as 1823, a person seeking to prove that he was a 'good Spaniard' (*buen español)*, in Catalonia as elsewhere, could call neighbours and witnesses to testify that his family had a reputation for being 'good Christians, Roman Catholic and Apostolic, of clean blood, without any mix of Moor, Jew, Lutheran or any other reprobate sect of the Holy Mother of our Church'.[38]

The arrival of the Bourbons to the Spanish throne and the defeat of Catalonia in the War of Spanish Succession (1702-1714) represented a key point of inflection with respect to political institutions. Catalonia arguably became a quasi-colonial possession. The New Foundation (*Nueva Planta)* of 1716 abolished Catalan parliamentary and municipal institutions and all public law, obviating the original union agreement, contained in the marriage contract between Ferdinand and Isabel. Throughout the eighteenth century, residents of the Crown of Aragon contributed to the treasury per capita more than others on the Peninsula. All the while, the Monarchy maintained between 25,000 to 30,000 royal troops in Catalonia, and filled civilian posts with military officials. Until 1770, the number of royal troops in Catalonia was greater than the total of those stationed in Spanish America. What is more, royal laws forbade Catalans (the nobility inclusive) and other residents of the Crown of Aragon from carrying arms due to their supposed rebellious character, a prohibition that did not exist in other Iberian crowns. The contrast with Spanish America is telling. Following the temporary loss of Havana and Manila to Great Britain in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), the monarchy of Charles III undertook a

reform in which the defence of the American empire rested upon local armed militias, something that was never permitted in Catalonia until the French Revolution.[39]

All the same, institutional centralisation and militarisation did not cause Catalans to lose faith in Spain or to cast off their identities as Spaniards (as Latin American creoles would do a century later). On the contrary, the most visible opposition to the Bourbons were known as *austriacistes*, because they supported a return of the Habsburg Monarchy to the Spanish throne. *Austriacistes* in Catalonia and in exile published pamphlets in a desperate attempt to convince European powers, particularly Britain, to intervene in Spain to address the inequities of the Treaty of Utrecht (1714) and the Peace of Vienna (1725) and to restore the Catalan-Aragonese *Corts* and the Habsburg Monarchy.[40] With the coming of the Enlightenment, however, *austricisme* faded away. When Charles III (1759-1788) ended the monopoly of Cádiz on trade with Cuba in 1765 and all of the Americas in 1778, commercial sectors in Catalonia warmed to the Bourbons. In the meanwhile, intellectual and juridical elite gained influence in Madrid. One of the most enlightened men in Barcelona was Francesc Romà i Rosell, one of the authors of the *Representation to Charles III* (1759). Submitted to the King shortly after his coronation, this petition echoed the often-heard complaint that the Monarchy discriminated against residents from the Crown of Aragon with respect to juridical, administrative and clerical posts within the territory.[41] However, Romà loved Spain. His *Signs of happiness in Spain and the way to make them more efficient* (1768) was an influential work of political economy, which, like many such treatises, measured the happiness of the people by the growth of the population. It was filled with praise for the Spanish *patria* (the land) and the 'nation', which referred to the 'people' or the 'estates'.[42] Catalans and others would continue to invoke the nation and the *patria* when referring to Spain throughout the nineteenth century, albeit the nation could also refer to smaller nationalities and the *patria* to smaller lands and their ancient liberties, such as provinces, counties and towns.

Such 'national' patriotism – or nationalism – was widespread when Napoleonic troops crossed the Pyrenees in 1808, inaugurating what was known at the time as the 'War against the French' in Catalonia, although it

was to be later patriotically rebaptised as the 'War of Independence'. In this war, the great majority of politicised Catalans, enlightened and traditionalist alike, sided with the Spanish resistance. Contrary to previous international wars, in which the Catalan *Corts* had joined the enemies of Castile, the Junta de Cataluña supported the claims of the deposed monarchy, preferring the Bourbons to the Bonapartes. In the War of Spanish Succession (1702-1714), the Catalan *Corts* had sided with occupying British armies; however, during the Napoleonic War, politicised Catalans, for the most part, resisted or at least resented the presence of French and Italian troops on Iberian soil. The War inaugurated a period in which liberal Catalans participated in the construction of the Spanish constitutional state, forgetting previous Habsburg or *austriaciste* claims to recover ancient institutions and privileges.

It is revealing – though at the time not surprising – that the most zealous expression of Spanish nationalism during the War came from the pen of the Catalan courtier Antoni de Capmany. His pamphlet *Centinel against the French* (1808) was a call to arms similar to Johann Gottlieb Fichte's *Message to the German nation*, delivered the same year. The title echoed the famous diatribe, *Centinel against the Jews* (1674). The pamphlet bristled with a dizzying array of linguistic, cultural and even culinary markers, celebrating the daily habits and customs of the people (as opposed to the Monarchy). His many references included 'Castilian language', 'the bullfight', 'songs and dances from our ancient traditions', 'Spaniards who profess the Catholic faith since the times of the apostles' and 'breakfast with hot chocolate and fried eggs'. Indeed, by the outset of the nineteenth century, even the reference to Castilian language was not divisive. Castilian language (or 'Spanish' as it later became known) was well on its way into being converted into the language of reading, writing, international commerce and public speaking in Catalonia among the educated classes even though they generally continued to use Catalan for daily conversation.[43] One of the most famous phrases of the pamphlet proclaimed Spain a 'Nation of nations':

> What would become of the Spaniards if there were no Aragonese, Valencians, Murcians, Andalucians, Gallicians, Extramadurans,

> Catalans, Castilians, etc... Each one of these names burns bright and long. These small nations comprise the mass of the great Nation.[44]

This patriotic spirit imbued the work of early liberal constitutionalists. In May 1809, the organising commission for Spain's first constitutional convention sent out a request to notables from all over the country to send proposals. The responses from Catalonia consisted of a mixture of moderately enlightened, 'Montesquieuan' ideas and well-worn Old Regime ancient constitutionalist formulae.[45] Some proposals came from individuals whose families had been loosely associated with *austriacisme* decades earlier. However, by the outset of the nineteenth century, such sectors of the population no longer proposed that Catalonia should recover its ancient liberties embodied in parliamentary and municipal institutions. Rather, the goal was to use the Catalan-Aragonese political tradition as a baseline for a new charter that would include all Spaniards on the Peninsula and, as the Constitution of 1812 later stated, on 'both sides of the Atlantic'. For example, the deputy Francesc de Papiol, a pious Catholic and moderately enlightened property owner, took advantage of a family library replete with works of *austriacisme*, to propose a constitutional monarchy based on the Catalan tradition of *pactisme.* The centrepiece of his proposal was a 'Counsel of the Nation', which would function like the historic Catalan *Diputació* (the standing commission of the *Corts)* except that it would exist on a 'national' (meaning Spanish) level.[46] In a like manner, Josep Battle i Jover submitted a draft constitution. The first article was based upon a famous oath lifted directly out of Catalan-Aragonese ceremonial asserting the sovereignty of parliament: 'We the Spanish nation are more than you the King of Spain' ('*Nos la nació espanyola que somos más que vos el rey de España*').[47]

In the end, these proposals, and others like them, made little impact. Spain's Constitution of 1812 drew inspiration from French precedent. Deputies ignored proposals to frame a constitution on older Iberian, British or Swiss traditions. Unlike that which occurred in Mexico and many parts of South and North America, centralising tendencies in Spain prevailed over federalising ones. In Catalonia, however, ancient

constitutionalism remained an influential intellectual doctrine. In the 1860s and 1870s, Antoni Bofarull and Víctor Balaguer published multi-volume histories of Catalonia from ancient times to contemporary ones. In these histories, the arrival of constitutionalism in Spain signified the reassertion of Catalan-Aragonese parliamentary traditions that had been previously abolished upon the imposition of Bourbon absolutism.[48] In a like manner, intellectuals and antiquarians of the Catalan revivalist movement, later called *Renaixensa,* resurrected poetry, drama and other religious, artistic and literary traditions as a means of celebrating Catalonia's deep cultural and linguistic heritage. Although many persons later associated with *Renaixensa* went on to become future ideologues of nascent Catalan nationalism, the founders had no such intentions. They combined Catalan and Spanish patriotic ideas, and wrote in both languages, as a matter of course. To take an illustrative but by no means unique example, Manuel Angelón wrote the first full-length modern drama in Catalan in 1856, *The Virgin of Mercy,* celebrating the conquests of Jaume the Conqueror. In 1860, he also penned a biography of Queen Isabel II, proclaiming the controversial Queen the embodiment of liberal Spain. A year later, he published *Repel the foreign invader*, a historical novel set during the War of Independence.[49] Until the 1880s, romanticist and Catalan 'medievalist' revivalism evolved in harmony with Spanish liberal constitutionalism.[50]

The traditionalist right also joined the chorus, even if many Catholics were initially hesitant to invoke the 'nation' because of its revolutionary link to popular sovereignty and the mythical Spanish *pueblo*.[51] At first, Catholics had trouble finding their way. Enlightened and liberal thinkers had debunked many of their most puissant paradigms, equating them with superstition and obscurantism. By the mid-nineteenth century, the discourse of 'purity of the blood', loosely based on the medieval science of spermogenesis, had been thoroughly discredited in exchange for the newer (and equally false) science of race initiated by Arthur de Gobineau. Noaic genealogies also came to be regarded as fabulous in all of Europe. In response, Catholics embraced the emerging and equally powerful discipline of history. The intellectual who first reconciled religious discourse with that of the nation was, in fact, the Catalan cleric Jaume

Balmes. He equated Catholic unity with the laws and customs of all of Spain, forging a single and convincing historical narrative that would form a baseline for generations of patriotic traditionalists later associated with National Catholicism. The defeat of the Moors at Covadonga, the conquest of the Americas, and the defeat of the Turks at Lepanto, formed the vertebrate of a foundational history of monarchical and Catholic triumphalism embodied in the Spanish nation. To Balmes, Catholicism would regenerate the Spanish nation torn apart by the liberal and constitutional revolutionary movements of foreign, French extraction. Balmes believed in a 'religious and monarchical' Spain, 'the Spain of traditions, of tranquil habits, of simple customs, of few necessities, of a peculiar character that distinguishes it from the other nations of Europe'.[52]

To be sure, for most of the nineteenth century, Catalan regional or national identity strengthened the cultural fabric of the Spanish nation in much the way that the *Heimat* movement fortified a united Germany, or French and Italian regionalism contributed to the textured elaboration of national identity.[53] Of course, it would be an exaggeration to claim that representatives of regional interests were always satisfied with how things played out in Madrid. Conflicts and disagreements frequently flared up in the parliament and the press. Catalan liberal-conservatives resisted centralising measures coming from Madrid whose politicians were inspired on Bonapartist juridical and administrative models. Throughout the century, the Barcelona Chamber of Commerce clamoured for high tariff walls to protect Catalan industry. Many considered the Catalans a selfish and insular group, who zealously defended their moral and material interests to the detriment of others whilst many Catalans gazed at the rest of Spain with a mixture of bewilderment, frustration, condescension and even racial prejudice. All the same, all this was part of the country's political life, in which centralist and regionalist, agrarian and industrial interests, were constantly at odds with one another.[54] Fiscal inequalities disappeared with the consolidation of the liberal-constitutionalist state, and, following the end of the revolutionary era in the early 1840s, the presence of the Spanish army in Catalonia was greatly reduced.

In 1848 – that 'crazy year' in which Europe was rocked by liberal and republican nationalist movements – the revolutionary wave did not cross

the Pyrenees. Spain remained quiet. Nor were nationalist tensions around the corner or even perceptible. From 1859-1860, Spain began to expand its interests in the North African territory of the Rif region of Morocco, successful in what was bombastically labelled the War of Africa. During the war, enthusiastic crowds in Barcelona exhibited characteristic dual patriotism, sending off and receiving troops with parades waving Catalan and Spanish flags.[55] The hero of the War, general Joan Prim, hailed from the Catalan city of Reus, later orchestrated the democratic and bloodless 'Glorious Revolution' of 1868. In Barcelona, Prim oversaw the tearing down of the Citadel, the fortress constructed in the wake of the War of Spanish Succession and thus a symbol of repression and absolutism. Though less spectacular, this act emulated the symbolic importance of the destruction of the Bastille in France. The revolutionary municipality converted the lands into a public park, and in 1888 Barcelona hosted an International Exhibition on the grounds. The Queen Regent, María Cristina, and the boy King, Alfonso XII, arrived for opening ceremonies where they were greeted by crowds of Barcelonese in a series of processions, balls, banquets, inaugurations and 'spontaneous' acts of charity. The organisers portrayed Barcelona as the industrial vanguard of a regenerated country. The Queen Regent, the Prime Minister and the Mayors of Barcelona and Genoa unveiled the statue of Columbus, the most recognisable hero of Spain to the world. The tallest statute to date, it was a few meters higher than the statue of Nelson in Trafalgar Square. The city sponsored a Columbus Day parade, which later became the national holiday of Spain. Politicians of different ideological stripes travelled to the Exhibition and applauded the patriotism of the Barcelonese. They lauded that the Catalans had put their personal interests and periodic grievances aside and had sponsored a world event of which all Spaniards could be proud.[56]

In 1882, Spain's most prominent politician of the time, Antonio Cánovas de Castillo delivered a famous speech, *Discourse on the Spanish nation* at the Atheneum of Madrid. Like many such speeches echoing throughout Europe at the time, it was a reply to Ernest Renan's *Que'est-ce que la nació,* delivered at the Sorbonne a few months earlier. Cánovas rebutted Renan's voluntaristic concept of the nation as a daily plebiscite; instead, he reiterated that the nation of Spain was founded (as Balmes and other

conservatives had argued before him) upon Catholic and monarchical unity. What is notable, however, is that, unlike Renan, who was preoccupied with the problem of Alsace-Lorraine, Cánovas did not make any reference to the existence of a single nationalist problem in Spain, save the British presence in Gibraltar. This was simply because it never occurred to him to mention any. In 1882, like in 1848, Spain was assumed to be a unified country that did not suffer from 'nationalist questions' present in Austria-Hungary (with its multiple nationalities of revolutionary proclivities), Britain (plagued by the Irish problem), or France and Germany (caught up in conflicts over Alsace-Loraine). This is not to say that Spain had a reputation for political peace. The nineteenth-century version of the Black Legend depicted Spaniards as a 'Cainistic' people with a penchant toward civil war (the last had ended in 1875); like all Latins, they were thought to be predisposed toward revolution. Engels once claimed that the barricades had been raised in Barcelona with more frequency than any other city in Europe. However, in the 1880s, no one associated Spain with nationalist questions.

Conclusion

In many respects, the history of nationhood in Catalonia leads to the most unteleological of conclusions. The birth of Catalan nationalism in the latter decades of the nineteenth century appears to be an anomaly since it arose after a lengthy period in which Catalans had embraced Spanish national identity. In the nineteenth century, Catalans increasingly used Spanish in writing, reading and formal oratory, while maintaining Catalan for everyday conversation with family, friends and associates. The existence of two languages and two patriotic affiliations was not a source of tension, especially in a Catalonia plagued by industrial conflict in the cities and civil war in the country. Multi-layered regional identities contributed to the forging of the liberal constitutional nation-state. The recovery of medieval history, poetry and culture served as a spiritual tonic for the industrial age. The fact that Catalan nationalism came late – and blindsided many at the time – has led many historians to explain its appearance as a

consequence of underlying political and socio-economic causes rather than of the persistence of age-old conflicts. To Marxists, Catalan nationalism was the work of an industrial bourgeoisie in search of its own political structure, destined to come into conflict with a state dominated by agrarian interests.[57] To sociologically oriented modernisation theorists, a perennially weak Spanish state lacked the ability to promote uniform language, civil laws, national holidays, built environments and even culinary and hygienic practices.[58] This opened up space for regionalists and nationalists to infuse ethnic identities, on the rise in the late nineteenth century, with political meaning.[59]

Exploring these socio-economic and political-administrative causes of Catalan nationalism is an intriguing subject, although it is beyond the scope of this article. For present purposes, it must be emphasised that such explanations, be they valid or debatable, must coexist with the study of origins. Analysing the causes of nationalism should not convert the study of the history of nationhood as a mere exercise in describing the raw material out of which modern nationalists moulded their creations or in correcting the historical record for the sake of accuracy. It is true that the study of medieval and early modern nationhood does not explain *why* a modern movement emerged or did not emerge. As has often been repeated by 'modernist' theorists, many medieval or early modern nations never gave rise to nationalist movements or nation states in the nineteenth century.[60] If Spanish history had turned out differently and statesmen had organised the country around federal, regional or less-centralised administrative and political structures (as had occurred in Germany), then it is quite possible that Catalan nationalism might never have taken shape.[61] If this had been the case, then the 'origins' of nationhood in Catalonia would not be regarded as being that different than those of Burgundy, to take one example of a place where the existence of a strong sense of nationhood in the Middle Ages never became politically relevant in the modern period. All the same, understanding origins is crucial in explaining the characteristics, contours and ambiguities of those movements that did emerge. Although not 'path dependent', they were not free of historic constraints.

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Despite the existence of invented traditions, Catalan nationalism maintained durable continuities with the past. For example, part of nationalist lore was that Catalans possessed a differential character, known as the *fet català*. Its component traits consisted of myths and ideas from the past, such as *pactisme* or the Franco-Germanic racial heritage, in addition to modern ones, such as industriousness, sense of enterprise and practicality. Perhaps more importantly, such continuities were not always the ones that today's nationalists might expect or find useful for furthering their political agendas. The historian Enric Ucelay-Da Cal has convincingly argued that early twentieth-century Catalan nationalism remained faithful to dual patriotism, albeit with a twist. Catalan nationalists asserted that an autonomous Catalan nation – economically, intellectually and racially superior – should constitute the morally regenerative force, the dominant ethnic and racial group of an otherwise decadent country.[62] In many ways, this was a response to similar ethno-racial ideas that had been articulated by Spain's 'Generation of 1898', following the loss of Spain's last colonies (Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines). Many followed the Basque socialist Miguel de Unamuno, who in his *About casticismo* (1894-95) had argued that the salvation of a decadent Spain lay in the mystical soul and steppe of Castile. To Unamuno, the 'eternal' and 'intrahistorical' *castizo* tradition was destined to lead Spain into the twentieth century. To Catalan nationalists, the call to resurrect the Castilian spirit, when Castile represented the epitome of decadence, was too mystical if not utterly incomprehensible, especially from the perspective of practical men in an industrial city. To them, Catalans should take the lead in constructing a new state and empire, hence joining the ranks of expansionist Britain, France and Germany. The question was who was to be the dominant nationality destined to implement the new imperial imperative of the modern nation state.

The 'imperial' version of Catalan nationalism, though dominant in the early twentieth century, coexisted with another version. Many nationalists remained faithful to the measured goals of the original founder, Valentí Almirall. In the 1880s, he argued that political autonomy was a practical solution to Catalonia's problems, given that the Spanish political system was irretrievably riddled with bombast, oligarchy and corruption,

indicative of an empire in decay. What must be underlined is that neither version of nationalism – the imperial version of the right or the anti-imperial one of the left – called into question the idea of Spain. Rather, Catalanists, regionalists and federalists criticised the political and administrative organisation of a centralised constitutional monarchy founded on Bourbon and Bonapartist models, dominated by Castile and Castilians. In this respect, ethnic rivalry echoed or resurrected similar rivalries and conflicts present since the unification of the Crowns of Aragon and Castile. It is important not to stretch continuities too far. The coming of nationalism represented a significant break with established political practices and embraced mass politics. Nationalists showed a tremendous capacity to recuperate and rework ideas concerning racial and political differences that had been dormant in the constitutional era. They invented traditions, erected monuments, reconstructed sacred spaces out of medieval ruins, commemorated and romanticised the past, and launched political parties. They mobilised professional and middle classes around the recovery of Catalan language, the protection of industry, the preservation of the civil law and the conservation of tradition and family. [63] All the same, Catalan nationalism retained the dual patriotic spirit, which had long characterised relations and rivalries between nationalities on the Peninsula.

It is worth ending with one observation with respect to contemporary developments. In the twentieth century, a new version of Catalan nationalism appeared. Some persons who identified themselves as 'Catalans' rejected (or found repugnant) their ascribed identity as 'Spaniards'. This idea came into vogue around the time of the First World War, gathered steam during the Second Republic (1931-1936) and became commonplace during the Francoist dictatorship (1939-1975). Separatism gained purchase in the wake of the decolonisation of the British, French and Austro-Hungarian empires and with the renewed power of the doctrine of national self-determination. The hundreds of thousand non-Catalan-speaking migrants who settled in Barcelona and its environs generated (and became victims of) anti-Spanish sentiment. The Francoist appropriation of 'Spain' caused the term to be conflated with dictatorship, and today some associate it with corruption, waste and inefficiency.

However, separatism has never been a majority opinion in Catalonia, at least never for an extended length of time. Over the past decades, pollsters have traced the extent to which residents of Catalonia feel more or less Spanish. Today, Catalans feel less Spanish than ever. Still, it is revealing that many more feel 'equally Spanish and Catalan' than 'solely Catalan'.[64] To be sure, the rise of anti-Spanish (as opposed to anti-Castilian sentiment) is a twentieth- and twenty-first-century phenomenon that appeared decades after the foundation of a nationalist movement. It is a subject of vital importance, especially today, worthy of scholarly attention. It is not, however, a relevant factor in exploring the origins of nationhood in Catalonia, which, as we have seen, is a story of dual and layered identities.

Endnotes

[1] For Catalonia, see A. Balcells, *Catalan nationalism. Past and present*, trans. J. Hall & G.J. Walker (Basingstoke, 1996).

[2] J. M. Fradera first coined the idea of 'dual patriotism' (J.M. Fradera, 'El proyecto liberal catalán y los imperativos del doble patriotismo', in: A.M. García Rovira (ed.), *España ¿nación de naciones?* (Madrid, 2002) 87-99).

[3] E. Ucelay-Da Cal, 'History, historiography and the ambiguities of Catalan nationalism', in: *Studies on national movements,* 1 (2013) 105-159 (109).

[4] For the name Catalonia and similar questions concerning medieval origins, see T. Bisson, 'The rise of Catalonia. Identity, power, and ideology in a twelfth-century society', in: *Medieval France and her Pyrenean neighbours. Studies in early institutional history* (London, 1989) 125-152; J. M. Salrach, 'Catalunya i Catalans des de quan?', in: *Revista de Catalunya*, 15 (1988) 35-50; A.M. Alcover (ed.), *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear* (Palma de Mallorca, 1964-1969) vol. 3, 46-48.

[5] S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (2nd ed.: Oxford, 1997) 250-331. In this work, Reynolds rebuts the thesis of Benedict

Anderson and Ernest Gellner who depicted the 'imagined community' as a modern phenomenon and drew sharp dividing lines between a preindustrial world defined by vertical hierarchies and an industrial world characterised by horizontal forms of national identity. Reynolds convincingly argues that communities were also imagined in the Middle Ages. I find her approach to medieval nationhood more helpful than that of Azar Gat and Alexander Yakobson, who focus on the durability of kinship ties and tribal communities over time, and over-emphasise their political importance and influence in earlier periods (A. Gat & A. Yakobson, *Nations. The long history and deep roots of political ethnicity and nationalism* (Cambridge, 2013)).

[6] T.N. Bisson, *Power, crisis, and humanity in rural Catalonia, 1140-1200* (Cambridge MA, 1998) 28-67; J.M. Salrach, *El procés de formació nacional de Catalunya (segles, XIII-IX)*, 2 vol. (Barcelona, 1978).

[7] J. Brugura (ed.), *Llibre dels fets del rei en Jaume* (Barcelona, 1991) vol. 2, 15, 79.

[8] Cited in J.-P. Rubiés, 'The idea of empire in the Catalan tradition from Ramon Muntaner to Enric Prat de la Riba', in: *Journal of historical review*, 4 (1999) 229-262 (243).

[9] E. Roca i Trias, '"Unde Cathalunus quasi in Cathalonia stans". La condición de catalán en el derecho histórico', in: *Revista jurídica de Cataluña,* 67/1 (1978) 7-44.

[10] For this terminology, see R. Brubaker, *Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge MA, 1992).

[11] For this debate, see Rubiés, 'The idea of empire'; J.N. Hilgarth, *The problem of a Catalan Mediterranean empire* (London, 1975), supplement to no. 8 of the *English historical review*.

[12] For this etymology, see A. Hastings, *The construction of nationhood. Ethnicity, religion and nationalism* (Cambridge, 1997) 12-13.

[13] I have found only three uses of the term in the first five of the nine volumes. In the first case, Ramon Muntaner uses the word 'nació' to refer to a group of Provençals who are also described as '*bones gents*' led by an honoured citizen of Marseilles (vol. 2, pp. 42-43). In the second case, the term refers to the Pope who is said to be from the 'nació' of Charles, King of France (vol. 3, p. 21). In the third

case, it refers to the defeated '*moixerif*' (*almojarife)* of Menorca and twenty kinsmen and their wives and families (vol. 5, p. 42) (R. Muntaner, *Crònica* (Barcelona, 1927) ch. 81, 102, 172).

[14] P.H. Freedman, *The origins of peasant servitude in medieval Catalonia* (Cambridge, 1991) 206; he cites F. Monsalvatje y Fossas, *Colección diplomática del Condado de Besalú* (Olot, 1906) vol. 8, 169-171.

[15] J.-P. Rubiés, 'Rhetoric and ideology in the *Book of Ramon Muntaner*', in: *Mediterranean historical review,* 26/1 (June 2011) 1-29 (26); he cites A. Mas i Forners, *Esclaus i Catalans. Esclavitud i segregació a Mallorca durant els segles XIV i XV* (Palma, 2005) 115-116.

[16] This link between political and ethnic community has lead some historians to describe Catalonia as the 'first modern nation state in Europe' or to ask 'whether all this was so different than the idea of a nation-state'. For the first citation, see J. Fontana, *La formació d'una identitat. Una història de Catalunya* (Vic, 2014) 35; for the second, see P. Villar, 'Reflexions sobre el fonament del fet català', in: *Els valencians davant la qüestió nacional* (Valencia, 1983) 67-75. For a more nuanced and less anachronistic interpretation, see Rubiés, 'Rhetoric and ideology', 17 (for the above citation).

[17] Cited in Fontana, *La formació d'una identitat,* 33.

[18] For Catalan legends, see P.H. Freedman, 'Cowardice, heroism, and the legendary origins of Catalonia', in: *Past and present*, 121 (1988) 3-28. For the legendary differences between the 'Frankish' nobility and the 'Gaulish' peasantry, he cites S. Reynolds, 'Medieval *origines gentium* and the community of the realm', in: *History,* 68 (1983) 375-390 and C. Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris, 1985) 38-40. For the Norman Yoke thesis, he cites C. Hill, 'The Norman Yoke', in: *Puritanism and revolution. Studies in interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th century* (London, 1958) 50-122.

[19] L. Cutchet, *Cataluña vindicada* (Barcelona, 1858) 176.

[20] The classic work on this subject is J.H. Elliott, 'The cultural and political construction of Europe. A Europe of composite monarchies', in: *Past and present*, 137/1 (1992) 48-71.

[21] C. Despuig, *Los Colloquis de la insigne ciutat de Tortosa*, ed. Eulàlia Duran (Barcelona, 1981) 200.

[22] For the meanings and usages of the terms *terra, patria, nació* and *provincia*, see X. Torres Sans, *Naciones sin nacionalismos. Cataluña en la monarquía hispánica (siglos XVI-XVII)* (Valencia, 2008) 79-122.

[23] For Gilabert and the defence of *pactisme,* see J.-P. Rubiés, 'Reason of state and constitutional thought in the Crown of Aragon, 1850-1640', in: *The historical journal*, 38/1 (1995) 1-28.

[24] J.-L. Palos, *Els juristes i la defensa de les constituciones. Joan Pere Fontanella (1575-1649)* (Vic, 1997).

[25] Cited in X. Torres Sans, 'Un patriotisme sense nació. Què va ser l'amoneada Guerra dels Segadors (1640-52/1659)', in: J.M. Fradera & E. Ucelay-Da Cal (eds.), *Notícia nova de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 2005) 61-96 (89).

[26] Cited in A. Simon i Tarrés, *Construccions polítiques i identitats nacionals. Catalunya i els orígens de l'estat modern espanyol* (Barcelona, 2005) 203.

[27] For middling or 'popular' sectors and such patriotism, see Torres Sans, *Naciones sin nacionalismo*, 257-344; 'Reis, pagesos i llibertats. La fi de les constitucions catalanes segons els memorialistes de pagès', in: J. Albareda & J.M. Torras i Ribé (eds.), *Del patriotisme al catalanisme* (Vic, 2001) 197-220.

[28] In this respect, I follow J. Breuilly, 'Changes in the political uses of the nation. Continuity or discontinuity', in: L. Scales & O. Zimmer (eds.), *Power and the nation in European history* (Cambridge, 2005) 67-102.

[29] I.A.A. Thompson, 'Castile, Spain and the monarchy. The political community from *patria natural* to *patria nacional*', in: R.L. Kagan & G. Parker (eds.), *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic world. Essays in honour of John H. Elliott* (Cambridge, 1995) 125-159 (133). He cites B. Joly, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal,* ed. J. García Mercadal (Madrid, 1959) vol. 2, 125.

[30] J. Álvarez Junco, 'España. El debate sobre la nación', in: N. Townson (ed.), *¿Es España diferente? Una mirada comparativa (siglos XIX y XX)* (Madrid, 2010) 29-64 (34).

[31] C. Kidd, *British identities before nationalism. Ethnicity and nationhood in the Atlantic world* (Cambridge, 2006).

[32] F. Molina Aparicio, *La tierra del martirio español. El País Vasco y España en el siglo del nacionalismo* (Madrid, 2005) 110-190; I. Bazán e.a., *De Túbal a Aitor. Historia de Vasconia* (Madrid, 2002) 320-321; J. Aranzadi, 'Raza, linaje, familia y casa-solar en el País Vasco', in: *Hispania*, LXI/3, no. 209 (2001) 879-906.

[33] For the meaning of Spain in medieval Catalonia, see S. Claramunt, 'La formación de Cataluña y su inserción en la Edad Media española', in: V. Palacio Atard (ed.), *De Hispania a España. El nombre y el concepto a través de los siglos* (Madrid, 2005) 85-102.

[34] Cited in E. Duran, 'Patriotisme i historiografia humanística. Manuscrits', in: *Revista d'història moderna*, 19 (2001) 43-58 (35).

[35] Cited in J. Capdeferro i Pla, 'Joan Pere Fontanella (1575-1649?). El dret al servei de la pàtria', in: Albareda & Torras i Ribé, *Del patriotisme al catalanisme*, 51-70 (58).

[36] For this discussion, see T. Herzog, *Immigrants and citizens in early modern Spain and Spanish America* (New Haven, 2003).

[37] M.E. Martínez, *Genealogical fictions. Limpieza de sangre, religion, and gender in colonial Mexico* (Stanford, 2008) 61-87. Despite the title, the first third of this book addresses Spain.

[38] See, for example: Barcelona, Arxiu Corona d'Aragò, Real Audiencia: expedientes (1829), caja 94, no. 17 (Tomás Martí de Riudons); expedientes (1832), caja 131, no. 648 (Ignacio Oms y Torrents); expedientes (1832), caja 140, no. 703 (Francisco Bofill y Portell); expedientes (1833), caja 139, no. 624 (Jayme Riu).

[39] J.M. Delgado Ribas, 'Eclipse and collapse of the Spanish empire, 1650-1898', in: A.W. McCoy, J.M. Fradera, & S. Jacobson (eds.), *Endless empire. Spain's retreat, Europe's eclipse, America's decline* (Madison, 2012) 43-54 (50, 53); J.M. Delgado, 'Construir el estado, destruir la nación. Las reformas fiscales de los primeros Borbones. El colapso del sistema de equilibrios en el imperio español (1714-1796)', in: *Illes i imperis*, 13 (2010) 63-85; L. Roura i Aulinas, 'Subjecció i

militarització a la Catalunya del segle XVIII', in: *Del patriotisme al catalanisme*, 289-316 (296-298).

[40] For *austriacisme,* see J. Albareda, 'Cataluña en la España del siglo XVIII. Represión, acomodación y disidencia', in: J. Arrieta & J. Astigarraga (eds.), *Conciliar la diversidad pasado y presente de la vertebración de España* (Bilbao, 2009) 55-75; R.M. Albarús, *Felip V i l'opinió dels Catalans* (Lleida, 2001) 355-340; E. Lluch, 'El austriacismo persistente y purificado, 1734-1741', in: *Las Españas vencidas del siglo XVIII. Claroscuros de la Ilustración* (Barcelona, 1999) 62-92.

[41] This differed from earlier grievances, such as those of Despuig, who complained that Catalans were being shut out of royal and imperial posts outside of the Crown of Aragon. By the eighteenth century, Catalans, like elite from Latin America, complained that royal posts within Catalonia were being co-opted by Castilians. I have discussed this petition in S. Jacobson, *Catalonia's advocates. Lawyers, society, and politics in Barcelona, 1759-1900* (Chapel Hill, 2009) 33-34.

[42] To take one of many examples, Romà writes, 'The body in which love of the *Patria* is deposited in France and England is the Parlament, and in Spain is the Council of Castile [...] It is important for all Spaniards to understand that the Council of Castile [...] is the highest embodiment of the Nation' (F. Romà y Rosell, *Las señales de la felicidad de España, y medios de hacerlas eficaces* (Madrid, 1768) 153-154).

[43] J.-L. Marfany, *La llengua maltractada. El castellà i el català a Catalunya del segle XVI i el segle XIX* (Barcelona, 2001).

[44] A. Capmany, *Centinela contra franceses* (Madrid, 2008) 82, 121, 131, 134-135, 151.

[45] For these responses, see M. Ramisa Verdaguer, *Polítics i militars a la Guerra del francès (1808-1814)* (Lleida, 2008) 37-60; Ll. Ferran Toledano Gonzàlez, 'El projecte català per a Espanya. La classe dirigent catalana i el procés constitucional de Cadis (1808-1814)', in: *Afers*, 68 (2011) 71-96.

[46] Papiol's proposal is analysed in depth in J. Roca Vernet, *Tradició constitucional i història nacional (1808-1823). Llegat i projecció política d'una nissaga catalana, els Papiol* (Lleida, 2011).

[47] For this observation, see Roca Vernet, *Tradició constitucional*, 136.

[48] V. Balaguer, *Historia de Cataluña y la Corona de Aragón*, 5 vol. (Barcelona, 1861-63); A. Bofarull y Brocá, *Historia crítica (civil y eclesiástica) de Cataluña*, 9 vol. (Barcelona, 1876).

[49] M. Angelon, *La Verge de las Mersés. Drama histórico-sacro-cabareresc en cinco actos* (Barcelona, 1856); Idem, *Isabel II. Historia de la Reina de España* (Madrid, 1860); Idem, *¡Atrás el estranjero! Novela histórica del tiempo de la Guerra de la Independencia* (Barcelona, 1861).

[50] For the *Renaixensa* in its historical context, see J.-L. Marfany, *'"Minority" languages and Literary Revivals'*, in: *Past and present,* 184/1 (2004) 137-167; Idem, 'Renaixença literària i decadència lingüística', *Barcelona. Quaderns d'Història,* 6 (2002) 139-52; J.M. Fradera, *Cultura nacional en una societat dividida. Patriotisme i cultura a Catalunya (1838-1868)* (Barcelona, 1992).

[51] For the difficulties of the Spanish right in accepting the idea of the 'nation' during the early nineteenth century, see J. Álvarez Junco, 'La difícil nacionalización de la derecha española en la primera mitad del siglo XIX', in: *Hispania,* 61/209 (2001) 831-858.

[52] Cited in J. Álvarez Junco, *Mater Dolorosa. La idea de España en el siglo XIX* (Madrid, 2001) 407. For Balmes and National Catholicism, see S. Julia, *Historias de las dos Españas* (Madrid, 2004) 46-57; J. Varela, *La novela de España. Los intelectuales y el problema español* (Madrid, 1999) 40-42.

[53] The bibliography on this subject is immense. See, for example, S. Cavazza, 'El culto de la pequeña patria en Italia, entre centralización y nacionalismo. De la época liberal al fascismo', in: *Ayer*, 64/4 (2006) 33-64; A.-M. Thiesse, 'Centralismo estatal y nacionalismo regionalizado. La paradojas del caso francés', in: *Ayer*, 64/4 (2006) 95-119; C. Ford, *Creating the nation in provincial France. Religion and political identity in Brittany* (Princeton, 1993); C. Applegate, *A nation of provincials. The German idea of heimat* (Berkeley, 1990). For other regions in Spain, see X.-M. Núñez, 'The region as *essence* of the fatherland. Regionalist variants of Spanish nationalism (1840-1936)', in: *European history quarterly*, 31/4 (2001) 483-518; F. Archilés & M. Martí, 'Ethnicity, region and nation. Valencian

identity and the Spanish ethnic state', in: *Ethnic and racial studies*, 24/5 (2001) 779-797.

54 For these conflicts, see B. de Riquer, *Identitats contemporànies. Catalunya i Espanya* (Vic, 2000) 87-110; S. Jacobson, *Catalonia's advocates*, 198-238.

55 For such dual patriotism during the War of Africa, see A. Garcia Balañà, 'Patria, plebe y política en la España isabelina. La guerra de África en Cataluña (1859-1860)', in: E. Martín Corrales (ed.), *Marruecos y el colonialismo español (1859-1912). De la guerra de África a la 'penetración pacífica'* (Barcelona, 2002) 13-78.

56 Incidentally, the World's Fair of 1888 provides an interesting point of inflection. On the one hand, Catalans continued to demonstrate such 'dual patriotism' during official and even improvised and spontaneous celebrations. Nonetheless, emergent 'Catalanist' groups, unhappy with such bombast, were very critical. I have addressed this subject in S. Jacobson, 'Interpreting municipal celebrations of nation and empire. The Barcelona Universal Exhibition of 1888', in: W. Whyte & O. Zimmer (eds.), *Nationalism and the reshaping of urban communities in Europe, 1848-1914* (Basingstoke, 2011) 74-109.

57 J. Solé Tura, *Catalanismo y revolución burguesa* (Madrid, 1970); B. de Riquer, *Lliga Regionalista. Burgesia catalana i el nacionalisme (1890-1904)* (Barcelona, 1977).

58 J.-J. Linz, 'Early state building and later peripheral nationalism against the state. The case of Spain', in: S.N. Eisenstadt & S. Rokkan (eds.), *Building states and nations* (Beverly Hills, 1973) vol. 2, 32-116; B. de Riquer, 'Reflexions entorn de la dèbil nacionalització espanyola del segle XIX', in: *L'Avenç*, 170 (1993) 8-15; J. Álvarez Junco, 'El nacionalismo español. La insuficiencias en la acción estatal', in: *Historia social*, 40 (2001) 29-51. I have criticised the 'weak nationalisation thesis' in: S. Jacobson, 'Identidad nacional en España, el imperio y Cataluña. Una perspectiva comparativa', in: J. Moreno Luzón & F. del Rey (eds.), *Pueblo y nación. Homenaje a José Álvarez Junco* (Madrid, 2013) 263-282 (272-281).

59 S. Jacobson, 'Spain. The Iberian mosaic,' in: T. Baycroft & M. Hewitson (eds.), *What is a nation? Europe, 1789-1914* (Oxford, 2006) 210-227.

60 A. Smith, *Nationalism and modernism. A critical survey of recent theories of nations and nationalism* (London, 1999).

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[61] This is the central thesis of the most detailed and informative account of the nineteenth-century origins of nationalism: A. Smith, *The origins of Catalan nationalism, 1770-1898* (Basingstoke, 2014) 218.

[62] E. Ucelay-Da Cal, *El imperialismo catalán. Prat de la Riba, Cambó, D'Ors y la conquista moral de España* (Madrid, 2003).

[63] For the invention of tradition thesis as applied to Catalonia, see J.-M. Marfany, *La cultura del catalanisme* (Barcelona, 1995).

[64] In 2008, opinion poles reveal that 55 per cent of the population believed that Catalonia should remain 'an autonomous community within Spain', which was far and away the most popular response. In the same survey, 45,6 per cent felt 'equally Spanish as Catalan' while only 14 per cent felt 'solely Catalan'. In 2014, in contrast, 42 per cent of the population believed that Catalonia should be 'independent' while only 25 per cent remained satisfied with the status of 'an autonomous community in Spain'. Still, 45 per cent of the population felt 'equally Spanish as Catalan' while 22 per cent described themselves as 'only Catalan'. *Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials, Sondeig d'opinió 2008* (Barcelona, 2008) 22, 34; *Avançament de resultats del sondeig d'opinió 2014* (Barcelona, 2014) 7, 9.