

The historical novel in Catalonia (1862-1930)

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ABSTRACT

When the first voices of the *Renaixença* began to be heard in the 1930s, the historical romance novel was triumphant in Europe. However, the Catalan novel, which had reached a high level in the Middle Ages with the Joanot Martorell work *Tirant lo Blanc*, had practically disappeared and Catalan novelists were writing in Spanish. The first novel of the *Renaixença*, inspired by the model of Walter Scott, was not published until 1862. Thus began the process of reviving the Catalan novel, with the core being the historical novel in all its different variations.

KEYWORDS: historical novel, Catalan literature, *Renaixença*, Romanticism, Catalanism

At the start of the 19th century, the European novel was experiencing one of its most fertile times thanks to Walter Scott; the genre was being updated with the introduction of a kind of story which we call the historical novel, which would prove to have a decisive influence throughout almost the entire century. For example, Alessandro Manzoni, James Fenimore Cooper, Chateaubriand, Alfred de Vigny, Victor Hugo, Gustave Flaubert, Alexandre Dumas and Balzac all wrote historical novels. In Spain, the historical novel was ushered in by the Manresa native Ramon López Soler, who in 1830 published *Los bandos de Castilla o el caballero del cisne*, whose prologue is a commendation of Scott. However, while the novel was the most prominent literary genre around the world, the Catalan novel remained silent; the literary tradition had dried up, novelists wrote in Spanish and readers read in Spanish.

In this article, I shall cover the time period spanning from 1862 until the end of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, which I have further subdivided into three periods. The first, proposed by Antònia Tayadella,¹ encompasses the novel of the *Renaixença*, from 1862 to 1882. These two dates are quite revealing: 1862 is when the first Catalan historical novel, Antoni de Bofarull's *L'Orfeneta de Menargues o Catalunya agonitzant*, appeared, while the latter corresponds to the publication of *La Papallona* by Narcís Oller, an author who ushered in a new era within the 19th-century Catalan novel. It was the basic period of the historical novel with romantic roots and the restoration of the Catalan novel, which, logically, I shall spotlight. The second period covers the trends of realism and naturalism

between 1882 and 1902, and it is anodyne in relation to the topic at hand. The third period encompasses Modernisme, Noucentisme and the avant-gardes between 1902 and 1930, when the Catalan historical novel, though obsolete, survived with more trouble than vigour.²

THE EUROPEAN MODELS IN THE APPEARANCE OF THE CATALAN HISTORICAL NOVEL

Georg Lukács³ has revealed that the period spanning from 1789 to 1814 was full of stirrings all over Europe, and that it should be regarded as the key to understanding the movements that were developing. The product of this upheaval was the complex phenomenon of Romanticism. Here I only want to stress two aspects of Romanticism that are extremely important when studying the historical novel. The first was the awakening of the national spirit, which happened all over Europe as a consequence of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. The second, which also stemmed from the new order which arose after the fall of the Ancien Régim, which has been called the evasion in time, is Romanticism's break with the present. Broad swaths of the population's discovery or rediscovery of their own national identity found support sustained on knowledge of their own history and on customs and folklore. On the other hand, the evasion in time was a nostalgic look at a past sensed as safer and better and therefore as the negation of the present, or, to the contrary, as an affirmation and justification of this present, giving rise to two ideological trends in Romantic literature which shared the taste for history.⁴

These two factors led Romantics to take an interest in history, especially the Middle Ages. In this sense, while

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the exaltation of the individual is a staple of Romanticism, historicism can be viewed as the exaltation of this collective “self”, the self-squared in Ferreras’s expression.⁵

The historical novel stemmed from the very reality of Romanticism. With a model that combined a passion for history, local colour when re-creating customs and strong emotions, Walter Scott garnered extraordinary success. Yet beyond the “local colour”, the picturesque and the portrayal of customs, the crux of the model can be found in the human behaviours within the historical reality depicted. This is the core aspect worth noting. However, Scott’s novels also contain other elements whose goal is to arouse the readers’ attention and keep them curious (adventure, intrigue, mystery, etc.). And this soon evolved further: Hugo highlighted the social dimension and openly leaned toward the use of the novel as a means of judging reality; thus, in *Notre Dame de Paris* it is not too difficult to see the Paris of 1830 through the upheaval of 15th-century Paris. Alfred de Vigny is even more explicit on ideological subjectivisation. In “Réflexions sur la vérité dans l’art”, the prologue to *Cinq-Mars*, he openly defends the fact that the purpose of the historical novel is to seek the errors of the past in history. And the novel even drifted towards the extremes, as illustrated by Flaubert with *Salammbô*, which was set in the Carthage of the Punic Wars, which is more than just a decorative escape with erudite, documented archaeological details. At the other extreme are the novels on the Napoleonic Wars by Erckmann-Chatrian, *Histoire d’un conscrit de 1813* and *Waterloo*, in which the exclusion of historical figures, even secondary ones, and external history gives way instead to depicting the personal experience of a common character.

We can also witness an evolution towards a split model between the present and history, with the accentuation of the more novelesque elements. According to Maigrón,⁶ despite its indisputable values, Victor Hugo’s *Notre Dame de Paris* signals the start of this evolution. After *Notre Dame de Paris*, which somehow serves as a bridge between Walter Scott’s model and the adventure novel, the historical novel begins its decline with a kind of neglect of some of the essential principles of the genre in favour of the development others that were secondary in Scott’s novels. Everything becomes more superficial: the dialogues are vivid but vacuous, and the external descriptions are excessive at the expense of the interior lives of the characters, who are absorbed by the scenery. In short, the triumph of colour and picturesqueness in this new model is what ended up dominating the novel scene after the 1850s. They include the adventure novels represented by Paul Lacroix and especially Alexandre Dumas, where history ceases to attract the novelist’s attention and becomes little more than background scenery, while the characters become more conventional. The essential element became keeping up the intrigue throughout the entire varied and increasingly complicated action, which is achieved thanks to a repertoire of clichéd resources that distort reality for the sake of a dualist, reactionary vision of the world with a false happy ending.

All of these kinds of historical novels were present when the Catalan novel appeared in 1862. Were Catalan writers familiar with them? The historians of Catalan literature who have examined the topic hold the conviction that the writers of the *Renaixença* had little literary training, yet it seems indisputable that they must have been familiar with Walter Scott, as he had repeated success all over Europe.

His work entered Spain during the 1820s on the pages of the Barcelona magazine *El Europeo*. However, having acknowledged Scott’s influence, we should also note that by the time Catalan novelists began writing historical novels, first in Spanish and later in Catalan, all the trends in the historical novel, including the serial, had reached Spain. And therefore, at least theoretically, all the models were available. According to information from Montesinos i Ferreras⁷ on the editions translated into Spanish between 1830 and 1860, the most successful ones, in addition to Scott and the accepted influence of Manzoni, were the French serialists (Dumas, Sue, Soulié). And obviously it is no coincidence that when setting out to translate novels into Spanish, Catalan novelists would choose works by these authors. For example, Antoni de Bofarull translated Eugène Sue, Joaquim Salarich translated Walter Scott and Victor Hugo, Francesc Pelai Briz translated Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas, and Joaquim Riera i Bertran translated Walter Scott’s *Rob-Roy*.

Ferreras estimates that between 1830 and 1870 a total of 567 historical novels were written in Spain, and he calculated that between 1870 and 1900 more than 100 authors of one or two novels could be counted. This figure is quite demonstrative of the atmosphere favourable to this kind of novel throughout almost the entire century.

And among these novelists in Spanish we should count the Catalans, which added to this body of literature under this influence and writing in this language. At first, they did so with a variety of themes, some even directly drawn from Scott,⁸ but they soon incorporated the history of Catalonia as fodder for their novels and showed clear signs of the *Renaixença* sensibility, even if they did not manage to resolve the language contradiction.

THE ROMANTIC HISTORICAL NOVEL IN SPANISH IN CATALONIA (1830-1860)

Among the Catalan authors of historical novels, we should particularly spotlight those who wrote historical novels in Spanish, often on Catalan themes, those who promoted the *Renaixença* and the restoration of the Jocs Florals, and those who wrote poetry and/or plays in Catalan, but never took the step to writing novels in Catalan. Below is a compilation of several prominent authors who fit this description.

Joan Cortada (1805-1867)⁹ was the first novelist who incorporated Catalan history into the Spanish historical novel in an unequivocally *Renaixença* vein.¹⁰ Under the influence of Walter Scott, he wrote several historical novels on Catalan themes in Spanish during the 1830s, such as *La heredera de Sangumí* (1835), *Lorenzo* (1835), *El rap-*

to de doña Almodis, hija del conde de Barcelona don Berenguer III (1836) and *Las revueltas de Cataluña o el bastardo de Entenza* (1838). He was a member of the early group of promoters of Catalan literature and the restoration of the Jocs Florals. In 1834, as he was writing a historical novel in Spanish, he decided to use Catalan as a literary language in the translation of Tomaso Grossi's *La fugitiva*, which he entitled *La noia fugitiva*. By that point he was aware of the linguistic contradiction in which he was enmeshed. A bit later, in the prologue to *Las revueltas de Cataluña o el bastardo de Entenza* (1838), he fully defended the Catalan language. As the promoter of the first poetry contest called by the Academia de Buenas Letras of Barcelona in 1841, he was a member of the first Committee of the Jocs Florals when it was restored in 1859 and remained associated with the institution until his death. His articles published in 1858 in the pages of *El Telégrafo*, which were later compiled into a volume entitled *Cataluña y los catalanes* (1860), contain clear arguments in favour of Catalan uniqueness.

A similar case who was particularly important in the Renaixença in Valencia was Vicent Boix (1813-1880).¹¹ A romantic, liberal Valencian who was friends with Víctor Balaguer, after 1850 he wrote poetry in Catalan under the pseudonym of "El Trobador del Túria" (The Troubadour of Túria). In 1877, he was on the jury of the Jocs Florals. Based on his political liberalism, he soon let his voice be heard with regionalist and anti-centralist views while maintaining a steadfastly anti-Jacobin attitude. Despite this, even though he folded the history of Valencia into novels such as *El encubierto de Valencia* (1852) and *La campana de la Unión* (1866), his entire literary and intellectual oeuvre was written in Spanish, while Catalan was relegated to the sentimental corner of poetry.

Even though he only wrote one novel, Joan Illas i Vidal (1819-1876) is another of the writers that exemplify the contradiction between the Renaixença and the Catalan novel. A lawyer and economist, in 1840 he published a historical novel in Spanish entitled *Enrique y Mercedes*, which focused on the siege of Barcelona during the War of the Spanish Succession. As he himself admitted, the novel bowed to a patriotic feeling with a clear Renaixença bent, prompted by the impression he got when reading a novel recounting how the Vic natives were wronged in 1714. On the other hand, when writing *Enrique y Mercedes*, he was quite conscious of the linguistic contradiction. His concern with language later led him to write a Catalan grammar. What is more, in 1862 he was the president of the Committee of the Jocs Florals of that year, which – it is important to recall – called a prize for Catalan prose for the first time and revisited the idea of creating a committee that would standardise Catalan orthography.¹² Likewise, from the standpoint of economic protectionism, he is regarded as one of the earliest defenders of "particularism" with the study he published in 1855 (*Cataluña y España*), which was a justification and is regarded as a major milestone in the progression of Catalanist ideas.

The most significant example is Víctor Balaguer (1824-1901),¹³ a prolific author and political liberal who wrote a bit of everything. His role in promoting and consolidating the Renaixença is well known: he compiled the anthology *Los trovadors moderns* in 1859, and like Cortada he was one of the earliest core of promoters of the restored Jocs Florals and a member on its first Committee, an institution with which he would be associated his entire life. Víctor Balaguer also wrote in Spanish, recounting historical and novelistic legends and traditions. In the 1820s he published his first historical novel, *Cinco venganzas en una* (1844), and then he continued with *La Guzla del cedro o los Amogávares en Oriente* (1849), *El doncel de la reina* (about Hug d'Entença, 1850), *La espada del muerto* (1850), *El del capuz colorado* (1850), *La damisela del castillo* (1850), *El anciano de Favencia* (written between 1848 and 1852, about the life of Saint Pacian) and *Don Juan de Serrallonga* (1858) and its sequel, *La bandera de la muerte* (1859, finished by Antoni Altadill), which was the last. Bearing in mind his attitude and the purposes that he repeatedly expressed, it should come as no surprise that the theme of Catalan history is present in his works and that his last two novels would become vehicles for this theme. Thus, the bandit Joan de Serrallonga became a victim of the machinery of Castilian power in a version of the legend with a clearly Romantic bent.

Víctor Balaguer, who wrote in Catalan for poetry, and for theatre as well after 1858, never used this language for his novels.

The last case I shall examine is Manuel Angelon (1831-1889),¹⁴ who on the 2nd of March 1856 released *La Verge de les Mercès*, a work that has traditionally been considered the first Romantic drama written in Catalan; he is another writer with close ties to the Renaixença. In addition to ushering in what we could deem a serious Catalan theatre scene with this work, his historical poem *Agravis y venjansas* appeared in Balaguer's anthology *Los trovadors moderns* (1859), and that same year he was listed in the roster of participants in the first revival of the Jocs Florals, with which he always kept up ties. He also wrote plays and even zarzuela librettos in Catalan. Despite this, Manuel Angelon's main literary activity was the novel, apparently with considerable success during the 1860s and 1870s, although he never wrote them in Catalan. What we are interested in stressing now is the temporal simultaneity: shortly after releasing *La Verge de les Mercès* in around 1858, he supervised the "Crímenes célebres" collection, which imitated Alexandre Dumas' "Crimes célèbres" and ushered in a trend for serial novels in Spain. At the same time, considerably before the revival of the Jocs Florals, he published two novels, one a sequel of the other, set in 17th-century Catalonia; even though they were written in Spanish, they should be considered the catalysts of the advent of the historical novel in Catalan and the basis of Bufarull's *L'orfeneta de Menargues*. They were entitled *Corpus de sangre o los fueros de Cataluña* (1857) and *El Pendón de santa Eulalia o los fueros de Cataluña* (1858).



FIGURE 1. First plate in the edition of *Un corpus de sangre*.

However, just like so many other writers, Manuel Angelon wrote poetry and especially plays in Catalan, yet his novels were penned in Spanish.

Other authors who wrote historical novels on Catalan themes in Spanish include Pau Piferrer with *El castillo de Monsóliu* (1837); Pere Mata with *El idiota o los trabucaires del Pirineo* (1856), and *La campana del terror o las vísperas Sicilianas* (1857) under the pseudonym of Garcí-Sánchez del Pinar;¹⁵ Narcís D. Ametller i Cabrera with *El monje gris o catalanes y aragoneses en Oriente* (1863); and J. Hernández del Mas with *El último suplicio de las libertades catalanas* (1858). On the other hand, the history of Catalonia was also incorporated into novels written by non-Catalans, one prolific example being Fernández y González with *Las cuatro barras de sangre* (1858).

Until the 1860s, the novel in Catalonia had been written in Spanish following a variety of models. From then on, however, the historical novel would be written in Catalan.

THE HISTORICAL NOVEL BETWEEN 1862 AND 1882

An overview

In 1862, the Committee of the Jocs Florals embraced a prize for prose works for the first time, sponsored by the Ateneu Català. However, the Catalan novelists writing in Spanish, including those with the closest ties to the Jocs, were not tempted in the least. Even though no novel was

submitted, there are two aspects of this first edition of the prize worth highlighting. The first is that three of the seven members of the Committee were authors of historical novels in Spanish: Joan Illas i Vidal, Víctor Balaguer and Manuel Angelon. The second is the question of why when they created the prize they did not directly solicit novels and instead chose a more minor genre, namely stories and legends. It is difficult to guess what lay behind this decision. They might have thought that the role of the Jocs lay elsewhere, in poetry. We should bear in mind that the prizes offered by the Jocs to prose works were never announced by the Committee but instead by other entities, and always as extraordinary prizes.

This first edition in 1862 did not yield a novel, but its very existence, associated with the presence of novelists and perhaps under their influence, indicates that the issue was salient. And more than salient: at least one of the spearheads behind the movement and the Jocs Florals had decided to do something about it. Indeed, shortly after the Jocs were held, in the month of June 1862, advertisements of the publication of *L'orfeneta de Menargues* appeared in the pages of the *Diario de Barcelona*.¹⁶ The first Catalan novel since the Middle Ages had arrived, and it was a historical novel.

Still, despite its apparent success, the appearance of this novel, the longest and best from the period, did not mean that the genre took off, and utter silence was the only thing heard during the ensuing four years. None of the famous novelists felt spurred to change language, and no novelist joined the bandwagon immediately. In ten years, the Renaixença only yielded two historical novels: *L'orfeneta de Menargues* (Bofarull, 1862) and *Història d'un pagès* (Riera i Bertran, 1869). Still, it is worth noting that the paralysis in literary life did seem to be more generalised.¹⁷

The revival of the Catalan novel via the historical novel developed in two quite distinct stages. The first one, after 1862, was marked by the Jocs' attempt to stimulate stories in Catalan. However, the appeal was tentative and, in fact, the Ateneu never explicitly offered a novel prize until 1869, and even then it was for historical novels, with a time period limited to 1714-1808 and with the stipulation that one essential element had to be a portrayal of the customs of the day. In this sense, the 1860s were a failure for the genre (all told, only three novels were published, plus another unfinished one, two of them historical), and regarding the role played by the Jocs in its revival, of the four novels only two responded to its direct stimulus while the most important one, *L'orfeneta*, remained in the background.¹⁸

The second stage developed during the 1860s, and within the close confines of our discussion it could be considered a slow yet steady revival, with the publication of 15 novels, nine of which were historical, plus an unfinished one that was also historical, and 17 novellas, four of which were historical.¹⁹ We should note that none of them was by the Catalan authors of novels written in Spanish.

Those 20 years were the early period in the modern Catalan novel, a period that witnessed a slow, difficult, uneven, disoriented and mild literary recovery which never managed to yield a consistent output of any substance nor, in the case of the historical novel, a novel that was salvaged from oblivion. However, if this is true, and its players were keenly aware of it, it is also true that these novels laid the groundwork for resolving the problems that the storytellers in the next period had to grapple with, and it gave them an impetus.

Given the status of literary cultivation at that time, the historical novel had to deal with far-ranging problems²⁰ which can be summarised thus: a lack of tradition and literary atmosphere; the impossibility of professionalisation (and what this means in terms of the author-readership-publisher trinomial); the lack of mature, effective critics; and, obviously, the discovery of the Catalan language for prose, and specifically for the novel, and the effort to turn it into a useful instrument for any literary form. Still, there is one fact that we cannot ignore: the authors who wrote novels in Spanish did so only in Spanish, and those who wrote in Catalan did so only in Catalan. This cannot be regarded as a coincidence: to the contrary, it seems to be a defining fact. It also seems clear that the choice of language corresponded to age groups, with some exceptions. Without entering into the perennially slippery and unproductive terrain of generational models, we should note that the Catalan novel was cultivated by authors who appeared after the revival of the Jocs Florals and were at most 20 years old then. Based on the classification of intellectual movements established by Vicens Vives,²¹ it seems that what are called the romantic and “floralesque” generations, which laid the groundwork for the advent and later consolidation of the movement, only aspired to poetry and theatre, primarily because of their beliefs about what the Renaixença should be, and disorientation regarding the novel and ideological (moral) mistrust of the genre, which only Bofarull managed to overcome. The writers of the subsequent generations were the ones who took the leap to the novel in Catalan, taking advantage of the literary ambiance created by their predecessors.

There is one last fact I would like to share. After the mid-1860s, the Catalan novel was written in Catalan. Previous novelists who wrote in Spanish were silenced and, tellingly, no new ones emerged. It was a sign of normality.

There is yet one more issue worth noting. Ferreras²² has studied the trends in the Romantic novel from the original Romantic model of Walter Scott to the adventure serials, and he established a timeline for the Spanish novel. According to this analysis, there are three main trends, which I shall summarise very briefly: the historical novel with Romantic roots, which appeared in around 1830 and developed until the 1840s, which was characterised by the Romantic hero’s break with the world. Its two essential elements are the creation of a novelesque world based on a more or less idealised history, which mediatises the characters, and the fact that it has a character who ex-

presses their despair and lack of future in society. The second kind is the historical adventure novel, which appeared approximately in the decade from 1840 to 1850 and is characterised by the disappearance of the Romantic hero in the sense that the main character now finds his destiny at the end of the novel. The Romantic hero’s break with the world is replaced by the adventurer’s wanderings, but the historical universe still remains. Likewise, novels become politicised during this period and what Ferreras calls the regional novel appeared, which corresponds to the Spanish-language novels on Catalan themes discussed above. The third kind is the historical adventure novel, which also appeared in the decade from 1840 to 1850 and ended up dominating all the trends after 1860. In this kind of novel, not only has the Romantic hero disappeared, that stereotyped, simple and often meaningless character, but so has the historical universe: history is little more than the backdrop. All that remains is an accumulation of adventures and intrigues.

The Catalan historical novel appeared precisely in the period when Walter Scott still cast his prestigious patriarchal shadow, but the French serial novelists dominated the scene, along with their Spanish offshoots such as Fernández and González, and Pérez Escrich, along with a not-negligible presence of Catalan authors such as Angelon and Altadill.

When *L’orfeneta de Menargues* was released in 1862, almost all novels were serials, especially popular novels. Thus, the moralism and historicism of the era, plus the literary conventionalism of serial novels, prevailed upon the appearance of the Catalan historical novel. And we should add yet another factor, which is also implicit in Walter Scott’s model: local colour, which like history was associated with the restorationist drive of the Renaixença and the nationalisation of the historical novel and, in short, with a more or less political Catalanist spirit. Thus, while Bofarull’s first literary attempts already contained a love of Catalonia and a romantic fondness for its local history and customs, despite awareness of the contradiction entailed in writing in Spanish,²³ by the 1860s, the awareness of the need to rediscover Catalan national identity had become intellectually solid in *L’orfeneta*, and literary history and activity became a useful tool to achieve it. And this solidity might be what explains the resolution of the language issue in favour of Catalan, as the prologue to the novel makes clear. For this reason, Tubino opened up the Pandora’s box against Bofarull (and Briz), whose novels he unequivocally regarded as inspired by political designs, and he accused them of having used history and aspiring to arouse unjustified hatreds and irascible aspirations among Catalans and Spaniards.²⁴

In any event, towards the end of the 1860s we can detect an irreversible distancing from the Middle Ages and a bend towards modern times, as well as the appearance of primarily rural Costumbrism in the historical novel. Historicism and ruralism became inextricably intertwined. This is the model that came to prevail after the 1860s, in

clear contrast to the omnipresent French-style serial novel written in Spanish.

Historical novels. 1862-1882

*L'orfeneta de Menargues o Catalunya agonitzant*²⁵ by Antoni de Bofarull²⁶ must have been released shortly after the appearance of the advertisement in the *Diario de Barcelona* on Sunday the 8th of June. Matching the patterns of the era following the model of Walter Scott and Alessandro Manzoni,²⁷ it develops two plotlines which unfold parallel to each other. One is historical, while the other is clearly fictitious. This twofold structure does not meld into a homogeneous whole, although Bofarull shows considerable skill in juggling both plots. The historical plotline starts in the early 15th century and encompasses the last three years of the reign of Ferdinand I. In this plot, the two main characters are King Ferdinand I and the Councillor of Barcelona, Father Joan Fivaller, and two main ideas are formulated. The first is that the origin of the decline of Catalonia should be sought in the unfair decision of the Compromise of Caspe, which decided in favour of Ferdinand I of Aragon and against the Count of Urgell, leading to the introduction of a Castilian monarch in Catalonia. The second is the exaltation of the Catalan nation-

al character seen through a sentimental and political paean to its past glories and especially to its assessment of the Catalan character, faithful to the king and steadfast in its defence of lawfulness and obedience to its institutions and freedoms, a mindset that clashes with the haughty, aristocratic attitude of the Castilian king, who is used to authoritarianism. This peaks in the episode on the meat tax (chapter xxx to xxxiv), in which the king strives to avoid paying a tax. It is an ideological discourse that Bofarull had accepted much earlier.²⁸

The more novelesque plotline, based on a triangle, revolves around the figure of the orphan Blanqueta, her love for Guillemet which is thwarted by squire Puimoren and the inevitable happy ending. Bofarull had already used the core motif of orphanhood one year before the novel appeared when he participated in the Jocs Florals with a composition in verse entitled "La pobra orfeneta" (The Poor Orphan Girl);²⁹ the poem and the novel share many similar literary elements.

Seven years later, in 1869, the second novel of the Renaixença, also historical, was issued, namely *Història d'un pagès* by Joaquim Riera i Bertran. It was the first work to emerge directly from the prize offered by the Ateneu in the Jocs Florals, where it won an honourable mention.

Joaquim Riera i Bertran (Girona, 1848-1924)³⁰ was also associated with the Jocs Florals. Narrated in an autobiographical voice, *Història d'un pagès* is set in the War of the Pyrenees in the late 18th century, following the model of the novels by Erckmann-Chatrion, especially his *Histoire d'un conscrit de 1813*. However, Riera added the essentialist, idealised ruralism of conservative Catalanism, which sought the spiritual essence of Catalonia in the rural world, and the story becomes a set piece and pretext for this. In *Història d'un pagès*, the Catalanist spirit is on the sidelines of the action, with a clearly educational intention targeted at the readers.

Història d'un pagès signals a rupture with the traditional model derived from Walter Scott and with the mediaevalism which had been predominant from then until the Renaixença, especially in poetry and theatre. It also introduces rural peasantry with a Costumbrist feel and blurs Catalanist claims, turning it into a sentimental expanse and transforming history into a non-mediatising backdrop.

After the Ateneu prize for the best historical novel was left vacant in 1870 and no novels were submitted for the prize the following year, 1872 marked the start of a new era in which the Catalan novel started a slow but steady revival. That year not only were novels submitted to the prize, but while they did not win, the jury did distinguish three of them with an honourable mention. All three were historical novels. *Lo coronel d'Anjou* by Francesc Pelai Briz³¹ was one of them, and, as Maurici Serrahima emphasised, it was the best of the three.

Francesc Pelai Briz (1839-1889)³² was only 20 years old when the Jocs Florals were restored, and yet he was associated with them from the very first edition. As an author,

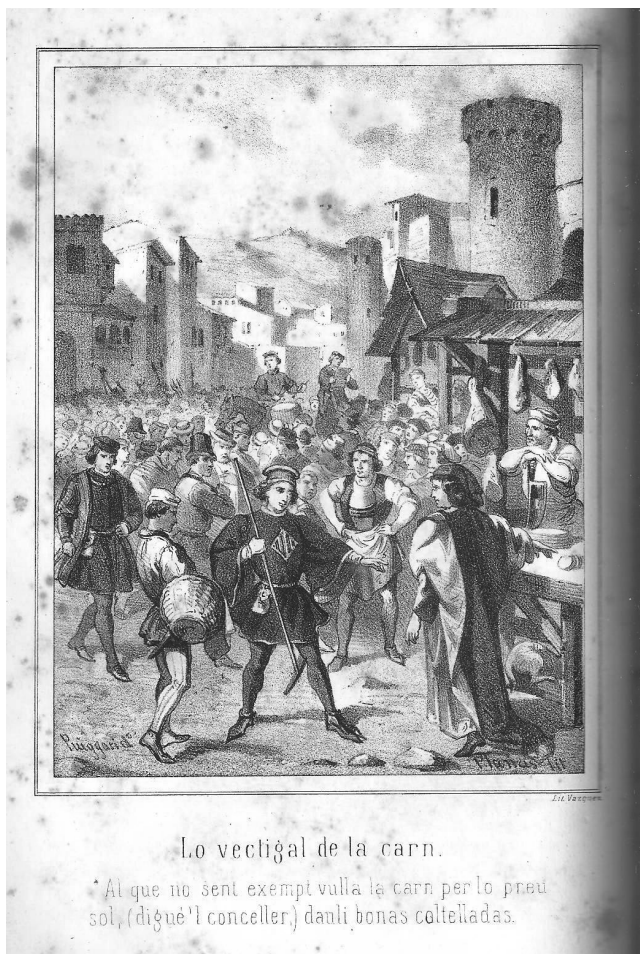


FIGURE 2. Plate by Josep Puiggarí which re-creates the episode of the meat tax in the serial edition of *L'orfeneta de Menargues*.

he produced an oeuvre filled with prose and verse encompassing all the genres.

Lo coronel d'Anjou is a simple novel, yet it has a complicated plot which is both entertaining and allowed Briz to judge the historical past. The action takes place around the 11th of September 1714, a historical setting which politically allowed the author to meddle, although in the novel it is a mere backdrop. However, the novel did not go unnoticed and it sold out in a little over a year,³³ whereupon it was immediately the subject of criticism. From an ideological position opposite to Briz's, Tubino³⁴ judged it very harshly. Just like with *L'orfeneta de Menargues*, Tubino saw *Lo coronel d'Anjou* as a work written for political purposes that distorted history to introduce discord and hatred among Spaniards. In reality, *Lo coronel d'Anjou* ushered in a new model of historical novel in Catalonia that was a far cry from Walter Scott and peasant ruralism. It is a genre novel that imitates Alexandre Dumas' historical adventure novel built upon a very simple plot which revolves around revenge and a love story, in theory an impossible one. From the perspective of the historiography of literature, it is a new kind of historical novel in the meagre Catalan novel scene. And it is a proper, acceptable novel, despite the genre clichés and flaws which can be ascribed to it.

Les òrfenes de mare also earned an honourable mention in the Ateneu prize in 1872. Its author, the Manresa native Josep d'Argullol (1839-1886),³⁵ was the author of numerous Costumbrist, conservative, moralising short stories and three longer stories.

Les òrfenes de mare, just like *Lo coronel d'Anjou*, seems to have been written especially to be submitted to the prize and to satisfy the Committee and the Ateneu, which had limited the historical period, did not accept plots that took place before the 18th century and had particularly emphasised the need for the novel to be a portrait of customs. Set in Manresa between 1804 and 1808, it is an extremely simple story with virtually no plot and just a few characters that are barely discernable and instead are only representations of the different ways of judging the consequences of the French Revolution. More than anything else, it is a nostalgic apologia of the past from a conservative vantage point.

Two years later, a famous playwright, Frederic Soler, tried his hand in the serial genre with *L'any trenta-cinc*, a novel that was supposed to be published in the pages of *La Renaixensa* but remained unfinished; we are only aware of four chapters of it.³⁶

L'any trenta-cinc revolves around the famous anti-clerical events that were particularly intense in Barcelona on the 23rd and 25th of July of 1835 during the First Carlist War which broke out upon the death of Ferdinand II, the time in which the part of the novel of which we are aware was set. Little can be said about these few pages, which only contain an introduction and brief description of the characters. Apparently the story was supposed to be a parody of genre novels based on a caricatured attack of

the Carlists, and perhaps it was supposed to be a defence of the Restoration, in which Soler was not going to refrain from a parodical use of the resources of serial literature.

*Lo Rector de Vallfogona*³⁷ was published in 1876, a vindication of the figure of Vicenç Garcia, a 17th-century poet. In it, the rector is viewed as a pious man and a skilled, serious poet; the image that had been passed down to us was false and had been deliberately distorted out of the envy of some of his contemporaries. Regarding the biography of the rector,³⁸ Feliu i Codina follows the only thing that he could follow at that time: the legendary tradition, and the historical period is so diluted that it virtually disappears. The main flaw of the novel is turning the rector of Vallfogona into a romantic hero, the victim of obsessive persecution, and offering us a novel that is correct but inconsistent and excessively melodramatic, which primarily draws from the serial novel.

The following year *Lo caragirat* (1877)³⁹ was published, the third honourable mention at the 1872 Jocs Florals. Josep Martí i Folguera (1850-1929)⁴⁰ was only 20 years old when he wrote this work, and it is his only novel. As fixture of the Renaixença, he was a regular participant in the Jocs Florals. *Lo caragirat* is an elementary novel, yet it is extreme in its plot and characters. However, it is simple and ingenuous, often sentimental and occasionally verging on truculent. The result is a story that, while not overly solid and sometimes a bit languorous, is developed adeptly and with ambitious literary aims given the context in which it was written.

Lo caragirat takes place in El Camp de Tarragona between 1810 and the summer of 1811, and it revolves around the attack of Napoleon's troops on the city of Tarragona during the War of Independence. The plot is distilled down to a story of unrequited love. On the one hand, the novel is built using three juxtaposed compositional elements, the same as in the *Història d'un pagès*: the serial in the design of the story and the characters; idealised ruralism; and history, which is dealt with differently than in previous novels. Here history is not interpreted as in *L'orfeneta*, nor does it become an excuse for political judgement outside the narrative action as in *Història d'un pagès* or *Lo coronel d'Anjou*, each in its own way, nor is it simply a referential frame as in *Les òrfenes de mare* or the barely decorative excuse for recreating the character as in *Lo Rector de Vallfogona*. Instead, in *Lo caragirat*, history plays a role that is impossible to ignore, despite the fact that the novel does not work very well. Just like so many others, Martí i Folguera did not know how to fuse history with the lives of his characters, but he did tell the story of the historical episode in which the story was set.

That same year *La guerra* (1877) was published, the third and last novel by Josep d'Argullol. Even though it showed progress compared to his previous works, it still reflects the same ideological and literary conception mentioned in our discussion of *Les òrfenes de mare* above.⁴¹ In terms of its intention, *La guerra*, set on the Bages plain during the Third Carlist War, is a political novel, and in

terms of literature, it is an accumulation of brief vignettes tied together by a minor, irrelevant plotline with a few very faintly sketched characters erected over a juxtaposition of scenes.

Vigatans i botiflers (1878) is the novel by the only woman among the authors of historical novels: Maria de Bellloch, the pseudonym of Pilar Maspons i Labrós (1841-1907). Despite a few volumes of poetry and *Vigatans i botiflers*, her literary oeuvre was primarily folkloric, especially re-creations of legends and tales.⁴²

Vigatans i botiflers,⁴³ which is set during the War of the Spanish Succession, is primarily a novel written for unconcealed patriotic purposes. To do so, she chose a familiar model which was still popular among the public: the historical adventure novel à la Alexandre Dumas, only slightly adapted to her own capacities and preferences with the inclusion of idealised rural Costumbrism and, closely tied to this, a taste for folkloric detail. According to this model, history is never anything more than a backdrop to set the tone, but echoing Briz, it becomes a core motif of the discourse of a patriotic author. From an adverse position, Tubino demolishes all comments on the novel with a brief yet transparent paragraph: "The respect inspired by the fairer sex prevents us from sharing our opinion on the spirit that has dictated this historical-political novel".⁴⁴ However, despite its historical-patriotic and folklore-Costumbrist dimensions, the component that dominates the story is adventure, which is constructed using serial mechanisms in the plot and design of the characters and in the mechanics of the novel, which uses almost all imaginable resources to captivate the reader: persecution, mystery, coincidence, ruined castles, secret passages, ghosts, sorrowful souls, orphans, impossible loves, love triangles, trickery... and a comforting ending.

And just about at the end of the period we are discussing, seventeen years after the publication of *L'orfeneta*, we finally find a novel whose historical framework is once again the Middle Ages: *Lo castell de Sabassona* (1879). Joaquim Salarich (1816-1884)⁴⁵ began to write literature in Spanish in 1841. His works in Catalan, which are fundamentally narratively historical, started late, after the 1870s, when Salarich was almost 60 years old, and they include short stories, some of which are translations of the stories he had written earlier in Spanish, along with one novel: *Lo castell de Sabassona*.⁴⁶

His stories draw from the initial atmosphere of the historical novel under the direct influence of Walter Scott. However, they are not just a pale reflection of Scott's works. In his model, Salarich solely borrowed a romantic image and the taste for erudite detail. Salarich absorbed the outermost features of Scott's novels, along with the use of plot secrets and mysteries, perhaps also from Scott, but through the filter of the post-Scott serial and the archaeological historical novel, with a stress on a setting in the Middle Ages full of romantic knights and erudite yet fully historically justified reconstructions. However, the result in terms of the novel is insignificant.

The period we are examining ended in 1880 with two novels: *Cor i sang* and *Lo Bruc*. While the historical novel was carving a niche for itself, the 1870s witnessed the unstoppable onslaught of the Costumbrist story, along with increasingly strident demands for distance from historicism and serial techniques. *Cor i sang*, which appeared in this context, can be regarded as Careta i Vidal's attempt to stretch himself within the genre of the historical novel, spurred by his frustration at its own limitations.

Antoni Careta i Vidal (1834-1924), who joined the Renaixença in the mid-1860s, was primarily a Costumbrist storyteller. Associated with the Renaixença since 1875, his literary oeuvre primarily consisted of short stories, Costumbrist vignettes and novellas. *Cor i sang*, which won an award at the *Lo Gay Saber* contest in 1880 and was published in the pages of that magazine,⁴⁷ is his only historical novel. It was set in Barcelona and the action takes place between February 1807 and March 1814, during the War of Independence, even though the epilogue situates the end of the novel in 1835, during the First Carlist War. Despite this timeline, the subject of the novel is not war but instead a simple story of star-crossed love thwarted by different social statuses, but with a happy ending. Regarding the profile of the characters and the initial design of the story, *Cor i sang* is a novel similar to the ones we have already discussed, primarily from the serial tradition. However, Careta i Vidal was not a serial novelist and he actually wrote a sentimental novel with a very slight and not overly complicated intrigue and a few gratuitous coups d'thâtre. Regarding the story, the War of Independence does not interfere with the characters' lives, and there is yet another fact that does not go unnoticed: *Cor i sang* offers us a Costumbrist setting of life in Barcelona at the time, which means that it is uniquely a far cry from ruralism.

Lo Bruc (1880), the last historical novel of the period and the third and last novel by Josep Feliu i Codina,⁴⁸ was one of the novels that was announced as part of the Biblioteca Catalana Il·lustrada. Despite this, it was never published in that collection and appeared instead in the serial of *La Renaixença*.

Lo Bruc still reflects the general approach of what the collection was supposed to be in an attempt at a popular novel with some pretensions. Its banishment of melodramatic effects and truculence is conscious and deliberate, and there is a clear desire to create a lifelike story with credible characters. It opens with an introductory chapter, a kind of literary justification, in which the interposed narrator explains that the story that follows is the tale that the drummer of the battle of Bruc against the French (1808) told him. Therefore, the real narrator of the novel is the drummer. In reality, this is a novel in which the historical events at Bruc are secondary, even though they are closely tied to the plot. And in my opinion, this is the novel's strongest point, since the plot goes far beyond it and the war itself is not its essential core. Feliu i Codina managed to avoid the facile temptation to let himself get carried away by history and legend, conveniently seasoned

with the usual serial resources which he had used in *La dida* and *Lo Rector de Vallfogona*, and instead offers us a mournful story of love and friendship in which the drummer, though logically the main character in the famous episode, is not a legendary hero but a young man faced with a personal, family and human conflict.

Therefore, *Lo Bruc* took a new approach compared to all other historical Catalan novels. In this case, it is the only Catalan historical novel in which history is interwoven with the plot to such an extent that it determines the behaviour of the characters, as it is the origin of the conflict. On the other hand, along the same lines, *Lo Bruc* does not reflect a patriotic use of the novel in the Catalanist sense, despite the fact that the same year it was published, in a speech he delivered at the Ateneu Barcelonès Feliu i Codina still insisted upon the old idea that literature should help to exalt patriotism.⁴⁹ In *Lo Bruc*, the fatherland is always Spain.

Feliu i Codina was the most conscientious, constant, ambitious and professional writer of the ones we have examined thus far. And *Lo Bruc*, a novel which is not extraordinary, was written with remarkable sobriety and narrative skill.

THE CATALAN HISTORICAL NOVEL BETWEEN 1882 AND 1902

In 1882, Narcís Oller published *La papallona* with a prologue letter written by Émile Zola, which both signalled the differences and acknowledged the similarities with naturalism, beyond the romantic idiosyncrasies it still bears. The fact is that with the arrival of Oller, the historical novel with romantic roots, which was already obsolete everywhere else although it was still successfully being published, was marginalised. In Europe, *Quo vadis?* by Henryk Sienkiewicz, an archaeological and neo-romantic novel which was destined to become a favourite among subsequent novelists, was published in 1896 and won the 1905 Nobel Prize. However not in Catalonia, not yet. Nor the kind of novel with a historicist purpose that Galdós had launched in 1873 with *Trafalgar*, the first novel of the 26 in the *Episodios nacionales* which he published between 1873 and 1912, which span a historical period from 1805 to 1880. In this series, with a variety of tones and intentions, prolific authors of the serial novel continued like Vicente Moreno de la Tejada with his *Episodios de la revolución española* (1887), which focus on La Gloriosa (1866-1868), and Enrique Rodríguez Solís with *Los guerrilleros de 1808. Historia popular de la guerra de la independencia* (1895), which obviously no longer had anything to do with the romantic historical novel in terms of either the scope of its view of history or its intention.⁵⁰

In Catalonia, none of this had an impact on novels, and in 20 years only two thoroughly obsolete historical novels were published. Let us only say that the heart of novel publishing in the 1890s was the serials of *La Renaixensa*,

which reissued earlier historical and costumbrist novels along with translations into Catalan of novels published in Spanish on Catalan themes and settings many years earlier, including the novels of Balaguer and Cortada.⁵¹

One of the most prolific authors in *La Renaixensa*'s "Novelles catalanes i estrangeres" was Francesc de Paula Capella, the top representative of didactic and moralising literature and the author of the two historical novels from that period: *Judith de Welp* (1894) and *La cuadro de Vilar-nau* (1895),⁵² which signal no progress and are instead affiliated with legendary storytelling. The former, set in the 9th century, departs little from the legend of the second wife of the Frankish emperor Louis the Pious, who was accused of adultery with the Count of Toulouse and of Barcelona Bernat de Septimània.⁵³ It was a far cry from any model of historical novel and clearly inferior to the ones published the previous decade. The latter, set in the days of the Battle of Lepanto, is similar to a serial in its plot and effects yet without ever abandoning its nature as a legendary tale. Neither has anything to do with the novels from the previous period nor with what was being done around Europe, even in historical novels.

THE CATALAN HISTORICAL NOVEL BETWEEN 1902 AND 1930

From 1900 until 1902, when "Novelles catalanes i estrangeres" concluded, and after 1903, when *La Renaixensa* resumed publication of its serial, now titled "Biblioteca de La Renaixensa", primarily translations were published.

In Spain, after 1913 Pío Baroja began to publish the 22 volumes of his *Memorias de un hombre de acción*, which span from the late 18th century to the end of the reign of Isabel II and fluctuate between adventure novels and novelised historical chronicles.⁵⁴ Vicent Blasco Ibáñez published two historical novels which mix the present in the love plot and the past in the history evoked: *El Papa del mar* (1925), about Benedict XIII, and its sequel, *A los pies de Venus* (1926), which tells the story of the Borgias, especially Roderic and his children Cesare and Lucretia.⁵⁵ Neither of the two models had representatives in the Catalan novel, apart from the historical novel, which was being spurred on by Modernisme: *Els sots feréstecs* (Raimon Casellas, 1901), *Solitud* (Victor Català, 1905) and *Josafat* (Prudenci Bertrana, 1906), and which later suffered from almost complete silence with Noucentisme.

On the other hand, the romantic model from the first third of the 19th century, exemplified by Walter Scott and Alexandre Dumas' adventurer, which had been mirrored in the 19th century Catalan novel, was in the distant past. Now, the framework of the era was represented by three kinds of historical novels (which appeared after the 1860s). I am referring to the model represented by *Salammbô* (1862), the first historical novel after Balzac's realism relegated the romantic historical novel to the background. The novel by the famous French author Gustave Flaubert,

set in the Carthage of Hamilcar Barca, is a kind of historical novel that emerged from applying realistic methods of documentation in a historical narration with the intention of creating a lifelike framework, as exact as possible, which is nothing other than a flight from the reality of today. To do so, they took refuge in the remotest, most distant past. This spirit of evasion and dreaminess can also be found in Pierre Louÿs' *Aphrodite: mœurs antiques* (1896). In addition to Flaubert and Louÿs, the new kind of novel was represented by *Eine Ägyptische königstochter* (1864) by the Egyptologist Georg Moritz Ebers, a tour de force of historical and archaeological reconstruction of the Egyptian and Persian cultures which was translated into Spanish in 1881, and the aforementioned *Quo vadis?* (1896) by Henryk Sienkiewicz, set in early Christian Rome.

The former represents a kind of novel that we could call archaeological with a scientific spirit because of the precision with which it strives to reconstruct the past world; and the latter, which has archaeology at the core as well, is an example of neo-romantic effectism. Indeed, this shared archaeological underpinning is what characterised the historical novel at the turn of the century and took it past the Middle Ages to the ancient world. This

should come as no surprise if we consider the fact that archaeology as a scientific discipline was founded in the 1860s. The Romantics were interested in heroes' actions, amorous feelings and hatreds but not the setting in which they lived, which was never more than just a backdrop, often more picturesque and effectist than historical. In archaeology, however, what is important is not the individual story but the ways of life and social and cultural mores of the period. And if the Romantic historical novel, which emerged from a fascination of the Middle Ages, had to have a Christian cultural framework and a theocentric view of the world at the time when the Christian nations were being formed, the archaeological historical novel goes back even further to pagan cultural frameworks or early Christianity, often in a romanticised cultural ambience following in the footsteps of its predecessors: Chateaubriand with *Les Martyrs* and Bulwer Lytton with *The Last Days of Pompeii*, both published in Spanish in 1847 and 1848. This new archaeological novel aimed to introduce scientific objectivity into the reconstruction of the world, and this is the kind of novel that would dominate historical novels in the last third of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century.

In Catalonia, and in Spain, it came later and with a smaller output. These novels were published, albeit not on Catalan topics, by authors such as José Ramón Mérida, the conservator and director of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional: *Sortilegio en Karnac* (1880) and *Salomón, rey de Israel* (1884); and by Vicent Blasco Ibáñez (*Sónnica la cortesana* (1901) regarding Hannibal's siege of Sagunt in 218 and 219 BC, which dovetails with the incipient archaeological anthropology of Rider Haggard in *King Solomon's Mines* (1885). And there was also the unusual romantic novel by Juan Valera, *Morsamor* (1899), set in the 16th century and brimming with adventures, journeys and magic.

In Catalonia, the publication of the historical novel kept up its trickle until the end of the period, with the appearance of nine novels by seven authors in a little over 30 years.⁵⁶ This scant and uneven output was primarily archaeological in nature and still used Romantic effects.

Broadly speaking, the authors of historical novels who were born during the first quarter of the 19th century wrote in Spanish, but they introduced Catalan topics with undeniable *Renaixença* tones; those who were born after mid-century wrote in Catalan after the impetus of the *Jocs Florals* and the *Renaixença*; and those who were born late in the century also wrote in Catalan within the framework mentioned above, dominated by archaeological themes. The exceptions are Marià Vayreda and Pompeu Gener, the contemporaries of some *Renaixença* authors who published Romantic novels. The former published *La punyalada*⁵⁷ in 1903 and the latter published *Agna Maria* in 1904.

La punyalada,⁵⁸ published in a posthumous volume,⁵⁹ is a good novel. It is set in the region of Alta Garrotxa in the early years of the First Carlist War. In terms of its plot, it is a story of blunderbusses and unbridled passions, with a romantic, effectist tone that revolves around a love tri-

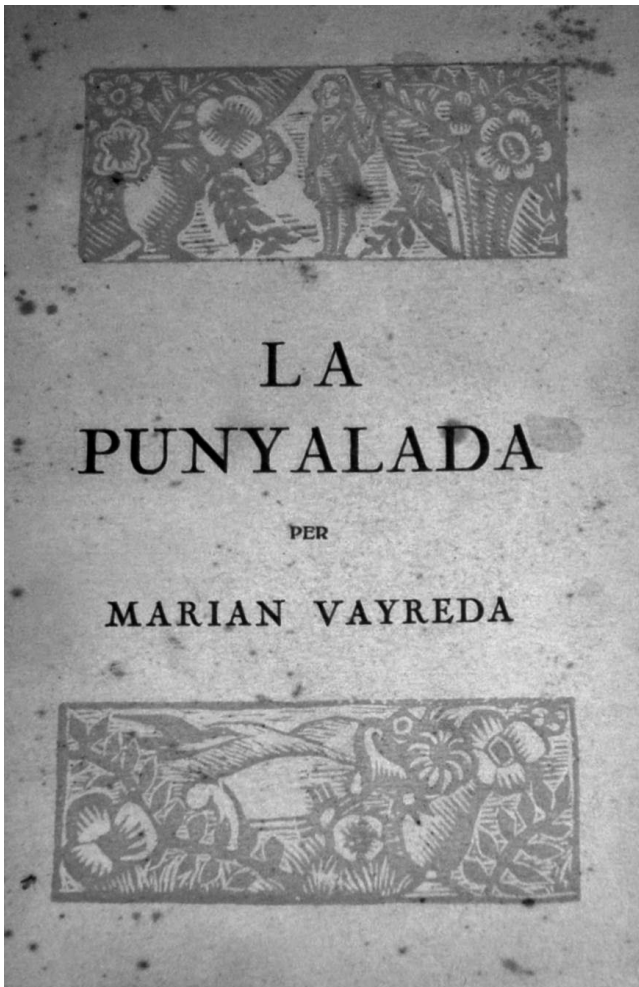


FIGURE 3. Cover of *La punyalada* by Marià Vayreda, in the 1921 edition by Editorial Catalana.

angle and with no dearth of deaths, kidnappings and duels. It unfolds on two levels, an external level that follows the plotline and is woven as an adventure novel, and an internal level focused on the psychological analysis of the main character. Thus, the novel is the sum of the plotline, the psychological analysis of the character and descriptions of nature. In this latter aspect, it is clearly different to Romantic ruralism and tends towards a modernist view that considers the environment a hostile element determining the characters through extraordinarily skilled descriptions linked to the action of the novel.

The novel by Pompeu Gener⁶⁰ is more a retelling of a legend than a novel per se, and it is clearly inferior to Vayreda's novel. *Agna Maria*, set in the Reaper's War, novelises this conflict without straying too far from the legend of the *Capitelo* or the *La dama de Reus*.⁶¹ And it contributes nothing new.

In 1909, Josep Calzada won the Artistic Cup at the Jocs Florals with *La sacra tragèdia*,⁶² a version of the passion and death of Christ following the pattern of the archaeological novel set out by Sienkiewicz's *Quo vadis?* Despite the undeniable effort at archaeological reconstruction, the novelist gives free rein to his imagination and the story is primarily a romantic version of the sacred drama.

But the novel of the year was published by one of the authors with the most prominent literary personality of the period, Alfons Maseras.⁶³ *L'adolescent*,⁶⁴ set in Babylonia in the 4th century BC, revolves around two plotlines that do not intersect with each other: a story of incest and a historicist plot, which join together at the end with a double catastrophe: a personal one between Ninnur and Nekarim and a collective one with the entrance of Cyrus' troops to raze Babylonia. The love story, which includes necrophilia, is based on the classical myth of Hippolyta and Phaedra. Imbued with relativism, irony and ambiguity, it presents the modernist theme of the hero who succumbs to the fatality of the world around him, with echoes of D'Annunzio and Anatole France, and an effort at archaeological reconstruction following the model of Flaubert's *Salammbô* and Pierre Louÿs' *Aphrodite: mœurs antiques*. What Maseras draws from these French authors, beyond the atmosphere of decline and the historical ambience of an ancient, vanished civilisation, is what Corretger called "the dream spirit", that is, the evasion of the present and the taste for archaeological reconstruction.

L'adolescent, a novel that blends sensuality, eroticism, violence, descriptive details and exoticism, was totally new. It was the first Catalan historical novel that was decadent, even Parnassian, in its ideological and aesthetic conception.

Six years later, Maseras returned to the historical novel with *Ildaribal* (1915),⁶⁵ his most celebrated novel. Set in Roman Tarraco under the reign of Emperor Claudius, it focuses on the local people of Tarragona, one of whom is the main character. As is common in historical novels, there are two parallel stories in *Ildaribal*: the story of the Cosetanus natives and the story of Ildaribal, a young patrician whose life leads him to despair. The story also re-

volves around archaeology in historical reconstruction, the details of the setting and Latinised rhetoric as a psychological portrait of the character: Ildaribal is an anti-hero who is simultaneously combative and sickly, overwhelmed by the lack of meaning in his life.

With its conservative, Manichean undertones, *Ildaribal* is an existential novel, one that is less truculent and effectist than *L'adolescent* while also being symbolic, psychological, philosophical, nationalist-historical, erotic and decadent. It thus signals a purging of the ethical and aesthetic constants of Modernisme plus the ideological and formal elements of Noucentisme, according to Corretger's analysis. Modernisme is present especially in its decadent, philosophical elements, its conception of life as an inevitable pathway towards death, and its existential doubt and inevitable disappointment with life, love, faith and reason, which lead Ildaribal to commit suicide given the absurdity of living. On the other hand, Noucentisme is present in the novel in the harmony and classicism of the philosophical speculations in the conversations between Ildaribal and the old Etheius, and in the conservative rationalism that the character seeks, which is satisfied in an endnote added by the author.

Three years after this novel, Father Josep Palomar contributed to the genre via a novelised biography in *El patge de Maria Antonieta* (1918), a story with scarce novelistic interest on the supposed life of Marie Antoniette's page who had family roots in Arenys de Mar.

Shortly before Miguel Primo de Rivera launched his military dictatorship, Josep Calzada returned to the historical novel with *Plautus* (1922), set in Greece during the Greco-Persian Wars. It is an archaeological novel which Serrahima has accurately described as outlandish and absurd.

During the military dictatorship, historical novels continued to be published, on Catalan themes and not, as well as translations. Numerous works from the early years of the Renaixença were even reissued. And while in the 1860s Feliu i Codina launched the "Biblioteca Catalana Il·lustrada", conceived as a popular collection of novels,⁶⁶ in 1924 Alfons Roure ventured a project with popular historical and legendary serialised novels. That year he published the serial-like novel *Vassall d'amor* on the supposed tormented life of Ramon Berenguer IV, and *Els amors del comte Arnau*, based exclusively on the version of the legend written in similar tone as its predecessor.

In 1925, *La felicitat* was published, a somewhat insignificant novel by R. Negre i Balet set in Ireland during the time of famine and misery around the uprisings of 1847, which ended up sparking the nationalist movement. The period⁶⁷ closes in 1927 with the novel by Miquel Roger entitled *El gran rei*, the 1922 winner of the Pella i Forgas Prize at the Jocs Florals in L'Empordà which tells the story of the clash between Peter the Great and Charles of Anjou and the struggles in Sicily, with one historical plotline and another sentimental one. However, what ends up standing out over the novel's plot is its historical reconstruction (it even contains an excerpt from the chronicle by Ramon Muntaner).

IN CONCLUSION

The world of the early 19th-century Catalan novel was narrow and partly obsolete, poor in both quantity and quality. It never managed to create a broad, loyal audience or secure publishing platforms that went beyond the protesting and enthusiast framework. Nor did it spur Catalan writers who wrote in Spanish, who we know had ties to the *Renaixença*, to take the step to writing in Catalan. However, after Bofarull's novel, many of these Spanish-language authors stopped writing novels and new ones failed to appear. This may have been the first sign of normality: after that time, the idea that the Catalan novel should be written in Catalan began to take root, at least in the sectors of society that were fond of literature.

The resurgence between 1862 and 1882 seemed to take place in two stages. The first one, in the 1860s, had little output. The arrival of the genre through Antoni de Bofarull, with an everyday historical novel, did not continue and the decade ended without novels gaining a prominent place. We can view the latter stage in the 1870s as a kind of revival: while only three novels were published in the 1860s, plus one unfinished one, 32 novels and novellas were published throughout the 1870s. Specifically regarding the historical novel, two came out in the 1860s and 14 in the 1870s.

This is in terms of output. In terms of the kind of novel, focusing only on the historical novel, while the most powerful impetus in Bofarull was the classical historical novel, after the 1870s the Catalan historical novel was primarily indebted to the historical adventure novel. Finally, in the early 1880s we can see a departure from the serial-style novel and its exaggerations, which is replaced by the introduction of Barcelona Costumbrism and wholesale sentimentalism.

With regard to the authors, one telling fact is their literary monolingualism parallel to the absence of writers who changed literary languages, with only a handful of exceptions. The authors of the Catalan historical novel are the young writers who appeared on the literary scene after the restoration of the *Jocs Florals*, who were at most 20 years old at that time. They include the 20-year-olds Argullol, Briz and Soler and the even younger Maria de Bell-lloch (18), Feliu i Codina (14), Riera i Bertran (11) and Martí i Folguera (9). Conversely, the Spanish-language novelists were the older participants in the *Renaixença*, the spearheads of the movement, who started their literary output in Spanish prior to the restoration of the *Jocs Florals*, including Cortada (54), Boix (46), Illas (40) and Balaguer (35). Between these two groups, which had a large age difference, despite the wide range, is a bracket – between the ages of 20 and 30 – which is not as clearly delineated and somewhat scattered; examples include Angelon (28) for the novel in Spanish and Careta (25) for the novel in Catalan.

However, regarding the group of novelists writing in Catalan, the younger ones, we have to mention to notable exceptions: Bofarull (40) and Salarich (43), whose age

brought them closer to Cortada's cohort. However, they are just anomalies because with the exception of *Lo castell de Sabassona*, which Salarich originally wrote in Catalan when quite elderly, he only translated and shared in Catalan the stories he had written in Spanish when younger. Likewise, it is quite likely that it is no coincidence that these two authors, the oldest, were precisely the only ones that felt a real attraction to the Middle Ages. On the other hand, the Catalan authors of the historical novel of the *Renaixença* were associated with the *Jocs Florals*, and they had written something before writing novels and continued writing afterwards. Likewise, they all penned works in a variety of literary genres.

After the novel by Antoni de Bofarull set in the Middle Ages, there was only one more. The Catalan historical novel did not revolve around the Middle Ages; instead it focused on more recent periods, times of crisis and the times around wars. Specifically, organised according to the historical period they address: two novels were set in the Middle Ages: *L'orfeneta de Menargues* (1862) by Antoni de Bofarull and *Lo castell de Sabassona* (1879) by Joaquim Salarich; two were set in the War of the Spanish Succession: *Lo coronel d'Anjou* (1872) by Francesc Pelai Briz and *Vigatans i botiflers* (1878) by Maria de Bell-lloch; one novel was set in the 17th century: *Lo Rector de Vallfogona* (1876) by Josep Feliu i Codina; one novel was set during the War of the Pyrenees: *Història d'un pagès* (1869) by Joaquim Riera i Bertran; four novels were set in the War of Independence: *Les òrfenes de mare* (1872) by Josep d'Argullol, *Lo caragirat* (1872) by Josep Martí i Folguera, *Cor i sang* (1880) by Antoni Careta i Vidal and *Lo Bruch* (1880) by Josep Feliu i Codina; and two novels were set in the Carlist Wars: *L'any 35* (1874) by Frederic Soler (unfinished) and *La guerra* (1877) by Josep d'Argullol.

On the other hand, despite the diversity which has been duly noted, it seems possible to discern a series of compositional elements which can be found in all the novels, albeit with many nuances, namely history, customs and folklore, the literary conventionalism of the serial and the patriotic spirit. At the end of the period we have examined, Joan Sardà reflected on this issue in a long study which is tellingly entitled "Lo catalanisme y la literatura catalana".⁶⁸ In it, when taking stock, he recognises that in the literary restoration "the patriotic sentiment is the muse which has presided over and inspired its development" (p. 447). And he immediately reported on what he understood as Catalanism: we are Spaniards to foreigners and Catalans to other Spaniards, he said. This idea of complementarity was completed with another idea which has been repeated no less often: the rejection of Castilian uniformity.

In its vision of patriotism, the Catalan historical novel between 1862 and 1882 quite faithfully reflected the widespread sensibility of two clearly distinct periods, although they shared the same boundaries, as mentioned above: the first period which ended with the failure of the so-called September Revolution of 1868, when the Catalan

bourgeoisie apparently believed in the possibility of their hegemonic ascent to Spanish power in order to transform the political and economic structures of the state in a capitalist vein, and a second period marked by the consciousness of failure and the replacement of hegemonic designs with a Spanishist pact in the figure of Alphonse XII and the Restoration, which, nonetheless, soon tottered.

Apart from any element other than those mentioned above, I think that if there is one feature shared by all the Catalan historical novels, and therefore one that characterises the model, is it precisely this: through happy endings and Manichean moralism, they all evince the desire for peace and stability, and they all show the same theme pulsating underneath the plotlines: the restoration of order.

As a whole, the Catalan historical novel reflects and defends the values of the bourgeoisie of the era: morally traditionalist, nationally Spanish and tentatively regionalist, economically protectionist and anti-centralist – and anti-Castilian by extension, and socially defenders of order and harmony.

The ensuing 20 years, from 1882 to 1902, elapsed without any minimally interesting works. The historical novel had started its course after the mid-19th century in Europe with Flaubert and Louÿs, Georg Moritz Ebers and Henryk Sienkiewicz, and in Spain with Galdós and his *Episodios nacionales*, but none of these trends interested Catalan novelists and their only contributions were two historical but by then obsolete works by the same author, Francesc de Paula Capella: *Judith de Welp* (1894) and *La cuadro de Vilarnau* (1895), which should be categorised as legendary stories and secondarily as serial novels.

In the later years of the period we are examining, between 1902 and 1930, nine novels were published by seven authors. With the exception of Marià Vayreda and Pompeu Gener, who were born mid-century, the authors were all born in the 1880s, although we cannot consider them a homogeneous group. As is logical, they no longer had anything to do with the novelists of the Renaixença. Here the intentional patriotic spirit and ruralism totally disappears, with the addition of the ancient world as novelistic fodder from Babylonia to the Roman Empire (Maseras), and history is reduced to legend with no political charge (Gener and Roure). However, the novelists approached history with an eye tinged with archaeology, even when they wrote about the Middle Ages, such as Miquel Roger i Crosa in *El gran rei*. While this kind of novel was new in Catalonia, it had been around for almost half a century in Europe. On the other hand, the Catalan historical novel during the period remained impermeable to the kind of novel written by Galdós and Baroja.

As a whole, the period signalled the retention of 19th-century historical novel models that were obsolete: in their legendary and serial-like facet and in the subsequent archaeology, which was only overcome by the addition of the ancient world under the influence of the Nobel Prize-winner Sienkiewicz and the advent of Modernist decadence. Thus, two novels on the immediate past were pub-

lished (*La punyalada* on the First Carlist War and *Felicitat* on the Irish uprising against the English in 1847); the theme of the Middle Ages still survived in legendary mode in three novels (*Vassall d'amor*, *Els amors del comte Arnau* and *El gran rei*); a novel set in the 17th century was published (*Agna Maria*); and three novels set in the ancient world were issued (*L'adolescent* in Babylon, *Ildaribal* in Rome during the reign of Emperor Claudius and *La sacra tragèdia* during the times of Jesus Christ). On the other hand, legends (three novels) and archaeology (four) were prominent themes. As a whole, it is a scant output of minor, often unskilled novels. The best are the exceptions: the books by Vayreda and Maseras, which include psychological analysis in their treatment of the characters, which are worth figuring in any literature.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- [1] Antònia TAYADELLA. "La novella en català de 1862 a 1882. Catàleg". In: *Faig*, no. 19 (1982), pp. 82-91.
- [2] For an analysis of the period and its novels, see Maurici SERRAHIMA and Maria Teresa BOADA. *La novella històrica en la literatura catalana*. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 1996. [Honourable mention in the Rubió i Lluch Prize of the Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics, Barcelona 1947]; Jordi TIÑENA. *La novella històrica catalana (1862-1882)*. Doctoral thesis. Universitat de Barcelona, Tarragona 1992.
- [3] Georg LUKÁCS. *La novela histórica*. Barcelona 1976.
- [4] Edgar Allison PEERS. *Historia del movimiento romántico español*. Madrid 1973.
- [5] José I. FERRERAS. *El triunfo del liberalismo y la novela histórica (1830-1870)*. Madrid 1976.
- [6] Louis MAIGRON. *Le roman historique a l'époque Romantique. Essai sur l'influence de Walter Scott*. Paris 1898.
- [7] José F. MONTESINOS. *Introducción a una historia de la novela en España en el siglo XIX. Seguida del esbozo de una bibliografía española de traducciones de novelas (1800-1850)*. Madrid 1972; José I. FERRERAS. *Catálogo de novelas y novelistas españoles del siglo XIX*. Madrid 1979.
- [8] This is the case, for example, of *El convento de Stirling, o sea un descendiente del jorobado* (1843), by Blanchard i Camps, on a clearly Scottish theme.
- [9] Gaietà VIDAL I VALENCIANO. *Cortada. Su vida y sus obras*. Barcelona 1872; Joan SARDÀ. "Pròleg a Juan Cortada". In: *Artículos escogidos*. Daniel Cabrerizo and C^a. Madrid 1890, "Biblioteca clásica Española" collection, pp. v-XIX; Joaquim MOLAS. "Pròleg". In: Joan CORTADA. *Catalunya i els catalans*. Barcelona 1965, pp. 7-17; Albert GHANIME. *Joan Cortada: Catalunya i els catalans al segle XIX*. Barcelona 1995.
- [10] Joaquim MOLAS. "Notes per a un pòrtic". *Faig*, no. 19 (December 1982), p. 7.
- [11] Lluís QUEROL. "Vicente Boix, el historiador romántico de Valencia". In: *Anales del Centro de Cultura Valenciana*.

- na, no. XIX (1951), pp. 66-88; no. XX (1952), pp. 39-80 and 410-424, and no. XXI (1953), pp. 82-112 and 134-146; Josep IBORRA. "La novella al País Valencià". *Arguments*, no. 3 (1977), pp. 63-103.
- [12] Josep MIRACLE. *Un moment clau de la història de l'ortografia catalana*. Barcelona 1964, p. 25-35.
- [13] Carles CAPDEVILA. "Les grans figures del Renaixement de Catalunya. Víctor Balaguer". *Revista de Catalunya*, no. I (1924), pp. 576-592; Constantí LLOMBART. "Víctor Balaguer (Apunts biogràfics)". In: *Lo Rat Penat. Calendari llemosí corresponent al present any 1876*. Valencia 1875, pp. 27-32; Ernest MOLINÉ I BRASÉS. "Don Víctor Balaguer". *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, no. XII (1925-1926), pp. 117-121; Anicet de PAGÈS. *Víctor Balaguer*. Madrid 1875; Francesc GRAS ELIAS. "En Víctor Balaguer". In: *Siluetes d'escriptors catalans del segle XIX*. L'Avenç, Barcelona 1909, "Biblioteca popular de l'Avenç" collection, 91, 1st series, pp. 65-84; Joan L. MARFANY. "Víctor Balaguer i els Jocs Florals". *L'Avenç*, no. 262 (October 2001), pp. 63-68; Josep MIRACLE. *La Restauració dels Jocs Florals*. Aymà, Barcelona 1960, pp. 286-290; Marina CUCCU. *Víctor Balaguer i Cirera (1824-1901)*. Ajuntament de Vilanova i la Geltrú, Vilanova i la Geltrú 2003, "Retrats" collection, 25.
- [14] Francesc GRAS ELIAS. "Manuel Angelon". In: *Siluetes d'escriptors...*, *op. cit.*, 1910, no. 107, 3rd series, pp. 62-82.
- [15] Pere ANGUERA. "Pere Mata: novella i ideologia". In: *Societat, sociabilitat i ideologia a l'àrea reusenca*. Associació d'Estudis Reusencs, Reus 1999, p. 154.
- [16] *Diario de Barcelona*, no. 159, 8 June 1862, p. 5085. The advertisement also appeared in the 9th, 11th and 14th of the same month.
- [17] Gregorio AMADO LARROSA. "Movimiento literario". *Almanaque del Diario de Barcelona*, 1869, p. 77.
- [18] They are the following: Antoni de Bofarull. *L'orfeneta de Menargues* (historical, 1862); Gaietà Vidal i Valenciano. *La pubilla del mas de dalt* (winner of the Jocs Florals, 1866); Guadalupe Cortés. *Les joies de la Roser* (unfinished, 1868); Joaquim Riera i Bertran. *Història d'un pagès* (historical, winner of the Jocs Florals, 1869). We should add to them the costumbrist collection by Gaietà Vidal i Valenciano *La vida en lo camp*, in 1867, and the pamphleteering story by Josep d'Argullol *Lo crit de l'ànima*, in 1869.
- [19] By chronological order, they are the following. Novellas are preceded by an asterisk. Only the historical ones and those that won the Jocs Florals are mentioned. 1872: *Lo coronel d'Anjou* (F. P. Briz, historical, winner of the Jocs Florals); *Les òrfenes de mare* (Josep d'Argullol, historical, winner of the Jocs Florals); *Lo caragirat* (Josep Martí i Folguera, historical, winner of the Jocs Florals and published in 1877). 1873: **La Napa de Prats* (F. P. Briz). 1874: *Julita* (M. Genís); **Los comediantes del segon pis* (J. Riera i Bertran); **Lo castell de Vilatorra* (J. Salarich, historical); *L'any trenta-cinc* (F. Soler, historical, unfinished). 1875: *La dida* (J. Feliu i Codina). 1876: *Sota un Tarot* (M. Genís, winner of the Jocs Florals); *Lo Rector de Vallfogona* (J. Feliu i Codina, historical); **Lo liri de Vespella* (J. Salarich, historical); **L'hereu* (P. A.). 1877: *La guerra* (Josep d'Argullol, historical). 1878: *La Mercè de Bellamata* (M. Genís, winner of the Jocs Florals); *Vigatans i botiflers* (Maria de Bell-lloch, historical); **Un desafiament a mort* (J. Salarich); **De la batalla de Vich a l'acció de Roda* (M. Genís, historical). 1879: *Lo castell de Sabassona* (J. Salarich, historical); **Lo poble de l'alzinar* (J. Riera); **Recorts d'una nit* (M. Genís). 1880: *Lo Bruch* (J. Feliu i Codina, historical); *Cor i sang* (A. Careta, historical); **La família del mas dels salzers* (G. Vidal, winner of the Jocs); **Isabel de Galceran* (N. Oller, winner of the Jocs Florals); **Rey cavaller* (J. Riera, historical); **Mitxa galta* (J. Pons i Massaveu); **Memorias del bastant* (Martí-Ricart). 1881: *Qüestió de nom* (Lluís B. Nadal, winner of the Jocs Florals); **Tomeu bon cor* (J. Riera); **Doloretas* (F. Boter). 1882: *Mas memories* (J. M. Bosch-Gelabert). We should also cite the ones that had been advertised but were never published: *La gent de casa*, by Isidre Reventós; *Las quintas* by Pere Nanot-Renart; one whose title we do not know by Francesc Manuel Pau; the *Historia d'un pobre ciutadà* by J. Riera, and the ones by Josep Feliu i Codina, *Los estudiants de Tortosa*, *La filla del marxant*, *Bòria avall*, *Lo pou de sant Gem* and *Un sainete de'n Robreño*. (See Antònia TAYADELLA. "La novella en català...", *op. cit.*, p. 89.)
- [20] Joaquim MOLAS. "Notes...", *op. cit.*, pp. 7-12.
- [21] Jaume VICENS VIVES. *Industrials i polítics del segle XIX*. Teide, Barcelona 1958, pp. 187-207.
- [22] José I. FERRERAS. *El triunfo del liberalismo...*, *op. cit.*, p. 99-103 and forward.
- [23] See Bofarull's words in the prologue to *Hazañas y recuerdos de los catalanes*. Barcelona 1846, p. vi.
- [24] Francisco M. TUBINO. *Historia del renacimiento literario contemporáneo en Cataluña, Baleares y Valencia*. Madrid 1880, pp. 701-702.
- [25] Joan SERRA MASSAGUÉ. "Una lectura de *L'orfeneta de Menargues* o *Catalunya agonisant* d'Antoni de Bofarull". *Faig*, no. 19 (December 1982), pp. 14-23; Maurici SERRAHIMA. "Centenari de la novella". *Serra d'Or*, 2nd era, year IV, no. 10 (October 1962), pp. 29-30; Joaquim SANTASUSAGNA. *Reus i els reusencs en el Renaixement de Catalunya fins al 1900*. 2nd ed. Reus: 1949, pp. 121-125; Manuel MILÀ I FONTANALS. "La orfeneta de Menargues". *Diario de Barcelona*, no. 77, 18 March 1863, pp. 2484-2486; Gregorio AMADO LARROSA. "Movimiento...", *op. cit.*; Jordi TIÑENA. "Antoni Bofarull, novel·lista: *L'orfeneta de Menargues* (1862)". In: *Sis estudis sobre Bofarull*. Reus 1996, pp. 105-127.
- [26] Jordi GINEBRA. *Antoni de Bofarull i la Renaixença*. Reus 1988.
- [27] Regarding the influence of Walter Scott's historical novel in Catalonia, see Jaume ROURA. "La Renaixença i Escòcia". In: *Actes del Col·loqui Internacional sobre la Renaixença*. Vol. 1. Curial, Barcelona 1992, pp. 353-375.
- [28] Antoni de BOFARULL. *El Consejo de Ciento: Drama en tres actos y en verso representado por primera vez en el Teatro Nuevo de Barcelona: á beneficio del primer actor D. Antonio Pizarroso*. D. Juan Oliveres, Barcelona 1846.

- And he examined this issue yet again, this time in a poem he sent to the Jocs Florals in 1875 with the title of “Qui vulla carn sens pagar lo vectigal...”.
- [29] *Jochs Florals de Barcelona en 1861*. Vol. IV. Establiment tipogràfic editorial de Salvador Manero, Barcelona 1861, pp. 53-60. The Committee’s judgement can be read on p. 38. This is a long narrative composition with 186 verses that summarises the anecdote in the first few chapters of the novel.
- [30] Josep BRUGADA. “Joaquim Riera, un gironí de La Renaixença”. In: *Annals*, vol. XXVI (1984), pp. 459-472; Antoni ELIAS DE MOLINS. *Diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico de escritores y artistas catalanes del siglo XIX*. Barcelona 1889, 2 vol.; Francesc MATHEU. “En Joaquim Riera y Bertran”. In: *Butlletí de la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona*, XII (1925-1926), pp. 410-414.
- [31] Francesc P. BRIZ. *Lo coronel d’Anjou: Novela escrita en català literari*. Estampa de Lo Porvenir, de la Viuda Bassas. Barcelona 1872.
- [32] Ramon PANYELLA. *Francesc Pelai Briz (1839-1888): Entre la literatura i l’activisme patriòtic*. Doctoral thesis. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Barcelona 2008; Ramon PANYELLA. “L’escriptor catalanista de la Renaixença: Francesc P. Briz, el model més pur”. In: *L’escriptor i la seva imatge: Contribució a la història dels intel·lectuals en la literatura catalana*. L’Avenç, Barcelona 2006, pp. 62-88. See, too, the pages written by Briz himself, generically entitled “Recorts. Fragments del llibre de ma vida”, published in *La Il·lustració Catalana* between the 15th of March and the 15th of November 1884; the prologue by E. Vallès in Francesc P. BRIZ. *La Panolla*. Editorial Catalana; Antoni CARETA I VIDAL. “Don Francesc Pelay Briz”. *L’Avenç*, 25 June 1889, pp. 90-96, and the obituary written by Joan Sardà in *La Vanguardia* on the 19th of July 1889. Regarding the novel, see the contemporary articles by Francesc MIQUEL I BADIA. “Literatura catalana”. *Diario de Barcelona*, no. 243, 30 August 1872, p. 8727, and the one by S. in *La Renaixensa*, year III, no. 7, 1 May 1872, p. 91.
- [33] S. PRATS. “La novela catalana”. In: *La Renaixensa*, year III, no. 23, 10 October de 1873, p. 24.
- [34] Francisco M. TUBINO. *Historia del renacimiento...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 701-704.
- [35] Celestí BARALLAT I FOLGUERA. *Memoria necrológica de D. Joseph d’Argullol y Serra*. Imprenta La Renaixensa, Barcelona 1888. Regarding the novel, in addition to the report by C. Barallat (pp. 27-28), other useful references are the articles by Miquel i Badia in the *Diario de Barcelona*, no. 243, 30 August 1872, p. 8727, and the one by Eduard Tàmaro in *La Renaixensa*, year II, no. 24, 15 January 1873, pp. 311-313.
- [36] *La Renaixensa*, year IV, no. 23, 30 November 1874, p. 325, announced its publication. Much earlier (*La Renaixensa*, year IV, no. 1, 10 January 1874) it had announced the serial publication of a novel by Frederic Soler which was going to be entitled *La crema dels convents*, which was never published. Based on the little we know about *L’any trenta-cinc*, it is not too risky to conclude that it is actually the same novel. After a few chapters, its publication was halted.
- [37] Josep FELIU I CODINA. *Lo Rector de Vallfogona*. Illustrated with engravings by T. Padró. Barcelona 1876, “Biblioteca Catalana Il·lustrada de J. Vinardell” collection.
- [38] Albert ROSSICH. *Francesc Vicent Garcia: Història i mite del rector de Vallfogona*. Barcelona 1987; Albert ROSSICH, “La fortuna literària i crítica de Francesc Vicent Garcia”. In: *Del Cinccents al Setcents: tres-cents anys de literatura catalana*. Vitella, Bellcaire d’Empordà 2010, pp. 505-574.
- [39] Josep MARTÍ I FOLGUERA. *Lo caragirat*. La Renaixensa, Barcelona 1877.
- [40] Joaquim SANTASUSAGNA. *Reus i els reusencs...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-204.
- [41] Joan SARDÀ. *La Renaixença*, year VII, vol. I, no. 10, 31 October 1877, pp. 310-311; Francesc MIQUEL I BADIA. *Diario de Barcelona*, 27 November 1877, p. 13360; Celestí BARALLAT I FOLGUERA. *Memoria necrológica...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-25. We should note that it is actually a political novel of customs, since published in 1877, the action takes place during the Third Carlist War. In consequence, Argullol did not have to resort to historical reconstruction. If I decided to include it, it is based on tradition: a tradition that got underway the same year it was published and which has continued with Maurici Serrahima and Antònia Tayadella.
- [42] Serrahima (Maurici SERRAHIMA and Maria Teresa BOADA. *La novella històrica...*, *op. cit.*, p. 106), based on information from a family member of the writer, reveals the existence of an unfinished novel which was going to be entitled *Memòries d’un fadrí veler* and which was set during the Third Carlist War.
- [43] Maria de BELL-LLOCH. *Vigatans y botiflers. Lo Gay Saber*, era II, year I, no. 1 to 24 (1878), pp. 8-10, 22-24, 40-43, 55-58, 71-72, 88-90, 104-106, 120-122, 135-137, 152-154, 167-169, 201-202, 215-217, 230-231, 248-250, 266-267, 282-282, 296-298, 311-313, 327-328, 359-361 and 374-377; year II, no. 1 and 2 (1879), pp. 6-9 and 24-28. The volume was published that same year — *Vigatans y botiflers: Novela històrica*. Joan Roca y Bros. Barcelona 1878 (although the cover says 1879)— with the addition of an appendix: “Constitucions dictadas en 1708 per a càstich de catalans partidaris del Arxiduch d’Austria”. Regarding the novel: Jordi TIÑENA. “Lectura de *Vigatans i botiflers*, de Maria de Bell-lloch, la primera novel·lista de la literatura catalana”. In: Margarida ARITZETA and Montserrat PALAU (ed.). *Paraula de dona. Actes del col·loqui “Dones, Literatura i Mitjans de Comunicació”*. Diputació de Tarragona, Tarragona 1997, pp. 234-245.
- [44] Francisco M. TUBINO. *Historia del renacimiento...*, *op. cit.*, p. 703.
- [45] Josep SERRA I CAMPDELANEU. *Bosquejo biográfico de don Joaquín Salarich Verdaguer*. Vic 1885; Miquel dels Sants SALARICH I TORRENTS. *Cronologia bio-bibliográfica de Joaquim Salarich i Verdaguer (1816-1884)*. Vic

1971. Regarding the novel, the articles by Francesc MAS-FERRER. *La Renaixença*, year IX, vol. II, no. 3, 15 August 1879, pp. 203-204; the one published in *Lo Gay Saber*, second era, year II, no. XX, 15 October 1879, signed by B.; the one by Antoni AULÈSTIA. *La Renaixença*, year X, vol. I, no. 1, 15 January 1880, and the one in the *Diario de Barcelona* from 22 August 1879.
- [46] *Lo castell de Sabassona: Narració de costums de la Edat Mitjana*. Estampa y Llibrería de R. Anglada, Vic 1879.
- [47] *Cor y sanch. Lo Gay Saber*, starting in year III, era II, no. XIII, 1 July 1880. Year 1880, pp. 149-153, 165-166, 174-177, 182-184, 194-195, 201-208, 219-221, 228-230, 241-242, 251-253, 263-264 and 274-276; year 1881, pp. 4-5, 15-16, 27-30, 35-37, 46-48, 60-62, 71-73, 84-86, 91-93, 104-106 and 117-118. It was not published as a volume until 1891 by La Il·lustració Catalana.
- [48] Joan SARDÀ. *La Renaixensa*, year VI, no. 5 and 6, 15 April 1876, pp. 221-225; anonymous article published in *La Il·lustració Catalana*, year II, no. 20, 20 January 1881; Oleguer MIRÓ, also in *La Il·lustració Catalana*, year II, no. 34, 10 June 1881, p. 267
- [49] Josep FELIU I CODINA. "Literatura Catalana. Son renaixement, sas formas, sas aspiracions". *La Renaixensa*, year X, vol. II, no. 1, 15 May 1880, pp. 377-388. Speech delivered at the Ateneu Barcelonés on the 30th of April.
- [50] Antonio REGALADO. *Benito Pérez Galdós y la novela histórica española: 1868-1912*. Insula, Madrid 1966; Juan I. FERRERAS. *Benito Pérez Galdós i la invenció de la novel·la històrica nacional*. Madrid 1998.
- [51] Jordi CASTELLANOS. "La novel·la antimodernista: Les propostes de *La Renaixença*". In: *Professor Joaquim Molas: memòria, escriptura, història*. Vol. 1. Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 2003, pp. 315-328.
- [52] *Judith de Welp*. *La Renaixensa*, Barcelona 1894, "Novelas catalanas y extranjeras" collection, vol. III, pp. 347-390; *La cuadro de Vilarnau*. *La Renaixensa*, Barcelona 1895, collection "Novelas catalanas y extranjeras", vol. IV, pp. 163-201.
- [53] Prior to that, in 1883, Guimerà had brought it to the stage under the same title. The legend of Judith de Welp is related to the legend of the good count of Barcelona. See Robert SALADRIGUES and Josep TORNÉ. "El bon comte de Barcelona i la fundació de Poblet". *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia: Revista de ciències historicoeclesiàstiques*, vol. 80 (2007), pp. 5-32.
- [54] Mary Lee BRETZ. *La evolución novelística de Pío Baroja*. José Porrúa Turanzas, Madrid 1979; Carlos A. LONG-HURST. *Pío Baroja: "El mundo es así"*. Grant and Cutter and Tamesis Book, London 1977.
- [55] Rodolfo CORTINA GÓMEZ. *Blasco Ibáñez i la novel·la evocativa: "El Papa del mar" y "A los pies de Venus"*. Maisal, Madrid 1974.
- [56] They are the following: *La punyalada* (Marià Vayreda, 1904), *Agna Maria* (Pompeu Gener, 1904), *La sacra tragèdia* (Josep Calzada, 1909), *L'adolescent* (Alfons Maseras, 1909), *Ildaribal* (Alfons Maseras, 1915), *Vassall d'amor* (Alfons Roure, 1924), *Els amors del comte Arnau* (Alfons Roure, 1924), *Felicitat* (R. Negre, 1925) and *El gran rei* (Miquel Roger, 1927).
- [57] I make my arguments to include *La punyalada* as one of the historical novels of the period from Serrahima (Maurici SERRAHIMA and Maria Teresa BOADA. *La novel·la històrica...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-131).
- [58] Antònia TAYADELLA, *'La punyalada' de Marià Vayreda*. Doctoral thesis. Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 1988; Joaquim FRANQUESA. "Pròleg". In: Marià VAYREDA. *La punyalada*. Il·lustració Catalana, Barcelona 1904.
- [59] *La punyalada: Novela de costums montanyesas*. Obrador Gràfich Thomas, Barcelona 1903.
- [60] Xavier VALL. *Pompeu Gener i el nacionalisme regeneracionista (1887-1906): La intel·lectualitat, la nació i el poder a Catalunya*. Doctoral thesis. 2012; Consuelo TREVIÑO. *Pompeu Gener y el modernismo*. Verbum, Madrid 2000.
- [61] *Agna Maria: Llegendes del temps de la guerra dels segadors 1640-1647*. Fidel Giró Impresor, Barcelona 1904.
- [62] "La sacra tragèdia". *Jocs Florals de Barcelona*. 1909. *La Renaixença*, Barcelona 1909.
- [63] Montserrat CORRETGER. *L'obra narrativa d'Alfons Maseras*. Curial Edicions Catalanes i Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 1996; Rafael TASIS. "Novel·listes catalans. Alfons Maseras". *La Publicitat*, 16 May 1934.
- [64] Alfons MASERAS. *L'Adolescent*. Tipografia L'Avenç, Barcelona 1909.
- [65] Alfons MASERAS. *Ildaribal*. Tipografia L'Avenç, Barcelona 1915.
- [66] *La Renaixensa*, year V, no. 27, 15 November 1875, p. 459.
- [67] I am ignoring novels for children and young readers from that period, such as the ones by Josep M. Folch i Torres (*L'infant de la diligència* and *El perseguit de Valldor-teu*, among others), *Lau* (Carles Soldevila, 1925) and *El cavaller de la creu i Publia Licini* (Clovis Eimeric, 1926).
- [68] *La Renaixensa*, year IX, vol. II, no. 10, 30 November 1879, pp. 340-451.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Jordi Tiñena is a writer and has worked as the Chair of Catalan Language and Literature in secondary education. He has written adaptations and editions of mediaeval Catalan classics, such as *Tirant lo Blanc* and *El llibre de les dones*, and of historical novels from the *Renaixença*, such as *L'orfeneta de Menargues* and *Lo caragirat*. He is the author of several studies of literature, including "Narcís Oller, Vilaniu. Els models literaris", in *Narcís Oller i Vilaniu. Primeres jornades Narcís Oller* (2009), and the introductory study in Josep Anton Baixeras, *Obra completa. Novel·les*, vol. II (2012). He has also published a dozen novels and won the City of Alzira Prize in 1994 and the Pin i Soler Prize in 1998.