

# The Catalan language as seen by foreign travellers in the second third of the 19th century



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## ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the descriptions of the Catalan language provided by foreign travellers who journeyed through the Catalan-speaking territories in the second third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It examines their observations and linguistic perceptions of the Catalan language and the language spoken by the inhabitants of these regions. Additionally, the study delves into the names used by travellers to refer to the Catalan language, its origins, its relationship with other Romance languages, and its status among them. While some travellers may not have provided detailed descriptions of the language due to the diverse purposes of their journeys, their various accounts and statements allow us to deduce their positions and opinions in addressing these questions. This analysis takes place during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a period in which Romance philology was still an emerging area of research.

## KEYWORDS

19th century, Catalan language, language uses, status and name of the Catalan language, travel literature

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

Travel literature is an important source of information for understanding exogenous visions of societies. The external views of those who have visited the Catalan-speaking territories, although often subjective, provide valuable information on the different aspects of our community and the language used by those who lived here. It is also interesting to know whether the visitors appreciated similarities and differences with respect to neighbouring territories and populations, especially among the Catalan-speaking territories. In other words, how did non-Catalan-speaking travellers see us, how did foreign travellers describe our society and the Catalan language?

In this sense, the aims of this paper are, firstly, to examine the descriptions of the Catalan language made by foreign travellers who travelled through the Catalan-speaking territories during the second third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and, secondly, to analyse the observations and linguistic perceptions of these travellers on the Catalan language and on the use made by the inhabitants of these territories. With regard to the second purpose, we are particularly interested in the travellers' answers to these questions, which we will infer from the different linguistic statements they made. Specifically, did they believe that the language spoken by the Valencians was the same as the language spoken by the Catalans, Majorcans and other neighbours of the Catalan-speaking world? And the language of the Majorcans and Catalans with respect



to that of the Valencians? What position did the Catalan language occupy among the rest of the Romance languages? For these subjects of study, did Catalan have the same status as Spanish, French, Portuguese and Italian, or was it a dialect? If it was a dialect, of which language was it a dialect, Occitan or Spanish? In many cases they do not discuss the language in such detail because the purpose of their travels was different, but often from their various descriptions and statements — set out in greater or lesser detail — we can deduce their positions and opinions to answer these questions.

The works we have analysed are not only travel books or travel literature, but also those informative texts that served travellers to orientate and contextualise their itineraries: travel guides and works on topography and geography, among others. The authors examined here are always from outside the Catalan-speaking territories: Spaniards, French, Portuguese, Poles, Irish, English, Germans and Russians who, for different reasons, travelled to some (or almost all) of the Catalan-speaking territories, described them and explained — with greater or lesser attention and rigour — what language their inhabitants spoke and its characteristics.

We have also consulted the works of travellers who travelled through the Catalan-speaking territories in this period of the 19<sup>th</sup> century without making any reference to the language. This is the case of the books *Jaime Alfonso, genannt: el Barbudo. Skizzen aus Valencia und Murcia*, by Victor Aimé Huber (1833); *Pensées et maximes de M. de Talleyrand, précédées de ses premiers amours et suivies de l'opinion de Napoléon sur ce grand diplomate*, by Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1835); *Souvenirs d'une ambassade et d'un séjour en Espagne et en Portugal, de 1808 à 1811*, by Laure Junot (1837); and *The Yankee boy from home*, by Joseph Battell (1863), among others. It was therefore necessary to discard them.

Travel books in the Catalan-speaking territories of the 19<sup>th</sup> century are a subject that has been studied by some scholars from different perspectives: the landscape, monuments and customs observed by visitors, or the specific journeys of some visitors to certain cities or territories. Even so, there is no study that analyses the descriptions and linguistic perceptions of travellers who travelled through the Catalan countries in the second third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. There is only one study (Martí-Badia 2022) that deals with these objectives, focused especially on the Valencian Country, and limited to the first third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

As is well known, Catalan is a Romance language, as are Spanish, French and Portuguese — among others —, with the difference that at the time it did not have the same prestige as these languages, mainly for two reasons. Firstly, it suffered prohibition and minorisation in the three countries where it was and is spoken by the largest number of people: Spain (in Catalonia, the Valencian Country, the Balearic Islands, La Franja, and Carche), France (in Northern Catalonia) and Italy (in Alghero); secondly, and partly as a consequence of the previous reason, it had not been able to initiate the process of standardisation (selection, codification, acceptance and elaboration) to become a fully-functional language. Centuries earlier, however, Catalan had been a language of prestige, with full powers and internal and external recognition, under the Catalan-Aragonese Crown (cf. Ferrando and Nicolás 2011).

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the German philologist Friedrich Christian Diez inaugurated Romance philology with the publication of the first volume of the *Grammatik der ro-*



*manischen Sprachen* (1836). Catalan was mentioned, although the information was scarce and uncertain. The “problem” of the recognition of Catalan as an independent language is evident when the nascent linguistic science begins to draw up a list of languages derived from Latin (Calaforra 1998: 27). Primitive Romance linguistics did not, however, have a satisfactory definition of concepts such as “language”, “dialect” and “speech”,<sup>1</sup> and to distinguish between them, it used extra-linguistic arguments such as the antiquity of written documents, literary uses, geographical extension, number of speakers, prestige and political situation, among others; all of them arbitrary arguments from a linguistic point of view. Thus, without a state behind it, it was difficult for Catalan to be considered an independent language. For this reason, throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was not fully accepted that Catalan was and is an independent Romance language. From the beginnings of Romance philology, scholars were divided between those in favour of recognising Catalan as a language and those who thought it was a variety of Occitan, although there were also mixed opinions and changes of opinion. This situation was not fully clarified until well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> This context must be taken into account when analysing the travellers’ statements on these issues, which in the second third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had not yet been studied in sufficient depth or elucidated by contemporary philologists with the necessary foresight.

On the other hand, the political powers — monarchies, republics and public administrations — and ecclesiastical institutions, among others, encouraged the linguistic replacement of Catalan by Spanish (in Spain) and French (in France). And, in terms of social usage, in the second third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Spanish-Catalan linguistic conflict throughout Catalan-speaking countries manifested itself in the extension of the Castilianisation process to some sectors of the urban upper bourgeoisie, who began to imitate the process that the middle and lower aristocracy had consummated throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. At the same time, however, the great majority of the population continued to express themselves in Catalan (cf. Ferrando and Nicolás 2011: 321–322).

Finally, as far as the primary sources are concerned, we have consulted — whenever possible — the first edition of the original works; and, in those cases where it was not possible, we have indicated the edition consulted with a footnote. In addition, we have transcribed the texts quoted respecting the original spelling in order to reflect the way in which the protagonists of this study wrote, a fact which does not hinder the reading or understanding of the texts.

## 2 TRAVELLERS

### 2.1 FERMÍN CABALLERO

In 1834, the Spanish geographer Fermín Caballero published the book *Nomenclatura Geográfica de España. Análisis gramatical y filosófico de los nombres de pueblos y lugares*

1 With some exceptions, such as the Italian philologist Francesco D’Ovidio (1849–1925).

2 See Martí-Badia (2019) for the postulates of international Romance philology on the origin, identity and name of the Catalan language between 1806 and 1906.



*de la península, con aplicación a la topografía y la historia* in Madrid. Born in Barajas de Melo (Cuenca) in 1800 into a well-to-do family of farmers, he studied law at *Colegio de Málaga* — now *Universidad de Alcalá de Henares*— and in 1822 was appointed acting professor of geography and chronology at the University of Madrid. He had a long political career, in which it is worth mentioning that between 1834 and 1843 he was a procurator and member of the Cortes for the provinces of Madrid, Cuenca, Toledo and Castellón; later he was again a member of the Cortes during the Progressive Biennium (1854–1856); and he took part in state and universal exhibitions such as those of Madrid (1857), Paris (1867) and Vienna (1873).

In the aforementioned book, he devotes a chapter to “Limousin”, in which he states that it is

una corrupcion de la lengua romana, en la Francia meridional, [que] produjo la *lemosina*; llamada asi de la ciudad de Limoges, capital del antiguo Limosín, y ahora del departamento del Alto Vienne, sin duda porque en aquel territorio se habló primero y con mas pureza, aunque se estendió tambien por la Auvernia, el Languedoc y la Provenza. Fue la lengua erudita y de la poesía en los siglos X y XI, por manera que en los palacios y en las diversiones hacia un gran papel la ciencia alegre (*gaya sciencia*) de los que se llamaban trovadores ó poetas provenzales. Del lemosín se derivaron luego el *catalán*, el *valenciano* y el *baleár*; dialectos que no obstante sus actuales diferencias, no pueden ocultar su origen comun; razon por que los consideramos reunidos bajo el nombre de la matriz. Los catalanes han tomado muchas voces de la vecina lengua francesa; los valencianos han recibido en la suya palabras castellanas; pero los baleares, como gente aislada, conservan mas su dependencia del catalán, si bien por el concurrido puerto de Mahón se han introducido algunos vocablos estrangeros, especialmente ingleses y franceses, sin los que debió Menorca en el siglo último á la dominacion británica. (Caballero 1834: 46–47)

[A corruption of the Roman language, in southern France, which produced *Limousin*; so called from the city of Limoges, capital of the ancient Limousin, and now of the department of Haute-Vienne, doubtless because it was spoken first and most purely in that territory, although it spread also through the Auvergne, Languedoc and Provence. It was the language of scholarship and poetry in the tenth and eleventh centuries, so that in the palaces and in the entertainments the joyful science (*gay science*) of those who were called troubadours or Provençal poets played a great role. From Limousin, *Catalan*, *Valencian* and *Balearic* were later derived; dialects which, despite their present differences, cannot hide their common origin, which is why we consider them to be united under the name of the matrix. The Catalans have borrowed many words from the neighbouring French language; the Valencians have received Castilian words into their own; but the Balearics, as an isolated people, retain more their dependence on Catalan, although through the busy port of Mahon some foreign words have been introduced, especially English and French. These foreign influences are a legacy of Menorca’s British rule in the last century.]<sup>3</sup>

3 English translations enclosed within square brackets are our own (unless otherwise stated).



That is to say, on the one hand, Caballero calls the Catalan language “Limousin”, recognises its Romance origin and places it in the Occitan city of Limoges. As for the identity and status of this language, Caballero considers that it is the same as the Occitan language and that it is made up of different dialects: Catalan, Valencian and Balearic [sic], which correspond to the different Spanish administrative divisions and, therefore, have no correlation with linguistic aspects.

On the other hand, in the following pages Caballero (1834: 47–55) makes comments on orthography, phonetics and onomastics compared between Catalan and Spanish, of little linguistic value.

Ten years later, in 1844, Caballero published in Madrid the *Manual geográfico-administrativo de la Monarquía Española*. In the section devoted to the Balearic Islands, he states that

Los habitantes tienen un dialecto propio derivado del antiguo lemosin, aunque por la concurrencia á sus puertos de muchos estrangeros se conocen varios idiomas, ó por mejor decir la lengua franca de los puertos mediterráneos. (Caballero 1844: 62)

[The inhabitants of the Balearic Islands have their own dialect derived from the old Limousin, although, due to the presence of many foreigners in their ports, several languages are known, or rather, the lingua franca of the Mediterranean ports.]

And in the part dedicated to Catalonia, he states that “the natives have their own peculiar dialect, derived from the old Limousin” (Caballero 1844: 128). He also devotes a chapter to commenting on the different languages of Spain, entitled “Lengua” (Language), in which he states that “the Catalan, Majorcan and Valencian dialects, which are quite similar to each other, have been born from the ancient Limousin” (Caballero 1844: 311).

Finally, in the section devoted to the Valencian Country, he states that its inhabitants “maintain their own dialect, the offspring of the Limousin language, although adulterated with many Spanish words” (Caballero 1844: 584).

In short, Caballero does not modify the approaches he put forward in 1834: he calls the Catalan language “Limousin”, recognises its Romance origin and locates it in the Occitan city of Limoges. As for the identity and status of this language, Caballero considers that it is the same as the Occitan language —although we have noted that he does not call it that— and that it is made up of different dialects: Catalan, Valencian and Majorcan.

## 2.2 PROSPER MÉRIMÉE

In 1835, *Notes d'un voyage dans le Midi de la France*, a book by the French writer Prosper Mérimée, was published in Paris. Born in 1803 in Paris into a bourgeois family, he studied law and graduated in 1823. In 1834 he became inspector general of historical monuments, of which his father was the secretary, and it was from this position that he began to travel around France to inspect historical buildings and monuments.



It is in this context that we should understand the work *Notes d'un voyage dans le Midi de la France*, in which Mérimée devotes a number of pages to some of the municipalities of northern Catalonia. Specifically, on 13 November 1834, he visited Perpignan and Elna, and at the beginning of this chapter he states that

Le Roussillon a été réuni à la France depuis plus de cent cinquante ans, et cette longue période n'a pu encore effacer complètement de cette province le caractère d'étrangeté qui se conserve dans les physionomies, dans le langage et dans les habitudes des classes inférieures de la société. (1835: 399–400)

[Roussillon has been part of France for over one hundred and fifty years, and this long period has not yet been able to completely erase from this province the character of strangeness that remains in the physiognomies, language and customs of the lower classes of society.]

In Mérimée's words, Roussillon has been linked to France for more than one hundred and fifty years — that is, since the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659 — and this long period has not yet been able to completely erase from this province the character of strangeness that is preserved in the physiognomies, language and customs of the lower classes of society. He then adds the following footnote:

Les Roussillonnais appellent *gavaches* leurs voisins du nord. Ceux-ci, à leur tour, donnent le même nom aux habitants des pays situés au nord du leur. Cela s'étend fort loin, sans qu'il se trouve jamais personne qui veuille accepter cette dénomination de *gavache*; et il faut remarquer que les Roussillonnais, par rapport aux Catalans, sont *gavaches*. *Gavache* peut se traduire par *Français*, mais celui qui emploie ce terme n'a pas bonne opinion de la nation. (1835: 400)

[The people of Roussillon call their neighbours to the north *Gavaches*. The latter, in turn, give the same name to the inhabitants of the countries to the north of their own. This extends very far, without anyone ever wanting to accept the name of *gavache*; and it should be noted that the Roussillonnais, compared to the Catalans, are *gavaches*. *Gavache* can be translated as *French*, but whoever uses this term does not have a good opinion of the nation.]

In other words, the inhabitants of Roussillon called their northern neighbours *gavaches*. The latter, the Occitans, in turn gave the same name to the inhabitants of the territories to their north. This spread throughout France, and no one wanted to accept the name *gavache*. Moreover, the people of Roussillon, in relation to the Catalans, are *gavaches*. *Gavache* can be translated as French, but those who use this term do not have a good opinion of the nation.

Mérimée continues his explanation and focuses on public buildings:

Quant aux édifices publics, presque tous datent du temps où le Roussillon appartenait aux rois de Majorque ou à ceux d'Espagne. On conçoit que leur style

est absolument même que celui des monumens de la Catalogne, c'est-à-dire un mélange de gothique et de mauresque, modifié de bonne heure par les relations que les Catalans eurent avec l'Italie. Aussi la Renaissance s'est-elle manifestée plus tôt dans le Roussillon que dans aucune autre de nos provinces méridionales. (1835: 400)

[As for the public buildings, almost all date from the time when Roussillon belonged to the kings of Majorca or Spain [sic]. It is conceivable to see that their style is absolutely the same as that of the monuments in Catalonia, that is, a mixture of Gothic and Moorish, modified early on by the relations the Catalans had with Italy. The Renaissance also appeared earlier in Roussillon than in any other of our southern provinces.]

After Perpignan, Mérimée visits Arles-sur-Tech, in the Vallespir region, and more specifically the Abbey of Santa Maria. He describes the monument and recounts the legend according to which Abbot Arnulf brought the bodies of Saints *Abdó* and *Senén* from Rome, thus erasing the plague that was ravaging Arles-sur-Tech and the surrounding area and scaring off the ferocious animals in the vicinity. Moreover, from the tombs of both saints, miraculous water flowed uninterruptedly. It is at this point that Mérimée recounts that

Avertis de sa propriété, les moines du lieu la renfermèrent avec soin et n'en donnèrent plus que pour de l'argent. Elle coûte encore vingt sous la fiole; mais on n'en donne pas à tout le monde. Il faut en demander en catalan, pour en obtenir, et pour avoir parlé *gavache* j'ai eu le chagrin d'être refusé. (1835: 422)

[The local monks, aware of the supernatural properties of the water, carefully sealed it off and only gave it out in exchange for money. It still costs twenty cents a vial, but they don't give it to everyone. You have to ask for it in Catalan in order they give it to you, and because I speak French, I was sadly refused.]

On this trip, the French writer also visited the northern Catalan municipalities of Céret and Coustouges —both in the Vallespir region— and Serrabonne —in Roussillon— in November 1834, but he made no further reference to the language of their inhabitants.

Mérimée remained in the post of inspector general of historical monuments until 1860, when he continued to write novels, plays and essays. In fact, in his literary production we can also find references to the Catalan language, such as the following one, from the short novel *Les sorcières espagnoles*, published in *La Revue de Paris* in 1833. While in Valencia in 1830, the protagonist —whom we can identify with Mérimée himself— was suggested to go to Sagunto to visit the archaeological remains of the capital of the Camp de Morvedre, with a horse rented from a Valencian farmer called Vicente, a native of Peniscola, who accompanied him on foot. And Mérimée reproduces this dialogue between the protagonist and the Valencian farmer:





— Vicente, dites-moi: ne croyez-vous pas que Notre-Dame de Peniscola parle valencien au bon Dieu quand elle prie *Sa Majesté* de ne pas vous damner pour méfaits?

— Valencien! Non, monsieur, répliqua vivement Vicente. Votre seigneurie sait bien quelle langue parle la Vierge.

— Non, en vérité.

— Mais latin apparemment. (1833: 290)

[— Vicente, tell me: don't you think Our Lady of Peniscola speaks Valencian to the good Lord when she begs *His Majesty* not to damn you for your misdeeds?

— Valencian! No, sir, Vicente replied sharply. Your Lordship knows very well what language the Virgin speaks.

— No, in truth.

— Why, Latin, apparently.]

In other words, the protagonist asks the farmer if he believes that Our Lady of Peniscola speaks Valencian to God when she asks him not to punish the sins of her subjects. And the farmer replies vividly that he does not, that, apparently, the Virgin Mary speaks Latin.

Thus, Mérimée states that the Catalan language is spoken both in the Valencian Country and in Northern Catalonia, that south of the Genia River it is called Valencian and north of the Albera Massif<sup>4</sup> Catalan, but without denying the unity of the latter.

### 2.3 O PANORAMA

In 1839, the magazine *O Panorama* published the anonymous article “Barcelona”, which described the city in detail and referred the reader to the French traveller Alexandre Laborde to learn more about the city.

This publication, devoted to the dissemination of arts, literature and culture, was published by the *Sociedade Propagadora dos Conhecimentos Úteis* — Society for the Propagation of Useful Knowledge— and sponsored by Queen Maria II of Portugal. At the time, *O Panorama* (1837–1868) was edited by the writer and journalist Alexandre Herculano and was one of the main disseminators of Portuguese Romanticism. The best publicists and historians of the time collaborated in its writing and the articles appear unsigned, i.e. they were written by the editors of the magazine and had to use different sources for their preparation, whether travel books or historical and geographical treatises.

In the article devoted to Barcelona we find the following fragment of linguistic interest:

São os catalães activos, industriosos, amantes do seu paiz, e por genio independentes: fallam uma linguagem mui distincta da hespanhola, mas que é sujeita a re-

4 The Albera Massif has been the easternmost border between Spain —then the Hispanic Crown— and France since 1659.



gras constantes, e forma ha muito um verdadeiro idioma que tem sua grammatica e dictionario. A sua fonte é a lingua romana. (Anonymous 1839: 290a)

[The Catalans are active, industrious, lovers of their country, and independent by nature: they speak a language that is very different from Spanish, but which is subject to constant rules, and has long been a real language with its own grammar and dictionary. Its origin is Latin.]

And then, in a footnote, he adds: “this language, the origin of the modern languages of southern Europe, is what we usually call Provençal”. This way of speaking has the same origin as the modern languages of southern Europe, which we commonly call Provençal.

On the other hand, between 1840 and 1843, articles were also published describing other Catalan-speaking towns and territories, but unfortunately no mention was made of any linguistic aspect. This is the case of Morella (article published on 1 February 1840), Sagunto (article published on 21 May 1842), the Balearic Islands (articles published on 19 August and 18 November 1843) and Tarragona (article published on 2 September 1843).

Overall, the anonymous Portuguese traveller notes the difference between Spanish and Catalan, that the Catalans speak the language proper to this territory, as well as its Latin origin. He also states that this way of speaking has the same origin as the modern languages of southern Europe and is commonly called Provençal. In other words, he relates the Catalan language to Occitan, but without explaining the exact relationship between the two — whether they are the same language or not — or their linguistic status.

#### 2.4 KAROL DEMBOWSKI

In 1841, the Polish writer and traveller Karol Dembowski published in Paris the book *Deux ans en Espagne et en Portugal pendant la guerre civile. 1838–1840*. Born in Milan in 1808 to Napoleon’s Polish general Jan Dembowski and the Italian bourgeois Matilde Viscontini Dembowski, he was the younger brother of the renowned astronomer Ercole Dembowski.

The writer Dembowski travelled through Spain between 1838 and 1840 — in the midst of the First Carlist War — with the aim of analysing a society idealised by Romanticism, and the aforementioned book is the fruit of this expedition.

In the first volume of the book *Deux ans en Espagne et en Portugal pendant la guerre civile. 1838–1840*, he states of Majorcan women that

Elles sont plutôt jolies que belles, mais charmantes et d’une verve très-piquante sous le masque, et parlent habituellement le mallorquin, disgracieux patois, qui diffère de l’espagnol autant que le portugais. (Dembowski 1841: 298)

[They are rather pretty than beautiful, but charming and with a very piquant verve under the mask, and usually speak Majorquin, an ungainly patois that differs from Spanish as much as it does from Portuguese.]





That is, Majorcans often speak majorquin, an ungainly dialect that differs from both Spanish and Portuguese, without stating which language majorquin is a dialect of and referring to it as a speech without the status of a language. Dembowski also visited the Valencian Country and Catalonia, but did not comment on the language of their inhabitants.

## 2.5 CLAUDE-SIMON CUYNAT

In 1844, *La Catalogne en 1824-1827, ou Topographie physique, historique de la Catalogne, province du nord de l'Espagne, et des principales villes*, by the French surgeon Claude-Simon Cuynat, was published in Dijon in 1844. Originally from Avallon (Burgundy), where he was born in 1774, Cuynat served in the French army as a major surgeon between 1792 and 1832, travelled to Spain and wrote books on medicine, archaeology, botany and philosophy, among others, and was a member of the *Académie des Sciences, Arts et Belles-lettres de Dijon*, among other scientific societies. In this work, Cuynat states:

La langue catalane contribue aussi à la rudesse de l'expression: sa prononciation est dure, âpre, sèche; elle exprime souvent avec peu de grâce et de délicatesse le sentiment le plus doux, le plus passionné. (1844: 21)

[The Catalan language has a harsh, rough, dry pronunciation; and it tends to express the sweetest and most passionate sentiment with little grace and delicacy.]

Further on, he states that

Le Catalan a une langue qui est particulière: c'est l'ancien langage des provinces méridionales de la France, dont les habitants conquièrent la Catalogne sur les Maures. Les Français, les pays méridionaux la pleuplèrent, y introduisirent leurs lois, leurs usages, leurs coutumes; et leur patois appelé langue limousine, s'est perpétué jusqu'à nous jours, en Gascoigne, en Languedoc, en Provence, où il a éprouvé des altérations plus ou moins remarquables, produites par la [sic] mélange du français moderne; il s'est conservé pur en Roussillon et en Catalogne, mais avec un mélange de castillan dans cette dernière province. La langue catalane a perdu cette douceur agréable qui la caractérisait autrefois, et qui s'est mieux conservée dans le royaume de Valence: elle a pris dans la bouche des Catalans des terminaisons dures et une prononciation rude et désagréable; elle a de grands rapports avec la langue française moderne, par la construction et la tournure des phrases, par les règles grammaticales, par l'identité presque parfaite d'un grand nombre de ses mots qui ne diffèrent des mots français que par leur terminaison. On la parle dans toute la Catalogne avec beaucoup de variations, suivant les divers cantons, avec plus ou moins de pureté dans les montagnes, avec plus ou moins d'altération dans les villes. La préférence du Catalan lui fait préférer sa langue à celle du castillan: aussi cette dernière est-elle peu en usage en Catalogne; et lors qu'on l'y rencontre, elle est défigurée est méconnaissable par le mélange d'expressions et les tournures catalanes. (1844: 25-26)



[The Catalans have a language of their own, which is the ancient language of the southern provinces of France whose inhabitants conquered Catalonia from the Muslims. The French repopulated these territories and introduced their laws, customs and traditions, as well as their language, known as Limousin, which is still spoken in Gascony, Languedoc and Provence, where it has been mixed with modern French; this language has been preserved pure in Roussillon and Catalonia, but with a mixture of Spanish in the latter territory. The Catalan language has lost the pleasant sweetness that characterised it, except that it has been better preserved in the kingdom of Valencia; the Catalans have adopted harsh endings and a rough and unpleasant pronunciation. The Catalan language is very similar to the modern French language, in the construction and turn of sentences, in the grammatical rules,<sup>5</sup> in the almost perfect identity of a large number of words, which only differ from the French ones in their endings. It is spoken in Catalonia with many variations, depending on the different sides, with more or less purity in the mountains, with more or less alteration in the villages. The prejudice of the Catalans makes them prefer their language to Spanish: that is why the latter is rarely used in Catalonia, and when it is used, it is disfigured and unrecognisable because of the mixture of Catalan expressions and turns of phrase.]

In short, Cuynat considers that the origin of the Catalan language is Romance, that it forms a single language together with Occitan and that its use is extensive in Catalonia —he says nothing about its use in the rest of the Catalan-speaking territories.

## 2.6 MARTIN HAVERTY

Also in 1844, Irish journalist Martin Haverty's *Wanderings in Spain in 1843* was published in London. Born in 1809 in County Mayo (Ireland), Haverty studied at the *Collège des Irlandais* in Paris, returned to Ireland in 1836 and began working on the Dublin newspaper *Freeman's Journal*. He then undertook a long tour of Europe in 1851, which he described in a long series of newspaper articles, and on his return to Dublin he became a sub-librarian at the King's Inns, a Dublin educational institution which gave lawyers access to the Irish legal system.

At the beginning of the first of the two volumes of *Wanderings in Spain in 1843*, on the journey from Paris to the south, Haverty states that he

was gradually introduced by the costumes, language and scenery of Languedoc to those of the Rousillon; whilst from the Catalans of the Rousillon to the Catalans of Spain, the transition is scarcely perceptible and the latter, in their turn, make way for the strange persons and things we subsequently meet in Andalusia and Castile (1844 I: 3).

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5 Nevertheless, what rules could he be referring to if by the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Catalan did not yet have consolidated, extended and socially accepted grammar rules?



In other words, Haverty did not perceive any transition between the Catalans of Roussillon and the Catalans south of the Albera Massif.<sup>6</sup> Already in Perpignan,

[h]ere the travelled must feel that he has already, as it were, left gay and cheerful France. He is surrounded by a motley Catalan population, speaking a strange tongue. (Haverty 1844 I: 25)

Haverty goes on to state that

[u]ntil a comparatively late period in history, the surrounding country was, in fact, considered as a portion of Catalonia, whether subject to a French or Spanish sovereign, Perpignan having been the chief town of the province on the one side of the Pyrenees, as Barcelona was of that on the other; and hence we need not wonder at finding the Catalan language and habits even much more prevalent in Perpignan than those of France. (1844 I: 25-26)

On the other hand, before finishing the first volume, Haverty devotes a section in the appendix entitled “The Patois of the South. Langue de oc and Langue de oil” (1844 I: 330-332), in which he does not include the Catalan language, i.e. he considers that Occitan and Catalan are different languages.

However, Haverty recognises the Catalanness of the inhabitants of Northern Catalonia and Catalonia, both in the language they speak and in the way they dress and the landscapes observed. Moreover, and no less importantly, he distinguishes the Catalan language from Occitan, which he calls “langue de oc”, unlike most travellers of this period.

## 2.7 RICHARD FORD

In 1845 the book *Handbook for travellers in Spain*, by the Englishman Richard Ford, was published in London. The son of the English politician Sir Richard Ford, he was born in London in 1796, graduated from Trinity College, Oxford, in 1817 and joined Lincoln’s Inn in London in 1819. He travelled around Spain for four years — specifically between 1830 and 1833 — as a result of which he published the aforementioned book and contributed important articles on Spanish artistic and cultural issues to the *English Quarterly Review*, among other periodicals.

In the first volume of *Handbook for travellers in Spain*<sup>7</sup> he presents a section entitled “Spanish language and phrases” in which he states:

Although *el hablar Castellano* means emphatically, speaking Spanish, each province has its dialect. These may be conveniently classed under four great branches: — the primitive Basque; the Valencian and Catalanian, which comes near the Provençal, as the Arragonese does to the langue d’Oc, or Lemosin; the Asturian and

6 See note above.

7 We quote from the third edition, published in 1855.



Gallician; and the Castilian, which thus may be compared to a heap of corn, composed of many different classes of grain. (Ford 1855 I: 66)

In other words, Ford identifies the Catalan language as a single language with different variants, and relates it to Occitan — which he calls “Provençal”, “language of Oc” or “Limousin” — and Aragonese. Later, in the chapter on the Valencian Country, he speaks of the *Tribunal de les Aigües de València* and how it works:

The patriarchal judges understand the subject practically, and decide without appeal; the discussion is carried on *vivâ voce* in public and in the “Lemosin”, or the dialect of the people. (Ford 1855 I: 361)

Even so, in the chapter on Catalonia, Ford asserts that “[th]e Catalans are neither French nor Spaniards, but a distinct people, both in language, costume, and habits” (1855 I: 392).

In the first editions of the book, Ford did not comment on the Balearic Islands because he did not visit them. In fact, the first three editions of the book were published during Ford’s lifetime (he died in 1858). But the book was a bestseller and the publisher — John Murray — printed up to six more editions between 1869 and 1898, with additions and deletions by different compilers and —evidently— without Ford’s supervision. Thus, in the ninth edition of 1898, the following considerations on the Majorcan language appear: “[th]e Mallorquin language is a dialect of the Catalan, but pronunciation is softer than at Barcelona” (Ford 1898: 550–551). These statements cannot be attributed to the traveller Richard Ford, who had died forty years earlier.

*Handbook for travellers in Spain* was a bestseller and, in fact, is still considered a classic of travel literature today. The 2,000 copies of the first edition practically sold out in the same year of publication, 1845, and the book went through three editions in a short time: the second in 1847 and the third in 1855, all in two volumes. This publishing success prompted the book’s publisher, John Murray, to commission the author to produce a single-volume handbook, and so it was only a year after the first edition of Ford’s *Handbook* (1845) that the book *Gatherings from Spain* appeared, with new and reused contents.

At the beginning of the first chapter, Ford writes an overview of Spain and its citizens:

The kingdom of Spain, which looks so compact on the map, is composed of many distinct provinces, each of which in earlier times formed a separate and independent kingdom; and although all are now united under one crown by marriage, inheritance, conquest, and other circumstances, the original distinctions, geographical as well as social, remain almost unaltered. The language, costume, habits, and local character of the natives, vary no less than the climate and productions of the soil. (1846: 1)



In this case, it is interesting to note the linguistic and social diversity that the English traveller encountered on the ground, which he highlights at the very beginning of the book. This is an aspect that he also comments on later in the book:

The different provinces, as they have a different language, costume, &c., have also their own peculiar dances, which, like their wines, fine arts, relics, saints and sausages, can only be really relished on the spots themselves. (1846: 324)

## 2.8 FRANCISCO DE PAULA MELLADO

Between 1849 and 1851, *Recuerdos de un viage por España* was published in Madrid in three volumes by Francisco de Paula Mellado. The author in question was born in Granada in 1818 and began his publishing activity in 1838 in a favourable context due to the death of King Ferdinand VII. He edited various art and history magazines published in Madrid and Paris, and devised, edited and printed the *Enciclopedia Moderna* (1851–1855) in 37 volumes, the first great encyclopaedia in Spanish.

In the second volume of the aforementioned travel book, in 1850, he devotes a chapter to Catalonia, in which he states that

[e]l idioma es el antiguo de las provincias del Mediodía de Francia, que de la ciudad de *Limoges* se dice *lemosin*. En Cataluña perdió su antigua suavidad y dulzura adquiriendo pronunciaciion áspera y terminaciones desagradables, pero conservando siempre mucha semejanza con el francés. (Mellado 1850: 56)

[The language of Catalonia is the old language of the provinces of Southern France, which from the city of Limoges is called Limousin. In Catalonia it lost its former softness and sweetness, acquiring a rough pronunciation and unpleasant endings, but always retaining a resemblance to French.]

And further on, in the section focusing on the Valencian Country, he states that “[th]e usual language of Valencia is the old Limousin, but without the harshness with which the Catalans speak it” (Mellado 1850: 93).

In other words, the Andalusian traveller recognises that the same language is spoken in Catalonia and in the Valencian Country. He calls it “Lemosin” and locates its origin in the city of the same name in Occitania.

## 2.9 GEORGE ALEXANDER HOSKINS

In 1851, George Alexander Hoskins published in London the book *Spain, as it is*. Born in Liverpool in 1802, he trained as a lawyer at the Inner Temple in London, and subsequently travelled to Egypt, Sudan, Libya and Spain about which he wrote several travel books. In the first volume of *Spain, as it is*, having described the crossing of the Cenia River<sup>8</sup> to the south, he speaks of the Catalans and says of them that

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8 The internal border between Catalonia and the Valencian Country.

[th]e lower orders have certainly not much of the *suaviter in modo*, and their Limousin dialect grates harshly on the ear; but they seem always inclined to do civil things, and are good-hearted and honest. (Hoskins 1851: 50)

Later, in one of the chapters devoted to the city of Valencia, he narrates a session of the *Tribunal de les Aigües* and states that “[th]is caused me little regret, as the trials are in the Limousin dialect, the unintelligible *patois* of the country” (Hoskins 1851: 97). He then goes on to speak of the “*patois* of the country” in the following terms:

During the first half of the fifteenth century, long after the genuine race of the troubadours had passed away, the Provençal or Limousin verse was carried to its highest excellence, by the poets of Valencia. It resembles so much the *patois* now spoken near Toulouse, where Monsieur L resides, that he had no difficulty in understanding the Catalonians and Valencians. This similarity is not surprising, as it was there, in 1323, that great efforts were made to restore the Provençal language, and a guild formed for this purpose, called the very gay company of the seven troubadours of Toulouse, and a prize of a golden violet given to a Catalonian gentleman, for the best poem in that language. When Provence became a portion of the dominions of the Counts of Barcelona, and ultimately part of the realm of Arragon, the *gaya sciencia* was greatly cultivated, and kings and princes became poets and patrons of the art; and when Aix and Marseilles were disturbed by dissensions and troubles, especially by the civic persecution of the Albigenses, a safer asylum was afforded them at the Court of Arragon, where the stirring events of the Holy War against the Moors and the conquests of Don Jaime would furnish noble themes for the cultivators of the science. The Provençal language soon, however, had to contend with the sonorous and grand Castilian, full of vigour and strength, which chroniclers and even poets adopted. The Gay Saber might suit the sunny south, though as early as 1474, when a poetical contest was held at Valencia, four of the poems were in Castilian; but when Saragossa became the seat of government, and in 1474, when Aragon and Castile were united under Ferdinand and Isabella, the Castilian prevailed, and as Mr. Tickler<sup>9</sup> observes, what remained of the language that gave first impulse to poetical feeling in modern times, sunk into a neglected dialect, and without having attained the refinement that would preserve its name and its glory to future times, became as much a dead language as the Greek or the Latin. (Hoskins 1851: 97–99)

Hoskins uses the following two erroneous arguments: firstly, although it is true that between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries there were Catalan-speaking writers who cultivated poetry in Occitan —like the troubadours— in the 12<sup>th</sup> century there is already written evidence of documents written entirely in Catalan and in the 13<sup>th</sup> century literary use in all genres except the aforementioned troubadour poetry. On the other hand, the fact that an Occitan —or one at least fluent in French and Occitan— easily

<sup>9</sup> This refers to the North American literary critic George Ticknor, author of the *History of Spanish literature* (1849).



understood the Catalans and Valencians with whom he met does not mean that Catalan and Occitan are the same language. Hoskins then goes on to provide some historical data on Catalan —albeit decontextualised— to end by stating that this language has become a neglected dialect —a completely subjective argument— and a language as dead as Greek or Latin, an incorrect statement that can only be understood from the English traveller’s lack of knowledge.

On the other hand, in the last chapter devoted to Valencia, Hoskins observes about this city that

[g]ood books may be got, for I observed many excellent booksellers’ shops full of standard works, which one would certainly expect to find in a city which has produced so many scientific and literary men, and where, in 1474, the first press was erected in Spain, though Barcelona also lays claim to this honour. The earliest work was a collection of songs, composed for a poetical contest in honour of the Virgin, for the most part in the Limousin or Valencian dialect. (1851: 115)

We now know that the first book printed in the Iberian Peninsula is *Sinodal de Aguila-fuente* (Segovia, 1472) and not *Les obres o trobes en lahors de la sacratíssima Verge Maria* (Valencia, 1474) to which Hoskins refers, but it is also true that the latter is the first literary work printed in the Iberian Peninsula, that it is written almost entirely in Catalan and that it was published in Valencia. But, beyond this, we are interested in the fact that Hoskins refers to the language of the work as a Limousin or Valencian dialect, that is to say, he considers that “Limousin” and “Valencian” are the same language; as well as the fact that he notes the use of this language in Catalonia and the Valencian Country.

## 2.10 JOSEPH NAPOLÉON FERVEL

The first volume of the work *Campagnes de la révolution française dans les Pyrénées orientales 1793-1794-1795* was published in Paris in 1851. We know that the author, Joseph Napoléon Fervel, was born in 1811 in the French commune of Nomeny and that at the time of the book’s publication he was a captain of engineers and inspector of studies at the *École polytechnique*, a prestigious public teaching and research centre under the aegis of the French Ministry of Defence.

Fervel travelled to the Eastern Pyrenees between 1838 and 1841 to investigate on the ground the vestiges of the campaigns of the French Revolution in these territories in 1793, 1794 and 1795 because he felt that French historians had hitherto focused on events in the north of France and had neglected the events in the Pyrenees and the Alps. This is what the author explains in the prologue of the book.

In the first volume he mentions the *Mas Déu*, located in the municipality of Trouillas (Roussillon), known as *la comanda del Masdéu*, an ancient Catalan *comanda* of the Order of the Temple first documented in 1136, a date that places it as the oldest *comanda* of the Temple in all of Catalonia. Fervel goes on to state in a footnote:

L’ortographe des noms de lieux est une difficulté particulière aux contrées dont nous nous occupons, contrées où le français et le catalan se confondent. Nous



avons suivi l'orthographe que l'usage a fait prévaloir, sorte de moyenne entre les deux langues, mais qui, pour cette raison, n'est guère, que dans la moitié des cas, en harmonie avec notre manière de prononcer. Il est donc nécessaire d'indiquer sommairement les règles générales de la prononciation catalane. (1851: 48)

[The spelling of place names is a particular difficulty in the regions we are dealing with, regions where French and Catalan are mixed. We have followed the spelling that usage has made prevail, a sort of middle ground between the two languages, but which —for this reason— is hardly —in half the cases— in harmony with our way of pronouncing. It is therefore necessary to briefly indicate the general rules of Catalan pronunciation.]

Fervel then goes on to explain, using examples of mainly North Catalan place names, the pronunciation of the vowels *a, e, o*; the consonants *b, j, r, s* and *x*; and the digraphs *gu, ll, ny* and *qu*.

On the other hand, it is important to understand the French establishment's perception of the North-Catalans at the time. In fact, Fervel transcribes the following words of a French military officer in a confidential report: "Puis s'épanchant dans un rapport confidentiel au comité: 'Ces Catalans du Roussillon sont plus Espagnols que Français'" (1851: 131). In other words, "these Catalans of Roussillon are more Spanish than French". A strong statement that refers to the differences between the North Catalans and the majority of the French in historical, cultural and linguistic aspects.

Further on, Fervel refers to *Solana* of Andorra, bordering the valley of the Haute-Ariège (Occitania) and adds the following information at the foot of the page: "Soulane est un nom commun qui, en Catalan, signifie revers sud d'une montagne" (1851: 288). That is to say, "*Solana* is a common name which, in Catalan, means the southern face of a mountain".

On the other hand, in the second volume, in a chapter devoted to Catalonia, he states:

A l'appel du tocsin, dont le nom caractérise ces terribles soulèvements (dans la langue du pays, Soumaten et tocsin sont synonymes), les habitants de chaque paroisse abandonnent leurs toits, enterrent leurs grains, replient leurs troupeaux, et vont, leur curé en tête, occuper quelque position menaçante. (1853: 96)

[At the sound of the ringing of bells, the name of which characterises these terrible mobilisations (in the language of the country, *sometent* and ringing of bells are synonyms), the inhabitants of each parish abandoned their roofs, buried their grain, gathered the herd and went, with their rector at the head, to occupy some intimidating position.]

Fervel, then, identifies Catalan as the language of Catalonia.

It is also interesting to analyse what Fervel says about the Andorrans, because according to him they are "Catalans de mœurs et de langage, ils diffèrent de ceux-ci





par leur finesse et leur patience” (1853: 365), that is, “the Andorrans are Catalans in manners and language, but differ from the Catalans in delicacy and patience”.

## 2.11 CARLOS JOSÉ CALDEIRA

In 1855, the series of articles “Barcelona (Fragmento de uma viagem inèdita)” by the Portuguese Carlos José Caldeira was published in Lisbon. He was born in Lisbon in 1811, son of the marriage between Maria Henriqueta Gomas Ribeiro and José Vicente Caldeira do Casal Ribeiro, judge of the *Casa da Suplicação*, which at the time was the Supreme Court of Portugal. He studied at the *Academia Real da Marinha* and the *Aula do Comércio*, and began his professional career in the public administration, where he served as inspector general of customs and later became the first director of the Statistics Service, created within the Ministry of Public Works, Commerce and Industry. Between 1850 and 1852 he made a long journey of two years and two months through places conquered by the Portuguese, across the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea to China and back through Singapore, Goa, Mozambique, Cape of Good Hope (South Africa), Luanda (Angola), the Azores Islands and Lisbon, as a result of which he published a well-known travel book. He also made a trip to Spain, setting off on a steamship from Lisbon to Barcelona, where he began his journey. He wrote and published his experiences and impressions of this journey in the *Revista Peninsular* (1855–1856), a bilingual Portuguese-Spanish periodical that he edited.

In the third of the series of articles “Barcelona (Fragmento de uma viagem inèdita)” (Barcelona (Fragment of an Unpublished Journey)), he states that

[o] caracter dos barcelonezes permanece quasi o mesmo desde seculos. O mesmo succede ao seu idioma, a que são mui aferrados, e que differe muito mais do castelhano que do portuguez. É a antiga língua das provincias meridionaes da França, chamada *limosina*, que perdeu a melodia que antigamente a caracterisava, e que melhor souberam conservar os valencianos. Na bocca dos catalães adquiriu terminaões duras, e uma pronuncia áspera e desagradavel; mas, apesar d’isto, conserva grande similhaça com a lingua franceza moderna. Dizem eruditos que a lingua catalã guarda ainda muitos vestigios do grego antigo, tanto em vocabulos como em modos, derivados das colonias helénicas que floresceram em varios pontos do litoral da nossa Peninsula. Tambem no dialecto popular se introduziram algumas palavras turcas, trazidas provavelmente do Oriente pelos famosos terços catalães e aragonezes, que tomaram parte na aventureosa expedição á Sicilia e á Grecia no seculo xiv. (1855: 408)

[The character of the people of Barcelona has remained practically the same over the centuries. The same is true of their language, to which they are very attached, and which differs much more from Spanish than from Portuguese. It is the ancient language of the southern provinces of France, known as Limousin, which lost its characteristic melody, and which the Valencians have been able to preserve better. In the mouth of the Catalans it acquires harsh endings and a rough and unpleasant pronunciation; but in spite of this, it retains a great resemblance to the modern French language. Scholars say that the Catalan language still retains

many traces of ancient Greek, both in its vocabulary and in its idioms, derived from the Hellenic colonies that flourished at various points along the coast of our Peninsula. Some Turkish words were also introduced into the popular dialect, probably brought from the East by the famous Catalan and Aragonese *tercios*, who took part in the expedition to Sicily and Greece in the 14th century.]



## 2.12 ANATOLY DEMIDOV

In 1858, the book *Étapes maritimes sur les côtes d’Espagne de la Catalogne à l’Andalousie souvenirs d’un voyage exécuté en 1847* was published in two volumes in Florence.

Anatoly Demidov was born in Saint Petersburg (Russian Empire) in 1812, the second son of the marriage between the Russian diplomat, industrialist and patron of the arts Nikolai Demidov and the Russian aristocrat Elisabeta Alexandrovna Stroganova. He grew up in Paris, where he began his Russian diplomatic career, serving first in the Paris embassy, then in Rome and Venice. In 1828 his father died and Anatole settled permanently in Western Europe, a fact that distanced him from Tsar Nicholas I. A great admirer of the French prince Jérôme Bonaparte, Anatoly Demidov was introduced in 1839 into the circle of Bonaparte, who was then living in exile in Florence, and in 1840 he became the first Prince of San Donato, a title created by Leopold II of Tuscany.

In 1847 he travelled to Spain for four months touring and describing different coastal cities between Catalonia and Andalusia, and years later —specifically in 1858— he published *Étapes maritimes sur les côtes d’Espagne de la Catalogne à l’Andalousie souvenirs d’un voyage exécuté en 1847*, a travel book that compiles —in this order— his stays in Barcelona, Valencia, Alicante, Cartagena, Almería, Málaga and Granada (in the first volume); and Málaga, Granada, Ronda, Gibraltar, Tangier, Cádiz and Seville (in the second volume).

In the first volume, in the chapter devoted to Barcelona, he describes the Catalans and then goes on to talk about the citizen rallies in the capital:

Après chaque combat il y avait *Bouillango*: c’est l’expression qui désigne en patois catalan, noise, coups et tumulte, et c’était une rude tâche pour le Gouvernement que de rétablir l’ordre. Barcelone n’a donc plus ces jeux, dont nous n’osons rien dire encore, mais qui sont certainement pour l’Espagne un besoin; et c’est une circonstance qui fait ressembler encore plus cette ville Espagnole à une ville française du midi. (1858 I: 37)

[After every bullfight there was *bullanga*: this expression in the Catalan dialect means noise, blows and tumult, and it was a hard task for the government to re-establish order after the bullfights. Barcelona no longer has bullfights, of which we dare not yet say anything, but they are undoubtedly a necessity for Spain; and this is a circumstance which makes this Spanish city even more like a southern French city.]

However, this reference to the Catalan language as a dialect must be understood in the political sense of a language without legal recognition. In fact, later, in the chapter devoted to Valencia, he describes the *Micalet* and states that



l'Archéologue trouvera l'origine de ce monument, toute tracée, dans une inscription enchâssée parmi ses assises inférieures. Je la transcris ici comme un curieux échantillon de la langue usitée au 14<sup>e</sup> siècle dans les Royaumes de Valence et d'Aragon. (1858 I: 208)

[The archaeologist will find the origin of this monument in an inscription embedded in its lower foundations. I transcribe it here as a curious example of the language used in the 14th century in the kingdoms of Valencia and Aragon.]

Demidov then copies the text of the inscription, written in Catalan, which is still to be found at the base of the *Micalet* tower:

Aquest campanar fonch començat en lo any de la navitat de nostre senyor Deu Jesu-Crist MCCCLXXXI, reynant en Arago el molt alt Rey en Emperere [= En Pere], estant Bisbe en Valencia lo molt alt en Jaume, fill del alt infant en pere e cosin-germa de dit Rey. (1858 I: 208)

[This bell tower was begun in the year of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ in 1381, when King Pere reigned in Aragon, and Jaume, son of the prince Pere and first cousin of the king, was bishop in Valencia.]

He goes on to make the following linguistic assertion:

Si jamais, dans vos pérégrinations en France, vous avez traversé cette grande forêt de châtaigniers qu'on nomme le Limousin, vous avez, certes, été à même d'entendre dans la bouche des laborieux habitans de cette contrée, un patois qui reproduit en grande partie les expressions de ce style lapidaire. (1858 I: 208)

[If you have ever, on a pilgrimage through France, crossed that great chestnut forest known as the Limousin, you will surely have heard from the mouths of the hard-working inhabitants of this region a patois that reproduces to a large extent the expressions of this lapidary style.]

In other words, the Russian traveller relates the Occitan language with the Catalan language, the one spoken in Occitania and the one spoken in the extinct Catalan-Aragonese crown, in cities that he himself visits on this trip, such as Barcelona and Valencia.

### 2.13 ALFRED GERMOND DE LAVIGNE

In 1859 the work *Itinéraire descriptif, historique et artistique de l'Espagne et du Portugal* by the Frenchman Alfred Germond de Lavigne was published in Paris. Born in Paris in 1812, Germond de Lavigne was a translator into French of Spanish authors such as Quevedo, Cervantes, Rojas, Avellaneda, Lope de Rueda and Pérez Galdós; he was the editor of the publication *La Gazette des eaux* (1858–1891) and a member of *Real Academia Española*, as well as a high-ranking employee in the French Ministry of War.

The *Itinéraire descriptif, historique et artistique de l'Espagne et du Portugal* is important for being the first guide to include photographic illustrations. It went through two further editions, in 1866 (2nd) and 1880 (3rd). A modernised version, *Espagne et Portugal*, was published in 1872 and reprinted the same year, in 1879 and in 1887. From 1887 onwards, it was published almost annually until the author's death in 1896.

As for the language of the Catalans, Germond de Lavigne states that

[l]'idiome catalan est celui des provinces méridionales de la France, c'est la langue limousine introduite par nous, avec nos lois et nos mœurs, lors de la grande lutte contre les Maures, et lorsque la Catalogne s'appelait la Marche espagnole et dépendait de l'ancienne Septimanie. Mais cet idiome a perdu en Catalogne la douceur qui le caractérise dans nos provinces, et qui s'est mieux conservée dans le royaume de Valence. On parle peu le castillan, et si on le parle, il est défiguré par un mélange d'expressions et de tournures catalanes. (1859: 271)

[The Catalan language is that of the southern provinces of France, it is the *Limousin language* introduced by us, with our laws and morals, during the great struggle against the Muslims, and when Catalonia was called *Marca Hispanica* and depended on the ancient Septimania. But this language has lost in Catalonia the sweetness that characterises it in our provinces and that has been better preserved in the kingdom of Valencia. Moreover, Spanish is rarely spoken, and if it is spoken, it is disfigured by a mixture of Catalan expressions and turns of phrase.]

Thus, the Parisian writer appropriates for the French sphere not only the Occitan language but also Catalan, which he considers to be the same under the name of "Limousin". Then we should note the inclusion of the kingdom of Valencia in this linguistic domain, as well as the fact that in Catalonia, Spanish is spoken little and badly because —as understood from the context— Catalan is spoken for the most part.

Further on, in the chapter devoted to the province of Alicante, the author states that

[o]n parle le castillan dans les classes élevées, mais parmi les autres on a conservé dans toute sa pureté l'ancien idiome valencien ou la langue d'oc apportée par les Aragonais. Cette langue, dure et souvent désagréable dans la bouche des Aragonais, est très-agréable chez les Valenciens et les Alicantais, particulièrement chez les femmes. (1859: 491)

[Spanish is spoken by the ruling social class while the rest of society has preserved in all its purity the ancient Valencian language or language of Oc carried by the Aragonese. This language, which is harsh and often unpleasant in the mouths of the Aragonese, is very pleasant in the mouths of the Valencians and natives of Alicante, especially the women.]

In other words, the great majority of the population speaks Catalan. Otherwise, beyond the subjective and recurrent statement he makes about the pleasant pronun-





ciation of this language among the Valencians and especially among women, it is worth noting that he refers to the Aragonese as the bearers of the Catalan language in the kingdom of Valencia, an assertion that must be understood in the sense that the Catalans were part of the crown of Aragon. On this occasion, he uses what in literature is called a synecdoche. In fact, in the following fragments we will see that he does not use this device again. In the chapter devoted to the province of Valencia he states:

Le peuple valencien emploie l’idiome *limousin*, l’ancienne langue d’Oc, introduite par don Jaime le Conquérant, la même que parlent les Catalans, mais plus pure, mieux prononcée, et sans ces rudes terminaisons qui rendent si pénible à l’oreille le langage du peuple de la campagne de Barcelone; on parle du reste partout, et très-purement, la langue castillane. (1859: 680)

[The Valencians use the *Limousin* language, the ancient language of Oc, introduced by King Jaume I of Aragon and Valencia, just like the Catalans, but purer, better pronounced and without those rough endings that make the language of the inhabitants of the Barcelona countryside so painful to the ear; apart from this, Spanish is spoken everywhere, and very purely.]

Leaving aside the repeated and personal affirmation about the phonetics of the Catalans and Valencians, the assertion about linguistic usage is curious in the sense that he first affirms that the language of the Valencians is Catalan —he says “lemosín” — and then goes on to say that everywhere else Spanish is spoken. The route that this French traveller took from Madrid to Valencia was via Almansa and, once in the Valencian Country, he passed through la Font de la Figuera, Moixent, Montesa, l’Alcúdia de Crespins, Xàtiva, Manuel, Carcaixent, Alzira, Algemesí, Benifaió, Silla, Catarroja and Alfafar until he reached the Valencian capital. All these towns are within the Catalan linguistic domain and in the mid-19th century they were monolingual —apart from the aforementioned ruling classes, who were in a very small minority, especially outside the city of Valencia. And the other routes he travelled through the province of Valencia were Valencia-Dénia, Valencia-Torres Torres (to later continue towards Teruel), Valencia-Barcelona and Cuenca-Valencia. On this last itinerary, he entered the Valencian Country via Villargordo del Cabriel and continued via Caudete de las Fuentes, Utiel, Requena and El Rebollar (the latter villages of Requena-Utiel region and annexed to the province of Valencia in 1851, a few years before the trip), Buñol, Chiva and Cheste (from the region of Hoya de Buñol and Spanish-speaking for centuries), Mislata (from l’Horta and Catalan-speaking) and Valencia. We can therefore understand the French traveller’s statement after having followed these itineraries, especially the Cuenca-Valencia route, where he surely did not notice the presence of the Catalan language until he got to Mislata, on the outskirts of the Valencian capital.

As for the province of Castellón, he also devotes a chapter to it in which he states that



[l]’idiome varie selon les districts: dans la Plana c’est le valencien ou la langue limousine, riche, brève, énergique et harmonieuse; mais à mesure qu’on avance vers la Catalogne, le langage devient rude et brusque. Dans la plaine de Segorbe on parle le castillan avec quelques variantes, et vers l’Aragon il est vicié par un détestable accent. (1859: 698)

[The language spoken varies according to the region: in Plana Alta and Plana Baixa, Valencian or Limousin is spoken, rich, brief, energetic and harmonious; but as one moves towards Catalonia, the language becomes rough and broken. Moreover, in the Segorbe area, Spanish is spoken with some variations, and towards Aragon it is enworsened by a detestable accent.]

In other words, Germond de Lavigne notes that in the regions of Plana of Castellón, Catalan is spoken, as well as on the road to Catalonia, while in the plain of Segorbe and towards Aragon, Spanish is spoken.

He also devotes a chapter to the island of Majorca, in which he notes that

[l]e castillan n’est guère parlé à Majorque que dans les circonstances officielles; dans la vie privée, le riche comme le pauvre parlent majorquin. Cette langue, qui ressemble au catalan et a beaucoup d’analogie avec le patois de Montpellier et de ses environs, se prête merveilleusement à la poésie. (1859: 715)

[Spanish is only spoken in Majorca in official circumstances, but in private life, both the rich and the poor speak Majorcan. This language, which resembles Catalan and has many similarities with the *patois* of Montpellier and the surrounding area, lends itself wonderfully to poetry.]

Even so, in the section devoted to Ibiza, he is more categorical: “Leur langue est une corruption de l’ancien Limousin” (1859: 726), i.e. “their language is a corruption of the old Limousin”. In the end, Germond de Lavigne notes that the Majorcans — and even more so the Ibicencans — speak Catalan, like the Catalans and Valencians of the Catalan-speaking regions.

## 2.14 ÉLISÉE RECLUS

In 1861, between August and September, the French geographer Élisée Reclus visited the Iberian Peninsula for the first time, sent by Editorial Hachette, to collaborate on the second edition of *Guide of the Pyrenees* prepared by Adolphe Joanne with the title *Itinéraire Général de la France* (1862), when he visited the northern regions of the Basque Country, Navarre, Aragon and Catalonia.

Son of a family of geographers, Reclus was born in 1830 in Sainte-Foy-la-Grande (Aquitaine). He left the family home with his older brother Élie when he was twelve years old to work and see the world. He lived and worked in countries such as Germany, Switzerland, England and the United States, among others. A libertarian ideologue, member of the First International and affiliated to the International Workingmen’s Association (IWA), he founded the *Université nouvelle de Bruxelles* in



1894. He is considered a precursor of social geography, geopolitics, geohistory and ecology.

Of the work *Itinéraire Général de la France* (1862), we are interested in the third volume, subtitled *Les Pyrénées et le réseau des chemins de fer du midi et des Pyrénées*. In this publication, Reclus only mentions the Catalan language on a few occasions, such as in the introduction, as in the following fragment:

Ce patois a pour domaine toute la région qui s'étend à l'ouest de la Garonne. Sur l'autre rive de ce fleuve, commence la zone du languedocien, qui s'arrête aux Corbières. Au delà de ces montagnes, on parle catalan. (Joanne 1862: XLIV)

[This dialect [Gascon] covers the whole region west of the river Garonne. On the other bank of the river there begins the Languedocian zone, which stops at the Corbières Massif; beyond these mountains, Catalan is spoken.]

In other words, he identifies Gascon and Languedocian — both dialects of Occitan— and Catalan, which is spoken in the south of the Corbières Massif. The latter assertion can also be seen in the following fragment:

Le bourg de Mosset est, dit-on, l'extrême frontière septentrionale du patois catalan; sur le versant opposé des montagnes qui dominant Mosset, les paysans parlent la vieille langue limousine ou romane à peu près dans sa pureté primitive. (Joanne 1862: 682)

[The village of Mosset<sup>10</sup> is said to be the northern end of the Catalan patois; on the opposite side of the mountains overlooking Mosset, the peasants speak the ancient Limousin or Roman language more or less in its primitive purity.]

With these words, Reclus includes Northern Catalonia and its inhabitants in Catalanophony; what we cannot infer from his statements, however, is what linguistic relationship he identifies between Catalan and Occitan.

## 2.15 HENRY O'SHEA

In 1865, the Irishman Henry O'Shea published *A Guide to Spain* in London. Born in Limerick (Ireland) in 1782, O'Shea was a quartermaster in the British army who, after taking part in the French War, established himself as a businessman first in Madrid (1824) and later —and definitively— in Valencia, where he became related to the Valencian nobility. Henry O'Shea —who after his establishment in Madrid became known as Enrique— was related to Thomas Trenor Keating,<sup>11</sup> with whom he came from Ireland and who became involved in trade and finance after the end of the war.

<sup>10</sup> In the northern Catalan region of Conflent.

<sup>11</sup> The first of the Trénor family to arrive in Spain.



At the beginning of *A Guide to Spain*, after discussing the climate, geography and history, among other things, he devotes a chapter to the languages spoken in the different territories. It is here that he states that

[i]n many regions of Spain[,] the early-formed dialects subsist still, and are spoken almost exclusively by the lower classes, namely, in the E. and N.E. the Valencian, Aragonese, Navarrese, and the Catalan. (O’Shea 1865: LXXIII)

And then he continues with the rest of the languages of Spain. Further on, in the chapter devoted to the Valencian Country, he states that

[th]e Valencianets, as they call themselves, speak a sort of Limousin dialect, the old Langue d’Oc, which Don Jaime introduced from Cataluña. The pronunciation and meaning of some words differ from that spoken in the Principado, and the softer, more harmonious terminations used here indicate the proximity of Andalusia —heat— and more time to lose, or at all events lost. (O’Shea 1865: 489)

O’Shea acknowledges that the Valencians speak the language introduced with the Christian conquest and creation of the kingdom of Valencia in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, considers that it is related to Occitan —he calls it “Limousin” and “language of Oc” — and that the differences with the language of the Catalans are reduced to the pronunciation and meaning of some words.

*A Guide to Spain*, which was a great success in the last third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup>, does not mention the Balearic Islands until its third edition, in 1868, called *Guide to Spain & Portugal including the Balearic Islands*. And it is when he speaks of the language used by the Balearics that he states that “[th]e ‘Mallorquin’ is a corruption of the Catalan dialect, but the pronunciation bespeaks proximity to Italy, and is softer than at Barcelona” (1868: 342b). In other words, Majorquin is also part of the Catalan language, like Valencian.

He goes on to comment on a series of words “from Majorca” that may be useful to the reader, such as articles or some specific words. He goes on to state that

[th]ere is great similarity between Mallorcan and the Languedocian patois of Montpellier. Indeed, the intercourse was frequent between that city, the birthplace of Don Jayme I., and Mallorca. (O’Shea 1865: 342b)

On the other hand, in the first nine editions he does not comment on the language of the Catalans. But in the later editions he does, as in this fragment from the tenth edition:

The language of the country —Catalan— is a dialect of the Lemosin, or Romance, spoken from the mountains of Auvergne to Valencia. In the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries it had some resemblance to the Languedocian and Gascon dialects, but has since been more influenced by the Provençal, which it now greatly resembles. (O’Shea 1895: 107a)





According to O’Shea, the country’s language — Catalan — is a dialect of the Limousin or Romance language, spoken north in the Auvergne mountains and spread to the south until Valencia. In the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries it resembled Gasconian and Languedocians dialects, but from this period it has been more influenced by provençal language, with which it shares many similarities today. Thus, O’Shea includes the language of the Catalans in the Occitan-Catalan diasystem, including Valencian and Majorcan. His work was a great publishing success, as is shown by its thirteen editions, the last of which was published in 1905, also in London.

## 2.16 MARY EYRE

In 1865, the English traveller Mary Eyre published *Over the Pyrenees into Spain* in London, the result of a journey she had made in 1864 on the initiative of her publisher Richard Bentley. Mary was born in 1810 to the marriage of Anthony Sarah Eyre and Sarah Mapleton. According to Ribot (2014: 15), Eyre was a poor, single woman who travelled because she had heard that it was cheaper to travel than to stay at home. In 1864, she was commissioned to write a report on the Iberian Peninsula. At first she found the nomadic nature of the journey appealing, but it seems that her rugged character worked against her, as she suffered all kinds of physical abuse and insults throughout Spain, whether from children throwing stones at her or from other locals.

In the chapter devoted to the Andorra valley, after hearing a woman speak, she states:

...but I believe, though I was told to the contrary, that the Andorrans speak a *patois* kind of Spanish, more akin to Catalan, which province is nearest them, that to the Castilian or pure Spanish dialect (1865: 109).

And further on, in the same chapter, she says that

[i]t seems odd, by the way, that the Andorrans should speak pure Castilian, which every one told me they did; for the inhabitants of the Seu d’Urgel, and I should think of San Julia also, speak Catalan only, which is a dialect of Spanish. The little Spanish that I had learned proved entirely useless to me there. (1865: 130)

Thus, as can be seen in both fragments, some informant mistakenly indicated that Spanish is spoken in Andorra and the English traveller was able to verify that they speak Catalan. The following chapter, dedicated to Sant Julià de Lòria, also gives an account of a scene in the house where she spent the night, in which she witnesses an argument between the host of the house and his wife:

...of those language I knew not a word — for the very little Spanish illness had left me power to learn, was Castilian, and these people spoke Catalan, a *patois* dialect. (Eyre 1865: 146)

Later, in the chapter devoted to the route between la Seu d’Urgell (Alt Urgell) and Calaf (Anoia), she reproduces a conversation stating: “I understood perfectly, for

I comprehend far more than I can express, as the Catalan dialect is partly French, partly Italian” (Eyre 1865: 173). Already in Barcelona, Eyre says that after a conversation

I spoke to them, and remonstrated as well as I could, seeing that the little Spanish I knew was Castilian, while here in Barcelona the people speak Catalan, which is very different (1865: 205).

Finally, on her arrival in Manresa (Bages), Eyre meets an Englishman working on the railway at the station who invites her “and as he spoke Catalan, he ordered the tea for me” (1865: 243).

The English traveller —at least on this occasion— did not go to the Balearic Islands, but she did go to the provinces of Alicante, Valencia and Castellón. Unfortunately, she does not comment on the language spoken by their inhabitants, thus failing to provide a testimony that would have been of interest for this study.

### 3 CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, foreign travellers who travelled through Catalan-speaking territories in the second third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century used the word “Catalan” only to refer to the language of Catalonia and the more restricted names “Valencian”, “Balearic” [sic] or “Majorcan” to refer to the rest of the Catalan languages, and they usually used the name “Limousin” to refer to the language as a whole. Indeed, so did the Catalan speakers of this period, who also used the name “Limousin” to refer to the Catalan language as a whole, which then coexisted with the usage of the popular classes, in this case coinciding with the respective gentilicisms: “Catalan”, “Valencian”, “Majorcan” and “Minorcan”, among others.<sup>12</sup>

With all this, in the second third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, most of these travellers affirmed that these “dialects” came from or were related to the Occitan language, which they called “Limousin”, “Languedocian” or “Provençal”. This is the case of Caballero (1834, 1844), the anonymous Portuguese (1839), Cuynat (1844), Ford (1855), Caldeira (1855), Mellado (1850), Hoskins (1851), Demidov (1858), Germond de Lavigne (1859) and O’Shea (1865). There is also the case of Dembowski (1841), who asserts that Majorcan “patois” is different from Spanish and Portuguese, and Eyre (1865), who affirms that Catalan is a dialect of Spanish. Even so, there are authors who speak of the Occitan and Catalan languages but who do not relate them to each other, such as Mérimée (1833 and 1835), the anonymous Portuguese (1839), Haverty (1844), Fervel (1851) and Reclus (1862). With these statements, Caballero (1834, 1844), Cuynat (1844),

12 However, as shown in Martí-Badia (2020), from 1854 onwards, Catalan and Majorcan writers and scholars stopped using the name “llemosí” to refer to the language as a whole and reverted to the name “català” and derivatives, while Valencians resisted the change for reasons of identity. This is a change that northern Catalan scholars had already made at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.



Ford (1855), Mellado (1850), Hoskins (1851), Caldeira (1855), Demidov (1858), Germond de Lavigne (1859) and O'Shea (1865) fall within the parameters of "llemosinisme", and the use of the words "llemosín" and its derivatives reveals that these travellers implicitly admitted the unity of the Catalan language. It is also true, however, that the studies on the Catalan language at that time were limited, and that the linguistic knowledge the authors had of it was probably rather scarce and indirect.

In conclusion, in the second third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Spanish-Catalan linguistic conflict in the Catalan-speaking territories under Spanish sovereignty manifested itself with the extension of the Castilianisation process to some sectors of the urban upper bourgeoisie, who began to mimic the process that the middle and lower aristocracy had consummated throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. At the same time, however, the vast majority of the population continued to express themselves in Catalan. The Spanish and French political powers —with increasingly influential public administrations in society— and the ecclesiastical institutions, among others, encouraged the linguistic substitution of Catalan by Spanish and French (respectively) and, consequently, the travellers in the second third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century noted this. However, all these foreign visitors noted that Catalan was the commonly used language of the inhabitants of the different Catalan-speaking territories they visited.

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