

Protodiplomacy Across the Mediterranean: The Catalan Participation in the First Congresses of Byzantine Studies in South- Eastern Europe During the Interwar Period

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In the interwar period, Catalan nationalists sought to participate actively in post-World War I political forums in order to inscribe Catalonia in discussions on national minorities. Figures like Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer (1888-1961) or Joan Estelrich (1896-1958) unsuccessfully fought to have their claims heard at organisations such as the League of Nations. This has been considered a form of protodiplomacy (Núñez-Seixas 2010). This paper will explore the ways in which Catalan politicians and intellectuals, such as the abovementioned Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer and Josep Puig i Cadafalch (1867-1956), engaged in forms of protodiplomacy in the same period, in the context of the Byzantine Studies Congresses that were organised in South-Eastern Europe in 1924 and 1927. This engagement is significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, it shows that territorial entities with conflicting agendas (separatist, in the case of Catalonia; agglutinating, in the case of Romania) could build narratives that reciprocally reinforced each other's nationalist objectives. Secondly, it alters the conventional narrative according to which Josep Puig i Cadafalch, former president of the Catalan Mancomunitat (1917-1923) retired from politics after General Primo de Rivera's coup d'état, and devoted himself to merely academic practices (e.g. Balcells 2013). Instead, his participation in those Congresses should be framed in the both implicit and explicit political character of those meetings (Maufroy 2010). Finally, the approach of this paper highlights the eminently transnational character of the spaces in which those nationalist narratives and claims were discussed and negotiated (Alcalde 2018).

Keywords: Protodiplomacy, Transnational History, Academic Congresses, Interwar History, Catalonia

Introduction

Between 1924 and 1934, a series of Catalan historians and art historians became regular participants in the International Congresses of Byzantine Studies held in Bucharest (1924), Belgrade (1927), Athens (1930) and Sofia (1934).¹ They spoke, in different ways, of the connections between Catalan and Byzantians in the Middle Ages. The group was led by Josep Puig i Cadafalch (1867-1956), an architect, art historian and politician who served as President of the *Mancomunitat* (a federation of Catalan provinces) between 1917 and 1923. Puig's art historical work dealt with the evolution of Romanesque style in medieval Europe, and the Byzantinology Congresses gave him a chance to explore similarities between Western Romanesque and Moldavian art. Puig was joined by Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer (1888-1961), a medievalist historian and politician who studied the Catalan settlements in the Byzantine Empire during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Nicolau was student of Antoni Rubió i Lluch (1856-1937), who also influenced the work of the Romanian historians Constantin Marinescu (1891-1970) and Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940), who organised the first Congress. Like Puig and Nicolau, Iorga was also politically active, and he became Prime Minister of Romania in 1931 and 1932. This article explores the ways in which those scholarly engagements across the Mediterranean may be considered a form of protodiplomacy. In the aftermath of the First World War, international academic gatherings became privileged spaces in which the aspirations of small nations and national minorities were showcased. This was especially significant in the Balkans, where the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman Empires had produced several new states. In Spain, the coup d'état of General Primo de Rivera in 1923 brought an end to Puig's Presidency at the *Mancomunitat* and blocked the road of Catalonia's autonomy. In this context, the First Congresses of Byzantine Studies offered an arena in

which to discuss conflicting views of the future of the Balkans, and in which to present Catalonia's nationalist struggles.

The existing scholarship has considered that Primo's coup was a turning point in Puig's life (despite the fact that he initially supported the coup) and that he abandoned his political career and turned to art historical research.² In contrast to that, the present article reads Puig and Nicolau's engagement in South-Eastern Europe as a form of protodiplomacy, that is, a type of international engagement employed by regional or local actors that cannot use conventional channels of international diplomacy and seek the emancipation of a stateless nationality.³ This can sometimes be intertwined with para-diplomacy, that is, the use of non-explicitly political channels to reach an international audience.⁴ As Seixas argued, culture-based diplomacy was a preferred course of action to internationalise the Catalan nationalist struggle in the interwar period. Joan Estelrich (1896-1958), for instance, argued that political demands would better reach an international audience through the promotion of Catalan language, literature, and culture abroad.⁵ Other activists, like the abovementioned Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, attempted to have their voices heard at international political forums such as the League of Nations.⁶

This article draws on previous research that has defined the First Congresses of Byzantine Studies as diplomatic events. The attendance, behaviour, and contributions of the participants, especially those from countries who had played a prominent part in the war, such as France and Germany, were closely watched.⁷ This article analyses the Catalan participation in the first two International Congresses of Byzantine Studies held in Bucharest (1924) and Belgrade (1927). It takes into account the different layers that attached political and ideological meaning to the meetings. To do so, it first discusses the significance of Iorga's concept of South-Eastern Europe, and it then analyses the participation of Puig, Nicolau, Iorga and Marinescu in the

abovementioned events, and the connections that emerged from them, including Iorga's trips to Spain in 1927 and 1929.

The Politics of Nicolae Iorga's 'South-Eastern Europe'

Nicolae Iorga has been considered one of the most influential Romanian historians of the twentieth century and, according to Marius Turda, it was him who 'successfully provided Romanian nationalism with the essential notions of historical continuity and cultural unity'.⁸ Between 1890 and 1894 Iorga studied History in Paris and in Leipzig, and shortly after became a professor at the University of Bucharest.⁹ He collaborated with the Commission for Historic Monuments which, like elsewhere in Europe, aimed at recording and protecting the country's historical heritage. He contributed to the awakening of Romanian nationalism through the magazines *Sămănătorul* (1901-1910) and *Neamul Românesc* (1906-1940). The modern Romanian state had only been created in 1878 with the independence of the United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia from the Ottoman Empire, which had ruled the region since 1541. Meanwhile, Transylvania, a region historically connected to the Romanian lands, remained part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.¹⁰ Iorga was involved in the movement that sought the establishment of 'Greater Romania' through the incorporation of Transylvania in the Romanian Crown, something that eventually happened at the end of the First World War, which entailed the disintegration of both the Ottoman and the Austro-Hungarian Empires. In 1910 he founded the conservative Democratic Nationalist Party (PND), and held several positions in the Parliament and Romanian Government until he became Prime Minister in 1931-1932. He was murdered in 1940, allegedly by members of the Iron Guard – Romania's fascist party – following his criticism of the country's fall within the Nazi sphere of influence. During his lifetime, Iorga's prestige extended beyond Romania: he was awarded *honoris*

causa doctorates by several European universities including Oxford and Paris, and served as a member of different academic societies and institutes and as a corresponding member of national academies throughout Europe.

Iorga's ideas were notably influenced by the German historian Karl Lamprecht (1856-1915), with whom he studied during his years in Leipzig. Lamprecht has been considered 'one of the key intellectual influences in East Central European historiography in the early twentieth century overall'.¹¹ One of the most important elements of his historiographical method was the belief that each individual nation's history had to be studied in the context of the influences and interconnections developed with other countries and regional spheres.¹² In line with Lamprecht, Iorga believed that supra-national territories were crucial to creating and disseminating each individual nation's voice into the wider world. It was through broader regions that nations such as Romania could contribute to the global development of humankind, and it was through the study of those regions that a nation's true past could be unveiled.¹³ 'The life of a people', he wrote,

is continuously enmeshed with the lives of other peoples, depending on and continuously influencing them. Each nation is an energy with its own sources and particular circumstances, its special character and mission. But none of these energies can be absolutely isolated for study and must not be isolated in this way.¹⁴

Iorga used Lamprecht's ideas to build his concept of South-Eastern Europe, the supra-national region that integrated the countries that emerged from the former Byzantine and Ottoman Empires. He identified a historical continuum bonding Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Romanians, Albanians and Turks. This common history could be traced back to the times of the Thracians, was developed under Byzantine and Ottoman

rule, and reached the early twentieth century with a need for political reconstruction in the aftermath of the First World War.¹⁵

In Iorga's conception of South-Eastern Europe, Romania appeared as a natural regional leader. This was due to its central geographical location, but also because of its alleged ability to integrate both regional (South-Eastern) and national (Romanian) values.¹⁶ In doing so, Iorga confronted other scholars, like the Bulgarian ethnographer Ivan D. Shishmanov (1862-1928) or the Serb geographer Jovan Cvijić (1865-1927), who put forward competing versions of the 'Balkans'.¹⁷

The reconstruction of a modern 'Byzantium' was indeed one of Iorga's most important intellectual drives throughout his life.¹⁸ He discussed it in numerous publications, such as *Byzance après Byzance* (1935).¹⁹ He also founded several organisations to that end, such as the Institute for Southeast European Studies, created in 1913 in Bucharest. He also established specialised journals such as the *Bulletin de l'Institut pour l'Étude de l'Europe sud-orientale* (in 1914) and the *Revue historique du Sud-Est européen* (in 1924).²⁰ In April 1924 he organised the First International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in Bucharest. It is in the context of this intellectual project that we must understand Iorga's interest in Catalonia's history and historiography, and the participation of Catalan scholars in the International Congresses of Byzantine Studies.

Bucharest, 1924: Political Representation and Brotherhood Across the Mediterranean

When Josep Puig i Cadafalch first visited Bucharest in 1924, he was already familiar with the situation of national minorities at the borders of Europe. Puig participated in Spanish politics during a period known as the Restoration, which began with the restoration of the Bourbon

monarchy in 1874 and ended with the coup d'état of General Primo de Rivera in 1923. This was a time of political stability that was characterised by the rotation of the conservative and the liberal parties in the government.²¹ This was also the context in which Catalan nationalism acquired political representation for the first time. The conservative nationalist party *Lliga Regionalista*, of which Puig was a founding member, won the Barcelona municipal election in 1905, and in 1907 Puig was elected as a deputy to the Spanish Congress. The *Lliga* also ruled the Barcelona provincial government (*Diputació de Barcelona*) and the *Mancomunitat*, a federation of Catalan provinces that was established in 1914. Enric Prat de la Riba (1870-1917) was the first President of this commonwealth between 1914 and 1917, and Puig took over between 1917 and Primo's 1923 coup.²² He initially supported the coup, but eventually left Catalonia and spent part of Primo's dictatorship (1923-1930) abroad.²³

In a speech that he gave in 1907 at the Spanish Congress, Puig used examples of nationalist movements in Europe, from Norway to the Finns, the Czechs, the Serbs, the Greeks and the Turks, in order to outline Catalonia's singularity within the Spanish context.²⁴ In 1912 he participated in the 'Congrès des Nationalités', a short-lived initiative that aimed at widening the voice of sub-state nationalisms in Europe.²⁵ When he was re-elected as President of the *Mancomunitat* in 1919, he gave a speech in which he defended the creation of an 'Institution of Propaganda of Catalonia' (*Institució de Propaganda de Catalunya*) to counterbalance the fact that the region was little known abroad. He complained about the fact that the Spanish state rarely sent Catalan representatives to foreign lands, and suggested that Catalan 'science' had a greater chance at succeeding at international conferences than its Spanish counterpart.²⁶ During the 1920s he travelled to many of the newly created countries that had caught his attention in the previous decade. After Bucharest in 1924, he attended Congresses in Serbia in

1927, in Norway in 1928, and in Greece – including a trip to Istanbul – in 1930.²⁷

Despite the fact that Puig no longer held a formal political position after 1923, his stays in those countries were never purely academic. The different facets of his life and career were always closely intertwined. In a letter that he sent to Iorga on 7 November 1922, Puig used stamped paper from the Presidency of the *Mancomunitat*, even though he only addressed academic matters.²⁸ When Iorga invited Puig and Rubió to the Bucharest Congress, he did it so on the grounds that ‘Catalonia could be represented by a scholar of your importance and a tireless researcher of the Catalan studies in Greece like M. Rubió i Lluch’.²⁹ In line with that, during the opening ceremony Puig paid his respects to the organising country on behalf of Catalonia and not Spain.³⁰ And during the closing event, he expressed his satisfaction with the attention given to Catalonia during the Congress.³¹ However, this affiliation was not always consistent: in the ‘List of Members’ of the Congress he and Rubió appeared under the headline ‘Spain’, and during the closing event he reportedly spoke as a ‘representative’ of his ‘Spanish colleagues’.³² Considering conference participants as ‘representatives’ of the countries they belonged to was common in the first Congresses of Byzantine studies. Delegates participated not only as individual researchers but also as representatives of their countries, and thus their presence, attitudes and scholarly ideas could also be read as ‘diplomatic acts’.³³ In line with that, no German, Austrian or Hungarian scholars were invited to the Bucharest Congress but, in Belgrade, French and German delegates shared expressions of fraternity.³⁴



Figure 1: *Dimineața*, 23 April 1924, front cover, UC 2542, Arhivul Național de Catalunja. Fons Puig i Cadafac. The interview 'De vorbă cu d. Puig i Cadafac, președintele Uniunii provinciale catalane' can be seen on the top right corner.

Puig's 'representative' role extended beyond the conference, as shown in an interview that he gave to the Romanian newspaper *Dimineața* during his stay in Bucharest [Figure 1].³⁵ Although he had been deposed as President of the *Mancomunitat* a few months earlier, in the interview he was presented as the 'president of the Catalan provincial union' that was 'suspended' at the time. There was in fact another President, Alfons Sala i Argemí (1863-1945), appointed by Primo and who would hold the position until the *Mancomunitat* was finally dismantled in March 1925. However, Puig did not seem to recognise that authority. In the interview, he also expressed his will with regards to Catalonia's autonomy: he argued that Romania's 'national culture' would be a model for 'ourselves' and argued that Catalonia found itself in a 'struggle for more autonomy'. Puig made clear that he did not aspire to Catalonia's independence, but to wider recognition and strength of the region within the Spanish state: 'we understand our autonomy but still within the Spanish federation. But we want a stronger affirmation of our national character [which] made us create a Catalan cultural movement for encouraging and supporting patriotism'.³⁶

It has been argued that the first two International Congresses of Byzantine Studies contributed to the 'affirmation of the young Balkan countries in the international stage'.³⁷ The gatherings did not only consist of academic conversations, but also included official receptions presided by heads of state, museum visits, and excursions.³⁸ During the Bucharest Congress, delegates went on a one-week trip to key heritage sites that highlighted the medieval past of the modern Romanian state, and reinforced the role of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia in the construction of the nation. The outline included visits to Iași, former capital of the Principality of Moldavia; Curtea de Argeș, the first capital of the Principality of Wallachia; and the Cozia monastery, the burial site of King Mircea the Elder of Wallachia (d. 1418), renamed 'Mircea the Great' by Iorga.³⁹ The monastery of Curtea de Argeș had a crucial role in

the construction of Romania's modern identity in the late nineteenth century.⁴⁰

The Congresses contributed to building a neo-byzantine cultural and political space in which, according to Iorga, Catalans also played a role. In his invitation letter, Iorga stated that Catalonia and Romania were 'brother' and 'sister' [Figure 2]. If Puig and Rubió, he wrote, accepted the invitation to the Bucharest Congress, 'the foundations would be laid for a cultural exchange between your beautiful and brotherly Catalonia and its Romanian sister'.⁴¹ These were perhaps polite words, but they were also inscribed in a broader narrative that connected Catalans to the medieval history of the Balkans. This narrative was first developed by Iorga's student Constantin Marinescu (1891-1970), who was interested in the presence of the Crown of Aragon (to which the Principality of Catalonia belonged in the Middle Ages) in the Eastern Mediterranean during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴²

In a series of articles that he wrote during the early 1920s, Marinescu built a narrative of fraternity between Catalans and the different communities that had inhabited the Balkans during the Middle Ages. Catalans arrived in the Eastern Mediterranean in the early fourteenth century when the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1259-1332) hired the company of mercenaries known as *Companyia Catalana* to fight Anatolian rulers. Those fighters eventually settled in Greece and in 1319 they established the Duchy of Neopatras, which was annexed to the Crown and existed until 1390.⁴³ In addition to that, the Kings of Aragon established numerous diplomatic contacts with the Palaiologos dynasty, who ruled Constantinople until 1453, and other Eastern monarchs.

Fontenay-aux-Roses
50, rue des Anabaptistes

5

Br. av. L.,
5 chaussée Bonaparte,
20 Décembre 1923.

Monsieur le Directeur d'Études,
Permettez-moi, en vous rappelant
les souvenirs de mes années à Paris, de vous adresser
personnellement à vous pour vous faire
d'honneur de votre grâce et de votre
laboratoire, que nous apprécions hautement.
Le prochain congrès de Byzantologie qui
tiendra ses séances à Duvent au avril
prochain. Si le catalogue pourrait être révisé
seul par un savant de votre importance
et par l'infatigable chercheur des tristes
catalogues en grec qui est M. Rubio y
Flech, non seulement nos travaux en

Figure 2: Letter from Nicolae Iorga to Josep Puig i Cadafalch, 20 December 1923, UC 1414, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

These exchanges were the focus of many of Marinescu's works. At the piece that he presented in the Bucharest Congress, he explored the diplomatic relations of the Kings of Aragon Martin V the Humane (1356-1410) and Ferdinand I of Antequera (1380-1416) with the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425).⁴⁴ In other works, he depicted the Aragonese kings as supporters of different Eastern communities that fought against imperial rule, such as the Armenian king Oshin (1282-1320) and the Albanian leader Skanderbeg (1405-1468).⁴⁵

Marinescu often discussed his work with Catalan scholars, such as Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, with whom he corresponded and exchanged publications for almost a decade, between 1926 and 1934. Nicolau was an internationally renowned medievalist – on one occasion, Marinescu called him 'the best connoisseur of the Catalan expansion in the Orient'.⁴⁶ He was also a prominent politician: initially a member of the *Lliga Regionalista*, he later became a minister in the first government of the Second Spanish Republic, in 1931.⁴⁷ Nicolau was a key figure in the dissemination of the Catalan cause abroad during the 1920s. He lived in Geneva, where he acted as President of the *Union Académique Internationale*, and in 1924 he became an observer to the League of Nations together with other Catalan activists such as Manuel Massó i Llorens (1876-1952).⁴⁸ At the League, he unsuccessfully tried to include Catalonia's struggle for autonomy in the discussion on the protection of the national minorities that emerged after the First World War.⁴⁹

Nicolau's correspondence with Marinescu reinforced the abovementioned narrative of companionship between Catalans and Romanians. In 1926 Marinescu rejoiced at the fact that Nicolau had sent him some of his works on the Catalan military man and writer Ramon Muntaner (1265-1336), a prominent figure in the medieval expansion of the Crown of Aragon.⁵⁰ One of the works was probably *L'expansió de Catalunya en la Mediterrània oriental*, one of Nicolau's most important

books, published earlier that year.⁵¹ *L'expansió* was reviewed in the 1927 spring issue of the *Revue historique du Sud-Est européen*. The review, probably by Iorga, highlighted that the book included 'completely unknown information on every page'.⁵² In his letter, Marinescu claimed that it had been his long wish that Catalan scholars also contributed to the study of the Eastern expansion of the Crown. This, he argued, contributed to 'highlighting the role of the Catalans of the past in the history of the Middle Ages'.⁵³

Belgrade, 1927: Conflicting Views of South-Eastern Unity

In Bucharest, Puig had presented a paper on the connections between late medieval Moldavian churches and eleventh-century Romanesque art.⁵⁴ This was connected to his major research project in the 1920s, which traced the evolution of Romanesque style through Europe.⁵⁵ He further developed the topic three years later, during the Second International Congress of Byzantine Studies in Belgrade in April 1927.⁵⁶ During the Congress Marinescu and Nicolau presented two papers that developed the connections between 'Catalans and Byzantians', in the words of the Byzantinist Sévérien Salaville (1881-1965). Marinescu's paper explored the relationship between the King of Aragon Alphonse V the Magnanimous (1396-1458) and the Byzantine Emperor John VIII (1392-1448), also from the Palaiologos dynasty. In turn, Nicolau recalled a Catalan account of the siege of the Greek island of Rhodes by the Mamluk Sultanate in 1444.⁵⁷ Marinescu discussed his research with Nicolau before the Congress and used the latter's work to build his research on Alphonse V.⁵⁸

Epursio a Servia - Macedonia.
Monestri de Rasanica
Monestri de Nagoricino pro Kumarovo
Prishina -
Gračanica
Stobi i
Skoplje. de h. c.
Excursio romana de m. de gradisce
Krusovae (Igleu de Jar Lazar).

Figure 3. Handwritten note detailing the excursions programme of the Belgrade Congress, UC 2543, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

In Belgrade Puig was warmly received by Fernando Alcalá Galiano, Count of Torrijos (1883-1958), who was at the time the Spanish ambassador to the then Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.⁵⁹ Alcalá Galiano addressed Puig as 'President of the Catalan Mancomunitat' and argued that he 'personified and represented' the aspirations of the region.⁶⁰ In a subsequent letter, Alcalá Galiano corrected himself and referred to Puig as 'Former President of the Mancomunitat'.⁶¹ All the while, he sought Puig's help in granting a summer position in Barcelona for a friend of his, a young Serbian Jew with Spanish ancestry named Bosco Davitcho. Alcalá Galiano also shared explicit concerns about the political situation in Spain and wished for 'better times', and conveyed that he hoped that Puig could eventually return to formal politics.⁶² The fact that an embassy delegate sympathised with a political outcast like Puig reflects, perhaps, the weaknesses of Primo's regime in the period 1925-1930. The diversity of the political families that conformed it led to instability and the eventual collapse of the dictatorship.⁶³

Puig's political past permeated his academic participations both in Romania and in Serbia, and this was in line with the general ethos of the events. One of the opening speeches of the Belgrade Congress expressed regret that the original unity of worship of southern Slavs had been broken during the Middle Ages, and reclaimed a 'Byzantine influence', safeguarded by Serbs, as expression of the spiritual unity of the south Slavic 'people'.⁶⁴ This challenged Iorga's idea that Romania was meant to have a hegemonic role in South-Eastern Europe. Catalan delegates glimpsed that cultural unity was a concern for the organisers of the Congress, and thus Nicolau spoke of the 'binders' of the 'Yugoslav people' in an interview that he gave to the Catalan newspaper *La Publicitat* a few weeks after the event.⁶⁵ During the Congress, delegates visited a collection of copies of medieval frescoes gathered by the King, Alexander I, in honour of 'the Serbian Kings of the Middle Ages'. The collection included sites in Serbia, Macedonia and Kosovo, and participants

received a printed copy of the collection as ‘souvenir’.⁶⁶ As in Romania, delegates were also taken to key heritage sites such as the Ravanica monastery near Belgrade; the town of Kruševac, founded by the national hero Lazar Hrebeljanović (1329-1389), who died in the Battle of Kosovo; the church of Staro Nagoričane and the city of Skopje (in Macedonia); and Pristina (in Kosovo) [Figure 3].⁶⁷ The outline of the trip was in line with the policies towards Serbian hegemony that shaped the Yugoslavian nation-building process during the interwar period.⁶⁸ It highlighted sites related to Serbia’s medieval history and disregarded locations in Croatia and Slovenia, the other two countries that formed the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, renamed Kingdom of Yugoslavia after 1929. The Serb geographer and ethnologist Jovan Cvijić, who died a few months before the Congress, in January 1927, was crucial in academically grounding Serbia’s claims for territorial expansion. By presenting Serbia’s hegemonic role in the Balkans, the Belgrade Congress also challenged Iorga’s idea that Romania was the natural leader of the South-Eastern European region.

After the Congress, Puig continued to be assimilated to Catalonia as a nation. One of the organisers, the Serbian Byzantinist Dragutin Anastasijević (1877-1950), thanked Puig for his ‘truly Catalan kindness’ which, he argued, did justice to his ‘country’.⁶⁹ And, when the Russian Alexander Soloviev (1890-1971), a historian of Serbia, sent Puig an art historical enquiry in 1932, he began his letter congratulating him on the declaration of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia which, he said, opened ‘a new era of prosperity for the proud Catalan nation’.⁷⁰

In the same year of the Belgrade Congress, Iorga published two pieces on the Eastern Mediterranean engagement of the Crown of Aragon that were crucial to this articulation of South-Eastern Europe as a cultural space in which Catalans also played a part.⁷¹ Using the *Chronicle* (1325-1328) of Ramon Muntaner as a source, he claimed that Catalans had been to Wallachia (one of the principalities that formed the modern Romanian

State) in the Middle Ages.⁷² He was also interested in the medieval short novel *Història de Jacob Xalabín* (ca. 1404), set in the Ottoman Empire, which he believed was meant to be consumed by the community of Catalans that settled in Greece in the fourteenth century.⁷³ Thus, Iorga saw Catalans as one of the communities that inhabited South-Eastern Europe during the Middle Ages, and this made them part of the cultural space that he aimed to recreate (and lead) in the early twentieth century. With Marinescu, Iorga contributed to establish a narrative in which medieval Catalans fought together with other Balkan peoples against enemies that were perceived as foreign, such as the Ottoman Empire. Such a narrative of struggle against an external, powerful enemy could be easily transported to the 1920s, a period in which national minorities in South-Eastern Europe were struggling to establish independent states following the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman Empires, all the while Catalonia's proto-autonomous institutions disappeared under Primo's regime.

Epilogue: Barcelona, 1927 and 1929

Iorga showed sympathy for Catalonia's differentiated identity both during and after the Bucharest Congress, but his views on the political implications of that difference varied over time and depended largely on the audience he was addressing. This shows the utilitarian character of his interest in Catalonia, and the extent to which it was entangled with his interest in the consolidation of Greater Romania after the First World War. This was not always easy, as Romania's and Catalonia's nation-building processes were almost opposed phenomena: one aiming for cultural and political centralisation, the other one seeking fragmentation. When academic exchanges between the two countries began shortly after the First World War, Romania was a relatively young state – founded in 1859 – that had just incorporated the region of

Transylvania, formerly in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and with an important presence of Hungarian, Germanic and Roma minorities. Iorga was one of the advocates of a unified and homogeneous Greater Romania, and a promoter of cultural and academic centralisation that prioritised the role of the capital, Bucharest, vis-à-vis that of other regional centres such as Cluj-Napoca – formerly Koloszvar – in Transylvania. In contrast, the Catalonia of the *Mancomunitat* sought the redefinition of the Spanish State to allow for a greater autonomy and leading role of Catalonia and its capital city, Barcelona. Catalan nationalists, like Puig, were challenging the centralisation and cultural homogeneity of the Spanish State, while Iorga was promoting that centralisation and cultural homogeneity in Romania.

Iorga's changing discourse is especially visible in the texts published after two visits to Spain, in 1927 and 1929. In 1927, Iorga used the history and character of Spain to sustain his own nationalist agenda in Romania. The Spanish '*Reconquista*' (the Christian conquest of Al-Andalus between the eighth and fifteenth centuries) were used to build a narrative of historical continuity in early-twentieth-century Romania, drawing a parallel with the medieval expansion of Wallachians and Moldovans in Transylvania.⁷⁴ In this text Iorga also claimed that Catalonia's landscape and built environment were not different from the rest of Spain, and thus argued that the nationalist claim for autonomy was weak. 'The land, he wrote, is the same as in the rest of the Peninsula'.⁷⁵

The second time, Iorga took the chance to visit the 1929 Barcelona International Exposition, which was designed, in its initial phases, by Puig.⁷⁶ Iorga recalled the visit in yet another book, *O mică țară latină: Catalonia și expoziția din 1929. Note de drum și conferințe* ('A small Latin country: Catalonia and the 1929 Exposition. Travel Notes and Lectures'). There, his discourse changed slightly: he argued that there was indeed a 'Catalan nationality, different to the nationality that conforms Spanish

nationality' and that this should not 'disturb anyone'. But he connected this specificity exclusively to the existence of a distinct Catalan language and literature.⁷⁷ Catalonia and Romania could be deemed 'brother and sister' in a specialised, academic environment as the 1924 Bucharest Congress. But, perhaps, the danger of promoting Catalan separatism became apparent when reaching a wider, more popular audience, in a moment in which Romania was in the process of asserting its power over the recently annexed Transylvania.

Conclusions

The Congresses of Byzantine Studies provided Catalan scholars with an excellent environment in which to showcase not only Catalonia's research, but also, and more importantly, Catalonia's quest for autonomy and national recognition within the Spanish and the European contexts. Puig's participation in the conferences extended the interest on national minorities that he had shown during the years in which he was politically active. His role as President of the Catalan *Mancomunitat* was recalled both in Bucharest and in Belgrade, even if by 1927 the institution had already been abolished. His participation as 'representative' of Catalonia was outlined both in the Bucharest's official programme and in Iorga's invitation letter to the Congress. This echoed a general ethos that read academic engagements as diplomatic events, and which was shared by the first Byzantinology Congresses. At the same time, Nicolau's contribution in the conferences was parallel to his participation in political forums such as the League of Nations, where he attempted, unsuccessfully, to enforce a change in the approach of Primo de Rivera's government to the Catalan question. Catalan activists believed that the broader framework of the discussion of the political status of the national minorities that had once belonged to the Empires that were dissolved at the end of the First World War could benefit the Catalan

quest for autonomy and national recognition. In line with that, the Catalan participation in the Byzantine Congresses also contributed to create a narrative according to which Catalans were part of a broader community of nations that had once inhabited the Balkans. According to Iorga, Catalans had been part of the cultural space of Southern-Eastern Europe through the involvement of the Crown of Aragon in the region in the Middle Ages. This thesis was developed in his own works and in those of Marinescu and Nicolau. However, Iorga's adhesion to the Catalan autonomist project was not consistent throughout the 1920s. While he supported Catalan's differentiated identity in his protodiplomatic exchanges with Puig and when he discussed Catalan literature, he was reluctant to affirm the singularity of the Catalan character when he addressed a broader Spanish audience or the Romanian public at home. This arguably reflected the differences in the challenges that the Romanian and the Catalan nation building processes presented in the interwar period. While the former faced the task of consolidating Transylvania's incorporation to the Romanian state after the war, the later was fighting against the centralisation of Primo's regime in Spain. In both cases, the participation in the International Congresses of Byzantine Studies contributed to the building of narratives that supported claims in the sphere of politics, and which can therefore be considered a form of protodiplomacy.

Endnotes

¹ Archive research for this article was carried out in Bucharest in August 2019 thanks to a travel grant from Fritz Thyssen Stiftung. I am grateful to the staff of the Academia Română who helped me navigate through Nicolae Iorga's correspondence. I am also indebted to the New Europe College, Institute of Advanced Study of Bucharest, who facilitated my research stay. I am most thankful to Ada Hajdu (1978-2020), whose help in accessing archives and

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² See, for instance, X. Barral i Altet, 'Puig i Cadafalch: le premier art roman entre idéologie et politique', in A. C. Quintavalle (ed.), *Medioevo: arte llombarda. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Parma 26-29* (Milano, 2003), 33–41; A. Pladevall i Font, 'Puig i Cadafalch i la difusió de la coneixença de l'art romànic a Europa', in A. Balcells (ed.), *Puig i Cadafalch i la Catalunya contemporània* (Barcelona, 2003), 69–74.

³ N. Cornago, 'Paradiplomacy and Protodiplomacy', in G. Martel (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Diplomacy* (West Sussex, 2018), 1–8.

⁴ F. Aldecoa & M. Keating (eds.), *Paradiplomacy in Action: The Foreign Relations of Subnational Governments* (London, 1999).

⁵ X.M. Núñez Seixas, *Internacionalitzant el nacionalisme: el catalanisme polític i la qüestió de les minories nacionals a Europa (1914-1936)* (Catarroja; València, 2010), 82–90.

⁶ A. Balcells, 'Catalanism and National Emancipation Movements in the Rest of Europe between 1885 and 1939', in: *Catalan Historical Review* 6 (2013), 94–95.

⁷ S. Maufroy, 'Les premiers congrès internationaux des études byzantines: entre nationalisme scientifique et construction internationale d'une discipline', in: *Revue germanique internationale* 12 (2010), 232.

⁸ M. Turda, 'Historical Writing in the Balkans', in: S. Macintyre, J. Maignascha & A. Pók (eds.) *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 4: 1800-1945* (Oxford, 2011), 352; see also C. Teacă, 'In Search of National Traditions: Art History in Romania', in: M. Rampley, T. Lenain & H. Locher (eds.), *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks* (Leiden, 2012), 455.

⁹ The following biographical account of Nicolae Iorga is based on W.O. Oldson, *The Historical and Nationalistic Thought of Nicolae Iorga* (1969), 3–10. See also N.M. Nagy-Talavera, *Nicolae Iorga: A Biography* (Iași, 1998).

¹⁰ On the tensions between Romania and Hungary in the process of modern nation-building, see B. Trencsényi et al. (eds.), *Nation-Building and Contested Identities: Romanian and Hungarian Case Studies* (Budapest, 2001).

¹¹ B. Trencsényi et al., *A History of Modern Political Thought in East Central Europe. Volume I: Negotiating Modernity in the 'Long Nineteenth Century'* (Oxford, 2016), 569.

¹² For an introduction to Lamprecht's historical thinking, see R. Chickering, *Karl Lamprecht: A German Academic Life (1856-1915)* (Leiden, 1993).

¹³ D. Mishkova, 'On the Space-Time Constitution of Southeastern Europe', in: S. Rutar (ed.), *Beyond the Balkans: Towards an Inclusive History of Southeastern Europe* (Münster, 2014), 61.

¹⁴ N. Iorga, *Doua conceptii istorice* (Bucarest, 1911); cited in Mishkova, 'On the Space-Time Constitution of Southeastern Europe', 62.

¹⁵ Mishkova, 'On the Space-Time Constitution of Southeastern Europe', 60.

¹⁶ H.-C. Maner, 'The Notion of Europe from the Perspective of Romanian Historical Studies', in: V. Neumann & A. Heinen (eds.), *Key Concepts of Romanian History: Alternative Approaches to Socio-Political Languages* (Budapest, New York, 2013), 233; see also D. Mishkova, 'The Politics of Regionalist Science: The Balkans as a Supranational Space in Late Nineteenth to Mid-Twentieth Century Academic Projects', in: *East Central Europe* 39 (2012), 289–90.

¹⁷ D. Mishkova, 'The Balkans as an Idée-Force. Scholarly Projections of the Balkan Cultural Area', in: *Civilisations. Revue Internationale d'anthropologie et de Sciences Humaines* 60/2 (2012), 39–64.

¹⁸ Maner, 'The Notion of Europe from the Perspective of Romanian Historical Studies', 236.

¹⁹ Modern edition in English available as N. Iorga, *Byzantium After Byzantium* (Oxford, 2000).

²⁰ Mishkova, 'On the Space-Time Constitution of Southeastern Europe', 59.

²¹ S. Jacobson & J. Moreno Luzón, 'The Political System of the Restoration, 1875-1914: Political and Social Elites', in: A. Shubert & J. Alvarez Junco (eds.), *Spanish History Since 1808* (New York, 2000), 93–109.

²² For an introduction to the life and works of Puig, see A. Balcells (ed.), *Puig i Cadafalch i la Catalunya contemporània* (Barcelona, 2003).

²³ J.M. Roig Rosich, 'La Dictadura de Primo de Rivera i el final de la Mancomunitat', in: J. Colominas Ferran (ed.), *Josep Puig i Cadafalch i la Mancomunitat de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 2019), 97–117.

²⁴ 'Respuesta del Sr. Diputado Josep Puig i Cadafalch al discurso de la corona', in: *Diario de las sesiones de Cortes. Congreso de los Diputados* 33 (22 June 1907): 679–85.

²⁵ J. Puig i Cadafalch, 'El Congr s de Les Nacionalitats', in *La Veu de Catalunya*, 16 July 1912, 3; N nuez Seixas, *Internacionalitzant el nacionalisme*, 57.

²⁶ J. Puig i Cadafalch, 'Als diputats de la Mancomunitat de Catalunya en prendre possessi  de la presid ncia per a la qual fou novament elegit', in: N ria Ma n  & J. Massot i Muntaner (eds.), *Mem ries (by Josep Puig i Cadafalch)* (Barcelona, 2003), 227–28.

²⁷ On Puig's engagement in the North, see L. Mallart, 'Josep Puig i Cadafalch in the Nordic Countries: Transferring Art Historiographic Knowledge between North and South in the Interwar Period', in: S. Kallestrup & C. Ashby (eds.), *Nordic Design in Translation: The Circulation of Objects, Ideas and Practices* (Bern, 2022).

²⁸ Letter from Josep Puig i Cadafalch to Nicolae Iorga, 7 November 1922. Academia Rom n , Bucharest. Correspondence of Nicolae Iorga, volume CCXCIX.

²⁹ 'Si la Catalogne pourrait  tre repr sent  par un savant de votre importance et par l'infatigable chercheur des  tudes catalanes en Gr ce qui es M. Rubi  i Lluch, [...]'. Letter from Nicolae Iorga to Josep Puig i Cadafalch, 20 December 1923, UC 1414, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Fons Puig i Cadafalch. It must be noted that, even though Rubi  accepted the invitation and appeared in the Congress' programme, he was eventually unable to travel and his paper was read by Puig. See C. Marinescu, *Compte-rendu du premier Congr s international des  tudes byzantines: Bucarest, 1924* (Bucharest, 1925), 66.

³⁰ 'MM. H. Gr gorie, au nom de la Belgique, B. Filow, au nom de la Bulgarie, J. Puig i Cadafalch, pour la Catalogne, E. Peterson, pour les  tats Unis, N. Vuli , au nom de la Yougoslavie, A. Guarneri Citati, au nom de l'Italie, N. Kondakov, au nom de la science russe, et M. Murko, au nom de la Tch coslovaquie, apport rent le salut

de leurs pays à la Roumanie.’ Marinescu, *Compte-rendu du premier Congrès international des études byzantines*, 15.

³¹ ‘[...] l’attention si souvent attirée au cours du Congrès sur la Catalogne’. Marinescu, *Compte-rendu*, 81.

³² ‘Premier congrès international d’études byzantines. Liste des Universités et Corps savants représentés. Liste des Membres’, 1924, UC 2542, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

³³ Maufroy, ‘Les premiers congrès internationaux des études byzantines’, 232.

³⁴ Maufroy, 233.

³⁵ *Dimineața* was a daily newspaper published between 1904 and 1937, reaching a print run of 100,000 copies in 1927, one of the highest in the country.

³⁶ ‘Ceia ce ma simi dator sa relev din observațiile mele este cu am găsit aici la dvs. [dumneavoastra] o direcție de cultură națională, pe care o urmam noi înșine. La noi se lupta inca pentru a avea o autonomie mai larga decât aceia ce s’a acordat încă de vre-o zece ani Uniunii provinciale catalane, suspendata în funcționarea ei pentru un moment, și al cărei președinte am fost 7 ani în sir, fiind reales de 4 ori. Autonomia noastră o înțelegem însă tot în cadrul federatiei spaniole. Vrem însă o afirmare mai puternica a caracterului nostru național, ceia ca ne-a făcut sa cream o mișcare culturala catalana pentru incurajarea și susținerea patriotismului.’ ‘De vorbă cu d. Puig i Cadafalc, președintele Uniunii provinciale catalane’, *Dimineața*, 23 April 1924, UC 2542, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

³⁷ Maufroy, ‘Les premiers congrès internationaux des études byzantines’, 232.

³⁸ Maufroy, 235.

³⁹ Marinescu, *Compte-rendu*, 85–87.

⁴⁰ Cosmin Minea, ‘The Monastery of Curtea de Argeș and Romanian Architectural Heritage in the Late 19th Century’, in: *Studii de Istoria Și Teoria Arhitecturii* 4 (2016), 181–201.

⁴¹ ‘[...] non seulement nos travaux en profiteraient d’une façon considérable, mais les premiers jalons seraient posés d’un échange culturel entre votre belle et frère Catalogne et entre la Roumanie sœur.’ Letter from Nicolae Iorga to Josep Puig i Cadafalch, 20 December 1923.

⁴² For an in-depth analysis of Marinescu's and Iorga's contributions on the Crown of Aragon, see L. Mallart, 'Researching the Medieval Past between Catalonia and Romania. Josep Puig i Cadafalch, Nicolae Iorga and the Transnational Writing of National History (1921-1935)', in: *Nations and Nationalism* 27/1 (2021), 148–61.

⁴³ For an introduction to the Crown of Aragon, see T.N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragón: A Short History* (Oxford, 1986).

⁴⁴ C. Marinescu, 'Manuel II, paléologue et les rois d'Aragon: commentaire sur quatre lettres inédites en latin, expédiées par la chancellerie byzantine', in: *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la Section Historique* 11 (1924), 192–206.

⁴⁵ C. Marinescu, 'Alphonse V: roi d'Aragon et de Naples et l'Albanie de Scandenberg', in: *Mélanges de l'Ecole roumaine en France I* (1923), 1–135; C. Marinescu, 'Catalogne et l'Arménie au temps de Jacques II (1291-1327): envoi par le roi Ochine des reliques de sainte Thécla à la cathédrale de Tarragone', in: *Mélanges de l'Ecole roumaine en France II* (1923), 1–35.

⁴⁶ '[...] du meilleur connaisseur de l'Expansion Catalane en Orient'. Letter from Constantin Marinescu to Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, 29 December 1928, Arxiu de l'Abadia de Montserrat. Arxiu Lluís Nicolau d'Ower.

⁴⁷ On the work of Nicolau as a historian and philologist, see M. Vilà i Bayerri, *Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, medievalista (1904-1938)* (Barcelona, 2009). For an approach to his political activities, see R. Navarro García, *Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer. Biografia política i d'exili d'un intel·lectual català, 1917-1961. Cultura, republicanisme i democràcia* (Ph.D. Thesis, Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, 2017).

⁴⁸ Navarro García, *Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer*, 48–96.

⁴⁹ Núñez Seixas, *Internacionalitzant el nacionalisme*, 121–29.

⁵⁰ Letter from Constantin Marinescu to Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, 13 September 1926, Arxiu de l'Abadia de Montserrat. Arxiu Lluís Nicolau d'Ower.

⁵¹ Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, *L'expansió de Catalunya en la Mediterrània oriental* (Barcelona: Barcino, 1926).

⁵² '[...] on trouvera à toute page des renseignements absolument inconnus'. 'Chronique', in: *Revue historique du Sud-Est européen* IV 4–6 (April 1927), 149.

⁵³ '[...] mise en valeur de ce que les Catalans d'autrefois ont du faire dans l'histoire du Moyen-Âge'. Letter from Constantin Marinescu to Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, 13 September 1926. Arxiu Lluís Nicolau d'Ower, Arxiu de l'Abadia de Montserrat.

⁵⁴ J. Puig i Cadafalch, 'Les églises de Moldavie: contribution à l'étude des origines de leur forme décorative, une école parallèle pendant le XIe siècle dans l'Europe Occidentale', in: *Académie Roumaine. Bulletin de la Section Historique. Congrès de Byzantologie de Bucarest. Mémoires* 11 (1924), 76–89.

⁵⁵ E. Riu-Barrera, 'El primer romànic, el projecte europeu de Josep Puig i Cadafalch en temps d'entreguerres', in: *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval XXVII (2016-2018)* (2019), 57–106.

⁵⁶ J. Puig i Cadafalch, 'Les périodes successives de l'influence byzantine en Occident. Premier art roman. Architecture Mudéjar. Églises de Moldavie', in: M. Lhéritier (ed.), *Mélanges Charles Diehl. Études sur l'histoire et sur l'art de Byzance* (Paris, 1931), 161–69.

⁵⁷ S. Salaville, 'Le IIe Congrès International d'études Byzantines à Belgrade (11-16 Avril 1927)', in: *Échos d'Orient* 27/149 (1928), 93. See also *Programme des travaux du congrès [II Congrès International des études byzantines, Belgrade, 1927]* (Belgrade, 1927).

⁵⁸ Letter from Constantin Marinescu to Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, 13 September 1926.

⁵⁹ On Alcalá Galiano, see K. Budor, *España y Croacia entre diplomacia y política: el diplomático español D. Fernando Alcalá Galiano y Smith, Conde de Torrijos (1883-1958)* (Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 2004).

⁶⁰ 'Presidente de la Mancomunidad Catalana, para mí tan estimable y estimado como la misma región de la Península cuyas aspiraciones personifica y representa'. Letter from Fernando Alcalá Galiano to Josep Puig i Cadafalch, 15 March 1927, UC 1072, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

⁶¹ Letter from Fernando Alcalá Galiano to Josep Puig i Cadafalch, 7 May 1927, UC 1072, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

⁶² '[...] a una España al fin menos inerte e inconsciente que la de ahora. Sólo cabe esperar que vendrán días mejores y que V. no habrá dicho la última palabra, no sólo en Cataluña, sino en España entera'. Letter from Fernando Alcalá Galiano to

Josep Puig i Cadafalch, 11 June 1927, UC 1072, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

⁶³ J. López Iñíguez, *La Unión Patriótica y el Somatén valencianos (1923-1930)* (València, 2017), 125.

⁶⁴ P. Gravić and D.N. Anastasijević, eds., *Deuxième Congrès international des études byzantines, Belgrade, 1927. Compte-rendu* (Belgrade, 1929), XXIV.

⁶⁵ ‘El poble iugoslau, malgrat de les seves diferències i les seves lluites polítiques incessants, té un aglutinant: la política exterior’. ‘Una entrevista amb en Lluís Nicolau d’Olwer’, in: *La Publicitat*, 21 May 1927, 1.

⁶⁶ ‘Souvenir de la visite à la collection de S. M. Le Roi (le 14 avril 1927)’, 1927, UC2543, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

⁶⁷ Handwritten note detailing the excursions programme of the Belgrade Congress, UC 2543, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

⁶⁸ P. Troch, ‘Yugoslavism between the World Wars: Indecisive Nation Building’, in: *Nationalities Papers* 38/2 (2010), 227–44.

⁶⁹ ‘[...] une gentillesse vraiment catalane qui de tout en tout honore votre pays’. Letter from Dragutin Anastasijević to Josep Puig i Cadafalch, 8 March 1927. UC 1085, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

⁷⁰ ‘Je vous prie d’accepter mes félicitations chaleureuses à l’occasion de la proclamation de l’autonomie, qui ouvre une nouvelle ère de prospérité pour la fière nation Catalane’. Letter from Alexander Soloviev to Josep Puig i Cadafalch, 10 October 1932. UC 1730, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya. Fons Puig i Cadafalch.

⁷¹ The pieces are titled ‘Ramón Muntaner et l’empire byzantin’ and ‘L’histoire romantique de Yakoub-tchélebi’ and they were jointly published in N. Iorga, *Contributions catalanes à l’histoire byzantine* (Paris, 1927). In 1961 the first piece was published independently in a Catalan translation. See N. Iorga, *Ramon Muntaner i l’Imperi bizantí* (Barcelona, 1961).

⁷² L. Sánchez Rodrigo, ‘Las relaciones literarias entre Cataluña y Rumanía’, *Revista de lenguas y literaturas catalana, gallega y vasca* 19 (2014), 191.

⁷³ J. Miguel Ribera Llopis, ‘Presencia de los Balcanes en la cultura catalana’, *Revista de Filología Románica* 16 (1999), 91.

⁷⁴ For a detailed account of these comparisons, see M. Anghelescu, 'Viajeros rumanos en España, en busca de las raíces comunes', in: *Revista de Filología Románica* IV (2006), 282.

⁷⁵ N. Iorga, *Cîteva zile prin Spania* (Bucharest, 1927), 75; translated into Spanish and cited in J. José Ortega Román, 'Nicolae Iorga: viajero por España', in: *Revista de Filología Románica* 20 (2003), 157.

⁷⁶ For an in-depth discussion of Iorga's travels in Spain, see L. Mallart, 'Architectural Conversations across Europe's Borderlands: Transnational Exchanges between Barcelona and Bucharest in the 1920s', in: E. Gantner, H. Hein-Kirchner & O. Hochadel (eds.), *Interurban Knowledge Exchange in Southern and Eastern Europe, 1870-1950* (London, 2020), 219–36.

⁷⁷ N. Iorga, *O mică țară latină: Catalonia și expoziția din 1929. Note de drum și conferințe* (Bucharest, 1930), 51; translated into Catalan and cited in X. Montoliu & D. Moțoc, 'Quatre apunts sobre les relacions entre la literatura romanesa i la catalana', in: *Visat* 15 (2013), n.p.

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