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Revisiting Centres and Peripheries in Iberian Studies: *Culture, History and Socioeconomic Change*

Edited by
Mark Gant

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

PORTUGUESE-CATALAN INTELLECTUAL NETWORKS IN THE INTER-WAR PERIOD: INTERCONNECTIONS BETWEEN *NOUCENTISM* AND *RENASCENÇA PORTUGUESA*

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Introduction

The first decades of the twentieth century represented a golden age in the cultural relations among peninsular peripheral nationalisms. Inheriting from romanticism their aspirations for national resurgence, and relying on literature as a reflection of the national *Volksgeist*, the affirmation of the Iberian nationalisms, mainly the Basque country, Catalonia and Galicia, resulted from the emergence of their communities to imagine themselves as independent from the Spanish Nation State. The nationalist aspirations, based on differentiation, aimed to force a redefinition of political geography, seeking to operate a reterritorialization, that is, to forge new identity spaces where peoples can freely express themselves at the cultural and political levels (Deleuze, Guatari). In these peripheral regions of Spain two cultural movements emerged seeking to establish contact with an also emergent Portuguese culture. The most remaining affinity among them reside in the revision of their own narratives, narratives of (re)emergence, due to a long curriculum in their literary historiography, now trying to overcome the period of crisis or forgetfulness, for having been denied the opportunity for affirmation owing both to the absorbing influence of foreign aesthetic movements, as in the Portuguese case, or by the Spanish central state domination, imposing on peripheral regions the Hispanic political and cultural matrix.

Redrawing the boundaries – new geographies and networks

Through the action of cultural movements such as *Renascença Portuguesa*, Galician *Irmandades da Fala* (Brotherhood of the Language) and *Grupo Nós* (*Us Group*) and Catalan *Noucentisme*, leading elites strived both to operate the literary self-re-foundation of their cultures and to obtain support and validation from homologous movements. Aware of the peripheral condition of Iberia towards Europe, Fernando Pessoa underlined that all Iberian literatures suffered from a "radical provincialism", clarifying that: "We extra-belong to Europe, we are a kind of civilized adjacency" (Pessoa 1994, 132). And when referring to the geographical origin of the *Renascença Portuguesa* movement, pointing out the error of having been born in Oporto even though it could not have been born elsewhere (Pessoa 1994, 131), the *Orpheu's* mentor stressed the peripheral condition of the movement which, nevertheless, made Portuguese culture reborn.

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In turn, the Basque writer Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936), associating cultural spaces with their respective literary fields (Bourdieu, 1996), positioned the emerging nationalist phenomena in the peripheral spaces of the Peninsula, referring to the "eastern coastal Catalan philosophy", the occidental "Galician-Portuguese coastal philosophy" and "the Cantabrian littoral" to which he trusted less potentialities (Unamuno 1985, 275). Therefore, Pessoa and Unamuno understood the peninsular problem through the geo-cultural approach, articulating the notion of space with literary nationalities and their historiographical traditions, having clear awareness of the displacement of the national model of literary history that migrates from the centre to the periphery (Cabo Aseguinolaza, 2011). It is, therefore, starting from the need to overcome the condition of subordination (Spivak, 2010; Gramsci, 2011) towards Madrid's central power and the European literary cannon, that nationalist movements sought to internationalise peripheral Iberian cultures. These intellectual networks of sociability were established at the turn of the century and intensified in the inter-war period, trying an approach on diverse fronts, involving writers, politicians and scientists from different areas seeking a dialogue which, in some cases, resulted in attempts to deepen the theorizing about the destinations of the Iberian Peninsula (Pi i Margall, Prat de la Riba, Ribera i Rovira, Casas-Carbó). Fernando Pessoa said on behalf of intellectual sociability: "Culture-contacts, abundant and mutually contradictory, are effective in vitalizing a nation and a literature when they act upon a national consciousness ready to synthesize them" (Pessoa 1994, 130). This generation from the early twentieth century awoke to the peninsular multiple specialities, spaces of tension between the centre and periphery that comprises the Iberian cultural system. For the first time, they faced the crucial problem of the border, as a space of division, but also of contact between matching insularities, whether territorial or literary (Lotman 1978), establishing an inter-peer dialogue with their Iberian cohorts, with the purpose of reconciling their own identity with cosmopolitan aspirations, by establishing cultural and scientific contacts. This is the case of "Mancomunitat de Catalunya", founded in 1914 and presided over by members of the Regionalist League, Enric Prat de la Riba (1914-1917) and later by Josep Puig i Cadafalch (1917-1925), starting in Catalonia an unprecedented process of political, economic, social and cultural modernization in the history of the region. In this sense, cultural openness to other peninsular and European emerging nationalities, seemed the natural path to follow. This cultural "rexurdimiento" counted with the Catalan language normalization by Pompeu Fabra, and with innovative pedagogical proposals such as the rationalist education of Francisco Ferrer i Guardia's Escuela Moderna (Modern School), which, as we will see, will have notoriety in Portugal, either in the pedagogical field, with the creation of pedagogical centres inspired by its educational model, either in the social domain, with the political mobilization of the so-called "Ferrer's affaire".

Similarly, with the rise of the Portuguese Republic, in 1910, Portugal witnessed a period of cultural renaissance starred by a group of intellectuals such as Leonardo Coimbra, Teixeira de Pascoaes and Jaime Cortesão, first affiliated in the anarchist ranks and under the inheritance of the nineteenth-century thought of the so called Oporto School, with strong republican roots, represented by the most prominent names of Portuguese thought such as Sampaio Bruno and Amorim Viana. They found *A Águia*, a literary magazine that, since 1912, became the organ of Oporto-based *Renascença Portuguesa*, a civic-cultural movement and where Fernando Pessoa debuted as literary critic (Pessoa 1912). The magazine soon stood out for its eclectic

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and up-to-date scientific, philosophical and literary contributions related to European and Ibero-American spaces. Therefore, its internationalization was first concretized in three active fronts: Castile (Madrid), Galicia and Catalonia. In reality, from the Portuguese *intelligentsia* operating between 1910-1920, featured by the three nationalist movements working in the Portuguese cultural scene, the conservative and traditional monarchical and later Hispanist *Integralismo Lusitano*, ran by António Sardinha (Relvas, 1998), the republican group of *Renascença* and the *Orpheu's* modernist group led by Fernando Pessoa, only the cultural movement of Oporto established effective dialogue with Catalonia and Galicia. The Oporto-Madrid circle proved to be productive, both by the lectures given between 1922-1923 by Coimbra and Pascoaes at the Residencia de Estudiantes and other cultural centres in Madrid, with fruitful contacts with García Lorca, Andrés González Blanco (Cameirão, 2010), and by the translation of Pascoaes's *Terra Proibida* (1920) and Coimbra's *La Alegría, el Dolor y la Gracia* (1921), by Valentin de Pedro, edited by Calpe. In addition, a common Iberian idealistic philosophy expressed by Saudosismo and Quixotism duality, as a faithful mirror of the Portuguese and Castilian genius, gave its first fruits in the dialogue with Unamuno and immediately caught Madrid's circle's interest (Relvas, 2009).

On the other hand, the proximity to Galicia, especially with *Irmandades da Fala* and *Grupo Nós* ("Us Group") went far beyond cultural and editorial mutual projects (Relvas, 2018). In addition to the common historical roots, an affective and even metaphysical matrix prefigured in the ancestral nostalgic feeling called *Saudade*, stressed intellectual and spiritual affinities between Pascoaes and Coimbra and Rosalía de Castro, Vicente Risco, Xoan Viqueira, Antón and Ramón Villar Ponte, Álvaro Cebreiro or Alfonso Castelao. Sensitive to nationalist aspirations of neighbouring peripheral regions, Leonardo Coimbra and Teixeira de Pascoaes conceived an ideal Iberia composed by ethic, linguistic and cultural idiosyncrasies that shaped and legitimized peninsular thought, as Pascoaes pointed out, under his aesthetics theory of *Saudosism*; "Portugal of Camões, Galicia of Rosalía, Catalonia of Maragall are the kingdoms of Saudade"¹. Saudosism, as a complex philosophical, mystical and aesthetic system, transversal to Iberian peoples, was raised to a national theory by Teixeira de Pascoaes and complemented by Coimbra's Creationism, embracing the Iberian variants: the Catalan "Enyorança" and the Galician "Morriña". A feeling that unequivocally united the peripheral cultures of the Iberian Peninsula and whose ramifications were extended to the transatlantic spaces of Brazil and Africa. Nowadays, a group of *Renascença's* disciples, recovered this cultural matrix, converting it into an academic topic².

Nevertheless, the attention given to Catalonia began some years earlier, when a group of politicians and intellectuals throughout the country (Campos Lima, Simões Coelho, Sampaio Bruno), and those who would create *Renascença's* movement, intervened publicly in defence of the

¹ "O Portugal de Camões, a Galiza de Rosalía, a Catalunha de Maragall são os Reinos da Saudade" (Pascoaes 1919, 35).

² Among the recent academic initiatives around *Saudade*, we highlight the set of conferences and the edition entitled *Sobre a Saudade*, which has reached now Volume V, organized by António Braz Teixeira, Celeste Natário and Renato Epifânio, edited by Zéfiro, 2018.

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Catalan anarchist Francisco Ferrer i Guàrdia, which will be converted into a political case on an Iberian and worldwide scale, from 1906 and 1909.

Pedagogical impact of Francisco Ferrer's Escuela Moderna

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Portugal awoke for the Catalan problem through the so-called "Ferrer's affaire". Since the "Dreyfus's affaire" that Europe did not witness a campaign of such dimensions, prompted mainly by free masonry, against the imprisonment and condemnation of Francisco Ferrer to death, implicated together with the radical anarchist Mateo Morral and Escuela Moderna's teacher José Nakers, in the anarchist attacks against Alfonso XIII (Joll 1970). The rationalist pedagogy of the Modern School, gained followers in Portugal, not being limited to the cycle of educators and men of Portuguese culture of the time, then extending to society in general, either through the dissemination in the press on Ferrer's life and work, or due to the campaign in his behalf carried out by the most progressive political sector, with implications and scope that far surpassed the defence of his life. While the press affiliated with the anarchist, socialist and republican groups used this episode as a combat weapon against the monarchy and the Catholic Church, Ferrer's rationalist teaching influenced the Portuguese pedagogues such as Adolfo Lima, Adolfo Coelho, Leonardo Coimbra, Campos Lima, Maria Veleda and Deolinda Lopes Vieira, determined, through education, to change the mentalities of a country as peripheral and impoverished as Portugal. Cultural centres and theatre groups were created throughout the country, following the rationalist pedagogical model of the Modern School, with expansion to European, North and South American countries with great repercussion, above all, in the pedagogical works of the Brazilian Maria Lacerda de Moura (1887-1945) and, more recently, Paulo Freire's pedagogical thought (1921-1997). The reception of the rationalist teaching in Portugal arose from 1905 in the anarchist press, in magazines such as the libertarian journal *Amor e Liberdade*, disclosing the pedagogical action of the Modern School, and giving account of the political process that shook the Spanish public opinion in the following four years, in defence of the rationalist mentor (Relvas, 2004).

In addition, it is worth noting that Francisco Ferrer visited Portugal twice. His first trip, in 1890, was part of a journey throughout Europe in order to meet educational projects in practice in Switzerland, Italy, Belgium and Portugal. Ferrer arrived with his first companion Leopoldine Bonnard and his sponsor Jeane-Ernestine Meunier and on his agenda was the visit to the pedagogue João de Deus, author of the famous *Cartilha Maternal* (1879) a reading method that would inspire Ferrer's *Cartilla Filológica Española* (1903). Moreover, the Spanish interest for the Portuguese pedagogical methods dates back to the nineteenth century when the Giner de los Ríos brothers visited Portugal to learn about Curso Superior de Letras (Higher Course of Arts) directed by the republican, federalist and later second President of the First Portuguese Republic Teófilo Braga and they will keep from then on with the republican politician Bernardino Machado a cooperative dialogue in the pedagogical field (Couvaneiro 2012).

In addition to the pedagogical convergence, Ferrer established, during his exile in Paris, political dialogue with prominent figures of

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republicanism, anarchism and socialism, mainly with Alejandro Lerroux and Charles Malato, becoming himself a freemason, and it was possibly in 1901, when Ferrer met the Portuguese exiles, adherents to republicanism and federalism, Alves da Veiga and Magalhães Lima (Ferrer, *Agenda*), being the latter Grand Master of the Grand Lusitanian Orient. By that time, this international network was allegedly moving in the masonic lodges to carry out attacks against the Portuguese and Spanish monarchs, according to the French police reports (Avilés Ferré 2006, 207). Political contacts would endure in the following years, and in 1909 Ferrer returns to Portugal, this time with his second wife Soledad Villafranca to meet the group of Portuguese anarchists such as Campos Lima and José Simões Coelho. Coelho would translate, in the following year, William Heaford's book entitled *A Escola Moderna de Barcelona* (1910) (The Modern School of Barcelona). At the same time, in Oporto, the "Ferrer's affaire" had considerable acceptance, boosting the republican and anarchist centres, motivated to overthrow the Iberian monarchical and catholic powers (Rodrigues 2010, 26). This campaign brought together politicians, writers and thinkers such as António José de Almeida, Rodrigues de Freitas, Leonardo Coimbra and Sampaio Bruno, being this last thinker and publicist the pioneer of the Portuguese campaign in defence of Ferrer, which the libertarian press would propagate in the local press *O Norte* and *Nova Silva* (Coimbra 2004, 84). It was also in this year of 1909 that Adolfo Lima, Emílio Costa, Jaime Cortesão, Simões Coelho and Raul Pires founded the Grémio de Educação Racional (Rational Education Society) for the promotion of the rational teaching in Portugal. Ferrer's footmark, as pedagogue and martyr, would last in the following decades in the Portuguese cultural milieu, whenever justice was at stake, as it was the case, when Miguel de Unamuno was deprived of dean's position from Universidad de Salamanca for his political opinions in 1914, and due to a series of essays published against Primo de Rivera's dictatorship which led him to exile in 1924.

Hardly forgotten Ferrer's murder, who in death knew how to find the highest experience of his inner certainties, still uneasy some of his fellow combatants, is Unamuno, who sniffed ever since, suffers the assault of this deep and hidden will of darkness, which at the heart of the Castilian soul is the dark profile of Satan³.

The modern pedagogy of Ramón Turró and José Mallart i Cutó

Already in the twenties, in the height of his activity as Minister of Education, thinker of national and international renown, publicist, writer and

³"Mal esquecido ainda o assassinato de Ferrer, que na morte soube encontrar a mais alta experiência das suas certezas interiores, intranquilo ainda alguns dos seus companheiros de luta, é Unamuno que, farejado desde então, sofre o assalto raivoso dessa profunda e oculta vontade de trevas, que no âmago da alma castelhana é o perfil sombrio de Satanás", in "Miguel de Unamuno e a Reacção". *A Tribuna*, Porto, ano I, nº134, (23 set. 1920): 1 and "Quem é Unamuno". *O Primeiro de Janeiro*, Porto, ano 56, nº 45, (23 fev. 1924): 1. In *Dispersos II – Filosofia e Ciência*. Compilação, fixação do texto e notas de Pinharanda Gomes e Paulo Samuel. Nota preliminar de António Braz Teixeira. Col. Presenças, nº39. Lisboa: Editorial Verbo, 1987.

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director of *A Águia* (The Eagle) and the Faculty of Arts of Oporto⁴, Leonardo Coimbra remained attentive to the Catalan's thought, in its scientific, philosophical, political and pedagogical strands. The various Catalan readings undertaken reflected a thinking in mutation moving between the positivist current and the experimental method prevalent in the nineteenth century, represented in Catalonia among others by Ramón Turró i Dader (1854-1926) and the new spiritualist generation embodied by Julio Navarro i Monzó (1882-1943) and Mallart i Cutó (1897-1981). Ramón Turró was a scientist with an extensive work in the areas of physiology, microbiology and immunology of national and international recognition. Turró created a doctrine on the origin of knowledge, rooted in hunger as a psychophysiological problem of man, a theory that he will extend to philosophy, of which results the aphorism: "I eat, therefore I exist" (Turró 1921). First published in Catalan, in 1912, with innumerable translations in French, German and Spanish, it was, however, a 1921 edition of *Orígenes del Conocimiento: el Hambre* (*Origins of Knowledge: Hunger*), prefaced by Miguel de Unamuno that reached the hands of Leonardo Coimbra and where he deepened Turró's theory of knowledge. However, it was at least, since 1919, that Leonardo Coimbra was aware of Turró's work *Filosofia Crítica* (1919) through *La Revista*, a Catalan cultural magazine in exchange with *A Águia*. At the same time, in Galicia, Coimbra's correspondent and counterpart of Iberian thought Xoan Vicente Viqueira, translator of the Spanish edition of *History of Philosophy* by Karl Vorländer, highlighted in the marginal chapter dedicated to the Spanish thought, the philosophical movement of Barcelona, naming the psychologist Ramón Turró and his work of biological trend (Viqueira 1922, 463).

José Mallart i Cutó was another Catalan author to deserve Coimbra's attention. Considered one of the most important psychologists of the first half of the twentieth century (Ferreira 1996, 442), it was already in the twenties that Coimbra established contact with Cutó's educational methodologies, especially *El factor humano en la Organización del Trabajo* (The human factor in the Labour's Organization) (1922), edited by the Oporto's publisher, Artes & Letras. But it was from his central work *Educación Activa* (Active Education), as a result of a trip to Germany, that deserved a careful reading from Coimbra. This pedagogical proposal, with its origins in the nineteenth century, had the support of pedagogues such as John Dewey, Maria Montessori, Olive Decroly, Edouard Claparède, Adolphe Ferrière, Célestin Freinet or Lev Vigotskyi. In this book, edited, simultaneously, in Barcelona and Buenos Aires, Cutó dealt with the subject of education in all its aspects, specialties and age group, adapting pedagogical methods to the cultural idiosyncrasies of each individual and according to the region and country. This innovative approach was convergent with Coimbra's philosophical system, since the edition of his work *O Criacionismo* (Creationism), in 1912, where he stressed the suitability of teaching to the "needs and limitations of each region" (Coimbra 1926, 44). Aware that pedagogic innovation must have a strong

⁴Throughout this decade, Coimbra published around ten books: *Camões e a Fisionomia Espiritual da Pátria* (1920); *O Pensamento Filosófico de Antero de Quental* (1921); *Adoração. Cânticos de Amor* (1921); *Do Amor e da Morte* (1922); *A Razão Experimental* (Lógica e Metafísica) (1923); *Guerra Junqueiro* (1923); *Jesus* (1923); *O Problema da Educação Nacional* (1926); *S. Francisco de Assis* (Franciscan vision of life) (1927); *Notas sobre a Abstração Científica e o Silogismo* (1927); and more than a hundred articles, most of which published in several Oporto's newspapers and magazines.

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experimental component, Cutó investigated, through psychotechnics, the students' aptitudes and was committed, as Coimbra, to methodological renewal and professional qualification. In his book, the Catalan educator referred to his main pedagogical references, including the Portuguese Adolfo Coelho and Faria de Vasconcelos, the Argentine G. Correa and the Catalans Lorenzo Luzuriaga and Rodolfo Llopis (Relvas 2009).

Profusely underlined by Coimbra, the 4th edition of 1935, called his attention, specifically, chapter II - La escuela ideal para la educación activa (The ideal school for active education). In the first topic, dedicated to "El medio ambiente" (The environment), Cutó advocated an active school in opposition to the traditional one, known for "embotellar conocimientos" (bottling knowledge) (Mallart i Cutó 1935, 73), and devoted his attention to the interior and exterior spaces of the school, to the methods enhancing reading and research, as well as to students' engagement in all details inherent to their school life. A particular quote called Coimbra's attention, underlying the sentence dedicated to the teacher's duties: "mentoring, guiding, encouraging, proposing; on very few occasions he will have to command"⁵. As we have seen, Coimbra was a tireless reader of the most representative authors of modern pedagogy, realizing how close he was from them, converging on essential points on education, a vital element for the creation of the new man that the First Republic so longed for.

Academic exchange: "Etapas d'importació i exportació intel·lectual"



The Portuguese-Catalan academic exchange reached its highest moment in 1918 when Eugeni

Figura 1 Teixeira de Pascoaes and Eugeni D'Ors in Barcelona 1918 (*D'Aci i D'allà*, Barcelona, 1919).

⁵ "dirigir, encauzar, animar, proponer; en muy pocas ocasiones tendrá que mandar" (Mallart i Cutó 1935, 74).

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D'Ors(1881-1954)⁶, as general-secretary of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (1907) and under the Consell de Pedagogia de la Mancomunitat, invited Teixeira de Pascoaes and Leonardo Coimbra to participate in the Cursos Monogràfics d'Alts Estudis i d'Intercanvi (Monographic courses of advanced study and exchange), which also received relevant personages such as Albert Einstein or Maria Montessori. Fulfilling an ancient aspiration of visiting Catalonia, Pascoaes was hosted by Eugeni D'Ors and by the poet Fernando Maristany. Maristany's approach to Pascoaes was undertaken some months earlier by Ribera i Rovira, with the purpose of intensifying bonds between Catalonia and Portugal and to start common projects (Harrington 2010: 156). Despite the devastation of the war and the ensuing general state of pessimism and the overwhelming economic and social crisis over the European peoples, it was with hope in the capacity of mankind's regeneration, and in particular, in the future of the Iberian peoples that Pascoaes led to a brother nation "the great creative souls" of Portuguese literature. In *Os Poetas Lusíadas*, some details of his trip were mentioned, such as the inauguration of the Library of Valls, symbol of the "Noucentist" cultural policy, and the acquaintance with the Catalan culture milieu, intensifying intellectual and spiritual affinities. What Fernando Pessoa, among other authors saw, as secondary and peripheral culture, Teixeira de Pascoaes recognized as a culture of excellence, whose richness and uniqueness translated that "marvellous Mediterranean country" (Pascoaes 1919, IV). The Saudosist poet remembered his best impressions of the surrounding landscape: "Vineyards and orchards, orchards and vineyards, in extensive undulations of clay that rise to the sea sides. It was the Catalan paradise after the Castilian hell"⁷. Pascoaes also admired the Catalan people for their economic and intellectual development "a people who has first level figures in all fields of material and intellectual action; a people who will absorb all Iberia, if others keep on sleeping as so far"⁸. As in Portugal, in Catalonia a multifaceted culture reborn thought literature: "Epic land in Verdaguer; religious and lyrical in Maragall; fantastic, active and intellectual in higher philosophers, like Eugeni D'Ors"⁹. They were,

⁶Eugénio D'Ors, doctor of law, philosophy and arts (1905), collaborated in literary and political magazines like *La Renaixença*, *El Poble Català*, among others, using the pseudonyms Octavi de Romeo and Xènius. Since 1906 he began writing a collection of articles called *Glosari* in *La Veu de Catalunya*, where he created the civic and aesthetic doctrine of "Noucentisme", as an alternative to Modernism. In 1908, he attended Bergson, Langevin and Boutroux's courses and specialized in Psychology. In 1909, he held the position of professor of Logics and Methodology of Sciences at the Institut d'Estudis Catalans. The expertise in psychological studies led him to the 6th Congress of the Psychology Institute of Geneva (1909) where he met Henri Poincaré. He was director of the Seminar of Philosophy created by the Section of Sciences of the IEC - Institut d'Estudis Catalans (1911), in 1914, and took on the role of secretary, between 1911 and 1920. He also directed the School of Librarians and the Public Instruction of the *Mancomunitat*, since 1917, but he resigned of the position in 1920 by incompatibilities with President J. Puig i Cadafalch. He also ceased his activities at the IEC and stops publishing *Glosari* in *La Veu de Catalunya*. After the Spanish Civil War, he became one of the main intellectuals of the Franco's regime.

⁷ "[...] vinhedos e pomares, pomares e vinhedos, em extensas ondulações de argila que se elevam para as bandas do mar. É o paraíso catalão depois do inferno castelhano" (Pascoaes 1919, IV).

⁸ "um Povo que tem vultos de primeira ordem em todos os campos da ação material e intelectual; um Povo que absorverá toda a Ibéria, se os outros continuarem dormindo como até aqui" (1919, IX-X).

⁹ "Terra épica em Verdaguer; religiosa e lírica em Maragall; fantástica, activa e intelectual em filósofos superiores, como Eugeni D'Ors" (1919, IV).

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likewise, poets as Fernando Maristany, Carles Soldevila, Llorenç Ribera, Alfons Maseras, Marià Manent, Josep Carner, José María López Picó, Joaquín Folguera, "illustrious teachers" such as Antonio Rubió i Lluch; writers as Alexandre Plana, Lluís Nicolau d'Oliver, Mirabent and Ribera i Rovira, that "new group of people who today embodies the most noble and strong aspirations of a race in full resurgence"¹⁰.

The Catalan press commented Pascoaes's conferences, mainly in *D'ací i d'allà*, a monthly publication edited from January 1918 to 1936, and considered the first Catalan style magazine. It was first directed by Josep Carner, Ignasi M. Folch i Torres and from 1924 onwards, by Carles Soldevila, who converted it into an instrument of urbanity, social behaviour and pedagogy in accordance with cultural and political Catalanism. In its customary "Crònica Catalana", signed by X., which we attribute to Xénius, the Catalan magazine noted Pascoaes's presence in Barcelona as a contribution to Catalan cultural enrichment and his relevant action at the Juventut Nacionalista (Nationalist Youth) with poetry recitation:

L'alta cultura s'ha vist especialment atesa amb bels cursos del catedràtic P. Bosch Gimpera sobre la sistematització de la Prehistòria a la Península Ibèrica, i del senyalat poeta portugués Teixeira de Pascoaes ha estat aplaudidíssima, a més, en una pública recitació de ses bells poemes, a la Juventut Nacionalista. (Xénius 1918, 87).

In the following year, the magazine published the essay "Catalunya a Portugal", by C. Masllobera, reflecting the good reception of Pascoaes's conferences, emphasizing Coimbra's thought and *Renascença Portuguesa's* interest in Catalan culture:

Institucions les ms diverses assoleixen una admirable perfecció; des de l'encs delicat d'algunes noves temptatives pedagògiques com els jardins escolars João de Deus, fins a la Biblioteca de Lisboa o el Museu d'Art antic on hi ha els originals de Nuno Gonçalves que recorden la Taula dels Conceillers del nostre Dalmau de Barcelona. Molts dels escriptors portuguesos són amics de Catalunya. Angelo de Moraes, que cursava filosofia a Barcelona, Raul Proença, Angelo Ribeiro, traductor de Plat, el graci poeta Jaime Cortezão, Julio Dantas, Marques Teixeira, el matemàtic Santos Lucas, etc. I ja no diem de Teixeira de Pascoaes i Leonardo Coimbra. Plau a la naci vena, agitada i delicada alhora, la fora d'expansió de la jove Catalunya, que es creu en poc espai de temps una bella literatura, dona son esforç a la ciència i a la vegada idea una filosofia (Masllobera 1919: 974).

With this decisive trip and under the auspices of *Renascença Portuguesa's* movement, cultural ties were intensified between Portugal and Catalonia, whose scope and depth in the inter-war period, was extended to Pascoaes's personal agenda through epistolary dialogue (Cameirão 2010). A dialogue that would also be followed by Leonardo Coimbra, who strengthened cultural contacts, academic exchange and bibliographic reviews, during the years that he ran *A Águia*. If the first Faculty of Arts of the University of Oporto, created in 1919 by Coimbra, became a fundamental pole of patriotism and humanist idealism in the post-war period, largely due to the perseverance of the thinker and minister of education, to whom the university must be the "most lucid and noble part of the national consciousness" (Coimbra 1994, 74), it is no less true that this

¹⁰"plêiade de novos que encarna hoje as mais nobres e fortes aspirações d'uma raça em pleno ressurgimento" (1919, VII).

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higher education institution turned itself to the most modern European scientific and philosophical currents thanks to scholar's exchange and to the commitment of its Central Library in the acquisition of updated international



bibliography giving support to the existing degrees (FLUP, 1989). This was due to Coimbra's activity, undertaking a profound reform, endowing it with the much-desired "scientific fecundity" (Coimbra 1994, 75) by promoting the coming of foreign scholars to the Faculty of Arts of Oporto, providing students and teachers' access

to modern currents of thought and scientific discoveries in the various areas of knowledge, invigorating Oporto's academic environment.

In 1919, D'Ors came to Portugal for a set of conferences, delivered both in the "noble room" of the Academia de Ciências de Lisboa (Lisbon Academy of Sciences), and at the University of Porto. In this northern city, the Catalan thinker was hosted and presented to the public by Leonardo Coimbra, whose speech would be commented by Joan Estelrich in the Catalan magazine *La Revista*. According to Estelrich's impressions on Coimbra's speech: "What a quicker, kinder, and fairer judgment at the same time, he did of the doctrines dealt with by Mr. Ors!"¹¹. The Portuguese thinker highlighted D'Ors's dynamic intellectualism, the relationship of his thought with French philosophy of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially the Bergsonian legacy, and emphasized the convergence of Portuguese-Catalan spirits, strengthened by mutual interests (Estelrich 1919, 258). D'Ors discussed about the evolution of the Catalan culture, from the nineteenth century *Renaixença* movement, under the influence of romanticism and positivism, to *Noucentisme*.

In fact, in the Catalan-Portuguese cultural scene, two protagonists stood out as mentors of the cultural movements to which they were affiliated to,

¹¹ "Que juízo mais rápido, mais amável e mais justo ao mesmo tempo, ele fez das doutrinas tratadas pelo Sr Ors!" (Estelrich, 1919, 11). Portuguese version published from the original "Quin judici més ràpid, més amable i més just ensems, va fer de les doctrines glossades pel senyor Ors!", In *La Revista*, Barcelona, 1919: 256.

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converging their ideas into intuitive and humanistic thinking. Leonardo Coimbra was for the Portuguese thought as Eugeni D'Ors was for the Catalan. Both began their careers around 1906 as publicists, maturing their ideas on philosophical, political and civic fields. Under the name of Xènius, D'Ors soon became popular for his set of essays published in *La Veu de Catalunya*, entitled *Glosari* affirming his place as the thinker of the Catalan *Noucentisme*. As such, he aimed to recover the roots of the classical world and forgoan ethical-cultural programme a new linguistic and iconographic heritage that would reinforce the Catalan identity. Like Coimbra, D'Ors heldin *Filosofia del hombre que trabaja y que juega*(1914) (Philosophy of the man who works and plays) that Philosophy must embrace art, religion, science and culture. In the same way, Coimbra's *O Criacionismo* presented a philosophical system that comprised the same strands and wascapable of responding both to the spiritual and material needs and concerns of the Portuguese people and humanity in general. As Coimbra's *Adoração: Cânticos de Amor* (1921), D'Ors created in *La Ben Plantada* (1911) an idealized image of women that would translate the Catalan feminine canon of the nineties.As the Portuguese thinker, who dedicated his life to the improvement of all education levels, and to Popular Universities, D'Ors promoted pedagogical initiatives within the scope of *Arxius de Ciències* (1911) and *Popular Libraries* (1914).

Coimbra was subsequently informed of D'Ors activities through correspondence with his disciple Ângelo de Moraes, *Renascença*'s member and, at the time, a Bertrand Russell, Georges Dwelshauvers and D'Ors's student at the University of Barcelona. About his Catalan Professor, who was dismissed, in 1920, by incompatibilities with President J. Puig i Cadafalch, Moraes would say, in confidence, to Coimbra: "D'Ors get worse every day. He was removed from almost all the official positions he held and threwhimself into politics"¹². In 1922, Eugeni D'Ors and Coimbra would meet again in Madrid, when the Portuguese thinker lectured on Portuguese literature and philosophy at the Residencia de Estudiantes and Ateneo de Madrid, being it the last encounter between the two Iberian thinkers. Only in 1929, we have proof of new contact, when D'Ors sent a letter to Coimbra, inviting him to collaborate in the homage to the Cuban thinker José Enrique Varona¹³.

Close to Eugeni D'ors, Joan Estelrich followed the Catalan thinker to Portugal, in 1919, and returned at the end of 1921 to participate in the Catalan Week in Lisbon. Organized by Junta de Museus (Museum Board), this week aimed at disseminating Catalan culture, literature and art. Bringing together over thirty sculptors and painters, the Catalan Art Exhibition was inaugurated on 9thNovember at the Sociedade de Belas Artes (Society of Fine Arts), followed by a cycle of conferences by Estelrich, Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer and Feliu Elias, which deserved considerable coverage of the Portuguese and Catalan press. Marius Aguilar, correspondent of *La Libertad* (Madrid) and representative of *El Dia Gráfico* (Barcelona); Camps Margarit, journalist and art critic of *El Dilúvio* (Barcelona); Josep Pla, writer; M. Ribe, head of the Municipal Guard of Barcelona, Francesc Pujol,

¹² "O D'Ors cada dia pior. Foi destituído de quase todos os cargos oficiais que tinha e lançou-se na política". In letter from Ângelo de Moraes to Leonardo Coimbra, 6.6.1920, BMLC - Biblioteca Memorial Leonardo Coimbra. Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Oporto.

¹³ Pamphlet "Enrique José Varona", La Habana, junio 1929. BMLC.

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philosopher and poet, and Alejandro Padilla, ambassador. Leonardo Coimbra, João Camoesas, the writer Aquilino Ribeiro, the painter Martinho da Fonseca and Nuno Simões were some of the Portuguese, attending the event. In the Portuguese reception to the Catalan *intelligentsia* Humberto Pelágio, *Seara Nova*'s artistic director, revealed himself a great booster of the Portuguese-Catalan approach, publishing in that cultural magazine various articles, promoting Peninsular exchange. On the same line, Estelrich would be correspondent for the Portuguese magazine *Ressureição*, with the Portuguese edition of "Díades Lusitanes", first published in September 1919 in *La Revista*. In this essay, the Majorcan writer collected his impressions on Lisbon and Oporto, highlighting the "fervent ideal and sentimental exchange" (fervorós intercanvi ideal i sentimental). He also stressed Leonardo Coimbra as "o mais alto espírito filosófico da Península" (the highest philosophical spirit of the Peninsula) and the role of Ângelo de Moraes as mediator in Portuguese-Catalan relations. Two decades later, Estelrich would reiterate the influence that the poet from Amarante would have on him: "my appreciations for having taught me the understanding and love of Portugal"¹⁴.

Besides Eugeni D'Ors's conference, Coimbra invited the archaeologist Pere Bosch Gimpera (1891-1974) to deliver a lecture on 11th January 1921 at the Faculty of Arts, taking advantage of his presence in Portugal for a research trip, between December 1920 and January 1921. A year before, Bosch Gimpera had collaborated in the monumental edition of the prestigious German archaeologist Adolf Schulten, *Hispania (Geografia, Etnologia, Historia)*, 1920, with the appendix on "Pre-Roman Hispanic Archaeology" (La Arqueología Prerromana Hispánica), for which he solicited advice from the Portuguese scientist José Leite de Vasconcelos (Cardoso, 2017). Bosch Gimpera represented the University of Barcelona, where he was Professor of Ancient and Medieval History and Director of the Servei d'Excavacions Arqueològiques (Archaeological Investigations) of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans created by Prat de la Riba in 1915. Similar to Ortega y Gasset and many other academic students of his generation, Bosch Gimpera benefited, between 1911 and 1914, from a scholarship in Germany granted by the Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas (Council for the Extension of Scientific Studies and Research), which resulted from the strong commitment of the Spanish and Catalan governments in the creation of scientific institutions and equipment (Pericot 1974). Manifesting a full commitment to catalanity, Bosch Gimpera gave his contribution to the reform of the Catalan university, standing out as one of the leading figures of the Catalan and Spanish science, and would continue to perform his work, with the same brilliance as an exile in Mexico (Quezada López 2003).

In the 1930s, despite the difficulties of *Renascença* and the announced end of the Faculty of Arts of Oporto, Coimbra continued the academic exchange, inviting in 1932, the spiritualist thinker and scholar of classical culture Júlio Navarro i Monzó for a conference. Delfim Santos, Coimbra's disciple, announced the event on *Águia*'s pages, giving an account of Monzó's general ideas: "The East has always had its eyes set on eternity, the Occident has concentrated them in time. The East looks towards the Divine, the West towards the human" (Santos, 1932). Known and respected in

¹⁴"mi agradecimiento por haberme enseñado la comprensión y el amor de Portugal" (Cameirão 2010, 112).

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Portugal since the first decade of the century, when he was living in Portugal, holding the director's position of the newspaper *O Correio de Lisboa* (Núñez Seixas 2013) he displayed Catalan literature and thought with *Catalunha e as Nacionalidades Ibéricas* (1908), as well as some diversified studies on Catalan nationalism, Cervantes and Christianity in the Portuguese workers¹⁵. Navarro i Monzó was in perfect understanding with *Renascença's* intellectuals as regards spirituality and Neo-Platonism, above all in the work *Las Metafísicas del Cristianismo* (1930) (Metaphysics of Christianity) where Monzó addressed numerous questions of interest to Coimbra as the problem of evil, the Immanentism doctrine and traditional cosmogonies.

The role of mediators in behalf of a cross-cultural understanding

The role of cultural mediators was until recently relegated to a tributary level in the study dedicated to the intellectual networks. Behind the exchange work carried out by leading names of the Portuguese-Catalan *Intelligentsia*, such as Teixeira de Pascoaes, Leonardo Coimbra, Joan Maragall, Joaquim Casas-Carbó, Eugeni D'Ors and the Majorcannationalist Joan Estelrich, secondary actors operated, sometimes in the shade, but were decisive assuring the concretization of itineraries as diverse as peer mediation between intellectuals and literary magazines, travel and conference organization or as liaison officers with publishers and translators. These mediators were the Catalan Ribera i Rovira and Alfons Maseras, and the Portuguese Ângelo de Morais.

Cultural exchange between Iberian transnational communities, had as its most enthusiastic promotor the Catalan Ignasi de Loyola Ribera i Rovira (1880-1942) (Relvas 2009, Harrington 2007). Inspired by the ideas of Catalan theorists such as Joan Maragall and the Portuguese Oliveira Martins, Antero de Quental, Guerra Junqueiro and Teófilo Braga, the lusophile discussed in his work *Nova orientação sobre o futuro económico dos povos da Península* ([1907], 1913) on the Iberian multinational phenomenon and the political shift that undermines State-Nation's model in the turn of the century, opening a space to the federalist trend that would congregate so many followers as Ribera i Rovira himself or Magalhães Lima: "The theory of great nationalities gave place to the new federalist, decentralizing, autonomist currents, those who dreamed of the Iberian - nation yielded nevertheless to those who saw Iberia - a group of nationalities"¹⁶. Following Guerra Junqueiros's idea of Iberism, Ribera i Rovira referred to a tripartite Iberia which would fulfil the "Peninsular ideal: a supra-condition of the Iberian Peninsula" (Ribera i Rovira 1923).

Pioneer in the Portuguese-Catalan cross-cultural exchange the lusophile writer disclosed Portuguese literature in Catalonia since the beginning of the

¹⁵ *Cervantes e o seu tempo*. Lisboa: Tipografia O Correio Nacional, 1905; "A missão dos círculos catholicos de operários em Portugal": discurso. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1906 and *Catalunha e as Nacionalidades Ibéricas*. Lisboa: Livraria Central Gomes de Carvalho, 1908.

¹⁶ "A teoria das grandes nacionalidades cedeu o lugar às novas correntes federalistas, descentralizadoras, autonomistas, os que sonharam com a Ibéria-Nação cederam mesmo assim perante os que viam a Ibéria-conjunto de nacionalidades" (Ribera i Rovira 1913, 6).

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century, delivering conferences since 1905, as “Portugal Artistic”, converted into an edited book, and some years later, his close relation with *Renascença Portuguesa* became at various levels, relevant. From the role of mediator between Pascoaes and Catalan intellectuals, to his influence in Augusto Casimiro, author of an eminent poem titled *À Catalunha* (1914) and as collaborator of *A Águia*, where he published “A educação dos povos peninsulares” (1912) and “Guerra Junqueiro e a Fraternidade Ibérica” (1923). Increasingly distanced from the *noucentisme* theory and practice, disagreeing with Eugeni D’Ors (Harrington 2010, 161), Ribera i Rovira considered Portugal a model of cultural resistance to follow. In the prologue to Maristany’s *Las Cien Mejores Poésias Líricas de la Lengua Portuguesa* (1918), the Catalan writer, analysing the Portuguese political and literary resurgence, stated that it was “for us a great example and great teaching [...] the poetic persistence of the race has remained glorious throughout history and times. Here is precisely the vital link of its independence” (Ribera i Rovira 1918, 15). For the defenders of the Portuguese-Catalan approach, the union of two cultures translated the civilizational encounter between the Hellenic legacy of the old world and the Atlantic culture of the new world. “Mediterranean Fantasies” linked to “Atlantic fantasies”¹⁷ as Miguel de Unamuno considered, referring to the Catalans who visited Portugal such as Eugénio D’Ors, Casas-Carbó, Joan Estelrich and F. Maristany. In this same text, Rovira presented the “latest Lusitanian generation” (Ribera i Rovira 1918, 19) constituted by Leonardo Coimbra “admirable philosopher” of Saudosismo and Teixeira de Pascoaes, its greatest poet. The essayist pointed out how the philosophy of the first conjugated spirit and matter, and advocated a new religion, derived from Paganism and Christianity that aspired to a new Art, a new Philosophy and a new State and how the poetics of the second was so close to the Catalan’s lyric “an añoradizo and mystic feeling”, to then confirm that “The Portuguese Saudade is Catalan nostalgia, which the Spanish soul has incorporated beautifully” (Ribera i Rovira 1918, 14).

In reality, the Catalan cult for Portuguese poetry in the interwar period, was centred around Pascoaes. However, at the turn of the century, Guerra Junqueiro, Eugénio de Castro, Afonso de Albuquerque, Cândido de Figueiredo, Abel Botelho e Júlio Dantas were also admired according to A. Sadurni Vilardebó, in his essay “El Lusitanisme a Catalunya”, inserted in Ribera i Rovira’s *Portugal Artistic* (1905). Leonardo Coimbra, as Minister of Instruction, paid tribute, in 1919, to the Catalan writer, assigning by a republican despatch the Order of Santiago’s official decoration due to “services provided in favour of Portuguese Language and Literature”¹⁸.

In the 1920s, the Catalan Alfons Maseras i Galtés (1884-1939) and the Portuguese Ângelo de Morais (1887-1968) were decisive mediators, ensuring cultural exchange between the Portuguese and the Catalan protagonists: D’Ors, Pascoaes and Coimbra. Divided both between family business and a career related to culture and though, the last option prevailed for Maseras and Morais, at least for quite some time in the case of Morais, who after studying in Madrid and Barcelona, integrating Portuguese and Spanish cultural circles, took over the family business, became a mayor for a short period and member of trade associations. A discreet figure of the first

¹⁷ Letter from Miguel de Unamuno to Ribera i Rovira, Salamanca, 17-III-1936. (Unamuno 1991, 341).

¹⁸ Decree (8.5.1919) D.G., 2ª série, nº131, 7.6.1919, 1910 (Coimbra 1994).

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and second Portuguese Republics, Morais became Coimbra's disciple since 1911, depriving from then on with the Oporto based intellectual elite such as Pascoaes or Ângelo César. Mayson and republican affiliated in the democratic left, Morais invested part of his personal fortune in the promotion of *Renascença* movement and *A Águia*, publishing a few essays in this literary journal as well as in Spanish and Latin-American cultural magazines¹⁹. Due to his involvement in the conspiracy against Sidónio Pais's dictatorship (1917-1918), Morais exiled in Barcelona where he completed his studies as engineer at Escola Industrial d'Enginyers de la Mancomunitat de Barcelona. Following his passion for philosophy and under Coimbra's recommendation, he became Eugeni D'Ors's student in the Philosophy course (Batista 2008, 271). Committed to disclose Portuguese culture in Spain and aware of the Catalan cultural vitality, Morais was the central mediator between *Renascença Portuguesa*'s group and the *Noucentisme* movement, with whom he would establish close contact. It was mainly with Teixeira de Pascoaes that Morais would share his vivid impressions on the Catalan people, their relationship with politics and culture and the Catalan young intellectuals such as Ribera i Rovira, Eugeni D'Ors, Capdevila, Soldevila, Crexells, Joaquim Folguera, Ferran, Millás-Raurell and the lessons of López-Picó's intellectual circle at the Café Ribas²⁰. D'Ors's contribution as Professor was inestimable to Morais who emphasised his "extensive culture and admirable didactic qualities, make me follow his lessons with care and affection where I hope to gain something"²¹. Actually, Morais translated Eugeni D'Ors's philosophy lessons to Pascoaes, so that he could "judge well of his aesthetics"²². Morais's mediation was also vital between Leonardo Coimbra and Valentin de Pedro, an "Argentine poet, very talented and friend"²³, for the Spanish translation of *La Alegría, el Dolor y la Gracia*, and between the Argentinian translator and Raul Brandão, for the translation of *Los Pobres*, both published in 1921.

Regarding Maseras's case, he was linked to Lliga Catalana (Catalan League) (1906), affirming his Catalanism with the conference entitled *Pancatalanism* (1915), written immediately after his decisive trip through South America, made in 1914, with a stay in Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina (Corretger 1995). In this project he appealed for the national reconstruction based on the modernization and internationalisation of Catalonia (Martínez Fiol 1988, 95-99). In 1917, he met Eugeni D'Ors who offered him the post of personal secretary in the Mancomunitat de Catalunya and straightaway he began to promote Catalan culture abroad and his theory of spiritual imperialism and it was in this context that Maseras, as D'Ors secretary, organized D'Ors' cultural embassy to Lisbon and Oporto, in 1919. Furthermore, his sensibility to the Portuguese culture was showed with the edition of *Recull de Contes en francès i portuguès*, published in the press, in 1927.

¹⁹*Revista del Rio de la Plata* (Argentina), directed by Valentín de Pedro and *La Revista* (Barcelona), ran by Josep Maria López-Picó (Batista 2008, 271).

²⁰ Letter n°2 from Ângelo de Morais to Teixeira de Pascoaes, Barcelona, 28 dec. 1918. D3/2754, Teixeira de Pascoaes Archives, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP).

²¹ "O que acima de tudo encontro em D'Ors é uma extensa cultura e admiráveis qualidades ditáticas, que me fazem seguir com atenção e carinho as suas lições onde espero alguma coisa ganhar". Ibidem.

²² Letter n°3 from Ângelo de Morais to Teixeira de Pascoaes, Barcelona, 23 jan. 1919, D3/2755. Teixeira de Pascoaes Archives, BNP.

²³ Letter from Ângelo de Morais to Leonardo Coimbra, 6 june 1920. BMLC.

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“D’aci i d’allà” –literary reception

As we have seen, in the inter-war period, Portuguese-Catalan cultural relations were reinforced by mutual knowledge, mostly built up on cultural events such as conferences, expositions, readings and receptions in the literary journals of works and authors reflecting the cultural rebirth to which all supranational identities aspire. The reception of Iberian and Latin-American authors in literary journals was therefore a common practice reinforcing the idea of an intellectual network operating among peripheral nationalisms and with extension to the transatlantic Hispanic space (Harrington, 2007; Relvas, 2009). In truth, mutual reception resulted in one of the most reliable barometers of the interest and knowledge of the other.

In the 1920s, Leonardo Coimbra intensified the readings on Spanish, Galician and Catalan literatures, from the mystics and religious such as San Juan de la Cruz or José Maria Gabriel y Galán to the ones reflecting the national *volkgeist*, such as Rosalía de Castro or Miguel de Unamuno. One of the most read Catalan authors by *Renascença Portuguesa*’s group was Joan Maragall i Gorina (1860-1911), member of the emblematic *Renaixença* and poet of the modern Catalan literature. Through Unamuno’s influence Maragall was appreciated, among others, by Guerra Junqueiro, Teixeira de Pascoaes, Augusto Casimiro and Leonardo Coimbra, sharing the Catalan’s “Iberian ideal” (Cerdà Subirachs 2012, 28-29), consisting on a group of peoples united both by historical roots and spiritual bounds, based on mutual respect and affection. Joan Maragall’s spiritual thinking along with Ramon Llull’s chivalric model expressed in the maxim “science is love”, led Coimbra’s Catalan literary preferences. From Maragall it was the religious and the philosophical meaning of *Elogios*, received from Joan Estelrich’s hands, with a dedication, which held Coimbra’s attention. The spiritual affinities were perceived mainly in the topics developed by both authors, such as grace, love and pain, which revealed the thematic proximity between Maragall’s poetry and Coimbra’s *A Alegria, A Dor e Graça* (1916) or *Do Amor e da Morte* (1922).

Catalan reception of the Portuguese literature, and especially of the *Renascença* group was carried out by Joan Estelrich, Josep Enseñat and Gabriel Alomar. Josep Enseñat realized the affinities between Coimbra’s *A Alegria, a Dor e a Graça* and Ramon Llull’s *Llibre d’Amic e d’Amat*, publishing a review in Palma de Mallorca’s daily magazine *El Día*, founded and directed by Joan Estelrich, bringing together Majorcan and Portuguese nationalisms. Enseñat sought the origins of Catalan literary historiography as a form of national legitimation shaped by the Republican affiliation in the line of Lerroux. Despite the seven centuries separating the two works, they were favoured by their teleological and philosophical innovation. Both the knight and medieval troubadour Ramon Llull and the contemporary thinker Coimbra used an allegoric discourse to communicate Christian values with the readers, being this one of the central matrices of the Iberian culture:

Los extremos se tocan. Los siglos vuelven o renacen. La Gracia de Coimbra, sureintegración a la vida plena, su solución última a las dudas sobre la muerte y el dolor y el destino humano y su renacimiento a la profunda alegría cristiana al amparo de lo inmortal, señalan el término de la ruta trazada, siglos ha, por el refugiado de Miaramar”[...]

Leonardo es la religiosidad traída a su existencia e irradiada después, a la existencia ajena, como norma. Blanquerna es la vida desenvuelta, por gratitud de

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gloria vivida, en religiosidad, un poco mística y un poco oriental. Un poco Sinaica y un poco cristiana, la del Amigo, sinaica tal vez, para defensa del Amado. [...] En esta diferencia, sembrando una serie de matices relevantes, se mueve el pensamiento ibérico actual, robusto como nunca y por tanto, también deja su huella el pensamiento español (Enseñat 1923).

Aware that cultural magazines were determinant vehicles in the promotion of mutual knowledge, Leonardo Coimbra sent to his Catalan correspondents Albert R. Schneeberger, Joan Estelrich and Gabriel Alomar *Águia* and *Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto* (Journal of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto), that would have immediate feedback. Albert R. Schneeberger (1877-19?)²⁴, a Catalanophile French writer and literary critic, came into contact with Coimbra through his mutual friend Joan Estelrich and in a letter addressed to the Portuguese thinker he stated that he was fighting “le bon combat pour la littérature catalane”, congratulating him “pour les savants études que vous avez imposés là, l’une si profonde et si judicieuse sur le *Problema da Indução*” as well as the announcement of the edition of *Cadernos de António Nobre*²⁵. Schneeberger clarified that before the war he had closely followed the Portuguese literature and that he had published in the German magazine *Pan*²⁶ a study on the Portuguese poet Antero de Quental, which then received good reception from the republican publicist and poet Xavier de Carvalho (1861-1919), “l’ardent propagandiste ici de la littérature portugaise”²⁷. Attached to this letter, Schneeberger sent an essay he had written on Eugénio D’Ors, published in *Messidor*²⁸. He also requested Coimbra’s collaboration for *Poèsia*, directed by Mário Dessy²⁹, and sent him the “éclectique et vraiment européen” program of this magazine, intensifying magazine exchange, extended to the European geographic and cultural space.

²⁴ Author of *Anthologie des poètes catalans contemporains depuis 1854*. Paris: J. Povolozky, 1922; *La Cité intérieure*, 1909; *Conteurs catalans, choix de nouvelles et contes des écrivains modernes de la Catalogne, précédés de notes bibliographiques*. Paris: Libr. Académique Perrin, 1926; *La Dame aux songes*, frontispice et trois poèmes. 1932; *Fornarine*, roman, 1932; *La Mêle*, Roman, 1929; *Le Peintre Jules Joëts*, 1933; *Les Profils. L’étoile, l’homme à la vision, le poète, le profil*, 1907; *Voix dans le monde*, poèmes, 1934.

²⁵ Letter from Albert R. Schneeberger to Leonardo Coimbra, Pardo, 22 Sept. 1920, BMLC.

²⁶ Co-founded by Richard Dehmel and published, from 1895 to 1900 in Berlin, by Otto Julius Bierbaum and Julius Meier-Graefe, this Arts and literary magazine was revived by Paul Cassirer in 1910 and lasted until 1915.

²⁷ Xavier de Carvalho was responsible for introducing the literary trend of “Decadentism” in Portugal. As a republican he pronounced, in 1890, a conference in Centro Republicano Progresista in Madrid, founded by Manuel Ruiz Zorrilla. He founded in 1892 the Société des Études Portugaises in Paris, where he worked as journalist and welcomed Portuguese political exiles. In 1900, during World Exposition of Paris, he founded the magazine *Le Portugal à l’Exposition*, as a way of disclosing Portugal.

²⁸ *Messidor*: Revue bimensuelle illustrée. Bulletin officiel des Amis de la France, n°1-18, nov. 1913; juin, 1914 - 1919 – janv./mars 1931, VII-XIX, n°1/3. 15 mai 1937, XXV, n°1/2.

²⁹ Mario Dessy, Italian futurist poet and playwright, (Milan 1902-Rome 1979), was part of the group “Italy Futurist” and was author of *Uno. Milano*: Facchi Editore, 1919. Themes such as death, obsession, grotesque, phantasmagoria, the taste for the macabre predominate in this book of poetry and poetic prose. In collaboration with other Italian futurist poets, Dessy participated in *Abbasso Petrolini*. Siena: Tip. Cooperativa, 1922.

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In response to the submission of the *Journal of the Faculty of Letters*, Gabriel Alomar i Villalonga (1873-1941) sent to Coimbra his book *La Formación de sí mismo: el diálogo entre la vida y los libros* (1920). Since his lecture in 1904 at the Ateneo Barcelonés, entitled *El Futurisme*, Alomar became the pioneer of the Avant-Garde movement in Catalonia. He also wrote *L'Estètica arbitrària* (1904-1905), *Sobre el nacionalisme artístic* (1907) and founded the Bloc Republicà Autonomista, converted, in 1917, in the Partit Republicà Català. Inspired by the Portuguese politician Teófilo Braga, Alomar's political thinking was rooted in Catalan and liberal republicanism, anti-traditionalist and anti-clerical, defending an Iberian confederation. Having in mind this ideological affinities, Coimbra immediately published a review on Alomar's book, considering him a "spiritual brother". The Portuguese thinker would also emphasize the role of Spain in the Peninsula and in Europe, the political and religious absolutisms and the influence of modern movements and currents of thought (Coimbra 1922).

As a tribute to Coimbra's review, Alomar wrote a critical analysis on *Adoração* and the Spanish translation *La Alegría, el Dolor y la Gracia*, recognising in both books a "system of spiritual values" (Alomar 1922). He considered Coimbra's work endowed with a "triumphant optimism, which invites us to meditate on the singular reaction of this Celtic soul against the native troubadour and Breton heritage, against the idealization of the national myth that so strongly links Love and Death in the tragic pair of Pedro and Inês, familiar transmutation of Tristan and Isold" (Alomar 1922)³⁰.

Another Coimbra's contact was the *noucentiste* playwright and translator Josep Maria Millàs-Raurell (1896 - 1971). In an introduction letter Millàs-Raurell, referring himself to their common friend Ângelo de Morais, highlighted his role in the Portuguese-Catalan cultural relations, stating "el meu caríssim amic d'Angel de Morais me ha parlat de vos moltes vegades amb una veneració tal, que ni há fet estimar-vos com amic de Catalunya é coma Mestre altíssim. En aquests dos aspectes em plan desaludarnos i oferir-vos, amb la nueva amistat i els meus serveis"³¹. With common pedagogical interests, Millàs-Raurell sent to Coimbra the first two numbers of the *Annals of the Institut d'Orientació Professional de Barcelona* (1918-1927), "institució interesantíssima – una de les poques que compta Europa, bem organitzades"³², to which he belonged and aimed to disseminate throughout Europe.

Besides personal and intellectual relations, two magazines would have an important role in the Portuguese-Catalan cultural rapprochement: *Estudio* and *La Revista*. *Estudio* (1913-1920), a monthly magazine of science, arts and literature, founded in 1913 in Barcelona, supported the Portuguese-Catalan exchange, congregating Catalan intellectuals as F. de A. de Rodón, R. Rivera i Pastor, F. Camp and Madrid-based elite such as Díez-Canedo and Andrés González Blanco, who would devote to Portuguese works the

³⁰ "optimismo triunfante, que nos convida a meditar sobre a singular reacção de essa alma céltica contra a nativa herança trovadoresca e bretã, contra a idealização do mito nacional que tão fortemente enlaça o Amor e a Morte no par trágico de Pedro e Inês, transmutação familiar de Tristão e Isolda" (Alomar 1922, 1).

³¹ Letter from Millàs-Raurell to Leonardo Coimbra, Barcelona, 22.II.1921. BMLC.

³² Ibidem.

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most praiseworthy considerations. From 1916 onwards, this magazine opened its pages to the participation and critical review of Portuguese authors, with a special focus on Fidelino de Figueiredo's literary production and *Renascença Portuguesa's* publications. While in Portugal a controversial anti-Iberian campaign was carried out by the Integralist movement, the independent thinker Fidelino de Figueiredo and pioneer in Portugal in comparative Iberian studies, published in the Catalan magazine "Relaciones literárias modernas entre Portugal y España" and "España en la Moderna Literatura Portuguesa", translated by José Pablo Ribas, giving an account of the numerous contacts that had been made since the beginning of the century in favour of a Portuguese-Spanish approach and how the image of Spain was represented in Portuguese literature (Figueiredo 1916a, 1916b). *Estudio* also announced in its last pages *A Águia* and in the "Bibliografia" section reviews were presented of the latest Portuguese editorial novelties³³.

In the same line, Andrés González Blanco, who would shortly be known for the translation of Eça de Queirós's works, published, in 1917, the significant study "Teixeira de Pascoaes e o Saudosismo" with the purpose of disclosing to the Spanish public the Portuguese poet (González Blanco 1917). Two years earlier, his brother Pedro González Blanco had already published in *A Vida Portuguesa*, the *Renascença Portuguesa* journal, the essay "La Renascença Portuguesa y la Literatura Española", giving an account of the Portuguese movement commitment in the approach to Spain (González Blanco 1915). Reviewer on Portuguese literature, Andrés González Blanco defended the esteem for the literatures of the three peninsular "cultural centres": Castile, Catalonia and Portugal (González Blanco 1918), calling the Portuguese movement "the new and renewed generation", "nourished phalanx of enthusiastic singers of the race and deeds of its heroic men"³⁴, choosing Jaime Cortesão and Teixeira de Pascoaes as their mentors, and the Saudosist poets Mário Beirão, Augusto Casimiro, Afonso Duarte, João Amaral, and Alberto Barros, Monsaraz, João de Lebre and João de Barros as the most representative figures of this movement.

On the other hand, *La Revista* (1915-1936) a biweekly publication directed by José Maria López-Picó, counts with the assiduous collaboration of Carles Riba, Ramón Rucabado, Crexels i Vallhonrat, Bosch Gimpera, Joan Estelrich and Millás-Raurell. Affiliated to the *Noucentisme* movement, this magazine covered a wide range of areas dedicated to translation, essay, theatre, Catalan and foreign literatures and had as complementary activities the organization of popular libraries, museums, congresses, exhibitions, the foundation of specialized magazines and a Technical University. The latest

³³ "Teixeira de Pascoaes. *A Arte de Ser Português*" and "Leonardo Coimbra. *A Alegria, a Dor e a Graça*". *Estudio*, Barcelona, nº47, (1916): 336; "António Cabral. *Eça de Queiroz. A sua vida e a sua obra*". *Ibidem*, nº48, (1916): 503-504; "F. de Figueiredo. *História da crítica Literária em Portugal da Renascença à actualidade*". *Ibidem*, nº51, (1917): 605-606; "Alberto Teles. *Camilo Castelo Branco na relação do Porto*". *Ibidem*, nº55, 1917: 176; "Pascoaes. *Terra Prohibida*", "Augusto Casimiro. *Nas trincheiras da Flandres*". *Ibidem*, nº65, ano VI, (1918): 339; a poet from Algarve "Cândido Guerreiro. *Sonetos com prólogo de Guerra Junqueiro*". *Ibidem*, nº69, (1918): 504; "Fidelino de Figueiredo. *Menéndez Pelayo y los estudios portugueses*". *Ibidem*, nº85-86, (1920): 185-189.

³⁴ "nueva y renovada generación" [...] "nutrida falange de cantores entusiastas de la raza y de las gestas de sus hombres heroicos" (González Blanco 1918).

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news covered on Portuguese literature included Pascoaes's conferences in Barcelona in "Curs Teixeira de Pascoaes", by J. Farran i Mayoral³⁵, Joan Estelrich's travel impressions to Portugal, and the critical review of Joan Crexells i Vallhonrat (1896-1926) to Coimbra's philosophical system in "El Creacionisme" (Crexells i Vallhonrat 1919, 159-161)³⁶. The magazine would also pay attention to *Seara Nova* (1921-1984), with the article published in 1923, "Els homes de Seara Nova"³⁷. Founded by some *A Águia* members Raul Proença, Jaime Cortesão and Augusto Casimiro, it would be joined later the rationalist pedagogue António Sérgio and the writers Raul Brandão and Aquilino Ribeiro and many others for over half a century of existence. Entitled as a "doctrine and criticism" magazine, *Seara Nova* was dedicated to poetry, literary criticism, economics and modern pedagogy, and has played a prominent role in the ideological struggle against Salazar's dictatorship. In the twenties, the magazine invested in international relations, especially with Spain³⁸.

This Portuguese-Catalan closeness, which seemed promising, revealed in short term meteoric and it was Estelrich who felt the most Coimbra and Morais's "indifference", putting at risk the continuity of cultural relations. Eugeni D'Ors would also mention the state of "Moribus negligentiae" to which Coimbra devoted his unanswered letters (Cameirão 2010: 111). In the same sense, in march 1922, Joan Estelrich remembered the "old friendship", pointing out Coimbra's lack of attention to the telegrams and letters sent from Mallorca, Barcelona and Lisbon, the unrealized courses officially announced in Barcelona and Mallorca in 1919-1920, and the "affront" that represented to Catalonia Coimbra's meeting with Alfonso XIII and his 'Hispanophile' speeches delivered in Madrid³⁹. In short term, this was the least of the problems that the Catalans would have to deal with. Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, limiting the Catalan powers and cultural expression, followed by the civil war a decade later, and Franco's authoritarian government extended for the following decades, relegated Catalonia to the darkest moment of its existence.

Conclusions

We have seen to what extent were the cultural relations between *Renascença Portuguesa* and the Catalan *Noucentist* group, proving the vitality of the Iberian literary system in the 1920's. Conscious of the emerging peripheral nationalisms, the Peninsular elite of the beginning of the century sought to respond to national and European challenges, proposing a renewal based on literary, philosophical and pedagogical culture that favoured a dialogue with other nations. The main features of this cultural exchange were related to the need of each of the peripheral regions, controlled or not by a state, to create a literary canon and at the same time

³⁵ *Ibidem*, ani IV, nº LXXI, Set., (1918).

³⁶ D'Ors's disciple and a promoter of the Ateneo Barcelonés, trained in philosophy and law, Crexells i Vallhonrat would stand out as an intellectual of the Catalan *Noucentism* and a collaborator in the main Catalan cultural journals.

³⁷ "Notas e comentários. A *Seara Nova* na Catalunha". *Seara Nova*, Lisboa, nº21, fev.-mar., (1923): 141.

³⁸ "Literatura portuguesa no estrangeiro 'Los Pobres' de Raul Brandão". *Seara Nova*, Lisboa, 15 out.(1921): 23; "Portugal – Espanha". *Seara Nova*, Lisboa, nº19, 3 out.(1922): 97-99.

³⁹ Letter from Joan Estelrich to Leonardo Coimbra, march 1922. BMLC.

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affirm themselves internationally by creating a network of sociability for the sake of mutual knowledge.

Portuguese interest in Catalonia begun in an earlier stage, with the “Ferrer affair”, with political and pedagogical implications, which contributed to the civic consciousness and reinforced the importance of education in the civic and cultural programme of *Renascença Portuguesa*. In fact, among the literary revival that took place in Portugal in the early twentieth century, *Renascença* was the pioneer movement to openly affirm its Iberian affiliations, acknowledging the Peninsular multicultural realities and supporting Catalan and Galician emergent nationalities. The universe of figures committed to this project was extensive, pointing out however, as leading actors Teixeira de Pascoaes, Leonardo Coimbra, Eugeni D'Ors and Joan Estelrich, without forgetting the important role of mediators such as Ribera i Rovira, Ângelo de Moraes or Alfons Maseras. Depriving with eminent names of the cultural, political and philosophical scene of their time, their role was vital for the accomplishment of common projects, especially cultural exhibitions, academic conferences, magazine exchange and collaboration and translation of literary works. The fact that these movements were protagonists of a cultural renaissance operated simultaneously, it allowed looking at the other as a mirror of oneself and facing the whole Iberia in a multipolar non-hierarchical perspective, relying on a cross-border action with a view to the scientific, economic, academic, literary and cultural development of the peninsular regions.

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