



Revisiting Centres and Peripheries in Iberian Studies

Culture, History and Socio-economic Change

Edited by Mark Gant

Revisiting Centres and Peripheries In Iberian Studies: *Culture, History and Socio-economic Change*

Edited by
Mark Gant

Revisiting Centres and Peripheries in Iberian Studies:
Culture, History and Socio-economic Change
Edited by Mark Gant

This book first published 2019
Cambridge Scholars Publishing
Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE62PA, UK
British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library
Copyright © 2019 by Mark Gant and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN(10):1-5275-3689-0
ISBN(13):978-1-5275-3689-0

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction MarkGant.....	1
Section One: Re-examining Contemporary Cultural Representations: Identity,Memory and Society	
Chapter One	8
<i>Cuadros de Costumbres</i> and the Shaping of Stereotypes and National Identity in Contemporary Spain and Latin America Florian Grafl	
Chapter Two	19
“Covadonga” as a Literary Theme of Asturian and Spanish Regionalism and Nationalism Juan Carlos Busto	
Chapter Three	40
Bearing Witness: The Representation of FrancescBoix(1920-1951) In Lea Vélez’s <i>El jardín de la memoria</i> (2014) Deirdre Kelly	
Chapter Four	58
Queering the Politics of Memory of the Spanish Civil War Cindy Pinhal	
Chapter Five	66
“ <i>Your body is a battleground</i> ”: Active, Reactive and Combative Bodies In Contemporary Latin American Art Angelica Camerino Parra	
Chapter Six	90
“Sluts, Saints and Submissive”: Portrayal of Women in the Spanish Procedural Genre (1990-2010) Anna Tous-Rovirosa	
Chapter Seven	105
La Chica Rara, the Flaneuse, and Nationalism in Cristina Fernández Cubas’ <i>La flor de España</i> and Pedro Almodóvar’s <i>Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios</i> Terri Carney	

Chapter Eight	114
.....	
Rethinking <i>Gran Hermano</i> Twenty Years Later: The House as Simulacrum	
Carolina Sanabria	
Chapter Nine	125
.....	
Housing Dramas in Spanish Cinema Joan Miquel Gual	
Chapter Ten	140
.....	
Barcelona's <i>Pícaro</i> Detectives: A Comparative Study of Eduardo Mendoza's Unnamed Detective and Teresa Solana's Borja and Eduard Lucia Filipova	
Chapter Eleven	160
.....	
Surrealism and Psychoanalysis: A Reading of Two Pictorial Motifs in <i>Un Chien Andalou</i> (Buñuel/Dalí, 1929)	
Karen Poe Lang	
Chapter Twelve	177
.....	
The Poetic <i>Logos</i> and the Philosophical <i>Logos</i> in María Zambrano Simona Langella	
 Section Two: Exploring Economic, Social and Political Processes: Democracy, Nationalisms and the Transnational	
Chapter Thirteen	190
.....	
Republic and Socialism: The History of Spanish Thought according to Andrés Saborit	
Manuel López Forjas	
Chapter Fourteen	
.....	
Francisco Ferrer I Guàrdia's <i>Escuela Moderna</i> : Active Learning and Internationalist Pedagogy	
Parker Lawson	
Chapter Fifteen	233
.....	
Portuguese-Catalan Intellectual Networks in the Inter-War Period: Interconnections between <i>Noucentisme</i> and <i>Renascença Portuguesa</i>	
Susana Rocha Relvas	
.....	207

Chapter Sixteen	264
.....	
Globalisation, Independence and Languages in Catalonia: A Contemporary Perspective	
Steven Byrne	
Chapter Seventeen	289
.....	
The Catalan <i>Procés</i> Seen through the Arab Press in the Middle East	
Mohanad Amer Kadhim	
Chapter Eighteen	305
.....	
A Return to Spain's Twentieth Century Debate over Economic Nationalism?	
Nick Sharman	
Chapter Nineteen	321
.....	
On the Highway to Democracy? Europe's Stop/Start Policies towards The Spanish Transition	
Fabian Schmiedel	
Chapter Twenty	336
.....	
Spanish Regions After the Euro Crisis: What Are the Determinants of Business Location in Spain?	
Makiko Narita	
Chapter Twenty-One	354
.....	
Arab and Islamic Immigration in Children's and Young Adult Literature in Spain: Cultural Discourses in Spanish Literature and Translations	
Beatriz Soto Aranda	
Chapter Twenty-Two	379
.....	
The Renewal of "The Return of the Caravels"	
Ester Amaral de Paula Minga	
Chapter Twenty-Three	397
.....	
The Lusophone Space and the Indian Ocean: Towards New Cultural Cartographies	
Jessica Falconi	
Contributors	410
.....	

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

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

SUSANA ROCHA RELVAS

Introduction

The first decades of the twentieth century represented a golden age in the cultural relations among peninsular peripheral nationalisms. Inheriting their aspirations for national resurgence from romanticism, 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 as they imagined themselves as independent from the Spanish Nation State. 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 seeking to establish contact with an also emergent Portuguese culture developed. The most abiding affinity among them resides in the revision of their own narratives, narratives of (re)emergence, due to long antecedents in their literary historiography, now trying to overcome the period of crisis or forgetting, due to 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 in terms of 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, led to the rebirth of Portuguese culture.

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 entrusted less potential (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 canon, 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, attempting an approach on a variety of fronts, involving writers, politicians and scientists from different fields seeking a dialogue which, in some cases, resulted in attempts to deepen the theorizing about the future of the Iberian Peninsula (Pi i Margall, Prat de la Riba, Ribera i Rovira, Casas-Carbó). Fernando Pessoa said the following on the subject 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 in the Peninsula the 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, 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 respect, cultural openness to other peninsular and European emerging nationalities, seemed the natural path to follow. This cultural “*rexurdimiento*” was strengthened by the normalisation of the Catalan language by Pompeu Fabra, and with innovative pedagogical projects such as the rationalist education of Francisco Ferrer i Guardia’s *Escuela Moderna* (Modern School), which, as we will see, was to achieve fame in Portugal, both in the pedagogical field, with the creation of pedagogical centres inspired by its educational model, and 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 featuring a group of intellectuals such as Leonardo Coimbra, Teixeira de Pascoaes and Jaime Cortesão, first affiliated in the ranks of the anarchists and under the influence of the nineteenth-century thought of the so-called Oporto School, with strong republican roots, represented by the most prominent names in Portuguese thought such as Sampaio Bruno and Amorim Viana. They found *A Águia*, a literary periodical that, from 1912, became the organ of Oporto-based *Renascença Portuguesa*, a civic-cultural movement and was where Fernando Pessoa made his debut as literary critic (Pessoa 1912). The periodical soon stood out for its eclectic and up-to-date scientific, philosophical and literary contributions related to the European and Ibero-American spaces. Therefore, its internationalization was first concretized in three active fronts: Castile (Madrid), Galicia and Catalonia. In reality, the Portuguese intelligentsia operating between 1910-1920, featured the three nationalist movements working in the Portuguese cultural scene, the conservative and traditional monarchical and later Hispanist *Integralismo Lusitano*, run 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 by Valentin de Pedro of Pascoaes's *Tierra Prohibida* (1920) and Coimbra's *La Alegría, el Dolor y la Gracia* (1921), 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 the 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 was prefigured in the ancestral nostalgic feeling called *Saudade*, stressing 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 ethnic, 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 the ramifications of which were extended to the transatlantic spaces of Brazil and Africa. Nowadays, a group of *Renascença*'s disciples, having recovered this cultural matrix, is 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

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.

Coelho, Sampaio Bruno), and those who would create the *Renascença* movement, intervened publicly in defence of the Catalan anarchist Francisco Ferrer i Guàrdia, which would become a political *cause célèbre* 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 to the Catalan problem through the so-called "Ferrer affaire". Since the "Dreyfus's affaire" Europe had not witnessed a campaign of such dimensions, prompted mainly by free masonry, against the imprisonment and condemnation to death of Francisco Ferrer, implicated together with the radical anarchist Mateo Morral and Escuela Moderna's teacher José Nakens, in the anarchist attacks against Alfonso XIII (Joll, 1970). The rationalist pedagogy of the Escuela Moderna, gained followers in Portugal, not being limited to the circles of educators and men of Portuguese culture of the time, but 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 weapon against the monarchy and the Catholic Church, Ferrer's rationalist teaching influenced Portuguese pedagogues such as Adolfo Lima, Adolfo Coelho, Leonardo Coimbra, Campos Lima, Maria Veleda and Deolinda Lopes Vieira, who were 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 Escuela Moderna, expanding into European, North and South American countries where it had a great impact, 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 rationalist teaching in Portugal arose from 1905 onwards in the anarchist press, in periodicals such as the libertarian journal *Amor e Liberdade*, explaining the pedagogical action of the Escuela Moderna, and giving an account of the political process that shook the Spanish public opinion in the following four years, in defence of this 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 visit 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, Spanish interest in 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 Arts Course) directed by the republican, federalist and later second President of the First Portuguese Republic Teófilo Braga and they would continue from that point onwards a collaborative dialogue on pedagogical matters with the republican politician Bernardino Machado (Couvaneiro 2012).

In addition to this pedagogical convergence, Ferrer established, during his exile in Paris, political dialogue with prominent figures of republicanism, anarchism and socialism, mainly with Alejandro Lerroux and Charles Malato, becoming himself a freemason, 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 into the masonic lodges in order to carry out attacks against the Portuguese and Spanish monarchs, according to the French police reports (Avilés Ferré 2006, 207). Political contacts would continue in the following years, and in 1909 Ferrer returned 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. In the following year Coelho was to translate, William Heaford's book entitled *A Escola Moderna de Barcelona* (1910) (The Modern School of Barcelona). At the same time, in Oporto, the "Ferrer affaire" had considerable impact, boosting 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, this last thinker and publicist being 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 imprint, as pedagogue and martyr, would last through the following decades in the Portuguese

cultural milieu, whenever justice was at stake, as it was the case in 1914, when Miguel de Unamuno was deprived of his Dean's position in Universidad de Salamanca for his political opinions, and due to a series of essays published against Primo de Rivera's dictatorship which led him to exile in 1924.

The murder of Ferrer, who in death knew how to find the highest experience of his inner certainties, was barely forgotten when, amongst his still wary fellow combatants, Unamuno who, still in mourning, suffered the assault of this deep and hidden well of darkness, which lies at the heart of the Castilian soul and carries the dark profile of Satan³.

The modern pedagogy of Ramón Turró and José Mallart i Cutó

Already in the twenties, at the height of his activity as Minister of Education, Leonardo Coimbra, a thinker of national and international renown, publicist, writer and director of *A Águia* (The Eagle) and Dean of the Faculty of Arts of Oporto⁴, remained attentive to Ferrer's thought, in its scientific, philosophical, political and pedagogical strands. The various Catalan readings undertaken reflected his evolving thinking moving between the positivist current and 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 as scientist of national and international recognition with an extensive body of work in the areas of physiology, microbiology and immunology. Turró created a doctrine on the origin of knowledge, rooted in hunger as a psychophysiological problem of man, a theory that he was to extend to philosophy, from which resulted the aphorism: "I eat, therefore I exist" (Turró, 1921). First published in Catalan, in 1912, with innumerable translations in French, German and

³“Mal esquecido ainda o assassinato de Ferrer, que na morte soube encontrar a mais alta experiência das suas certezas interiores, intranquilos 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.

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 newspapers and periodicals.

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 in which he deepened Turró's theory of knowledge. However, it was at least from 1919, that Leonardo Coimbra was aware of Turró's work *Filosofía Crítica* (1919) through *La Revista*, a Catalan cultural periodical in exchange with *A Águia*. At the same time, in Galicia, Coimbra's correspondent and counterpart in terms of Iberian thought Xoan Vicente Viqueira, translator of the Spanish edition of *History of Philosophy* by Karl Vorländer, highlighted the philosophical movement of Barcelona in a marginal chapter dedicated to Spanish thought, naming the psychologist Ramón Turró and his work influenced by biology (Viqueira 1922, 463).

José Mallart i Cutó was another Catalan author deserving of Coimbra's attention. Considered one of the most important psychologists of the first half of the twentieth century (Ferreira 1996, 442), it was 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 Labour Organization*) (1922), edited by the Oporto publisher, Artes & Letras. But it was his key work *Educación Activa* (*Active Education*), written as a result of a trip to Germany, that deserved a careful reading from Coimbra. This pedagogical project, with its origins in the nineteenth century, had the support of pedagogues such as John Dewy, 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, in which 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 experimental component, Cutó investigated, the students' aptitudes through psychotechnics, and was committed, as was Coimbra, to methodological renewal and professional qualifications. In his book, the Catalan educator referred to his main pedagogical antecedents, including Adolfo Coelho and Faria de Vasconcelos from Portugal, G. Correa from Argentina and the Catalans Lorenzo Luzuriaga and Rodolfo Llopis (Relvas 2009).

Profusely underlined by Coimbra, the 4th edition of *Educación Activa*, published in 1935, particularly drew his attention, specifically chapter II—La escuela ideal para la

educación activa (The ideal School for Active Education). On 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 with 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, suggesting; 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 to 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: “Etapa d’importació i exportació intel·lectual”



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

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

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

⁶Eugeni d'Ors, doctor of law, philosophy and arts (1905), collaborated in literary and political periodicals such as *La Renaixença*, *El Poble Català*, among others, using the pseudonyms Octavi de Romeo and Xènius. From 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 Estudis Universitaris 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 Science Section 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 Public Instruction of the *Mancomunitat*, since 1917, but he resigned from the position in 1920 due to incompatibilities with President J. Puig i Cadafalch. He also ceased his activities at the IEC and stopped publishing *Glosari* in *La Veu de Catalunya*. After the Spanish Civil War, he became one of the main intellectuals of the Franco regime.

welcomed key figures such as Albert Einstein and Maria Montessori. Fulfilling an long-held aspiration to visit Catalonia, Pascoaes was hosted by Eugeni d'Ors and by the poet Fernando Maristany. Maristany had approached Pascoaes some months earlier through Ribera i Rovira, with the purpose of intensifying bonds between Catalonia and Portugal and of starting 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 brooding over the peoples of Europe, it was with hope in the mankind's capacity for regeneration, and in particular, in the future of the Iberian peoples that Pascoaes took 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 an 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 he referred to as 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 shores of the sea. It was a Catalan paradise after a Castilian hell"⁷. Pascoaes also admired the Catalan people for their economic and intellectual development "a people who has top level figures in all fields of material and intellectual action; a people who will absorb all Iberia, if others keep on sleeping as they have done so far"⁸. As in Portugal, in Catalonia a multifaceted culture was reborn through literature: "Epic land in Verdaguer; religious and lyrical in Maragall; fantastic, active and intellectual in higher philosophers, like Eugeni d'Ors"⁹. They were, likewise, poets as Fernando Maristany, Carles Soldevila, Llorenç Riber, Alfons Maseras, Marià Manent, Joseph Carner, José María López Picó, Joaquin Folguera, "illustrious teachers" such as Antonio Rubió i Lluch; writers as Alexandre Plana, Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer, Mirabent and Ribera i

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).

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 on Pascoaes's lectures, mainly in *D'ací i d'allà*, a monthly publication edited from January 1918 to 1936, and considered to be the first Catalan style magazine. It was first directed by Josep Carner, then Ignasi M. Folch i Torres and from 1924 onwards, by Carles Sodevila, who converted it into an instrument of urbanity, social behaviour and pedagogy in accordance with cultural and political Catalanism. In its customary "Crónica Catalana", Eugeni Xammar (1888-1973) noted the presence of Pascoaes in Barcelona as a contribution to Catalan cultural enrichment and his appearance at the *Juventut Nacionalista* (Nationalist Youth), where he was enthusiastically applauded due to his poetry recitation:

L'alta cultura s'ha vist especialment atesa am bels cursos del catedràtic P. Bosch Gimpera sobre la sistematizació 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 lectures, emphasizing Coimbra's thought and *Renascença Portuguesa's* interest in Catalan culture:

Institucions les més diverses assoleixen una admirable perfecció; des de l'enc 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, una son esforç a la cincia i a la vegada idea una filosofia (Masllobera 1919: 974).

With this decisive trip and under the auspices of the *Renascença Portuguesa* movement, cultural ties were intensified between Portugal and Catalonia, the scope and depth of which was extended, in the inter-war period, to Pascoaes's personal agenda

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

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, for whom the university should be the "most lucid and noble part of the national consciousness" (Coimbra 1994, 74), it is no less true that this higher education institution turned itself towards the most modern currents of European scientific and philosophical thinking thanks to academic exchanges and to the commitment of its Central Library to the acquisition of the most up to date international bibliography giving support to the existing degrees (FLUP, 1989). This was due to Coimbra's activity, undertaking a deep reform, endowing it with the much-desired "academic fecundity" (Coimbra 1994, 75) by promoting visits of foreign scholars to the Faculty of Arts of Oporto, providing students and teachers with access to modern currents of thought and scientific discoveries in the various areas of knowledge, invigorating Oporto's academic environment.



Image 2 Eugeni D'Ors in Lisbon with Joan Estelrich and Valle-Inclán (D'Ací i D'Allà, Barcelona, 1919)

In 1919, d'Ors's came to Portugal for a set of lectures, delivered both in the assembly 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 periodical *La Revista*. Estelrich's impressions of Coimbra's speech were as follows: "What a quick, kind, and fair judgment all at once, did he make of the doctrines dealt with by Ors!"¹¹. The Portuguese thinker highlighted d'Ors's

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 ensem, va fer de les doctrines glossades pel senyor Ors!". In *La Revista*, Barcelona, 1919: 256.

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 the evolution of 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, their ideas converging around intuitive and humanistic thinking. Leonardo Coimbra was for the Portuguese thought as Eugeni d'Ors was for Catalan thought. 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* and affirming his place as the thinker of Catalan *Noucentisme*. As such, he aimed to recover the roots of the classical world and to forge an ethno-cultural programme, a new linguistic and iconographic heritage that would reinforce Catalan identity. Like Coimbra, d'Ors held in his work *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 these same strands and was capable of responding to the spiritual and material needs and concerns of the Portuguese people and those of humanity in general. In a similar way to Coimbra in *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. Like the Portuguese thinker, who dedicated his life to the improvement of all levels of education, and to Popular Universities, d'Ors promoted pedagogical initiatives within the scope of *Arxius de Ciencias* (1911) and *Popular Libraries* (1914).

Coimbra was subsequently informed of the activities of d'Ors through correspondence with his disciple Ângelo de Moraes, a member of the *Renascença* and, at the time, a student of Bertrand Russell, Georges Dwelshauvers and d'Ors at the University of Barcelona. Concerning the latter, who was dismissed, in 1920, due to incompatibilities with President J. Puig i Cadafalch, Moraes would say, in confidence, to Coimbra: "D'Ors gets worse every day. He was removed from almost all the official

positions he held and threw himself 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, it being the last encounter between the two Iberian thinkers. Only in 1929, do 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 9th November 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, and was given considerable coverage by 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 Barcelona Municipal Guard, Francesc Pujol, 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 dignitaries attending the event. In the Portuguese reception for the Catalan *intelligentsia* Humberto Pelágio, *Seara Nova*’s artistic director, revealed himself to be a great supporter of the Portuguese-Catalan approach, publishing various articles promoting Peninsular exchange in the cultural periodical. On the same lines, Estelrich was to become 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 exchanges of ideals and feelings” (*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 Morais as mediator in Portuguese-Catalan relations. Two decades later, Estelrich would reiterate

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 Morais 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.

the influence that the poet from Amarante would have on him: “my appreciations for having taught me an understanding of and love for 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 publication by 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 researcher 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 academics 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 Academic Studies and Research), which resulted from the strong commitment of the Spanish and Catalan governments to the creation of academic institutions and equipment (Pericot 1974). Manifesting a full commitment to Catalanicity, Bosch Gimpera gave his contribution to the reform of the Catalan university sector, standing out as one of the leading figures of the Catalan and Spanish research community, 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 facing the *Renascença* and the announcement of the closure of the Faculty of Arts of Oporto, Coimbra continued with academic exchanges, inviting, the spiritualist thinker and scholar of classical culture Júlio Navarro i Monzó for a conference in 1932. 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 West has concentrated them within time. The East looks towards the Divine, the West towards the human” (Santos, 1932). Known and respected in Portugal since the first decade of the century, when he was living in Portugal, holding the position of director of the newspaper *O Correio de Lisboa* (Núñez

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

Seixas 2013) he displayed Catalan literature and thought with *Catalunha e as Nacionalidades Ibéricas* (1908), as well as some varied studies on Catalan nationalism, Cervantes and Christianity in the Portuguese workers¹⁵. Navarro i Monzó was in perfect harmony 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 doctrine of Immanentism and traditional cosmogonies.

The role of mediators in cross-cultural understanding

The role of cultural mediators was until recently relegated to a tributary level in studies dedicated to 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 Majorcan nationalist Joan Estelrich, secondary actors operated, sometimes in the shadows, but who 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 Catalans Ribera i Rovira and Alfons Maseras, and the Ângelo de Morais from Portugal.

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 theorizers such as Joan Maragall and from Portugal Oliveira Martins, Antero de Quental, Guerra Junqueiro and Teófilo Braga, in his work *Nova orientação sobre o futuro económico dos povos da Península* ([1907], 1913) the lusophile discussed the Iberian multinational phenomenon and the political shift that undermined the nation state model at the turn of the century, opening a space to the federalist trend that would gather so many followers including 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 as a group of

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.

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).

A pioneer in Portuguese-Catalan cross-cultural exchange, the lusophile writer discussed Portuguese literature in Catalonia since the beginning of the century, delivering lectures from 1905 onwards, as "Portugal Artistic", which he converted into an edited book, and some years later, his close relation with *Renascença Portuguesa* became salient at various levels. From the role of mediator between Pascoaes and the Catalan intellectuals, to his influence in Augusto Casimiro, author of an eminent poem titled *À Catalunya* (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 and disagreeing with Eugeni d'Ors (Harrington 2010, 161), Ribera i Rovira considered Portugal to be a model of cultural resistance to be followed. In the prologue to Maristany's *Las Cien Mejores Poesías 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 changing times. Here is to be found specifically the vital factor of its independence" (Ribera i Rovira 1918, 15). For the defenders of the Portuguese-Catalan approach, the union of two cultures represented 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 stated, referring to the Catalans who visited Portugal such as Eugeni d'Ors, Casas-Carbó, Joan Estelrich and F. Maristany. In this same text, Rovira presented the "most recent 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 poetry "an yearning and mystic

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).

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

feeling", to then confirms that "The Portuguese Saudade is Catalan nostalgia, which the Spanish soul has incorporated beautifully" (Ribera i Rovira 1918, 14).

In reality, the Catalan cult of 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, payed tribute, in 1919, to the Catalan writer, assigning the Order of Santiago's official decoration by a republican despatch awarded for "services provided to Portuguese Language and Literature"¹⁸.

In the 1920s, the Catalan Alfons Maseras i Galtés (1884-1939) and the Portuguese thinker Ângelo de Morais (1887-1968) were decisive mediators, ensuring cultural exchange between Portuguese and Catalan protagonists: d'Ors, Pascoaes and Coimbra. They were both divided between family business and a career related to culture although the latter 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 and second Portuguese Republics, Morais became Coimbra's disciple from 1911, depriving him from then from the Oporto based intellectual elite such as Pascoaes or Ângelo César. A free mason and republican affiliated to 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 periodicals¹⁹. Due to his involvement in the conspiracy against Sidónio Pais's dictatorship (1917-1918), Morais was 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 a student of Eugeni d'Ors's on his Philosophy course (Batista 2008, 271). Committed to the discussion of Portuguese culture in Spain and aware of Catalan cultural vitality, Morais was the central mediator between *Renascença Portuguesa*'s group and the *Noucentiste* movement, with whom he would establish close contact. It was mainly with

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

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).

Teixeira de Pascoaes that Morais would share his vivid impressions of 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. The contribution of d'Ors as Professor was inestimable to Morais, who emphasised that his "extensive culture and admirable didactic qualities, make me follow his lessons with care and affection where I hope to gain something"²¹. In fact, Morais translated Eugeni d'Ors's philosophy lessons for 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 a friend"²³, for the Spanish translation of *La Alegría, el Dolor y la Gracia*, and between the Argentinean 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 stays in Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina (Corretger 1995). In this project he appealed for 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 his cultural embassy to Lisbon and Oporto, in 1919. Furthermore, his sensibility towards Portuguese culture was shown with the edition of *Recull de Contes en francès i portuguès*, published in the press in 1927.

“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, exhibitions, readings and reception in literary journals of works and authors reflecting

²⁰Letter nº2 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 didáticas, que me fazem seguir com atenção e carinho as suas lições onde espero alguma coisa ganhar”. Ibidem.

²²Letter nº3 from Ângelo de Morais to Teixeira de Pascoaes, Barcelona, 23 jan. 1919, D3/2755. Teixeira de Pascoaes Archives, BNP.

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

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 in and knowledge of the other.

In the 1920s, Leonardo Coimbra intensified his reading of Spanish, Galician and Catalan literatures, from the mystics and religious writers such as San Juan de la Cruz or José Maria Gabriel y Galán to ones reflecting the national *volkgeist*, such as Rosalía de Castro or Miguel de Unamuno. One of the most widely read Catalan authors by the *Renascença Portuguesa* group was Joan Maragall i Gorina (1860-1911), a member of the emblematic *Renaixença* and poet of 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 Ramón 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 significance 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 the Palma de Mallorca based daily periodical *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 along the lines of Lerroux. Despite the seven centuries separating the two works, they found favour for their teleological and philosophical innovation. Both the knight and medieval troubadour Ramon Llull and the contemporary thinker Coimbra used an allegorical discourse to communicate Christian values with the readers, being this one of the central matrices of Iberian culture:

Los extremos se tocan. Los siglos vuelven o renacen. La Gracia de Coimbra, su reintegración 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 inmoral, 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 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).

The extremes touch each other. Times return or are reborn. Coimbra's grace, his reintegration into a full life, his ultimate solution to doubts about life and pain and human destiny and his rebirth to profound Christian joy, sheltered from the immoral, show the characteristics of the path that was taken centuries before by the refugee at Miaramar. [...]

Leonardo is religiosity brought into being and irradiated afterward to those around, as a norm. Blanquerna is a life unfolded through gratitude for the experience of glory, in a religiosity that is somewhat mystic and somewhat oriental. A little Siniatic and a little Christian, that of the Friend, Sinatic perhaps, in defence of the Beloved. [...] In this difference, in appearance a series of related shades of meaning current Iberian thought is present, stronger than ever and as a result of this, Spanish thought also leaves its mark.

Aware that cultural periodicals were determinant vehicles for the promotion of mutual knowledge, Leonardo Coimbra sent to his Catalan correspondents Albert R. Schneeberger, Joan Estelrich and Gabriel Alomar *A Águia* and *Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto* (Journal of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto), and was to receive 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 for the announcement of the edition of

²⁴Author of *Anthologie des poètes catalans contemporanis 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 bio-bibliographiques*. Paris: Libr. Académique Perrin, 1926; *La Dame aux songes*, frontispice et trois poèmes. 1932; *Fornarine*, roman, 1932; *La Méléé*, 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.

*Cadernos de António Nobre*²⁵. Schneeberger clarified that before the war he had followed Portuguese literature closely and that he had published a study on the Portuguese poet Antero de Quental in the German periodical *Pan*²⁶, 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 Eugeni d'Ors, published in *Messidor*²⁸. He also requested Coimbra's collaboration for *Poèsia*, directed by Mário Dessy²⁹, and sent him the "écletique et vraiment européen" programme of this periodical, intensifying the exchange and extending it to the European geographical and cultural space. In response to the submission of the *Journal of the Faculty of Letters*, Gabriel Alomar i Villalonga (1873-1941) sent his book *La Formación de si mismo: el diálogo entre la vida y los libros* (1920) to Coimbra. 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, which in 1917 became, the Partit Republicà Catalá. Inspired by the Portuguese politician Teófilo Braga, Alomar's political thinking was rooted in Catalan and liberal republicanism and was anti-traditionalist and anti-clerical, supporting an Iberian confederation. Having these ideological affinities in mind, Coimbra immediately published a review of Alomar's book, considering him a "spiritual brother". The Portuguese thinker would also emphasize the role of Spain in the Peninsula and in Europe, 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

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 periodical 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 Portugais in Paris, where he worked as journalist and welcomed Portuguese political exiles. In 1900, during World Exposition of Paris, he founded the periodical *Le Portugal a 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.

“system of spiritual values” (Alomar 1922). He considered Coimbra’s work to be endowed with a “triumphant optimism, which invites us to meditate on the singular reaction of this Celtic soul to his native troubadour and Breton heritage, to 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 Isolde” (Alomar 1922)³⁰. Another of Coimbra’s contacts was the *noucentiste* playwright and translator Josep Maria Millàs-Raurell (1896 - 1971). In an letter of introduction Millàs-Raurell, referring to their common friend Ângelo de Morais, highlighted his role in 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 their common pedagogical interests in mind, 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 periodicals would have an important role in the Portuguese-Catalan cultural rapprochement: *Estudio* and *La Revista*. *Estudio* (1913-1920), a monthly periodical 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 Diez-Canedo and Andrés González Blanco, who would devote the most praiseworthy considerations to Portuguese works. From 1916 onwards, this periodical 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 and pioneer in Portugal in comparative Iberian studies Fidelino de Figueiredo, published in the Catalan periodical “Relaciones literarias 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

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).

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

³²Ibidem.

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 publicised *A Águia* in its backpages and in the “Bibliografia” section reviews of the latest publications in Portuguese were presented³³. Along the same lines, 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 presenting the Portuguese poet to the Spanish public (González Blanco 1917). Two years earlier, his brother Pedro González Blanco had already published in *A Vida Portuguesa*, the journal of the *Renascença Portuguesa*, the essay “La Renascença Portuguesa y la Literatura Española”, giving an account of the commitment of the Portuguese movement in its approach to Spain (González Blanco 1915). The reviewer of Portuguese literature, Andrés González Blanco defended its 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, counted on the assiduous collaboration of Carles Riba, Ramón Rucabado, Crexels i Vallhonrat, Bosch Gimpera, Joan Estelrich and Millás-Raurell. Affiliated to the *Noucentism* movement, this periodical covered a wide range of areas dedicated to translation, essays, theatre, Catalan and foreign literatures and had as complementary activities the organization of popular libraries, museums, congresses, exhibitions, the foundation of specialized periodicals and a Technical University. The latest news that it covered on the subject of Portuguese literature included Pascoaes’s

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).

conferences in Barcelona in “Curs Teixeira de Pascoaes”, by J. Farran i Mayoral³⁵, Joan Estelrich's travel impressions of Portugal, and the critical review by Joan Crexells i Vallhonrat (1896-1926) of Coimbra's philosophical system in "El Creacionisme" (Crexeills I Valhonrat 1919, 159-161)³⁶. The periodical 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 by 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 periodical of “doctrine and criticism”, *Seara Nova* was dedicated to poetry, literary criticism, economics and modern pedagogy, and played a prominent role in the ideological struggle against Salazar's dictatorship. In the twenties, the periodical concerned itself with international relations, especially with Spain³⁸.

This Portuguese-Catalan closeness, which seemed promising, was revealed to be short term and 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 negligetiae*” to which Coimbra devoted his unanswered letters (Cameirão 2010: 111). On the same subject, in March 1922, Joan Estelrich remembered their "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 Coimbra's meeting with Alfonso XIII and his ‘Hispanophile’ speeches delivered in Madrid represented to Catalonia³⁹. In short term, this was the least of the problems that the Catalans would have to deal with. Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, limiting Catalan powers and cultural expression, followed by the civil war a decade later, and Franco's authoritarian government extended for the following decades, relegating Catalonia to the darkest moment of its existence.

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.

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

Conclusions

We have seen the extent of the cultural relations between *Renascença Portuguesa* and the Catalan *Noucentist* group, proving the vitality of the Iberian literary system in the 1920s. 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, whether controlled or not by a state, to create a literary canon and at the same time affirm themselves internationally by creating a network of sociability for the sake of mutual knowledge.

Portuguese interest in Catalonia had begun in an earlier stage, with the “Ferrer affair”, with political and pedagogical implications, which contributed to civic consciousness and reinforced the importance of education in the civic and cultural programme of the *Renascença Portuguesa*. In fact, among those involved in the literary revival that took place in Portugal in the early twentieth century, *Renascença* was the pioneer movement in openly affirming its Iberian affiliations, acknowledging the Peninsula’s multi cultural realities and supporting emergent Catalan and Galician nationalities. The range of figures committed to this project was extensive, however, Teixeira de Pascoaes, Leonardo Coimbra, Eugeni d’Ors and Joan Estelrich can be seen as leading actors, without forgetting the important role of mediators such as Ribera i Rovira, Ângelo de Moraes or Alfons Maseras. Possessing eminent reputations in the cultural, political and philosophical scene of their time, their role was vital for the accomplishment of common projects, especially cultural exhibitions, academic conferences, periodical 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 regarding the whole of Iberia from 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.

Bibliography

- Alomar, Gabriel. 1922. “Divagaciones sobre Leonardo Coimbra”. *El Imparcial*, Madrid.
- _____. 1922. “Divagações sobre Leonardo Coimbra”. *A Tribuna*, Porto, ano III, nº 614, 30 de abril:1.

- Avilés Farré, Juan. 2006. *Francisco Ferrer y Guardia: pedagogo, anarquista y mártir*. Madrid: Marcial Pons, Historia.
- Batista, Maria Manuel. 2008. “Crença e ação política na 1ª República portuguesa. O caso de Ângelo de Moraes”. *Crenças, Religiões e Poderes. Dos Individuos às Sociabilidades*. (Orgs.) Vítor Oliveira Jorge e José M. Costa Macedo. Lisboa: Edições Afrontamento: 269-278.
- Bordieu, Pierre. 1996. *As regras da arte: gênese e estrutura do campo literário*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.
- Cabo Aseguinolaza, Fernando. 2011. “The Spatial Turn in Literary Historiography”. *CLCWeb - Comparative Literature and Culture*, 13: 5.
- Cameirão, Maria de Lurdes. 2010. *Teixeira de Pascoaes e a Espanha*. Prefácio Teresa Rita Lopes. Lisboa: Assírio & Alvim.
- _____. 2010. *Epistolário Espanhol de Teixeira de Pascoaes* (Cartas de intelectuais espanhóis a Teixeira de Pascoaes). Prefácio de Ángel Marcos de Dios. Lisboa: Assírio & Alvim.
- Cardoso, João. 2016. “Correspondência epistolar remetida por eminentes pré-historiadores espanhóis ou que trabalharam essencialmente em Espanha a José Leite de Vasconcelos (1853-1941)”. *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*, Homenagem a Rui Boaventura, vol. 23, Editores Científicos: João Luís Cardoso e Rui Mataloto, Câmara Municipal de Oeiras.
- Cerdà Subirachs, Jordi. 2012. “Del contacte de l'ànima catalana ab la portuguesa. Maragall i Portugal”. *Haidé*, Estudis Maragallians, Butlletí de l'Arxiu Joan Maragall, núm. 1, Biblioteca de Catalunya: 27-55.
- Coimbra, Leonardo. 1906. “Justiça e Liberdade! Francisco Ferrer”. *O Norte*. Diário Republicano, Porto, ano VII, nº2052, (11 de set.): 1.
- _____. 1919. “Entrevista: O ensino e a República”. *O Mundo*, Lisboa, ano XVIII, nº 6532, (27 abril): 1-2
- _____. 1922. “Bibliografia. *I Sogni Croceffissi*, de H. Nazariantz; *Vento Mareiro* de Ramón Cabanillas, *La Formación de si Mismo*, de Gabriel Alomar e *La Psychologie Française Contemporaine*, de Georges Dwelshauvers”. *A Águia*, Porto, 3ª série, nº2, (agosto): 78-79.
- _____. 1926. *O Problema da Educação Nacional*. Tese apresentada ao Congresso da Esquerda Democrática em 1926. Porto: Marânus.
- _____. 1987. *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.

- _____. 1994. *Cartas, conferências, discursos, entrevistas e bibliografia geral*. Compilação e notas de Jesué Pinharanda Gomes e Paulo Samuel. Nota preliminar de Pinharanda Gomes. Lisboa: Fundação Lusíada.
- _____. 2004. *Obras Completas I (1903-1912)*, tomo I. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.
- Couvaneiro, João Luís. 2012. *O Curso Superior de Letras (1861-1911): nos primórdios das Ciências Humanas em Portugal*. Tese de Doutoramento. Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa.
- Crexells i Vallhonrat, J.1919. “El Creacionisme”. *La Revista*, Quaderns de publicació quinzenal, any V, nº XC, (16 juny):159-161.
- Deleuze, Gilles, and Guattari, Félix. 1992. *O que é a Filosofia?* Rio de Janeiro: Ed. 34.
- Enseñat, José. 1923. “*La Alegría, el Dolor y la Gracia* de Leonardo Coimbra”. *El Dia*, Palma de Mallorca. In *A Águia*, Porto, nº7, 3ª série, (jan.-jun.): 45-46.
- Estelrich, Joan.1919.“Diades lusitanes”. *La Revista*, Barcelona, ano V, num XCV, (1 sept.): 258.
- _____. 1919.“Dias Lusitanos”. *Ressurreição*, Lisboa, nº8, (1dez.): 11.
- _____. 1920. “Los nuevos valores – Leonardo Coimbra”. *La Publicidad*. Barcelona, (3 de julio). *Ibidem*, *A Tribuna*, Porto, (26 de agosto).
- Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto (FLUP). 1989. *Fundo Primitivo da Biblioteca Central 1919-1928*. Porto: FL, UP..
- Ferrer i Guàrdia, Francisco.1993. *Cartilla Filológica Española: primer libro de lectura*. Barcelona: Escuela Moderna.
- _____. s/d. *Agenda de Francisco Ferrer i Guàrdia*. CD-ROM. Fundación Francisco Ferrer, Barcelona, s/d.
- Figueiredo, Fidelino. 1916^a. “Relaciones Literarias Modernas entre Portugal y España”. *Estudio*, Barcelona, nº37: 11-13.
- _____. 1916b. “España en la moderna literatura portuguesa”. *Estudio*, Barcelona, nº37: 11-13.
- González Blanco, Andrés. 1917. “Teixeira de Pascoaes y el Saudosismo”. *Estudio*, Barcelona, tomo XIX, ano V, nº57, Sept. 1917: 391- 414.
- _____. 1918. “Cândido Guerreiro. Sonetos com prólogo de Guerra Junqueiro”. *Estudio*, Barcelona, nº69: 504.

- González Blanco, Pedro. 1915. "La Renascença Portuguesa y la literatura española". *A Vida Portuguesa*, Porto, ano III, nº36, abril: 124.
- Greenblat, Stephen. 2001. *Globalizing Literary Studies*, PMLA, special topic, vol. 116, nº1:48-63.
- Guota, Akhil & James Ferguson. 1992. "Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference", *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(1): 6-23.
- Harrington, Thomas. 2010. "The hidden history of tripartite Iberianism". *A Comparative History of Literatures in the Iberian Peninsula*. Vol. I, Ed. by Fernando Cabo Aseguinolaza, Anxo Abuín Gonzalez, César Domínguez. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company:138-162.
- Joll, James.1970. *Anarquistas e Anarquismo*. Lisboa: Dom Quixote.
- Lotman Iuri. 1978. *A Estrutura do Texto Artístico*. Lisboa: Estampa.
- Mallart i Cutó, José. 1931. *La Educación Activa*. 4ª edición. Barcelona, Buenos Aires, Editorial Labor, S.A..
- Martínez Fiol, David.1988.*Catalanismo y la Gran Guerra (1914-1918)*.Barcelona: Granada.
- Masllobera, C. 1919. "Catalunya a Portugal". *D'Ací i D'Allà*, vol. 4, nº10 (oct.): 973-977.
- Núñez Seixas, Xosé M. 2013."Iberia Reborn: Portugal through the lens of Catalan and Galician Nationalism (1850-1950)". *Iberian Modalities*. Ed. Joan Ramon Resina. Liverpool University Press: 83-98.
- Padilla Ferreira, José María.1996. "Una biografía intelectual de José Mallart". *Revista de Historia de la Psicología*, vol. 17, nº3-4: 442-453.
- Pascoaes, Teixeira de.1919. *Os Poetas Lusíadas*. Porto: Renascença Portuguesa.
- Pericot, Luís.1974. "Don Pedro Bosch Gimpera (1891-1974)". *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 171, Cuaderno 3:585-590.
- Pessoa, Fernando.1912. "A nova poesia sociologicamente considerada". *A Águia*, Porto, 2ª série, nº4, abril: 101-106.
- _____. 1994."A cultura que há hoje em Espanha e Portugal". *Páginas sobre Literatura e Estética*. 2ª edição. Lisboa: Publicações Europa-América, Lda.: 131-132.
- Quesada López, José Manuel.2003. *Pedro Bosch Gimpera. La Arqueología Española en el exilio mexicano*. México: Coordinación de Innovación Educativa/ QFB-UMSNH.

- Relvas, Susana. 1998. *António Sardinha e suas relações culturais com Espanha e América Latina. "Pacto de Quinas e de Flores de Liz entre os Semeadores de nacionalidades"*. Tese de mestrado apresentada à FCSH Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- _____. 2004. *A Educação de Inspiração Libertária no Arquivo Histórico Social Português*. Publicações Periódicas (1894-1910) e Monografias Portuguesas (1823-1910). Lisboa: Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa.
- _____. 2009. *O Pensamento de Leonardo Coimbra: afinidades e convergências no espaço Ibérico e Ibero-Americano*. Tese de Doutoramento. Lisboa: FCSH Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- _____. 2018. "Mirrors, reflexions and shadows: Portuguese-Galician relations in the 1920s". *New Journeys in Iberian Studies. A (Trans-)National and (Trans-)Regional Exploration*. Editor(s): Mark Gant, Paco Ruzzante, Anneliese Hatton. Cambridge Scholars Publishing: 172-181.
- Ribera i Rovira, Ignasi. 1905. *Portugal artistic: resum d'unes conferencies donades sobre aquest tema á l'Ateneu Barcelonés*. Barcelona: Llibreria "A' Avenç".
- _____. 1913. *Nova Orientação sobre o futuro económico dos povos da Península - conferência realizada em 1907 na Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*. Lisboa: Typografia Universal.
- _____. 1918. Prólogo a Fernando Maristany. *Las cien mejores poesías líricas de la lengua portuguesa*. Valencia: Editorial Cervantes.
- _____. 1922. "A educação dos povos peninsulares". *A Águia*, Porto, vol.II, nº8, (agosto): 55.
- _____. 1923. "Guerra Junqueiro e a Fraternidade Ibérica". *A Águia*, Porto, nºs 13-14, (julho/agosto): 15.
- Rodrigues, Edgar. 2010. *História do Movimento Anarquista em Portugal*. Piracicaba: Ateneu Diego Giménez.
- Sampaio, Guilherme Martins Rodrigues. 2009. *A ideia Federalista Republicana em Augusto Manuel Alves da Veiga (1850-1924)*. Tese de Mestrado em História Contemporânea. Lisboa: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa.
- Santos, Delfim. 1932. *A Águia*, Porto, Ano 20, n.º 3, (Jan.-Fev.): 177-178.
- Spivak, Gayatri. 2010. *Pode o subalterno falar?* Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG.
- Turró, Ramón. 1921. *La base trófica de la inteligencia*. Comentarios de Antonio Colodrón, Josep Plá y Miguel de Unamuno. Madrid: Ed. Triacastela.

- Unamuno, Miguel. 1985. "Hispanidad". *Escritos de Unamuno sobre Portugal*. Estudio, recopilación y notas de Ángel Marcos de dios. Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- _____. 1991. *Epistolario Inédito II (1915-1936)*. Edición Laureano Robles. Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- Villagrasa, Felix. 2014. *Una Ciència al Mon*. Barcelona.
http://mancomunitatiencia.cat/files/Mancomunitat_de_Catalunya-complertsensepersonatges.pdf
- Vorländer, Karl. 1922. *Historia de la Filosofía*. Prólogo de José Ortega y Gasset e Trad. Castellana de Xoan Viqueira. Vol.II. 6ª edición. Madrid: Francisco Beltrán.
- Xammar, Eugeni. 1918. "Crónica Catalana". *D'Ací i D'Allà*. Vol.2, nº7 (Jul.): 86-88.