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The Birth of the Idea of Pan-Latinism in Catalonia **Lily Litvak**

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THE BIRTH OF THE IDEA OF PAN-LATINISM IN CATALONIA

LILY LITVAK

Towards the end of the 19th century a polemic developed among the intellectual circles of Europe concerning the following problem: Of the two different civilizations or races, Latins and Anglo-Saxons or Germanics, who were superior? From 1870, it seemed that the Nordic countries had monopolized material, industrial, scientific and even intellectual and artistic advancement. The defeat of the French in 1870 had clearly shown France's weakness. Later, the defeat of the Italians in Adua and that of the Spanish in 1898 seemed to support the thesis of those who believed that the Latin or Mediterranean countries were in irremediable decline.

Some, like Joséphin Péladan, were preparing to witness the final episode of the splendor of the Mediterranean countries.¹ Others, on the other hand, reacted against such ideas with the hope of an approaching Latin Renaissance, possible only with the political, technical and intellectual union of all those countries. We therefore witness in those years the birth of Pan-Latinism, which was, in the beginning, the consciousness of possessing a common cultural patrimony, inherited from Rome. In time, this idea took on meanings which transcended the purely cultural. Going from the defensive to the offensive, Pan-Latinists claimed that the Mediterranean world, consisting of the former domain of the Roman Empire, and the Latin American territo-

¹ Joséphin Péladan wrote *Ethopée de la décadence latine; Finis Latinorum* (Paris, 1884-1907), 21 vols.

ries, should regain their position as leaders of the Western world, in the name of their advanced civilization, their former heritage, and their concern for humanity, all of which, they said, were superior to the Anglo-Saxons¹.

The origins of the political and intellectual movements seeking to group several countries on the basis of cultural, linguistic or racial affinity, began to appear in Europe from the start of the 19th century. There were Pan-Germanic, Pan-Slavic, Pan-Teutonic movements.² Many of them had a solid racist base, due to the darwinistic, evolutionist propaganda which became so important in Europe from 1860.

According to these theories, there were several different human races, some more suited to the struggle for survival than others. Some studies like that of Vacher de Lapouge,³ expounded the theory of three different European types: *Homo Europeanus*; tall, blond, energetic, domineering, idealistic, creative, and Protestant; *Homo Alpinus*; short, dark, slow, and *Homo Mediterraneus*; short, dolichocephalic, dark, cowardly, given to exhibitionism, and Catholic. Lapouge examined the French race and found in it a progressive degeneration due to the disappearance of the elements of *Homo Europeanus* and the progressive predominance of characteristics of *Homo Mediterraneus*.

The origins of the idea of Pan-Latinism are based on the reaffirmation of the values of the Mediterranean countries. The beginnings of this idea can be related to the felibrean movement and to the friendship of Catalans and Provençals in the 19th century.⁴ The regionalist movement did not preclude the

² Regarding this matter see our book, *Latinos y anglosajones: Orígenes de una polémica* (Barcelona, 1980).

³ *L'arien, son rôle social* (Paris, 1889).

⁴ Concerning the history of the felibrean movement see the article by Paul Mariéton, "Histoire du Félibrige, 1854-1893", *Lyon Revue* (January, 1893), G.

premise of a supranational Latin reality, but rather complemented it. In this way regionalism, which by its very nature was basically federalist, led to the concept of a Latin federation which would include all the countries of *oc*, on the same level of equality as the other Latin entities. The concrete formulation of the idea of Pan-Latinism can be dated back to 1854, the year in which the felibrean movement is born in Avignon, or at the latest, to 1861 when Provence and Catalonia try to form a friendly union based on common cultural bonds.

In 1854, four poets from the south of France meet in the castle of Font Segugne, near Avignon, to discuss an invitation to collaborate with the Catalans.⁵ The friendship between the two regions is sealed a little later when Damas Calvet, who was decorated in the recently instituted "Jocs Florals", arrives in Provence. In 1867, Balaguer, then in exile, makes a plea in Narbonne to the Provençals to support their Catalan brothers in the regionalist struggle. On his return to Barcelona, Balaguer invites the felibres Mistral, Roumeaux, Bonaparte Wyze and Paul Meyer to his native Catalonia where they are received with great honor.

Balaguer in Catalonia and Mistral in Provence at the head of the respective regionalist movements, become the champions of the Catalan-Provençal friendship, and they emphasize the Pan-Latin aspect of their regionalism.⁶ In his *Armana Pro-*

Jourdanne, *Histoire du Félibrige* (Avignon, 1897). See also the pamphlet by Charles Brun "L'Evolution félibréenne" (Lyon, 1896), Aurozne Chanoine Joseph, *Histoire critique de la Renaissance méridionale au XIXe siècle* (Avignon, 1907). Also, Roger Barthe, *L'Idee latine* (Toulouse, 1950).

⁵ See Renée Lelièvre, *Le théâtre dramatique italien en France 1855-1940* (Paris, 1959).

⁶ Concerning the relations of Mistral and Balaguer see M. André, *La vie harmonieuse de Mistral* (Paris, 1928), 101-135.

vençau of 1862, Mistral had already considered Provençal the language that would unite the three branches of the Latin race: France, Italy and Spain, and in his "Ode à la race latine" the poet makes an appeal for that union,⁷ in which he saw Catholicism as an essential ingredient.

Other figures, like Xavier de Ricard, promoter of the regionalist movement, propose a form of Pan-Latinism under the triple banner of federalism, democracy and atheism. In this diversification of tendencies through the years, we see that Mistral evolves to the principle of authority founded on legitimism and Catholicism, while certain Catalan personalities, such as Balaguer, are more liberal. Balaguer believes in the republic; Mistral, on the other hand, leans towards authoritarianism and the Catholic religion.

In the final years of the 19th century the exchanges between Provence and Catalonia continue, more firmly rooting the conception of Pan-Latinism. In 1863, Bonaparte Wyze holds a banquet for Catalans and Provençals. In Barcelona Balaguer is chosen to preside over the "Jocs Florals" of 1868. Friendly cultural exchanges multiply. Several Provençals travel to Catalonia. In 1868 the feast of Saint Remy brings together Catalans and Provençals. In that year, the founding of the *Société des Langues Romanes* accords these people the support of the French cultural world and directs them towards broader political, philological and literary goals.

The activities promoted by poetry festivals and competitions multiply: *La Revue des Langues Romanes*, created in 1870, assembles ancient and modern publications in an effort to revive the civilizations of Provence and Catalonia. In an introduction to Balaguer's work *Études historiques et littéraires sur les troubadours*,

⁷ "Ode à la race latine", *Les Cahiers de la collette* (Lourmarin, 1931).

published in a French translation in the *Revue du Monde Latin*, the following can be read: "There is at this moment in the south of France and the northeast of Spain a movement which has been purely literary up to this point, and which is not unlike that staged in the region seven or eight centuries ago."⁸

In reality, as Roger Barthe points out, the Felibrige and its epigones have always had two tendencies: one, purely literary, which gives impetus to a true Renaissance of the Provençal and Catalan languages and literatures from the middle of the 19th century, and, another, with social and political aspirations, directed mainly by the Catalan faction,⁹ with the French faction reservedly accepting this political regionalism about which there was some disagreement. Likewise it is Catalonia that leads the way in the cultivation of language and literature. With an identical criterion and purpose, Provence realizes that her language, formerly considered patois, can foster a rich literature. The apology of Catalan and Provençal led, logically, to cultural regionalism; as a result of this, Provençal ended up by competing with French, just as Catalan competed with Spanish.

It must be stressed, however, that in this cultural aspect regionalism was closely tied to Pan-Latinism. In the regionalist Renaissance there always stands out the necessity to safeguard a language and a common cultural patrimony, Provençal and Catalan, descendants of the same root: Latinity. Therefore, the first time that the idea of Pan-Latinism is concretely expressed is in relation to the regional literatures. This can be seen in a pamphlet by Roque Ferrier, published in 1876, under the title *L'Idée latine dans quelques poésies en langues d'oc, espagnol et catalan*.¹⁰

⁸ *Revue du Monde Latin*, 1 (1883).

⁹ Roger Barthe, *L'Idée latine*, 50.

¹⁰ Roque Ferrier belonged to the felibrean movement. In fact, the concrete formulation of this idea has as one of its precedents the "Reflexiones de un

Very soon the idea of Pan-Latinism extends to other European countries. The movement first reaches Italy towards 1874, Rumania in 1879, later Portugal, Switzerland, Canada, Brazil and other Latin American countries. The festivities commemorating the fifth centenary of the death of Petrarch, in which the Italians collaborate, are an excellent occasion to affirm this feeling of solidarity. In their respective speeches, the Prefect de Vaucluse and the Catalan Quintana evoke Pan-Latin fraternity.¹¹ In the Latin festivities of Montpellier, in 1878, Quintana institutes a prize for the best poem to the Latin race.¹² In the speech delivered on that occasion, he refers to two enemies of Latin Europe, in addition to the Nordic Europeans: the United States and black Africa. In the same year the Milanese Ascoli and the Rumanian Alesandri were crowned; the first, for his work in philology and the second, for his "Chant à la race latine". "Vive la fraternité latine",¹³ Ascoli says in the telegram in which he expresses his gratitude for the prize awarded to him.

Mistral and Eger jointly preside over the Société des Langues Romanes founded in 1868, of which Milà i Fontanals is vice-president. The inauguration of the Viaduc des Latins in Fourcalquier, in 1883, the Jocs Florals in Barcelona in 1887,

alemán sobre el destino de los neo-latinos" of Huguelman who created the *Revue des Races Latines* in 1857. The ideas of Gromier, which served as the basis for the foundation of the Union Méditerranéenne, can also be considered as a precedent. Gromier dreamed of the foundation of a Mediterranean Zollverein. The origins of this idea can even be traced to the Risorgimento and the pro-Italian sympathies of Napoleon III or the liberals of 1855.

¹¹ See Quintana's appeal to the Latin races in *Revue du Monde Latin* (April 1, 1896).

¹² In Quintana's view, Europe had two mortal enemies, the United States and Africa.

¹³ R. Lelièvre, *Le Théâtre dramatique Italien en France, 1855-1940*, 93. About this time Rumania had joined with Italy, France and Spain.

reinstated from 1848, and the Florentine festivities of 1890 in honor of the anniversary of Beatriz, as well as the commemoration of the sixth centenary of the University of Montpellier, are further opportunities to witness latin solidarity.

However, in the decade from 1890 to 1900, lethargy develops among the Pan-Latin regionalists. It gets worse with the defeat of colonial Spain in 1898. Pan-Latinism seems impossible; those who once supported it decide, for the most part, to dedicate their efforts to regionalism and forget the Latin utopia. For example, Frédéric Amourette, in an article in *Le Soleil*, states that the existing affinity between the different Latin countries is based on cultural bonds rather than on blood relationship.¹⁴ Charles Brun announces that one must "fuir l'irréalisable"; that they, the young felibres should renounce "for the moment and in spite of racial affinities, the union of the Latin races; ... they think that there is too much to do in the south of France to show the non-French speaking Latins any greater sympathy than that allowed by the common interest they share in the order of the universe".¹⁵ In spite of this lethargy, it is precisely in this decade that the idea of Latinism is propagated throughout France and becomes a national issue.

Increasing pessimism is also evident in Catalonia around that time. Lethargy causes some to reject the idea that Catalonia can form part of the Latin nations, and they claim to find in this region, in contrast to the rest of Spain, some Germanic roots which may link her to Nordic Europe. Gabriel Alomar, for example, after losing faith in the possibility of salvation for all of Spain, tries only to save Catalonia, a region whose progress he considers hindered by the dead weight of the central

¹⁴ *Le Soleil* (June 15, 1898).

¹⁵ Cit. M. André, *La vie harmonieuse de Mistral*, 166.

state.¹⁶ He bases his thesis on the contrast between the vitality and industrialization of Catalonia, a region of Arian origin, and the Berber or Semitic base of the rest of Spain. At the same time Alomar praises the Anglo-Saxon, Germanic genius and contrasts it with the ability of the Latins; accordingly, he finds that the possibility of salvation for Catalonia lies only in the predominance of the Germanic element over the Latin one in this region. He sees modern Nordicism as the key to the hegemony of peoples, who, because of their origin, have been able to keep up with the times and impose their own image on the modern world.

Moreover, several of the reasons which many writers and intellectuals will cite as motives for the decline of the Latin peoples can be found in the articles of Gabriel Alomar. One of these is the idea that the decline of these peoples is due to Catholicism, which contrasts with the Protestantism of the Anglo-Saxon, Germanic countries. Catholicism has molded the dogmatic, stationary character of the Latins. Under Protestantism, Anglo-Saxons have become accustomed to what will be the spirit of Europe in the future, that of the Germanic personality and fierce individualism, which will serve as an example of revolt and free interpretation for future generations. Therefore, in his opinion, Protestantism represents the evolving personality, open to new trends, adaptable to new advancements, compatible with new discoveries and linked to every future formula.

Alomar develops these ideas in his pamphlet *Futurisme*, and in his article for *El Poble Català* and *La Campana de Gràcia*.

¹⁶ See our article "Alomar and Marinetti. Catalanian and Italian Futurism", *Revue des Langues Vivantes*, 6 (1972), 585-604. These ideas of Alomar are condensed in his work *Futurisme* (Barcelona, 1905). See also *Las dos humanidades* by Alomar and his articles in *El Poble Català*.

For example, in the series of articles "El liberalisme català",¹⁷ he speaks of the struggle between England and Ireland and attributes the weakness of the latter to Catholicism and Celtism which have made her inferior to the Anglo-Saxons. Tracing the origin of Catalonia, he demonstrates her incompatibility with the other Latin countries of Europe: "Catalonia is fittingly Guelph. Ghibellinism, purely Germanic in origin, takes refuge in the Protest, and therefore the Reformation was not only a reaction aimed at reconstructing the original integrity of proto-Christian purity, but the final emancipation of the southern spirit."¹⁸ From the beginnings of Latin Europe, the sediment of that great medieval opposition remained in her, and it was for this reason that Roman hegemony was never fully established.

Another interesting idea of Gabriel Alomar which will also appear often in this polemic is that the decline of the Latin peoples is due to the lack of a select minority to direct the country and lead these peoples along the path of progress. In Alomar's view, this aristocracy will have to represent a total selection, as selection up to that point had been partial, not because it was limited to a single class or cast, but because it represented only a part of the human soul. This new aristocracy should therefore combine emotion, sensitivity, intelligence, will power, etc. Only if they are directed by a select group would the Latin peoples be able to attempt to gain power, since progressive movements in all countries had been directed by that minority.

Alomar clarifies and amplifies his ideas in numerous articles and essays. He details the necessities of the Latin peoples,

¹⁷ *El Poble Català* (December 12, 1904; December 24, 1904; January 10, 1905).

¹⁸ "El Liberalisme Català III", *El Poble Català* (January 10, 1905).

always placing as a condition for their solution the formation of an intellectual aristocracy to direct them towards liberalism. His ideas are illustrated in a series of articles on the war between Russia and Japan, which appeared in *El Poble Català* in 1905. In them he attributes the impetuous advance of Japan to the aristocracy at the country's disposal, an aristocracy capable of guiding the majority in all its enterprises, as demonstrated in what Alomar calls "its colonization of Formosa, which was even more rapid and more astonishing than the American colonization of Hawaii and Cuba".¹⁹

As a result of these ideas, Alomar sings the praises of imperialism. Colonizing countries are bound to conquer countries which are, in a certain way, inferior. In Alomar's judgment, these imperialist peoples are young, modern, futurist, and have a civilizing effect on the territories they rule. Such was the case of Japan against Russia. The latter has remained tied to her past, unable to free herself from her feudal institutions and her oligarchic system. Based on the aforementioned principles, Alomar regards the intervention of the United States in the Cuban war as "a just intervention", and in a letter to Unamuno he applauds the French intervention in Spain as beneficial because of its modernizing effect.²⁰

Gabriel Alomar is not the only Catalan who expressed such pessimism in the early years of the century. J. Lluhí Rissech also shares the opinion that Spain is a dead weight for Catalonia, whose nationality constitutes the only vital element in the peninsula.²¹ In 1905 *El Poble Català* reproduces on the first page a

¹⁹ "Converses sobre la guerra", *El Poble Català* (January 28, 1905).

²⁰ Unpublished letter from Alomar to Unamuno dated November 9, 1905, and kept in the Archives of Unamuno in Salamanca.

²¹ "L'esperit aventurer", *El Poble Català* (June 17, 1905), 1-2.

paragraph written by Demolins where he affirms that the majority of Spain has been harmed by mixing with the African and Arab population. Spain is, according to Demolins, more African than Europe. Catalonia, on the other hand, has been a more direct recipient of the beneficial influence of western Europe, since she has always been under the rule of the Franks and away from Arab influence.²² Above all, Demolins sees the fact that Catalonia is the most progressive part of Spain as a sign of the influence of Germanic Europe. He therefore concludes that the best thing Catalans can do is to realize from the outset that they are superior to the rest of Spain, and be aware of the sad fact that a partial mixture with the Latins has made them inferior to other more advanced peoples of Europe.

From another viewpoint, Arnau Martínez i Serrià thinks that the progress of the Germanic peoples lies in their industrialization. Catalanism must therefore acquire a new, enterprising, industrializing spirit, like that of the Anglo-Saxon Germanic peoples. In his opinion, England, the United States and Germany are the ideal archetypes of the virtues of particularism and individualism. The French Renaissance is due fundamentally to France's attitude of protest against the Catholic church, which symbolizes a confrontation with dead tradition.²³

Lluís Domènech i Montaner speaks in similar terms of the catalanization of the whole of Spain²⁴ and T. Ribot elaborates a

²² *El Poble Català* (April 22, 1905), 1.

²³ "Alemanya y el Marroc", *El Poble Català*, 24 (April 22, 1905), 3; "De l'avenir", *Ibid.*, 23 (April 15, 1905), 1.

²⁴ "La catalanizació d'Espanya", *El Poble Català*, 25 (April 29, 1905). Unamuno protests against these ideas expressed by certain Catalans. According to him, it is Castile who has imprinted her personality on Spain. See his article "Lo de Cataluña", *Revista Política y Parlamentaria*, 13 (May 15, 1900). See also the letters from Alomar to Unamuno where these issues are discussed, in the Archives of Unamuno in Salamanca.

theory similar to that of the Italian Sergi. In their judgment, civilization has passed little by little into the hands of the western and southern nations, from the Egyptians to the Anglo-Saxons. This is because the Nordic peoples have more latent energy; when the energy reserves of a race are exhausted, as has happened with the Latins, the race degenerates.

But not all Catalans had renounced the Pan-Latin union. For example, Ignasi de Ribera i Rovira, in his interesting book, *Iberisme*,²⁵ advocates the formation of an Iberian federation comprising Castile, the Basque region, Catalonia, Galicia, and Portugal, in order to face the constant threat of England and so that the peninsula may attain her rightful status among her Latin brothers and sisters.

Joaquim Casas i Carbó does not deny the Latin origin of Catalonia and supports the formation of a great federation of Latin states in Europe. In his article "Contribució a l'estudi de la pròxima transformació dels estats europeus neo-llatins",²⁶ he uses Demolins' study "Les français d'aujourd'hui" as a basis to support federalism. Like this author, he bases his opinion on the fact that the present Latin territories of Europe are in reality occupied by a series of different groups from an ethnic point of view, as a result of which the natural antinomy of the different races triumphs over the centralizing institutions.

In an interesting article published in the magazine *Catalonia*,²⁷ Jaume Brossa accepts the existence of two types of nations; some strong and robust, on the way to expansion, and others weak and in decline. He dates the decline of Spain back to the defeat of the Invincible Armada, although he also points

²⁵ (Barcelona, s.f.).

²⁶ *Catalonia* (June 30, 1909), 151-156.

²⁷ "L'anglosaxonisme", *Catalonia* (July 15-31, 1898), 253-260.

out the political and diplomatic failures of England up to that point. Furthermore, he establishes the difference between Anglo-Saxonism and the Yankee spirit. The United States, he tells us, is a mixture of diverse peoples and races who have engendered a new spirit, different from that of England. What he calls Anglo-Saxonism refers concretely to the English spirit: a "kind of narcissism" on the part of Great Britain where "She considers the ocean in its totality, falls in love with her power and wishes to grasp at everything".²⁸ England's strength, according to Brossa, lies in her obstinacy, not in her culture, and therefore he does not believe in her final triumph. From the time of the Renaissance France has triumphed over all civilized peoples, while England has conquered the uncivilized. Intellectually, as well as scientifically, Great Britain is inferior to France.

Brossa studies the Franco-Prussian War in the context of the battle between Latins and Anglo-Saxons and Germanics. It is obvious that in his opinion, despite the Prussian victory, the eternal vitality of France was not totally subdued. Who knows, he asserts, whether those elements so vital to France come not from the Latins but from the Franks.

In spite of this, France is the only European nation that makes Jaume Brossa consider the possibility of salvation for the Latin peoples.²⁹ Were it not for this country, he believes Bismarck would be right in saying that the Latin race is the feminine race of Europe. Brossa ends with a very pessimistic outlook. The Latin nations are in a sad state of decomposition and decline. In France, militarism threatens to erase the advances made by the revolution and annihilate the work of the intellec-

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 168.

²⁹ "La França i la confederació occidental", *Catalonia* (October 31, 1898), 253-260.

tual minority. In Italy there is another threat, that of the Vatican, and in addition one must reckon with the lack of national unity. As for Spain, the question can only be asked: "where are the words to describe her true situation?" Brossa concludes that the Latin peoples are not made for colonization; while the Anglo-Saxons are making themselves the owners of the world and are propagating their language and their religion, the Latins are destroying each other. The remedy he proposes is that they learn from their own defeats, that they realize the bloody racial struggle taking place between Latins and Anglo-Saxons, and finally, like Alomar, he proposes the formation of an intellectual aristocracy to keep a rein on government and inculcate the modern spirit in the Latin peoples.

Without departing too much from that proposal, Alexandre Cortada suggests the formation of a conference of Latin countries with a center for culture and civilization in France, while Pompeu Gener, in an interview with José León Pagano,³⁰ voices contradictory and often racist opinions. According to Gener, Catalonia is different from the rest of the peninsula not only culturally but also ethnically. In Castile the Semitic and pre-Semitic type predominates: Hebrews, Berbers, Arabs, Moors, Carthaginians, etc. Catalonia, on the other hand, is of Arian origin. United to the rest of Spain, which is more African than Latin, she is like a live body attached to a corpse. Responding to a concrete question from Pagano concerning the decline of the Latin race, Gener, who on the advice of Victor Hugo would found the Sociedad de la Alianza Latina along with Xavier Ricard, Violet le Duc and several Provençal poets, says that he does not think that the Latin countries are in decline. In his

³⁰ These interviews were published by Pagano in *A través de la España Literaria* (Barcelona, s.f.). Gener's is on pages 58-63.

judgment, they are only experiencing a period of fluctuation in history, as demonstrated by the cultural and scientific Renaissance in Italy and Belgium, as well as the resurgence of the fecund Italian Theater.

However, in his article "De cómo surgió el catalanismo",³¹ Pompeu Gener again points out the superiority of the Arian race. He underscores all the technical, industrial, cultural and scientific advances of Catalonia in contrast to the rest of Spain, and, referring to the Europeanization of Catalonia, he says:

Because her contact with the Moslems, who soon crossed the Ebro, lasted only a few years, Eastern fatalism, sloth, indolence, the spirit of plunder, etc. were not permitted to take root here. Therefore, the wholesome influences of the Arian race have been able to fructify and develop. The continuous, peaceful integration of individuals from other European nations who have come to establish industries or do business, has resulted in an increase in civilization and a superior cosmopolitanism. The race of this region, continually crossed with other European elements belonging to the same Arian group, has improved. Anthropological science shows that cross-breeding with superior, related races improves the species. However, cross-breeding with unrelated races results in hybrid types, sterile for the most part, almost always bad, because the different uncombable blood types are in conflict in each individual. Mestizos are worse than the isolated types from which they come. And this is what has happened in some parts of Spain.³²

Gener concludes that Catalanism has arisen from the region's acquired consciousness of her obvious racial and cultural superiority over the rest of the peninsula, as well as from the fact that the Catalan society is an industrial one and not a martial one like that of Castile.

This polemic also had repercussions in literature. In Spain

³¹ "De cómo surgió el catalanismo", *Nuestro Tiempo* (February 1903), 206-211.

³² *Ibid.*, 21.

the champion of cosmopolitanism is Maragall, who ardently upholds the value he believes he sees in the Nordic literatures. However, the Mediterraneanist, Latinist reaction is accentuated and threatens the Nordic inspiration of modernism. It is in Catalonia that the return to Classicism is most apparent, and precisely in publications which had been the basis of the most extreme modernism. For example, towards 1903, there is an appraisal of Greco-Latin antiquity in *Pèl i Ploma*. In 1904 this magazine gives way to *Forma*, which emphasizes this Renaissance of the Classical spirit.

As Cirici Pellicer indicates,³³ the change can also be seen in the new posture adopted by Joan Maragall. This writer who had been modernist not only in esthetics, but also in the irrational philosophy of his *Paraula viva*, accepts new points of view based on rationality and clarity in the initial years of this century. This is the new generation headed by Eugeni d'Ors, the champion of the return to Mediterranean and Classical clarity.

At this time the artistic and literary vanguard in Catalonia sees the birth of a new ideology, *Noucentisme*, which is radically opposed to modernism. From this position, Xènius struggles to achieve a Humanism of his own and in the process indicates the necessity to get rid of the admiration for Nordic art; that "inclination... to be on the side of the uncivilized". Mediterraneanism is the victor in this battle. The new ideal upholds the aspiration to models of perfection which is even presented as a moral obligation. Eugeni d'Ors maintains that this new quest for beauty was:

a moral obligation given the conditions in which we are placed by nature. For I believe that our status as Mediterraneans not only gives us rights, but also im-

³³ See A. Cirici Pellicer, *El arte modernista catalán* (Barcelona, 1956), 67-74.

poses duties on us. And at the present time, one of the most important duties is collaborating in the Mediterraneanization of contemporary art.³⁴

In this esthetics, Cézanne's art is considered valuable as a new model because "Instead of making the landscape a state of mind... he made the mind a state of the landscape". Paul Gauguin becomes "the supreme artist", Miguel Utrillo affirms the value of form when he says that of all the elements of the work of art, "form is the most modest, most comprehensible and essential element of plastic beauty".³⁵ Casellas, who is in charge of the section on the Arts in *La Veu de Catalunya*, highlights certain events, such as the discovery of the marble statue of Aesculapius³⁶ and the head of Diana in Ampurias,³⁷ which solidified the foundation of the reevaluation of Mediterranean art.

As can be seen, many diverse opinions were expressed on the topic treated in this study in the final years of the century. But by that time the idea of a Latin movement had spread throughout the entire country.

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³⁴ Eugeni d'Ors, *Glosari* (Barcelona, 1907), 61.

³⁵ Cit. Cirici Pellicer, *El arte...*, 74.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*