

CATALAN MODERNISM AND E. d'ORS IDEOLOGY OF NOU CENTISME

by

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## Abstract

In this thesis we have attempted to demonstrate that Noucentisme, as defined and propugated by Eugeni d'Ors in the *Glosari 1906-1910* is a continuation of the first Catalan Modernism. This theory has in great part been influenced by research on this subject compiled by the late Eduard Valentí, in his book, El primer modernismo catalán y sus fundamentos ideológicos. We have, therefore, greatly relied on his generational and theological definition of Catalan Modernism, which we elaborate upon and sum up in the first two chapters.

Owing to the extensive nature of Noucentisme, as of any literary movement, we have restricted our research to the work of its originator and theoretician, Eugeni d'Ors. In our thesis we have tried to point out that d'Ors reacted against the "fin de siècle" literary movements, which were a degenerate form of the original Catalan Modernist grouping, represented by L'Avenç, that was dispersed after 1893. In order to demonstrate that d'Ors absorbed, reorganized, and modified Catalan literary modernism, we have proceeded by closely examining the greater part of his work and ideology between 1900 and 1910, as well as most posterior writings concerning this period of his development.

In Chapter IV we have studied his so-called modernist writings produced between 1900 and 1905, and collected in La muerte de Isidre Nonell seguida de otras arbitrariedades. From these we have determined the basic "modernist" ideas forwarded by d'Ors during those years. Between Chapter V and Chapter VII we have delineated the aesthetic and political ideology which d'Ors considers to be the basis of Noucentisme, and which was primitively contained in La muerte de Isidre Nonell seguida

de otras arbitrariedades. In Chapter VIII we have examined the direct relations between d'Ors theories and the modernist writers. The explicit formal relation between Modernism and Noucentisme is briefly discussed in the conclusion.



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### Orthographical Note

Throughout this thesis we have respected the spelling of names and places used by Catalan writers at the turn of the century. Therefore, what may seem like an error on our part in certain quotations is entirely the fault of the writer quoted. Also, since Noucentisme and Modernism refer to specific national movements, in this thesis, they have remained capitalized.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## Chapter I Catalan Nationalism and Modernism

The revival of literary culture in Catalonia is intimately related to the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century. It is agreed by most literary historians that this revival begins with Bonaventura Carles Aribau's poem, "La Patria", written in 1833. Catalan nationalism is, therefore, a result of the rise of Romanticism on the Iberian peninsula. As all romantic products, it represents a break with the social patterns established until the end of the eighteenth century.

Catalonia, as the rest of the occidental nations, is affected by two major events in the course of contemporary European history that gave rise to Romanticism and continue to affect us to this day. These are The French Revolution of 1789 and Kant's Critique of Pure Reason. Heinrich Heine once reflected: "that Kant's 'critical philosophy' was in the world of thought the analogue of the French Revolution in the world of affairs". The social turmoil of 1789 incurred the destruction of the ancien régime and the structure that it implied.

The rise of the bourgeoisie, justified by a rational outlook on life, denied the divinely ordered structure that preceded it. It was therefore an attack on the Church as an institution politically involved in a hierarchic regime. Indeed, the French Revolution was characterized by a wave of anti-clericalism and an effort to create a lay State.

Kant's "critical philosophy" weakened the transcendental position of the Catholic Church, which understood the nature of

God as having an identity distinct from the world which He had created. This identity had been revealed through miracles, inexplicable by natural scientific methods. The creation of the world was a purely voluntary act. The existence of this Being could be proven rationally and rested on the validity of the Scriptures. The belief in the transcendental nature of God entailed a belief in man's transcendental salvation, that is, the immortality of the soul. The critical approach of Kant destroyed the "rational" proofs of God's existence, and, consequently, the belief in the soul's immortality. Religion, in Kant's approach, is only justified by the validity of the moral obligation it imposes on man.

The result of Kant's critical position was to place God's existence not in transcendence, but in immanence. The most important successor of Kant was the Protestant theologian, F. D. Schleiermacher. The latter furthered Kant's beliefs by establishing the validity of religion, neither by deductive reasoning, nor by revelation, but through:

an analysis of the religious experience of men who find themselves, as belonging to a Christian community, the subject of the redeeming and reconciling grace which such a community mediates to its members. 2

This replaced the conception of a transcendent Divine Being, by the belief in God's immanence. Thus, the perfection which man sought to achieve in the after-life was to be found and established within the community of mankind. The Church, in this understanding, ceased to be an institution; rather it was to be found within civilization, that is, secular society. The tendency of the nineteenth century was to move towards an

immanent conception of Christianity, and a secularization of the Church.

The Catholic Church, as an institution, was incompatible with the social progress of the nineteenth century. After the Restoration in France, the Church became gradually divorced from the political movements of the times. The Holy See neither joined liberal movements nor the "Holy Alliance"; it refused to take part in, or become the instrument of, any secular interests. It attempted to exercise spiritual power only. However, this also had political implications. The Church could not approve of the liberal tendencies that had resulted from Kant and the French Revolution, for, as E. Valentí has explained:

Cualquiera que fuera la forma adoptada por el liberalismo, política o intelectual, el punto de partida explícito o tácito era la afirmación de la autosuficiencia del espíritu humano. Los antecedentes más próximos de este principio había que buscarlos en el campo protestante: en el libre examen de la Escritura, en la libertad del individuo para juzgar las cosas religiosas sin que su razón tenga que someterse en todo punto al control de una instancia superior. 3

This tendency culminated in the Syllabus of Errors, which condemned liberal Catholicism and which declared the Pope irreconcilable with "progress, liberalism and civilization".<sup>4</sup> This placed the clergy in a position of staunch traditionalism and intellectual obscurantism.

Although the Syllabus of Errors and other papal decrees opposed and crushed the liberal reformation within the Church, it was only the beginning of a long series of attempts to change the position of the Church. After 1860, scientific progress, made by Darwin, Huxley and Lyell, began to invalidate the position defended by the Holy See even further. In the United States the Catholic

minority tried to adjust its Christian beliefs to the material progress of the nation. In order to keep up with the intellectual and material progress of a Protestant majority which was becoming more tolerant and less dogmatic, the Catholic minority had to follow their example. This involved an indifference to the dogmas, which, as E. Valenti points out, paradoxically enabled them to accept the promulgations of the Holy See. Thus:

Mientras en los países latinos se seguía pensando que la gran herejía de nuestro tiempo consistía en creer al hombre capaz de mejorar el mundo y mejorarse a sí mismo por sus propios medios, los obispos americanos afirmaban que la Iglesia bendecía también el progreso material, gracias al cual la humanidad camina hacia un futuro mejor. Esto significaba aceptar el mundo moderno tal como es, aprobar su afán de mejoramiento y sus ideales de justicia social.... Entre unas cosas y otras, el catolicismo norteamericano tendía a perder sus rasgos específicos y a convertirse en una "religión de la humanidad" injertada en el tronco cristiano. 5

This position, which accepts the traditional point of view of the Holy See, and accommodates it to the progress of humanity, and therefore immanentism, is fundamental to what is known as Modernism.

The American reaction was condemned by Leo XIII in 1899, under the name of Americanism. Previous to its condemnation, Americanism had repercussions in Europe. Slightly prior to 1890 a movement, known as neo-spiritualism, began in France. It was a reaction against positivism and represented an effort to secularize religion. Typical of most ideological movements of the end of the century, it combines the tendencies to irrationalism, intuition and vitalism. Two directions must be pointed out in it: liberalism and conservatism. The liberals were represented by the "mouvement néo-chrétien" and came to an end after the condemnation of Americanism in 1899. The reactionary tendency was represented

by the "Action française" and its predecessor, the social Christianity of Marc Sangnier.

Towards the end of the century, it was thought that the Church and the world might be reconciled, for it was believed that science had now been defeated. The end of the century is dominated by a fundamentally reactionary current which opposes the Catholic liberalism and Americanism that preceded it. Eduard Valentí explains the polarization of the two tendencies in the Latin world as follows:

Si el "fin de siglo" (para designar el fenómeno con su expresión más vaga y menos comprometida) vuelve la espalda al cientismo decimonónico, el modernismo religioso es ante todo un intento de conciliación entre la ciencia y el dogma. Si el fin de siglo es social y políticamente reaccionario, los modernistas tienden a tomar en política posiciones avanzadas. 6

Yet, during that end of the century the conservative parties, representing the high bourgeoisie, reacted against the progressives by assuming the form of a more modern outlook on life, which Valentí sums up as being:

una modernidad que pretende ser tanto o más avanzada que cualquier otra. Ellos son los más modernos de todos; están más al día que los positivistas y los naturalistas. Por eso pueden anunciar la quiebra de la ciencia, la insuficiencia de la razón y los derechos de la intuición. Hacen suyas las reacciones literarias contra el naturalismo y les ofrecen una base teórica no positivista y una actitud práctica antidemocrática. 7

This conservative view entailed a return to a semi-feudal, and therefore, "divinely ordered", social structure.

Religious Modernism, which is related to these social movements, was specifically an effort to reconcile science and dogma. It tried to justify the compatibility of tradition, Catholicism and modern life, and reached its acme shortly after 1900. Its main concern was to revitalize Catholicism's



intellectual and scientific outlook on modern life. As such, it was related to the fundamental problems of the vivification of dogmas and the justification of self-examination. These tendencies were advocated by such men as J.H. Newman, A. Loisy, R. Murri, H. Blondel and Father Laberthonnière. The problem of immanence that Modernism involved became explicit especially in the work of the latter two men. Owing to the Protestant character of the movement, the Holy See condemned its activities towards the middle of 1907, in the decree "Lamentabili sane exitu", and the encyclical "Pascendi gregis".<sup>8</sup>

In a country as Catholic as Spain, the position of the Holy See towards progress and liberalism could only play a decisive role in the course of politics. The desire of the small bourgeoisie to progress and keep up with the pace of the rest of Europe, and yet remain Catholic, incurred the problem of what is considered as the secular, modernist position generally defended by the progressive-conservative parties of Spain. It has been defined by E. Valentí as being an effort to modernize Spain without destroying the essential structures:

Su programa se reduce a aplicar un remedio o a echar un remiendo con objeto de salvar una situación difícil, salir de un estancamiento.... En general, el modernismo es, pues un movimiento "reformista" que no pretende destruir nada sustantivo. Es índice de una crisis que viene dada desde fuera y en la que se plantea la posible caducidad de valores que siempre se habían tenido por absolutos. 9

As such, Modernism is the attitude of a progressive-conservative class. It is dominated by the same spirit as liberal Catholicism, which in Spain is principally defended by Krausism, between 1857 and 1873.

The rise of Catalan nationalism, beyond the folkloristic conscience of regional identity, that prevails between 1835 and 1865, is sociologically related to the will of the Catalan middle class, industrial and intellectual, to surpass the limitations imposed by Madrid's predominantly agrarian, ruling class. It is, above all, the product of the opposition between traditionalism and progressive liberalism.

J. Solé-Tura has summed up the rise of Catalanism in four stages. The first is the regionalist conscience developed by Pi y Margall's ideology, which depended on the support of the proletariat and the lower-middle class. The federal ideal reached its acme in 1868 with the "Gloriosa". This revolution was headed by the Catalan middle class, which desired to alter the structure of Spain's political economy in order to make it progress at the pace of Europe. This first effort failed for two reasons: a) the rise of socialism in 1870, which resulted in the formation of an independant socialist party; b) the bourgeoisie's fear of socialism, which incited it to withdraw its support and form an alliance with the Castilian, agrarian oligarchy, against the proletariat.

Although this first effort to give Catalonia a political identity, and to make Spain progress along the lines of a truly European state, had failed, it did lay down the foundations of the need for progress divorced from Madrid's traditionalism, and for a national consciousness. A disciple of Pi y Margall, Valentí Almirall, furthered this ideology after 1875. Unlike Pi y Margall, who had developed his political ideology along the lines of

romantic historicism, Almirall tried to use the social ideology of positivism, that is, a scientific method. Whereas Pi y Margall had believed in federal unity through "unitarismo" of the various traditional, regional entities, Almirall's policy rested on the principle of "particularismo".

In this theory the state was not Spain, but the region itself; all union based on historical, or traditional bonds is artificial. The only unity that can exist is to be "scientific", that is, it must arise out of common, commercial and industrial relations. Almirall, therefore, breaks with tradition and believes in science and the present reality:

Almirall aclara que <sup>la</sup> Cataluña a que aspira no es la tradicional, sino la actual, con personalidad definida por la historia ciertamente, pero también - y sobre todo - por la realidad actual, industrial y urbana. 10

Almirall's opposition to tradition had two facets. It was an effort to develop Catalonia's urban industrialization on the model of England, and was therefore, a form of liberalism. The second facet, that arises from this liberalism, is Almirall's anti-clerical and predominantly secular point of view on the reality of Catalonia.

Through the principle of "particularismo", Almirall stressed the "nationality" of Catalonia. After Spain's financial crisis of 1885, which proved Madrid's economical debility, Catalonia's national consciousness rose rapidly. Almirall, who appealed to the higher bourgeoisie, tried to unite all political tendencies in the Centre Català (1883). Solé-Tura has noted:

Corolario de esta actitud integradora es la defensa del accidentalismo en política: bajo la bandera del catalanismo caben todos, monárquicos y republicanos, revolucionarios y

tradicionalistas.... El objetivo de esta movilización colectiva del pueblo catalán bajo la dirección hegemónica de la burguesía industrial y urbana es claro y explícito. 11

In spite of this Almirall failed to convince the bourgeoisie, for a number of reasons. He had overestimated the industrial potential of the urban middle class, which was still at the stage of light industry. The passage to heavy industry involved a serious risk of capital, and the growing strength of the proletariat increased this risk. For these reasons the bourgeoisie preferred to cast their lot with the traditionalist Madrid oligarchy. As a corollary to this position, the bourgeoisie that Almirall appealed to had originated in the land-owning class; it was basically a rural and traditionalist class itself. The anti-clericalism and the "scientific" approach of Almirall was contrary to its traditionalist values.

A few years after the publication of Almirall's work, Lo catalanisme (1886), which defines his political theories, the traditionalist point of view was exposed by the future Bishop of Vic, Josep Torras i Bages, in his work La tradició catalana (1892). Contrary to Pi y Margall's openly pantheistic-immanentist beliefs, and Almirall's anti-clerical, scientific point of view, Torras i Bages' conception of regional identity was intransigently catholic.

The theories of progress through urbanization and industrialization that Valentí had forwarded were rejected by Torras i Bages, who believed in the natural voices of the land. The region is defined as distinct from others through the will of God. Thus, Torras i Bages opposes the scientific theories of

Almirall that emphasized the importance of urban centres, and returns to the rural, "carlista" scheme of the "ancien régime":

Torras y Bages ve el regionalismo como un principio político esencialmente conservador, directamente opuesto a las doctrinas de inspiración urbana e industrial: el liberalismo y su consecuencia, el socialismo:

"El regionalismo tiene por principio no tocar las cosas del lugar en que Dios las ha puesto, de la tierra en que la naturaleza las cría, y si bien quiere su perfeccionamiento en virtud del estudio y de la comparación con las demás, por lo mismo que ama el progreso, aborrece la destrucción o la adulteración, considera un crimen la sofisticación social. Amamos, pues, la verdad de la naturaleza, y todo sistema que lleve a la destrucción de cualquiera de sus instituciones debe ser combatido y abandonado..." "

Entre la revolución y el regionalismo hay una antítesis absoluta. Acepta plenamente el análisis de la Revolución francesa de De Maistre y Taine y resume, aprobándola, la idílica imagen del ancien régime. 12

Progress, according to Torras i Bages' interpretation, is an ideal limiting the "perversions" of man. In his plan he condemns all forms of liberalism and urbanization; cities are centres of sin, they destroy the familial unity. Virtue, in Torras i Bages' social ideal, is to be found in the rural family unit, inspired by "nature".

The praise of nature and ruralism rests on this belief in the familial structure of society. For Torras i Bages, the acme of regionalism and familial structure was the Middle Ages. Thus, he clearly praises that age and urges man to return to feudalism. This structure denies all the achievements of liberalism: universal suffrage, unions, individual rights and social liberties, political parties and revolutions. Torras i Bages' solution to these ills is:

... La restauración de la religión, la propiedad y la familia... Los propietarios, los patronos son autoridades jerárquicas naturales, puestas por la providencia. Siempre ha de haber señores: querer destruir la jerarquía fundada en la propiedad y

la riqueza es una utopía, una locura. Por esto, contra el socialismo ... no caben paliativos, sino la restauración de los buenos principios de la sociedad. Querer limitar la acumulación de riquezas es un delito contra la institución natural de la propiedad. 13

The definitely reactionary beliefs of Torras i Bages rest on a rejection of nationalism. This traditionalist ideal, which is inspired by an emotional appeal of the land and its past, fears change that might be brought from Europe. The defence of the unlimited right to property is an appeal to the land-owning and industrial bourgeoisie. What Torras i Bages reacts against is the intellectual middle class. As Solé-Tura explains:

Torras y Bages rechaza explícitamente el predominio urbano e industrial preconizado por Almirall. La solución federal, la Cataluña dirigida por "unos cuantos artistas" y "algunos sabios", "según el patrón dibujado por un artista hábil siguiendo la moda suiza o norteamericana (...), tendría los mismos inconvenientes que hoy lamentamos en el Gobierno de España, una oligarquía quizá peor vendría a oprimirnos". 14

The solution of Torras i Bages, therefore, rests on a feudal, rural oligarchy. In his scheme, regionalism, intimately related to the clergy, shall develop, if Divine Providence permits, without the activity of man. Progress imposed by the latter is contrary to nature, and can only be detrimental.

This conception of regionalism, which found much support amongst the bourgeoisie, since it offered what was desired, that is, a sense of stability, or immobility, was diametrically opposed to the ideas of Almirall. It was supported by much of the bourgeoisie, but it was unviable because it alienated the higher and lower industrial, urban bourgeoisie. With the disaster of 1898 and the loss of the Cuban and Philippine markets, the absolute immobility of this system was obvious and the higher

bourgeoisie was forced to act in order to secure its interests.

The Catalanist movement as a viable, political entity only came into being after 1898. The course chosen by the bourgeoisie represented a synthesis of Almirall's and Torras i Bages' policies. A primarily "opportunist" politician, Enric Prat de la Riba, conceived this synthesis and formed the first valid, political party, the Lliga Catalana. Although his view of social organization was principally influenced by Torras i Bages', Prat de la Riba understood that a return to the rural ideal was impossible. He chose a course that permitted industrial progress and a hierarchical, social organization .

As an ardent nationalist, he stressed the importance of placing national interests before those of the individual. In this way he intended to bring together the various classes under the leadership of the higher bourgeoisie. As we shall see in chapter VII of this thesis, his religious outlook was intransigent and corresponded to an imposition of Torras i Bages' feudal conception of a rural society on the city. Yet, he managed to follow Almirall's scheme of uniting the various factions, by overlooking his own personal prejudices, and facing off the national ideal against its antagonist, Madrid. His policy was entirely based on the idea that the means justified the end.

Prat was primarily interested in the defence of the bourgeoisie's interests, both in rural and urban contexts. Thus, in keeping with Torras i Bages' theory of Catalan identity, he opposed reason and secularization, and followed the neo-spiritual tendencies of the end of the century. As Solé-Tura explains:

Su objetivo es, pues, "el sentimiento de patria catalana". Ante los intentos de dar al hecho particular catalán una base filosófica y racional, Prat acentúa su aspecto irracional y místico. Racionalizar la realidad catalana equivaldría, a corto o a largo plazo, a ver sus elementos contradictorios, las divisiones internas. La apelación directa al elemento irracional, al sentimiento, permite, en cambio, ahogar las divisiones internas en el mar de la exaltación mística; permite sustituir la Cataluña real por la Cataluña soñada, ideal. 15

Prat de la Riba had little use for the social progress dreamt of by intellectuals. What use he made of cultural progress was only instrumental to his politics, as an element of differentiation from Castile. His conception of progress is best defined by his theory of imperialism; it meant the exportation of Catalan products for material reasons.

The cultural aspects of this imperialism were purely accessory. Science and illustration were useful as long as they did not contradict the medieval structure praised by Prat in the beginning of his work, La nacionalitat catalana (1906). As Raymond Carr has pointed out, Prat's intention was: "arrancar el movimiento (catalanista) de manos de los intelectuales de Barcelona y ganar a la causa del campo conservador".<sup>16</sup> When Prat de la Riba fomented the development of the Centre d'Estudis Catalans, it was as much a means of control, as an organization of culture. It relegated the function of intellectualism to philology.

The modernization of Catalonia proposed by Prat de la Riba was, therefore, extremely conservative, and yet progressive in an outward fashion. It saved the inherently conservative values of a rural middle class, and enabled material progress to be achieved within a stable structure. Contrary to his intellectual predecessors, such as Pi y Margall and Almirall, Prat



de la Riba was more practical. His sense of progress did not imply any form of revolt within society; it only served the ends of the ruling class. Solé-Tura explains at length that Prat's social organization represents the imposition of Torras i Bages' feudal social scheme on the urban reality of Barcelona:

La mueve el afán de progreso y de modernización, pero a la vez, interpreta muy estrechamente los intereses históricos de una burguesía tímida y conservadora y preconiza instituciones políticas directamente encaminadas a apartar a la clase trabajadora del poder. 17

This implies a continuation of the traditionalistic interpretation of Torras i Bages:

Cataluña es, pues, para el, "...la larga cadena de generaciones unidas por la lengua y la tradición catalanas, que vienen sucediéndose en la tierra que hoy ocupamos nosotros..." Y esta tradición es, como veremos, la misma de que hablaba Torras i Bages: la tradición rural, la continuidad de las estructuras y de los valores del campo. 18

As a corollary to this position, Prat opposed all forms of liberalism. He stated openly "no creemos la llamada ley del progreso". 19 As such, he rejected universal suffrage, parliamentarianism, trade unions.

Prat de la Riba's ideology of Catalanism represents the practical fulfillment of the basic political Modernist tendencies, latent between 1880 and 1900. It reformed the social position of Catalonia within Spain, without modifying the essential social structure of the state. Secular progress was achieved without conflicting with the ecclesiastical beliefs of the Holy See. In this way, tradition and progress were conciliated to fulfill the national end of a class. This is one of the possible directions that could be taken by Modernism. Eduard Valentí explains that the neo-spiritual revival at the end of the century could be

exploited by men such as Prat de la Riba, who emphasized the anti-rational aspects of life:

...la tesis que venimos sosteniendo: la reacción antipositivista que se produce en las letras francesas y en el pensamiento europeo en general en la década de los años ochenta, comprende una reviviscencia del sentimiento religioso. Este fenómeno es, en lo esencial, continuación de los intentos de liberalizar la Iglesia que se hacen en Europa durante todo el curso del siglo XIX; pero a fines de siglo también puede servir de apoyo a posiciones política o intelectualmente reaccionarias, y, de un modo especial, facilita la explotación de la tradición católica en favor de un fantismo nacionalista. 20

The reactionary position of Prat de la Riba is, therefore, not purely modernist; rather it is a falsified form of Modernism, which uses the Catholic tradition for nationalistic and materialistic ends. The social vision that it entails is an effort to suppress the relaxation of dogmatic ecclesiastical structures.

In this understanding of Prat de la Riba's nationalism, one must realize that the president of the Lliga catalana continued the rural ideals of Torras i Bages, and <sup>did not take into account</sup> ~~from~~ the intellectual class of Barcelona. Although both the Catalanist movement and literary Modernism are chronologically and socially related, and they articulate a similar problem, the modernization of Catalonia, a fundamentally different orientation opposes them. The traditionalist Catalanist movement, related to Torras i Bages and Prat de la Riba, desires progress only in as much as this represents material gain and stability. The intellectual movement was interested in a more profound reform, the intellectual renovation of Barcelona, and this often had social repercussions.

Literary Modernism desired to break from the intellectual stagnation that resulted from the narrow, traditionalist structures.

These limitations that had caused Spain's intellectual obscurantism were directly related to the position of the Holy See towards progress. The change that the middle-class intellectual of Barcelona desired to effect was the enlightenment of the traditional position without the denial of those values that were essential to their class. Modernism was, therefore, the vivification of traditional values in a modern context; it was an intent to set Catalonia apace with Europe without undermining the position of the progressive middle class. In this sense it is a product of liberal Catholicism ; it is conservative and progressive at the same time. As E. Valentí has explained:

El modernista es, en primer lugar, aunque no tenga clara conciencia de ello, indiferente al contenido de la doctrina que profesa o que defiende. En segundo lugar, el modernismo es siempre un movimiento secundario y reactivo, producido en zonas que, por una razón u otra, han quedado al margen de la auténtica actividad creadora de la época respectiva. En este sentido, modernismo, lejos de identificarse, podría contraponerse a modernidad. Un movimiento realmente creador y revolucionario, que suponga una radical transformación de lo antiguo y que se imponga o trate de imponerse sobre lo tradicional tras una lucha dura y sin componendas, no suele adoptar el nombre de modernismo. No fueron modernismos ni el romanticismo, ni el positivismo, ni el marxismo, ni el naturalismo, ni el simbolismo. Todas estas corrientes o escuelas, realmente definitorias, más aún, creadoras de lo moderno, son conocidas con nombre que directa o metafóricamente hacen referencia a su sustancia o algún accidente que las caracteriza. Pero sí es cierto que, con independencia de toda referencia al contenido, cada uno de estos movimientos puede entrar en un "modernismo", suministrándole doctrina y orientación, si dejamos los focos y puntos avanzados de la modernidad para pasar a las zonas marginales o las que, por uno u otro motivo, han quedado rezagadas. 21

Modernism is therefore an attitude adopted by a minority, which incorporates and adjusts a number of "modern" tendencies to its needs. It is a particular phenomenon found in countries that have remained culturally under-developed, and incorporates, almost simultaneously, movements that represent a revolt against tradition,

without necessarily assimilating the revolutionary content of these tendencies. As such, it is an attitude characterized by an avidity for novelty that adjusts a fundamentally middle-class, conservative point of view to progress. Literary Modernism is, therefore, not reactionary, but conservative; it aims to vivify tradition and rejects that part of tradition that impedes progress.

## Notes to chapter I

- 1 C.C.J. Webb, "Christianity in the Nineteenth Century" in The History of Christianity in the Light of Modern Knowledge, a collective work, (London : Blackie and Son, 1929) p. 703.
- 2 Ibid. p. 708.
- 3 E. Valentí, El primer modernismo literario catalán y sus fundamentos ideológicos. (Barcelona : Ariel, 1973) p. 32.
- 4 C.C.J Webb, p. 709.
- 5 El primer modernismo p. 34.
- 6 Ibid. p. 39.
- 7 Ibid. p. 39.
- 8 It is important to note that religious Modernism was condemned one and a half years after the beginnings of Noucentisme. This renders d'Ors' religious position, which is not entirely conservative, more explicit.  
 Owing to the importance of the concept of immanence in d'Ors' ideology, it should be previously understood that, in spite of its Protestant origins (Kant and Schleiermacher), it does not imply individualism. Since the Divine Being is to be found within civilization, religion, though secular, exists in the participation of the individual in society. C.C.J. Webb has pointed out :  
 On the contrary the necessary dependence of religious life upon a social environment was all the more obvious in proportion as it became easier for individuals to live their lives in detachment from any particular religious organization. But the evolutionary and immanentist spirit of the age had laid hands on the conception of society also. It came to be thought of...as from the first and inalienable feature of human life. (p. 722)  
 As we shall see in chapters VI and VII, this is essential to d'Ors' concept of Catholicism.
- 9 El primer modernismo p. 25.
- 10 J. Solé-Tura, Catalanismo y revolución burguesa (Madrid : EDICUSA, 1970) p. 108.
- 11 Ibid. p. 115.
- 12 Ibid. p. 85.
- 13 Ibid. pp. 90-91.
- 14 Ibid. p. 88.

- 15 Ibid. p. 176.
- 16 Ibid. p. 228.
- 17 Ibid. p. 209.
- 18 Ibid. pp. 211-212.
- 19 Ibid. p. 218.
- 20 El primer modernismo p. 76.
- 21 Ibid. pp. 24-25.

## Chapter II Catalan Literary Modernism

The long and convoluted history of Catalan literary Modernism has been summed up by E. Valentí in four basic stages. The thesis of Modernism immediately originates from the "liberal-conservative" theories of Almirall in the Diari Català (1879-1881). This ideology is continued and integrated into the literary world by the men of L'Avenç, 1881-1885. It is again renewed and developed in the second phase of L'Avenç, 1888-1893. The definitely anti-modernist, or traditionalist, reaction is headed in 1891 by Torras i Bages. A number of men such as R. Casellas Dou, S. Rusiñol, J. Soler i Miquel and J. Maragall were able to synthesize both of these positions into what may be considered the culmination of Modernism, in the "fin de siècle".

In E. Valentí's approach towards a definition of Modernism three things must be born in mind in order to understand the real nature of the movement. Although Modernism may seem to have preached anarchy and revolution, it originated from the middle class, and remained a middle-class movement. All the manifestations of Modernism were directed to a select minority; the revolt of the middle class considered itself to be aristocratic:

...a la apertura a las estridencias sociológicas y políticas. Iba también unida a un concepto, que perduró y sigue perdurando, del catalanismo como una postura selecta y culturalmente aristocrática. La cultura catalana se dirigía a una minoría refinada y cultivada.

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Even when L'Avenç did seem to have become radicalized to the extreme, it is evident that the anarchism preached by Brossa - Roger is aristocratic anarchism influenced by Zarathustra's

teachings. The third point that arises out of this is that neither Almirall nor any of his followers came to accept parliamentarianism fully. The failure of Pi y Margall's republic had been a disillusionment, and thus Modernism and Catalanism remained anti-democratic movements.

This last item is of particular importance for the understanding of how a radical review such as, L'Avenc, could exist and be accepted by a fairly conservative bourgeois public. The political attitude of L'Avenc, was inspired by that defined in Almirall's Diari Català. E. Valentí explains that Almirall distrusted the participation of the proletariat, and therefore universal suffrage as well as parliamentarianism, and yet remained a liberal.<sup>2</sup> His conciliatory attitude is summed up as follows:

El enfriamiento que en Almirall ha producido la experiencia democrática, y la repulsión que le inspira el parlamentarismo al uso explican que, sin que ello implique retroceso alguno en su radical liberalismo y hasta en su apertura a la consideración de los problemas sociales, tienda la mano a los patriarcas de la Renaixença y les ofrezca su colaboración para reemprender lo que se había comenzado. Está seguro de que no tomarán a mal sus reproches, si son verdaderos catalanistas. "Mediten sobre nuestra situación actual, y convénzanse de que no basta escribir versos en catalán ni resucitar antiguallas. Lo que conviene, lo que urge, es que se produzcan ideas catalanistas y que nos dirijamos a un fin, aunque emprendamos caminos diversos. Al término de la jornada nos encontraremos todo." 3

The liberal policy of Almirall is based on the economic principle of "laissez faire", which was at the time important in freeing Catalonia's exportation power from the limitations imposed by Madrid. It had immediate social repercussions as a philosophical ideal in daily life.

The "laissez faire" attitude of Almirall's liberalism encouraged individualism and adopted a flexible attitude towards



ideological problems, in order to facilitate progress. It was not the particular ideology that mattered, but the progress of civilization. Thus, as long as tradition was viable there was no need to reject it. The Diari Català was interested in progress, and this involved a rejection of any attempt to reestablish the past:

No volem entrar en la cent vegades debatuda qüestió de si es ó no convenient ressucitar la vida provincial. Per nosaltres està ja fa molt temps resolta. Lo mon modern tendeix a la unitat per lo adelanto, per la civilisació, no per la imposició, ni per la forsa, ni tant sols per la tradició; a la unitat espontànea y filla de la comunitat de idees y de interessos, no a la unificació nascuda de la conquesta... 4

Progress and Catalanism were compatible, for they were both justified as being the rejection of the anachronical political system of Madrid's oligarchy. The traditionalist policy supported by the government of the Spanish Restoration imposed a dogmatic structure contrary to the expansive nature of economic progress. In response to the limiting policy of Madrid's government, Almirall emphasized the importance of anti-dogmatism:

el Diari está dispuesto a dar lecciones o entablar polémicas, no a mezclarse en la efectiva vida política. Eso sí, procurará huir de todo dogmatismo, pues todo progreso sale de la confrontación de ideas opuestas. 5

Almirall's solution was to place the main interest in the fulfillment of the Catalanist ideal, and to forget individual party ideologies. This did not mean that Almirall's policy was not to be involved in social politics. In order to achieve its aim, Catalanism had to intervene in Madrid's national politics, as E. Valentí explains:

La obsesión político-económica de Almirall no consistía en el proteccionismo, sino en el "intervencionismo", es decir, en el empeño, que no debía cejar ante ningún contratiempo ni desengaño

de influir sobre la política madrileña y no encerrarse en un esteril aislacionismo. 6

Political intervention meant participation in national and international affairs; it was progress onto the European scene.

In this basically economic policy there were also certain ideological implications that affected the traditionalist political structure of Spain. Almirall's belief in progress stressed the right of the individual to choose and alter personal destiny. This meant individual freedom of belief, both religious and political. Indeed, Almirall's faith in the values of progress could only react against Spain's source of stagnation, the Church. Anti-clericalism in Almirall's ideology is related to individualism and progress. The latter is an ideal of humanity, or civilization: "lo mon tendeix a la unitat per lo adelanto, per la civilisació".<sup>7</sup> Anti-clericalism does not mean atheism, and religion is not entirely rejected by Almirall, who understands it as part of civilization's basic values. It is against the Church as an institution supported by the traditionalist Restauration that Almirall reacts. Through the use of science religion is also capable of progress:

Volem anar endavant en tot, absolutament en tot. Aixís en ciencia com en religió, aixís en arts com en política, sempre que's tracti d'avansar un pas, res nos espantarà. Si ideas noves y nous descobriments tiran per terra tradicions rànçias, encara que siguin d'aquellas que volen presentarse com amparadas per la tradició de'ls sigles, lo nostre lloch será al costat de lo nou, y serém enemichs, pero implacables, de tots los fanatismes. 8

As in theological Modernism, Almirall is suggesting the vivification of dogma. The revaluation of religion through science, or man's critical reason as opposed to tradition, could only lead to

a Kantian approach to religion, and eventually to an immanentist position. When Almirall, as all Modernists, talks of progress in terms of unity of civilization and as the achievement of international ideals, he is adopting a liberal Catholic position. It is therefore not surprising to find Almirall praising such secular organizations as the Krausist Institución Libre de Enseñanza.<sup>9</sup>

On the whole, the Diari Català formulated the basic principles of Catalonia's first modernist programme. Among the novelties introduced by the Diari Català, impressionism is possibly the most important. It was defined in immanentist terms by J.L. Pellicer in 1880:

son obras ja mes ó menys fetas, pero complertas en son conjunt, reproduhint ó intentant reproduhir la unitat armónica de la vida, de la realitat; forma, color, llum y entonació (...) per aixó, encar que los treballs d'en Monet distin d'esser obras mestras mereix un aplaudiment (...) Monet y lo impresionisme no son una solució, ni sisquera formen lo que s'en pot dir escola, pero son fites que indican lo camí del porvenir. 10

Impressionism, as defined by J.L. Pellicer, is an immanentist point of view, and represents an essential step towards progress, but it is not a solution. In this Pellicer underlines one of the dangers which was incurred by the first Modernism of Catalonia: the imitation of European models as an immediate solution to the problems of Spain's cultural lag. The "modernist" programme forwarded by Almirall was defined as follows:

En estas palabras de Almirall está ya, en embrión, el programa modernista en su forma catalana: desentenderse de Madrid y de lo que él representa, es decir, el inmovilismo social, el fanatismo religioso, el tradicionalismo embrutecedor. Abrirse a Europa o al mundo en general, y acudir a sus focos de cultura, no sólo para aprender en ellos, sino para aportar nuestra contribución específicamente catalana, al progreso humano. 11

When the Diari Català closed down in the middle of 1880,

another review was immediately established by a group of young students who had the intention of continuing the ideals defined by Almirall. This new literary review took on the characteristic name of L'Avens. As the Diari Català, L'Avens rejected traditionalism, but remained ideologically neutral, priority being given to the interests of Catalanism and progress. In order to remain neutral it stressed above all the need of progress for the good of Catalonia.

The development of the L'Avens between 1881 and 1885, under the direction of Massó-Torrents, Ramon Casas and J. Meifrén, is not excessively revolutionary, but it is characterized by four essential factors of novelty. The young editors of L'Avens had a clear consciousness not only of being Catalans, but of belonging to a new generation, the one that was to impose a national modernity in Barcelona. This modernity was a break from traditionalist superficial literature. Among the members of the previous generation who were attacked by L'Avens, J. Rubió i Ors is particularly important, for in this reprehension, the religious attitude of the eminent scholar is blamed because of his incapacity to keep up with the times:

Pues no es ni poeta ni sabio. Catedrático de Historia de la Universidad, su espíritu se ha dispersado entre la historia, la poesía y la apologética religiosa, pero sin profundizar en nada. El fanatismo religioso es lo único que ha arraigado en él; el aire meditativo con que nos sorprende ahora la viene, a lo mejor, de que está pensando en cómo podrá incluir, en la lección que hoy va a explicar sobre Antonio y Cleopatra, una digresión de polémica religiosa de la que resulte que todos los sabios que no piensan según la ortodoxia no son tales sabios, sino unos infelices insignificantes... 12

Thus, Almirall's anti-dogmatic attitude is perpetuated by the young modernists, who consider religious liberality to be part of

their generational characteristics. The second trait of L'Avens in its efforts to modernize Catalonia is the consciousness of the need for responsible criticism, which could influence the course of cultural destiny. The new approach to criticism involved a complete knowledge of both Spanish and continental literature, in order to move away from provincial attitudes. The work of the critic was to be two-fold: he was to divulge novelties to the general public of L'Avens, and to be impartial and merciless in his judgment of national literary products.

In their radical and anti-traditional approach to Spanish culture, the members of L'Avens considered themselves to be modernists. Indeed, they were the first to call themselves "modernistas". In an article of October 1883, entitled "La crítica literaria a Catalunya", R.D.Perés defined the cultural aims of Modernism:

defensa(y procura realisar sempre) lo conreu en nostra patria d'una literatura, d'una ciencia y d'un art essencialment modernistas, únich medi que, en consciencia, creu que pot fer que siguem atesos y visquem ab vida esplendorosa. 13

Thus, essential Modernism was concerned with progress. In the above quotation one should note a slight change of orientation in Modernism, a stress on national modernization. The nationalist endeavour to place Catalonia into a European context is modified by stressing the particular ambition of placing Catalan art ahead of Spanish art. E. Valentí explains this transition as follows:

El progreso de Cataluña pasa delante del progreso como ideal universalista. Y el único progreso (avens) que este grupo de escritores y críticos coinciden en desear, es el que ha de situar a Cataluña en vanguardia del arte español. Y por esto predica el "modernismo". 14

This difference of attitude, which is less internationalistic, is also more compatible with the conservative beliefs of the public. It is, therefore, a form of Modernism because it is indifferent to the substance or content; what matters is modernization for the sake of modernization. In this it is compatible with Catalanism; possessing an aim in which the specific ideology does not matter, as long as it is differentiated from, and better than, the rest of Spain.

Modernism as being purely modernization and indifference to the content or specific form adopted involves an imitation of the currents prevalent on the European literary scene. The fourth novel characteristic of the first period of L'Avens is related to this aesthetic orientation. Since the prevalent current in the 1880's is naturalism, the members of L'Avens support this movement. The naturalism of L'Avens must not, however, be confused with Zola's use of the term. Certain aspects of naturalism, such as the approach to a psychological study of scientific reality, are sometimes applicable, but on the whole naturalism is understood in the Spanish sense: "el naturalismo es todavía conceptualizado como algo consustancial a nuestros escritores, y se le identifica con el antirrretoricismo."<sup>15</sup> It is identified with the classical realist art of Spain. It is the simple representation of daily reality. The use made of naturalism by L'Avens is indeed very conservative and characteristically modernist. It is intended to remain within the "moral" standards of its public:

Los de L'Avens son, pues, unos naturalistas bien entendidos y,

mojigaterías aparte, nunca avalarán obras que contengan auténticas immoralidades. El "moralismo" sigue siendo un rasgo inalterable de la izquierda, aun extrema, tanto de la catalana como de la general española. 16

Naturalism understood in these terms was not excessively revolutionary. It was only a reaction against an academic or rhetorical style. Such a point of view enabled the Modernists to break from the fetid tradition of Spanish romanticism.

For a number of personal reasons L'Avenç was forced to close down in 1885. When Massó-Torrents and R. Casas renewed its publication in 1889, with a revised orthographic presentation as L'Avenç, naturalism was already on the decline and a number of new literary trends were beginning to affect Europe. It was not specifically this that brought L'Avenç into being; rather it was an intent to normalize the language and the course of Catalan literature. Owing to this "phase of normalization" L'Avenç presents nothing exceptionally revolutionary or modern until 1891, with the anti-rationalist trends prevalent in Europe.

In this last, and most important period, covering the years between 1891 and 1893, six names dominate the literary scene of Barcelona, all of whom collaborated in L'Avenç to some extent: Maragall, Casellas, Santiago Rusiñol, Pompeu Gener, A Cortada and Jaume Brossa-Roger. The latter is considered to be:

la figura más característica de esta última época de la revista y del primer modernismo en general, la que en mayor grado concentra en si todo lo que este movimiento tenía de incoherente y explosivo. 17

In order to understand the volatile character and ideology of Brossa-Roger, one must realize that after 1891 L'Avenç took a new radical position. It continued to aim to "contribuir al progreso

intelectual y moral de la gente catalana",<sup>18</sup> but it absorbed the reactionary anti-rationalist concepts of "biological, racial science" introduced by Pompeu Gener. These theories led inevitably to concepts of superiority and anarchic aristocratism.

The rise of socialism and proletarian organization after 1888 brought new fears of social upheaval to the bourgeoisie of Barcelona, of which L'Avenç was part. Consequently, towards the middle of 1892 Cortada formulated a federalist and autonomist programme that would be "la afirmación de toda personalidad, individual o colectiva, contra el uniformismo con que nos amenaza la civilización moderna".<sup>19</sup> As E. Valentí points out, this romantic position, which maintains Almirall's belief in "laissez faire" and individualism, is contrary to the fundamental aspirations of modernity:

La paradoja de la nueva actitud aparece aquí claramente: el "modernismo" es defendido ahora como una reacción contra la civilización que se anuncia, única y uniforme. Pero asoma además, aunque sin formulación expresa ni, por tanto, una consciencia clara, otro rasgo esencial que hemos destacado en nuestra definición del modernismo: el de ser una reacción propia de las comunidades marginadas y ~~restagadas~~ restagadas. 20

The reactionary political ideal aspired to by the "modernists" of L'Avenç is best summed up in the following quotation from Cortada's article:

así vemos cómo el proletariado prefiere un César que nos iguale a todos, a un gobierno constitucional de sufragio restringido, que establece el predominio de los grandes contra los pequeños. 21

The elitist political theory of modernist intellectualism is here compatible with that of Noucentisme, yet an important ideological orientation made Modernism incompatible with the purposes of the bourgeoisie. It was socially reactionary in many aspects, but



it was progressive and anti-traditional, that is, anti-clerical and secular. As such, it could not be assimilated into the ideology of Torras i Bages. To complicate the modernist political orientation further, it had "socialist" inclinations in terms of a reform from above, and it considered itself to be anti-bourgeois. To the men of L'Avenç the bourgeoisie represented Barcelona's intellectual "vulgar". This meant that Modernism was the particular expression of Barcelona's intellectual elite.

The political position of Modernism obviously placed it in a "cul de sac". There were only two possible solutions: to strike a compromise either with the proletariat or with the bourgeoisie. This was the orientation defended by J. Brossa-Roger between 1892 and 1893. Association of L'Avenç with socialist and anarchist circles can be traced back as far as 1889, but it is with Cortada, and principally J. Brossa-Roger, that this orientation is truly defined. Unlike most men of L'Avenç, Brossa was not the product of the high-bourgeoisie. He was the son of a school-teacher and as such had closer relations with the lower classes.

The relation of Brossa to the proletariat had a direct effect on his aesthetic tendencies. Art had to be the expression of a social reality:

Jaume Brossa, en su primer artículo publicado en L'Avenç, lo dice sin paliativos : la literatura catalana ha de reflejar la realidad social, y para salvarla de los anacronismos que la ahogan no hay otro recurso que el de acudir a la más anónima : el proletariado.

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The portrayal of social reality did not imply, however, that literature had to be realist in the strictest sense. Indeed,

Brossa remained a fervent supporter of Zola for the aspects of collective social reality depicted in the French novelist's work. But as for many Catalans and Spaniards, naturalism continued to represent the anti-rhetorical representation of social reality.

Consequently, when the European literary scene began to change, owing to the opposition between symbolism and naturalism, Modernism was confronted with two contrary options. Symbolism incorporated the anti-rationalist and vitalistic currents of neo-Christianism, as opposed to naturalism's faith in science. Thus, after 1891 it was evident that two "modernisms" had now come into existence. Brossa realized the reactionary or anti-progress progressive potential latent in the anti-rationalist literature of Maeterlinck, but as all modernists he accepted the risk it implied, because it was "modern" and faith in progress could justify it. In this Brossa is characteristically modernist. He accepts it for modernity's sake. As Valentí goes on to state:

coexisten dos modernismos opuestos. Se trata, pues, de ver cuál es el auténtico. Para el núcleo activo de L'Avenç, la cosa no ofrece duda. Por el momento, lo que interesa a una cultura raquítica, empobrecida y oprimida como es la catalana, es la apertura optimista a todas las corrientes: el carácter de nuestro pueblo sabrá elegir lo que más le conviene. Esta es la posición adoptada sin ambages por Jaume Brossa. 23

Much of this attitude is purely aesthetic. When Brossa accepts the modernity of decadentism, for instance, he chooses to overlook the fact that this movement is contrary to the progress which inspires Modernism, and accepts it for aesthetic reasons. The function of L'Avenç as a modernist review was not the defence of a certain aesthetic credo, but the anti-dogmatic education of public taste. In this there are moral or ethical considerations for the progress

and welfare of the community. Brossa defined his idealistic orientation in the following statement concerning the modernist celebration of Sitges in 1893:

Individuament cada un dels què hi han pres part tindran les seves preferències literàries, artístiques i filosòfiques, i sentiran devoció per tal o qual personalitat; però no vol dir qu'el seu esperit ni l'idea de L'Avenç siguin fomentar el programa dels decadents. El verdader llaç qu'ens uneix és un sincer entusiasme artístic qu'ens permet acceptar totes les obres d'art suggestives d'una emoció pura i elvada. Un poble jove qu'hà de refer la seva educació artística, intel·lectual i moral, qu'hà de purificar el seu idioma, qu'hà de sensibilitzar el seu sistema nerviós, no pot alimentar exclusivismes que podrien matar energies qu'estan per despertar. Al contrari, el nostre interès té d'ésser aixamplar la nostra esfera de comprensió artística, apoderar-nos de tots els perfeccionaments tècnics, educar el nostre gust en el saboreig de les obres de totes les escoles, i no en passeu ansia: el nostre caràcter, fatalment, inevitablement, farà una natural selecció i s'aprofitarà dels factors que s'avinguin més amb el seu íntim mode d'ésser. 24

As the above quotation indicates, it is renovation at all costs that interests Brossa. He desires to break from the restrictions imposed on the individual by a materialist society, embodied by the financial bourgeoisie of Barcelona. Decadentism and neo-spiritualist currents are compatible with his intentions in as much as they aspire to represent an ideal or pure emotion, which contributes to the enthusiasm and progress of Barcelona's youth.

As a reaction against the materialist bourgeoisie of Barcelona, the symbolist and neo-Christian movements of literature were acceptable to Brossa's ideology. The reserve he had as to their "progressive" potential was concerned with the possibility that they might return to the dogmatic Catholic positions adopted by the traditionalists. This fear is most clearly expressed in his review of Galdós' La loca de la casa :

Lástima que, dejándose llevar de las corrientes novocristianas

cuando Galdós crea tipos entregados a la "filantropía religiosa", no sepa hacer nada mejor que situarlos dentro del catolicismo dogmático. 25

Brossa-Roger continues the modernist tradition of liberal or modernist catholicism, and it may consequently be expected that he remained staunchly conservative in certain social aspects of his work.

The conservative facet of Brossa-Roger is often confused by his proletarian and anarchic associations. As we noted above, in his approach to literature Brossa seems to have been revolutionary in a typically modernist way. There are certain "moralizing" tendencies to be found in his work. As E. Valentí has remarked:

Jaume Brossa, a los cinco años de la desaparición de L'Avenç y después de pasar por las experiencias del exilio en París y Londres, se desata en una furiosa reacción moralizante, que hace pensar en un contagio del puritanismo victoriano... 26

The moralistic message of Brossa and Cortada was directed, as all L'Avenç, not to the proletariat but to the young bourgeoisie. L'Avenç, not to the proletariat but to the young bourgeoisie.

Literature was to provide a consciousness of social responsibility and the need of the individual to act. The action of man in society was, however, to be guided by knowledge or Science. Thus Cortada wrote:

La nostra obligació, doncs, joves de la classe mitja, és de convertir-nos de ple a ple a la Ciència; després an el treball de millorar el funcionament de la societat com a manera més apta d'expandir l'individu; però això amb atreviment i sense cap preocupació. 27

The moral approach to responsibility of progress as an expansion of the individual's freedom had anarchist overtones. These are more clearly defined by Brossa, who for the sake of this new Nietzschean morale even modified some of the basic teachings of

Zola to make them compatible with Nietzsche's irrationalism. In Brossa's understanding, the irrational imposition of the individual will opposes the sense of fatality that pervades life:

En el fons de les obres d'en Flaubert, en Zola i en Goncourt, no s'hi ven la voluntat resultant del raonament, sinó la impulsió de l'instint com a regulador de totes les accions humanes, acabant-se que la societat es mou per un determinisme fatal.

No obstant, de la literatura realista se'n treu una moral grandiosa, perquè exhibint la societat d'una manera impersonal i abstracta es veu que la majoria dels mals de la vida provenen generalment de la falta de voluntat en l'individu. Aquesta condició ens porta al cultiu de la voluntat com a mes gran i forta propulsora de l'avenç i el benestar, essent tal doctrina una bifurcació de la literatura "egotista", indubtablement la mes ferma oposició a la determinista dominant fins ara.

En Nietzsche (sic), presentant La Moral dels Mestres, i l'Ibsen exaltant l'acció individual com a conseqüència lògica de la redempció interior, van al gran Excelsior del segle XX: al consorci enèrgic i radical del pensament i la voluntat. 28

This fusion of the irrational and the scientific literary tendencies prevalent at the turn of the century is the source of one of the most important contradictions present in the ideology of Modernism. Throughout his work Brossa-Roger stresses the importance of a new social era that is to arise out of the decomposition of society at the end of the century: "aquesta decomposició anàrquica que tant en ve de nou i que anuncia una altra vida social"<sup>29</sup>. Yet, his profound sense of individualism inspired by the ibsenian concept of revolt against society impedes him from realizing that his ideological position is contrary to the achievement of a truly social ideal.

The anarchist ideal of fraternity and individualism that dominates the ideology forwarded by L'Avenç between 1891 and 1893 was the cause of its closure in December 1893. The violent radicality of A. Cortada, and especially of J. Brossa-Roger had alienated much of its public. E. Valentí has explained that the

spirit of reformation that animated the review was too rapidly presented, and too radical, to be assimilated by Barcelona's bourgeoisie. As in 1885 it was necessary for the men of L'Avenç to retire until society had accepted the novelties they had presented:

"La Redacció", que es la que firma la despedida, reconoce, sin embargo, que ha querido andar demasiado de prisa, y que necesita ahora un tiempo de reposo y de recapacitación 30

Certain political factors were also responsible for the closing of L'Avenç. The wave of anarchism, beginning with the bomb of the Liceo theatre on the seventeenth of November 1893, brought on a severe repression that culminated in the dispersion of the original modernist group of L'Avenç. This resulted in the disorganization of the first Catalan modernist movement after the closing of L'Avenç.

The influence of L'Avenç did not end with its closure. Among the numerous lasting contributions it made to the development of Catalan culture the most important are: the consciousness of Catalonia's need to produce a literature of European or international calibre, the consequent revision of the appreciation of Catalonia's "renaixentiste" literature (which made a "tabula rasa" of all previous authors except J. Verdaguer, and N. Oller), and the establishment of certain literary identity. It also began to renew and standardize the Catalan grammar, a task which was completed by a member of L'Avenç, Pompeu Fabra, during the noucentiste period. All the novelties introduced by L'Avenç contributed to placing Catalan culture ahead of the rest of Spain, and divorcing it from the general intellectual stagnation that prevailed in the

Iberian peninsula.

The radical innovations of L'Avenç had encouraged individualism in its most extreme expressions, such as, Ibsen's concept of the dissolution of the familial structure, and the revolt of the artist against society and any immediate obligation to the community. This particular facet of L'Avenç' modernism was incompatible with the traditionalist beliefs defended by Torras i Bages. From the traditionalist point of view the artist's freedom, and the dominion of intellectuals over society, were an attack on the fundamental hierarchic structure of society designed by Divine will. In Torras i Bages' words intellectual aristocratism was a revolt against the "señores naturales"<sup>31</sup>. Against modernist individualism which found its expression in an aesthetic based on interiorization, that is, freedom of examination and conscience, Torras i Bages considered that art was to be formal, or classical, and inspired by the external imitation of nature.

In his interpretation of Catalonia's literary heritage, tradition is understood to be the mirror of nature. Truly Catalan art must, therefore, be inspired by nature, which is traditional. The modernist "heresy" is considered to be a revolt against the principles of tradition and nature:

Base de toda edificación social o política, coincide, sin más con la naturaleza: "Es la tradició un propi, com diuen els escolàstics; una nota característica dels animals racionals, que no's troba fóra d'ells en cap altra categoria de sers, ni en la terra ni en el cel; i avui que tant s'enlaira tot lo que és humà, segons el llenguatge de moda, és un verdader contrasentit l'odi que una bona part dels modernistes li tenen. 32

Literature in Torras i Bages' terms must, therefore, take model on the regional, or rural, customs and habits of Catalonia. Any

inspiration based on secular interests or erudition is considered harmful to the well-being of the public, and contrary to the aspirations of truly Catalan art. Literary movements such as neo-classicism are therefore severely reprehended. In the context of Modernism Torras i Bages denies the value of any effort to secularize art, and hence both facets of Modernism, naturalism and neo-spiritualism, are condemned.

Naturalism is considered to be an aberration of urban civilization leading to the depravation of its readers. Only in the case of Oller's La febre d'or does Torras i Bages make an exception because of the intensely moral implications of the narration. Neo-spiritualist, or neo-christian literary tendencies are harshly censured. They are considered to be a process of interiorization and pseudo-mysticism; as such, they represent a tendency to Protestantism or secularization of religion. Neo-spiritualism is regarded as a product of the Nordic race. It is, therefore, contrary to the Latin character of Catalonia, which is thought to find its best expression in the "realist" tradition of medieval art. All that Torras i Bages opposes himself to in the Nordic character is summed up in the following definition: "una raça somniadora que de la superstició prestament passà a l'heretgia i amant de les grans construccions intellectuals, és el somni celestial de l'esperit místic".<sup>33</sup> Mysticism and other secular forms of intellectualism are considered to be conducive to heresy. It is against this that Torras i Bages reacts, since, especially in the case of mysticism or neo-spiritualism, the concept of immanence, or even pantheism, plays an important role.



The traditionalist point of view of Torras i Bages was suspicious of any novelty that could alter the structure of society. Anything that was opposed to the dogmatic tenets of strict Catholicism was contrary to his concept of tradition. As E. Valentí remarked:

Torras desconfía de todas las innovaciones. La tradición nacional ha sido identificada con la tradición eclesiástica y católica, ésta a su vez con la tradición filosófica escolástica, y todo lo que trascenda de estos límites resulta sospechoso... 34

As a manner of opposition to the modernist advance that conflicted with the Catholic position, Torras i Bages proposed an art based on classical principles of order. Art was to be an imitation of classical art without the possible imaginative content, or what he called the "construccions intellectuals" of Germanic romanticism. This was indeed what might have happened if Torras i Bages had not adopted a more conciliatory attitude after 1892, with the formation of the Cercle de San Lluc.

To many young Catholic artists the condemnations of Modernism, and the desire to progress, and yet remain Catholic, posed a serious problem. This was resolved with the formation of the Cercle de San Lluc, under the leadership of Torras i Bages, which represented the more conservative artistic tendencies of Barcelona. In reaction against the "decadentiste" tendencies of the rest of Barcelona, the members of the Cercle de San Lluc attempted to create an art that was somewhat progressive and still remained morally intact. This was crowned with success at the exposition of the Cercle de San Lluc in November 1893. It was considered by many to be a purer form of Modernism, free of the

anarchic tendencies of L'Avenç. R. Casellas considered that it was "un salon de pintura modernista",<sup>35</sup> but in order to modernize itself the Cercle de San Lluc had to return to the impressionist currents of 1880.

On the literary scene a similar reintegration of Modernism into social respectability was necessary. As the literary advances of Modernism had been more radical than those of the other arts, this synthesis was more difficult. The first synthesis was achieved through the work of three men, who were considered respectable bourgeois: S. Rusiñol, Soler i Miquel and J. Maragall. The latter personality is considered by E. Valentí to be:

el más importante de los modernistas catalanes, al que se debe la definitiva integración en la cultura general de lo que hasta en sus momentos más exaltados y caóticos ... tenía de fértil y vitalizador aquel movimiento. A no ser que entendamos el modernismo literario en su sentido más restringido, definido por el predominio de una determinada sensibilidad expresada en un repertorio concreto de formas ( que es como hasta ahora ha solido entenderse), Maragall abraza y sintetiza en su obra, y quizás aun más en su persona, todo el modernismo catalán. 36

The synthesis that was effected by S. Rusiñol and Soler i Miquel culminates in the ideology of J. Maragall. It is, therefore, necessary to understand a number of particularities of both S. Rusiñol's and Soler i Miquel's conception of Modernism.

Especially in Rusiñol's work are we confronted with a particularly conservative and bourgeois form of Modernism. Although Rusiñol was among the first collaborators of L'Avenç in 1881, his actual literary participation does not begin until 1891. As E. Valentí remarks, Rusiñol was never able to react positively against the problems of Barcelonian society. His modernity never

had the vitality and optimism of a Brossa-Roger: "el modernismo de Rusiñol es un producto bastante inocuo, a pesar de las estridencias verbales a que ocasionalmente se abandona".<sup>37</sup> The rebellion of Rusiñol against the bourgeoisie was in great part responsible for his participation in the formation of Barcelona's bohemian circles. These are characterized, as is Rusiñol's ideology, by a desire to make the artist independent from a materialist society, a belief in the aristocracy of art and "en política, en la vida, una especie de aurea mediocritas"<sup>38</sup>, complemented by a pessimistic outlook on daily life. In this evasive vision of social reality art is to be found in man's instinct and in solitude, that is, in introspection. Rusiñol is therefore a modernist in his effort to revive the religious or spiritual aspect of man's life, in his love of novelty, in his rebellion against the bourgeoisie, and in his belief in an intellectual aristocracy.

Owing to his spiritualist tendencies, it is not surprising that Santiago Rusiñol was responsible for the introduction of Maeterlinck's theatre in Spain at the second Modernist gathering in Sitges, 1893. Apart from the immanentist implications of Maeterlinck's work, the aspects that interested the modernists who gathered around the figure of Rusiñol were the anti-social connotations and the idealistic, or anti-materialistic creation. For many modernists this represented the novelty of spontaneity and a reaction against the oppressive formality of social reality. It was a theatre of escapism.

Years later, Maragall reacted against the "decadentiste"

tradition presented by Rusiñol. In a close examination of the speeches made by Rusiñol as an introduction to the first representations of Maeterlinck, Maragall pointed out that Rusiñol's only intention was to give some spirituality or ideality to life, not to turn against social reality. According to Maragall, art could never be divorced from the social reality within which the artist moved, because there was no distinction between art and life. Art was only the perfectioning of the circumstantial reality. There existed no contradiction between the two. In Maragall's reasoning, all things have a point of conciliation; contradictions are only apparent:

La contradicciones insolubles no existen más que en la teoría; en la vida, hilillos sutiles enlazan las posiciones más distantes y de repente aparece armonizado lo que hubiéramos dicho inconciliable. 39

This attitude to life is particular to the Krausist philosophy in Spain. E. d'Ors, in a series of glosses of 1923, entitled "Releyendo a Azorín", pointed out that Maragall was a Krausist in all his basic conceptions of life. E. Valentí also considers that Maragall, owing to his "racionalismo armónico" and to his pantheistic tendencies, was a Krausist and therefore a religious modernist:

Para Ors, nuestro poeta fue krausista en sus concepciones básicas del espíritu, de la naturaleza, de la historia, en su culto a la espontaneidad, en su Weltanschauung toda. Pero es más: es justamente ese krausismo esencial de Maragall lo que permite que lo pongamos en relación con el modernismo religioso: especialmente por la tentativa de éste de distinguir entre dogmas muertos y vivos, y el supuesto de que en el principio está la pureza. 40

Maragall did not receive his knowledge of Krausism directly, but through his friendship with a student of Giner de los Rios, named

Josep Soler i Miquel, who seems to have been very influential in Maragall's career.

The "racionalismo armónico" used by Maragall in his conciliation of extremes enabled him to be both progressive and conservative at the same time. Thus, whereas he was a friend and admirer of Brossa-Roger, he could also publish anti-socialist and apparently reactionary articles, without being perturbed by the contradiction that this implied. An example of this is the introduction of Nietzsche in Spain. When the article that Maragall prepared on Nietzsche was refused by his employers, the Diario de Barcelona, Maragall simply modified it and had it printed in L'Avenç under the pseudonym of Pamphilus.

The influence of Soler i Miquel and Nietzsche is very central to the ideology of Maragall. From the philosophy of the German irrationalist Maragall took the vitalistic and optimistic tendencies, as well as the belief in an intellectual aristocracy. This influence he later toned down for Christian reasons, but at all times Maragall maintained the ideal that action was essential to life, and the belief in the need for an intellectual aristocracy to guide Spain. The political orientation of Maragall is based on these principles and on the theory of the vivification of the dogmas. It is best summed up as follows:

La juventud conservadora ha de derribar principios e instituciones que un día pasaron por liberales y progresivas y que hoy resultan obstructoras y podridas. 41

Maragall, consequently, continued the progressive-conservative politics of Almirall and the men of L'Avenç, from a liberal Catholic point of view.

This energetic political orientation given to much of Maragall's prose writing was only theoretical. The influence of Soler i Miquel brought out the more passive, or static, side of Maragall's character. Soler i Miquel was a very sensitive, but weak-willed and submissive person. In his writings confusion reigns, as of someone overwhelmed by the magnificence of the world in which he lives, who does not know how to act, or where to begin. Pérez-Jorba has described the personality of Soler i Miquel in the following terms:

No era un mistic estoic ni era un individualista deliquescent, sinó que ponderava i adorava la vida lliure i espontania, la existencia expandint-se i comunicant-se a totes les criatures. Era un mistic que, prenyat d'humanitat, professava la religió de la Vida. 42

It is evident from the above quotation that in his religion of life, or, Civilization, Soler i Miquel is pantheistic, and typically modernist and immanentist. As Maragall, he adored the idea of action, but it was impossible for him to act. In his worship of the divine entity in civilization he longed for action, but any movement only seemed to disturb the peace. Positive action that would not destroy the beauty of the world demanded a sense of order that Soler i Miquel lacked. As E. Valentí remarks, this pantheism leads Soler i Miquel and Maragall to evade their social commitments by writing the apology of action as a substitute for action itself: "Un último rasgo que Josep Soler i Miquel comparte con su amigo Maragall es el uso "evasivo" de las teorías vitalistas y pragmatistas." 43 This evasion of responsibility is complemented by a belief in spontaneity and progress inherent in the motion of life.

This social point of view culminates in Maragall's :  
 "Resignem-nos a no entendre. ... Deixem fer, deixem fer."<sup>44</sup> His  
 submission to the circumstance and the longing for action is con-  
 ciliated in the theory of spontaneity, or the "teoria de la  
 paraula viva". A belief in the spontaneous and inevitable change,  
 or progress, which is typical of Krausism, enabled Maragall and  
 Soler i Miquel to be optimistic and yet not interfere directly in  
 the transformation of social reality. It was this attitude that  
 allowed Maragall's ideology not to conflict with the designs of the  
 bourgeoisie.

E. Valentí's study of the first Catalan Modernism and  
 its first synthesis culminates in the following definition that  
 stresses the position of alienation in which Modernism had placed  
 itself by 1900:

Hemos definido el modernismo como un progresismo conservador. Es  
 la actitud que pretende conservar algo (en este caso Cataluña o su  
 cultura) insuflándole modernidad. Esto implica la existencia de  
 dos extremos, que siempre amenazan confundirse con lo exterior:  
 Maragall escribiendo artículos reaccionarios en el Diario, los  
 "avencistas" radicales predicando doctrinas que parecían perderse  
 en un vago internacionalismo. Pero el tono empleado por unos y  
 otros no admite confusiones. Ningún tradicionalista podía tomar  
 a Maragall por uno de los suyos, por conservador que fuera el  
 artículo que escribiera, y ningún auténtico revolucionario podía  
 hacerse ilusiones sobre el dilettantismo literario o filosófico de  
 un Cortada o un Brossa. <sup>45</sup>

With the rise of the Lliga Catalana after 1900, Catalanism began  
 to be the concern of the high financial bourgeoisie and was being  
 removed from the hands of the intellectuals. The harsh repressions  
 of the end of the century and the consequent dispersion of many of  
 the original modernists had already considerably weakened the  
 intellectual movement. After the brilliant surge of an intellec-  
 tual renaissance in Barcelona between 1880 and 1893, a steady

decline is visible in the lack of novelty and the diminishing interest or curiosity in the "Festes Modernistas de Sitges", which culminates in the disastrous fiasco of 1899. As is evident in the submissive attitude of J. Maragall, the general apathy or "abulia" that dominated the rest of Spain seems to have reached Barcelona after 1895.

Yet, this did not mean that Modernism was completely unoperative. It was Maragall's first synthesis that had failed, not the basic progressive ideology, nor the need for it. The renewed economic and political flourishing of Barcelona at the hands of the Lliga Catalana only indicated that cultural progress would indeed follow suite. J.L. Marfany has noted that after 1906 Modernism began to flourish again:

Però, a mesura que la direcció del nacionalisme passava, sobretot a partir de 1906, a les mans de l'alta burgesia i que aquesta elaborava uns programes polítics i culturals sòlids i coherents el Modernisme tornava a oscillar cap a la tendència cosmopolita, regeneracionista i europeista que anys abans havia representat "L'Avenç". 46

It is therefore logical that the literary movement that succeeded Modernism in 1906, with the name of Noucentisme, represents a continuation of the early Modernism of L'Avenç. Noucentisme was another synthesis that might be progressive, reformatory and capable of being integrated into the schemes of the higher bourgeoisie.



## Notes to Chapter II

- 1 E. Valentí, El primer modernismo catalán y sus fundamentos ideológicos (Barcelona : Ariel, 1973) p. 238.
- 2 Among the various social contradictions involved in Almirall's conception of liberalism, one should note that whereas he always claimed to defend progress, he also defended slavery, which represented an asset to Catalan mercantile expansion. (Vide: El primer modernismo catalán p. 138.
- 3 El primer modernismo catalán p. 123.
- 4 Ibid. p. 128.
- 5 Ibid. p. 129.
- 6 Ibid. p. 137.
- 7 Ibid. p. 128.
- 8 Ibid. pp. 128-129.
- 9 Ibid. p. 135.
- 10 Ibid. p. 143.
- 11 Ibid. p. 127.
- 12 Ibid. p. 153.
- 13 Ibid. pp. 158-159.
- 14 Ibid. p. 159.
- 15 Ibid. p. 160.
- 16 Ibid. p. 161.
- 17 Ibid. p. 166.
- 18 Ibid. p. 167.
- 19 Ibid. p. 170.
- 20 Ibid. p. 170.
- 21 Ibid. p. 170.
- 22 Ibid. p. 174.
- 23 Ibid. p. 185.
- 24 Ibid. p. 186.

- 25 Ibid. p. 179.
- 26 Ibid. p. 187.
- 27 A. Cortada, "Les idees noves en el Brusi", L'Avenç 5 (13 Març, 1893) p. 78.
- 28 J. Brossa-Roger, "Quimeres contemporànies", L'Avenç 1 (1 Janer, 1893) p. 4.
- 29 J. Brossa-Roger, "La joventut catalana d'ara", L'Avenç 13-14 (13-14 Juliol, 1893) p. 202.
- 30 El primer modernisme catalana p. 240.
- 31 Ibid. p. 256.
- 32 Ibid. p. 258.
- 33 Ibid. p. 260.
- 34 Ibid. p. 259.
- 35 Ibid. p. 295.
- 36 Ibid. pp. 195-196.
- 37 Ibid. p. 303.
- 38 Ibid. p. 305.
- 39 Ibid. p. 318.
- 40 Ibid. p. 318.
- 41 Ibid. p. 326.
- 42 Ibid. p. 321.
- 43 Ibid. pp. 323-324.
- 44 Ibid. p. 334.
- 45 Ibid. pp. 341-342.
- 46 J.L.Marfany, Jaume Brossa : regeneracionisme i modernisme (Barcelona : Edicions 62, 1969) p. 9.

### Chapter III D'Ors and Noucentisme

Though Modernism in Catalonia did not end until at least 1911, with the death of Joan Maragall, a new cultural vogue which theoretically reacted against Modernism arose in 1906. This new wave of young intellectuals was directly associated with the rising Lliga Regionalista, which was later to become the Lliga Catalana of Prat de la Riba. Noucentisme may therefore be considered as related to the upper bourgeoisie of Catalonia. Indeed many of the young "Noucentistes" came from the well-to-do class, as had the Modernists before them.

The originator of the new movement, Eugenio d'Ors i Rovira (1881-1954)<sup>1</sup> was the son of a Barcelonian doctor. He received an essentially secular education. His biographer, Enric Jardí, informs us that, from 1894 to 1895, young d'Ors was educated at the "Instituto General y Técnico", and in the years 1896-1897 he attended classes at the "Colegio Catalunya". Between the years of 1897 and 1903 he continued his academic career by studying law at the University of Barcelona.

As a student, d'Ors took an active part in artistic, literary and political circles. By 1900 he was considered an artist and writer of fair reputation in Barcelona. During those years d'Ors was a regular patron of the Modernist club and tavern, Quatre Gats, which put out a weekly review that printed various articles, poems and short stories of d'Ors. At the same time he was a member of Torras i Bages' Circol Artistic de Sant Lluc, and of the infamous club, El Guayaba: "donde empezaron a reunirse a

principios de 1902 un grupo de muchachos algo anarquistas, algo nietzscheanos, algo wagnerianos, algo sorelianos, bastante modernistas".<sup>2</sup> At university he was closely connected with the Federació Escolar Catalana, the Lliga Regionalista's organization for students.

In 1903 he took an extremely active part in the Congreso Universitario Catalan, as a representative of the Circul Sant Lluc. At the congress he created a minor scandal by suggesting the establishment of a secular faculty of Theology, independant from that of Philosophy. He was also extremely active that year as a man of letters; apart from his continuous production of articles, he collaborated with the playwright, Adrià Gual, in a translation of Oedipus Rex, which was staged shortly after at the Teatre Intim.

The year of 1904 proved even more important for d'Ors, who had just completed his "licenciatura". While studying in Madrid d'Ors maintained himself on the literary and political scenes of Barcelona by correspondende or by travelling between the two cities.

During his intermittent two year stay in Madrid, d'Ors came to know such personalities as Juan Valera, Antonio Maura, Menéndez Pelayo, Joaquín Costa, Giner de los Rios and Gumersindo de Azcàrate, his thesis director. His association with the latter two also led him to be in close connection with the Institución Libre de Enseñanza. It was also during his stay in Madrid that d'Ors wrote a play, in Castilian, with the collaboration of Jacinto Grau Delgado, entitled "Después del Milagro".

Meanwhile, in Barcelona, d'Ors' name became politically prominent. After the king's visit to Barcelona, there occurred a

split in the Lliga. A group from the left wing of the party separated and formed the Centre Nacionalista Republica, with a weekly review "El Poble Catala". D'Ors took a prominent part in the publication of this newspaper from the first issue onwards. At the time he published various literary and syndicalist articles.

D'Ors showed a strong tendency towards certain types of socialism. It may be noted that in 1905 he forwarded a plan to Joaquim Costa and Giner de los Rios for the creation of the Universidad Popular, which was meant to be an "organismo de difusion cultural destinado a la promocion de la clase obrera"<sup>3</sup>.

At the University of Madrid he presented his doctoral thesis, entitled: Genealogía ideal del Imperialismo (Teoría del Estado-Héroe). In it d'Ors sustained Thomas Carlyle's theory that heroic individuals must act as representatives or guides to the community, and therefore certain culturally superior nations have the right to guide others. Part of d'Ors' thesis was expressed in an article of El Poble Catala of 1905. As we shall see, many of the main ideas of Noucentisme proceed from this thesis. Enric Jordi gives a resume of the article "Noruega Imperialista" as follows:

... presenta la Historia Universal posterior a Roma como una lucha constante entre dos fuerzas: una disgregadora y otra unificadora. Por un lado: la que ha sido encarnada sucesivamente por el Germanismo, el Feudalismo, la reforma protestante, el Absolutismo renacentista, el Galicianismo, el principio de las Nacionalidades y el Regionalismo, y por el otro, el Sacro Imperio Romano, las cruzadas, la recepción del derecho romano, la Revolución Francesa, Napoleon, la lucha por los Mercados, el Socialismo federativo, y el Imperialismo moderno. Una de las fuerzas unitarias mas potentes que contribuiara a superar la disgregación nacionalista es - para d'Ors - la Ciudad, institución que debiera enaltecerse después de la convulsión que se aproxima, la revolución propia de una "Nueva era de Santo Jacobinismo" más amplio y radical que el Jacobinismo de ayer que derribo las monarquias del Antiguo Regimen. Las astillas de los tronos quemaran en el hogar de

la República futura; sobre las ruinas de las naciones edificaremos la Ciudad.... El resurgimiento de Cataluña sólo se lograra robusteciendo la Ciudad, una esforzada empresa que debe ser llevada a cabo por todos los catalanes con sentido de riesgo y la aventura, sin estar voluntariamente confinados en la domesticidad, posición que a la larga resulta perjudicial, como aconteció en el cuento de Edgar Allan Poe de un príncipe cobarde que en vano se recluyó en su castillo por temor a la epidemia que diezmaba el país.

Sin embargo está convencido de que Cataluña tiene reservados unos días de gloria si logra dar pasos decisivos de una política cultural genuina... 4.

D'Ors, therefore, presented a doctrine of social unification based on his belief in the necessary hierarchy of the intellectual elite that was to be oriented towards public education and the organization of society around an urban ideal, which was to lead to the voluntary assertion of Catalonia as a European nation.

D'Ors' career in 1905 is determined by two more important facts. In the summer of that year he published his first collection of short stories, La muerte de Isidre Nonell, seguida de otras arbitrariedades, introducing thereby the concept of artistic arbitrariness into his work. This book was not well received, no more by the critics of El Poble and Juventut, than by those of La Veu de Catalunya. It is interesting to note that this collection of short stories, first written in Catalan by d'Ors, only appeared in the Diez-Canedo Castilian translation of 1905.

In the autumn of 1905, El Poble Catala intended to expand its publication and become a daily newspaper. D'Ors terminated his collaboration with the newspaper in May 1906, when the direction of the newspaper was handed to Francisco Rodón and not to himself. His participation in La Veu de Catalunya was previous to this scission. On the first of January 1906 he had begun to publish his Glosari in the Lliga's newspaper. It was with this publication that

d'Ors inaugurated the "Noucentiste" movement.

Many critics have remained equivocal and rather dogmatic as to the nature of the new movement. For instance, some, as Joan Fuster, state that:

El Noucents és el contrari del Vuitcents.... enfront del "caos", "l'ordre"; enfront de la "natura", la "cultura"; enfront de la "mística", la "raó", enfront del que era "indefinit", al "clar i distint". 5

and Ruiz i Calonja: "Xenius reacciona contra la ideologia del moviment modernista del qual havia format part".<sup>6</sup> However, others such as Eduard Valentí have forwarded the idea that:

...el modernismo orsiano es no sólo un modernismo en el sentido genérico que hemos definido de este término, sino la culminación del modernismo finisecular, sólo que con un peculiar sesgo que le viene dado por el prurito de autoafirmación de la generación nueva frente a las anteriores y, sobre todo, por una orientación en el orden político-social y del pensamiento consecuencia del nacimiento y consolidación del catalanismo político. 7

When confronting these two opposite sets of opinions one must bear in mind that the problem of the extent to which Noucentisme did, or did not depart from Modernism is especially rendered unclear by early affirmation of Noucentistes that they rejected the Modernist past, which in the case of d'Ors, and others such as Josep Carner, represents their period of formation.

It is therefore best to begin any attempt to delineate the nature of Noucentisme with an investigation of d'Ors' own attitude towards Noucentisme, and how he defined it over the years. Indeed, certain statements made by d'Ors in his Glosario de 1923 (U-turn-it) make it evident that Modernism and Noucentisme are closely linked:

Nada comprenderá de la historia moral de Europa en estos últimos tiempos quien no parta del principio de que el Novecientos significa una violenta reacción contra lo que se llamo - y que conviene llamar - y conviene que antonomásticamente siga llamándose - "Fin de Siglo".

Pero muchas cosas escaparán a quien no atiende a que en el "Fin de Siglo" se ensontraba ya en calenturianta gestación el Novecientos." 8

We may therefore deduce from this statement that, though Noucentisme was considered to be a reaction against certain aspects of Modernism, which represents the culmination of nineteenth century tendencies, it was not a total rejection of the movement. As d'Ors defined this reaction, Noucentisme assimilated those teachings of Modernism which seemed compatible to the modern European spirit of the twentieth century.

Noucentisme is therefore related to a temporal motion, or progress, which d'Ors tried to perceive around him. Noucentisme has no set definition. It is a tendency, or an attitude, which finds its manifestations in literature and politics, and is dependant on exterior circumstances. D'Ors said in the Glosari of 1907:

...¿Nosaltres podem dir-nos en l'actualitat dins un esperit únic?  
... Jo, l'any passat, comentant la publicació quasi simultània de L'Enlla, maragallenc, i de La nacionalitat catalana, d'en Prat de la Riba, pretenia que sí. I que els mots d'ordre del nostre jovent eren: Arbitrarisme i Imperialisme. Però no tothom mostra conformitat en això.... Acontentem-nos, ara per ara, amb anomenar-nos tots, noucentistes; que és un adjectiu cronològic, que per avui no té encara cap concreta significació, i per ventura demà sigui més ple de significació de tots els adjectius." 9

The chronological aspect of Noucentisme makes of Eugenio d'Ors' principal Catalan work, El Glosari 1906-1910, an essentially developmental or dynamic work in which all assumptions depart from a specific attitude in front of circumstances affecting the subject. This attitude, which d'Ors did not systematize until after he had left the Catalan literary scene in 1920, represents the constant factor which determines the ideals of the Noucents.



Notes to chapter III

- 1 In his biography, Eugenio d'Ors : vida y obra (Barcelona : Ayma, 1967) p. 17, Enric Jordi points out that, contrary to the year of birth of Eugenio d'Ors, stated by d'Ors and his biographers, official records prove that d'Ors was not born in 1882, but 1881. This eccentricity of d'Ors is as yet unexplained.
- 2 Ibid. p. 40.
- 3 Ibid. p. 55.
- 4 Ibid. p. 51.
- 5 Joan Fuster, Literatura catalana contemporania (Barcelona: Curial, 1972) pp. 153-154.
- 6 Joan Ruiz i Calonja, Historia de la literatura catalana ((Barcelona : Teide, 1964) p. 569.
- 7 E. Valentí Fiol, El primer modernismo catalan (Barcelona: Ariel, 1973) pp. 298-299.
- 8 Eugenio d'Ors, El nuevo glosario VI (U-turn-it), Ano II : mcmxxi (Madrid: Caro Raggio, 1923) pp. 201-202.
- 9 Eugenio d'Ors, Glosari 1906-1910 (Barcelona : Selecta, 1950) pp. 503-504.

Chapter IV      La muerte de Isidre Nonell seguida de otras arbitrariedades

In order to determine the circumstances against which d'Ors reacted, and what he proposed to replace these by, it is necessary to retrocede and examine the major works of his so-called Modernist period. We therefore propose to study two works in depth: one, the collection of short narrations, La muerte de Isidre Nonell seguida de otras arbitrariedades; the other, an explicative gloss composed by d'Ors towards 1920 to prologue a Castilian anthology of the Glosari 1906-1917, printed by Alfonso Masriera in 1920.

Nearly every critic has paid almost exclusive attention to the gloss "Amiel a Vic", yet most have dismissed the other work by contending that it belongs to d'Ors' Modernist phase; none have examined it in detail. G. Diaz-Plaja states that: "El cicle juvenil plenament modernista de Eugenio d'Ors culmina y termina con un libro de relatos... La muerte de Isidre Nonell".<sup>1</sup> Much of this attitude may stem from d'Ors' statement in the Foreword of the Glosari 1906-1910, which denies any importance that might be attached to his works prior to 1906:

El gros de la seva producció (Xenius) es troba cronològicament situat entre els anys 1906-1920. Si alguna temptativa literària a l'estil d'estudiant l'havia precedit, si alguna reviviscència expressiva l'ha perllongat després poc comptaran aquests fulls dispersos a veïnatge del bloc massís dreçat per la taleia quotidiana de catorze anys. 2

There are, however, five possible reasons which justify the examination of the Glosari 1906-1910 in the light of the collection La muerte de Isidre Nonell. The first is of a chronological nature. The Glosari began to be published on the first of January, 1906. La muerte de Isidre Nonell was brought out in the

summer of 1905. As one may see, only six months separate the publication of the two works. During those six months d'Ors prepared, or at least conceived the plan for, the Glosari. It is therefore not surprising that between 1906 and 1910, d'Ors continued to consider the narrations of La muerte de Isidre Nonell compatible with his ideology. The second objection is related to this. D'Ors continued to make references to this collection of stories as late as 1910. Specific examples of this may be found in the glosses, "El psicòleg al miting" (1909) and "Isidre Nonell" (1910). An important indirect mention of the collection may also be found in "Enlla i la generació noucentista" (1906).

It is also important to note that for those who have contended that there is a radical difference between the Glosari 1906-1910 and d'Ors' collection of tales, it becomes very hard to explain why d'Ors directly transposed one of these stories, "Tiempo despues", into the Glosari 1907, as "Historia del Rei Negre". The only difference between the story and what had now become a gloss, is a short prologue that adapts the narration to an audience of children, for Christmas 1907 in Barcelona.

We must also consider the reaction of the critics to the work at the moment of its publication. As we have already mentioned, it was very harshly criticized. Enric Jordi informs us that the work was considered too novel, or modern, for the critics,<sup>3</sup> for it departed radically in its conception from the normal productions of the Modernists. This argument does not take into account that most of these stories had been published previously and, as we shall see later, had received prizes in literary circles

of Barcelona. In fact, the collection was extremely well received by Gabriel Alomar, who perceived pantheistic influences in it.

This introduces the fifth argument in favour of a relation between this collection and the Glosari 1906-1910. The point of contention which d'Ors was to maintain throughout his life, and, as we shall see, is essential to all his literary production, is the function of what he called "Art Arbitrari". He defined this concept in the prologue of Diez-Canedo's translation as follows:

"antes que imitar a la naturaleza (asi con minuscula) prefiera imitar a Dios".<sup>4</sup> This statement, considered blasphemous, seems to have been the actual cause of the rejection of d'Ors' early work.

The meaning of "Art Arbitrari" shall be determined with greater precision later in this thesis. However, it is important to stress two facts. First, the composition of the stories included in this collection covers a span of approximately five years during which Catalan Modernism reached its peak, and in second place, the concept of "Art Arbitrari" was not an invention of d'Ors, but was, at least, latent in Modernism before 1905. The first narration, "La muerte de Isidre Nonell" and the last, "Oracion a Madona Blanca Maria", were published in the review Pel i Ploma of 1902. The second, "Los cuatro gatos", was published in the review of the same name, Els Quatre Gats (1900). The rest are of indeterminate dates, but prior to 1905.

The concept of "Art Arbitrari" was in fact part of the evolution of Modernism in those years. D'Ors was not the only artist to manipulate the concept, though he was responsible for crystallizing the term. Cirici Pellicer informs us that: "De una

position casi panteista fue derivando el culto a la naturaleza hacia la arbitrariedad, que se manifestó en el puro estilismo de las artes plásticas...".<sup>5</sup> This stylization or arbitration of the aesthetic object was practised, at least by d'Ors, but accepted in Modernist circles before 1905.

Cirici Pellicer goes on to explain that Modernism contained an important formal substratum which manifested itself during those years:

Fenómeno particular del modernismo catalán, que lo diferencia del arte extranjero del 1900, es la contribución que en él se hizo de las formas propias de la nebulosidad nórdica con un poderoso instinto formal, que se expresaba no sólo en la ordenación de los conjuntos, sino en un cincelado detallismo.... Jerónimo Zanné nacido en 1873, y que por lo tanto contaba 27 años al empezar el siglo coordinó la estética de esta posición artística... En sus Assaigs Estètics, escritos alrededor de los 30 años, expone sus ideas sobre el arte alrededor de conceptos de amplificación y concentración. Ve la primera, unas veces llevada a cabo por la exquisitez, como en Petrarca y en la música de Carissimi y Gluck; otras veces por la pomposidad como en Victor Hugo. Ve la concentración, en cambio, en Dante, en José María de Heredia, y la prefiere por lo que tiene de precisión, de concreción de la forma, ya que su fe le dictaba que "la forma es la única manifestación posible de la substancia poética". Contra la teoría del desorden de Verlaine oponía a Horacio, Dante, Petrarca, Ausiàs March, Heredia, los lemas, para el eterno, de la Pléiade de Ronsard. 6

Although, true to modernist confusion and anarchism, Zanné never put into practice his classical ideals, we may see that in his Assaigs Estètics of 1903 he did manipulate the ideas that were to stylization, or formal arbitration. He also based his ideology on the concepts of diversity and unity, amplification and concentration, much as d'Ors did in his thesis.

It may, therefore, be assumed that the idea of Arbitration was present in the modernist ideology, and that the collection of d'Ors' stories was written under that influence. D'Ors defined the theory of Arbitration in Christian terms in the prologue of his

narration. The blasphemous implications of this prologue had more shock-value than novelty, and it was this that displeased the critics.

In the short introduction to the narration "Tiempo después", d'Ors went on to explain the method of arbitration and some of its implications. Thus he stated that:

Tiempo después de escrita la carta anterior, y como los Reyes Magos hubiesen recompensado mi fe dándome para norte y consuelo de la vida esta facultad preciosa de fabricar bellos mitos y rimar arbitrariedades, he conseguido, tras larga meditación, que mil imágenes poblaron, adivinar la olvidada historia del Rey Negro.... Y os puedo responder de la verdad de esta historia. Como que me ha sido dictada exclusivamente por la Fantasía, madre de la realidad, doctora de invención, soberana de toda ciencia, "órgano de lo divino", según el devoto decir del Filósofo, que a fuerza de considerar los misterios de los trajes, supo hacerse de su capa espiritual, uno de los sayos de más eterno valor que se han conocido en la sastrería Metafísica. 7

Arbitration as explained in this introduction dispenses with exterior reality, preferring the artificiality of Fantasy which creates new realities, springing, not from spontaneity, but from an ordered sense of creativity, or as d'Ors states: "after long meditation". Reality as handled by d'Ors is entirely relative. It is the product of the author's mind and is therefore removed from exterior contingencies or circumstances, so that these might be organized or controlled. The nature of these circumstances or contingencies will best be understood by examining the narrations themselves.

The first tale, "La muerte de Isidre Nonell", is a series of juxtaposed descriptions that relate the fictional death of the modernist painter, Isidre Nonell, at the hands of an angry mob. The tale is dedicated to "Al pintor de lo horrible, Isidre Nonell".<sup>8</sup> It may be considered a commentary on realism. The scene of the

action is the "City".

D'Ors here introduces an element of idealism, but he takes special care to indicate that the reader is viewing the remnants of that ideal which the City should be. The City is undergoing a process of destruction; it is not an ideal unit, but the dispersion of that ideal. Thus d'Ors begins a long description of the rabble living in the depths of ignorance and industrial evils:

Ardía en llamas la Ciudad.... Era la primera jornada de la gran revolución, el despertar de los divididos por las revoluciones pretéritas y dejados por todas en su abyección irremediable.... Era el desbordamiento de la canalla, de los miserables, de los escupidos por la ley, de los ineptos y vencidos en la lucha por la vida, de los detritus de la máquina social. 9

The narration is organized around a social problem, that of an international working class, which is paraphrased as : "los divididos por las revoluciones pretéritas". The concern of the narrator is the organization, or unification, of that class so that it may better its lot.

In order to remedy the proletariat's problem, its original cause must be found. According to d'Ors' interpretation, social history is a succession of periods of unification and dispersion. The models of unification are : Rome, the Holy Roman Empire as exemplified in the reign of Charlemagne, the reign of Charles the First of Spain, and the eighteenth century of enlightenment. All these periods correspond to the flourishing of learning. The problem of the masses is primarily a lack of organization, and, therefore, one of ignorance.

Ignorance culminates in a corruption of values by which man understands his circumstance, or condition. Thus every individual in the crowd described by d'Ors believes that he, or

she, is beautiful, much as the grotesque figures of Goya do in "Así se repulen" of Los Caprichos.

The bliss of ignorance is perpetuated until the artist reveals to the crowd its ugliness. Thus the artist, as the poet, is the voice of the gods, for he points out the "Truth". Hence the deception is ended:

Y he aquí que un día finó terriblemente el engaño. Un artista, en punzante revelación copiándolos, exhibiéndolos nudamente, con aguda crueldad de líneas, con brutalidad implacable de colores, había roto el prestigio, haciéndoles ver con evidencia abrumadora la profundidad del abismo de su abyección. Se hizo en ellos una luz dolorosa. Comprendieron todos cuán fea, y baja, e irremediable era la miseria que les tenía prisioneros entre sus garras. Y empezó entonces la era terrible de la gran desesperación. 10

It is owing to this despair and ignorance of how to remedy its condition that the crowd has recourse to the lowest forms of barbarity. The crowd, consequently has recourse to violence in order to destroy anything that points out its ignorance, its abject state, and anything which it may not possess or master. In more specific terms, the barbarity of the crowd leads it to the desecration of objects of art or beauty:

...un delirio que les agitaba con la necesidad imperiosa de actos de violencia, de carnaje, de saqueo; de destruir todas las cosas débiles creadas por la opulencia o el refinamiento del arte. 11

Once the crowd has sacked the City, it then discovers the apparent cause of their fall. Someone points out the <sup>culprit</sup> ~~revelator~~, Isidre Nonell, the artist who has destroyed their illusion of being beautiful:

La multitud notó súbitamente que sentado en una de las piedras del camino, había un hombre, un joven que en descuidada tranquilidad, como si aquella catástrofe fuese tan sólo un interesante espectáculo, como si detrás de él no floresciesen las llamaradas del incendio colosal, ni bramase en torno suyo el pavoroso desbordamiento de todas las pasiones destructoras, seguía con ojo curiosamente



observador las escenas más horribles..., y rápidamente lo dibujaba todo...el ejército inmenso de miserables, con la terrible infalibilidad del instinto, adivinase en él al gran responsable, al revelador cruel en cuyas obras habían ellos aprendido cuánto era baja y repugnante y sin remedio su fealdad, al ladrón que les había robado para siempre sus consuelos... 12

The angry mob then proceeds to perform the rites of sacrifice of the artist, until no trace is left of him to remind them of the truth. Finally, at the edge of night the multitudes return to their previous occupations, believing again that they have recovered their lost beauty:

Y, como si con la sangre del artista fuese lavada la abyección; como si con la muerte del gran responsable quedasen libertados, de una vez para siempre, de las garras innobles de la fealdad; como si hubiesen matado el veneno... temblorosos, anhelantes, se espejaron, y, a luz dudosa del ocaso sangriento, todos, todos los hombres se vieron galanes y nobles... sonrieron con orgullo sintiéndose toda el alma y toda la sensualidad súbitamente inflamada al beso de una embriagante ilusión que les hacía encontrarse hermosas. 13

D'Ors was later to comment on this tale, and on the work of Isidre Nonell, in a gloss of 1910. He specified that Nonell also practised artistic arbitrariness in part of his work, and that the tale concerned this aspect of the painter's production:

Hi ha dos Isidre Nonell: l'un és un realista, l'altre és un arbitrari; l'un és un auster, l'altre és un voluptuós; l'un cerca i treballa fatigosament, l'altre juga; L'un madura, l'altre improvisa; l'un pot recordar a Cezanne, l'altre recorda a Goya...

Als dos Nonell, un tercer Nonell, que en diríem el Nonell-consciència, sol judicar-los, i, dels dos, tria el primer, el Nonell honest, i menysprea una mica el segon, el Nonell llibertí.

Però aquest últim és que més estimo. És el de "La mort d'Isidre Nonell"... 14

Yet, much as d'Ors may have admired Isidre Nonell, he never took his admiration as far as to include Nonell among his group of "Noucentistes", though he was an "artist of arbitrariness". The reason for this is made clear within the tale.

The central theme of the story is the function of the artist within society, or his moral responsibility. Nonell

practises an aesthetic of ugliness; that is his error. To d'Ors, art is a powerful tool that fulfills the social function of revealing their destiny to the on-lookers. It may either inspire or discourage the multitudes to act positively. Nonell fails to fulfill the true sense of his function, owing to two important factors. It is made clear, both in the 1910 gloss and in the tale, that Nonell is oblivious to the social implications of his art; he is found by the mob to be "en descuidada tranquilidad". This leads to the second implication of this attitude: Nonell's aesthetic of the ugly does not inspire, but despairs. It is an art that reflects the pessimism of the City as it had evolved out of the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century. The narration is, therefore, also an important social commentary.

The language used by d'Ors in the description of the ugliness of the crowd places much of the emphasis on the source of that ignorance and ugliness; not in the object itself. For instance, in his description of the crowd, the writer specifically names the evils that cause their ugliness and ignorance:

Muchas madres contemplaban a sus hijos, aquellas criaturas encanijadas y enfermas, marcadas por todas las degradaciones, repugnantes de porquería, deformadas por la precocidad en el trabajo y en el vicio . 15

and: " los que viven en perpetua agonía, consumidos por las faenas que matan; las xinxas deformadas por el trabajo." 16

Consequently, it is not the crowd that ~~it~~ is at fault, but those who have profited from the industrial revolution, the bourgeoisie, and who have not pursued their social responsibility towards their fellow human beings. Here one must consider the problem of the

point of view from which the narration is told. The greater part of the tale, though narrated in an omniscient third person, is seen through the emotions of the crowd. The solution found to solve their problem, by murdering the artist, thus derives from their spontaneous, emotional and blind reaction, which sums up their ignorance. The irony which develops from this is that no revolution has taken place, for the structure of society remains unaltered; though were the crowd educated and given awareness of the actual source of its "ugliness", a real revolution would take place. The actual seeds of revolution are present.

"La muerte de Isidre Nonell" represents d'Ors' condemnation of the ideas of instinct and spontaneity, which are the only weapons of the crowd, and lead only to barbarity. It is therefore a very bitter statement on the ignorance and disorganization that evolved out of the industrial conditions at the turn of the century in Catalonia. This, in turn, leads us to believe that d'Ors condemns Rousseau's myth of the noble savage, and consequently, the romantic-realist liberal tradition of the nineteenth century.

Previous social revolutions had only been fruitful for the middle class, which still had not undertaken to better the lot of the proletarian mass, as it had promised since 1789. That is why d'Ors introduces the narration by stipulating the nature of the temporal setting:

Era la primera jornada de la gran revolución, el despertar de los olvidados por las revoluciones pretéritas y dejados por todas en su abyección irremediable. 17

The death of Isidre Nonell represents the death of that tradition inherited from Goya, Daumier, Millet and Gavarni<sup>18</sup>, the social-

realist tradition of the nineteenth century. One notices, however, that it is "the first day of the great revolution" because Isidre Nonell's work represents a turning point in art; he rides on both traditions, that of the nineteenth, because his work despairs, and that of the twentieth, because his method is "arbitrary". The destruction of the nineteenth century tradition is the way to true social revolution, that which affects all levels of society.

The position of this tale in the collection of stories as prepared by d'Ors is extremely important structurally. The subsequent texts all stress the importance of idealism in life, and the function the artist plays to develop this idealism among the public. Thus, as d'Ors has now established the problem of the proletariat's despair is caused by ignorance, he now sets out to analyse subsequent social problems in relation to the function of the artist, and forwards a new solution so that the artist may become a teacher to the people.

The second narration of this collection, "Los cuatro gatos", is a description of the bohemian-idealist d'Ors as a young rebel looking for a solution for the opposition between "bohemia", or the world of artists, and the bourgeoisie. It is significantly dedicated to Joan Maragall, who lived this contradiction.

This tale, which is the earliest written by d'Ors, analyses the contradictory position of Modernism. The story begins with a statement rejecting the regionalist-provincial bourgeois society of Barcelona at the turn of the century, such as was opposed by the bohemian Modernists:

De día, los grandes gatos burgueses, la crema felina del pueblo - el negro panzudo del señor cura, la blanca coqueta del Titus, el Angora de pelo finísimo de doña Petronila -, imperaba por derecho propio afretando la orgullosa miseria de aquellos gatos bohemios.

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The bohemians, who live in misery, and by night, represent the total antithesis of the bourgeoisie, and something just as inefficient. The group is composed of four cats, who gather together at night to relate their adventures:

Un gato-brujo, negro y tuerto, como el memorable de Poe; un gato-lujuria, un gato sanguinario... y un gato idealista; unidos por traiciones de la fortuna, que se obstina en volver la espalda a las buenas gentes. 20

The reader must notice that in the description of the three bohemian cats there is a parallel syntactic description with the three bourgeois cats previously described. This indicates that they are the product of the same social circumstances, and represent an inversion of values, or the other extremity of the bourgeoisie. The only cat who is "new" or different is the fourth cat, because he is an idealist.

The three cats gather to narrate "decadentiste" tales, which represent a certain bitterness and lack of hope or energy, which derives from the adversity of fortune which confronts them. Thus, though they reject the materialism of the bourgeoisie, they propose no alternative or progress. The first cat tells of his nightly adventures, and how he shocked the spinster "Fulana". His delight in shocking the innocent bourgeois indicates that he represents what d'Ors was later to call "els Professionals de l'Espaterrament".<sup>21</sup> The second cat, who is sensual, like the "blanca coqueta de Titus", and delights in erotic tales of a  
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"bajamente sensual" nature, represents the "decadentiste" trend.

The third cat who, as the narrator tells us, enjoys cruelty and blood, interrupts the second cat because he hypocritically finds these tales too cynical. This third cat, who is connected with apparently human and social positions, but who, in reality, delights in brutality, is a representative of naturalistic currents. All of these three positions represent the three literary tendencies present in the modernist or "Fin de Siglo" trends.

The fourth cat represents the movement that both emerges out of this one and reacts against it. Not only is he the "mas idealista", but he is also "el más joven, el más humorista y más sentimental y más bohemio".<sup>23</sup> He has left his parents' home because he prefers to be free rather than the object of diversion. Art serves a social function and must not be a tool, or object of scorn for the bourgeoisie. Yet, in spite of having left the house, he continues to love it, especially its garden:

Amaba aquella quinta. Amaba sobre todo aquel jardín, tan mal cuidado; allí, de noche, entre las extrañas silvetas de los árboles éticos, protegido de la oscuridad, ¡había incubado tantos sueños...! <sup>24</sup>

The concept of the garden as the place which the fourth cat loves most is extremely important in the understanding of the narration.

The image of the garden is, in itself, confusing. The adjectival phrase "mal cuidado" may indicate either that it is "disorderly" or "badly kept". The nuance is highly relevant to the function of the garden in the narration. It may signify that the garden is either naturally disorderly, or that it is uncared for by the owners. The key to this enigma rests in the ensuing description of the garden, given to the reader by the omniscient narrator through the eyes of the fourth cat. The reader is informed

that while in the garden, the protagonist has seen "strange silhouettes of 'ethical' trees". The cat has, therefore, received the impression of forms, "árboles éticos", which are further described as: "fantásticas combinaciones de sombras y luz, que él se sabía de memoria".<sup>25</sup> This latter description can only remind one of a neo-platonic description of Plato's fire and cave image, in which ideal forms are perceived. Furthermore, the adjective "ético" might have an ambivalent meaning, either from the Greek ἠθικός : "showing moral character, expressive thereof",<sup>26</sup> or, most likely, indicating a state of decay and consumption (ἐκζικός). If we take the first meaning, the moral character of these silhouettes has also overtones of clarity since the silhouettes have protected the narrator from darkness, as quotation 24 above has indicated. But, in any case, both meanings of the word would ratify the idea of "mal cuidado", so that it does not signify "disorderly", but "neglected by the owners of the house".

The image of the garden, understood in the structural context, is basically part of the ideals contained in the achievements of the bourgeoisie. It is, above all, an ideal world in the Platonic sense. This explains why a petty, materialist bourgeoisie has excluded it. It is, therefore, neither cared for by the owners of the house, nor by the other three cats.

In this allegorical conception of the Catalan social situation, there is a basic rejection of the "Fin de Siglo" bohemia; for they cannot perceive the importance of ideals; they are too pessimistic and cynical, as the bourgeoisie is too cynical and materialist. The fourth cat moves between the bohemian circle and the house, or bourgeoisie, and longs to return to that house.

His social position is symbolized by his love of the platonic garden of art, or delights, which lies between the street and the house. His ambivalent attitude is accentuated by the fact that he also lives in the morning light, before the village awakes, and then disappears to a world ignored by the rest of the population.

There is in this narration a tension created between the bourgeoisie and the bohemia, which confronts the reader with the following social problem: the total rejection of materialism, which is a form of order, as represented by the parental organization within the house, has entailed general intellectual stagnation owing to the cynical attitude of the bohemian which is a rebellion against bourgeois concepts of order present in materialism, and has degenerated into chaos or decadent disorder. The fourth cat seeks a solution which he finds in idealism. It must be noted that he preserves a "bohemian" mask :

¡Ellos le tienen por un bromista, un tarambana, un cabeza a pájaros!  
 ¡Cómo se habían de vengar de sus chanzas en cuanto sospechasen  
 aquellos idealismos, aquellas ridiculeces, indignas de un espíritu  
 fuerte! 27

He has rebelled against both the material and the bohemian worlds, both of which are the products of a materialist society, and yet he lives in both. The fourth cat's problem is to incorporate his idealism into the house and the bohemian world; that is, to reconcile the world of the bourgeoisie with that of the artistic, so that art may continue to fulfill a progressive social function. The ensuing narrations deal specifically with this problem.

The third narration, "Palacio de loco", dedicated to J. Masso y Torrents, deals with the need for art to live with the community. It is, therefore, a condemnation of solipsism, and a



justification of the City. As a criticism of excessive individualism, it leads d'Ors to reprove the lack of technique or method in modernist creations that are disorderly owing to an inordinate belief in originality. Consequently, the tale, which evolves around the image of a castle, is constructed in a circular structure to prove that a single man's effort returns to nil, because individual creation cannot resist the power of the elements.

"Palacio de loco" is the tale of a madman who sets out to build himself a palace on a high spot, away from the city. In the construction he refuses all professional help and builds the palace according to momentary whims, that is, with no set plans:

trabaja de firme, día y noche, con sol y con lluvia. La construcción del Palacio fue una epopeya de energía... ¡Oh, la gesta heroica de aquella voluntad fuerte y solitaria...! Y no fue un poema de unidad: el constructor se contradecía a menudo: aterraba lo hecho y comenzaba nuevamente la tarea. Bien se conocía que quería imitar un modelo ideal, guardado en su alma... ¡Sí! La fábrica de aquella extraña y miserable casucha, era obra de arte: sueño de belleza - encarnizada lucha -, victoria definitiva. 28

Owing to the lack of previous organization and skilled labour, the palace, once terminated, is defined as "Incoherencia, misterio". 29

It is important to notice that at no time does d'Ors condemn the idealism which motivated the madman to build his palace, but rather the lack of organization, the spontaneous character of inspiration, which is seen to be the direct exteriorization of the soul's desire. D'Ors criticizes the lack of formality in the work. The spontaneity involved in the construction is the source of its incapacity to endure.

The agent of destruction, that which threatens all the works of man, is Nature. It is the force of the elements that work against man's desire to endure. Thus:

En la gestación preestival, Naturaleza febricitaba. Histeria tempestuosa se había enseñoreado de los elementos... ¡Y una noche de tempestad el loco sintió que se deshacía aquel Palacio de su alma...! La inundación creciente y bestialmente triunfadora reconquistaba para el camino los pedruscos que un día le habían sacado. 30

In the morning the palace is in ruins, and the madman completes the destruction, after having meditated on the value of his work. He leaves the palace to go back to the company of men with only the dream left to comfort him that he had had a palace. One may, therefore, infer that d'Ors conceives of Nature as the destructive agent fatal to man's work. It is the artist's incapacity to organize his work formally so that the form might endure as much as the ideal, that is, the failure to give art some permanency, and is the source of man's frailty. As a corollary to this sense of organization necessary to the permanent construction of an ideal, the madman returns to the city, which has remained unaffected by Nature. D'Ors indicates to the reader that the endurance of an ideal is found only in communal efforts that bind men together to work towards a common ideal, such as the building of cathedrals or cities.

After this criticism of the position of the artist in society, and his need to co-operate, d'Ors reverts to a criticism of the landed middle-class, which must also fulfill a directing role in society. The following tale demonstrates the structural organization present in this collection of narrations. It serves to counter-balance and further that stated in the previous tale. "El Rabadán" (The Head-Shepherd) is dedicated to Ramon Casellas i Dou, and is a metaphor on the function to be fulfilled by the landed gentry. As Narcis Oller's image of the Catalan land-owner

l'Oleguer of L'Escanyapobres, the "Rabadán" is a materialist and a utilitarian, a miser who organizes his life only around material values ; he is incapable of conceiving any spiritual end to life.

The first interesting factor in this tale is that d'Ors introduces with it the concept of "glosa": "Esta arbitrariedad glosa la siguiente canción de Nochebuena".<sup>31</sup> The fantasy of the writer develops an allegorical metaphor from a traditional Christmas carol, which he adapts to the social reality of Catalonia in a transcendental or metaphysical manner. It underlines the historical failure of a nation to take a risk.

The narration stems from a Christmas song which is structured in the form of a dialogue between the Head Shepherd and pilgrims on their way to Bethlehem to praise the new-born Christ. In this dialogue the Rabadan is asked to lead the pilgrims, but refuses because it involves hardship. D'Ors amplifies the tale in order to demonstrate the complexity of the reason for which the miser refuses to follow the pilgrims. Succinctly d'Ors defines the character and values of the Rabadan:

... es una persona formal: que no le vayan a él con juegos chiquillos... tiene mucha gramática parda; ¡ el que a él haga ver lo blanco negro...! ...es un sabio; tiene larga experiencia y mucha ilustración, y hasta ha vivido en Roma. ...no gasta mucho humor: ¡cuando uno ha visto tanto...! El Rabadán es hombre prudente; se escucha al hablar, anda con pies de plomo, obra con monita y sabe hacer provisiones allá para el invierno... Por eso, en esta noche, dejando a sus compañeros que duermen, dirige furtivamente sus pasos a lugar sólo por el conocido. Allí, soterrado en una madriguera, guarda su oro. Va a ajustar cuentas. 32

It is, above all, the Rabadan's excessive care and good sense, combined with pessimism and scepticism that d'Ors criticizes, much as had Santiago Rusiñol before him in L'auca del Senyor Esteve. He is, therefore, a miser both materially and spiritually; form

and content are in him, single. Though the Rabadan is offered a leading position in the pilgrimage, he turns it down because it involves an element of risk. The ideal of the pilgrims is, according to him, lunatic. It is not a practical enterprise, because it is uncertain in its outcome, and, above all, it is an effort which may fail; a pilgrimage is a dangerous enterprise; it is a risk of his capital; he may be robbed on the way.

D'Ors goes on to elevate the individual metaphor to its universal scale, as applicable in Catalonia. The Head Shepherd is a symbol of the nation. His failure is also that of Catalonia:

...toda la tierra nuestra - a la que tan práctica dicen, y calculadora, y de ensueños y de ideales despojada - entre embriagueces de alegría y besos de amor y lágrimas dulces y músicas insensatas, ante un juguete - un juguete que hace rezar y llorar a los hombres - cantando las canciones locas que los pastores cantaban, hace risueño escarnio de la prudencia del Rabadán. 33

Apart from the importance of toys, as objects of organized fantasy that generate ideals, developed in the Glosari 1906-1910, d'Ors' social commentary in this metaphor is quite clear. The author's hierarchical sense of values, obvious in the article of El Poble, previously quoted, which was published at approximately the same time, leads him to emphasize the fact that the Head Shepherd has failed to fulfill his moral obligations towards the public. He has refused heaven in order to save his material possessions. The public ideal without leadership leads nowhere. It is the "Rabadan's" apathy or materialism that has affected the development of Catalonia and set it back, even since the eighteenth century, when Catalonia ceased to have a leading class, conscious of its duties.

Yet, there is hope in the final lines of the narration, for the public scoffs at the Rabadan and now awaits in hope to

find "heaven".. The narration is a warning to the bourgeoisie that it must govern and progress, or it will be by-passed. It must modernize and participate in the ideals of Catalonia's social destiny. Neither hope nor progress is found in materialism or a staunch sense of reality, such as the Rabadan's, but in fantasy, combined with organization, such as "toys" or children's games. Consequently, the following narration will develop this metaphysical concept, by emphasizing the importance of the function of art in society to develop the sense of Beauty or Ideals.

The fifth narration, "Gárgolas", dedicated to M.S. Oliver, is a series of seven terse images that meditate on the importance of the form and its implications in relation to the sense, or content. D'Ors begins this series of images by reflecting on the necessity of stylizing forms in order to communicate a content consisting of ideal material. This content would, in turn, induce the subject or audience to meditate on divine or metaphysical ideals. Man, thus inspired by Beauty, would also strive to achieve formal perfection in life. In the introduction d'Ors states:

Quisiera como los artistas humildes de otrora, tomar la imagen de alguna cosa familiar, estilizarla, deformarla, enroscarla, darle irrealdad turbadora o grotesca y que, así y todo aún corriese por su interior la frescura divina de las aguas del cielo. 34

There are two highly revealing key-words in this passage, "estilizar" and "irrealidad", the latter being a consequence implied by the former. D'Ors' ambition is to stylize the common forms in order to create from them something entirely artificial, or contrary to realism. This artificial product is a form arbitrated by the mind of the artist, in order to reveal the divine or metaphysical essence of reality. Since the subject matter is chosen from the

artist's circumjacent world, the latter's function is to reduce the object to its essence, or platonic idea. The arbitrated form is not a rhetorical form, lacking substance, but an aesthetic object, organized in such a way as to develop the harmony between its appearance and its content. It is not the bare essential; it is the pleasant essential.

The second image is a corollary of this concept. In this image, the basic idea is that, in order to approximate the idea of divinity, the form must not be subject to temporal influences, for these are manifestations of Nature. Not only is the form to be stylized into perfect essence, but it must reflect total impassivity, no spontaneity or emotion. Consequently, the idea of divinity expressed by it is removed from distinctive contingencies: "Ya sé que tu experiencia es larga... Pero disimula. No abras los ojos. No rías. Duerme, duerme, gárgola buena."<sup>35</sup> The gargoyle lives in eternity, for its experience is large, but it is not affected by immediacy. In it reality is synthesized into its essence.

In the third image, the rejection of realism as the "picture" or immediate representation of an object, is elaborated upon. Immediacy, as a form of finality, deprives the individual of any hope, for in it man loses the sense of temporal dimension. Thus, as it lives in eternity, the stylized form is not engrossed in the immediate, and, therefore, cannot be subject to temporal contingencies and represent a pessimistic point of view. Reality understood in a temporal framework depends upon the position taken by the artist. Thus, the understanding of reality depends on the

judgment or arbitration of the individual; it is always a point of view: "Es téticamente grotesca la procesión de los hombres, con sus paraguas y con sus impermeables. -¿ Que me dices de esto, hermana gárgola? - Mira, el vómito es una opinión." 36

The fourth image is a continuation of this consideration. D'Ors amplifies the problem by raising it to a metaphysical level. Beauty, or the perfection of the craftsmanship employed in the construction of the object, reveals what is behind the form. In this image the gargoyles question each other as to what lies behind them, that is, what lies behind their form. Their answer is simple: sometimes they hear music, but know not the exact nature of what lies behind them, for they are always looking ahead. The position of man in the universe is similar; though man can perceive the element of divinity latent in forms, he cannot see them exactly. The gargoyles' dialogue makes a specific reference to neo-platonism in the concept of celestial music discussed:

Hermanas nuestras que siempre veláis, decidnos, sabednos decir: ¿qué hay detrás de nosotras? A menudo nos llega la oleada armoniosa de unos cánticos entonados por profundas y santas voces. - También nosotras oímos, del misterioso Detrás nuestro, celestiales canciones con suavidades que llenan el alma de dulzura. ¿Que hay detrás de nosotras? - Hay un paredón. Espesas rejas y celosías no dejan ver sus adentros. - También detrás de vosotras hay un muro. Vidrios de color detienen la mirada -. ¿Qué habrá dentro? - ¿Qué habrá dentro? - ¿Será el cielo, vecinas? 37

The rhetorical question of the gargoyles, "será el cielo" implies the belief that divine essence lies behind the form. Similarly, in life, man can perceive the divine will that is marred by human flaw. The existence of belief in divinity is also a possibility, or reason for hope in life. If the divine exists in life, then there is some hope to be found in the scheme of things. The search

for the divine essence behind all things is the search for eternity.

As eternity is found in life, it is therein that it must be sought. In the fifth image d'Ors denies the extreme application of the search for eternity removed from mankind. The man who believes he finds the truth away from mankind is to him a Tartuffe. The latter is found meditating on eternity in a high place, secluded from society. Another figure steps in and offers him a bottle of wine, asking for his opinion on the quality of the wine. Tartuffe drinks the wine, and as he becomes inebriated he believes he finds eternity: "¡Profunda alegría me ha inundado las entrañas! ¡Parece que me haya tragado el sol..."<sup>38</sup> As the dialogue continues, Tartuffe is asked if he has loved. This he answers with a "profound" statement: "¿Quién no ha gozado de una hora de amor...? Y una hora de amor vale por toda una vida...."<sup>39</sup> Tartuffe, therefore, believes that life has little value, and all that matters is "eternity". Yet, as he slips from the high wall, he grabs his companion in an act of despair. The latter comments: "...mirad a Tartufo meditando las verdades eternas..."<sup>40</sup> Life is what really matters. It is the eternal truth to which man clings and cannot take for granted. It is impossible to live alone; love is important; only because man is a sociable being does he live. Tartuffe when falling meditates upon the importance of the companion who may save him or let him fall.

The metaphor of Tartuffe is, again, a comment against excessive solipsism that becomes introspection. To d'Ors it is simply the result of being incapable of co-existing with other



people. Tartuffe's lack of discipline, and incapacity to comprehend the value of life, leads to his adoption of a mask and the depreciation of social life. Instead, he prefers the disperse elements (love, light) to the whole. Tartuffe is essentially a caricature of the romantic hero who, because he is incapable of adjusting himself to the norms of society, rejects it. The sixth part of this narration clarifies this metaphor. Out of frustration, man tends to <sup>despise</sup> ~~depreciate~~ what he cannot possess, just as the crowd in "La muerte de Isidre Nonell" deprecates artistic objects.

The final ~~image~~ resolves the problems established in the previous metaphors. In the preceding narration d'Ors has presented the problem of form and essence and the equivocal position of the subject, depending on his arbitration of the circumstances. Man's metaphysical position as regards the simultaneous perception of the divine and the material or human elements in life leads to an ironical point of view. Man lives in a state of contradiction which requires an understanding that cannot be sought in either extreme. The problem of perception is basically that of the artist who needs to represent the ideal perceived within the object in terms of that existing, or known to his public.

In this seventh image, d'Ors presents the ideal solution to this problem. The fate of the artist is to be a "Poeta, gárgola de palacio". Though he lives above the world and hears celestial music behind him, he is not yet high enough to be removed from the sight of human suffering. As the author states:

Ni tan bajo que te confundas con ellos, ni tan alto que puedas perderlos de vista. ¿Será de asco la extraña mueca que te contrae la boca inquietante? 41

The answer to the above question is definitely negative. In the third image, d'Ors had already disapproved of pessimism or disgust. Thus the solution lies in irony, for as we know, irony (in Greek terms *εἰρωνεία* is simulated ignorance) is conscious detachment or restraint that denies emotion, which is an immediate reaction, in front of adverse circumstances. It is classical form inasmuch as it is artificial.

"La copa del rey de Tule", dedicated to Miguel Utrillo, may be understood as a continuation of the previous narrations. The ironical form adopted by man is meaningless unless is given a content. This content corresponds to ideals that give life a sense or meaning. The anecdote around which this narration develops is very simple. At her death, the wife of the king of "Tule" has left him a golden cup. When the king drinks from this cup the memory of his wife returns to him, as though she were at his side. The cup is a symbolic intermediary between the king and his wife. When the king feels he is on the point of dying, he divides his kingdom and orders that, at the moment of his death, the cup be thrown into the sea. As his body lies in state, an old man comes and declares that the king is not dead but asleep. To prove that he is right, he proceeds to awaken the king. Upon awakening the king demands to drink from his cup, but his inheritors remind him that it is in the sea. In great sadness, the king continues to reign for a short while, and finally leaves to rejoin the cup. The metaphor, therefore, returns to the concept that without ideals life is devoid of felicity or meaning.

It is important, however, to understand the nature of

the ideal set by d'Ors. The cup, as we have said above, is an intermediary through which the king finds his loved-one again. Thus, the ideal is the queen herself, and the things with which she is associated. The only point of reference which is given to us on the beauty of the queen is the description of her grave and its location. This is preceded by an elaborate description of the island-kingdom, ruled by the king, in which she is buried. This description leads to that of the grave and is directly related.

The island corresponds to d'Ors' belief in formal beauty, as intimated in the "Gárgolas". It is described as a tuneless, artificial place, where no movement nor sound disturbs beauty. This conception of beauty is intimately connected with that of the queen, for it is where she now rests. It is also very revealing of d'Ors' classical tendencies. Thus the description ensues:

Y de la sangre del horizonte surgió la isla con su exquisita vegetación: cedros y laureles; álamos y rosales en flor, y naranjos con la fruta encendida entre la oscuridad del follaje. - Después, las arquitecturas locas, incompatibles. Resplandecen en la cumbre de las colinas los templos de mármol; y las agujas afiladísimas de lapislázuli que sobresalen de la verdura, son negras ahora porque tras ellas muere el sol. - Cerca del impasible mar, sobre aquella arena que no recibe espumas, hay un sepulcro de pórvido en que, dando al cristal de las aguas el reflejo de su lucecilla, tiembla una lámpara argéntea. Ésta es la tumba de los amores del Rey. 42

The description of the island can only be Mediterranean, as the vegetation mentioned indicates. The white temples of marble crowning hilltops also refers to those of the Graeco-Roman world. Only two images seem to contradict this belief.

The first, "Después, las arquitecturas locas, incompatibles", seems to contradict the belief of order present in the

idea of classicism. Yet, it is not. This description depends on the point of view of the narrator. As the narrator previously indicates that he is approaching the island by boat, one must understand that he is describing the island from sea-level upwards, and once he has defined the island, he moves to the ultimate, the grave, which returns to the sea. It is important, here, to notice that the grave is removed from the town and at the edge of the sea. It is at a point of harmony between the two worlds. Once the position of the narrator is acknowledged, one may understand that the "mad incompatible architectures" at the base of the temples is a metaphor for the disorganized, unplanned villages that have developed haphazardly by the sea, along the shorelines and hills of the Mediterranean, and combine buildings of different shapes and proportions.

The other disorienting element is the image, "las agujas afiladísimas de lapislázuli que sobresalen de la verdura, son negras ahora porque tras ellas muere el sol". The confusion which may arise from this image originates in the fact that the mention of lapislázuli immediately suggests the setting of Egypt, for this stone occurs frequently in the decorative arts of ancient Egypt. The word "needle" is more difficult to explain on its own, unless it refers to obelisks, which is highly doubtful since the capacities of that stone limit it to mostly decorative purposes such as jewelry. Rather, "lapislázuli" is here used for a chromatic effect, to describe the cypresses, so typical of the Mediterranean countryside, which do seem black in the setting sun, but bluish in the day-time. It is therefore only a poetic device to describe the cypresses as

"needles of lapislazuli", which adds to the sense of stillness in the description.

D'Ors consequently introduces the concept of classical idealism, as a necessary goal that defines beauty and gives meaning to life. Two things may be inferred from this narration. The king "lives" through a work of art, and therefore art is necessary to life, because through it man continues to aspire to ideals. In this case, the work of art is related to the queen, who in turn is associated with the classical tradition. The model of man's ideals is therefore to be found in the tradition of the ancients.

The theme of the need for idealism in life is developed in the "Carta a los Reyes Magos", dedicated to Santiago Rusiñol. The problem is here made more explicit and d'Ors elaborates another facet of the solution. The structure of the narration is dialectical; d'Ors moves from his individual position to that of all men of this century. The individual situation is clearly explained in the first lines: having lost his innocence, the subject finds himself in a state of abandon, anguish and desolation, which arises from his disillusionment:

Los primeros vientos de adolescencia intentaron barrerlo todo: nubes y astros. Pero siempre mi espíritu supo conservar, en un rincón de horizonte, las ilusiones más queridas.... Puedo así, hoy, en lo más recio de la tormenta, convertir la mirada a vosotros, ¡oh, Reyes magos, Reyes consoladores, Reyes de gloria y esperanza, Reyes omnipotentes y magníficos...! 43

The narrator finds in the Three Kings a comfort against his loss of hope. This individual position of loss or despair originates from the times or circumstances in which he is given to live. This loss incurred requires that the subject have recourse to illusions as a substitute:

Por esto yo, en las oscuridades de hoy, acariciado por las tinieblas y la angustia y el frío de una infinita vaciedad, acudo a vosotros, que un día supisteis colmar mis sueños. De vosotros suplico la medicina de mi desesperanza, una aurora que termine mi noche. Traedme vuestros regalos: una cajita de ilusiones pintadas de nuevo; trompetas y timbales que me llenen el alma de músicas heroicas; armas de estruendo que aterroricen a los imaginarios enemigos que me asaltan; un arsenal de muñecos con que llenar mis visiones de arte; un juego de arquitectura para mis ideales construcciones; un arca de Noé que me permita componer la Naturaleza a imagen y semejanza de mi omnipotente arbitrariedad..... 44

The Three Kings have the remedy that will bring back his lost hopes. This remedy lies in the rehabilitation of man's capacity to arbitrate Nature. As we have already mentioned, Nature is the destructive contingency which man must control. Arbitration is that control. It is attained through the artistic medium, which is found in fantasy, which develops out of toys. These are objects of art because they are eternal, or continuously renewed. Their capacity to renew fantasy or to be eternally interesting is what makes them artistic objects. There is in this belief a sense of progress, since man must look for ideals in the new productions of his time, because they too contain some eternity.

D'Ors has introduced in the above quotation what we may call the "heroic sense", which is the resistance or struggle against contingencies. It is man's sense of dominion over Nature or Time. This heroic sense is connected with the work of art, for it derives from arbitration. It is the artist's sense of organization of his cosmic vision, or "Weltanschauung", from which he may direct or control Nature. This heroic organization of contingencies is d'Ors' sense of "Mythology". D'Ors states that this mythological perception arises from Fantasy:

Yo sé que existís en aquel mundo misterioso de los sueños y del arte, lejano de las bajas tierras de los hombres en que conviven

y se encuentran todas las imaginarias encarnaciones de la Belleza, todas la criaturas de la Fantasía, los mil y un hijos de la Fábula; sé que allí vivís fuerte y perdurable vida al lado de los héroes legendarios, de las mujeres de hermosura ideal cantadas por los poetas... de los dioses helénicos y de los dioses germánicos, de los frívolos duendes y de los monstruos apocalípticos; de todos los seres creados por la emoción, o el símbolo, o la inspiración, o el entusiasmo, o el delirio, o la locura y de la Emperatriz de todos - Nuestra Señora la Quimera. 45

The mythological source of ideals, which are arbitrated by the mind of the artist, is related to man's need for artificiality that organizes fantasy derived from the "Quimera". As d'Ors has observed, mythology in life may arise out of enthusiasm, but in order to function, man must organize or codify it. Man's mind is conceived of as a centre that organizes, or plays with, fantasies: "Uno tras uno se me han ido estropeando los juguetes; pero el espíritu mío, niño eterno, sin cesar los necesita." 46 Therefore the mind, whether at play or at work, is a force that juggles with the circumstances and contingencies to discover their rules, in order to organize them into a pattern or game, that is, to formalize them. The constant need for new ideals is d'Ors' sense of progress.

In this narration the contingency to which the author reacts is, as we have previously noted, fatalism, or existential anguish. The personal situation of the narrator is elaborated upon to raise it to its universal level. The individual's problem is that of mankind at the turn of the century:

Tened misericordia de los hombres de nuestro tiempo, pobres muñequillos de carne, manojo de nerviosas y nunca satisfechas inquietudes, almas tristes de que las ilusiones han sido desarraigadas bien pronto.... borrad de sus labios esta sonrisa de escepticismo que hiela. 47

Thus, the author is reacting against the scepticism of the nineteenth century as it culminates in the "Fin de Siglo". It is the

source of general apathy or "mal du siècle". It can only be overcome by finding new illusions, or meanings in Mythology, as substantiated by the organization of a generating force of energy, which is communal hope.

The nature of this communal hope is related to the properties of the mythological background from which d'Ors draws material. His description of the mythological world referred to in the above quotation <sup>(45)</sup> evidently denotes that d'Ors understands mythology in terms of the occidental tradition; that is, the conjunction of Germanic and Hellenic mythologies. This conjunction is the fundamental nature of a Christian background. The letter addressed to the Three Kings indicates that d'Ors is specifically interested in Christian mythology. Thus, the problem of scepticism is directly connected with that of the loss of Christian faith. If d'Ors has ceased to believe in the existence of the Kings, he has also ceased to believe in what they lead to: "la carta dirigida a vosotros, a vosotros llegaba, por aquellas invisibles escaleras que enlazan tierra y cielos, por las vías mismas que conducen a los pies del Altísimo." <sup>48</sup> This treatment of religion is, therefore, something purely formal, though essential in d'Ors' theory, since, as part of Mythology, it is organized desire, or Fantasy, without which man is subject to existential anguish.

Religion is a traditional cultural expression out of which mythology evolves. <sup>49</sup> From this mythological tradition come the toys that enable the mind to arbitrate reality. Conversely, the toys or works of art created by men enable them to create



illusion. As a result of this, man is the centre of activity. Owing to the fact that "toys" or "art forms" originate from a spiritual longing, and that once created their forms create new illusions, the "art forms" are two-fold in their function. They induce man both to a spiritual and to a material reaction, or inspiration. In his theory, d'Ors reconciles the antimony existing between the ideal (spiritual) and the sensual (material), through the arbitration of the mind that organizes the form in such a way as to reflect the spiritual element which it contains. Religion, consequently, remains in the background the main source of man's illusions, vital to his existence.

The eighth narration, "Tiempo después", dedicated to Alejandro de Riquer, may also be considered a continuation of the theme of faith. The plot development is extremely simple. The fantasy of the author reveals to him that the third king, the negro king, was not always a giver of gifts, but was at one time part of the forces of Evil. He had a very sad childhood, without any "toys", and had grown up in loneliness under the rule of Nature, who had mistreated him. Thus, when he grew up to be a king his hatred and bitterness led him to become an ogre who ate children; he was the Boogie-man. One night the ogre kidnapped a fatherless child who could not sleep because he was afraid of his loneliness. This child had been punished for naughtiness by being left alone by his mother. When the child saw the Negro King or ogre, he beckoned him to come. The ogre was taken aback, for it was the first time in his life that he did not frighten his victim. Overcome by this novelty, the king stepped out of his cave and realized that some-

thing new had grown in him: a sense of paternity. Consequently, he joined the other kings to give toys to naughty children.

The sense of paternity developed by the king is extremely important. It is a movement away from barbarity towards civilization. Through it the king abandons his natural environment of solitude in order to belong to the community. It is an act of Christian love. Two things result from this proposition. D'Ors conceives of religious experience as communal. It is the need for men to unite in order to overcome fatality as perceived in the force of Nature. Christian action is consequently social action. Religion is a set of myths that binds men together, or organizes them into a co-ordinate whole known as Culture.

The "Oración a Madona Blanca María" resumes the basic aims of d'Ors. Madona Blanca María is an ideal symbol that unites both art and religion. The adjective "blanca" refers not only to purity, but also to the marble from which the narrator has built the temple. She is therefore a symbol of classical beauty or ideals. Through her name, María, she has Catholic overtones as the Virgin Mary. She is, therefore, a symbol of Torras i Bages' Tradició Catalana, the union of Classicism and Catholicism, although d'Ors perceives this on a wider, international scale. The artist, or poet, has been called to participate in the world by the "austere Monk of Life". Art must descend from its ivory tower into the everyday struggle of life. The struggle, to which the poet is called, is a fight for ideals to oppose death:

el Monje austero de la Vida ha pasado por mi conciencia predicando la santa cruzada de la Acción, las gestas del Caballero Esfuerzo, que lleva sus huestes guerreando a conquistar y entrar triunfadoras en las Jerusalenes de las tierras santas. 50

Life calls the poet to leave his passivity and to take an active part in the conquest of the enemy, fatality, or death, and enter triumphantly into ideal communities, or the world of Ideas.

The poet lacks strength and will, for he knows that his participation in life will most certainly wound him mortally. The voice of Life, however, urges him on and compels him to rejoin the crusade. The role of the poet is to carry his ideals into a fundamentally materialist society in order to inspire it to construct ideal cities - "las Jerusalénes de las tierras santas". As the text indicates, when he dies, the poet will return to Madona Blanca María, with a consciousness of at last having accomplished his duty of spreading cultural ideals among mankind. The final image employed by d'Ors in the "Oración a Madona Blanca Maria" is mystical. It symbolizes the "interior life" touched by divinity at the moment of death. As a symbol of mystic union, the poet is touched by grace as a reward for his efforts. He is reconciled with the world of Ideas which he worships.

In order to understand clearly the meaning of this collection, it is important to grasp the significance of the dedications placed at the beginning of each narration. As we noted above, the first dedication indicated the rejection of Nonell's realist, or naturalist, tendencies, though d'Ors recognized through it the concept of arbitration present in the painter's work. In the second narration, the "sense" of the dedication is more difficult to perceive. As the previous narration, this one deals with the importance of idealism in life. The narration, dedicated to Joan Maragall, might at first glance seem to

establish a parallel between Maragall and the fourth cat, since, as we know, the Barcelonian poet straddled the world of the bohemians and that of the bourgeoisie. Two factors seem to deny this possibility. The first, and most important, is that d'Ors points out, several times, that this is the youngster of the cats, or modernists. This renders impossible any parallel with Maragall in, at the earliest, 1900. Rather, it may define the position of the author, as a young artist, wishing to overcome the defects or failures of the previous generation. The second reason for denying the parallel, Maragall - fourth cat, is that the narrator realizes the implicit contradictions and the need to integrate both positions in order to cease living in romantic contradictions, as had Maragall. This seems to indicate that d'Ors is, in fact, trying to integrate Maragall's idealism into daily life.

The third tale is dedicated to J. Massó y Torrents, the great modernist editor of L'Avenç and erudite medievalist. It may consequently represent an attack on romantic historiography and the excessive individualism involved in it. From his position as secretary of the Centre d'Estudis Catalans, d'Ors was later to criticize the lack of solid scholarship, which was deficient in rigour owing to the refusal of scholars to co-operate with each other. What d'Ors never did condemn was the enthusiasm or idealism underlying the erudites' work. The following tale is dedicated to Casellas i Dou, and is a reaction against the opposite tendency. R. Casellas was greatly influenced in his research by the positivist ideas of Taine and Renan. As an art-historian, he continued to make use of these methods. D'Ors does not

criticize the organization or method that gives great clarity to Casellas' work, but the lack of idealism in it, as it tends to over-rationalize evidence.

The fifth narration is dedicated to the Mallorcan poet, Miguel dels Sants Oliver, whose work is almost entirely formal.

The content of his poetry is best described as:

no es el tema historic d'un poeta que ens ofrena, sino la poesia d'un historiador, qui com si fos un antiquari gaudeix contemplant i admirant les coses velles, sense mai oblidar que ell es exterior a tot, sense sentir-se vestit de vellat o de seda. 51

Such poetry, which is principally historical, is not deeply concerned with metaphysical preoccupations. D'Ors criticizes not the lack of form in dels Sants Oliver's poetry, but the lack of metaphysical content.

The sixth tale is dedicated to Miguel Utrillo. The latter believed in realism and progress, in as much as that meant for him keeping apace with the cultural activities of Paris. This conception led him to conceive of art as being the representation of the present directed towards the future. This is directly opposed to the conception of Miguel dels Sants Oliver. Thus Utrillo decreed: "los que siguen ideales fijados en otras épocas quedaran inevitablemente rezagados: podrán ser buenos técnicos, pero nunca buenos artistas." 52 Thus, as it was later recognized, Utrillo did consider formal perfection as important, and did perceive beauty in the world around him:

Utrillo es realista en el sentido de admitir que incluso en las cosas humildes puede haber belleza, lo cual es perfectamente compatible con ser partidario del "arte por el arte", entendido este principio en el sentido de que el valor artistico de una obra reside en su factura y no en su contenido. 53

Again, d'Ors does not criticize Utrillo's formal preoccupation,

but the lack of content and the necessity felt by the artist to follow European trends.

What del's Sants Oliver lacks in metaphysical preoccupation because of the "archaeological" aspect of his poetry, Utrillo also lacks because of his error in perspective, which overlooks the importance of tradition for the artist and compels him to "imitate", and not "create" anything new. D'Ors is, consequently, suggesting that the "essence" of eternity in art may be found in the European tradition, which is fundamentally a return to the understanding of the classical tradition underlying all of occidental man's achievements, and through which both the present and the future may be understood.

The seventh narration, dedicated to Santiago Rusiñol, is fundamentally a criticism of the latter's "escepticisme trivial i desorientat del que nomes s'escapava per l'escletxa d'un CANDID amor a l'art".<sup>54</sup> There also stems from this, d'Ors rejection of Rusiñol's belief in the necessary opposition between art and materialism, and their incompatibility with tradition, as exposed allegorically in El jardí abandonat. In this narration d'Ors reconciles ~~this~~ this opposition through the image of the "toys", which are the fruits of tradition and a source of ideals. D'Ors does not reject the belief in idealism professed by Rusiñol, but the attitudes of fatality and pessimism present in his expression of the need for idealism.

The subsequent tale reacts against dogmatic catholicism and is dedicated to Alejandro Riquer. The latter was a pre-Raphaelite painter and one of the principal members of the Cercle Sant Lluc

of Terras i Bages. His position towards artistic representation was, consequently, always controlled by the immediate moral implications of works. This often carried the members of the Cercle Sant Lluc to extremes of narrow-mindedness. An excellent example of Riquer's attitude is to be found in the position he took during the scandal of Ateneu of 1893. This scandal involved a controversy over two paintings of R. Casas and Marti i Alsina, which were considered by some, such as Riquer, to be of provocative "carnal inspiration". The member of Cercle Sant Lluc who forced the jury to remove these paintings was Alejandro Riquer:

Los de l'Avenç mencionan como principal culpable del escándalo del Ateneo a Alexandre de Riquer, socio fundador del círculo y miembro del jurado de admision; y con el, "Lluc intransigent", votaron otros miembros del jurado, más o menos católicos, artistas "mansos y burgueses", pintores de cuadros decentes y vendibles." 55

It is against this intransigent attitude that d'Ors reacts in writing this narration. The metaphor used of "niños malos" and "ogres" is designed to emphasize the need to integrate into the Christian community, not only the "niños malos" such as Santiago Rusiñol, but also their aggressors. The author does not condemn religion or the "traditionalist" attitude, but dogmatism to which it can be conducive, the lack of flexibility and the obscurantism with which it imposes itself.

It is from these considerations that the "Oración a Madona Blanca María" proceeds, in order to stress the need to integrate art into daily life. Let us, then, recapitulate the various points raised by d'Ors in this collection of stories. In order to do so, we should examine the structure of the work.

The first and most complex narration, "La muerte de Isidre

Nonell", introduces the concept of "art arbitrari", the method by which the artist choses the object and stylizes it to represent an idea preconceived. This entails a rejection of any theory of spontaneity in art. Ideas concerning the need for idealism and the conception of the City as a communal ideal to bring about a social revolution were also introduced in reaction to the nineteenth century liberal, naturalist and pessimist tendencies. The social preoccupations of d'Ors also lead him to prophesy the beginning of a new era culminating in the end of nineteenth century evils. The cyclic structure of the work leads the reader to consider the reasons for the failure of this revolution. It is evident that the failure of the crowd to eliminate the actual source of its despair points out the failure of this revolution, which can be considered as no more than an uprising. The failure to find the actual source of despair stems from the lack of enlightenment in the crowd. Ignorance is a product of the industrial revolution. Consequently, one finds that the lack of enlightenment is not the fault of the crowd, but a lack of social responsibility on the part of the artist, who has set no ideals for the mass, but only presented a despairing, pessimistic vision of urban-industrial society. This complex series of ideas introduces the ensuing tales.

In the fable, "Los cuatro gatos", d'Ors presents the problems of the modernist secession which, although originating from the bourgeoisie, opposes the provincial- industrial bourgeois society, but which, because of its bourgeois nature and absolute polarization of attitudes, is basically turning its back on the actual problem and making no progress. The radical opposition of the modernista



to society has degenerated into a pessimistic and hypocritical position that presents no future and remains a "cul-de-sac". It ceases to be "modern". Thus, d'Ors considers the possibility of revitalizing Catalan society from an idealistic platform. By denying the validity of both antagonistic tendencies, the author searches for a platonic world of essential forms, through which he might conciliate both the material and the spiritual world. Implied in this concept is the departure from a provincial society in order to search for Universal Culture.

The ensuing tales investigate these considerations on Modernism in the light of this theory of the "happy medium". The tale, "Palacio de loco", develops the concept that the antagonist of all idealism is Nature and that the only way to resist it is organization. Individualism, as well as its corollary, introspection, are thereby condemned. The realization of ideals, or dreams, is possible only through organization, which is their materialization. The opposite tendency, also based on individualism, is condemned in "El Rabadán". The excessive common sense, based on materialism, or avarice, causes the Head Shepherd to lose a heaven. Though he may be organized, his lack of ideals is just as disastrous as the madman's excessive idealism. This tale also returns to the idea latent in the first narration, that the failure of the Catalan bourgeoisie to fulfill its role in the social evolution of the nation is the reason for Catalonia's backward cultural state among other European nations. The problem of the function of art in society is elaborated upon in the following texts.

"Gárgolas" meditates on the importance of form in art. The organization of aesthetic material must reflect basic human problems as well as embody ideals. The problems must also be seen in an optimistic light and the material must be adjusted to man's social development. This progress does not, however, alter man's eternal problems. Though the "form" of life may be altered, the existential problems of life after death remain. Man, consequently, needs to create new ideals in order to generate hope. The predominantly ironical position of man develops out of this. Though he may better his condition, he cannot escape his fate and metaphysical preoccupations. The artist's position is similar to this; though he perceives ideal beauty, he is not removed from human suffering. His "arbitrary" function is, therefore, to create artificial, or ironical, constructions that conciliate the two contradictory extremes of his life, idealism and reality, in order to communicate his idealism to society.

The need for idealism and the nature of idealism is elaborated upon in the remaining three narrations. In "La copa del rey de Tule", classicism is understood to be the basic mode of illusions. It is a formal representation of these in art. D'Ors' concept of "Mediterraneanism" is here sown in the description of the calm of the sea and the island. As classicism is only part of the Mediterranean tradition, which is a source of illusions, d'Ors introduces the other main source of man's existential comfort, Christianity, in "Carta a los Reyes Magos". The concept of art and artificiality and their relation to European "mythology" is here elaborated upon. What is more important is that in this narration

as well as in "Tiempo después", Christianity, as part of European mythology, is conceived of as a unifying force that binds men together, and is fundamental to the organization of society. D'Ors condemns dogmatism that alienates men from the Christian community and emphasizes the need for tolerance.

These considerations are best summed up as follows. Cultural mythology, as conceived and organized by mankind, may only function as a harmonious whole in as much as it remains the product and belonging of a community. Man is considered by d'Ors to be a social being who needs to create, not as an individual, but in an organized social body. D'Ors' final consideration to this effect is an appeal to the artist to carry his ideals out to mankind, in search of perfection.

The author of La muerte de Isidre Nonell seguida de otras arbitrariedades is reacting against the cultural stagnation (or circumstances impeding idealism from generating enthusiasm) of the society to which he pertains. His reaction against the general apathy, or fatalism, to promote the quest for ideals in life is basically a negation of the romantic belief in the search for truth in Nature and introspection which culminates in individualism. To this understanding of Romanticism he opposed the concept of arbitration, as a form of classicism. Arbitration is perceived as a corollary of classicism, for it is the control or organization of the circumstances latent in the artist's "Weltanschauung", not the romantic abandonment to fatalism and pessimism. The opposition of the romantic point of view to that of classicism is best seen in the antagonistic conceptions

developed by Zola and d'Ors of the City. To Zola, it was the uncontrollable monster, such as seen in L'Assomoir<sup>m</sup>, but to d'Ors it was the community bound together in the optimistic fight against Nature, which incurred all forms of fatality as embodied by Time. Resistance against Nature was founded on social organization deriving from the responsibility of the individual, or class, to the community.

La muerte de Isidre Nonell seguida de otras arbitrariedades is a collection of metaphors through which d'Ors expressed and organized his understanding of the problems and ideas of Modernism, and what it had developed into by the turn of the century. Never wholly rejecting Modernism, d'Ors used this knowledge of its contradictions to reintegrate the movement into its social function, as first conceived by the people of L'Avenç. D'Ors' work basically consisted in reorganizing modernist ideals so that they might function in society. Most of the ideas first exposed in this collection of stories will be found more explicitly developed in "Amiel a Vic" and especially systematized in the metaphysics of the Glosari 1906-1910.

## Notes to Chapter IV

- 1 G. Diaz-plaja, Modernismo frente a noventa y ocho (Madrid : Espasa-Calpe, 1951) p.332.
- 2 E. d'Ors, Obra catalana completa : Glosari 1906-1910 (Barcelona : Selecta, 1950) p. xiii.
- 3 Enric Jordi, Eugenio d'Ors : Vida y obra (Barcelona : Ayma 1967) p. 53.
- 4 Eugenio d'Ors, Cronicas a la Ermita : "La muerte de Isidre Nonell seguida de otras arbitrariedades" (Barcelona : Plaza y Janes, 1966, primera edicion)pp. 215-262.
- 5 A. Cirici Pellicer, El arte modernista catalan (Barcelona: Ayma 19 ) p. 31.
- 6 Ibid. pp. 41-42.
- 7 "La muerte de Isidre Nonell seguida de otras arbitrariedades", p. 257.
- 8 Ibid. p. 217.
- 9 Ibid. p. 217.
- 10 Ibid. p. 218.
- 11 Ibid. p. 219.
- 12 Ibid. p. 221.
- 13 Ibid. p. 224.
- 14 Glosari 1906-1910, p. 1264.
- 15 La muerte de Isidre Nonell, p. 218.
- 16 Ibid. p. 220.
- 17 Ibid. p. 217.
- 18 For a more ample study of the influences present in Nonell's work during his stay in Paris, one should consult A. Cirici Pellicer, El arte modernista catalan, p. 358.
- 19 La muerte de Isidre Nonell, p. 225.
- 20 Ibid. p. 225.
- 21 Glosari 1906-1910, p. 1550.
- 22 La muerte de Isidre Nonell, p. 226.

- 23 Ibid. p. 226.
- 24 Ibid. p. 227.
- 25 Ibid. p. 227.
- 26 A Greek-English Lexicon, compiled by H.G. Liddell and R. Scott  
(Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1901) 8th edition, p. 644.
- 27 La muerte de Isidre Nonell, p. 227
- 28 Ibid. p. 230.
- 29 Ibid. p. 231.
- 30 Ibid. pp. 231-232.
- 31 Ibid. p. 233.
- 32 Ibid. p. 234.
- 33 Ibid. p. 239.
- 34 Ibid. pp. 240-241.
- 35 Ibid. p. 241.
- 36 Ibid. p. 241.
- 37 Ibid. p. 242.
- 38 Ibid. p. 242.
- 39 Ibid. p. 243.
- 40 Ibid. p. 243.
- 41 Ibid. p. 244.
- 42 Ibid. pp. 245-246.
- 43 Ibid. p. 252.
- 44 Ibid. pp. 253-254.
- 45 Ibid. p. 254.
- 46 Ibid. p. 253.
- 47 Ibid. p. 255.
- 48 Ibid. pp. 252-253.
- 49 Much of the "Carta a los Reyes Magos" may be understood as an

act of faith. In the phrase "de vosotros suplico la medecina" (p. 254) there is implied that faith can only come if the subject is willing to believe. The letter is in fact a declaration of d'Ors' "will to believe". This idea is developed in the subsequent Glosari, and as d'Ors mentions William James' book on a pragmatic protestant approach to religion, The Will to Believe (1896), in 1909 (Glosari p. 1148), it is possible that he knew of this theory, at least by 1905, since he spoke very highly of a similar book by W. James in the 1907 gloss "La varietats de l'experiencia religiosa" (Glosari p. 404). As we shall see later, d'Ors accommodates a sceptical belief to the religious tradition, or cultural mythology, of the society he is given to live in.

- 50 La muerte de Isidre Nonell, p. 261.
- 51 Joan Ruiz i Calonja, Historia de la literatura catalana (Barcelona : Teide, 1954) p. 549.
- 52 Eduard Valentí, El primer modernismo catalan. (Barcelona: Ariel, 1973) p. 273.
- 53 Ibid. p. 273.
- 54 Joan Fuster, Literatura catalana contemporanea (Barcelona : Curial, 1972) p. 97.
- 55 El primer modernismo catalan. p. 294.

## Chapter V "Amiel a Vic"

The late gloss, "Amiel a Vic", has served as an introduction to various collections of E. d'Ors' "glosses", and has been the starting point of many critics' investigations. It is generally agreed that in it is defined the society, both artistic and commercial, against which Noucentisme reacted. The description of the society criticized by d'Ors is embodied in the work of Francesc Rierola i Musferrer (1857-1908), known as the Dietari, which was published posthumously in 1908.

The name of the gloss, "Amiel", refers to the Swiss friend of Sanz del Rio, Henri Fredrich Amiel, whose Journal Intime is an exploration of the Narrator's inner life and his incapacity to act, or impose his will, in an adverse society.<sup>1</sup> The Dietari of Francesc Rierola is based on similar ideas, in as much as it is a study on the interior self and the individual's incapacity to act in society. D'Ors notes that Rierola's work, written between 1893 and 1900, depicts the formation period of Noucentisme: "el període comprès en el Dietari de Francesc Rierola fou el de la nostra primera formació. Tot allò d'ell ha entrat en la composició del nostre esperit com un amarg llevat...."<sup>2</sup> Noucentisme is, therefore, a period of reaction against that of Rierola, and the attitudes implied in his work.

D'Ors explains that, although the Dietari is modelled on the Journal Intime, it is a work of far inferior quality. The Dietari is described as the product of a master of nil, a "dilettante", who, unlike Amiel, lacks knowledge, or skill



necessary for the manipulation of concepts, and never perceives the total importance of his work. The criteria on which the Dietari's description of society are based remain negative, because no effort is made to comprehend the object described:

Ara líric Amiel, el seu autor; ara objectiu periodista. Un Amiel, de volada curta, d'estret criteri, de tristar més prosaica, de solitud menys pura, amb la mateixa ineptitud social, però sense l'excusa de l'aristocratisme. 3

The sense of failure that pervades Rierola's work is the fruit of his extreme personal point of view and lack of social aptitude. As d'Ors clearly points out, this originates from his "narrow criteria" that is related to a fatalistic approach to life. The work, and the author's attitude are, however, conditioned by his social environment.

D'Ors goes on to accuse that society of provincialism. Its closed criteria, or point of view on the world, impedes it from progressing or making any evolution. Rierola's work is conditioned by this atmosphere, and becomes an inefficient commentary on society:

una vida monòtona, ni prou contemplativa per donar-se a la meditació forta, ni prou activa, per a hebre eficàcia i fruit; ni amb l'heroisme de la solitud, ni la intensitat de la intervenció civil plenària. Vida mediocre de cafè i de rambleig, de curta excursió i de peresosa lectura, d'estrena i conferència i concert, de tedi i tafaeria, de dispersió i dissolució lenta de totes les forces espirituals. En Rierola sembla haver estat, no un complet ocells, però sí un dels mig ociosos que en la nostra vida intel·lectual sovintegen. En els cinc anys que comprenen les memòries, i que foren justament els de la plenitud de sa vida, entre els trenta i cinc i els quaranta, cap rastre de treball, ni de seriós estudi, ni solament de disciplinada lectura o d'organitzada curiositat. 4

Rierola is the product of a mediocre provincial life in which the individual stagnates because the mediocrity of that life has destroyed all possible sense of idealism in life. There is in that

life no ideal for which man may live. The "fin du siècle" represents the culmination of certain nineteenth century beliefs in individualism, and has destroyed all the structures of social organization that might enable some dynamic ideal to animate society. According to d'Ors, the society of the end of the nineteenth century had ceased to believe in anything. General scepticism in Rierola and his contemporaries had degenerated into cynical, unproductive, social criticism that paralyzed any possibility of positive action, whether it be spiritual or material:

...cínicamente els homes que el vivien.... Temps de descomposició .... La fe religiosa no era pas ben reconquerida; la fe en la ciència redemptora, que durant un segle enter il·lusionà els homes, era ensorrada ja també. 5

D'Ors then proceeds to examine the decomposition of society on a cultural level, that is, in terms of literary and political manifestations of the moment. The literary movement which he seems to object to principally is decadentism: "Eou el temps de decadentisme i de la sensualitat." <sup>6</sup> The combination of these two tendencies that move away from reason and order corresponds to the basic tenets of Romanticism, as understood by d'Ors. The superiority of sensitivity and the belief in individualism directly implies the belief in the superiority of spontaneity, which also leads to belief in the myth of the noble savage and revolt against organization. Politically these ideas are interpreted as anarchism, which was so active at the end of the century in Barcelona.

In literature, L'Avenç had introduced two figures of particular importance for Catalan culture at the end of the century: Ibsen, who preached the dissolution of the family, and L. Tolstoy, who suggested the return to nature, and life in isolation. Their

opposite faction was also introduced by L'Avenç at the same moment: "els idealistes lívids, estetes pre-rafaelites o místics maeterlinckians, qui tornen de la raó a la poruga follia i del llenguatge al balbuceig."<sup>7</sup> D'Ors goes on to establish a direct relation between these two literary currents and the wave of anarchism that rocked Barcelona at the end of the last century. The dissolution of social organization, therefore, corresponds to the presence of literary and artistic currents which, owing to their stress on individualism, had taken extreme and incompatible positions.

Again, one finds in this gloss a strong emphasis on the importance of the influence of art on culture and social organization. D'Ors perceives that by moving away from extremist positions and reintegrating the intellectual into his social function some progress can be made. These extreme ideas, which had the purpose of making Catalonia progress, could not function as long as they were disorganized and separated from their object, society. The author goes on to explain the state of opposition and utility that dominated Barcelona:

El nostre no s'havia traduït en un moviment polític organitzat: restava, sobretot, essent una protesta i un plany - una elegia i una blasfèmia -. Blasfèmia i elegia era també el nostre europeisme, enveja i desesperada enyorança d'allò no conegut o d'allò entrevist; no sacra ambició i decisió d'arribar a posseir-lo. Blasfèmia i elegia, el tradicionalisme: que l'anhel a restaurar les valors eternals i a lligar-s'hi no somniava en les direccions enèrgiques i útils que avui veiem florir..... 8

Just as he had criticized the stagnation of the arts, so does d'Ors reprehend the landed gentry's lack of participation. The stagnation of the three motive forces of Catalonia, Catalanism, Europeanism and traditionalism, was due to the restrictive mentality of the financial bourgeoisie. Whereas the arts had gone to the extremes:

of decadentism in modern European literature, the industrial bourgeoisie had remained blindly conservative.

The suffocation of culture in the Catalan world resulted from what d'Ors considered to be a "rural" or "reactionary" traditionalism. People such as Rierola were incapable of going beyond Barcelona: "En Rierola no somniarà pas, com aleshores feien d'altres, en marxar a París." <sup>9</sup> The rural bourgeoisie's incapacity to transcend its socio-cultural circumstance resulted from its bigoted religious outlook, which was incompatible with social evolution. Rural society was anachronous and destined to end. Religion did not serve its purpose for men such as Rierola; it was restrictive and intransigent, and consequently out of touch with what was required by the times. His extremely conservative attitude led him to pervert basic moral concepts:

¿ Aquesta continguda fúria del cor pur i torturat, on anava? Anava a una virtut i anava a un vici. La virtut fou la religiositat de l'home, massissa, dreta, intransigent. Infant d'una fi de segle, en Rierola no ha sabut fer-se de la seva fe un remei, un consol a l'angúnia i frisança.... El vici, que diem, té relació amb aquesta especial manera aspra de la seva virtut. És el vici de la crueltat.

10

As we have noted in our study of La muerte de Isidre Nonell seguida de otras arbitrariedades, d'Ors conceives of religion as a source of comfort for contemporary man. From this point of view, d'Ors criticizes the lack of flexibility and genuine belief or transcendental hope in Rierola's faith. Religion for Rierola becomes a wall and an obstacle to his adaptation to contemporary life, and thus a source of frustration. Out of this frustration arises his own form of barbarity.

Excessive restrictions in the individual's life, brought

about by the restrictions imposed on him by a corrupted form of virtue, or tradition, prevents the freedom of his instincts, or energies, to find some rational expression. Since his potential energy is pent up within him, it can only find some sort of expression in brutal vengeance, or cruelty. Rierola explains in the Dietari that he felt impelled to watch the execution of a terrorist, but desisted out of cowardice, and took his frustration out in the joys of bullfighting: "Perquè aquest intel·lectual de Barcelona, aquest catalanista, aquest home devot tingué, clandes-  
tinament, potser, una afició, afició dominant, boja, per la bàrbara festa..."<sup>11</sup> The nature of d'Ors' comment, though implicit, is quite clear. Rierola, frightened by the terrorists and the fact that his world, as he understands it through his religious, or traditional background, might collapse, does not try to understand the reason for this change. Instead, he seeks sublimation for his frustration in vindictive brutality, that is, sheer barbarity. His criterion cannot accommodate for change since the former does not rest on reason, but on an emotional reaction.

This religious or social attitude had repercussions in cultural manifestations. It was this attitude that impeded the progress of Modernism. The need to set Catalonia, as well as the rest of Spain, apace with European culture had begun in modernist circles, such as L'Avenç, but these were not sufficiently organized to impose themselves on society. What is more, since Modernism was limited to a small, intellectual elite, it never incorporated itself as something useful to daily life, because it was not understood by people such as Rierola. Indeed, d'Ors goes on to explain

that the state of ignorance, stemming from the narrow criteria and lack of erudition of men such as Rierola, made it easy for the "first come" to astound the petty bourgeois society with any novelty brought from the other side of the Pyrenees. This is clarified in d'Ors' statement: "l'escriptora Pardo Bazán, que arriba a Barcelona a esperterrar i fer frases "rebutant de suficiència."<sup>12</sup>

This superficial society that after 1898, as d'Ors points out, collapses, needs to be revitalized, or better yet, revolutionized. It is very important to note that the years criticized by d'Ors are those covered by the Dietari, 1893-1898. These are the years of the "renaixentista", or traditionalist reaction, when the modernists of L'Avenç were forced underground. Indeed, his criticism of the "renaixentista" reaction is obvious between pages ten and fourteen of the Glosari 1906-1910, which are too long to quote here. One may, however, perceive the nature of this criticism in the following passage:

És 1893 i és la tragèdia del Liceu... La gent deserta dels espectacles, de les festes, dels passeigs, de les misses altes. A la fi, es fa un tímid esforça de reacció.... Per aquelles dies surt "Un saint" de Paul Bourgat, i en Rierola en comenta la tendència de reacció idealista i parla amb misteri dels nous corrents literaris. 13

Further on, d'Ors explains that the "idealist" reaction is countered by Rierola's own negative reaction founded on intransigency and pessimism. Solitude and the denial of any possible ideals in contemporary life result in Rierola's recourse to superficial introspection. This only leads him to such a state of apathy that the collapse of 1898 goes unmentioned in his Dietari; the society had already collapsed before the disaster of 1898: "És difícil ara imaginar quina arriba a ser l'atonía, la insensibilitat silenciosa

i estupefacta amb què els homes dels temps, agotats per la llarga tanda de desil·lusió, acollireu en general les darreres horrors."<sup>14</sup>

General disillusionment, complemented by the criticism of Rierola's generation and the total decay of their world, led the nation into a definite dead end. The collapse of a culture based on absolutely anachronic tradition made it impossible for Rierola to perceive any possible continuity in Catalan society. As d'Ors describes this final collapse of any spiritual longing in the nation:

Arreu de les memòries íntimes són planys, sospirs de tristor miserable i de neguit, esforços esvaïts en vacuïtat obscura, paraules de desesperació sorda: "He fet massa camí per l'erm i de la pols recremant de la caminada en porto ple de cendres l'espirt. Res més no hi florirà..." "Barcelona es tornarà trista, perquè sap que té la podridura a les entranyes..." "Tot està fred que gela, tot es decadència..." 15

It is against this sense of stagnation and fatality that d'Ors reacted in "Amiel a Vic", without having recourse to the complex metaphysical apparatus used in La Muerte de Isidre Nonell seguida de otras arbitrariedades. General apathy and cynicism of a disorganized and ill-informed society that was the product of the errors of Spanish romanticism, were the factors that stimulated d'Ors to find means to revitalize that society. As d'Ors has suggested in "Amiel a Vic", Modernism before the fatal incidents of 1893 had tried to promote idealism, but had lacked the necessary organization to integrate itself into Barcelonian daily life and politics. Mention made by d'Ors of religion as a barrier is also very important in the true understanding of Noucentisme, as he conceived it. Since religion had proved a barrier, owing to its rigidity and intransigence, there was a need to revive, or "modernize" religion, so that it too might integrate itself into

the circumstances of a twentieth century European society.

The gloss, "Amiel a Vic", ends on a note stressing the need for enthusiasm, or hope, to revitalize Catalan society, by giving it new ideals, and by education. These new ideals are possible only through the <sup>existence</sup> ~~instauration~~ of a solidly organized culture.

In his description of the present state (1910), d'Ors declares:

I els pensadors han estat també una mica homes d'acció, volent consagrar ses forces de joventut a la feina d'instauració de la cultura: i els màxims homes d'acció han estat també uns lucids, estretament lligats a l'emissió de les fórmules del pensament. I ens han vingut del món, i les hem traduïdes, ventades de la nova idealitat, de la restauració de valors, per a la qual en cada país laboren els selectes. 16

The new ideals are, therefore, carved out through organized action, and the participation of intellectuals in the duties of daily life, in order to lead the nation to more universal aspirations. The programme for this cultural consciousness was elaborated upon in the Glosari 1906-1910.<sup>17</sup>



## Notes to Chapter V

- 1 Although Herni Fredrich Amiel was a friend of Sanz del Rio and studied the philosophy of C.F. Krause at Heidelberg with him, it would be erroneous to assume that Amiel was a Krausist. Indeed, even though Amiel revered Krause and attempted to follow his thought, he never came to a complete understanding of the nature of Krausism. J. López-Morillas informs us that:

El propio Amiel, sin ir más lejos, da por evidente que la filosofía krausista es una filosofía de la inmanencia. Y, sin embargo, no está de más recordar, sobre este particular, que Krause volvió la espalda a su maestro Schelling precisamente por ser éste panteísta, y que acuñó un vocaballo nuevo, panenteísmo, o doctrina de todo en Dios, a fin de superar las que el estimaba ser limitaciones, más bien que errores, de las doctrinas de la inmanencia y la trascendencia. (El Krausismo español. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956, p. 38.)

It would, therefore, be totally erroneous to interpret the reference to Amiel, in this gloss, as a condemnation of Krausism. Rather, it is a condemnation, on the first level, of what Krausism, when poorly understood, degenerated into, and, on the second level, it condemns immanentism. Amiel was a pantheist, and consequently only believed in immanence. Rierola, on the other hand, was a traditionalist Catholic, who only believed in transcendence.

In spite of this opposition, d'Ors calls Rierola an "Amiel a Vic". Rierola is like Amiel in his solitude and incapacity to act. Thus, as a Protestant, Amiel is a Germanic case of the religious crisis of the nineteenth century, and Rierola a case of the same problem in the Catholic-Latin culture. Amiel, who, as an individualist, tends to introspection, fails to find a religious consolation immanent in himself. Rierola, whose traditional vision does not correspond with the social developments of the nineteenth century, also turns his back on society. Both men live in seclusion and anguish, because of the extremity of their beliefs.

In this gloss, d'Ors never entirely condemns either man, but he does condemn their dogmatism. Thus, as we shall see further on in this thesis, d'Ors attempts to conciliate these two positions, as Krause did before him, and, indeed, this will lead him to a pantheistic point of view.

- 2 Eugenio d'Ors, Glosari 1906-1910 (Barcelona : Selecta, 1950) p.16.
- 3 Ibid. p. 6.
- 4 Ibid. p. 6.
- 5 Ibid. p. 3.
- 6 Ibid. p. 4.
- 7 Ibid. p. 4.
- 8 Ibid. p. 5.

- 9 Ibid. p. 10.
- 10 Ibid. pp. 8-9.
- 11 Ibid. p. 9.
- 12 Ibid. p. 8.
- 13 Ibid. pp. 10-11.
- 14 Ibid. p. 14.
- 15 Ibid. pp. 14-15.
- 16 Ibid. p. 16.
- 17 After the composition of this thesis, we found an article which entirely substantiates our beliefs that it is not Modernism which d'Ors is attacking through his criticism of Rierola, but the Renaixentistes : Joan-Lluís Marfany, "Reflexions sobre Modernisme i Noucentisme", Els Marges, I (1974) pp. 49-74. In this article, Marfany stresses the fact that Rierola was not a Modernist, but a man of the Renaixença:

La realitat és que el pobre Rierola era un terratinent de la Plana de Vic, molt carca, col·laborador d'«El Correo Catalán», que es mirava el "modernisme" dels seus coetanis com una pecaminosa tendència, l'agitació de la Barcelona de finals de segle com un signe anunciador de la propera apocalipsi, i els atemptats anarquistes com uns petits tasts dels terribles castigs que la Providència impartiria aviat a la corrupta humanitat moderna. (p. 55)

The reason for which d'Ors did not specifically define his attacks against the Renaixentistes is clarified when one understands his position in the Lliga Catalana, under Prat de la Riba, and his relation with the latter, which is examined further on in this thesis. On this point Marfany again substantiates our beliefs in the following statement:

El gran mèrit de Xènius - que, no ho oblidem, havia començat a El Poble Català - fou de comprendre-ho i d'actuar en conseqüència. Però sempre li costà un esforç d'adaptar-se, i Prat hagué de vigilar-lo molt estretament. La correspondència entre Ors i Casellas - és significatiu que Ors es refiés de Casellas... en conté moltes proves..... L'hàbil Prat situà l'ambiciós i egòlatra Pantarca en una privilegiada posició d'influència i poder i li permeté certes expansions ocasionals amb les quals és evident que no podia combregar, però no li tolera cap desviació minimament important. (p. 59)

D'Ors had his hands partially tied, but he was clever and sincere enough to transcend the limitations of the Lliga.

## Chapter VI      The Glosari 1906-1910 and d'Ors' metaphysics

The aspirations of the generation that came into maturity after 1905, the "Noucentistes", originated from an enthusiastic attitude adopted towards social action. D'Ors, who devised the name and was considered its theoretician, defined the movement as a product of the philosophy of Ramon Llull, not for the latter's ideological content, but for the universal attitude inspiring it. As Llull's philosophy, it was to be a "filosofia de batalla".<sup>1</sup> This label denotes the dynamic and aggressive tendencies of the movement, as influenced by Prat de la Riba's theory of "Imperialism". Its relation to Ramon Llull also indicates that the aggressive patriotism of Noucentisme was inclined to intellectualism as a form of action, and thus it set art at the service of politics.

The name "Noucents" has a variety of implications. On the primary level, it has normally been related to its contemporary Italian movement, "Novecentos", thereby suggesting the idea of the generation of the nineteen hundreds, in opposition to that of the eighteen hundreds. The word "nou" also has the meaning of "new", and therefore indicates the sense of progress or novelty implicit in the movement's efforts to revitalize the nation. There is also, however, an important relation with the Greek word *νοος* or *νοῦς*, which means the "mind" or "intelligence", both in a sensitive and a rational context, and is used as "the active principle of the Universe".<sup>2</sup> Noucents, therefore, implies the intellectualization of sensitivity. Indeed, the movement is a mixture of aestheticism and rationalism.

This intellectual enthusiasm found its coordinate expression in d'Ors' work, the Glosari, published daily in the Veü de Catalunya, the official organ of the Lliga Catalana. As the name developed by d'Ors, Noucentisme, indicates, it represents an effort to understand the times in which the author lived. In one of the early glosses, "Sobre la dignitat de l'ofici de periodista", d'Ors explained what he intended to do, and what each gloss was to represent.

D'Ors was conscious of his profession, principally as a reporter in La Veü de Catalunya. He did, however, understand his profession in more aesthetic terms than the direct articulation of reported facts. As we have previously noted, the "nous" is not only rational, but sensitive. D'Ors wished to incorporate both of these currents in his work of reporting. It was imperative for him, not only to observe attentively the historical facts, but to sense the meaning inherent in the pattern of these facts. The task that d'Ors had set for himself was to perceive the meaning of actuality and what it entailed. This implied a total understanding of the present, neither in terms of the past nor of the future, but as Time which is eternally present, as in St. Augustine's conception of it. This attitude also reveals an essentially pragmatic understanding of life. Not so much concerned with either the future or the past, d'Ors' work focuses on the sense of immediacy.

In the gloss, "Sobre la dignitat de l'ofici de periodista", d'Ors explained that before him most reporters had interpreted the present in terms of the past, or, at best, as a prediction of the future. D'Ors' outlook on life is, therefore, based on the con-

sideration that man is not sufficiently conscious of his actual circumstance, which is, in reality, neither past nor future, for the former is consumed and the latter is uncertain; Truth lies in the present:

Abans els esperits estaven solament atents a la lliçó del passat; quan més, als pressentiments de l'avenir; però d'un avenir la deducció del qual es basava en profecia revelada o en regla lògica; no en els símptomes latents i palpitants entorn. L'observació d'aquestes palpitations és moderna; la seva observació conscient i metòdica, moderníssima... 3

The conscious observation of the "palpitations of Time" is the specific function of the reporter, as understood by d'Ors. This type of profession is, as d'Ors goes on to explain, not that of the philosopher: "la funció d'aquest és negoci de coses eternes, i aquí es tracta de quelcom d'actual"<sup>4</sup>, nor that of the historian, who deals with the consumed result of events, nor of the scientist, who seeks origins, nor that of the poet, who expresses the effect that these have had on the individual.

The function of the reporter is seen by d'Ors as immediate and transcendental, and is of great social importance. The ideal reporter's work consists in revealing the spiritual motivation behind facts and their vital importance to society. This "social act" is the existential function of the Reporter, as understood by d'Ors:

d'atendre a les manifestacions espirituals de l'hora en què es viu, prendre consciència de l'existir i el valor d'elles, sentir, en un mot, les palpitations dels temps. És també una funció social altíssima. 5

D'Ors' conception of the work of the Reporter goes back to his ideas on the importance of Idealism in life, for the Reporter's work is to find the essence of his times and demonstrate its vital

importance to man. In this text, d'Ors has explained that the method of the ideal Reporter is to observe consciously and methodically the "palpitacions dels temps", yet as we see in the above quotation, the origin of this investigation is of a sensitive nature, as the word "sentir" indicates. Thus, it is a sensitive understanding or organized sensation of the motion of time. As this sensitive element can only originate in the individual, we may logically deduce that the organization or rationalization of sensitivity enables individual sensation to function in a social circumstance, because once it is organized it ceases to be personal; it has become objective.

The process of objectification, which is related to the idea that organized sensation, or intelligence of the moment, rests on a philosophical or metaphysical basis. If, as d'Ors has stated above, the philosopher deals with eternal things, then it is conceivable that the "ideal Reporter" is a type of philosopher. The author goes on to explain that the ideal reporter: "Sa informació serà d'idees, millor, d'ànimes. Farà gazetilles d'eternitats." <sup>6</sup> The objectifying factor is, therefore, the search for eternity.

Such a search does, however, take on a number of forms. The reporter who deals with the sensitive interpretation of the present is a poet because of his sensitivity, and a philosopher because he feels eternity and seeks to understand it. He is also a scientist and a historian, because he organizes or objectifies his vision of time, in order to free it from subjective, or accidental elements. D'Ors explains this in a more metaphorical fashion:

en lloc de sentir-se en l'exterior, en les apariències, en la closca, atresora els fets tots amb universal curiositat i els despulla, els pela,... i extreu la sucosa polpa simbòlica. I en rima els símbols, i en descobreix son joc d'harmonies. I en aquest joc d'harmonies, prescindeix encara de l'accidental, i troba en son fons, magnífica i sobirana, la llei; i enfondint, enfondint, veu, entre els valors ideals que l'envolten, quins són supèrstites del passat, quins, pressentiments d'avenir, quins roca viva de l'etern. 7

There is, in this search for eternity, a process, first of perception beyond the object, or fact, and then of interpretation, or organization, of the objects perceived, that is, abstraction thereof. Within this harmonious organization, eternal values are found when they transcend the spurious or accidental elements of their outer structure. These values are, as d'Ors states, "valors ideals", the nucleus of which forms the eternal substance of life. Up to this stage of the process, although it is methodical, the reporter's relation to the search is still personal. D'Ors goes on to elaborate:

I que, un cop aconseguit tot això, sap, desinteressadament, en un moment donat, enderrocar i contradir les coses i esborrar les escrites, perquè ha escoltat una nova palpitació que sembla contradictòria. I que, després, aquesta palpitació...és precisament una rima més en sa construcció; i que aquesta,...apareix com apoteòsica-ment vera a la llum. 8

It is once the object is incorporated into the mainstream that the reporter ceases to attach any personal interest to it. The individual then transcends its limitations and incorporates itself into the general process of mankind. The organization of individual feeling develops into a search for perfection. There is, consequently, in this process a sense of development, or progress, in which man works towards a revelation by continually modifying his discoveries.

The search for eternity within the present is part of

the perfectionment of mankind. The "gazetillas d'eternitats" are the forms of this search, and, therefore, represent a kind of historical genre. The gloss has been defined as :

A word inserted between the lines or in the margin, as in an explanatory note rendering the meaning of a word in the text; hence a similar rendering in a glossary or dictionary. Also a commentary, explanation or interpolation. 9

D'Ors' use of this genre is related to the definition. The glosses are an interpretation, or explanation, of the present, or history in the making, from the margin of history, eternity. The source of these eternities has been described as being: "sa informació serà d'idees, millor, d'ànimes".<sup>10</sup> D'Ors once described himself and his intellectual pursuits as : "Amic de Plató, però més encara de la Veritat".<sup>11</sup> His conception of truth does not rest on a partial acceptance, but on a sense of totality. For, although d'Ors begins with the search for ideal forms, these are comprehended in a pragmatic sense. Ideal Forms, or Ideas, in d'Ors' ideology, are accepted to be the result of the perception of sensitive or vital objects. This is compatible, not with the purely mechanistic-intellectual conception of the universe, but with the greater consciousness of life as the confluence of man's rational approach, as well as his sensitive reaction to the object.

The reporter's approach, as d'Ors understands it, is based on sensing the eternal, or ideal, factors in the present stage of man's development. These ideal factors are what gives man's existence a sense of stability. The sensing of eternity is fundamentally motivated by a personal approach to the object, which may be classified as an intuitive act. D'Ors explains at some length in part five of the gloss "Schinz" (1909), that his own



method was based on intuition. The key element to his interpretation of the circumstance's essence is what d'Ors considered to be the "biological" factor in his ideology. The term "biological factor" is, in fact, understood to be the study of life in the etymological sense of the word. For the "Glosador", it comes to mean, "interest, or meditation, on life". In this gloss, d'Ors interprets Professor Schinz's statement on the function of intellectualism in society as implying that the latter must be divorced from daily life, because its function is unsuitable to practical applications: "ell digui que 'lo intel·lectual', la ciència i la doctrina res tenen a veure amb 'lo biològic', amb l'interès vital." <sup>12</sup> The parallel structure of d'Ors' syntax defines the biological element as "l'interès vital", interest in life.

Contrary to Schinz's removal of the intellectual from daily life, d'Ors' beliefs are greatly involved with the social implications and benefits of intellectualism. Reason must adapt itself to vital circumstance. There is a need to harmonize the division, or even "opposition", between rationalism and idealism, and it is rational intuition that assumes the fusion of both antagonistic tendencies. D'Ors goes on to explain that his approach is a reaction against the dogmatic "scientific" or purely methodical and rational (mechanical) approach of the nineteenth century, such as is found in positivism, and also against its counterpart, the romantic, sensitively effusive and sensual approach:

Observeu aquí com el nostre lliure i flexible mètode de recerca d'"interessos biològics" en les doctrines, s'allunya i separa de l'artificial determinisme inflexible dels mètodes tainians, per exemple. - En rigor, i en el cas concret de l'antipragmatisme de M.Schinz, les nostres explicacions no han utilitzat altres elements que els tòpics tradicionals de la "raça", del "medi", del

"moment històric"... Però, quina divergència tan profunda en la manera d'interpretar aquests elements! La nostra interpretació intuïtiva, "endevinatòria", més que inductiva o deductiva, dóna el lloc i l'honor degut a la contingència, a la llibertat, a l'atzar: dóna entrada a factors tan subtils, tan "espirituals", tan "lliures" com l' "esperit de contradicció"; recull i harmonitza resultats en aparença tan contradictoris com el d'una tendència a l'absolutisme idealista, fill d'un geni nacional, amb una tendència a allò pràctic, filla del geni d'una raça; pren model de la complexitat de la psicologia i no de la simplicitat de la mecànica. Procedint així, ofereix un valor d'objectivitat molt més seriós... 13

D'Ors' method of investigation, since it is principally interested in practical aspects of research, is related to William James' American philosophy of pragmatism. The level of intuition employed in d'Ors' method places scientific investigations on sensitive perception. The element of conciliation employed dismisses the apparent antinomies existing between "scientific" and "intuitive". Conciliation is fundamental to the organization of the total complexities involved in the comprehension of the object or phenomenon. Thus, though d'Ors first begins intuitively, he organizes and proves his intuition through the logical or deductive organization of that which he perceives. The complexities involved in scientific exactitude are thereby resolved. The inductive and deductive approaches, when used on their own, have tended, according to d'Ors, to reduce all investigation to their exterior, or mechanical sequences, thereby overlooking individual complexities that act to modify the structure. D'Ors therefore combines both in his method.

This approach to Truth, which places extreme emphasis on the social implications of individual action, and develops a sense of primarily human importance in the Universe, leads to the metaphysical consciousness present in d'Ors' ideology. In the end

of the year gloss, "La metafísica usual" (1906), he expressed his position towards metaphysics: "Mentrestant jo, personalment, estic tot alegre de poder-me dir: 'Metafísic d'estar per casa'." <sup>14</sup>

Metaphysics has been defined as:

The science of being as such, to be distinguished from the study of being under some particular aspect; ... The term "science" here is used in its classic sense of "knowledge by causes", where knowledge is contrasted with "opinion".... The causes which are objects of metaphysical cognition are said to be "first in natural order (first principles), as being founded in no higher or more complete generalizations available to the human intellect by means of its own natural power. <sup>15</sup>

Metaphysics, in the Platonic or Aristotelian acceptation of the term, is the speculation on the ontological origin, through the abstraction of objects to Ideas or Forms, respectively. Consequently, Ideas or Forms are conceived to be "the highest degree of generalization". This is intimately related to d'Ors' sense of totality referred to previously.

When d'Ors referred to himself as a "Metafísic d'estar per casa", he laid down the foundation for the nature of his own perception of "generalizations". The idea of a "metaphysician at home" defines d'Ors' desire to make practical use of metaphysics by integrating it into daily life. In the same gloss, d'Ors states that he perceives the notion of Time as the integration of all things into the Whole:

la humanitat s'aproxima a una altíssima integració. -Aquesta integració és la de totes les coses en la Vida. Fusió de la Ciència amb la Vida. Fusió de l'Art amb la Vida. Fusió de la Filosofia - o, millor dit, de la Sofia - amb la Vida.... <sup>16</sup>

Thus, Life is conceived of as the greatest generality, in which all is harmonized; it eliminates all contradictions. As d'Ors said in quotation thirteen, his system harmonizes all contra-

dictions.

The practical integration of the various composite bodies of knowledge into Life results from a double movement, which determines the "stylization" or "formalization" of the object. D'Ors' pragmatic position is not only based on the practical, but also on the pleasant as part of Life. The stylization of the object is, first, the simplification of the excessively complicated to its functional necessities, and, then, the embellishment of this purely utilitarian object, so that it also becomes a source of spiritual delight. In art, d'Ors explains that objects of public use have been stylized so that their trivial, or pleasant, aspect also participates in Life. These objects become spiritually useful:

la tendència a l'estilització, a l'embelliment dels objectes d'ús. Per tots els detalls del modern viure, ha passat triomfalment aquest fet, deixant sobre quiscuna de les coses útils a les nostres necessitats pràctiques una carícia de formosar. 17

The pleasant stylization of the common object reveals its metaphysical essence. Stylization is an approximation to the Form, or origin of the object, which, in turn, approximates the Platonic Idea, and thereby reveals its function in Life.

Both Plato and Aristotle tried to determine the cause of being as perceived in the generalization of objects, in order to understand the underlying reason:

the true cause or explanation of things is to be sought, not in the beginning but the end.... In other words, the question that both can and must be answered is the question "Why?". To answer "How?" is not enough. 18

D'Ors, whose constant and "passionate" interest is the pragmatic application of ideas, sees the first and foremost object of

speculation as everyday Life, "bios", since it is the greatest generality.

In order to answer the question "Why?", d'Ors' metaphysics organize the object into a Form. The ultimate Form is consequently the stylization of Life, on the principle of totality, as the harmonious content of the parts. It is also the simplification of the object to its essential factors. The stylization of Life is the organization of the composites that gives the object (Life) its significance. The latter arises out of the form which represents the essence. D'Ors explains in the gloss, "La metafísica usual", that : una taula metafísicada es fa viva i es fa immortal davant els temps i davant les hores, els dies i els corcs dels temps."<sup>19</sup> Again d'Ors returns to the concept of the reporter in search of eternity, here understood as Truth or Perfection, in which man's progress towards eternity is perceived. The table, once elevated to the Idea of a table, achieves meaning in eternity. The form is therefore eternal or true. From an ontological point of view, Life becomes eternal when it is formalized.<sup>20</sup>

Before going on to examine d'Ors' formalization of life, one should bear in mind and take into consideration the following corollaries existing in d'Ors' position or system. When bringing the various constituents of Life into a harmonious fusion, d'Ors primarily understands Life in human terms. His focal point of interest is Man, and he considers that he is "humanizing" the various composite elements. The organization of any set of objects is feasible only in the measure of Man's capacities. The organization of Life is, consequently, dependant on man's intellectual

capacities. Thus, it is a function of the "Nous", which becomes the active principle of the Universe, for the "Nous" pertains to Man, as a gift of God; it is Man's divine essence, through which he may find God.

D'Ors has asserted his "idealist position" in a highly relevant gloss, "Pragmatisme" (1907), as "la posició ideal d'aquest Glosari".<sup>21</sup> The metaphysical intention of d'Ors' Glosari is intimately related to the author's sense of enthusiasm, which compensates for defects in favour of harmony. The "Nous" is man's principal instrument through which he can manipulate his circumstance in order to find harmony within it:

la posició metafísica en l'home modern no pot cenyir-se a un dogmatisme, ni abandonar-se a un escepticisme, ni aconsolar-se amb un diletantisme, sinó que, armada d'un útil de voluntat, d'arbitrarietat, deu a cada punt construir nous sistemes metafísics, aptes per a l'acció. 22

Man must arbitrate his circumstance by making use of the "Nous". As we have noted earlier, the "Nous" is sensitive intelligence, and d'Ors wishes to make maximum usage of the potentials of the various elements, in order to achieve a harmonious fusion of these in Life. The metaphysical construction of this harmonious system is the responsibility of man, who is both a sensitive and a rational being. Since d'Ors reacts against total rationalism, he admits that he is not entirely pragmatic, but has modified this system to better it:

com ells repugnen la Lògica sistemàtica, la Construcció, reduint-se a una metafísica "improvisadora", el Glosador, per una indestructible "fe estètica" creu profundament en l'eficàcia de les Construccions i troba en sa mateixa Harmonia, en sa bellesa, raó més forta de sa "utilitat".... I per això mateix es resistirà a abandonar el nou "Arbitrarisme" que li sembla més comprensiu i de més sentit artístic, pel de Pragmatisme, d'un sentit massa limitat.

Ara, si,...el Pragmatisme prengué el nom d' "Humanisme"; i

si aquest humanisme inclogués en el seu joc de valor, el valor estètic, al costat de l'utilitariu la cosa ja fóra diferent. 23

Since d'Ors integrates the "sensitive" or "aesthetic" element into his pragmatic aims, his position is primarily concerned with the totality of man, not with a partial aspect. There develops out of this a sense of man's universal importance. The centre of d'Ors' metaphysical construction or system being man as his total self, the point of view adopted by its originator is "humanist".

In the above quotations, d'Ors stressed the relative, or improvisatory, nature of man's constructions. This is part of the organization and progress towards eternal truth, as described in d'Ors' theory of the function of the ideal Reporter. Behind this theoretical progress of man towards eternity, there is a certain ambiguity. In the first of the above two quotations the author implies that the position of man is a reaction to the torment of existential vacuum. Man cannot be dogmatic, nor sceptical, but must determine his own fate through metaphysical constructions. It is deducible from this that man's arbitration or organization of Life from a certain point of view corresponding to his desires, is in reality the imposition of a certain meaning on Life, which is then put to test. Thus, a certain amount of "falsification" is involved in this organization.

In a later gloss, d'Ors did explain this existential problem through a metaphorical fable. The gloss, "Les taques. Conte barceloní d'aquestes diades." (1910), is again a narration styled on Santiago Rusiñol's L'Auca del Senyor Esteve. Similarly it is based on the development of three generations of the petty bourgeoisie. In d'Ors' tale, the development is not narrated in

a festive, cynical manner, but rather as a solemn continuation of eternity.

The metaphorical element in the tale consists of the traditional handing down of a suit of clothes from one generation to the next. This suit of clothes is worn only on Sunday to go to mass. There is, however, a defect in the suit of clothes; it appears to accumulate certain stains in the same area each Sunday. In order to give the suit an appearance of freshness the owner wipes the stains with benzine. When the father is about to die, he calls on his son to inform him that during all the years since he had given him his suit, he had been lying to him:

Doncs, cal que sàpigues avui, que no hi ha en tot això sinó una mentida pietosa. Les taques de les levites no se'n van. La benzina és una illusió... Tot just aquesta és seca, aquelles tornen a sortir... Per això, per això són sempre les mateixes. Les taques que tu creies noves del darrer any, no són sinó les mateixes taques amb què jo et vaig entregar la prenda. No eres pas tu, qui les produís... Ni tan sols vaig ser jo, perquè les taques ja hi eren iguals, iguals, quan em va donar la levita el meu pobre pare... Ja veus que no hi ha en això sinó error i engany. Però, el mon, tot ell és altra cosa que error i engany?... 24

After reflecting on the last problem and seeing that his father is right, the son resolves to keep the secret, because he understands that it is important to continue life, even if one believes there is some falsification in it.

The suit of clothes is the form, or tradition, which contains some defect which we cover with illusions, benzine, but which is our comfort and sense of solidarity with fellow men. Thus tradition is the form which determines what we are and gives us a sense of endurance or stability. The element of falsification or illusion present in tradition is necessary for the continuation of the form, or life-style. As d'Ors explains in glosses such as



"Una histori de vell" and "Un altre vell", both of which date to 1910, men live through illusions. Therefore, the son in the preceding narration decides to preserve these illusions:

Perquè cal que les generacions es transmetin les unes a les altres aproximadament, una quantitat d'illusions i de veritats. I així, el pas dels homes sobre la terra, a través dels segles, és una cosa tan profunda, i va resolent-se lentament en una tan sòlida i meravellosa Continuació. 25

One should not see in this narration a purely traditionalist argument. As the above quote states, equal amounts of truth and of illusion are handed over from generation to generation. Man does progress towards truth, as we shall see later on; tradition only provides a stable base for man's achievements, which are progressive. Just as the reporter in search of truth constructs metaphysical systems, which are constantly modified, so are man's achievements in constant modification, which ultimately culminate in Perfection. Thus man lives in irony, since he depends on two antinomies to give meaning to Life: truth and illusion.

Yet, as tradition is the largest set of generalizations available to man, it is therein that truth lies. The formalization or stylization of Life depends on this. The stains of the above tale are what man tries to erase; they represent the flaw of human nature: death. Thus the need to formalize, understood as an approximation to eternity, as part of the search for the origin of "ontos", is logically a reaction against the primary negation of the "ontos", which is understood by d'Ors as being death. Death is, consequently, the negation of all that the stylization, or organization, of Life entails. It is the dispersion, or decomposition of unity. It is Chaos. D'Ors expresses this abstraction

in an early gloss, "On és la Mort" :

Oh Mort, poderosa regina, per l'humil Glosador t'és ara declarada la guerra! Tu el nodries, Mort, el teu negre ventre de Caos, de certes excelses perfeccions formals, que ara la gran ciutat dels barcelonins sabrà arrabassar-te. 26

Death, understood here as the protagonist of Chaos, is the destructive agent of the form which represents organization.

In opposition to the disorganization sown by Death, d'Ors suggests the collective entity, the community or City, which represents man's highest organized and generalized form. The City is founded on St. Augustine's idea of the New Jerusalem, for it is something eternal; it is the Idea of the City:

Doncs, així anirem fent amb tot, amb l'ajuda de Déu. I ja, en aquesta Jerusalem, construïda arbitràriament per nosaltres, cap volcà, ni cap terratrèmol, ni cap pluja de foc podrà res destruir... 27

Eternity is sought in the divine model as arbitrated by man's "Nous". Arbitration, therefore, becomes the organization of external reality in the Form, or Idea, in order to resist the onslaught of Nature, as expressed in the above quotation.

Contrary to the essentially romantic position, Nature is not conceived of as the source of life, but as a destructive force opposed to eternity or divine design. Man's function is to organize, or harness, this source of energy to his benefit. Through organization nature becomes artificial. In a humanistic context, as d'Ors has adopted, man must bring Nature to his measure. The theory of arbitration, as conceived by d'Ors, is resumed in the following definitions:

L'Arbitrarietat no és l'excentricitat, sinó, contràriament, allò concèntric, allò clàssic. - Es tracta del següent: En la lluita de la llibertat humana contra les fatalitats - naturals (l'hostilitat dels animals salvatges, per exemple) - o socials (l'esclavitud, en

la història, verbigràcia) - ¿quin partit prendrà la idealitat? Posant-se, completament, absolutament, de la part d'aquella; afirmant que tota floració humana - art, ciència, ètica - ha d'exalçar i reforçar la llibertat, l'albir, la idealitat crea la teoria de l'Arbitrarisme. 28

Thus, arbitration is creation through an act of "free will" or "albir". The latter is defined as : "Anomeno 'Albir' la Voluntat ordenada per la Representació",<sup>29</sup> and "triomf de la voluntat en la vida".<sup>30</sup> Arbitration is man's manipulation of his circumstance in order to achieve freedom from metaphysical or "existential" torment. Thus, freedom is understood not as an individual freedom from obligation imposed by the organized community, but as the liberation of mankind from existential torment originating in the problem of Death and After-life. It is the achievement of that which is classical, in the sense of eternal.

As we may deduce from d'Ors' statements, the theory of arbitration is entirely dependent on the power of the will to dominate. The importance of the will in d'Ors' ideology is, consequently, prior to that of arbitration. D'Ors seems to have been entirely conscious of this when composing the Glosari, and of its modernist implications. Since only two modern philosophers stressed the importance of the will previous to d'Ors, it is conceivable that d'Ors was influenced by them. Indeed, the writings of Nietzsche seem to have been a principal source of influence for the theory of arbitration. Schopenhauer's use of the theory of will which is based on immobilization and pessimism is evidently incompatible with the sense of "enthusiasm" which d'Ors wished to infuse into his ideology. This is made clear in the gloss "Ahir a la Nit". The Nietzschean approach, however, is not totally rejected since

it represents a form of action and optimism.

The inconveniences that faced d'Ors were the anti-Christian sense that pervades all of Nietzsche's philosophy, the important stress placed on individualism, and the general "romantic" connotations of this system. D'Ors partially solved this problem by creating a three-voice level operative in the Glosari. The first voice is that of Eugenio d'Ors, which, though constantly present behind the work, is that of the passive figure, or poet, of the "Oració a Dona Maria Blanca". The second voice is that of "Xenius", who represents the ideal Reporter, or "Glosador", as d'Ors explains in the gloss "De com el Glosador es diu Xenius" (1906). The name is essentially a play on words, which derives from d'Ors' first name, "Eugeni", turned into "Genius". The third voice, possibly the most complex and directly Nietzschean and "modernist" is that of "Octavi de Romeu", who is presented throughout the Glosari as a friend of Xenius.

"Octavi de Romeu", in fact, refers to a pseudonym of d'Ors, used throughout his life to sign his own drawings or paintings. It is of great importance to note that this alter-ego is considered by d'Ors to be: "l'Octavi de Romeu - mon mestre dilectíssim".<sup>31</sup> References made to Octavi de Romeu are characteristically accompanied by such phrases as "Així parlava l'Octavi de Romeu"<sup>32</sup> - "Thus spoke Zarathustra". Octavi de Romeu's sense of superiority which rests on his strong sense of class-individualism is pointed out in the gloss "Josep Maria Sert, noucentiste" (1907), and his elitism in "Tal dia com avui" (1910). Octavi de Romeu is described as a master of arbitration; as a

perfect gentleman, he dominates the situation at any moment: "son meravellos domini sobre les febleses naturals".<sup>33</sup> D'Ors justifies O. de Romeu's individualism by the fact that he is an aesthete and a dandy, but he warns that he is a very unpleasant person: "Em limitaré a repetir que l'Octavi de Romeu, home antipàtic..."<sup>34</sup>. Aestheticism becomes a partial justification for his disagreeable character and repulsion of the masses, because he already belongs to the realm of the Ideal. D'Ors, who is a "reporter", is more profoundly attracted to the masses: "Esguardeu-les, les multituds. Sapigueu esguardar-les amb un esguard amorós, filial".<sup>35</sup> The will, therefore, loses its individualistic implications in d'Ors' ideology when it is harnessed, or organized to function in a social context.<sup>36</sup>

The social integration of the will results in the creation of the City as an ideal. As quotation twenty-eight above pointed out, arbitration is classicism. We must, therefore, understand that "classical" in d'Ors' vocabulary has the basic meaning of "organized consciously and sensibly". Thus he defined classicism in those terms:

Quan dic Classicisme, vull dir sentit de les proporcions. (I ho vull dir perquè és així com s'ha de dir.) Precisé més encara : Classicisme és sentit "religiós" de les proporcions... I, per consegüent, significa una disposició eminentment intel·lectual. És tracta de la Intelligència, l'Intel·lectualisme, és el que dona sentit a la tradició patrícia que ens vé dels grecs. Ella uneix en una sola i noble família, a través dels temps, artistes, filòsops, savis, polítics, poetes, desde Pitàgoras fins a Josep Carner.

37

The specific sense of harmonious proportions, as d'Ors defines classicism, implies the idea of "harmonious organization", and consequently "pleasant organization". It therefore requires Intelligence, in the sense of "nous", that is both sensitive and rational. The evolution of Greco-Roman culture is part of the

inheritance of the Mediterranean people, and, therefore, is fundamental to the tradition of Catalonia. Intellectualism is the content that gives a meaning to the form of tradition, because it has a continuation through time. Again, tradition, as conceived by d'Ors, is not hollow, but rich and dynamic, as it evolves and perpetuates itself through time.

As d'Ors furthers his definition of the intellectual tradition, he explains that the intellectual organization of the object is also what one may call the capacity to abstract.

According to Xenius, classicism begins with Pythagoras:

qui havia après la geometria dels orientals, una geometria purament sensual, on els problemes es resolien per l'aplicació material de mesures planes, unes damunt les altres, i quan no es podia passar de figures, arribà a donar un pas més, d'originalitat pròpia, i troba un teorema, purament intel·lectual, que es demostrava per l'absurde i no té possibilitat d'ésser-ho per les figures... El dia en què aquest aconeixement s'acomplí, una era nova va començar per al món. Aquell dia, la nostra Raça va néixer. 38

Classicism, therefore, elevates the sensual to the abstract. It is the organization of purely sensual conceptions of understanding to their intellectual comprehension. The continuation through the ages of this intellectual tradition is the continuation of the Greco-Roman race. This knowledge of racial origins gives sense, or identity, to the community.

Intellectualism, understood in the above terms as the supercession of the sensual comprehension of life, can become removed from the vital context. Also, classicism, reduced to sheer intellectualism, though it may be part of the identity of the Race or community, is not a valid, or relevant, expression because it lacks content. D'Ors expressed the need to unite both of these concepts in what he considered to be humanism. In his own words:

Tot Classicisme que no sigui animat per un Humanisme és una closca sense fruit. I tot Humanisme suposa dues coses: ple viure material i ple viure intel·lectual; o, ben concretament: Riquesa i Curiositat. 39

It is the synthesis of the intellect into Life.

Through its enthusiastic attitude Life inspires the intellect, and Life, the content of the intellect, reflects the same vital plenitude:

si (Xenius) s'entusiasma amb la Renaixença i elogia el mateix segle XVIII, no és sols pel que la literatura d'aquest temps deu a Horaci, sinó pel que el seu viure deu a Rabelais i la seva ciència a Galileu i a Pico della Mirandola. 40

D'Ors' understanding of Humanism places great importance on the figure of Rabelais, the ideal Renaissance man. Rabelais represents both the "bon vivant", the man of flesh and earthly desires, and the man of great curiosity and knowledge. Indeed, d'Ors described Rabelais in those terms:

Mestre Francesc Rabelais és, dels homes de la Renaixença, el més Renaixença: el qui ha reunit més opulent suma de sensualitat i de curiositat o, millor dit - perquè es tracta d'una cosa única -, de sensualitat-curiósitat. En aquell temps ditxos la Vida i la Ciència foren tot u: i ho foren de gran i generosa sabor... Les coses s'esguerraren més tard. La Ciència caigué en la superstició d'ella mateixa, fins arribar a l'abjecció antivital del positivisme. 41

Humanism, understood in d'Ors' frame of reference, forms a reaction against excessive rationalism, which must be differentiated from Intelligence since it lacks the vital, sensual element that gives plenitude and harmony to Rabelais' work. The sensual-curiósitat is the concept of the "nous" which places Intelligence in a vital context. Thus, the reaction of d'Ors against positivism, which is part of the general reaction against the nineteenth century, delineates his "pragmatic" attitude against a purely mechanistic

conception of society.

The importance attributed to humanism in d'Ors' social ideology stems from a wish for his community to participate in man's conquest of Intelligence. As the Glosador explains, this represents for Catalonia an effort to integrate itself within the Mediterranean tradition, that is, to achieve a national identity by asserting its racial characteristics, and by being able to relate to other nations. This involves a return to the sixteenth century, for then Catalonia, as a cultural entity, had ceased to exist virtually, and had not been able to take part in the great humanist flourishing:

Pantagrueu, fill de Gargantua, partint del port Thalàssic, en la companyia dels seus, dins una gran mestressa nau, cap català no s'afegís a la joiosa companyia. El toiso d'or de tal navegació no era res menys que l'Humanisme. Però a nosaltres, restats a platja, no ens va tocar cap part del botí. Vol dir que d'ésser arribats a l'edat contemporània sense haver passat per l'esperit del Renaixement, encara n'anem geperuts: i que és avui empresa heroica la guarir-nos d'aquest gep. 42.

The aim of Noucentisme is to classicize Catalonia in as much as this represents the "humanization" of the country. Humanism, however, is understood as enlightenment. Since Catalonia began its decline in the sixteenth century, d'Ors considers that it has always remained in the pre-Renaissance of the fifteenth century. Noucentisme must fill the gap between the sixteenth and the twentieth century. The enlightenment which d'Ors professes that he wishes to bring about is scientific and pedagogical. As the Modernists before him, d'Ors wishes to leave the obscurantism into which traditionalists had fallen. His humanism is a "Renaissance" spirit in the full sense of the word, a reawakening of curiosity, which implies a search for knowledge and culture through the



understanding of the "classics".

"Knowledge", thus understood, is the instrument that enables man to understand his circumstance in order to arbitrate it. Faithful to his imitation of classical humanism, d'Ors incorporates all manner of human knowledge in his definition of Science. The will to incorporate all forms of human knowledge into life also entails an open attitude to the exterior. Curiosity is a reaction against any form of "casticismo" or excessive national pride and chauvinism. It requires of the individual an internationalist attitude. D'Ors' humanist approach to knowledge is best expressed in the following quotation:

I no té dret un poble a fer literatura horaciana, si no fa horaciana la seva existència, procurant que mil naus duguin a sos ports els productes d'Orient. I no té dret una literatura a omplir-se d'estrofes sàfico-adòniques si abans no l'han incorporada a la humanitat molta de filologia llatina i grega, molta d'història, molta d'arqueologia, molta de filosofia, molta de fisiologia i tot i, per dir-ho en quatre paraules, clarament, UNA INTENSA FEBRE D'ESPERIT CIENTÍFIC. 43

The interest in Science, which is understood not only as knowledge, or natural and applied science, but as "Wissenschaft", as in the Krausist school, is an intent to "civilize" man.

Man as a humanist is interested in all human things. Thus he is ultimately interested in understanding fellow men. He must, therefore, communicate and relate, so that his social act becomes civil, within the "Civitas", and, therefore, civilized. The signification of the word "Civilization" in d'Ors' vocabulary can only represent that which is classical and humanistic, as we have defined these words, for it is from that tradition the Culture arises. His statement in the prologue to the edition of the Glosari 1906-1910 thereby becomes clear: la Cultura, és sempre, i per

íntima llei, tradicional i ecumènica." <sup>44</sup> Occidental Culture is always traditional because any of its manifestations inevitably finds its origins in the Greco-Roman and Christian, or Mediterranean tradition, and ecumenical because it is based on international criteria.

As we have indicated earlier in this thesis, d'Ors' classical posture is in reaction to Romanticism, the nineteenth century tradition. The intimate association between Romanticism and Rousseau's admiration of Nature make it easy to understand that, for the most part, d'Ors' critics have conceived of Romanticism and Classicism as two diametrically antithetical movements. One should note, however, that d'Ors never proposed a complete definition of Romanticism, but, rather, he commented on its special aspects, or generalities, when comparing it with Classicism.

D'Ors' fundamental reaction against Romanticism stems from his metaphysical battle against Nature. Romanticism, as defined by d'Ors, is the negation of unity represented by Classicism. Thus it was fundamentally uncivil:

El romanticisme, aquí, com pertot arreu, va trobar, en la seva aversió envers la vida corrent, dos temes de llunyania predilectes: el tema històric, que duia l'amor a les coses medievals; el tema geogràfic, que li donava una predilecció per les terres exòtiques i - segons el mot admes - "verges". <sup>45</sup>

In the context of this quotation, the phrase : "aversió envers la vida corrent" expresses the "excentric" and "anti-humanist" quality of Romanticism, as it tends to seek that removed from the civil community. As we also noted earlier, arbitrarism, which is essential to Classicism, is "concentric" and leads to unity. Romanticism, because it is excentric, tends to dispersion and

disolution. "Excentricity" originates in the longing for exoticism, or something out of reach, such as medievalism and the cult of the wild. Since Nature is understood to be a destructive, uncontrolled force, the "cult of the wild" is the idolization of savagery, founded on the belief in the noble savage; it is anarchy. Anarchy is the justification of individualism at its maximum potential. Logically, it is then deducible that individualism is contrary to Civilization.

The fundamental difference between classicism and romanticism is the opposition between the individual and collectivity. The "classical" artist as a social being is interested, not in nature, nor in himself, but, because he is a "humanist", in the social implications of his art. In a discussion on Parnassianism, d'Ors expressed the idea that: "Deixant a part, deixant lluny tot parnassianisme, sempre quedarà l'obligació 'clàssica', de puresa artística, impedit als poetes les caigudes antisocials, incivils en anècdota, o 'pathos'!..."<sup>46</sup> The romantic writer applies his art on that which is individual, and this preoccupation is expressed in "anecdotes", that is, fragments that do not reflect the essence of Life, but only an infinitesimal part of it. This dispersed vision is inevitably faced with the overpowering presence of total circumstance, because it places too much emphasis on the particular and is out of focus with the whole. The poet, consequently, projects a "pathetic" vision of Life, for his point of view originates from sentiments and not reason. In the classical vision "cap sentimentalisme no les taca, sinó que es mantenen en serenitat, en malenconia greu, noble..."<sup>47</sup> The

point of division between Romanticism and Classicism is that, whereas the latter is an expression controlled by the intellect, the former is that which is abandoned to the whims of the sentiments.

It is important, however, to understand that d'Ors does not wholly reject Romanticism. The intellect may control, but it does not totally obliterate the presence of sentiment in expression. The "totalizing" endeavour of d'Ors' ideology cannot completely reject sentiment, since that too belongs to Man's "nous". Romanticism, the irrational, exalts the individual and raises him to the level of "genius". As a genius, such as Byron and Nietzsche, man becomes divorced from society, because of his superiority. Classicism, as the sense of proportions, harmonizes social relations and integrates the genius into society to serve his social function. Thus the genius imparts his superiority, or better judgment, as "taste" to society. D'Ors explains this as follows:

...Classicisme vol dir, en essència, això: valor de superioritat concedit al Gust sobre el Geni. I Romanticisme, això altre: valor de superioritat concedit al Geni sobre el Gust.

No us apresseu massa a cridar a heretgia! Penseu que el Gust no és tal vegada una altra cosa que el Geni socialitzat. 48

Socialization is, as we have seen above, intellectualization understood as abstraction, or organization.

There is in the above quotation the implication that d'Ors' classicism is in fact little more than the organization of Romanticism within a social context. The implication is rectified by the following quotation used, and accepted, by d'Ors, which is originally by Maurice Barrés:

"Jo crec que un sentiment dit romàntic, quan arriba a un grau superior de cultura, esdevé clàssic... Devenir clàssic, senyors, és, decididament, detestar tota sobrecàrrega, es assolir una

delicadesa d'esperit, que rebutja les mentides, per amables que es facin, i que no pot gustar ja sinó el que és ver: és, en una paraula, devenir més honest." 49

Classicism, in this statement, is a development of Romanticism. It is a clarification of the untidy "tota sobrecarrega", so that the expression approximates Truth, "devenir honest". The quest for Truth in Life, which is the aim of intellectualism, is, metaphysically speaking, the organization or stylization of the object, which is the product of arbitration.

In the above quotation we note that Classicism is the simplification, or organization, of Romanticism. It is, in d'Orsian vocabulary, the elevation of the anecdote to the Category. This Category is, in fact, synonymous with the Platonic Idea or the Aristotelian Form, with the added sense of order, or hierarchy, included in it. Thus, the Category by simplification reduces the object to its essence, which is the closest approximation to Truth available to man. Similarly, we may say that classicism is the reduction, or "essentialization" of romanticism.

The social ideal of d'Ors, when elevating the anecdote to the Category, rests on the ideal of the City. The latter is also understood in terms of the classical tradition. The "City" has, of course, classical resonances, such as the city-state of Athens, etc., but for d'Ors what matters is the idea of a tight and harmonious social organization with a sense of form. In a series of glosses written in 1907, "Estètica de les eleccions", "La Ciutat tria", "Vigília" and "L'Endemà", d'Ors tried to define the classical implications of the City. The Hellenic world <sup>gave</sup> has ~~legated~~ to mankind three creations: statuary art, tragedy and the City. D'Ors

considers the City to be the most beautiful because it combines the other two. A Hegelian aesthetic progression is also implied here:

Però de les dues hel·lèniques creacions - la Ciutat i l'Estàtua -, encara és la Ciutat la més bella. Té, damunt la línia, el moviment. És alhora Estàtua i Tragèdia. Tragèdia en el més elevat sentit de la paraula: espectacle d'un moviment nodrit de llibertat.

50  
Though the City represents restraint and organization, it is dynamic and alive. Its movements are determined by the arbitration of a group of individuals who co-exist within a community, and whose participation and co-operation determine the future of the City. The tragic sense alluded to in the above quotation refers to the arbitration of the citizens within the City. Through elections men choose the destiny of the City and thereby determine, not only its fate, but their own. Thus, as in Electra and Prometheus, where the heroes' acts and decisions determine their fate and make them tragic figures, so is the City tragic.

As an antonym of "Nature", the City is regulated or organized. Similar to the regularity present in tragedy, the regulation of the City comes from the progressive development and from the passions that underlie the tense restraint, or form, of the heroes. There is, consequently, in the City, as in tragedy, the formation of rhythm that develops out of the opposition of the various controlled passions:

I, com en la Tragèdia clàssica, aquesta bellesa essencial: l'austeritat limitació d'expressió. En la Tragèdia clàssica, la més profunda crisi de voluntat per la qual travessés un heroi eixia, mesurada, numerada, ponderada, en els peus del vers. En les Eleccions, la més profunda crisi de voluntat cívica ix, mesurada, numerada, ponderada, en els noms de la candidatura. Té un metre determinat. En ell cal que la ciutat ho expressi tot: amors, odís, dolors entusiasmes, ideals, còleres, venjances, agraïments... 51

The City is a form, stylized by the regulation of its rhythms.

These are controlled by rules, or norms, that condition civil life.

This concept is fundamental to d'Ors' theory of urbanity. Urbanity is the manner in which an individual must act within the City. The fate of the City is determined, in great part, by the "heroes", and then by the participants in the "tragedy". These participants must act according to the norms that condition the degree of the relation established between two characters. This entails the suppression of extreme individualism, for the individual functions in society in as much as he works for the achievement of one greater ideal, from which he will then reap particular benefits. The treatment of the individual in d'Ors' ideology, consequently, leads to a certain amount of depersonalization, and man truly becomes a mere actor on the stage of the City. There is in this a very existential corollary: man must participate in this communal effort in order to give significance to his life:

Els que es proposin espectadors restar, demà no sabrien gaudir-ne. La festa serà únicament per als actors.

Diu avui aquesta filosofia nova d'Amèrica, tan interessant, que ha pres nom pragmatisme. El coneixement és fill de l'acció. El sol mitjà per a conèixer una cosa -, és fer-la. 52

Action here is understood as the individual's participation in society in order to erect the City, as the crystallization of action that gives sense to Life; the gloss "L'Endemà" elaborates on this idea. Thus, knowledge of the joy of participation in the construction of an eternal structure can only be had through active arbitration of circumstances. This gives sense to the individual's life, because through his action he has left some mark on the passage of Time.

Arbitration of circumstance is, nonetheless, founded on

an artificial situation, since it is purely the fruit of man's arrangement. D'Ors did contend, on the other hand, that artificiality and "nature" were mere variations of the same thing, their distinction being very relative. It is essentially a point of view, or matter of degree, and the acceptance thereof by the individual. On this d'Ors did say something very important. The Creation is understood by d'Ors as being the product of God's universal mind arranging a prime substance. It is therefore artificial (as the meaning given to this adjective in all of d'Ors' work as the arbitration of an object) :

Quan es pensa en Déu Creador - Suprem Artífex - tota la creació és quelcom d' "artificial" ; al revés, davant les obres de l'home més artificials encara, la creació és natural... 53

D'Ors' point of view is that this world is imperfect, and that perfection arises out of the degree of artificiality. God, as Supreme Artífex, has arbitrated the prime substance to his universal Will, but his creation, as opposed to "nature" with a small "n", has remained artificial.

D'Ors had explained in 1905, in the prologue to La muerte de Isidre Nonell seguida de otras arbitrariedades, that arbitrary art : "antes que imitar a la naturaleza (así con minuscula) prefiere imitar a Dios".<sup>54</sup> What d'Ors indicated, when stipulating "nature" in small letters, is that the artist should be an artificer - "Artífex" - and not imitate the imperfect vision of nature, but as God, impose his will on nature so as to create its Idea or Form. The artist should stylize or organize, that is, arbitrate, the object perceived and elevate it to a greater level of reality. Artificiality is, consequently, the rearrangement of brute reality, nature, into Nature, or Reality. It is man's.



adjustment of prime substance to the Ideal measure.<sup>55</sup>

The arbitration of reality to its Ideal measure leads inevitably to the codification, or stylization of reality. This codification is Culture. As we mentioned previously, d'Ors' conception of Mediterranean Culture is governed by the conjunction of two traditions, Greco-Roman and Christian. Both of these condition man's perception of reality and his capacity to idealization. As both traditions find their expression in mythology, the idealization of reality perceived through the heritage of tradition is man's mythological sense. Artistic arbitration is, therefore, the artist's ability to mythologize reality present before him. Mythology is for d'Ors the formal expression of reality, projected into eternity, since mythology is timeless.

D'Ors' admiration of Rodin had lead him to express the belief that the French sculptor was a prophet, and an essential philosopher, who elevated reality to its Idea:

Filosop, ens revela, no un aspecte de la realitat, sinó el ritme de la realitat plena.... Modela en vius símbols el gran bloc del misteri. Aquella gran obra colectiva dels pobles en infància: la creació d'una Mitologia - que és la revelació de la seva consciència en imatges - ell, Rodin, la repeteix, avui, i la repeteix tot sol - convertit en òrgan essencial de la revelació de la consciència moderna. 56

Rodin is expressing in mythological, or eternal, terms present reality. Thus, Rodin's arbitration raises reality to its mythological or eternal state, and elevates the lowest instincts of mankind to an ideal state. It thereby sublimates the profligate to the beautiful, the carnal to the spiritual.

According to d'Ors, Rodin has revealed the Ideal that lies behind the base form. As a prophet, Rodin can perceive the

divine in mankind. The consciousness that the artist has of "mythological" beauty that elevates man to his "divine" essence is elaborated upon in the ensuing quotation:

L'home de l'edat de pedra, que es desperta a la llum; Adam i Eva, que, inclinats al pes de la culpa, semblen sostenir sobre les seves espatlles, que la paternitat enforteix, la volta entera de tots els humans dolors; els Burgesos de Calais, figures gairebé grotesques embellides per la presència de l'ànima augusta de Ciutat; la Faunessa jove, ardent d'animalitat beata; aquell bust de dona que la tristessa fa noble i enigmàtic: el monstruós Balzac (...) són per a nosaltres, són per a la consciència humana actual, quelcom més que alegories, molt més que imitacions de cossos; són representacions de vives entitats sobrenaturals; són Imatges, Iconos, sers nodrits de divinitat i perennals en l'existir, i miraculosos per virtut de presència... 57

In this statement, d'Ors seems to imply that the sense of mythology separates the savage from the civilized man, because the latter has an understanding of that which is divine. The elevation of reality in its primary, or immediate, form, mythology, implies not only divinity, or eternity ("sers nodrits de divinitat i perennals"), but, as the <sup>quotation</sup> ~~quote~~ suggests in "embellides per la presència de l'ànima augusta de la Ciutat", mythologized figures of reality are an approximation to Civilization; for they represent the conscience of social unity and are, consequently, a "civil" expression. In this way divine will is perceived by d'Ors as latent within man's social consciousness.

Mythology is a social expression that affects directly, not the individual, but the group to which the artist belongs, because it is a collective heritage. D'Ors went on to express the national importance of Mythology:

Sant Jordi i el Drac. Mitologia nostra, mitologia essencial, ~~1939~~ nacional.

Ai del poble que deixa marcir la seva mitologia!

Allà on existeix fervor social al contrari, la mitologia no solament daura el passat, sinó que es projecta en l'avenir. Un mito

central, col·locat en l'avenir, és una font d'energia, d'acció, d'heroisme. 58

Mythology is consequently the set of ideals that impels men to action. It is not only what gives men a sense of beauty and a moral conception of union with fellow men, but also what inspires men to heroism, that is, the sacrifice of individualism for the benefit of the group. Its "essential" or "eternal" quality renders it beneficial to mankind, not only in the past, but also in the future. The artificiality of its nature is fundamental to its timelessness. Being timeless, mythology is a measure for the future and invites men to participate within the community or nation. More than an ideal that gives meaning only to the individual, it establishes the cultural values of the nation to which the individual belongs. It therefore benefits not only the nation, but the individual, since it gives him a sense of identity.

As we have stated previously, mythology originates from two sources, the Greco-Roman world and Christianity. The latter is divided into two tendencies, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. D'Ors, whose values are tied to the destiny of the Mediterranean world, could not defend the secession of Protestantism, which Luther himself had not desired. His defence of Catholicism was founded on the same logic as his defence of classicism. Romanticism and Protestantism both originating in the Germanic world tended, in d'Ors' interpretation, towards individualism, and consequently to dispersion of unity. They represented anti-social tendencies. It must be noted, however, that between 1906 and 1920, d'Ors, whose general attitude was conciliatory, and who opposed himself to dogmatism, never did officially repudiate Protestantism on

theological grounds. On all occasions d'Ors tried to comprehend, and just as the dictates of the humanistic internationalism that he advocated required, he proved quite tolerant.

His 1910 glosses of Munich are an example of his tolerance. The opposition to Protestantism which he demonstrated is only a refutation of individualism. In the gloss "Més notes de Societat", d'Ors examined the national psychology of Germany. He concluded that Germans were externally civil, or formal, but at heart they were definitely individualists. Contrary to the Germans, Latins are externally rebellious or individualistic, but internally disciplined. D'Ors then went on to explain that Luther's doctrine was an effort to discipline Germans internally:

Tres grans temptatives de canvi en l'ànima germànica: Carlemany, Luter, Goethe. Totes tres, fracassades. Es tractava de sotmetre els alemanys a una disciplina interior. Inútil. 59

Luther's efforts to simplify the ecclesiastical apparatus and return to the origins of Christianity were basically aimed at integrating Christian doctrine into the life of the individual. It was a form of vivification of religion. His opposition to the revolt of the peasants and to the anabaptists also indicates his true desire to maintain the unity of the Church. D'Ors, with the support of his theory of the internal schism in the Germanic attitude, goes on to contend the following:

En el cas del luteranisme, sobretot, és curiós de veure, àdhuc avui dia... com el principi del luteranisme lluita contra la doctrina luterana, o, en altres termes, com el viu exemple de Luter, que és quelcom de profundament germànic, lluita contra l'obra de Luter. El conflicte és, però tot alemany protestant, entre el seu cor i la Bíblia, entre l'esperit protestant i l'Església protestant. Qui triomfa de veritat, és el primer element. D'aquí Schleiermacher; d'aquí tota l'exègesi protestant moderna, des de Strauss a Harnack, passant per Baur. ¿Què vol dir, en sentit psicològic, tota aquesta exègesi? Vol dir que l'obra luterana ha estat inútil

per als alemanys. Vol dir que aquests s'han civilitzats; s'han socialitzat d'actitud, però de cor. 60

It is very important to note that the limiting adverbial phrase, "per als alemanys", indicates that Luther's work has not been entirely useless. Indeed, d'Ors' "anti-casticismo", pragmatism, his interest in learning and humanism can only agree with ideas concerning the vivifying of Roman Catholicism and its integration into secular life. As we should recall, d'Ors condemned Rierola's dogmatic, traditionalist Catholicism. Without openly supporting Lutheranism, d'Ors does not censure Luther's ideas, but the German individualistic spirit. Luther's personal opposition to the Church which produced the schism of the Reformation, is what d'Ors perceives as unviable to collective Christian life. In this sense, Luther's life worked against his work.

In a subsequent gloss, "Luteranisme i Hellenisme", d'Ors confronted Lutheranism with Hellenism, and demonstrated that they were antithetical. Hellenism, understood as the sense of proportion, conveys the idea of harmonious unity, which Protestantism denies historically. Hellenism is, however, compatible with Catholicism, which etymologically signifies "the whole together". Religion is, for d'Ors, a total experience. The Church is a community and the individual finds his religious experience in the Church, when the latter is understood as the gathering of men.

D'Ors' belief was that religion is the exchange and participation of the individual in a communal endeavour. Therefore, the essence of religion depended on the sense of community, as the body of Christ, received in participation. Thus, he firmly

believed that religion existed outside Church buildings, especially in public places, that is, outside the institution. This belief was expressed in the gloss "II vetlla de concert":

Això mateix ho vaig sentir fa alguns mesos en un concert de nit, a la Catedral de Ginebra. La Catedral restava en l'obscuritat. El concert era d'orgue. No obstant, em va ser impossible obtenir el menor recolliment. Aquí, en canvi, en un teatre, entre llums, entre escots, oint aplaudiments i aspirant perfums, aquesta música s'ha fet recollir fins a les mateixes fonts de la vida. És que soc de sang catòlica... També n'era Wagner. I estic dubtant sobre si Joan Sebastià Bach n'era o no. 61

Religious experience is, according to d'Ors, the sense of participation. The Church, thus understood, is not an institution distinct from secular life; indeed, it is a secularization of religious experience. It is, as the Greek ἐκκλησία, an assembly. Religious experience found within secular society is a fundamentally immanentist point of view, for it is an effort to find spiritual values within society.

The references to R. Wagner and J.S.Bach are of utmost importance to understand this concept. Wagner, who was the hero of the Modernists, had fought for the revival of spiritual values in a materialist art. He was, however, Germanic and Protestant, though he evolved to "paganism". Yet d'Ors considers him a Catholic, because he revived spiritual values and because his art is a massive stage operation that captivates the audience and makes it a total social experience. Similarly, J.S.Bach, who was a Lutheran, is considered by d'Ors to be a Catholic, because the musician's attitude to his art was social. This is best summed up in the following statement:

He regarded himself as a conscientious craftsman doing a job to the best of his ability, for the satisfaction of his superiors, for the pleasure and edification of his fellow men, and to the glory of

God. 62

Both Bach's and Wagner's work is consequently social. Its function was to inspire the secular community, especially in the case of Bach, where it is the edification of man's spiritual Christian values.

The importance of man's secular expression is such that Art must serve a social function. Art is not only the expression of the Self, but is, above all, a means of communication. As such, it brings together the community. The artist must participate in the community. Even though d'Ors rejected naturalism and such tendencies of the nineteenth century, he continued to respect those artists who had taken an active part in politics. He maintained that even though their "art" might be forgotten, one could not dismiss the importance of their social activities. An important example of this is the great respect d'Ors showed for the free-mason, Zola:

...aquella gran figura d'Emil Zola... vel, ric, respectat, popular, recollit dins la felicitat, calma de son benestar i de sa feina, va saber tot sacrificar-ho... I aquell clam va substantivar-se així: "Jo acuso!"... -Heus aquí que l'home de lletres no és ja un home de lletres, sinó un ciutadà. Heus aquí que, en un moment, per ser el més alt, per ser el més noble, per ser el més vident entre tots, ha pres sobre d'ell, en acte magnífic de paternitat, el pes del dolor de tots. 63

Zola, who forsakes his own comfortable social position to take part in society and its destiny, in the arbitration of national destiny, becomes immortal, not for his previous work, but for his participation in the Dreyfus case.

The value of art, consequently, rests on its social importance. D'Ors elaborated on this belief in a gloss on the

fundamental importance of the national character of art:

Xenius roman partidari de l' "Art civil". Creu que un artista solitari és sempre, més o menys, un artista mutilat... Quant a la forta poesia, sempre l'he vista, en la intimitat restar religiosa. I per a nosaltres, els llatins, religiós vol dir gairebé el mateix que polític. Perquè no podem ésser religiosos a soles, com els protestants, sinó que, catòlics de nosaltres, ho som sempre en companyia, en companyia civil. 64

The significance of religion, or "Catholicism", as d'Ors understands it, is political, since it is secular, and thus it is immanent. It is, however, also transcendent, since it partakes in the construction of the City. Art, since it must also contribute to the social formation, is political. Since the political entity is an expression of the participation of man in the community, or "polis", and is a communal experience, art is said to be religious. Art that is "civil" is consequently also religious, since it expresses the ideal values of the community.

All life thus perceived must be social. The function of the individual is to contribute to the construction of the ideal City. As an actor in the City, the individual's judgment determines the fate of the community. The fundamental problem in the fulfillment of d'Ors' idealist position is, therefore, the "albedrío" or free-will of the individual in society. The latter must conform to the norms of the community, even if he is to contribute to the alteration of these norms. The communal desire to formalize social life on the basis of a Mediterranean tradition, resting on classical and Christian ideals, demands that the individual's life also be formalized.

As d'Ors explained in the gloss "L'Essència de la vida", the generating principle of life is formal perfection. The



metaphor used by d'Ors is that of Crookes' accidental, scientific discovery of the glycerine crystal in 1867. This first glycerine crystal is the matrix of all subsequent glycerine crystals. From this d'Ors deduces that perfection generates perfection.<sup>65</sup> In a similar manner, so that society may achieve formal perfection, the City, individual life must be formally arranged, in order to create harmonious social relations. With this implication in mind, d'Ors forwards the rhetorical question: "¿La essència de la vida no es xifraría sempre en la suma perfecció formal?"<sup>66</sup> This is in opposition to the romantic conception that brute matter, or "imperfection", is Life: "Davant una cosa imperfecta, un romàntic diu: "Això és la vida!..."<sup>67</sup> Thus, according to d'Ors, Life is not the prime substance, but arbitration, or formalization, thereof.

Since models of such individual formalization exist mainly in Catholicism, d'Ors aimed at the formation of what critics such as J.L.Aranguren have named a "secular saint".<sup>68</sup> The point of departure for the normalization of the will was found in the pragmatic ideology of W. James' successor, J.Royce. The latter's book, The Philosophy of Loyalty, was resumed by d'Ors in a 1908 gloss of the same name ("La filosofia de la lleialtat"). In this book, Royce stressed the fundamentally moral responsibility implied in the relations existing between the individual and the group. The problem of individualism lies in the assertion of identity, or personality. Royce overcomes this difficulty by suggesting that identity is vindicated only through relation with the group. D'Ors resumed the position as follows:

La teva personalitat no existeix en tu, viu en les relacions entre

tu i els altres. El teu fi moral, en cada moment de la teva vida, és girar-te envers les altres. Com seràs lliure? ¿Com guanyaràs la independència?... Escollint lliurement una causa. Però, un cop hagi escollit, "servint-la", fins al sacrifici de la teva vida. Servir és la funció de la llibertat. 69

Freedom and personality, in the above quotation, are limited to their ethical, or collective, end. Loyalty to that end is the basis of all moral purpose; it is loyalty only to a chosen cause.

The will must choose that cause. Again, under the influence of the pragmatic school, d'Ors knows that the choosing of that cause depends on the attitude of the individual. In this, W. James' book, The Will to Believe (1896), seems to have had a considerable impact on d'Ors. Though he glosses on it only in 1909, he seems to have had some knowledge of it at an earlier date, undoubtedly during his studies in France. It was in that country, under the tutelage of Emile Boutroux, to whom he refers frequently, that he was introduced to the philosophy of W. James. The latter was originally a psychologist interested in the conditioning of optimism. D'Ors commented on this aspect of James' works as early as 1907, in the gloss " 'Curació mental', s'il vous plait".

James believed in the importance of action as a means of conditioning the mind. He maintained that the exterior attitude leads to an interior parallel, that is, to smile leads to happiness, and conversely, to be happy leads to smiling. D'Ors referred also to James' book, "Les varietats de l'experiència religiosa", and explained that the disciples of James:

Professen un arbitrari optimisme, que defensen i tracten de fer créixer, per una metòdica disciplina exterior, en la qual entren certes prescripcions i prohibicions, cerimonials i rituals gairebé.

70

The external discipline alluded to in the above passage refers to

the formalization of individual life-styles. The Will to Believe, which is an essentially moral work, also stresses the importance of the formalization of life in matters of faith. This was by no means a new idea to Christian writers, but it is of singular importance that d'Ors, in an effort to "modernize" Catalonia, referred, not directly to St. Ignatius, but to a modern protestant writer, who was applying these ideas in a secular context. In these glosses d'Ors does not mention the problem of faith. His primary aim was to modernize Catalonia, but not to upset the existing stability. Yet, this innovation was directly aimed at a religious problem.

As we have mentioned previously, d'Ors perceived a lack of discipline in the Latin character. If Germans were considered unruly internally, as great individualists who followed the Lutheran example, Spaniards were undisciplined externally. The problem, owing to its national or traditional character, is Catholic, and the solution proposed by d'Ors found its expression in the context of secularized religion, for in the ideal City, politics, art and religion are one. This solution was elaborated upon in the series of glosses: "Entorn de l'educació de la voluntat" "I-VII" (1906), "Tasca de Quaresma " I - VII (1908) , "Guia de l'albir en els nerviosos i escrúpulos " (1909).

In the first group of these series, d'Ors suggests that the fundamental problem originates in man's resistance to action, because the will is two-sided. Since it originates in our nature, it is disorderly and incapable of constructive action. Yet, if it is ordered, or organized, it becomes a tool compatible with any

ideal chosen by the individual until he automatically becomes the ideal embodied, or represented, by these actions. Thus, man simulates what he desires to be, in order to become that ideal. Man acts out his part so that the "persona" or "mask" becomes his true image. D'Ors explains:

Els sentiments generen els actes. Però els actes, a son torn, poden generar, per la repetició, sentiments. I com a la intel·ligència directriu li és més fàcil de produir l'exterioritat d'un acte, que la interioritat d'un sentiment, utilitzarà hàbilment una sèrie d'actes, encara que sigui buida, per adquirir un sentiment que més tard es traduirà en actes i llavors els omplirà de substància.

En una paraula, es tracta de servir-se, estratègicament, de la simulació. 71

This is an imposition of the intelligence on the will in order to achieve an ideal. It is an arbitration of individual destiny that will find its expression in the City.

The traditional models of this "therapeutic" treatment are Pascal and Saint Ignatius of Loyola, who set forth the idea that by going through the gestures of religion, man begins to believe. D'Ors' point of view, based on a more aesthetic and pragmatic set of criteria, is secular. Man, the actor in the theatre of the City, as in a play, develops the important sense of rhythm which, when it is continually repeated, establishes a norm in life. There consequently exists the problem of continuity of the will - How does one continue the individual rhythm? D'Ors' answer is that continuity lies in inspiration: man can only be inspired by the lives of exemplary men.

This is a short-termed solution, for individual continuity is impossible. All ends in death, and therefore, individual struggle leads apparently to failure. For d'Ors the consolation

of man lies in his effort to turn his life into a work of art.

Individual formalization transcends the bounds of the immediate; it approximates eternity. Thus, as the Reporter's ideal is to find eternities, but these are continually modified in order to find the Ideal or Divine model, so is the individual formalization a transformative step towards that Ideal. Hence d'Ors explains:

L'èxit?... -No seré jo d'aquells que us diguin que no importa. És bo l'èxit. Però no és el més bo. Val més un noble intent sense èxit, que un ple èxit sense intent, per casualitat, buit d'albir.

Vós intenteu rimar-vos enèrgicament la vida. -Fareu l'esforç. Tot l'exèrcit enemic de les naturalitats, de les fatalitats, es posarà enfront de la vostra arbitrarietat guerrera!

Guanyareu unes batalles; altres, les perdreu.

Mes vindrà la mort, i entrareu a la suprema llibertat; i, llavors, esvaldes, talment com fantasmes, totes les tropes enemigues, restareu sol.

I us trobareu l'ànima ordenada, rimada.

I vós, pel vostre intent d'avui, us sentireu, en aquell moment, l'artesa del vostre propi bitme.

I direu amb mi. Beneït l'intent... 72

This passage, much as the "Oració a Madona Blanca Maria" does deny the absolute success of the individual man, or artist, to overcome nature or fatality. Yet it takes comfort in the satisfaction man draws from the effort made to achieve social perfection.

In the two series of glosses that follow, d'Ors went much deeper into the actions that could socially redeem the individual's failure. The second series, "Tasca de Quaresma", presents the problem from a more overtly religious point of view. It is a resumé and commentary of the life of St. Francis of Sales. Again, its corner-stone is the concept of the domination of the will through external actions.

The difference primarily resides in the more theistic inclination of this series, in which d'Ors specifies the necessity of cultivating, not a certain virtue of which one is particularly

endowed by nature, but the totality of all Christian precepts.

This requires not only discipline, but method. The latter is man's capacity to arbitrate his condition. The arbitration of man's social condition requires a sense of tradition that gives meaning to the community to which the individual belongs, and, consequently, to the individual himself. This meaning, inherent in tradition, rests in what d'Ors names the Holy Continuation:

'Encara que els àngels de l'escala de Jacob tenen ales, no per això volen, sinó que pugen i baixen per ordre, de graó...' ... Són aquelles (paraules) el millor símbol del Classicisme, del mètode, de la Santa Continuació, que es pugui trobar. 73

Arbitration of individual will is the acceptance of social norm in order to continue a spiritual struggle which modifies collective destiny. D'Ors goes on to quote St. Francis of Sales : "no ens torbin, doncs, les nostres imperfeccions, perquè en combatre-les consisteix la nostra perfecció".<sup>74</sup> Thus, the individual will cannot despair or accept a sceptical outlook on life, for the knowledge of human failures is also a benefit. Since man knows them, it is these that man must seek to overcome in order to achieve perfection.

The arbitration of St. Francis of Sales is based on two principles that imply each other: heroism and asceticism. The individual struggle is the continuation or maintenance of national values against adverse conditions; it is both heroic and ascetic. As d'Ors has previously said, heroism in the confrontation of adverse forces is a "noble intent" that enriches the value of the individual's actions, for in the end it is noble. D'Ors interprets St. Francis of Sales' heroism as a rebellion against excentric passion. In d'Ors' words, he rejects Romanticism. In the words of

the saint, this romanticism is represented by:

certes coses que molts tenen per virtuts i que no ho són pas, ... Aquestes són els èxtasis, o raptos, les impossibilitats, unions deífiques, elevacions, transformacions i altres perfeccions de les quals tracten certs llibres, que prometen exaltar l'ànima fins a la contemplació purament intel·lectual, a l'aplicació essencial de l'esperit, i la vida sobreeminent... aquestes perfeccions no són virtuts sinó recompenses que Déu dóna per les virtuts, o unes mostres de les felicitats de la vida futura, que algunes vegades es concedeixen als homes, ... aquestes gràcies no es poden adquirir per treball ni indústries. Perquè més són passions .... 75

Saint Francis of Sales' heroism is his confrontation with his existential circumstances, which he attempts to arbitrate to the best of his capacities. It is a "noble intent" of perfection and not a pseudo-mystic evasion of reality. Rather, he attempts to modify this reality. His arbitration is accompanied by a sense of fortitude which in all his acts corresponds to intellectual normality, which responds directly to his social circumstance.

His asceticism is not that of most saints, who chose poverty, or mortification of the flesh, which represents a deviation from normal, or secular, life, but rather, a severe elegance compatible with daily, secular life. It is normalized asceticism. To attain the state of purity, Saint Francis considered it important to establish a constant harmony between his exterior and interior appearances. Thus, severe elegance, which is external beauty, reflects the state of the soul. This was, in accordance with the teachings of Christ, in the saint's words: "Nostre Senyor, que en la seva vida mortal, ho va fer tot parellament a sos germans, excepte el pecat." 76 The asceticism of the saint is the severity of the application of normality, for his life is one devoid of uncontrolled, "natural" emotions or passions, and one aimed only at the participation of the soul on

earth.

To the sensual, or passionate, individual this might seem an austere life removed from any form of pleasure. Yet some pleasure is to be found in the fact that this is part of a motion towards the Holy Spirit, and the betterment of man's condition on earth. Fundamentally, this arbitrary betterment is considered to be a fight against Evil: "la voluntariosa alegria en què els bons hagin aconseguit de mantenir la seva ànima, amenaci de decaure -, que ells, per desfer, l'operació de l'Enemic, cantin!..."<sup>77</sup> The religious metaphysics of the saint's ideology find an immediate application in secular interests. The saint remained within society and to d'Ors, he was, above all, an artist. His main achievement is aesthetic. It is the stylization of his own life, which, through technique and arbitration, he has made into a work of art. Through an act of individual will directed to the expression of an ideal, Saint Francis of Sales endeavoured to achieve that ideal by never stopping or finding satisfaction in his work, but continually modifying it to approximate the divine model:

arborat son desig fe un gran foc ideal, ferma la voluntat en la decisió de dur a la perfecció de l'ideal totes les imatges. Que el Devot Vividor no és altra cosa que un artista. L'ànima pròpia és la seva obra d'art. I sense acostar cada dia més al foc de l'ideal diví la seva obra, el bon artista no s'assossega. 78

The ideal of Saint Francis of Sales is not carried out in the same manner as that of most other saints, who are considered by d'Ors to be excentric because they set themselves apart from society. Thus, just as St. Jerome, some of them remove themselves physically from social intercourse, while others, as St. Francis of Assisi, differentiate themselves through excessive virtue, and yet



others, like Santa Teresa, remove themselves spiritually. Thus according to d'Ors, Saint Francis of Sales' sanctity is "pragmatic" or "humanistic", for it integrates the practice of the spiritual ideal into daily life.

The third series, "Guia de l'albir en els nerviosos i escrupolosos", goes even further into the importance of the integration of the individual will into society. It also renders more explicit the religious and secular manners of self-control. The fundamental theme of this series is still : "la reorganitzacio de l'albir i, tant com fos possible, el seu futur funcionament normal".<sup>79</sup> The source of the problem is considered as the romantic inheritance that has left twentieth-century man in a state of constant neurosis. The importance of individualism stressed by the Romantics has alienated the individual from the group. This state of alienation or solitude has left the individual helpless against the elements of fatality that plot his destruction. The individual's neurosis is his fear of the passage of time. He is uncertain of his future. D'Ors' solution is that the existential circumstance of Man is fundamentally irremediable, but the torment that results from it may be remedied. The control or arbitration of individual future is man's opposition to fatality. There is, therefore, in this solution, a certain measure of resignation, which is counter-balanced by an active, or optimistic, attitude that originates in the hope to assert the collective ideal against fatality. D'Ors considers that: "... val més - ... avui per avui - que, sens perjudici d'esperar-ne la guarició, acceptis la teva malaltia i feblesa, i provis, tanmateix, malgrat ella, d'exercitar el teu albir." <sup>80</sup>

Since the source of this problem lies in romantic individualism, d'Ors condemns individualism. It is a manifestation of egoism and represents a desertion from the group, for the individual abstains from participating in society. The remedy for individualism lies in its antonym. From a religious point of view, individualism is a manifestation of the sin of Pride, and hence the solution is humiliation. The subjectivity of the individual must be repressed by the objectivity of the mass. Pride is personal subjectivity, whereas the mass is more objective because it is a generalizing factor. Thus:

PER UN ACTE ESSENCIAL D'HUMILIACIÓ. Vull dir, sortint d'un mateix, i deixant fondre la pròpia individualitat en el mar de les realitats exteriors. Prenent banys d'objectivitat... -I per a això cal sobretot, sotmetre's a les coses que semblen inferiors, vulgars, grolleres. Cal conformar-se amb els instints obscurs, amb el sentit comú de les gents, amb les fosques tradicions de la pròpia raça amb els tòpics i les pràctiques més exteriors, més ingènues de la fe popular... Cal "s'abêtir" segons el mot profund de Pascal. I no discernir, no judicar, guardar-se la crítica. 81

Inspired by Pascal's Jansenistic belief in simplification, d'Ors proclaimed the importance of the simplicity of the individual. The latter must conform with the group in order to return to the traditional, or essential, rhythms of the "race" or community to which he belongs. Scepticism, and the "semblance" of originality that often accompanies scepticism, are excentric because they oppose this tradition which is the basis of Culture.

In the above quotation it should be noted that d'Ors places great emphasis on the return of the individual to the beliefs of his community. The book on which d'Ors based these glosses was written by a German Dominican, Father Raimond, and is consequently directed to a devotional community. D'Ors, who per-

perceived the intellectual and aesthetic drawbacks of the work, also perceived its pragmatic utility. He therefore undertook to make these same precepts function within a secular context; that is, to secularize religion:

Conté preceptes; i en ella els preceptes representen una part de la raó de la seva força... Devem, doncs, començar per fer-nos aquests preceptes, procurant portar-los a una psicològica generalitat, traduint de vegades al llenguatge mundà el que en llenguatge devot s'expressa en el llibre. 82

Since in a religious context humiliation is a fundamental art of obedience, this also finds a parallel in a secular context. For d'Ors, obedience is a form of freedom, since it frees the individual from scruples and nervousness, torment that leads to the neuroses of the twentieth century. Obedience, because it places the weight of conscience on someone else, is an act of submission on the part of the individual.

In d'Ors' cosmic scheme, man works towards perfection, as exemplified in the work of St. Francis of Sales; the sense of responsibility is not lost, but amplified. The individual does not understand the designs of God, and his subjective interpretation of reality loses perspective of the Whole. Neurasthenia is the "sentiment d'incompletud" that results thereof.<sup>83</sup> Following this definition, d'Ors explains that the "sense of unfulfillment" comes from the preoccupation of the victim with details that acquire a disproportionate magnitude in his life. The excessive mania for detail represents the unharmonious nature of the victim, who, as an emotionally unbalanced being, is subject to unnecessary torments. This tormented sense of unfulfillment is accentuated by the victim's tendency to interrogate himself on the validity of memories:

la "mania d'interrogació de records", de la "mania de precisió en els records", de les manies de presagi i interrogació de sort, de transcendència, de rebusca, d'explicació... 84

Since d'Ors considers that Life has no comprehensive meaning outside the collective ideal set up by the individual, the sceptical interrogation of the validity of parts to Life distracts the individual from the vision of the Whole, or the Ideal. The ensuing loss of perspective causes him to face "Nada", which in turn weakens the will, or hope of action, and allows torment to set in. The individual who stops to question the detail excessively, when it is removed from its harmonious context as it functions in the progress of the community, is evading his responsibilities towards the group. It is important that the individual respect the norms of the community:

Res més eficaç contra "l'exacerbació de responsibilitat" que aquest "sentiment d'incompletud" suposa, que l'admirable disciplina i el suprem confort representats per l'Obediència... 85

D'Ors does recognize, however, the numerous possibilities of deviation from the norm, even if the individual wishes to be obedient. The tendency to autonomous movements that lead to the questioning of details is a constant factor in man's life. As an antidote to this, d'Ors first suggests the methods of Father Raimond, which are Prayer and Confession. Both of these actions are important, for they constitute a means of communication, the first with God, and the second with God and Men in the figure of one man.

At this point, d'Ors makes an important parenthesis on the power of language. When Adam was first in the garden of Eden, he named all things around him and was, consequently, given control

of them. Thus d'Ors states that in the same way, language is man's power to exorcize evil, that is, to "arbitrate" Chaos. When man names an object, he perceives its reality and becomes its master, because speech organizes reality:

Anomenar una cosa és esdevenir el seu senyor. Què fa l'esperit quan anomena? Engrapa un bocí de realitat, que li era interior i li era un pesar; i el treu enfora i el modela a la pròpia imatge i semblança.

... Així, ànima turmentada, treu a fora el teu turment. Anomena'l. Explica'l. Explica'l, no amb la lírica complaença del que cerca una voluntat sinó en aquesta exteriorització; perquè llavors el turment et creixeria i et tornaria a dins; si no amb l'afany de precisió d'ART, del qui vol definir, que és el més alt anomenar. 86

To name an object is to define it in rational terms, since it involves the full comprehension of its nature. In order to "name" an object, d'Ors specifies that the act cannot be "lyrical", that is, spontaneous and emotional. It must be a function of reason, which through understanding establishes a harmonious relation with the context. This is a form of harmonious rationalism. Confession is a method of rational objectivizing. It cannot be carried out with a friend or relative, because these would guess in advance the word, and thereby subjectivize the process. To objectivize it, rather, one should confess to "un home que no et sia un amorós parent o amic".<sup>87</sup> Owing to the power of language to control exterior reality, confession becomes a means of ordering, or rationalizing the source of anguish. According to d'Ors, Confession is consequently the individual's liberation from passions.

In a similar way, Prayer is based on the precise nature of language. The difference from Confession rests on two factors. D'Ors explains that the object of Prayer is a dialogue with God

or Eternity. It is not an exposition of torment, but of desire or ideal. Through Confession man rids himself of torment. He is then free to express in Prayer his true desire as precisely as possible, in order to capture the ideal of that desire. Thus, as Prayer captures the true "reality" of the ideal, it brings about the realization of that desire, which, like the Prayer, must be constant in order to be fulfilled.

D'Ors goes on to explain the nature of prayer in terms of collective liberty from fatality: "El nostre desig és la nostra llibertat. Vet aquí la infinita llibertat i l'infinit poder s'ajunten. I la infinita llibertat din a l'infinit poder: 'Vina amb mi pels camins de la realitzacions'..."<sup>88</sup> Prayer, thus defined, is man's will united to Divine will in order to achieve the Ideal of the City. There is in this definite pantheistic overtones, for the prayer is understood in secular terms, and the secular and religious are one. The prayer is an act, and as d'Ors has stated earlier, the repetition of acts leads to the realization of the desired object. The prayer is therefore a way of life; it is constant. In a pantheistic conception, Man depends on God and God also depends on Man to fulfill his creative possibilities. D'Ors enunciates this concept in his understanding of the nature of Prayer, for, as he states, "infinite liberty", Man ("Albir") joins "infinite power" (God).

As an act to incorporate individual will into collective will, Prayer is an end, but not a solution in itself. Should it fail, d'Ors returns to his previous suggestion of simulation, and introduces what he calls the method of "compensation". This

method is considered by d'Ors to be heroic, for it is the absolute affirmation of the will, and originates in Nietzschean principles of superiority. It is a form of arrogance by which a man, conscious of the weaknesses of his will, strengthens it by dominating a person of weaker will. This leads to self-assertion and strengthens the will:

una le les parts exagera el sentiment o estat en què també comença a trobar-se l'altra. Si aquesta no és arrossegada i segueix, una reacció es produeix en ell i cerca llavors compensació en un sentiment o estat contrari. S'ha observat, per exemple, que si dos companys travessen plegats una peripècia, el menys temerari pren el partit de tenir enteniment si veu a l'altre molt excitat... La natura humana és feta talment, que el millor per a deixar la irresponsabilitat de "fill" és sentir-se la responsabilitat de "pare". 89

Thus, the will of the individual is increased when, by dominating another man, the individual feels the necessity of responsibility. By feeling responsibility to one individual, he becomes responsible to a number of other subordinate entities that form a community.

The ideal towards which man works is too complex for the individual to understand fully. Divine will is unknown to the individual. It is the fulfillment of the divine will that matters and, consequently, all rests on the importance of the human act, since, as we have seen, man fulfills the Divine ideal. At the end of the series of glosses, "Guia de l'Albir en els nerviosos i escrupulosos", d'Ors explains in ten points the way in which the individual must act.

It is fundamental to the subsequent fulfillment of human acts that the individual isolate each of his actions, so that it is complete and so that he does not stop to consider them individually. Man thereby achieves normality or conformity with society, because

he becomes an actor, and, beyond the satisfaction of the act in itself, nothing matters. The sense and consequence of his act are intrinsic, for through its quality the act becomes a piece of art, and thus achieves some approximation to eternity. For this reason d'Ors quotes Goethe: "El millor que pot fer un home sobre la terra és durar."<sup>90</sup>; that is, to ensure Continuation. The meaning of Life is in the object itself. Man is, from birth onwards, a sinner, but his consolation lies in brotherly love, social co-operation, which is the essence of Life itself.

In order to have any significance, the individual must participate, or act, in society, with constancy and consciousness of his responsibilities, and respect for the norms of that society. Should his individualism clash with the norms, then the individual must humiliate himself by doing what repulses him most. If, on the other hand, he is uncertain of the ideal that he must set for himself, he should select a person of his social rank and question people on the latter's defects and merits, in order to imitate the model gentleman of his class, as defined by society. He should also compare his lot with that of less fortunate people, in order to realize how close he is, humanly, to the latter, and to perceive the irony, or vanity, that lies in his material well-being, that is to say, his mortal condition.

D'Ors' final point is that man's salvation is to live in irony:

La ironia, vet aquí la salvació. Si ets només intel·ligent, seràs incapaç d'heroisme, perquè la teva crítica deturà la teva acció. Si ets només heroic, seràs incapaç d'intel·ligència, perquè la teva acció et demanarà ceguera, i no discerniment... Si pots arribar a l'admirable posició d'ironia, sabràs ser alhora supremament intel·ligent i magníficament heroic. 91



The conciliatory position adopted by d'Ors requires of the individual that he be neither too rational nor excessively emotional, but that he find the happy medium that harmonizes both tendencies. Man must make use of his "nous" to arbitrate his life, and never lose perspective of the importance of living and having a sense of continuity, as found in social life. All social life obeys a number of rules, in order not to infringe upon which, man's life must be formal, that is, disciplined.

Discipline is art. As d'Ors has pointed out earlier, man's expression in naming, or articulating the definition of an object, must not be spontaneous, but controlled. In other words, it must be done with Art. If man's life is to be, as d'Ors has stated repeatedly, a work of art, then it should be formal. We may deduce from this that, for d'Ors, "noucentiste" art is formal.

The various aesthetic precepts developed in the Glosari 1906-1910 rest on a statement made by d'Ors in 1906, which paraphrases the ideas of the Protestant, neo-Kantian theologian, Schleiermacher: "Signeu, davant elles, artistes, prenent de les coses l'aparença i l'entitat ensems com Schleiermacher, el teòlog exigia." <sup>92</sup> The form must reflect the essence of the object. The latter is approximated to the Platonic Idea. In order to represent the idea of the object, it must be severely stylized. The form must reflect the true, or vital, nature of the object. Stylizing, which is the organization or arbitration of the object, is, as all forms of order, dependant on the point of view of the individual. To know the true identity of the object, the latter must be free of the artist's subjective passions, so that the art form may be

objective. As in the case of man's organization of his life, the artistic object depends on the will of the individual, combined with general will. Inevitably, art is the mirror of the artist. It is his expression, even when it is an act of communication. Thus, the organized will which obeys and perceives the vital elements of tradition, or in other words, as d'Ors states, that which makes culture continual, will produce an art form that reflects the vital elements that constitute the object.

This fundamental relation of art to Culture makes of it an intellectual art. It is arbitration of, and resistance against, nature; it is consequently artificial. In an important gloss, "Glosa d'art" (1909), d'Ors expressed the theoretical precepts employed in the formalization of noucentiste art. The origin of all art is man's longing for immortality, for beauty is immortal, and art is the expression of that beauty perceived by man. It is, therefore, the source of ideals. Art is also a social act and the expression of all beauty in the march of progress is a revitalization, or renovation, of an ideal perfection; that is:

"En el somni hi ha el germen de tota renovació: es com si l'ànima àmfora plena de vi d'immortalitat, es vessés pel cos, donant-li l'estremitud i l'embriaguesa d'un natalici." 93

Art, like a dream, is a renovation of ideals. It is a betterment of nature, and as such it perfects matter already in existence. As in the case of the Reporter, art adds a new sense of ideal. Each piece of art is a modification of our sense of essential perfection, and forwards man's approximation to Eternity.

From this conception of art, d'Ors elaborates his ten precepts, as devised by Octavi de Romeu. In order to perfect

nature; that is, to arbitrate it, the artist must be detached from his object. Thus: "El primer deure del paisatgista és no formar part del paisatge."<sup>94</sup> Once removed from the object, when it ceases to be his individual interpretation of what he perceives, the artist must consider the moral implications of the painting; that is : "II. Collocat 'enfront' del paisatge, físicament i moralment." and "III. Tenir la sensació que el quadre es fa sol i que és el món allò que el pintor fa."<sup>95</sup> The idea implied here is that, just as the individual man accommodates his style of life by conforming to the general pattern, and thereby reflects the same rhythms as the universal architecture, so must the individual scene reflect the clarity, or eternity, of the cosmic organization. Since the painting, as a work of art, reflects Eternity, d'Ors believes that the scene must be illuminated, that it must be free of shadows which create details or points of individuality that detract the aesthetic object from its ideal form. The scene must be irradiate divine light.

To approximate the ideal form of the object, the artist must be conscious of the fact that the object which inspires him is not the whole of Reality, but only its shadow. Thus the immediate copy of an object is not Reality, for this lies behind the object, in the form. The fourth precept derives from this idea: "Saber que l'arbre que copies ja no serà el mateix quan l'hagis copiat."<sup>96</sup> The irony of this statement is that, in the imitation of nature, man does not "immortalize" the object in a work of art, for in the flux of time all changes constantly and evolves. Thus, as in the precepts of the prologue to La muerte

de Isidre Nonell seguida<sup>de</sup> otras arbitrariedades, if the artist wishes to find eternity, he must not copy, but, like God, arbitrate nature.

The eternity underlying an object perceived is "sensed" by the artist. Once removed from the object, he must organize these sensations harmoniously, so that they truly reflect the beauty of the object, and not his personal interpretation of Beauty. D'Ors explains that sensations act as a buffer between the object and its subsequent intellectualization: "V. Cobreix-te de les teves sensacions com d'un reial mantell. Disposales en plecs harmoniosos.", and "VI. Preveure el marc futur." <sup>97</sup> The artist, having understood in the present the transitive quality of the aesthetic object, must apprehend the present in terms of the future, so as to span eternity in his work. Eternity is found in the organization of the sensual elements of beauty pertinent to the object. The ideal form is thus approximated, first through the senses and then through their intellectualization.

In this there is an amorous relationship. Sensually the lover-artist becomes enraptured with the object, but when this object is no longer in his immediate presence, when he is removed from it, the qualities of the beloved object are emphasized and the defects forgotten. The object is idealized. D'Ors, therefore, explains how the artist must love the object, in the seventh precept: "Esguarda amorosament. Oblida generosament." <sup>98</sup> The intellectual idealization of the object arranges its constituents in harmonious proportions that stylize the object. The object is therefore stylized in such a way as to represent its ideal form.

The landscape, to which these precepts refer, must represent an ideal, or cosmic, vision of the world: "El món és una arquitectura. Refés el món, si vols, però sempre amb arquitectura."

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Art is consequently not a spontaneous art, but the arrangement of reality into a real creation. This arrangement, or arbitration, in art of a given vision demands that the artist be primarily an artificer, who can arrange the object with taste and order. The scene is a mirror of the artist, for it is his creation. He is the measure of the scene. In this sense, it is done in his image, but he is not the protagonist, because he is removed from the scene. Once created, it is beyond the control of its artificer; it is its own protagonist. Precepts nine and ten clearly enunciate this principle: "IX. La mesura del paisatge ets tu.", and "X. Però tu no n'ets el protagonista. El protagonista del paisatge és el paisatge." 100

D'Ors' predominantly humanist point of view places man as the measure of all things. There is inevitably a certain personal level in the interpretation of the artist. This subjectivity is only reduced by the fact that the artist has already stylized or objectified his own life to function with the whole of society. Thus, the protagonist of the landscape is not the artist, because, as d'Ors has suggested above, it is a cosmic vision that is beyond the creator (from which he is "removed"), but as its own protagonist, it represents the fulfillment of his creative possibilities, which he has set into the architecture of the landscape.

Again, there are important theological overtones to this

aesthetic theory. As d'Ors had stated in his prologue to La muerte de Isidre Nonell seguida de otras arbitrariedades, the "arbitrary" artist must imitate God. The theories which d'Ors conveniently attributes to the enigmatic Octavi de Romeu, the master arbitrator, clearly define arbitrary art, and the religious implications are obvious. These are the rules according to which the work of God, the "Creador - Suprem Artífex, is conceived. There is a definite panentheistic concept involved in this.

The artificer who produced the scene has left some reflection of himself in it; he is the "measure of the scene". On a theological plane, this reflection of measure is God's essence perceived within the Creation. It is immanent. The fact that the Artificer is only reflected in the Creation - which perfects itself - suggests that in the Creation there are accidents distinct from His nature. His existence and essence are distinct for although He is its measure, He is removed from the Creation. As such, the scene is its own protagonist, that is, it fulfills the possibilities inherent in the Creation. The fulfillment of the Creation is consequently reliant on Man, who is the only being capable of perceiving Divine essence and design. Thus, God is reliant on Man to fulfill his creative potential. Since, however, Man is part of God's Creation, Man is also reliant on God. The Creation is the ideal set into motion by God's "Nous", and as such it pertains to the "Nous" which is in God. Man, as all the Creation, is consequently in God's "Nous", the active principle of the Universe, and fulfills a transcendental function.

As d'Ors has stated previously, he understood the times,

the twentieth century, as being the moment in which all things would be integrated into the Whole of Life, and even the oppositions would find harmony. Noucentisme is the integration of man into the Divine Ideal of the City, of which God is the Artificer. It is the metaphysical integration of all things into the "Nous".

It is consequently logical that d'Ors' theological view was predominantly secular. As we have seen before, d'Ors considers that art and politics are always religious and that the Church exists outside the institution. In other words, the abstraction, the transcendence of God, had to return into Life. If man, through mythology, was united by the immanent essence, or Culture, then the continuation of this, which d'Ors calls "heroism", is transcendental. The importance of the secularization of the "Church", that is of the Whole, is basically an expression of religious Modernism.

## Notes to Chapter VI

- 1 E. d'Ors, Glosari 1906-1910 (Barcelona : Selecta, 1953) p. 940.
- 2 A Greek-English Lexicon, compiled by H.G.Liddell and R.Scott (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1901) 8th edition, p. 1009.
- 3 Glosari p. 60.
- 4 Ibid. p. 60.
- 5 Ibid. p. 60.
- 6 Ibid. p. 62.
- 7 Ibid. pp. 61-62.
- 8 Ibid. p. 62.
- 9 W. Little, H.W. Fowler and J. Coulson, The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, ed. L.T. Onions (Oxford : Clarendon, 1965) p. 802.
- 10 Glosari p. 62.
- 11 Ibid. p. 134.
- 12 Ibid. p. 1141.
- 13 Ibid. p. 1147.
- 14 Ibid. p. 343.
- 15 A Dictionary of Philosophy, ed. Dagobert D. Runes (Totowa : Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1970)
- 16 Glosari p. 341.
- 17 Ibid. p. 341-342.
- 18 W.K.C. Guthrie, The Greek Philosophers (New York : Harper and Row, 1960) p. 126.
- 19 Glosari p. 342-243.
- 20 One should note that there is implied in this belief of man's progress towards the harmonious whole, not to say "God", through work in order to achieve revelation, an essentially modernist religious position, very close to that of pantheism, which we shall resume and obviate in the conclusion of our thesis.
- 21 Glosari p. 636.
- 22 Ibid. p. 637.



- 23 Ibid. pp. 637-638.
- 24 Ibid. p. 1308.
- 25 Ibid. pp. 1308-1309.
- 26 Ibid. p. 102.
- 27 Ibid. p. 103.
- 28 Ibid. p. 242.
- 29 Ibid. p. 1281.
- 30 Ibid. p. 361.
- 31 Ibid. p. 868.
- 32 Ibid. p. 769.
- 33 Ibid. p. 507.
- 34 Ibid. pp. 583-584.
- 35 Ibid. p. 84.
- 36 As we shall see, towards the end of this thesis, Chapter VIII  
page 275, d'Ors sees Nietzsche as a step towards classicism.
- 37 Glosari p. 1259.
- 38 Ibid. p. 1259-1260.
- 39 Ibid. p. 455.
- 40 Ibid. p. 455.
- 41 Ibid. p. 1336.
- 42 Ibid. p. 1335.
- 43 Ibid. pp. 455-456.
- 44 Ibid. p. xiii.
- 45 Ibid. p. 974.
- 46 Ibid. p. 970.
- 47 Ibid. p. 971.
- 48 Ibid. p. 1552.
- 49 Ibid. p. 1319.

50 Ibid. p. 396.

51 Ibid. p. 397.

52 Ibid. p. 398.

53 Ibid. p. 952.

54 Op. Cit. p. 215.

55 Implied in the two preceding quotations is an important theological problem. When d'Ors states that the Creation is the work of God the Creator, understood as the "Suprem Artífex", that the Creation is artificial and that God is an "arbitrator" or architect of Reality, he implies that God has arranged prime substance.

In order to arbitrate an object, some definite substance must already exist. The artist must be like God, and create, in the sense of arbitrate, "nature". In this statement made by d'Ors it is logically implied that arbitration has been a function of God. This view is fundamental to any pantheistic ideology. As Bertrand Russell explains::

When Plato speaks of creation, he imagines a primitive matter to which God gives form; and the same is true of Aristotle. Their God is an artificer or architect, rather than a creator. Substance is thought of as eternal and uncreated; only form is due to the will of God. As against this view, St. Augustine maintains, as every orthodox Christian must, that the world was created, not from any certain matter, but from nothing. God created substance, not only order and arrangement.

The Greek view that creation out of nothing is impossible has recurred at intervals in Christian times, and has led to pantheism. Pantheism holds that God and the world are not distinct, and that everything in the world is part of God. ( A History of Philosophy, London : Unwin, 1974, p. 352)

The "immanentist" position implied by this point of view explains why d'Ors, as a Reporter, searches for eternity, or divine essence in all things. Some reflection of the divine will is to be found in the world. God is consequently immanent in d'Ors' philosophy. But he is also transcendent, for when d'Ors states that man's works are even more artificial, he implies that man is perfecting God's work, and, therefore, fulfilling God's creative possibility. God is also the Creator, since in the Creation God's arbitration gave rise to man in order to fulfill His creative potential. Thus, all is in God, and God depends on man. The combination of the immanent and transcendent theories of Divine existence leads d'Ors to panentheism.

D'Ors' references to Spinoza, Kant, Schleiermacher, Darwin, Huxley and Herbert Spencer substantiates this belief. In a gloss, "Musica de Bach" (1908 - p. 856), d'Ors quotes and admires Spinoza for his intellectual perception of the divine in art, that is,

man's work:

"Bach és, per essència, un artista religiós, perquè és un artista de puresa matemàtica. La pura matemàtica vol ja dir una intimitat amb allò diví. 'Déu es fa present - deia Spinoza -, en el fet que la suma dels angles interiors d'un triangle, valgui igual que dos angles rectes."

On a number of occasions throughout the Glosari 1906-1910, he states that the Noucentistes are the "fills de Kant" ("Les Inquietuds i Protestes" - 1908, and "A Revisar" - 1909). He praises H. Spencer in a gloss, "L'autobiografia d'Herbert Spencer" (1907 - pp. 421-422) and Schleiermacher in the gloss, "Les Multituds d'en Casellas" (1906). Huxely is quoted in the gloss, "Entorn de l'educació de la Voluntat II (1906). Darwin is referred to frequently, and indeed, d'Ors never does deny his theory of evolution, but he sees it in the light of more contemporary modifications of Huc de Vries and Weissman. According to the work of these last two men, sudden mutations are possible, and acquired traits are not always transmitted. This does not deny the theory of evolution, but modifies it; a number of inexplicables are possible within the rational process, such as the existence and sense of man's life. D'Ors condemns extremist positions:

"Els tertulians de l'Ateneu de Madrid disputa, a crits i entre fumera de cigaretes, sobre la teoria de l'evolució, prenent-le tal com la deixa Darwin, sense notícia de Weissman qui ha negat la transmissió dels caràcters adquirits, sense notícia d'Huc de Vries, qui ha mostrat experimentalment la possibilitat de mutacions brusques.

In the light of the novelties of science, d'Ors perceives that not all is rational, and some sensitive element is present in all. Thus he conciliates extremes.

D'Ors' attitude towards Kant is similar. Though he admires the German philosopher's work, and acknowledges the importance of logic and idealism, he does condemn the extreme that denies man any hope of continuation. As d'Ors informs us in his gloss "Schinz III" (1910), "El jove Pragmatisme lllivra batalla amb el vell absolutisme germànic". American Pragmatism is in opposition to German Idealism. However, d'Ors saves the better part of both worlds through his theory of aesthetic pragmatism, which includes both idealism and pragmatism ("Pragmatisme" - 1907 p. 636-638). D'Ors incorporates logic into life, but limits its capacities so that it does not impede transcendental motion. This leads him on to a form of "racionalismo armonico". As d'Ors states various times, though he respects Kant's use of logic and reason, it is only valid when it permits life to go on, that is, when it preserves man's hope for transcendent salvation. The reader may verify this statement in glosses "El tràgic conflicte" (1907 - p. 647) and "A revisar" (1909 - p. 1073).

Kant's critique of pure reason had destroyed the rational proofs of God's existence and the immortality of the soul, and had only left man with the immanent belief of the moral values of our religion.

Darwin's theory of evolution had contributed to the destruction of the belief in the veracity of Creation as explained in the biblical narrations. This had left nineteenth century man with only an immanent belief in God, that is, pantheism. In the gloss "La intel·legència de les flors", on the Book of the same name, written by Maeterlinck, d'Ors suggests that there is a relation between Darwin's theories and pantheism:

Ja he dit què no tot en el llibre de Maeterlinck tenia aquesta commosa gravetat. Les pàgines referents a la fecundació de les orquídies, que són tanmateix unes boniques il·luminacions al tractat de Darwin (quin poeta, quin arbitrari Darwin! I Linneu, doncs!) - em deixen més fred. Les combinacions folletinesques de la *Corianthes macrantha* no se m'emporten la simplicitat... Un vibrar especial d'unció separa aquesta predicació de la dels mil i un pedants del pamfilisme, que solen utilitzar arguments anàlegs. Maurici Maeterlinck no és com ells, encara que alguna volta parli com ells. Davant la moderna floració d'arbitrarietat, que té... un fonament metafísic dualista, Maurici Maeterlinck és el darrer Doctor refusió en poesia panteista. En premi a la generositat de la seva efusió, nosaltres, en aquest Maig florit, rebrem amb efusió, també generosa. La intel·ligència de les flors. (pp. 441-442)

The dualism here mentioned is the arbitration of mind and matter into the Whole; it reduces the polarity existing between the two. Thus, introspection into "matter", or objects, that is, immanence, is arbitrated into harmony with the "mind", or spirit, that is, transcendence. Thus, d'Ors avails himself of an abstraction not present in pantheism. In the same gloss he states of Maeterlinck:

Mai Maeterlinck en l'època activa de sa triomfal producció dramàtica, no deixà de veure una especulació mística en el fons de l'acció shakespeariana; mai, ara, retret voluntari en el pur conversar intern de la dissertació metafísica, no porta aquesta pels camins eixuta de l'abstracció; més la deixa reposar-se en els jocs d'una acolorida mitologia. (p. 440)

As we should remember, d'Ors perceives the world as a stage, and his reference here to the Shakespearean action is directly applicable to life. Maeterlinck is a pantheist, and as such perceives the Divine immanently, but does not abstract enough to perceive the Divine in transcendence, which does not outrule an immanent God. For as we should also remember, d'Ors specified that intellectualism, abstraction, had to integrate itself into Life; it had to be pragmatized, (see quotes 38 and 40), for a totally transcendent God would be removed from Life.

What is more, d'Ors' statement that God is a "Suprem Artífex" is intimately related to his concept of the City. For a number of reasons, it seems to us that d'Ors' metaphysical ideal originates from Hebrews 11:10. In the Vulgate, God is referred to as an "artífex" (this is the only biblical reference of this kind): "expectabat enim fundamenta habentem civitatem, cuius artífex et conditor Deus." In d'Ors' ideology, the City towards which all men must contribute is the City of which God is the Supreme Architect. By contributing to the building of the City, man fulfills the Divine will on earth. Again, this is a fundamentally

panentheistic concept. As we shall see at the end of this chapter this aesthetic conception culminates into a fully panentheistic system.

56 Glosari p. 111.

57 Ibid. p. 111.

58 Ibid. p. 1333.

59 Ibid. p. 1487.

60 Ibid. p. 1488.

61 Ibid. p. 1280.

62 Donald Joy Grout, A History of Western Music (New York : W.W. Norton and Co., 1960) pp. 382-383.

63 Glosari p. 45

64 Ibid. p. 1534.

65 In the idea, developed in this gloss, that perfection only originates from perfection, there is another important theological implication. Since supreme perfection is God, and God is a Supreme Artifex, having given form to prime matter, such as the glycerine crystal, and formal perfection on earth depends on man's will, d'Ors implies that not only does the world depend on God for salvation, but God depends on the world to fulfill His Divine will, or Creation. The biblical quotation referred to in 55 above clarifies d'Ors' theological ideal of the City, as the aim of man's will. This is the main panentheistic current. As such, it is in opposition to the "romantic" tendency to "imperfection", which is the consideration that life evolved "naturally" without any divine intercession, as referred to in the following quotation. Thus d'Ors, without denying scientific theories, also perceives therein Divine will.

66 Glosari p. 712.

67 Ibid. p. 711.

68 José L. Aranguren, La filosofía de Eugenio d'Ors (Madrid : Edicions y Publicacions Españolas, 1945) p. 108.

69 Glosari p. 903.

70 Ibid. p. 404.

71 Ibid. p. 253.

72 Ibid. p. 260.

- 73 Ibid. p. 700.
- 74 Ibid. p. 700.
- 75 Ibid. p. 714.
- 76 Ibid. p. 716.
- 77 Ibid. p. 721.
- 78 Ibid. pp. 727-728.
- 79 Ibid. p. 1001.
- 80 Ibid. p. 968.
- 81 Ibid. p. 977.
- 82 Ibid. p. 981.
- 83 Ibid. p. 990.
- 84 Ibid. p. 991.
- 85 Ibid. pp. 991-992.
- 86 Ibid. pp. 995-996.
- 87 Ibid. p. 996.
- 88 Ibid. p. 997.
- 89 Ibid. pp. 1003-1004.
- 90 Ibid. p. 1007.
- 91 Ibid. p. 1009.
- 92 Ibid. pp. 84-85.
- 93 Ibid. p. 1012.
- 94 Ibid. p. 1012.
- 95 Ibid. p. 1012.
- 96 Ibid. p. 1013.
- 97 Ibid. p. 1013.
- 98 Ibid. p. 1013.
- 99 Ibid. p. 1013.
- 100 Ibid. p. 1013.

Chapter VII      D'Ors and politics in the Glosari 1906-1910

After having dealt at considerable length with the meta-physical aspects of d'Ors' ideology between the years 1906 and 1910, one should consider its practical application within the Catalanist movement, since d'Ors played an important role in the development of that organization. His apparent political participation in the Lliga Catalana has often lead to a misunderstanding concerning his political orientation.

D'Ors' relation to Prat de la Riba has been speculated upon, but never clearly defined. On the one hand, J.L. Aranguren contends that Prat de la Riba needed an intellectual, or a philosopher, who could act as a foil to the cultural output of the generation of 98's Madrid circles. D'Ors was that desired intellectual who entered the literary scene at the right moment.

Aranguren also notes that d'Ors was never a member of the Lliga:

Lo cierto es que dentro de un regimen verdaderamente autocrático, pese a las apariencias, nuestro filosofo gozó siempre, mientras vivió el "presidente absoluto", de una independencia completa merced a la cual pudo desempeñar los puestos de mayor responsabilidad cultural sin estar afiliado siquiera al partido de la Lliga y predicar un sindicalismo, no por incruento menos escandalizador, en el seno de una organización archiburguesa. 1

Contrary to Aranguren, G. Diaz-Plaja sees d'Ors as intimately connected with the Lliga, and propounding the ideology of the Lliga:

No constituye azar alguno, sino lógico y natural coincidencia, el hecho de que la doctrina del Glosari de Eugenio d'Ors, director de la Instrucción Pública, en la Mancomunitat que presidía Prat de la Riba, estuviese configurada como un ariete de combate contra les delinquencias neorrománticas del fin-de-sigle, arogiéndose a aquella segura doctrina del Clasicismo en que la razón domina equilibradamente todo el mensaje intelectual. 2

The solution of this problem is to be found in the Glosari

1906-1910, to which neither of the two critics previously mentioned, refer. In the glosses "Dos Llibres", "La nacionalitat catalana i la generació noucentista" and "En presum", all of 1906, d'Ors clarifies the position of the Noucentistes in relation to the Lliga. Part of this series of glosses discusses the value of Prat de la Riba's work, La nacionalitat catalana, for the Noucents. In the first gloss, "Dos Llibres", which discusses both this work of Prat de la Riba and J. Maragall's Enllà, d'Ors establishes a very important difference between the Noucents and the "others". As we mentioned towards the beginning of our discussion on Noucentisme, d'Ors considers the latter as being "chronological"; consequently, d'Ors explains that the difference between the Noucentistes and Prat de la Riba is generational:

Un i altre procedeixen de la generació que ara arriba a l'hora magistral; de l'última generació del Vuitcents, de la generació que immediatament ens ha precedit a nosaltres. - vull dir, nosaltres joves, els del Noucents.... 3

This chronological difference is of the utmost importance, for throughout the Glosari, d'Ors specifies that he is reacting against the Vuitcents, the "fin-de-siecle". Prat began his career in 1888, and is consequently a "fin de siecle" man, whom d'Ors should react against. Indeed, one cannot overlook d'Ors' defection from the Lliga in 1904, to join the "Centre Nacionalista República", which was followed by a reconciliation two years later. There are, consequently, some differences between d'Ors and Riba, but at the same time there had to be some points of agreement.

In his appreciation of La nacionalitat catalana, d'Ors recognized the importance of Prat de la Riba's work, and saw him



as a master: "Mestre: perquè la doctrina vostra és també la nostra doctrina, li jurem fidelitat a la doctrina vostra." <sup>4</sup> This master was, however, a man of the nineteenth century, and d'Ors could not fully agree with him. It is interesting to note that in these glosses d'Ors is not concerned with the theory included in all the chapters of the book, but only with the final chapter, which deals with Catalonia's evolution away from a provincial-regionalist society towards a future Imperial power, that is, an international entity. It is specifically this doctrinal message that interested d'Ors. He states that:

Lliçó de doctrina, perquè, amb aquest llibre d'en Prat, el Nacionalisme català, que potser en algun moment, la generació noucentista pogué creure hostil al pensar propi, s'eixampla generosament i fa entrar amb oportunitat, dins son si el verb polític de la generació nova: l'Imperialisme. <sup>5</sup>

As d'Ors suggests, "nationalism" is fundamentally contrary to the ecumenical, cultural aspirations of the Noucents. The theory of Imperialisme as the diffusion of Culture is, however, compatible with the Noucentiste ideal. Thus, though Prat de la Riba shows the way to the new generation, he is not himself a Noucentiste.

In his book, La nacionalitat catalana, Prat had followed a romantic interpretation of history. He had gone into elaborate praises of the Middle Ages and the spontaneity of the people then, but the Renaissance and neo-classicism he had condemned. When d'Ors states that Prat de la Riba's nationalism might seem incompatible with the ideology of Noucentisme, it is partly to this that he is referring. D'Ors supports "Imperialisme" when this term is understood in a cultural sense. The Catalan nation, having come into existence, must be representative on the international scene.

This is what d'Ors referred to in his praise of Humanism, when he lamented the fact that no Catalan had taken part in Pantagruel's search for the Golden Fleece:

El toisó d'or de tal navegació no era res menys que l'Humanisme. Però a nosaltres, restats a platja, no ens va tocar cap part del botí. Vol dir que d'ésser arribats a l'edat contemporània sense haver passat per l'esperit del Renaixement, encara n'anem geperuts: i que és avui empresa heròica la de guarir-nos d'aquest gep. 6

Since d'Ors understands Culture in terms of European Culture, and since the international political scene that dominates Europe between 1900 and 1910 is characterized by a scramble for power, manifested in Imperialist policies, the assertion of Catalonia on that scene could only be achieved through similar Imperialistic politics. D'Ors' aesthetic precepts, which stressed arbitration and condemned "imitation", lead to the creation of a strictly Catalan national art. The artist did not copy the trends of Paris or Madrid, but created an art form that reflected national or "racial" identity. Imperialism was the method of incorporating the intellectual output of Catalonia into the European context, in order to gain recognition. Metaphysically, this was a means of incorporating a part, as a complement, into the Whole.

Imperialism, as understood by Prat de la Riba, meant a work of civilization. It was the diffusion of Culture among uncivilized countries. Above all, it was also the crystalization of nationalism, that is, nationalism recognized internationally. D'Ors follows these ideas almost to the letter. The ideal of the City functions both as a national ideal and as an international ideal. It is based on the importance of the cultural group over that of the individual. The national entity must elevate itself

to an imperial power to gain recognition and to participate in European Culture: "Certs homes tenen el DEURE d'ésser grans. Tots els pobles tenen el DEURE d'ésser grans Imperis ~~llurs~~!"<sup>7</sup>

The obligation of nations to Imperialism is another manifestation of arbitration and the will in d'Ors' ideology. D'Ors defines "Imperi" as an elevation of the City. Thus, much as the City is created by the arbitrary will of men, so is the Empire: "Imperi vol dir això: sacrifici de la Terra a la Raça; oblit de la diferència i del fur, a benefici de la creixença i de l'expansió."<sup>8</sup> It is the expansion of a national generality to a yet greater international generality. The Empire goes beyond the limitations of the City, for it overcomes the particulars of the City, to harmonize the constituents of the Race. It is the fulfillment of the ecumenical City.

The various precepts that contribute to the establishment of the City also apply to the Imperial ideal. In the Empire, as in the City, a group of men gather together to live in co-existence and resist Nature. D'Ors formulates an "Imperialist Catechism" on the subject of international human unity, which is taken from an oath repeated throughout the British Commonwealth on Empire Day. In this credo, d'Ors first quoted the phrase "Témer Déu, Honorar el Rei..."<sup>9</sup> As in the ideology of the City, fear of God, that is, the admiration of Divinity, is fundamental to Man's search for Eternity or Perfection. This is paralleled by a respect for government, or "Norm", for as d'Ors had pointed out earlier, the individual is too frail to understand the designs of God, and must follow the group, which is represented by the "government". D'Ors then goes on to

state the duties of the individual towards the group:

Obeir les lleis.... Sacrificar son interès personal als grans interessos de l'Imperi, tant en la pau com en la guerra....  
 Respectar el drets de la varietat.... Fer passar els propis deures abans que els propis drets... Tenir esperit de disciplina....  
 Tenir el respecte dels altres i d'un mateix.... Venir en ajut, en la mesura dels propis mitjans, dels pobres i malalts... 10

The above rules are basically a practical paraphrase of d'Ors' theory of civility and obedience. Their teachings rest on the need of the individual to sacrifice personal interests to those of the community.

As we saw in the gloss, "Amiel a Vic", d'Ors considered one of the main obstacles to progress to be traditionalist intolerance, that is, dogmatism such as Rierola's. In his practical catechism, one of the main tenets is "to respect the rights of variety". By sacrificing the interests of the individual, d'Ors intended to harmonize apparently antagonistic political, social and religious tendencies. His teachings on the importance of humanism were an effort to open the Iberian community's mentality to the rich potentials that lay beyond the Pyrenees. The priority given to the duties of the individual towards the community, over personal interests, is a means of disciplining the Iberian character, which, as d'Ors has stated previously, is externally rebellious. When some homogeneity was established through discipline, some enlightenment could then develop within the nation.

Discipline, consequently, implies also a certain social structure, or organization. The Spanish social problem, which involves the historical clash of classes after 1832, is of a political nature. This directly affects the practical aspects of d'Ors' ideology, since the latter revolves around the problem of "urban living".

D'Ors' relation to the proletariat, at least between the years 1900 and 1925, seems to have been quite close. Throughout the Glosari 1906-1910 he shows a great affection for that class. His concern for their lot is visible in such instances as his participation in the formation of consumers' leagues, in order to protect workers from employers' abuses. Two examples of this may be found in the glosses "Les Gangues" (1906), and even "Intervencions" (1910). In the latter he supported the formation of workers' unions. His own defection from the Lliga in 1904 had been motivated by the latter issue.

D'Ors considered one of the fundamental sources of Noucentisme to be the syndicalist ideology of Sorel. Since his own ideology rested on the concepts of urbanity and social co-operation, d'Ors believed that his work was "socialist", in a special sense of the word. He explained that the world was moving towards socialism, which was man's best achievement:

Hi ha ànimes porugues, que temen que amb la inevitable victòria futura del socialisme o, si voleu, del civilisme al món, anirà l'art de cap a un extrem de ruïna. 11

His social concern for the achievement of the ideal of the City required that Noucentistes take socialist action. The form of action that could harmonize society could only be syndicalism, which is collective action.. D'Ors defined political Noucentisme as being a form of syndicalism:

Som altres, en fi, sindicalistes, i combreguem en la noció de la nova era proletària, en el mite de la Vaga General, i fem, àdhuc amb Georges Sorel, l'apologia de la Violència... Però aquest Violència, forma brutal i "pura", d'intervenció, res no té que veure amb el revolucionarisme democràtic. 12

As in "La muerte de Isidre Nonell", d'Ors understands the need to

organize the proletariat so as to better its lot. The difference with Sorelian syndicalism is that d'Ors refutes brutal violence and prefers "action through order".

This is again a condemnation of a certain form of Jacobin revolutionary practices that benefit only a few, and leave the proletariat in an unchanged position. The practices only changed the rulers. D'Ors' syndicalist aspirations did not comprise the belief in physical violence, but forms of "intellectual" violence were possible. Aranguren has pointed out that in a lecture given at the Real Academia de Jurisprudencia y Legislación in 1909, d'Ors outlined his syndicalist beliefs:

Eugenio d'Ors señalaba cuatro notas distintivas del Sindicalismo: 1.ª, "la aplicación del principio de la lucha de clases", en lo cual participa del comunismo; 2.ª, "el empleo de los métodos de violencia, que le son comunes con el anarquismo"; 3.ª, "el criterio limitativo y funcional sobre la propiedad privada"; 4.ª, la superación, por obra del Sindicato, de la antítesis individuo-Estado. Las dos primeras notas eran consideradas como accesorias y circunstanciales y, por supuesto, condenables. Las dos últimas, al revés, eran vistas, ya en aquella época, como principios de un nuevo tipo de civilización: la civilización sindicalista. 13

His support of syndicalism and limitation of property in order to evolve towards a classless society were definitely contradictory to the ideology of the Lliga. D'Ors believed that this homogeneity of society could only be accomplished by making use of the laws established by the present order.

D'Ors did consider himself to be a radical, but his radicalism was based on a form of political arbitrarism. If Man was to better his social position, he had to arbitrate his political circumstance. This meant that it was his duty to intervene legally in politics. On this matter, one of d'Ors' catch phrases was: "Les lleis no són únicament normes; són també armes".<sup>14</sup>

We shall recall that in the metaphysical conception of the City, d'Ors had specified that the individual had to participate in the election of the City's destiny. D'Ors' understanding of legal political intervention is best resumed in the gloss "Un que no compren", which discusses the legal methods used by the French C. G. T. (Confédération Général du Travail) to place the government of that country in an "illegal position", so as to better the workers' lot. In d'Ors' words:

Aquesta acció intervé, - voluntàriament, arbitràriament, violentament - en la marxa de les coses. Però no amb violència anàrquica. Intervé amb una sort de violència legal. Aprofita la quantitat - incalculable - de violència que permeten les lleis humanes. Mes: utilitza aquestes lleis humanes com un instrument de violència. Fa amb elles, i servint-se de elles, revolucions! 15

D'Ors, therefore implies that a group wishing to vary the social structure may do so by manipulating, or arbitrating, the legal system, and still be within the limits of the Law. There arises out of these legal actions a sense of social progress, which d'Ors desired. The radicalism of Eugeni d'Ors, which depended on legality, did not aim at the simple modification of the social structure, but at its transformation.

In order to understand this, one must consider d'Ors' intellectual stance as regards the effective application of laws. The existing judicial system was considered inept by d'Ors. This legal system was not logical enough to represent the Idea of Justice. According to d'Ors, the correct, or ideal, use of laws required the removal of the approach to judgment according to "conscience" or "sentiment", on which the existing legal system was founded. D'Ors stated that judicial errors required not a simple pardon by the jury, but a total revision of the judgment

and the way it was carried out:

Una veu de radicalisme pur no hauria plorat sentimentalismes, ni tan sols fastiguejat sobre repugnàncies estètiques; hauria parlat simplement i estrictament de justícia. Una veu de radicalisme pur no hauria clamat per un indult: hauria exigit una revisió... 16

Errors of judgment developed out of the system itself. It was, therefore, the system that had to be revised.

According to d'Ors, most errors in the judicial system stemmed from the definitive formation of the legal system in the nineteenth century. The latter had evolved a "romantic" approach to the evaluation of most things. It based its reasonings on sentimentality and not on logic. The consequence of this was that judgments were carried out on an apparently subjective or "partial" basis. The historical example used by d'Ors to substantiate his belief was the Dreyfus case. The glosador rejected any approach founded on the irrational judgment of the people and on the concept of spontaneity. He described the nineteenth century's judicial system in the following terms:

Sí. Devia representar l' "instint" del poble contra el "professional tecnicisme". Devia judicar, segons "consciència" només, i amb irresponsabilitat acabada. Justament se'l creava perquè el glavi de la justícia esdevingués roent i espurnejant en els fornals de la passió, sense retrempar-lo en l'aigua freda de la lògica. 17

D'Ors shows here that he does not trust the instinct of the people. The law cannot be based on popular instinct; it is a matter of logic. This assumes that, although d'Ors is interested in the organization of the proletariat, and in the betterment of its lot, he does not believe in "spontaneous" revolution, but that the people must be educated in order to change the social structure. Thus, d'Ors, as the Neo-classicists, believes in working for the people, without the people.



As the above <sup>quotation</sup> ~~quote~~ indicates, the failures of the judicial system originate from the political corruption of the party-system at the turn of the century. D'Ors does not accept the political attitude of the nineteenth century, which represents the ~~instaura-~~tion of democracy in Spain. Consequently, d'Ors does not accept the democratic ideology of the nineteenth century.. However, d'Ors does believe in a form of democracy, since he stresses the importance of participation and elections. What he rejects is the middle-class's interpretation of the word "democracy", and the abuses incurred from that.

The author of the Glosari condemned both the Conservatism and Liberalism of the nineteenth century. The incapacity of these two parties to govern with order and tolerance had only led them to defend the dogmatic interests of their classes. This had culminated in anarchy and the cultural stagnation of Spain. For d'Ors, there were in fact only two parties in Spain : Conservatives and progressists, or "arbitrarists":

En una banda els fatalistes, els conservadors essencials - diguin - se conservadors o liberals, liberals-conservadors o conservadors - liberals, o com se diguin... En front els arbitraris, les "oposicions". 18

The latter was the position taken by d'Ors. He desired to "arbitrate" the destiny of Spain, not in chaos, but with order. To find order, he had to turn his attention to the very root of the problem. The "irresponsible" individualistic attitude of nineteenth century politicians could only lead to a "cul-de-sac" in social progress. The revolutions of the nineteenth century were never in the interest of the proletariat, but in that of the pecuniary well-being of certain individuals.

The solution to the "ills" of Spain was to be found in the imperialist policy, as understood by d'Ors. It emphasized the responsibility of the individual to his neighbour and to the State. This position was supposed to be in opposition to the liberal attitude that had developed the myth of individualism. This was considered to be an individualism that had freed the government of immediate social responsibility. D'Ors interpreted the social climate of his time as follows:

«Avui, en realitat, en tot el món, en tots els pobles del món, entre el bigarrament i confusió de rètols i etiquetes, hi ha dos criteris, dos partits únicament: el de l'Abstenció i el de la Intervenció; el de la política liberal i el de la política social: el Manchesterianisme i l'Imperialisme... - L'un vol dir: superstició del fet consumat, governants irresponsables, fisiocratism, "laissez-faire - laissez passer", individualisme atomístic, canonització dels horrors de la lliure concurrència, teoria de l'Estat Gendarme, inacció davant el mal i la ignorància, "nulla est redemptio", per al proletariat... L'Imperialisme vol dir, al revés: responsabilitat, solidarisme, reforma, Ciutat, legislació del treball. Estat educacional, lluita per l'ètica i cultura, justícia social... 19

The politics of Noucentisme were based on the ideal of social justice.

One of the main points that draws our attention in the above quotation is the position of the proletariat in a liberal society. According to d'Ors, it is summed up in the phrase, "nulla est redemptio", which places the working class in a "slave" relationship with the bourgeoisie, and stems from a lack of education. Noucentisme's political function is, therefore, pedagogical. D'Ors stressed the need for the state control and intervention to establish a continual sense of responsibility, in order to limit the abuses of a domineering bourgeoisie. Noucentisme was theoretically an anti-bourgeois movement within the bourgeoisie.

Yet it is aimed at an orderly social revolution, for it was the bourgeoisie that controlled the fate of the nation. In the gloss "La separació de la democràcia i de les arts", d'Ors explained that the present state of affairs in Spain was the immediate result of the bourgeoisie's politics:

Aquesta democràcia se'ns ofereix en una forma precisa, definible. Genèticament se la pot definir com l'encarnació acomplida en tot el segle XIX, de la ideologia revolucionària en els instints de la burgesia. 20

To d'Ors, all the irresponsibility of the bourgeoisie was the fruit of its "instincts", such as greed and brutality. Therefore, his aim was the dissemination of Culture and learning, which, when integrated into daily life, could lead to the betterment of ethical relationships.

The enlightenment preached by d'Ors is summed up in this statement: "A Catalunya la cosa més revolucionària que es pot fer, és tenir Bon Gust." <sup>21</sup> The anti-bourgeois reaction of d'Ors is ultimately related to the need for Good Taste. D'Ors considers the bourgeoisie to be a class of usurpers that had taken over the function of the aristocracy, without having the same capacity to promote the Arts. In other words, it lacked the spiritual values necessary for the continuation of Culture. The Glosador could not approve of middle-class vulgarity. In the glosses, "El chauchardisme" (1909), "Dels mecenas" (1906), "L'Art de fer fortuna" (1907) and "El rei dels 'parvenus'" (1909), d'Ors emphasized the hypocrisy and materialism of that class. In his opinion, it was necessary for that class to abandon its purely materialistic values in order to participate in society and contribute to the culture of the nation. The industrial bourgeoisie had to be educated in order to

become an aristocracy, not in the sense of a ruling class, but as a leading class, that is, an intellectual aristocracy.

The cultural situation of Barcelona at the turn of the century was defined by d'Ors as "primitive", in the most despicable sense of the word. It was a city modelled to the taste of the bourgeoisie:

una de tantes abominacions amb què els nostres ulls topen arreu, vergonya i nàusea de la nostra ciutat misèrrima. El gust bàrbar dels pervinguts hi troba la seva joia. 22

So far, all the reforms effected in Barcelona had been of a material nature. D'Ors intended to raise these to their spiritual level.

The author of the Glosari did not oppose himself to material progress, for it did represent the betterment of man's condition. However, he did believe in the need to make equal spiritual advance, for the former had no value if man could not understand its real value. This is explained in the gloss "Himne i Tragèdia":

¿Aquesta Reforma corporal de la Ciutat, correspondrà, animant-la, una altra Reforma espiritual, la veritable, la importantíssima Reforma?... Jo crec, jo sé tot el que es llegeix sobre la creixent activitat professional i econòmica que la realització de la Reforma urbana pot donar a la nostra ciutat. Però no és això la cosa que jo pregunto; no és això únic la cosa que jo vull. Jo parlo de coses de més endintre. Jo parlo d'allò substancial, sense la qual cosa la resta del floriment econòmic àdhuc, és vanitat. Parlo de la gran reforma, de la que hauríem d'anomenar Reforma per antonomàsia, la de les ànimes, que ha de donar-los en definitiva línies i amplitud de civilitat. 23

By stressing the importance of a spiritual reform, d'Ors is also implying a Modernist reform, in a religious sense that is intrinsically united to its political circumstance.

This "spiritual Reformation" is a religious reformation.

As we quoted from d'Ors in the previous chapter, politics and religion are one. This reform, which demands tolerance in order to permit progress, is undertaken within the bounds of civility and respect for fellow man. It is religious and political tolerance, which is only possible through understanding, that is, enlightenment. Just as classicism is considered to be an empty shell, if it is not complemented by humanism, the material progress of the bourgeoisie is futile if it is not reinforced by the enlightenment of that class, and formal civility is worthless if it does not lead to an understanding attitude towards civil, or social matters.

In d'Ors' ideology, social progress is understood as the betterment of man's external condition through learning. As was noted above, humanism is the awareness of foreign culture, and the participation of national culture on the international scene, that is, cultural Imperialism. For the bourgeoisie, which controlled Barcelona economically after the disaster of 1898, progress meant principally the opening of the Catalan, or Spanish, market to the exterior, for financial reasons. Prat de la Riba saw this progress in terms of the North American model, as commercial exportation, and not so much as cultural dissemination. D'Ors, though influenced by American pragmatism, conceived of Culture as classical, that is Mediterranean, and consequently believed in a cultural exchange with Europe in order to establish the national character of Catalonia on the universal scene. D'Ors stressed the cultural side of this exchange, which Prat partially overlooks in his theory. The Glosador was concerned with the establishment of what he called

"cultural instruments". These included such things as libraries, museums and laboratories, as may be noted in such glosses as "Biblioteca" (1910). His task was one of enlightenment, for he believed that only through education could society be changed.

The Imperialist state, as conceived in d'Ors' ideology, is, above all, an educational state. As such, it presupposes the existence of an elite. The importance of mass education and enlightenment stressed throughout the Glosari 1906-1910 indicates that d'Ors did not believe in the validity of a strictly plutocratic rule. A social revolution was impossible without the education of the masses. In his glosses on the Portuguese revolution, d'Ors foresaw the futility and chaos that would result from a revolution involving only one class, the bourgeoisie: "De fet, ha passat Portugal per una Enciclopèdia? ... No, no hi deu haver hagut a Portugal una Enciclopèdia, abans de la Revolució." <sup>24</sup>

Thus, Portugal had no enlightenment and d'Ors goes on to explain the result of this:

«Per què mudar règims si els homes no muden, si el caràcter de la nació resta el mateix? La monarquia dels Braganza era més aviat l'expressió que no pas la causa de la corrupció portuguesa. Els republicans es trobarah demà en contacte amb el parlamentarisme portuguès, amb la burocràcia portuguesa, amb l'exèrcit portuguès; deuran lliutar, si lluiten, contra les mateixes tendències, les mateixes habituds, els mateixos costums. <sup>25</sup>

In d'Ors' opinion, a revolution without a previous enlightenment is only a transformation of the form of government, and this does not affect the fundamental problem.

This attitude is compatible with the syndicalist ideology of d'Ors. It suggests not only the organization of the proletariat and the legal method of carrying out reforms, but also the

enlightenment of the masses, which would set them in a position equal to that of the bourgeoisie. Indeed, it was only natural that both classes should be treated equally; for without enlightenment they both represented the intellectual "vulgus". In this d'Ors was preaching a social ideology similar to that of Pi y Margall, whom he revered.<sup>26</sup> The social ambition of both men was to elevate the social condition of the proletariat to that of the bourgeoisie. The intellectual aristocracy proposed by d'Ors is, in reality, only an off-shoot of the bourgeoisie. It is an intellectual bourgeoisie that could in turn come from any background, once the proletariat was elevated to the level of the bourgeoisie.

The concept of the aristocracy in the Glosari must be understood in terms of the ideal of the City. In a lecture d'Ors gave at the Residencia de Estudiantes of Madrid in 1915, Aprendizaje y heroísmo, he explained that his ideology was designed to give man spiritual values, that is, to make an aristocrat out of every man: "Nuestra reunión en esta casa obedece al designio de formar en España algo así como una aristocracia de la conducta."<sup>27</sup> The conception of this type of aristocracy rests on the following precept:

cualquier oficio se vuelve Filosofía, se vuelve Arte, Poesía, Invención, cuando el trabajador da a su vida, cuando no permite que ésta se parta en dos mitades: la una, para el ideal; la otra, para el menester cotidiano. Sino que convierte cotidiano menester e ideal en una misma cosa, que es, a la vez, obligación y libertad, rutina estricta e inspiración constantemente renovada. 28

Nobility of life is attained through the constant attention given by the craftsman to his work, which is his mirror. Again, work and life become one, and must be developed into a work of art. The aristocratic conduct advocated by d'Ors corresponds to his

concept of liberty; the arbitrated participation of the individual in a collective ideal is his freedom. The work-ethic involved here corresponds to the moral obligation of the individual to his fellow men. It is based on a quotation from Kierkegaard that is found in the prologue of d'Ors' lecture:

El que no sabe repetir es un esteta. El que repite sin entusiasmo es un filisteo. Sólo el que sabe repetir, con entusiasmo renovado constantemente, es un hombre. 29

This quotation is frequently repeated in the Glosari 1906-1910, as for instance, in the gloss "Ètica" (1909). It is an elaboration of the concept of repetition and continuation with continual modifications that is found in d'Ors' metaphysical explanation of the search for Eternity. The aristocratic ideal of conduct is the practical application of the stylization of individual lifestyles.

The social politics of d'Ors are, at times, inspired by the works of T. Carlyle.<sup>30</sup> As in the latter's work, Imperialism is founded on a hierarchical pattern. For this reason it is compatible with Catholicism, for both are forms of paternalism. In a gloss entitled "La paternitat dels Imperis", d'Ors defined Imperialism as: "No altra cosa que la forta consciència d'una missió sublim de paternitat."<sup>31</sup> D'Ors' social ideal is, therefore, paternalistic, and in this sense, elitist. After his stay in Germany in 1910, d'Ors described the intellectual aristocracy as he conceived it :

Munic, ha estat creat per la col·laboració idealista i patriòtica de reis i d'artistes... I en la vella bona tradició germànica de les petites corts patriarcal, on els esperits superiors trobaven les condicions més càlides i favorables de desenrotllament... I en Joan Wolfgang Goethe conseller àulic... I la gran qualitat de forces, i els bells resultats possibles que es perden avui



miserablement per haver cessat gairebé arreu aquella col·laboració excellent - per la desespiritualització tristíssima de tants i tants sobirans -, per l'empoliticallament banal de savis, d'escriptors, d'artistes... 32

It is a ruling class of intellectuals and artists who collaborate to fulfill a spiritual ideal.

This hierarchical system that is inherent in all of d'Ors' ideology, reflects the influence of Nietzsche's conception of the power of the will. The main difference is that d'Ors "socializes" the use of the will. In his theoretical development of the use of the will, d'Ors had suggested a hierarchical pattern when he stated that an individual of superior will-power should dominate one of weaker will. It was, however, not with the intention of sheer domination, but with that of guiding.

The hierarchical pattern in d'Ors' ideology, because it is paternalistic, rests on a traditional conception of society. As such, it relies on the Christian family structure. D'Ors' values are, therefore, in some ways similar to those of Torras i Bages. One must understand, however, that this relation stops at the basic or superficial level. D'Ors, who, as ~~he~~ was seen in the previous chapter, is a religious modernist, has a greater scope of vision, with which he adapts tradition to the needs of progress, and integrates it into an urban ideal. Torras i Bages, who goes unmentioned in the Glosari 1906-1910, only admires a rural conception of society.

Although d'Ors' conception of social revolution includes the continuation of tradition, this does not imply the imposition of tradition on social patterns, but rather its adjustment to the circumstances. In d'Ors' language, it is the vivification of that

which is eternal in man's progress towards the Idea of Eternity.

His definition of Revolution implies a dynamic evolution of mankind towards Eternity:

una veritable Revolució no pot fer-se sinó invocant l'absolut. El resultat estarà ple de relativitat sens dubte. L'acció s'haurà ajustat a les circumstàncies. Però si l'acció s'ha començat amb una anticipada resignació del relatiu; si en un principi no s'ha cregut - amb una sinceritat profunda - treballar no solament pel Futur, sinó per l'Etern, pel que està fora de tota temporalitat, la gesta serà estèril i vana i no mereixerà el nom de Revolució. Que tota Revolució vol dir: una tradició vindicada. 33

Revolution is , consequently, the purification, or vivification, of an ideal of justice that has been corrupted. In d'Ors' paternalist stratification of society, Revolution only comes about through enlightenment. It is a revolution from above. As a corollary to this, the organization of society recognizes the importance of every individual, but judges his merits according to his function in the social machinery. It is a system based on priorities.

Superficially, d'Ors' ideology seems compatible with that of the Lliga, for it seems to raise the bourgeoisie to an aristocracy, and incites it to play a guiding role in the nation's destiny. The primary difference lies in the importance that d'Ors allots to the function of the proletariat. The latter is considered to be vital to the proper functioning of the nation. The social respect that d'Ors has for the proletariat is evident in his desire to give equal opportunity to the working class, so that it may rise to the level of the bourgeoisie, and may also participate in the intellectual aristocracy. In this there is a certain amount of levelling of society, which was contrary to the aims of the Lliga. D'Ors' political ideology was a warning to the bourgeoisie either to assume its social responsibilities, or expect to be overcome.

A number of Prat de la Riba's ideas and aims were compatible with those of d'Ors, but there were also radical differences. In his work, La nacionalitat catalana, Prat de la Riba has suggested the idea of an imperialist policy. This was the only point that d'Ors considered important. It must be understood, however, that although Prat exposed these theories, he was never interested in their practical application. As Rovira i Virgili states, Prat de la Riba was little interested in foreign politics and was a man of limited horizons:

Prat de la Riba ... presenta sens dubte punts flacs, zones poc treballades. Sovint poguérem observar, per exemple, que Prat no sentia l'interés de la política internacional. Un cert innat casolanisme li donava un aire una mica limitat en algunes qüestions. Seguia, tanmateix, el moviment de la política estrangera i llegia diàriament Le Temps de Paris. 34

Prat was, therefore, a man who, although informed, was not interested in actual participation on the international scene. His interests were the Catalan nation and the protection of the industrial bourgeoisie's economic dominion.

Prat's tendency to isolation, or as Rovira i Virgili calls it, "casolanisme", reflects his rural background. The president of the Mancomunitat was the offspring of a rural, land-owning family, and as such, his conception of social organization is modelled on that of the traditional rural pattern: "En la seva vida i en la seva mort, Prat de la Riba, fou un home ric de les virtuts de la nostra pagesia." 35

Unlike d'Ors, who sought to be an urban gentleman of international, humanistic culture, Prat remained intensely nationalistic. This accounts for a certain narrowness in his understanding of the social realities of his time. Prat de la Riba

directed his policies only to a national objective that concerned the higher bourgeoisie, that is, to the economic independence and protection of Catalan trade. As d'Ors, he did at times consider the necessity of social organization, and the possibility of sharing some of the dividends, but only as a means of control during the labour crisis posterior to 1912. That was part of Prat's so-called "evolution towards a certain liberalism" between 1913 and 1916.

On the whole, Prat's ideology was directly influenced by that of Torras i Bages. Yet, because he moved from the countryside to the Mancomunitat, Prat did make some minor changes to adapt that system to his new urban situation. Jordi Solé-Tura notes that this did not radically affect Prat's fundamental point of view:

este desplazamiento de la incitación rural hacia la urbana no significa, a mi parecer, una anulación de la primera. Al contrario, como dice Carr, el propósito fundamental de Prat era "arrancar el movimiento (catalanista) de manos de los intelectuales de Barcelona y ganar a la causa del campo conservador". 36

D'Ors' own position, since it rests on an urban ideal, is contrary to Prat's, for he emphasized the importance of the intellectuals and their priority in matters of politics.

In this regard, Prat was much more traditionalistic and conservative than d'Ors. Prat de la Riba believed in the absolute validity of the rural, familial structure to be used in urban life. Prat, who praised the Middle Ages and Romanticism, understood the Catalan tradition in the same fashion as Torras i Bages. This implies that he perceived social organization as in the divinely ordered structure of the "Ancien Regime". Prat considered that the twentieth century needed to return to the medieval social structure

that is, the feudal paternalistic structures. Prat defined his position in a lecture given in the Centre Catalanista in 1897:

La Edad Media es la edad de las autonomías. La llegada del Renacimiento, la instauración del cesarismo y de las formas clásicas, que para los románticos equivalían a la muerte, marchitaron todas las libertades de los tiempos medievales. La nueva era se llama Romanticismo, y por él la Edad Media vuelve. 37

His understanding of social organization remained feudal, even in his most liberal moments of 1913. When he did suggest the possibility of Syndicalism and a share in the dividends in order to encourage the labour force, his conception was entirely patterned on the rural familial system.

According to Prat de la Riba, the ideal situation for the workers was the organization of "industrial colonies", under the dominion of the employer:

El instrumento de esta recreación ha de ser la colonia industrial, combinación de las virtudes de la organización feudal, con el dinamismo de la vida moderna, la confluencia finalmente encontrada de los valores urbanos y rurales. 38

The modern, dynamic ideal referred to was the economic prosperity of the nation, understood as the material gain of the few. The structure of the "industrial colony" was to function as a totally autocratic system. The head of this family would be the corporation's employer, who was to have unlimited jurisdiction in the organization and functioning of the colony. Prat defined the powers of the employer-father as follows:

todas o casi todas la facultades que necesita el patrono para la formación del medio mencionado tienen su raíz en el derecho de propiedad, pueden fundarse en la facultad de no permitir dentro de su casa más que determinadas prácticas y costumbres, de expulsar a los que se apartan de ellas, de imponer a los que en ella quieren vivir el cumplimiento de las reglas y preceptos de policía que juzgue pertinentes, de prohibir la entrada en la misma de las personas y de las cosas, periódicos y libros, por ejemplo, que no le

acomoden. El dueño de la casa, el jefe de la familia industrial, fija un régimen determinado; al entrar en la familia industrial los obreros aceptan voluntariamente este régimen; si se cansan de él pueden abandonarlo, abandonando la casa; pero mientras vivan en ella han de sujetarse a la voluntad del señor que la preside. 39

The industrial colony is, therefore, little more than a variation of the feudal estate. In it, the employees are serfs, free to go, but subject to the will of the lord. As Prat goes on to explain, in this "ideal" situation the colony is wholly under the direction of the employer, and separate from the state:

La colonia industrial ha de constituir una sociedad aparte; en ella los obreros han de vivir sujetos a un régimen de dirección moral y de tutela, radicalmente distinto del de las ciudades. 40

As this quotation indicates, the industrial colony is in absolute opposition to the ideal of the City. In d'Ors' ideal, every man participates in the fate of the City, every man has rights and obligations in the election of this ideal. The system proposed by Prat de la Riba suggests that the proletariat has no right to elect its fate and is at the mercy of the employer.

The situation in which the proletariat finds itself in an industrial colony does not allow it to participate in the state, for it lives under the jurisdiction of an employer whose estate is divorced from the laws of the nation. Prat de la Riba's anti-democratic point of view led him repeatedly to oppose the concept of universal suffrage. When circumstances in 1913 forced Prat to give way, he limited his "liberalism" to the idea of organic suffrage, in which the proletariat was given representation by guild only. This was only a token gesture, for since the members of the guild were controlled by the employer, their opinion was subject to the judgment of the latter. Thus, in Prat's scheme, the

proletariat is separated from the government of the State and has no say, that is, no direct responsibility, in its fate, which is contrary to d'Ors' ideal. The fundamental difference is, therefore, that d'Ors urged the limitation of private property, whereas Prat de la Riba acknowledged the unlimited right to property.

When d'Ors speaks of liberalism, it is this unlimited right to property to which he is referring, as we mentioned previously. The position of d'Ors, as regards the use of democracy and his opposition to it, is radically opposed to that of Prat de la Riba. In his gloss "Vigília" (1907), d'Ors had expressed the feeling that the destiny of the City, or State, was in the hands of every man, and as such, every man should participate, that is, "choose" or "vote". Through syndicalism, d'Ors had opposed the abuse of labour by employers that had developed out of the liberal ideology of the right to property. Syndicalism was to limit legally the power of the employers. As such, d'Ors placed a great emphasis on the responsibility of the proletariat to the State, and of the State to the proletariat. The paternalistic aspect of d'Ors' ideology is one of guidance, not of total control, such as that of Prat de la Riba. It is this difference that sets apart Prat de la Riba's support of a medieval organization from d'Ors' neo-classical conception of society.

Prat de la Riba's theories were influenced by Torras i Bages' La tradició catalana. The traits his theories inherited from those of the Bishop of Vic are not only the feudal perspective of life, but also its corollary, a short-sighted religious attitude and a very limited belief in progress. Though Prat de la

Riba did close his eyes to the religious orientation of some Catalanists, since the means justified the end, he was what d'Ors reproached in men of the nineteenth century, such as Rierola : dogmatic in his religious practice and belief. Rovira i Virgili informs us that:

Davant el problema religiós Prat, era, intimament, no ja conservador, sinó reaccionari. Els seus horitzons, per aquest costat, eren d'una limitació accentuada. Mirava els no creients amb una certa repulsió. 41

A characteristic example of Prat's bigotry, related by Rovira i Virgili, was his refusal to print in the Veu de Catalunya the picture of Pi i Margall among those of the originators of "Catalanismo", because of the latter's heterodox ideas. This aspect of Prat de la Riba's rather rural attitude also leads to a parallel that supports his feudal vision of life, that is, the negation of progress. Prat declared that:

No creemos en la llamada ley del progreso. Tan característico de lo humano es el progreso como el retroceso. En la cuna misma de la humanidad se registra, según la más universal de todas las tradiciones, un retroceso tan terrible que en siglos sucesivos de existencia no ha podido todavía alcanzar de nuevo el estado de perfección que perdió. 42

This quotation, which reveals Prat's denial of the theory of evolution, indicates that his belief in transcendental Creation is éssential to his vision of social organization.

Both Prat de la Riba's dogmatism and his denial of progress are contrary to d'Ors' ideology. As we mentioned previously, d'Ors had a fairly open religious attitude. His belief in Catholicism was founded on social reasons of human unity. In religious practice, d'Ors condemned religious dogmatism that prevented man from progressing. The negation of progress, in as much



as it is fatalistic, is contrary to d'Ors' belief that man evolved towards perfection. In d'Ors' ideology, the function of the elite is essentially pedagogical. It must organize and enlighten the proletariat, and hence it is an intellectual elite, not a pecuniary one, as was that of Prat de la Riba.

D'Ors' ideology was therefore compatible with that of the Lliga, in as much as it was paternalist, but it differed radically in its "socialist" connotations. In an extremely important gloss of 1910, "Five o'clock mind", d'Ors expressed the actual nature of his ideology and his reasons for participating in the activities of the Lliga. This gloss is presented as a dialogue between two persons of approximately thirty years of age, who compare their youthful experiences, in order to define what characterizes their generation:

Sí. Els qui tinguérem vint anys quan començà l'afer i vint-i-cinc quan la revisió i trenta avui, havem sofert en el nostre esperit l'emprenta dura d'una terrible experiència. Tota la nostra generació es troba en el cas de nosaltres dos. 43

The case, or "afer" referred to is the famous Dreyfus case, which took place in 1900, and was re-opened in 1905. Since d'Ors was born in 1881, he is obviously referring to his own generation, that of the Noucentistes.

D'Ors explains that the Noucentistes were, before 1906, socialists and revolutionists, fighting for the cause of justice by revolting against the establishment:

fa cinc anys érem tots dos de l'altre costat de la barricada, tots dos socialistes, tots dos dreyfusistes, tots dos combistes, tots dos ardits i cridaners en la batalla contra la tradició. 44

The change occurs through disillusionment, as both come to realize that pure idealism and impatience are devoid of any practical

purpose and do not lead to social progress, because such idealism cannot be integrated into society. There is a need to strike a compromise with the existing circumstance in order to modify it. The two noucentistes reflect that their own ideals have not changed, but that those companions who continued in their extreme position and formed political parties, have become as corrupt as the regime they were fighting. D'Ors states quite clearly that all reform can only be done from within:

... Després havem vist els nostres amics d'alehores arribar al poder, mantenir-s'hi. Havem pogut observar la seva conducta, i com fracassava en les seves mans, i entre mil baixeses, la renovació moral que ens il·lusionava. Els havem vist encara aixafar, intentar l'asfíxia de l'Esperit, en una tirania de baix a dalt, en una intrusió del filisteisme, sense precedents en la història... I això és el que nosaltres no havem pogut suportar... I això és el que ens ha fet a tots, l'un darrera l'altre, sense posar-nos d'acord, quasi sense sentir-ho, saltar la barricada... Vet aquí com de la nostra generació només els polítics, que n'han tret profit, continuen mantenint les mateixes "idees" que un dia mantinguérem tots. Els desertors, no obstant, no hem sigut nosaltres, sinó ells, perquè ells, al mercadejar amb aquelles idees, les han buidades del seu contingut espiritual mateix el retroben avui en "idees" aparentment contràries... 45

The moral reform of Spain that the young modernists had desired, was now not being carried out by the politicians who were supposed to be their representatives. The social policies of these politicians lacked content and sincerity.

As the gloss indicates, the essential motive of d'Ors' generation was the establishment of social justice in Catalonia. In order to fulfill this ideal, the young noucentistes-modernists had rebelled against the traditionalist establishment; that is, they had tried to "modernize" society from without. Owing to the unsatisfactory, superficial nature of this modernization, they had now reversed the situation by carrying out a revolution from

within. By working with the forces of order and integrating their beliefs into the dominating class's sphere of action, the noucentistes could change the sensibility of that society and increase its social consciousness. As such, d'Ors' conception of Noucentisme was the integration of Modernism into the ruling class's life. It was the socialization of Modernism, so that it might fulfill its real function in the destiny of Catalonia. Noucentisme was, therefore, an organized form of political Modernism.

## Notes to Chapter VII

- 1 J.L.Aranguren, La filosofía de Eugenio d'Ors (Madrid : Ediciones y publicaciones Españolas, 1945) p. 245.
- 2 G. Diaz-Plaja, Al filo del Novecientos (Barcelona : Planeta, 1971) p. 227.
- 3 E. d'Ors, Glosari 1906-1910 p. 182.
- 4 Ibid. p. 184.
- 5 Ibid. p. 183.
- 6 Ibid. p. 1335.
- 7 Ibid. p. 1244.
- 8 Ibid. p. 794.
- 9 Ibid. p. 755.
- 10 Ibid. p. 756.
- 11 Ibid. p. 586.
- 12 Ibid. p. 1481.
- 13 La filosofía de Eugenio d'Ors p. 232.
- 14 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 470.
- 15 Ibid. pp. 468-469.
- 16 Ibid. p. 733.
- 17 Ibid. p. 1176.
- 18 Ibid. p. 89.
- 19 Ibid. pp. 1083-1084.
- 20 Ibid. p. 1535.
- 21 Ibid. p. 1553.
- 22 Ibid. pp. 1533-1534.
- 23 Ibid. p. 472.
- 24 Ibid. pp. 1472-1473.
- 25 Ibid. p. 1483.
- 26 Ibid. p. 1088, and the gloss "No cridis" p. 1275.

- 27 E. d'Ors, Aprendizaje y heroisme (Madrid : Residència de Estudiantes, 1915) p. 10.
- 28 Ibid. p. 22.
- 29 Ibid. p. 10.
- 30 One of the various examples of this may be found in the gloss "Politica" (1909) p. 1100.
- 31 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 221.
- 32 Ibid. p. 1422.
- 33 Ibid. p. 1350.
- 34 Antoni Rovira i Virgili, Prat de la Riba (Barcelona : Edicions 62, 1968) pp. 42-43.
- 35 Ibid. p. 21.
- 36 Jordi Solé-Tura, Catalanismo y revolución burguesa (Madrid : EDICUSA, 1970) p. 228.
- 37 Ibid. p. 215.
- 38 Ibid. p. 247.
- 39 Ibid. pp. 248-249.
- 40 Ibid. p. 249.
- 41 Prat de la Riba p. 46.
- 42 Catalanismo y revolución burguesa p. 218.
- 43 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 1366.
- 44 Ibid. p. 1365.
- 45 Ibid. p. 1366.

## Chapter VIII      Noucentisme and Modernism : The Literary Relations

As we have noted in the previous chapter, according to d'Ors many of the noucentistes carried on the ideals of Modernism. In d'Ors' words, the spiritual ideal of the noucentistes was that which they had supported in 1900. The impossibility of imposing these ideals on society so as to make them function practically had led the noucentistes to try to reform the bourgeoisie from within. The former lack of organization and security that had characterized Modernism had been incompatible with the middle class's interests and beliefs. Thus, Modernism was restructured so as to please both parties involved, the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals. Noucentisme was this intellectual stance adapting Modernism to the tastes of the bourgeoisie.

In order to realize the true nature of Noucentisme, one must understand that between 1906 and 1910, d'Ors never entirely rejected the ideals of Modernism; rather he considered it to be a transitional phase. What he did condemn was the method of carrying out these ideals. Indeed, d'Ors never underestimated the importance of Modernism for the cultural development of Catalonia. In a gloss entitled "Ocasión única" (1909), d'Ors explained that the modernist tendencies that originated in the tavern Els Quatre Gats were the spiritual regeneration that gave an identity to Catalonia, for there European culture was introduced to a provincial Barcelona. The gloss, which is a tribute to Pere Romeu, the owner of Els Quatre Gats, states:

Penseu que els noms de Claude Monet, de Paul Verlaine, de Frederic

Nietzsche, penseu que la restauració de la música popular i de la gregoriana, que el wagnerisme i l'ibsenisme, que la pintura d'en Mir, l'arquitectura d'en Puig i Cadafalch i d'en Gaudí, la poesia d'en Maragall, tingueren un dia alguna cosa a veure i estingueren en "una complicitat" sorollosa amb l'existència d'una cerveseria que es deia "Els quatre Gats"... Penseu que, en bloc, sense desmescla, tot això va ser aplaudit o blasmat, en dos partits contraris, per la gent barcelonina. Però entre aplaudiment o blasme, tot això - que era esperit, que era elevació, que era renovació -, anava avançant... 1

Here, d'Ors points out that all was a heterogeneous mixture of currents, characteristic of the turn of the century Modernism, but within this lay the renovation of Barcelona, its ideal essence. Modernism may, consequently, be regarded as the basis of Noucentisme.

The reproach made by d'Ors is the lack of normality, and the public's lack of selectivity. As the quotation states, the public was divided into two antagonistic parties: "Think that, as a whole, without sorting, all this was applauded or damned in two contrary parties". According to d'Ors, there was a consequent lack of genuine critical approach to art, in part by the artists and in part by the public. From this d'Ors realizes that his function was to harmonize this polarization.

The noucentiste movement, as we have seen earlier, was aiming to set norms on art, in order to produce works of a higher, or international, quality. This required a more selective approach to artistic production. There was also the need to educate the public and render it more sensitive to idealistic material, that is, to an aesthetic interpretation of life. This involved making the public aware of the complexities of art, and imparting good taste. To carry out this ideal, it was imperative for d'Ors to make a "tabula rasa" of the cultural circumstance existent in Barcelona. The opposition between the two groups, bohemian and bourgeoisie,

was too extreme to permit a simple modification of their relationship. The reigning confusion required a new approach, a radical change of circumstance, on which both parties could meet.

To understand the relationship between Modernism and Noucentisme, it is important to note that fundamentally both reacted against the same preceding movement. Modernism in literature had rejected the excessive use of formulae, or rhetoricism, of the romantic Spanish poets, for it lacked any substantial content. This had led them to the extreme of revolting against any form. When d'Ors reintroduced the necessity of the classical form, he stipulated, as we have already noted, that the form without a substantial content is an empty shell of no value.

The romantic poets mentioned in the Glosari 1906-1910 are the Castilians, Rojas Zorrilla, Espronceda, Echegaray and Campoamor, and the Catalans, J.M. Bartrina and F. Soler. Of these six, d'Ors makes no praise, and what appreciation of their work he does give, is little less than slander. The contempt he felt towards Zorrilla is best expressed in the gloss "Rostand", in which d'Ors states that Rostand "ha esdevingut a França el que Zorrilla fou a Espanya";<sup>2</sup> that is, "un semi-poeta apte a representar als ulls, i sobretot, a les orelles de la multitud ignara, la fina flor i com l'encarnacio vivent de la poesia."<sup>3</sup> The special reference made to the effect produced by Zorrilla's type of poetry, more to the ears than to the eyes or intellect, is d'Ors' satirical attitude towards the grandiloquent style of that poet.

There is a similar devaluation of the poetry of Echegaray Campoamor. In his gloss, "Richardo de la Vega", which is about this



author, d'Ors considers that even this poet deserves a Nobel prize, since:

'La Verbena de la Paloma' és una petita obra mestra. Hi ha ella sola més poesia, si no m'equivoco, que en les obres completes de don Ramón de Campoamor. I no cal dir que en les de don José Echegaray... 4

This contempt for romantic Spanish poetry is not only levelled at Castilian poets, but also at Catalans, who are represented by the figure of Frederic Soler (Pitarra). Though he realized the importance of Soler in the development of Catalonia's "Renaixença" literature, d'Ors considered him to be a primitive writer, in the negative connotation: "un primitiu...deliciós en les seves Gatadas, en sos Singlots; detestable en els drames, perquè en ells es un primitiu sense ingenuïtat." 5 The insipid nature of Soler's theatre is criticized because of its lack of verisimilitude.

Criticism of the lack of content and of the bombastic form of Catalan and Castilian romantic literature may be found in the ironical gloss "Homenatge a Espronceda". In this gloss, d'Ors expresses genuine scorn for both Espronceda and J.M.Bartrina:

No conec sinó un versificador de menys esperit poètic que don José de Espronceda: i es don Joaquín María Bartrina.... Ambdós, no obstant, tenen un gran valor representatiu. - Espronceda, ignorant, calavera, geni de cafè, Byron 'chispero', popular i populatxer, pessimista, xerraire, 'juerguista' sentenciós, és el tipus selecte d'una malaltia endèmica en la vida intel·lectual de Madrid. - Bartrina, mig savi, indolent, geni d'Ateneu, Leopardi menestral, fals aristòcrata, petit anarquista amb petites rendes, pessimista professional, conversador blafematori, és el tipus selecte d'una malaltia endèmica en el viure intel·lectual de Barcelona. 6

As we may observe in his condemnation of both these poets, d'Ors sees their work as being purely formal and lacking content. They are "ignorant versifiers", who simulate poetry by having recourse to pessimistic personal sentiments. Their ignorance is aggravated

by no serious effort <sup>at</sup> ~~the~~ erudition or comprehension. Their position, as described by d'Ors, also indicates that, owing to their lack of comprehension and their pessimistic attitude, they can only express a static circumstance. These "masters" never give rise to an ideal and, therefore, never fulfill their social function.

This reaction against romantic literature is similar to that of the Modernists, and indicates that not all of Modernism could be rejected by the Noucentistes. In fact, several of the Modernists were rehabilitated into the noucentiste movement. The reason for which those of the older generation were never integrated into the noucentiste movement, is clarified by d'Ors' statement that the movement was chronological, and therefore generational.

When judging the immediate relations between Noucentisme and Modernism, many critics have ~~paid~~ exclusive attention to d'Ors' statement, made early in the Glosari of 1906, that Costa i Llobrera did not count as a Noucentiste:

La direcció estètica anterior del Catalanisme era produïda sempre en un mateix sentit, en sentit de romanticisme, des d'en Piferrer, el nostre primer gran romàntic, fins en Maragall, el nostre darrer gran romàntic. - Entremig, el cas d'un Costa i Llobrera, no compta. Cal arribar als nostres dies per assistir a l'obertura d'un cicle de classicisme essencial. 7

This statement, which confirms the "generational" nature of Noucentisme, does not impede d'Ors from stressing the importance of Costa i Llobrera's work in his own times, that is, three years later. The gloss, "La setmana dels poets - Guimerà", lists chronologically the major poetic influences in Barcelona's literary scene: "No cal parlar de les veritables 'escoles' creades per l'exemplaritat d'un Maragall, d'un Josep Carner, d'un Costa i Llobrera." <sup>8</sup> Though this does not indicate complete rehabilitation of Costa i Llobrera, it

does show that d'Ors recognized the literary importance of this predecessor.

Another example of the recognition given to the previous generation by d'Ors is the case of Costa i Llobrera's contemporary and country-man, Joan Alcover. This poet is not only recognized, but fully rehabilitated. D'Ors considered Alcover as one of the fore-runners of Noucentisme. In a gloss addressed to Alcover, "Pel volts del Parnas" (1909), d'Ors states: "... cal considerar-vos, així us considerem tota, poeta Alcover, com un dels primats en la depuració civil de la poesia catalana...".<sup>9</sup> The "civil depuration" of Alcover's poetry is, consequently, what primarily makes it acceptable for d'Ors. As we have seen earlier, when d'Ors speaks of civility, he is, in fact, meaning formality. Thus, it is the formal organization of Alcover's poetry that renders it acceptable to the aesthetics of Noucentisme, for the Parnasian formalization of his poetry indicates an intent to classicize his expression.

Alcover was not the only poet to write poetry along a formal pattern. Two modernist figures of fair importance in Barcelona's literary scene were also rehabilitated by the noucentiste movement. These are Apel·les Mestres and Alejandro de Riquer. Apel·les Mestres, who was a regular collaborator in the first two parts of the Avenç, from 1881 to 1888, was essentially an extreme romantic. His poetry is often "joc-floralesca", extremely sentimental and nebulous, and is composed in the easy manner of quartets. Alejandro de Riquer was also a romantic and, as a painter, was very influential in the introduction of the pre-Raphaelite school in Catalonia. As a writer, he was the director of Juventut. Yet, in

a gloss entitled "Moltes coses són mudades" (1906), d'Ors praises both of these authors for their "formal" evolution. Apel·les Mestres had written an introduction to a collection of sonnets by Riquer. These sonnets were written prior to 1906, for this is an early gloss of that year.

The rehabilitation of these two poets is motivated by their "civil" conformity, in spite of the fact that these sonnets were written during the "modernist" years. D'Ors states that the introduction of the genre is new to Barcelona:

L'apreci dels sonnets és el ella (nostra literatura) cosa novíssima. En els darrers dies s'ha portat aquest aprecí a límits apoteòsics, més, ¿quants eren els qui això podien preveure en 1902?... - No, no és el pensament d'un escriptor el que ha mudat; és l'atmosfera espiritual catalana la que es renova, i ampleument, i de pressa... 10

As d'Ors specifies above, it is not the thought that changes, but the atmosphere in which it is produced. This implies that the change is not in the content, but in the way in which the thought is expressed.

Alejandro de Riquer, being a pre-Raphaelite, tended to idealize the aesthetic object. One may therefore conclude, from this and from what has already been seen of d'Ors' noucentiste ideology, that it was the idealist element that moved d'Ors to rehabilitate Mestres and Riquer.

One of the best examples that can be given to substantiate the idea that the latter two poets were rehabilitated on account of idealism, is the rehabilitation of the renaixentiste, Àngel Guimerà (who also collaborated in the Avenç, 1880-1888), as explained by d'Ors:

Menestrant, la més alta obra de l'Àngel Guimerà, és a dir, el seu teatre idealista, essencialment poètic, restava sense continuació

i sense continuació ha seguit i Guimerà sense deixables fins fa un instant... 11

Though Guimerà is best known for his realist productions, such as Terra Baixa, d'Ors points here to a little mentioned, symbolist portion of his work, produced after 1900, as Calonja indicates:

Això mateix, La Santa Espina; això, La reina jove, la idealització de les tesis que no són més que una sola, la humanitat, quan es fonen en un sol anhel les persones que representen la monarquia que se'n va i la revolució que triomfa. Igualment, el romanticisme social i polític de Jesus que torna.

Hem de reconèixer que en aquestes darreres obres, com en les altres de la mateixa època - L'ànima es meva, Joan Dalla, etc. - minvava la grandiosa humanitat de les anteriors, tot accentuant-se la tesi general. 12

The idealist productions of Guimerà, consequently, appeal to d'Ors in the sense that they are compatible with the noucentiste aesthetics by their general stylization. Their concern for humanity, especially in the case of La Santa Espina and La reina jove, in which humanity is united and overcomes political barriers, may also have interested d'Ors. Just as d'Ors' own work, La ben plantada, they represent stylization pushed to its utmost, becoming "pièces à these". The "philosophic-didactic" intention of these plays is also compatible with d'Ors' own approach to literature, whether in the Glosari, La ben plantada, or even as late as in the Aldeamediana.

The revindication of the idealist trend in theatre also led to the rehabilitation of one of the major figures of Modernism, Adrià Gual. As founder of the Teatre Intim, Gual worked till his bankruptcy in 1927 to make universal, theatrical culture accessible to the Barcelonian public. Thus, his task followed the modernist ideals of bringing culture to Barcelona, that is, to educate the public. Throughout the Glosari 1906-1910, in the glosses "L'Adrià Gual" (1906), "L'Intim" (1907), "Teatre gratuït i teatre econòmic"

(1908) and "El cas Gual" (1910), d'Ors praised Gual, both for his literary works and for his actions. There does occur a slight discrepancy in 1908, which concerns the method by which Gual brought the theatre to the public. This, however, is only a minor matter of opinion that does not affect d'Ors' appreciation of the value of Gual's work.

In the end of the year gloss, "L'Adrià Gual" (1906), d'Ors specifies that the only reason for which Gual is not considered a Noucentiste is because he began to write long before 1906:

L'Adrià Gual, del qui aquesta nit escoltareu un nou drama, a Romea és home que, com sabeu tota, pinta i escriu. - Comença, ja fa temps (massa per a incloure'l entre els noucentistes), pintant prínceps i escrivint de prínceps. - Avui pinta prínceps, encara, però ja no escriu sino de pobresa de menestrals. - I pregunta el Glosador : Per què?...

El per què ja es podria dir, però dit, seria massa penós per a l'orgull nostre. 13

The plays presented by Gual that year are "El bon policia" and "Els pobres menestrals". Though Gual continued to work in his original line of idealist theatre, inspired by that of Maeterlinck, he makes a return to a more "realist" or "civil" theatre in the aforementioned plays. It is interesting to note that d'Ors proceeds to level an invective, not against the author, but against the conditions with which the artist has to cope in Barcelona. This implies that d'Ors reacts against the "bourgeois" public, not against the modernist artist, who is forced to descend to the levels of social realities. The latter cannot present ideals as he dreams they are, but is forced to face social realities that confront him, that is, the "social injustice" of which he is aware. He is also obliged to meet the demands of an insufficiently cultivated public.

The importance of the pedagogical function of the artist is made clear in the gloss "El cas Gual", in which d'Ors draws an important parallel between the German playwright, G. Hauptman, and A. Gual. D'Ors states that, after four years of complying with the demands of the public, it was necessary for the artist, Hauptman, to rebel, so that the culture of the nation might progress. The Glosador thereby indicates the pedagogical nature of Noucentisme. Just as Hauptman, Gual had written a type of realistic theatre that won the approval of the public. Once established as popular figures, both artists could turn back and present the public with purely idealist material, which would make its mark on cultural progress.

D'Ors explains that, after his earlier modernist period of idealist theatre, the playwright had finally resigned himself not to turn against public taste for some time, but to work in agreement with it. Now he had again revolted against public taste, for its good:

Quan fou conegut "Misteri de dolor" es cregué generalment entre els nostres habituals al teatre que l'Adrià Gual havia per últim "posat seny" i que es decidia a treballar "per al públic" i no "contra el públic" - que es com cal treballar - i treballar contra el públic vol dir encara fer Art civil!... Un altre drama estrenat després i titulat si bé recordo, "Els pobres menestrals", apareixa persistent en la mateixa via... Però avui ens sorprèn la nova joiosa que el pacte tàcit s'ha trencat, que la submissió és terminada, que novament l'esperit de revolta, de batalla, d'aventura, ha bufat en l'ànima del nostre amic. Tot anuncia el drama que aquest vespre ha d'estrenar-se com una temptativa gosada i atzarosa. Es diu que en ell es fa a la idealitat i a la fantasia generosa porció.... Elogiem-lo per això i per la seva valentia i inquietud. La inquietud, en la vida estètica com en l'ètica, és indicatiu de dignitat.... Al sant, en canvi tot se li tornen dubtes, remordiments, escrúpols; i cada llum de matí li porta un nou combat, en l'aspra via vers la cobejada perfecció. 14

In this exposition, d'Ors is indicating some of the similarities between Modernism and Noucentisme. Both aimed at reform and

cultural progress. This is only possible by revolting against the bourgeois taste, or by establishing new norms, that is, to work towards perfection, by continually modifying it.

As a consequence of this transformative function, the artist must not simply conform. As an aristocrat of the intellect, he must lead the nation. This leadership cannot be static. It is not only dominance, but the imposition of culture. It is pedagogy. For this reason, the artist cannot submit himself to the inferior values of the "vulgus" as understood by d'Ors. It is imperative that the artist work against public taste for the good of the public. The method suggested by d'Ors is that of "art arbitrari", or as stated in the above quotation, "idealism and fantasy". This art is removed from public taste, for it is invention, not a direct copy of reality. It is better than reality. Art thus conceived inspires the public and leads to renovation or progress.

The social importance of art may also be seen in the revindication of the merits of another important modernist playwright, Ignasi Iglésies. In the gloss of the second month of 1906, "L'Iglésies i el teatre de bondat", d'Ors wrote an apology of this poet on the grounds that his theatre was important to the social function of the city. Iglésies' theatre deals with fundamental human problems of the lower classes. As J. Fuster has indicated, it is never really "socialist theatre". Though it is concerned with the struggles of the individual confronting the injustices of a materialist society, Iglésies never oriented his work to class struggles:

No hi ha dubte que reflectia "la passió obrera": només que ho feia sense consciència revolucionaria. Iglésies, que fou anomenat "el



poeta dels humils", no arriba a ser mai el poeta - o el dramaturg - del proletariat. 15

D'Ors explained that his original aversion for the work of Iglésies stemmed from the sentimentalism which is present in all of Iglésies' theatre. The revision of this judgment is founded on the fact that, although d'Ors abhors pathos, which, according to him, is the culmination of sentimentality, and takes all rhythm or organized structure out of the play, he recognized that Iglésies was not interested in pathos, but in human Goodness. This Goodness must be considered as the sense of Christian good will amongst men. Since the City is based on good will, Iglésies' theatre is complementary to that ideal.

Fuster has stated that d'Ors' praise was only a token gesture, since he comments mostly on a minor work, Juventut : "Eugeni d'Ors si es decidí a fer-ne un elogi, fou arran de l'estrena d'una obra com Juventut, que no representa l'Iglésias essencial."16 This objection is only partly valid, for d'Ors does not reject the ideas of Iglésies' theatre, which are, in fact, compatible with his own ideology. What is rejected is the lack of "art" in many of his previous works. These tended to be purely didactic. D'Ors, in his praise of Juventut, specifies that it is the organization, arbitration, or "art", that makes this particular work important:

És, com en els drames índics, com potser en alguna de les temptatives contemporànies de teatre socialista, com segurament en poques més obres, Bondat. Y Bondat objective, fonamental, neta de tota psicologia, neta de tota fisiologia, organitzada, substantiva, és a dir, Deure. És a dir Llei. És a dir, Ritme.

Vista així, sentida així, es ja la Bondat una gran força tràgica, parella a la Fatalitat grega... I noteu com hem vingut a ressentir aquí una de les vibracions de més interès i mes... musicals de la consciència moderna, en què la Caritat, sortint de son primitiu amorfisme, és devinguda noció ètica i àdhuc jurídica; en què la idea d'un deure social s'imposa per primera vegada; en que s'organitza, més encara, es vertebrava, la Bondat... 17

The interest which d'Ors manifested for Iglésies' work consequently rests on the latter's organization of the idea of social obligation of man to his fellow men within the scheme of the play.

As d'Ors points out in the above quotation, he reacts against the "amorphic" nature of Charity and demands that it be structured, so as to become applicable to daily life. To do this is to formalize the concept. The formalization demands a generalization of the problem, which is a removal of the predominantly individualistic aspect of Iglésies' work. Thus, d'Ors states that in the playwright's work, Goodness is made objective by being freed of the introspective, or "psychological" elements normally present in his plays.

As a refutation of Naturalism, d'Ors states that Iglésies' plays are free of "psychological" and "physiological" traits. These plays do not deal with class problems, but, as Fuster has previously indicated, with essential human problems. D'Ors therefore praises the stylization of Iglésies' social ideas and the message of civil responsibility and participation present in the modernist playwright's work. The rejection of Iglésies' work before this gloss is, consequently, a question of disagreement about the method used to present these ideas, not with the fundamental ideas.

The importance of social participation is so great in d'Ors' ideology that, as we have seen already, it led him to recognize the value of such writers as E. Zola. Thus, even the naturalist writer, Narcís Oller, who was an active figure in both the end of the *Renaixença* and early Modernism, and who was an important collaborator in the first two parts of the *Avenç*, until 1891, was

rehabilitated for his participation in civil life. The only mention made of Oller in the Glosari 1906-1910 is the gloss "Per a en Narcís Oller". In this gloss, d'Ors accuses the generation of Oller of not having taken active part in political life. His accusation is directed especially against the critic, J. Ixart, who also collaborated in the Avenç until 1891. The reproach made against Ixart and his generation is their passive, or fatalist attitude to literature and politics:

L'Ixart deliciosament conversava. L'Ixart es gronxava en dolces ironies i en balancins peresosos d'Ateneu. ¿Quina idea tenia l'Ixart de les lluites polítiques? ¿Quina en teníeu, vosaltres tots, amb ell, en la blanor del cenacle íntim? 18

The condemnation of Ixart's generation is similar to that made in the second part of the Avenç by J. Brossa-Roger, at the end of 1892, who rejected all previous literature, with a reserved exception made for Oller. Long after Brossa-Roger, d'Ors mocked the sitting-room attitude of that generation to literature, and, in subsequent articles, stressed the need for Catalan youth to take an active part in social life.

D'Ors rehabilitates Oller, and, as he states in this gloss, most other writers, including Ignasi Iglésies:

(La Ciutat) us ha guanyat, com ha guanyat successivament tants d'altres, dels qui començaven sent-li més esquerps, d'un Bartomeu Robert a un Ignasi Iglésias. A tots ha cridat a intervenció. I tots haveu anat acudint-hi. Benvingut hi siau, vós, per ara el darrer. Benvinguda l'hora en què la noció d'un deure cívic és entrada en la nostra sang. 19

It is interesting to note that d'Ors never refers in the Glosari to Oller's literary productions. Indeed, this freed him from ever having to place any judgment on the value of Oller as a literary figure. D'Ors maintained an ambiguous position towards Oller's

generation, which in matters of literature he neither accepts nor rejects. It is only in general comments, as we have seen before, against naturalism and the nineteenth century, that he rejects the ideology of that generation. In the case of Masso-Torrents, d'Ors mentions his name once, for the favourable opinion the latter had of his early work, La muerte de Isidre Nonell.<sup>20</sup>

One of the reassessments effected by d'Ors is that of A. Cortada's scholarship. D'Ors wrote an elaborate eulogy of the latter for his perseverance, which is a sense of Continuation, so much admired by the Glosador. In the gloss "El senyor Cortada", d'Ors points out the very important thing that differentiates the Modernists from the Noucentistes. Cortada had adopted the basic Germanic virtue which d'Ors sought to bring into Catalonia - the external formality that the Latins lacked. D'Ors, therefore praised the Germanic aspects of Cortada's personality: "Al tremp, tan germànic; al parlar, tan llunyà de la lleugeresa llatina del senyor Cortada, retis doncs mercès Barcelona pomposa de les meravelles que admirà." <sup>21</sup> This may be considered to be a reference to the Germanic influences that dominated the Barcelonian "fin-de-siècle", and the romanticism that arose out of these influences, that in Cortada found their organization. There is, however, a certain element of reproach involved in this praise. Cortada, who is so Germanic, lacks the elegance, and yet it is to his innate pragmatism that Barcelona owes her progress. D'Ors does not wholly reject this figure who demonstrates the importance of determination and discipline in civic life.

One of the most important pantheists of the turn of the

century, Gabriel Alomar, is also partially rehabilitated by d'Ors. Again, no direct or violent reproofs were made against Alomar, whom d'Ors treated with respect. Alomar, who was educated at the Institutio de libre Ensenanza, developed an ideology similar to that of d'Ors.<sup>22</sup> In 1904, Alomar forwarded in essays and conferences his ideology of futurism, which emphasized the need for Idealism based on classical and Christian principles, directed towards a national ideal. According to the resums of Ruiz-Calonja and Fuster, Alomar considered that the nation was the expression of a classical, Greco-Roman ideal, which derived from ancestor-worship, that is, honour to parents by continuing the evolution of their achievements. From Christianity, this ideal had developed into socialism, or civic fraternity, in order to give rise to national unity. Thus futurism was the progressive ideal, derived from the conjunction of classicism and Christianity, which was to be continued by future generations for the betterment of society.

Though Alomar understood the importance of form, or classicism in literature, his liberal tendencies led him to give more emphasis to progress and to reject the traditionalism of the provincial Balearic society. As such, Alomar was a modernist because he refused to conciliate interests. There is, consequently, a certain divergence between Alomar and d'Ors as to the direction given to their respective ideologies. In a gloss, "Alomar o l'engany del temps", d'Ors states that he is not a futurist, for his work as a reporter is the search for eternity, not for symptoms of the future.

Con a símptomes del Futur?... - Ah, no: com a jeroglífic, millor,

com a símbols de l'Eternitat!... - I aquí sí, aquí sí, que hi ha el començ d'una fonda divergència entre el simpàtic futurista de les Mallorques i el Glosador. Aquell, messiànic de temperament, aristotèlic de norma mental, ha trobat per al seu geni profetista, de forta sabor oriental, la còmoda, pressió del temps; i resignat a la seva condicionalitat estretíssima, col·loca l'ideal, en una de ses modalitats - la més imprecisa, es ver, però modalitat del temps al cap i a la fin - en "el Futur"... El Glosador, irremeiablement occidental, platònic, no sabria cenyir sa arbitrarietat a la fatalitat "anecdòtica" del temps, i considerant aquesta, com les altres fatalitats enemigues, aparneces, pecats, filles del Diable enemic - només en l'Eternitat troba la veritat definitiva, que és la definitiva alliberació. 23

The difference established between Alomar and d'Ors lies in what d'Ors calls the Aristotelian nature of Alomar and the Platonic perspective of d'Ors. In an early gloss, "Doctrina de solidaritat", d'Ors explained this difference, which is based on a partial reference to Aristotle's Poetics:

La "polis" és un sistema d'individus. El "cosmos" és un sistema d'astres. La cèl·lula mateixa es un sistema d'elements, i l'univers, en son conjunt, no és evidentment pas una col·lecció d'episodis, com el vell Aristòtil volia, mes un tot ben lligat, un sistema total... 24

It is to this sense of totality that d'Ors refers. The lack of unity in Alomar's interpretation is what d'Ors reproaches. Thus, although he continues to admire the man, d'Ors stresses that there are certain differences between Alomar and himself.

Alomar is considered to be oriental, which must be a reference to his poetry in which mythology tends to become an instrument for pantheism. Alomar is dominated by Nature and follows the movement of time, even though to set forth his ideal he has chosen the most general facet of time, the future. D'Ors' aim is to raise this partial figuration of the ideal, which remains the same, to the level of Category, or organized whole, which is closer to the truth, or eternity. In order to do so, d'Ors

removes himself from this partial influence and seeks the union of both the past and the future. This also leads to the harmonization of excesses, whereby d'Ors conciliates tradition and progress:

El nostre futurista ideurg oblida sovint, distret en el dramàtic aspecte de contradicció aparent entre el Tradicionalisme, i el progressisme, que les magnes accions reformatrius humanes no s'han fet mai invòcant exclusivament el Futur, sinó invòcant, alhora, el Passat i el Futur - que és una forma d'invocar l'Eternitat. 25

In this union of both tendencies, as we have already seen, d'Ors does not exclude the concept of progress, for his vision does lead to what may be called a future society: " Així el Socialisme modern, en ses formes més intel·lectuals emmotlla el seus anhels de Societat Futura, segons un cànon clàssic de "Polis" hellènica... 26

The difference between the men consequently lies, not in the ideal, but in the constitution of that ideal. D'Ors conciliates in order to achieve the ideal without losing the confidence of the bourgeoisie. Thus, both parties meet on common ground. The extreme position of Alomar that visualized social progress as continual evolution, in which little remains permanently established, is toned down and partially incorporated into d'Ors' ideology by the invocation of a tradition which is far enough removed from that of the nineteenth century, in order to make the concept of social progress acceptable to the established bourgeoisie. Alomar's fundamental error was to have invoked the Future only, which implied instability.

Another important rehabilitation effected by d'Ors was that of R. Casellas-Dou. The latter, art critic and writer, was one of the most eminent modernists of the second part of the Avenç. In the introductory gloss, "Amiel a Vic", d'Ors pointed out that

such men as Rierola did not appreciate the work of Casellas:

Poc després en Cases exposa un quadre gris i realista "Garrote vil" i en Casellas l'elogia de manera que no sembla bé a l'autor del "Dietari". Més tard exposició pòstuma del paisatgista Vayreda. En parlen en Miquel i Badia i en Casellas a "La Vanguardia". Aquest - opina en Rierola - abusa del tecnicisme. 27

Casellas, as has been pointed out earlier, was greatly influenced by the positivist critic, Taine. As many of the early modernists of the Avenç, Casellas admired the methods of Zola, and the belief in progress. Well versed in matters of aesthetics and the literary currents of his times, Casellas was a "humanist" before the noucentistes, and through his work in the Avenç, he had attempted to implant culture in Barcelona.

In a short story, "La mort d'en Bicicletas",<sup>28</sup> published in the Avenç of 1891, Casellas commented, through the use of characters as symbols, on the lack of culture in Barcelona, and on the difficulties of the artist in finding acceptance and encouragement in that provincial society. The narrative, written after the suicide of the young artist, Cesar Mora, reshapes this ~~various~~ <sup>real</sup> incident around the death of a young sculptor, whose frivolous wife, the symbol for Barcelonian society, mocks both him and his work, driving him to despair.

The story is similar to that of Zola's L'Oeuvre, written in 1886, and is consequently written in a naturalist vein particular to Casellas. Just as most Hispanic "naturalism", it delights in certain morbid descriptions and detailed examinations of causes and origins. The principal character is somewhat removed from society. He moves in a closed circle of the upper society of intellectuals, and consequently, the action in the narrative is also limited and



stylized.

This contrasts with his wife, who is of average, middle-class extraction, of the "nouveaux riches", and represents a typical product of Barcelona's provincial society. The artist's love for his wife is never requited. She never seeks to understand him, and out of ignorance she calls him "Bicicletas", a misinterpretation of the name given to him by his friends, Polyclitas. To add insult to injury, she scorns his affection and openly deceives him.

We may note that Casellas' narration, naturalist by its pessimistic tone, is filled with classical references: The name given to the sculptor by his friends and the descriptions made of his works. Owing to the opposition between the environment and the ideal of the sculptor, conveyed through the pessimistic tone of the narration, this short story is a statement on the impossibility of implanting any idealism in Barcelona's provincial society.

D'Ors described Casellas as being an ardent opponent of the bourgeoisie and ignorant. In an encomium written on Casellas' unexpected death, d'Ors expressed his opinion of Casellas:

¿No sabeu d'aquell somriure rabelesia, tan modern i alhora tan clàssic, tan antidemocràtic, tan antiburgès, que sembla après a les fonts mateixes de l'humanisme, i nascut d'escoltar les proses de Pantagruel, o una pulla erudita de Pico della Mirandola, o un epigrama cortesà de Baltasar de Castiglione, o un conte de Margarida de Navarra, o "l'Elogi de la Follia" d'Erasme de Rotterdam? 29

As d'Ors states, Casellas was both modern and classical, and often d'Ors was to refer to him as a forerunner of Noucentisme. The critic was an erudite of extreme sensibility, who had already defined the basic problems to be faced by Modernism and Noucentisme in the implantation of culture in Catalonia. In this respect it is

evident that, as in "En Bicicletas", Casellas continued to write, not about the individual, but about the masses and their psychology, in at least two other short stories, "Els Miquelets al convent" and "Deu-nos aigua, majestat".

In these stories, Casellas' view of groups of human beings is characterized by an extremely fatalistic approach. This evidently made Casellas' work partially incompatible with the enthusiasm of Noucentisme. D'Ors did, however, comment favourably on Casellas' Les Multituds, a collection of short stories which includes "Deu-nos aigua, Majestat", in an early gloss of 1906, "Les Multituds d'en Casellas". The element which particularly pleased d'Ors in Les Multituds was the de-personalization and consequently the elements of stylization present in this work:

Quants noms personals aprendreu d'ell? Dels pocs que hi ha podreu fàcilment prescindir-ne. Els subjectes de les accions, de les passions, no són allí persones, sinó multituds o trossos de multitud. ... Una essencial mitologia. Profundament veritable, com tota mitologia essencial ...

I a final, entrevistes, les conscients organitzacions futures, el pressentiment i la prometença d'aquell dia en què les multituds que ja no són Caos, s'organitzaran, millor, es vertebraran definitivament en ciutat... 30

That Casellas stylizes, or organizes, is evident, but the final statement made by d'Ors is not founded on the text, but on his own will to perceive an optimistic trait in the narrative.

Schneeberger specifies that Casellas' vision is chaotic:

La critique a fait remarquer que dans ce livre l'auteur néglige intentionnellement l'élément relatif, ville, société, paysage, et par contraste, vise a cette signification transcendante, universelle de la foule anonyme et unanime, de la foule-symbol... Le fond gris, uniforme, sans grande précision, ou s'agitent ces multitudes, est voulu par le créateur qui semble précisément débarrasser son cadre d'action, de vie, des éléments accessoires pour y donner toute leur force aux mouvements impétueux, désordonnés, souvent incompréhensibles des foules. 31

The vision of order perceived by d'Ors only goes to support the fact that order, or Classicism, arises out of disorder, Romanticism.

Only on rare occasions is there in Casellas' writing an element of actual hope which could justify the opinion of d'Ors. For instance, in "Deu-nos aigua, Majestat", the village returns immediately to its "evil" practices when granted its boon, although everyone had promised to live in the ways of the Lord, after the village had suffered a severe drought. His is the description of human deceit and suffering.

In his gloss on Casellas, d'Ors went on to state that the critic had not remained a modernist, but had evolved out of his past position to adopt that of the noucentistes. D'Ors also conceded that Casellas' evolution did not stem from his own initiative, but rather, that of the noucentistes incited him to do so:

Si era un home nou. Si nosaltres mateixos l'havíem renovat! ... Nosaltres l'havíem dut a la nostra idealitat; i ell ja combatia amb nosaltres. Ell, que un dia lliurà quasi tot sol, en la crítica la batalla en pro del realisme, en l'art, ara amb nosaltres lluitava contra el realisme, contra tota anècdota, menava amb nosaltres la campanya en pro de l'arbitrarisme, de l'estilització, de la composició, de la bellesa perennal i classica. 32

This other bold statement of d'Ors must be examined closely. That Casellas defended realism seems erroneous, for what he defended was impressionism, and there is an important nuance. Realism is the direct imitation of the object, but impressionism is the interpretation or arbitration of that object.

It is, therefore, interesting to note that two men d'Ors greatly admired were Eugene Carriere and J. McNeill Whistler, whom he praises in the glosses, "Gener", "Carriere" and "En que es parla de Whistler, i d'altres morts, i alguns vius, i de les Monedes que

els homes rebutgen dient-ne falses", to quote only a few. These two artists were the most influential figures in the works of two major modernist painters, Rusinyol and R. Casas. As Cirici Pellicer explains:

Carriere, despues de haber influido en Llimona y en Baixeras tuvo una influencia definitiva sobre Rusinyol y Casas, lo mismo que sobre Junent y, a traves de este, en Picasso... El inflajo de Carriere llevo mezclado con el de Whistler. 33

When d'Ors refers to Casellas' support of realism, he is, in fact, pointing to such paintings as "Garrota vil" of Casas, mentioned earlier, and this painting is in Casas' impressionist vein. That impressionism, such as that of Degas or of early Whistler, is related to the naturalist school, is certain, but it depicts "a certain reality". Just as Nonell "arbitrates" the object, so does Casellas. What d'Ors, consequently, refers to is the "realist" or "fatalistic" vision of this art.

One may therefore state that the change which occurred in Casellas was a theoretical modification of his pessimistic attitude. Casellas was indeed one of the first to welcome the work of Eugeni d'Ors. In his prologue to the first edition of the Glosari of 1906, Casellas was quick to point out the more enthusiastic or vitalist attitude of the young critic-philosopher. D'Ors' exuberance was an ingenuous enthusiasm, based on good faith that opposed itself to the pessimistic vision of the naturalists, and that pleased Casellas:

Un enginyós ja ho es - pensava jo - però al mateix temps és subjecte de més substància. Si en compte d'un enginyós, s'hagués dit un enginyer, un enginyer projectista d'ànimes, un enginyer constructo de mons espirituals. un enginyer de reformes civilistes... el concepte hauria sortit més just. 34

This optimism seems to be the extent of Casellas' renovation.

It would be erroneous to believe that Casellas acquired his tendencies towards arbitration, stylization, or organization and his love of classicism from the noucentistes, for, as we have seen, these were present in his work a long time before 1906. Arbitration and stylization are present in his writings from "La mort d'en Bicicletas" to the collection of Les Multituds. As Casellas was a very perceptive critic, we may also note that his sense of organization, or composition, was inherited from the influence of Taine and the positivist school. As for his admiration of classicism, it is perceptible early in his career, at least in "La mort d'en Bicicletas".

The integration of Casellas into Noucentisme is thus based on his acceptance of the enthusiasm and optimism of the new generation. This entailed the rejection of his previous ruralism and his positivist view of Nature as a subjecting force limiting man. Thus, Casellas came to deny the fatalist aspects of his positivist background, but his work also contributed to the formation of the new movement. D'Ors' classification is, consequently, a matter of point of view, for it was not Noucentisme that formed Casellas, but Casellas who influenced the formation of Noucentisme.

One must also consider that, whereas d'Ors integrated a number of important modernists, he also rejected a few. These rejections, however, fall into categories, active and passive. The only modernist actively rejected by d'Ors was J. Brossa-Roger. In a notorious gloss, "Els professionals de l'espantament", d'Ors reproved Brossa-Roger for a conference which the eminent modernist had made in 1910. It is important to note first that d'Ors'

reproof was based on the anachronic aspect of Brossa-Roger's conference, for before this date, d'Ors did not make the least mention of Brossa-Roger.

According to d'Ors, Brossa-Roger's conference was simply aimed at showmanship. It lacked profundity and seemed to d'Ors to be a superficial way of "épater le bourgeois". The anachronic aspect of Brossa's work is described in the following manner:

¿Qui podrà negar que en els últims temps les circumstàncies han canviat una mica? Tots nosaltres havem estudiat alguna cosa. Tots havem viatjat més. Rebem, tanmateix, més llibres i revistes que fa alguns anys. Havem llegit Ibsen, per enter, en traduccions excel·lents, i ja no ens escandalitza gens; més aviat el trobem, a estones, un poc pueril. 35

The social life of Barcelona was such that the early attempts to renovate Barcelona were now long surpassed; it had opened its doors to Europe. The aim conceived by d'Ors was to take part in European affairs, and to do so it was necessary to raise the level of learning:

No solament demanem al qui torna de les grans terres civils qui hi hagi "viscut"... sinó que hi hagi "après" - que és el que ens interessa a tots -. Que vingui modernitzat d'idees, fort de caràcter, docte en un tecnicisme. Només així la seva vinguda pot ser-nos profitosa i exemplar. Només el viatger estudiós pot tenir el dret a predicar a d'altres - que ja també han estat viatgers, o poden esdevenir-ne sempre que vulguin -, a predicar-los en nom d'Europa, en nom del món, en nom de la consciència moderna. 36

D'Ors considered that knowledge had to be humanistic, and so the influence received by Barcelona had to come from more than Paris. It had to be international. This was one of the limitations of modernists such as Santiago Rusinyol and Casas, who studied in Paris and brought novelties, only half understood, such as theories of impressionism, back to Barcelona.

What d'Ors implied was that many modernists lacked a high

level of erudition, necessary to understand the development of culture throughout the world, and to impose their own culture abroad. This demanded, according to the noucentiste theory, a sense of organization that the previous movement had lacked.

Joan-Lluís Marfany has indicated, however, that d'Ors' comments against Brossa-Roger are in part ill-founded. As we have explained in the outline of Brossa's ideology in the second chapter of this thesis, Brossa emphasized the need for discipline and erudition, based on an impartial criterion of intelligence. His position was an anti-sentimental reaction against the bourgeoisie. Thus d'Ors incorporated and modified Brossa-Roger's conception of Modernism to a level compatible with the governing bourgeoisie:

a mesura que la direcció del nacionalisme passava, sobretot a partir de 1906, a les mans de l'alta burgesia i que aquesta elaborava uns programes polítics i cultural sòlids i coherents, el Modernisme tornava a oscillar cap a la tendència cosmopolita, regeneracionista i europeïsta que anys abans havia representat a L'Avenç. 37

It was against the bohemian-anarchists and the decadentists of the previous ten years that d'Ors could level his accusations; not totally against the ideas of Brossa-Roger, but against their application after 1893.

The actual source of d'Ors' reproof of Brossa-Roger is best perceived in the comments made against Ibsen in the aforementioned gloss concerning Brossa-Roger's lecture: "un poc pueril". This is the same reproach that d'Ors levelled against a friend of Brossa, Peius Gener. Years later, d'Ors wrote: "Gener, que, al escribir, ha sido siempre un joven, al vivir no ha dejado nunca de ser un niño".<sup>38</sup> In this gloss, written on Gener's death, d'Ors contends that the lack of maturity in Gener stemmed from his

inability to organize his work and to incorporate himself into a tradition, that is, to conform with society:

Un poco de madurez, que después hubiese venido a refinar su producción, le hubiera convertido, tal vez, en un pensador de raza. La inserción académica de su esfuerzo en alguna cultura tradicionalmente y normalmente estructurada, hubiera producido aquella por fin madurez, estoy seguro. 39

As Brossa had always been to the public image a staunch non-conformist, he too may be considered as a "puerile" being, according to d'Ors' terminology.

Brossa, as an admirer of Ibsen, had preached the revolt of the artist against the bourgeoisie, or organized society based on the model of the family. There are two consequences of this ideology that are totally opposed to that of d'Ors, the first being the concept of a "realist" aesthetic, and the second, a development of Ibsen's realism, individualism.

Realism as perceived by Brossa is connected with social conscience. It involves the struggle of the individual with his social medium, so as not to lose his identity. It is a revolt against conformity. As realism represents the actual state of life, that is, the human condition, it underlines the social conflicts or injustices. In the case of naturalism, this depiction of society goes beyond the portrait of life and investigates the nature of these conflicts and their origins. There arises from both of these representations of the social machinery a fatalist representation of the individual caught in the organization of society. Any modification of the individual's condition is only possible by a modification of that society, that is, through revolution. Out of this there evolves a belief in Jacobinism, or



sòcial, democratic revolution.

It is, therefore, comprehensible that Brossa's figure, which had become totally unacceptable to the bourgeoisie, could not be rendered compatible to d'Ors' ideology. This did not, at least until 1910, impede Brossa from accepting the main issue of d'Ors' work in the Glosari, namely humanism. In an article of 1907, "L'èspirit universalista", from El Poble Català, Brossa had praised the "humanist" efforts of Noucentisme. He had explained, however, that the general line of ideas set forth by d'Ors had been preceded by the Avenç, but that the progress of these ideas had been hindered by the traditional, paternalistic politicians of the nation:

Des que L'Avenç primer i Catalònia després manifestaren el criteri reformador, que consistia a rectificar tota Catalunya en comptes de conrear el vell ideal dels catalanistes tradicionalistes, es veié clarament que nosaltres, els que aleshores érem qualificats de modernistes, quan lo més adequat era el nom d'universalistes, havíem d'ésser sempre excomunicat pels defensors del "pairalisme".

40

The Modernism of the Avenç is, therefore, considered by Brossa to be the equivalent of Noucentisme, but preceding it by some thirteen years. Since Modernism had been "excommunicated" by the paternalists, or bourgeoisie, and clergy, d'Ors' task was to inculcate the bourgeoisie with modernist ideas. The great difference lay in his approach to knowledge. If d'Ors preached, as Pascal, that the individual had to lower his intellectual standards, "s'abêtir", Brossa had no intention of compromising. This task, ~~then~~ then, involved a conciliation which in Brossa's terms, though he never doubted the good intentions of d'Ors, reduced the "Glosador" to a puppet:

L'autor està sincerament enamorat d'humanisme, d'universalisme i de futurisme. Però com que té de catequitzar a vigatans tancats i barrats, el seu esperit botifler pren una forma humorística que si el fa accessible a un gran nombre, arrabassa transcendència i eficàcia a les intencions del seu propietari...

Quan vieg el contrast de les intencions de l'Ors amb la mentalitat del públic al qual s'adreça, del sentit "esotèric" de la seva paraula amb la mediocritat de brusa que triomfa en totes les classes socials de Catalunya, em fa l'efecte d'un Cristòfol Colom prenent un bany en la piscina dels Orientals. 41

Brossa-Roger's considerations on the work of d'Ors, which are motivated by an intransigent attitude towards the ruling class, were also in part erroneous. The gloss, which d'Ors uses as a means of proselytism, is considered by Brossa to be a humorous genre, because of the "frivolitat transcendental" <sup>42</sup> which characterizes the Glosari 1906-1910. This frivolity, combined with an extremely serious content, was in total opposition to the "realism" advocated by Brossa. The humour of the glosses rests on the ironical attitude of d'Ors. Unlike Brossa, who, as we see in the above quotation, develops the visual image, d'Ors was more elegant, or cold and intellectual, and as such he delighted in the "artificial".

Since he supported the need for humanism, one may also note that Brossa was as well informed as d'Ors. His well-founded fear of the dominance of the bourgeoisie led him to perceive certain of the possible outcomes of d'Ors' ideology. Humanism, as a return to the Renaissance, could mean a political return to tyranny or despotism, and hence Brossa claims that humanism must be social, that is, pragmatic:

L'humanisme del Renaixement té dues branques: una d'elles, la del terreny polític, es diu tirania; l'altra, la del domini intel·lectual, és la resurrecció de l'antiguitat. L'humanisme literari del Renaixement és essencialment filològic. En Rubió i Lluch pot ésser un humanista en aquell sentit. Tal volta és l'últim que queda en

tot el Mediterrani. Nosaltres no podem ni volem ésser-ho. El nostre humanisme és més humà.

El darrer sentit és el que està donant-li l'efervescència filosòfica que hi ha actualment a Anglaterra i als Estats Units....

El nou humanisme no ha d'ésser filològic, sinó estètic, filosòfic i social. L'humanisme esdevé aleshores universalisme, tenint l'avantatge d'evitar l'equivoc que pot crear el mot futurisme per a aquells que no n'agafin el sentit filosòfic i universal que li dona l'Alomar i que, per tant, prendran com un etern aplaçament per a l'endemà.

El nou humanista modern és un idealista que vol fruir del present, de tot el present. 43

The rejection of the "philological" implications of humanism is closely related to a negation of tradition, which is so important in d'Ors' ideology. It involves a lesser degree of erudition and a greater stress on the present as a "becoming". It is an interest almost solely based on contemporary developments.

D'Ors' ideology, therefore, covers a greater scope. The universalism of Brossa, which is founded on a socialist ideology of fraternity, is only slightly compatible with d'Ors' imperialism. To d'Ors, it is vital that Catalans understand the essence of their culture in order to rebuild their own in the present, so that it may take its place amongst European nations. The ideology of Brossa is interested in giving new vigour to Catalonia in relation to other nations of the universe. Excessively preoccupied with the present condition, Brossa builds without considering the foundation. There results from this tendency, which forgets background, an incapacity to construct something solid. In his narration "Palacio de loco", dedicated to Massó Torrents, a friend of Brossa-Roger, d'Ors reproaches the modernists' lack of solidarity, or organization, in the foundation of their ideal.

Brossa-Roger's article, "L'esperit universalista", written on the eleventh of December, 1907, did not go unanswered. D'Ors,

in the end of the year gloss, "Pragmatisme", which we have already in part quoted, did specify the "human" implications of the Glosari. The new humanism, which Brossa deemed too removed from actual problems, that is, too academic, was not considered to be so by d'Ors. In the afore-mentioned gloss, d'Ors indicated specifically that the new humanism was social, because it was pragmatic, concerned with life and aesthetic. As regards Brossa's consideration of the importance of the present, d'Ors judged art to be eternal and therefore always pertinent to the present.

Without wholly rejecting the philological aspects of Humanism, - for d'Ors appreciated knowledge above all things, - he did not entirely accept the need for a strict, historical methodology as fundamental for the enjoyment of a work of art. In the gloss, "Up to date" (1910), d'Ors stated:

Com són moderns, com ens resulten deliciosament pròxims als vells poetes grec i llatins!... Diu que el pare Homer figura entre al·l collaboradors de l'imminent "Almanac dels Noucentistes" i jo trobo en aquesta inclusió molta llum. Si un criteri contemporani, adepte als mètodes d'Hipòlit Taine, que exigeixen, per a la comprensió de tota obra artística, una documentació sociològica prèvia, volgués demostrar-nos la legitimitat d'aquest pretensió, nosaltres li aconsellàrem que triés més aviat a un Espron qualsevulla que no pas al cec diví. 44

D'Ors, therefore, placed literary appreciation on the level of eternity, so that tradition might become compatible with the present. By doing so, he overcame the historical opposition of tradition and modernity, as presented by Brossa-Roger and the men of the Avenç. D'Ors' construction was more organic, since it embraced not only the present, but also the past.

The unacceptability of Brossa, as perceived by d'Ors, rested on a number of things that are all related to disorganization.

There is in Brossa's ideology, a lack of perspective, in literature, sociology and history. In the first place, Brossa's intransigent attitude towards the bourgeoisie overlooked the fundamental fact that the creation of a Catalan state could only be feasible in as much as it was backed by economic power, and this meant the bourgeoisie. Also, it was impossible to create an art of truly Catalan character, if it did not develop out of a tradition, that is, an inheritance of culture which already defined the nature of the national character.

The anarchic individualism preached by Brossa involved a separation of the artist, or the generation, from the society that had given rise to the individual. This implied the alienation of the individual from any form of society. The result could only lead to the dissolution of any unity in the face of the common antagonist, Castile. The negative attitude towards unity in any form found its best expression in realism, which concentrates on the content or individual, and disregards the form. Realism also leads to pessimism in the relation of the individual to organization or society, which was incompatible with d'Ors' enthusiasm.

The common denominator of the two movements lay in their reaction against materialism and their appreciation of culture as essential to the development of Catalonia. The disorganized approach of Brossa, consequently, justified the accusation levelled by d'Ors of "espaterrador de la burgesia". Since his proposals are only justified by their novelty, they serve to shock the neophytes, but do not build, since they rest on no actual foundation. After four years of divulgation through the Veu de Catalunya, d'Ors could

consider Brossa's function as an agitator anachronistic. It is important to remember here that the basic ideal remained the same. The difference that separated the two movements lay in the question of organization.

The violent rejection of Brossa-Roger's point of view did not immediately entail any others. Thus, of the other modernists of the Avenç, R. Casas and S. Rusinyol are only dealt with passively. They are very rarely mentioned during the course of the first five years, 1906-1910. Of Casas, d'Ors makes the occasional remark, either insignificantly, when depicting a scene of Barcelona at the turn of the century in the gloss "Millors dies" (1906), or in reference to his realism. The latter case is mainly mentioned in the first two years of the Glosari 1906-1910. Only once is this done with some note of reproach, namely in "Les Multituds d'en Casellas". In this gloss, d'Ors disapproves of the painter's incapacity to give life or organization to the crowds painted:

En els quadres d'en Casas, en "L'execució capital", en "La processó de Santa Maria", en "La càrrega de la guàrdia civil", - és la multitud una mena de massa buida, un teló, una superfície move-dissa, però sense cos que la sostingui, un núvol, que sembla que s'hagi d'esvair amb una bufada ... 45

If this realism lacked life in the case of Casas' paintings of masses, it was not so in his paintings of individuals. There lies some redemption for his realism in his clarity of line and sense of proportion. Thus d'Ors, who throughout the Glosari places great emphasis on the depiction of women, as a prelude to La Ben Plantada, writes of Casas in 1908: "en Ramon Casas, pintor de dones equilibrades i sanguinies". 46 This also leads him to

praise Casas' work in a gloss of 1909, "La ciutat sense dones":

I avui Barcelona, en rebre el bell donatiu de la col·lecció iconogràfica de Ramon Casas, crònica d'un quants anys de viure civil, bocí d'història, enmig de dues-centes figures d'homes, de tot estament i virtut, només hi troba junts els retrats de Teresa Mariana, de Sada Yacko, i de dònya Pauleta Pàmies... 47

D'Ors combines in this statement both commendation and reproach.

Casas' work was considered civil, and this is always praise in terms of d'Ors' ideology, as much for Casas as for Nonell. The rejection of Casas results from the lack of idealism in his work. The beauty of women is considered by d'Ors as ideal, that is, moving away from reality. This is specifically made clear in a series of glosses:

"Damisel-la Primavera", "La galeria de catalanes formoses", "Metafísiques raons", "Socials raons", "Artístiques raons", "Patriòtiques raons", "Glorioses raons", including also "On es la mort" and "Joia", all of which prelude the creation of La Ben Plantada. Thus, the modernist "par excellence", Casas, is rejected for his lack of idealism, but is still respected.

Casas' companion, S. Rusinyol, was also in part rehabilitated by d'Ors. Very little mention is made of Rusinyol, and what is, tends to be very passive. No gloss is dedicated to his work, but no attack is made on it. It must be noted that Rusinyol contributed to the illustrations of La muerte de Isidre Nonell, and that the narration, "Las Gárgolas" is possibly inspired by Rusinyol's "La isla mística" in Impresiones de arte. D'Ors, consequently, continued to recognize the literary importance of Santiago Rusinyol.

In a gloss, "La setmana dels poetes, Guimerà", d'Ors expressed indirectly this importance for the noucentistes, in the

following sentence: "¿No s'ha exercitat sobre alguns (Capella, 48  
Martínez- Sierra...) el padrinatge literari d'en Santiago Rusiñol?"

It is important here to recall that d'Ors considered Martínez -  
Sierra to be a noucentiste, as the gloss, "El Noucentistes Espan-  
yols : Gregorio Martínez-Sierra", in which Jacinto Capella is in-  
cluded, renders explicit. Thus, the literary influence of the  
modernist writer-painter is acknowledged by the noucentistes.

Indeed, the idealist theatre of Rusinyol, influenced in  
great part by Maeterlinck's symbolism, is part of the inheritance  
of the noucentistes. The only actual criticism of Rusinyol is made  
on a personal basis. Rusinyol had been one of the most active  
modernists and disseminators of culture in Barcelona at the turn  
of the century, and therefore a man who participated in civil life,  
as the gloss "La Universitat dels missatges" indicates. The re-  
proach made against Santiago Rusinyol was the loss of his personal  
dynamism. In the gloss "En Malats" (1906), d'Ors explained that the  
aura of prestige based on his bohemian legend was now lost: Ja,  
adhuc les criatures d'estudi estan assabentades que en Rusiñol  
és un senyor acomodat". 49

~~The~~ The demystification of many literary figures, prominent  
in the modernist movement, rendered evident their most essential  
contradiction, namely the revolt of the bourgeoisie against itself.  
It had only led to the re-establishment of the bourgeoisie.  
Santiago Rusinyol, now considered to be a bourgeois, had ceased to  
contribute to the cultural development of Barcelona. This repre-  
sented the stagnation of his generation, and Noucentisme could only  
fulfill its civil function by continuing to revitalize Catalan



culture.

The main focus of d'Ors' attention in his rejection of the modernists centres upon the work of Joan Maragall. Though this denunciation of the master was not virulently expressed, as in the case of Brossa-Roger, it was certainly the most intense and firm. The Glosador's reproaches against the man, who, to many people, represented the culmination of Catalan literary Modernism, are clearly expressed at the beginning of the Glosari 1906-1910, and are sustained throughout the work.

In the retrospective, introductory gloss, "Amiel a Vic", d'Ors pointed out that Maragall had simply articulated the ideology of Modernism through the theory of the "paraula viva". The expression of the problem faced by the artist was also his liberation from the ills that plagued the turn of the century:

Un món moria, i només comptadíssims esperits pogueren endevinar quina coas anava a reemplaçar-lo. En els altres fou una repercussió catalana, agreujada per l'estretor de l'ambient i per la més silenciosa tristesa de la crisi universal. Tenim un exemple d'aquestes crisis de "fi de segle" en el cas de Mossès "Cinto". En tenim un altre cas: Soler i Miquel. En tindriem un altre, potser, en els casos de Maragall i del nostre amic Pere Coromines si no s'haguessin tots dos redimit, l'un articulant el malestar, i així netejant-s'en amb la poesia i la teoria; l'altre, canalitzant la vida enèrgicament vers la normalitat política i familiar... 50

Coromines and Maragall had both saved themselves with what to d'Ors seemed a civil art. Maragall's articulation of the ills of his times had produced a poetry of quality, which d'Ors could not deny. It is important to note, however, that Maragall was expressing the problems of a generation against which d'Ors intended to react. The refutation of Maragall's work lay, consequently, not in his aim, but in his method. The attack against the poet is specifically directed at that which formed the essence of his

expression, the theory that lay behind the expression.

In a series of glosses, "Dos llibres", "Enlla' i la generació noucentista" and "En resum", d'Ors exposed the relation of Noucentisme to Maragall. Though d'Ors admired the work of Maragall, it was contrary to his fundamental precepts of order. There was little doubt in d'Ors' mind, however, that Maragall's work represented one of the greatest moments in Catalan literature.

Quin llibre! Per ventura mai la paraula humana hagi arribat a tan solemnes extrems com en el ...  
'Enlla' és la nota més aguda, més estrident, del romanticisme llatí, potser del romanticisme de tot el món. 51

Maragall's "chant de cigne" was considered by d'Ors to be the last gasp of romanticism. D'Ors defined the historical position of Maragall : "en Maragall, el nostre darrer gran romantic".<sup>52</sup> Maragall had set down the aesthetic principles of the previous generation, and marked the end of a cycle. Romanticism was to be replaced by classicism.

Noucentisme could not suffer the continuation of the theories of Maragall, for, since it was based on the "nous", its aesthetic end was governed, not by emotional expression alone, but by the intellectual, that is, the organized expression of emotion. The theory of "paraula viva" expressed at least superficially the belief that poetry was the spontaneous expression of emotional reaction. This was absolutely unacceptable to d'Ors, for to him it removed any intellection from the poetic process. His reaction to Maragall's theory is best expressed in the following statement of the Glosador:

No se de cap literatura en què el Verb hagi reulat d'una manera, tan magníficament espantosa, en el sentit contrari a l'Articulació, és a dir, en el camí de la Interjecció. 53

Interjection is the uncontrolled articulation of a sensitive reaction. It is that which is not arbitrated.

An artistic expression which is not dependant on the dominion of the artist is a natural reaction. Inevitably, this could not be what d'Ors considered as the essence of Classicism. It is certainly the basis of romanticism, since it is an abdication of the artist to the power of nature. Thus, as nature controls expression, it becomes the centre of the universe, while the position of man is subordinated to that of nature, which is contrary to humanism. The poet does not participate actively in the movement of the universe; he is a passive entity, subject to the uncontrolled forces around him.

It is this force, Chaos, as embodied in nature, that is opposed by the noucentistes: "I amb aquesta naturalitat i amb aquesta potència inhumanes, sembla somniar el nostre poeta". 54 The poet is inactive. He does not take part in the metaphysical struggle of man to control all fatalities. As d'Ors states, the poet remains a dreamer, and though he may have an ideal, he does nothing to bring about its fulfillment in daily life. As in the "fin de siècle" resumes in "Amiel a Viç", the artist is overwhelmed by the surge of confusion that engulfs the social structure to which he pertains.

The isolated dreamer is unable to manipulate the circumstances that confront him. The literary manifestation of such individualism is characterized by a certain fatalism. Seeing the decay of his social values, and yet in need of stability in order to continue his creative work, the poet withdraws from civil

participation. As the poets articulates his emotional withdrawal from corruption and his search for purity outside the community, that is, beyond the limits of social organization, he fails to fulfill his social function, which is essential to d'Ors' system. The poet should be the oracle and the inspirer. His negative attitude affects the masses and incites them, out of despair, to rebel against their social condition. The error lies, not in the search for justice, but in the poet's failure to replace one organization with another. With no organization, the crowd has no means of salvation against the metaphysical antagonist.

There are, therefore, important political consequences to the "Teoria de la paraula viva". These were perceived by d'Ors. He considered that, although Maragall's work was magnificent, it led to disorganization:

De vegades -, haig de confessar-ho - no sé pensar sense terror en el destí del nostre poble, obligat a sostenir, sobre la seva pobra normalitat, tan precària, el pes i la grandesa i la glòria d'aquestes sublims anormalitats : la Sagrada Família, la poesia maragallenca...

55  
Departure from the norm was absolute individualism. The theory of the "paraula viva" that praised spontaneity, both of the poet and of the people, could only lead to a departure from the co-ordinated or civilized whole. The poet who abdicated to the forces of Chaos had ceased to believe in the actual creative powers of man's mind to impose itself on reality through an act of will. Deviation from the dominion of the will was a lack of constancy and an abandonment of the self to occasional whims. This theory was contrary to the personal discipline preached by d'Ors.

It was principally on this point that d'Ors refuted Maragall. It seemed to d'Ors that the "tragic flaw" of the Catalan

character was lack of formal, exterior discipline, as we have already noted in our discussion of d'Ors' opinion of Lutheranism.

Both d'Ors and his generation were affected by Maragall's teachings:

Tràgica és, en això, el moment actual de la nostra joventut. Tota, tota ella, porta dessorbre la terrible condemnaçió d'una indisciplina inicial... - i no puc, no puc callar com sento i veig terriblement nefasta en nosaltres la influència única d'un home que jo amo, d'un gran mestre, del nostre essencial Mestre en Gai Saber, de Joan Maragall...

...dins el laberint, en les tenebres, entre les espines es desvetlla el so únic, el so dolçíssim, el so desmaiador d'una flauta, que ens canta la santedat del no esforç, de l'espontani, i ens diu que tot és bo y que tot és bell, el verd i el vermell, i el bé i el mal, i la Selva, i la negror... 56

A search for the pure, spontaneous and free, as understood by Maragall's theory, leads to an acceptance of everything good and evil. This lack of discrimination in front of the onslaught of anarchy faced by Barcelona, impeded any sense of organization. Viewed as part of the aesthetics of the City, in the scheme of a classical tragedy, Maragall's proposals were genial, but they represented a lack of Good Taste. As d'Ors had stated previously, Barcelona's problem was a lack of Good Taste. This involved the lack of control of the machinery of the City. The taste of Maragall, which was essentially emotional, was overwhelmed by the surge of novelty, or change, that occurred within the city, to which he found difficulty accomodating.<sup>57</sup> Maragall's submission to the vacillations of Fortune, therefore, was socially unacceptable to the theories of Noucentisme.

After 1909, d'Ors effected a "tabula rasa" of his judgments on Maragall, and made a few slight, but important, revisions. In order to remain apparently consistent in his ideology, d'Ors did not lift his ban on the "teoria de la paraula viva". Instead, d'Ors

rehabilitated the personality of the poet, and a minor part of his work. Among the most exemplary men whose lives were models of ethical virtues, d'Ors considered Maragall to be one of the most prominent: "en Joan Maragall, l'escultor Oslé, són segurament exemplars donats no per les lletres, sinó per la vida".<sup>58</sup> In this, d'Ors recognized first the poet's constant devotion to his art, even if it had incurred some errors, and his civil participation and contribution to the renovation of Barcelona.

If d'Ors, before 1909, had attacked Maragall's work for the fundamental social implications of the "teoria de la paraula viva", he did take every possible occasion to rehabilitate and render legitimate the beauty of Maragall's work. In the series of glosses, "La setmana dels poetes : Maragall", d'Ors made an important statement that went beyond his superficial approach to the "elogi de la paraula". In 1909, Maragall had published a collection of his works, entitled "Tria". As the name implies, it is a selection and remanipulation of previous poems. Owing to the fact that a revision of Maragall's poems involved a reworking of material, d'Ors considered it to be a contradiction of the theory of the "paraula viva":

L'una cosa són les correccions fetes a alguns versos antics. Això és important. Això val per una altra lliçó i compensa, il·lustrant-los, diversos aspectes de la doctrina estètica de l'autor de "La paraula viva". El nostre essencial mestre en Gai Saber "treballa" en sos versos, fins anys després de publicats. Treballa, naturalment, per fer-los més i més purs, i fidels a l'emoció matriu... - Però "treballa". Es a dir, hi aconsegueix obra d'albir. 59

This control, or arbitration, which d'Ors could observe as present in Maragall's work, enabled him to rehabilitate part of the poet's work. It is important to note that this control only modified the

works. It did not mean a dehumanization of the aesthetic object, but an act of sensitive intelligence. Maragall's work was approved by d'Ors, not because it was purely formal, but because it returned to and perfected, or clarified, the original emotion: "fidel a l'emoció matriu". The principal differences consequently lay in the control, or organization, of Maragall's emotion.

A brief study of the personal relationship that existed between d'Ors and Maragall will undoubtedly contribute to a clearer understanding of the relations between Noucentisme and Modernism. The importance of this relationship is rendered evident when one realizes that d'Ors considered Maragall's work to be the origin of both the problems and the fortunes of Catalonia. According to d'Ors, Maragall was not only responsible for the disorders of Barcelona, but also for its cultural progress. The Glosador's collective vision of civilization led him to acknowledge that all, good or bad, had contributed to the edifice, and that the noucentistes were only a continuation:

Quan un hom rellegeix avui aquestes pàgines i episodis de les històries catalana i barcelonina en els últims temps, troba que aquelles no semblen pas "interpretacions" sinó "causes". Troba com si tot un període hagués estat fet per Joan Maragall...

I potser és ver...

És ver, i és just de dir-ho, a condició que s'admeti també que en la poesia maragallena - segons allò que ahir conversàvem respecte de la Walt Whitman (note 60) -, continuem "collaborant-hi tots..." 61

Thus, in the above <sup>quotation</sup> quote, d'Ors recognizes the value of Maragall's contribution to Catalan literature and implies that he is only furthering the work of the master.

A certain amount of obvious contradiction is implied in d'Ors' criticism of Maragall. This contradiction is similar to his position towards Modernism. Noucentisme is one of the modifications

in man's progress to Eternity, and as such, it both rejects and furthers the transformative nature of the edifice. On a non-metaphysical level, it is evident that Maragall had contributed to the beginning of the destruction of the purely rural-industrialist, materialistic society of Barcelona and had introduced a certain level of idealism into Catalan life. D'Ors' condemnation lay, therefore, in the failure of Maragall's method of introducing idealism and renovation in Barcelona.

Again, it is of the utmost importance to understand that d'Ors never entirely rejected the man, but believed that he was furthering his work. Antoni Comas has examined the personal relationship of the two men, in an essay entitled "Maragall y La ben plantada". In this essay, the author considers that d'Ors was the "protégé" of Maragall. The close relation existing between the two also leads Comas to demonstrate that Maragall was in great part responsible for the genesis of d'Ors' philosophical allegory, La ben plantada. In this article, Comas refers to a number of letters and articles written by Maragall that may have influenced d'Ors. ~~These articles disprove~~ d'Ors' absolute rejection of any intellectual compatibility between himself and Maragall, which d'Ors had established in an article, "Signo de Juan Maragall en la historia de la cultura", written twenty five years after the poet's death, when his ideology had undergone considerable modifications.

According to Comas' article, in spite of the divergences of opinion stressed by d'Ors, the two men did find many points of agreement. Their divergences of opinion arose out of the different conceptions they had on the nature of the creative process, that is,



whether it was sensitive or intellectual. In an unpublished prologue to the Glosari 1907, Maragall pointed out that their differences were mainly a matter of method, but that in reality both had the same aim:

Ahora bien, en lo que toca al contingente de esta obra y la posición de este espíritu, ¿qué puedo deciros?... En verdad que en ella encuentro contradichos muchos artículos de mi fe..... Però esto, ¿qué importa? Unos vamos por el sentimiento a la idea, otros van por la idea al sentimiento; si en el camino nos encontramos, ¿hemos de reñir? No veis que andamos y venimos haciendo camino por lo mismo? No habéis echado de ver que el intelectualismo de Xènius es un intelectualismo que podríais llamar sentimental en el fondo?, ¿que en su razón a menudo palpita una emoción, y que aun su andamiento se commueve alguna vez? ¿Y por ventura nuestro sentimiento no es intelectual en más de una ocasión, y nuestra emoción no se vuelve a cada punto conceptuosa, y nuestro enterneamiento no adquiere en sus mejores momentos una cierta elegancia?... Mas, ¿para qué tantas palabras? Al fin de todas nuestras disputas, la sola cosa que de ellas queda es aquel momento de luz que ha sido dado a cada cual para decir una palabra llena; el camino por donde ha venido es lo de menos: lo mismo brilla. 62

Maragall evidently recognized the similarities between his aim and that of d'Ors. Both men believed in returning to the ideal sources of reality; that is, they stressed the nature of ideals to give meaning to Life. The difference lay in the method of presentation and, therefore, in their conception of man's stance before these ideals. Thus, Maragall as a pantheist was quite passive, whereas d'Ors, as a panentheist, organized and controlled this ideal. For the pantheist, God was immanent and outside man, who was subject to fate, but for the panentheist, God was within man as well as in His work, and man's function was to organize that work.

It was that very difference of attitude that determined a difference in the method of presentation, that is, in the style of the writer. Comas writes in the conclusion of his essay:

El pensamiento de Maragall, aunque menos sistemático, es lo suficientemente rico, complejo y matizado para que en alguno de

sus aspectos coincidiese con el de Ors, mucho más acartonado y de una sola pieza. 63

Though Comas has perceived the existence of similarities between these ideologies, he should have acknowledged the fact that the differences arise from the manner of expression, which represents a different view point on a similar subject. As he has pointed out above, d'Ors' ideology is far more structured than that of Maragall. It is this stylistic divergence that determines the differences of opinion between the two men.

Though very perceptive, Comas' study of the ideological relationship between the two men remains peripheral, and therefore his conclusions are ambiguous, because they are not founded on the examination of the central issue. Whereas Comas discusses in varying profundity the relation of the two men through epistolaries, articles and La ben plantada, he does not define the real nature of their similarities, because he does not study the ideologies of the two men as presented in their theoretical works, namely the Elogis of Maragall and the Glosari 1906-1910.

The "Elogi de la paraula", "Elogi de la poesia" and "Elogi del poble", all of which were published between 1905 and 1907, and which d'Ors may have been aware of before their publication, are an exposition of Joan Maragall's ideology. Professor A. Terry has pointed out that the construction of these essays is not based on a strictly rational method. Indeed, as d'Ors', Maragall's approach is "sensitive", that is, "intuitionnal", or as d'Ors contends, "endevinatoria". As such, it is also emotional, and directs the attention of the reader not to the complex entirety of the object, but to a limited number of problems which are

related to immediate personal experience. It, therefore, appeals to the heart and provides its own solution:

No cal insistir en la importància que la intuïció té per a Maragall: és la base de tota la seva teoria de la poesia. Però és que també determina el mètode essencial dels seus assaigs en prosa, almenys dels més importants. Aquest mètode és intuïtiu més que no racional: la mateixa exposició, en l'acte de desenrotllar-se, arriba a ésser prova.

...Tota la tendència dels Elogis, i d'altres assaigs semblants, és d'avivar les percepcions del lector a força de dirigir la seva atenció (més exactament redirigir-la) sobre certs objectes o problemes, de manera que s'adoni d'aspectes que abans desconeixia. I d'aquí ve llur darrera valor: fins i tot si el lector no pot acceptar les conclusions del mateix autor, almenys ha hagut de tor-<sup>na</sup> a considerar una quantitat de coses importants en relació amb la pròpia experiència. 64

As A. Terry indicates in the above quotation, Maragall vivifies a concept or set of ideas that have become unimportant to the daily life of the reader. This vivification is related to the introduction of spiritual ideals immanent in the circumstance of the writer. A. Terry goes on to explain that Maragall's prose was influenced by Carlyle and Emerson:

Ja se sap que aquestes escriptors influïren d'una manera concreta sobre certes obres de Maragall: però el més important és que tots tres comparteixen la mateixa actitud fonamental. És a dir, que tots tres s'ocupen d'idees metafísiques, però d'una manera molt diferent a la dels filòsofs professionals. Si volen persuadir-nos d'alguna veritat, ho fan pel mateix to en què escriuen, més que no pas per arguments lògics. 65

These influences clarify the lack of method in Maragall's work.

This point is incompatible with d'Ors, who cherished the idea of being a professional philosopher. Yet, as Terry again points out, both deal with metaphysics. D'Ors' frequent claim that metaphysics is a novel idea of Noucentisme is, therefore, invalid. Long before him, Maragall had intended to bring "metaphysics" into life.

The fundamental point of Maragall's method was the importance he placed on the intuition of a spiritual element within

an object or idea. As we have already noted repeatedly, d'Ors also claims to be doing the same thing, with the difference that his expression is more logical. Thus, it must be considered that d'Ors' method and aim, that is, the result of his investigations, could not be very different from those of Maragall. If the form and the content must compose a harmonious whole, as d'Ors contended in imitation of Schleiermacher<sup>66</sup>, and if his fundamental point of departure was the same as Maragall's - intuition -, then his ideology could only vary in a slight degree from that of Maragall's.

In a posterior gloss, written in Madrid in 1922, entitled "Releyendo a Azorín",<sup>66</sup> d'Ors established a very revealing pattern between his method of exposition and that of his former master. According to d'Ors, both Maragall and he had tried to perceive the essence in the object contemplated by intuition, that is, they had attempted to sense the original Idea, or metaphysical essence of Life. D'Ors states::

... Ahora, he aqui algunos hechos de espíritu que están en relación honda con la suspiciacia a favor de lo esencial que revela este método de lectura:  
La teoria maragalliana de la palabra viva. Las tentativas del modernismo religioso dirigidas a vigorizar los que ha considerado dogmas vivos, a cambio del marchitamiento de los otros. La obra erudita del Cardenal Duchesne, para mondar la historia eclesiástica de los primeros siglos. Los esfuerzos de muchos amigos nuestros para encontrar en España una "vida real", ajena a las superfluidades de la política. El hecho mismo de que yo, propug-nador de los ideales de Novencientos, pero en el Ochocientos nacido, escriba "articulao tan escasos" y, en cambio, tantas notulas de éstas que (con más de jo de flokllore mallorquin que de alma madre boloñesa) he llamado glosas. 67

This quotation, in which d'Ors recognizes his debt to the previous generation, establishes a solid relation between him and Maragall; both are religious modernists. The above references all apply to

currents that d'Ors considers part of Religious Modernism: the "dogmas vivos", the exegetical work of Cardinal Duchesne, the work of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza, referred to by "our friends who looked for the "real life" in Spain, beyond the superfluous politics", and his own form of writing, the "gloss", all of which represent a means of vivification of reality.

It is , therefore, important to understand that much of Maragall's ideology was integrated into that of d'Ors. The difference in degree of organization present in d'Ors' ideology gave more logic to the expression of Maragall's ideas. This organization is only apparent, for it arises out of concision, which is an effort to discipline the expression. Thus, whereas Maragall's arguments are supported by poetic metaphors that depend entirely on their appeal to personal experience, d'Ors, who wished to transcend individualism, reinforces the validity of his arguments by referring to the pseudo-scientific method of psychology. This "biological" element, as d'Ors calls it, is only an effort to structure individual, sensitive perception and to project it on a more universal plane. In d'Ors' terms, this is the Genius "socialized" to Bon Gust. The generalization of intuition away from the purely personal level places the expression in a wider social context. This enabled d'Ors to depersonalize the sensitive appeal of his argument and raise it to an intellectual level, so that the social effect of his ideology remained in harmony with the organization of the City, that is, society. Contrary to Maragall's theory of spontaneity and individualism which were conducive to anarchism, d'Ors' intellectualization, which is in reality only logical organization,

rendered the essential, metaphysical renovation, or vivification, more stable, so that it became acceptable to the existing order.

In the fundamental work of Maragall, "Elogi de la Paraula" we shall point out a number of statements that d'Ors repeats.<sup>68</sup> As we shall recall, d'Ors' conception of the Reporter is that of a man who notes the "palpitations" of the times in which he lives. This seems to be an echo of an idea already expressed by Maragall on a slightly different level. The expression of the poet is :

... Paraules que duen un cant a les entranyes, perquè neixen en la palpitació rítmica de l'Univers. Sols el poble innocent pot dir-les, i els poetes redir-les amb innocència més intensa i major cant, amb llum més reveladora, perquè el poeta és l'home més innocent i més savi de la terra. 69

The spontaneous character of the poet's action in Maragall's explanation of the nature of the creative act is based on the myth of the noble savage, that is, on individualism. D'Ors, who refutes individualism, substitutes for the poet a Reporter, who, as the poet, senses eternity in the movement of the Universe, and organizes that sensation in order to communicate it to the public.

In either case, that of the Reporter or of the Poet, the spoken word is an act of divine essence. Language, as we noted in d'Ors previously, is man's power over Chaos. It is his organization of reality. Maragall in no way denies this. Indeed, though he believes in the spontaneity of expression, this is only valid in as much as it gives a certain sense of order:

Així parlen també els poetes. Són els enamorats de tot el món, i també miren i s'estremeixen molt abans de parlar. Tot ho miren encantats i després es posen febrerosos i tanquen els ulls i parlen en la febre: llavors diven alguna paraula creadora i semblanta a Déu en el primer dia del Gènesi, del caos en surt la llum. I així la paraula del poeta surt amb ritme de so i de llum, amb el ritme únic de la bellesa creadora: aquest és l'encís diví del vers, veritable llenguatge de l'home. 70

This quotation, which can, on the first level, only remind us of d'Ors' phrase in the prologue to La muestre de Isidre Nonell seguida de otras arbitrariedades, "antes que imitar a la naturaleza prefiere imitar a Dios",<sup>71</sup> stresses, on the second level, the organization of poetical expression.

Indeed, though he supported individualism and spontaneity, it would be erroneous to accept d'Ors' contention that Maragall's theories could only reduce man to unco-ordinate expressions and solipsism. Maragall believed that spontaneity of expression was only valid when it furthered human relations. On two instances Maragall talks of the ideal virtue of Platonic, or controlled, impassionate conversation:

I així em sembla sentir els discursos ideals que en aquest lloc podrien dir-se: que no parléssim mai per vanitat o altre interès que un fort anhel de dir quelcom que l'ànima n'està plena i vol donar amb amor, generosament. Em sembla sembla sentir les nostres discussions alienes a tota habilitat i a tota passió enterbolidores, nobles i serenes com platònics diàlegs... 72

and

Jo tinc fe sobretot en la conversa, perquè és la manera més natural de comunicació verbal, i conté en germen tots els altres. Hi ha en ella una penetració més forta dels esperits que s'hi ponderen i equilibren. 73

Maragall, as d'Ors, claimed to search for the Truth, and for him it was to be found in organized "civil" conversation. His genuine faith in individualism, which may have frightened the middle-class mind, is not necessarily opposed to social organization.

The Christian message of Maragall was based on the very ideas of the City and Imperialism. Its overtones, however, were so overtly socialist that it may have alienated the middle class's support. Indeed, Maragall goes on to make a statement that denies

the uncivil individualism that d'Ors accused him of:

Mireu doncs, si n'és de santa la nostra causa. I si ara considerem, com té la seva arrel en el diví misteri de l'èsser i del devenir, i com és així superior a tota altra política convencional i a tot accident històric, ens sentirem posseïts d'un amor i d'un temor en defensar-la, que comunicarean a la nostra lluita una grandesa i una noblesa purificadores de tot egoisme i rancúnia...  
...no som pas uns sublevats portant una bandera contra una altra bandera, sinó uns apòstols inflamats en llum divina, que avancem per aclarir les tenebres amb el foc en què som consumits; que la nostra causa no és sols la causa d'una nacionalitat, no és un plet d'Estats o una tenyina de famílies, sinó un ideal humà arrelat en l'amor diví que anima bellament al món. 74

It is evident from the above quotation that Maragall's ideal is civil, unlike what d'Ors contended. Moreover, it is in basic agreement with the concepts of the City and the Empire, with the important difference that Maragall's ideal has, as such, no form. It is only "human ideal", while d'Ors, who is more pragmatic, gives a practical structure to this ideal.

This very essential difference of method originates from a divergence in the Weltanschauung in the two men. Maragall's belief in spontaneity reflects the pantheism inherent in all his work. This also leads him to adopt a very passive attitude to the circumstance. It is this attitude against which d'Ors reacts, and therefore he reacts against Maragall's pantheism.

As we have mentioned previously, d'Ors, in his prologue to Maragall's works in 1936, "Signo de Juan Maragall en la historia de la cultura", states that Maragall and himself could never have agreed since the former was a disciple of Spinoza, that is, he was a pantheist, a fact which d'Ors claims to have discovered only after the poet's death. This statement, written on the eve of the Spanish Civil War, in April of 1936, seems to be a deliberate falsification of the truth. In this one must understand that after 1930 d'Ors'



political orientation changes radically. Posterior to 1930 he ceased to have anything to do with workers' unions and moved speedily to the extreme right. Thus, one should bear in mind that this represents a total negation of his previous politics.

Among the significant errors in his change of interpretation of Maragall's work, one must note that d'Ors was well aware of Maragall's pantheism as early as 1906, as quotation number fifty-six of this chapter indicates, and already d'Ors opposed himself to this pure pantheism. The other error made in this prologue seems to be a confusion of facts. D'Ors states that through the influence of Soler i Miquel and Don Francisco Giner de los Rios, Maragall had come to pantheism, and implies that Krausism is pantheism:

... el de "Don Francisco" - cuya imagen, entre los iconos de la "torre" de la calle de Alfonso XII, iniciaba siempre un huevo, sobre un fondo de paisaje del Guadarrama -; y detrás de Don Francisco, naturalmente Krause. detrás de Krause, Hegel; detrás de Hegel, Spinoza. 75

D'Ors here makes two extreme errors in the history of philosophy. First, as we remarked previously in the case of F. Amiel, Krause was not a pantheist, and he is not a direct disciple of Hegel, but of Schelling and Kant. The second error is even more important, for when d'Ors states that "behind Hegel is Spinoza", he is absolutely wrong and misleading. Hegel had explicitly rejected all pantheism and especially that of Spinoza, in his 1832 lectures on religious philosophy in Berlin. 76

Although d'Ors' fundamental objection to Maragall's pantheism is correct, the false logic that he uses to substantiate his argument is very revealing of d'Ors' own position between 1900

and 1920, which seems to be trying to deny in this prologue of 1936. One should note that in the Glosari 1906-1910, d'Ors encouraged the reading of Spinoza, and not once does he even make a remark against the immanentist philosopher. In fact, he seems to consider him as a model.<sup>77</sup> One must also notice, both in the above quotation and in the gloss "Releyendo a Azorín", that d'Ors refers to the picture of Giner de los Ríos in Maragall's study, as proof of Maragall's Krausism: "¿Por qué había colocado así Maragall el retrato de D. Francisco Giner? Porque Maragall fué, a su manera, a su poética y piadosa manera, un krausista."<sup>78</sup> If it is sufficient to point out the presence of Don Francisco's picture in Maragall's study in order to relate him to the Krausist movement, one should note that a similar picture was present in d'Ors' study in 1916.<sup>79</sup> D'Ors also refers affectionately to Giner de los Ríos in the gloss "Don Francisco" (1906)<sup>80</sup>, as well as throughout the Glosari. Indeed, d'Ors had many connections with the Institución Libre de Enseñanza and its members. As we pointed out previously, his thesis director had been the other great Krausist, Gumersindo de Azcárate. Therefore, d'Ors had a first-hand knowledge of Sanz del Ríos' interpretation of Krausism.

D'Ors' particular reproach against Maragall seems to be the same that he had made against Ámiel, that is, of not having fully understood Krausism and of having misinterpreted the religious doctrine of panentheism. There is a phrase that d'Ors uses repeatedly when referring to Maragall's Krausism:

Importa que el tal lector sea informado de que Juan Maragall no bebió el krausismo directamente en fuentes madrileñas, sino por tercería de un hombre singular que vivió y murió misteriosamente en el "Fin de Siglo", de Barcelona, y que se llamaba José Soler i

Miquel. Este sí había sido discípulo personal y directo de D. Francisco. 81

This indicates Maragall's indirect knowledge of Krausism. The pantheism which d'Ors accuses Maragall of is related to that of José Soler i Miquel. D'Ors recognizes, however, that Soler i Miquel was one of the propugnators of Noucentisme:

... en el "Fin de Siglo" se encontraba ya en calenturienta gestación el Novecientos...

Pues bien: José Soler fué uno de los ardores de esta calentura, uno de los síntomas de esa gestación. No idealista aún, pero no positivista ya, consumiéndose en el espiritualismo vago de su tiempo, cuyo sentido podría caracterizarse por la simultaneidad, no con la obra de Emerson; pero sí la boga máxima de Emerson. Lo inefable, el misterio, la emoción, tuvieron gran predicamento en aquellos días. La particularidad personal de Soler estuvo en que su religiosidad profunda no encontró el centro y símbolo de la emoción del misterio, de lo inefable, en las tinieblas, como entonces los espíritus solían, sino precisamente en el sol. Soler ( y lo mismo Mistral...) no sintió el mito solar a lo mediterráneo puro, sino más bien a lo germánico. Así poetizaron Soler, y Mistral a veces, el sol, como un druida podía poetizar la luna: con análogo misticismo, con semejada melancolía, con idéntica abdicación intelectual. En lugar de hallar un instrumento de iluminación, hallaron en el sol una copa de deslumbramiento. 82 o

D'Ors here accuses Soler i Miquel of pantheism. As he states, Soler's profound religiosity did not find a specific means of expression, but rather Soler sought religious experience in Sun-worship. According to d'Ors, Soler i Miquel's pantheism arises out of this because he is overwhelmed by the radiance of beauty, instead of being illuminated by its brilliance. This results in what d'Ors calls his "sense of simultaneity" and "abdication".

Thus, without disagreeing with the fundamental immanentist theory implied by the ideology of Soler i Miquel, d'Ors condemns his impassivity, or incapacity to action that would express his religiosity. This is considered by d'Ors to be the basis of pantheism, which recognizes God's immanence and waits for the spontaneous, or

or inevitable, union with God to occur. As E. Valentí has written:

- Un último rasgo que Josep Soler i Miquel comparte con su amigo Maragall es el uso "evasivo" de las teorías vitalistas y pragmatistas. La apología de la acción sustituye la práctica de la acción misma. 83

The logical organization, or arbitration, of this "sense of simultaneity" is what d'Ors attempts to do, and as such, it requires an active participation in the community. This represents a violent reaction against the position supported by Soler i Miquel and Maragall.

This action, or arbitration of the overwhelming sense of immanence that surrounds man, is basic to panentheism. It may, therefore, be considered that by reacting against the "decadent" misinterpretation of Krausism d'Ors returns to the original teachings of Krause. His "philosophy of action" is modelled on that of Krause. As Lopez-Morillas points out:

La de Krause es, en esencia, una filosofía de la acción, pues, como ha declarado uno de sus discípulos, "toda la vida es un obrar en el amplio y racional sentido de la palabra". 84

D'Ors' return to the original doctrine does, however, imply a number of modification, which were evidently necessary, for three reasons: to impede the return to individualism and inaction; to make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie; to make it conform with the restrictions of the Syllabus.

One shall therefore note that d'Ors never mentions the religious problem of panentheism openly. Indeed, he used a number of "casuistic" methods that reintegrated Krausism into society without even making any direct mention of the doctrine.<sup>85</sup> The problem of individual salvation is never elaborated upon. D'Ors' fight against Death never acknowledges individual salvation, since

the ideal of the City is the embodiment of the desired, collective salvation. Man's hope on earth is, therefore, purely immanent; he "senses" eternity as being achieved and achievable. Krause's philosophy is based on a similar idea:

¿Hay salud para el hombre? Y toda la filosofía krausista puede decirse que mana del anhelo de dar a esa pregunta una respuesta racional. Ahora bien, a diferencia de otros sistemas racionalistas el de Krause no intenta borrar las huellas de ese impulso o congoja anteriores a todo racionamiento. En el racionalismo armónico desempeñan un papel relevante el "presentimiento", el "afán y anhelo íntimo", la "inclinación del espíritu". Hablando del mundo mejor hacia el que marcha como imantada la humanidad presente, se le escapan a Sanz del Río estas palabras reveladoras: "Nosotros... no vemos esto con nuestros ojos; pero le sentimos más cerca, en nuestro corazón y en la confianza que la sola idea de esta plenitud última de a nuestra obra presente". 86

D'Ors, by devising the ideal of the City, which is something concrete and visible, substitutes Krause's indefinite future hope by a material object which every man can perceive. This very important modification rejects Krause's romantic approach to the conception of panentheism.

As a romantic, Krause revolts against tradition.

Theoretically, d'Ors does not, but on a practical level, he does. As we have seen, tradition for d'Ors is not the same thing as traditionalism. Rather, it is related to the "dogmes vivos" and the vital elements of tradition that permit man's continuation on earth. This is the common denominator of both philosophies: "Lo que apremia es rehabilitar la vida, henchirla de sentido." 87 The method varied slightly.

Krause put too much emphasis on reason. According to him it was to be intransigent: "la necesidad de volver a un racionalismo intransigente". 88 This meant that reason imposed itself on faith. D'Ors made a compromise on this point, and limited the

power of reason. It must be recognized, however, that through the use of "intuition", or as he calls it, "presentimiento", Krause also came to limit reason. As such, in both systems, reason is an instrument of arbitration. The use of reason was to control man's extremist tendencies:

El hombre moderno oscila entre los dos polos, igualmente deletéreos, del nihilismo cínico y del paroxismo de las pasiones. Una y otra otra actitud son sintomáticas de "la pobreza y enmudecimiento del hombre interior". 89

D'Ors, who limits reason, reverses the practical application of the krausist system at this point. The "inner self" in d'Ors' system is only cultivated in as much as it is first a social self. Reason is therefore limited by tradition, that is, the identity of the group. As in Pascal's phrase, the individual must "s'abêtir". Placing reason in the inner self leads to a revolt of the individual, who examines the particular and not the whole; that is, it leads to the romantic conception of Genius.

Unlike the basic philosophy of Krause, which supports individualism and seeks the meaning of Life in the inner Self, that of d'Ors places the meaning of Life in social co-operation, which gives meaning to the individual's life. Thus, d'Ors achieves Krause's aim by allowing less individuality in the use of Reason:

Si, en el inmenso panorama de lo real, es posible armonizar lo desarticulado, lo diferente, lo contradictorio, tal armonía es hacedera: sólo en virtud de la función organizadora de la razón, de facultad que ésta posee de reducir el caos a orden. El racionalismo armónico de Krause es, en resumen, una elaboración ontológica del criticismo kantiano, por una parte, y por otra, una tentativa de contrarrestar el exacerbado y místico intuicionismo de los filósofos de la fe. 90

D'Ors, who uses the same terminology, "from Chaos to Order", also

uses Reason as a means of arbitration. The failure of Krausism to pervade life totally had led to a return to, or degeneration of, what Krause himself had feared, mysticism and egoism: "en Jacobi, adivinaba Krause el grave peligro psicológico que amenaza".<sup>91</sup> By placing the use of arbitration not "in" the individual's inner self, but on his social self, and by negating the romantic myth of individualism, d'Ors overcame the basic practical contradictions existent in the krausist system.<sup>92</sup>

The novelty of the North American pragmatic approach to life as an "integrating" factor, enabled d'Ors to revitalize Krausism without having to refer to the source of his ideals. Among the practical aspects of Krausism that d'Ors kept, we shall note : the belief in progress, action, Wissenschaft, tolerance, human unity, pedagogy and elitism. These, once conceived of as collective action, ceased to appear as a form of rebellion. As a consequence of this change of position, d'Ors, who subjected the individual to collectivity, could claim to be anti-democratic and anti-liberal. Thus he overcame the main objections of the Syllabus which Lopez-Morillas sums up as : "librepensamiento, agnosticismo, materialismo, nacionalismo, anticlericalismo, regalismo, liberalismo y masonería. " <sup>93</sup> Pantheism, which should be included in this list, was overcome by panentheism, and therefore d'Ors was not purely immanentist. The spiritual ideal of the City over-ruled materialism and nationalism, and d'Ors could not be accused of free-thinking, for he subjected the individual to the will of the community, which, as he had expressed previously, was political and consequently Catholic, that is, in the sense he gave to the

latter word, the whole together.<sup>94</sup>

In his criticism of Maragall and Soler i Miquel, d'Ors had condemned what he calls their Germanic Romanticism. This romanticism d'Ors wished to replace or elevate to the level of classicism. Here one must bear in mind that, to d'Ors, classicism was only organized, or stylized romanticism: "un sentiment dit romàntic, quan arriba a un grau superior de cultura, esdevé classic."<sup>95</sup> or "el Gust no és tal vegada una altra cosa que el Geni socialitzat."<sup>96</sup> Krause's individualism is simply socialized in d'Ors' ideology.

The term "classicism" is only a matter of nomenclature; it includes an extremely wide variety of possible ideological implications, as long as they are arbitrated. Again, d'Ors arbitrates or "harmonizes rationally" opposite tendencies. The opposition classicism - romanticism, on which d'Ors relies throughout his work to refute the nineteenth century, is not fundamental to Krausism. As Lopez-Morillas points out, Giner de los Rios denounced both movements; his only praise for romanticism is that it has permitted renovation. This judgment, which is based on Giner de los Rios' Francophobia, condemns neo-classicism for being reactionary: "aquél impulso reaccionario... crítica ridícula y superficial que se dirigía ante todo a las exterioridades".<sup>97</sup>

Romanticism is just as severely rebuked:

...el romanticismo es, segun Giner, un movimiento reaccionario. Al evocar nostálgicamente la Edad Media, en la que pretende ver una especie de Paraíso Perdido, incurre en una perversión análoga a la de su adversario, el clasicismo, empeñado, a su vez, en añorar la antigüedad grecolatina como encarnación de la Edad de Oro. Ambas son versiones falsas - esto es, persiones - de la realidad histórica, y quizá fueran perdonables, como licencias que se permite la fantasía, si en ellas no anidara el maligno propósito de



de rebajar al hombre moderno y sus creaciones culturales. Más aún, de ellas se han servido literatos y artistas para eludir el deber, que como hombres tienen, de atender a las exigencias del momento en que les ha tocado vivir. La evasión histórica implica, aun en las obras imaginativas, irresponsabilidad, carencia de fe, a menudo incluso cobardía. 98

The conception of the function of art in society is, in many ways, similar to that of d'Ors. When Giner de los Rios condemns escapism he is also implying that man escapes his universal duty towards the community. In d'Ors, this is considered to be an abandonment of Nature, unlike Krause's system, in which man must live in harmony with Nature. The conception of Nature which is fundamental to the Romantic theory of the Noble Savage, and therefore the cultivation of the inner Self and the Individual, is rejected. ~~This does not~~ mean, however, that d'Ors theory is contrary to that of Krause, for by abandoning his stance to the onslaught of Nature, the individual also fails in his duty towards the community. D'Ors' Classicism elevates the Romantic idea into a more social context.

This progression over the rudimentary concepts forwarded by Krausism depends entirely on the concept of time implied in both movements. Giner de los Rios repeatedly uses the term "historical reality". D'Ors bettered this by referring to the idea of Eternity. Man worked towards an ideal, not in "historical reality", but in "Eternity". D'Ors' Classicism is the form chosen to express Eternity. As such, it engulfs all temporal moments. Classicism overcomes the problems of historical reality, for it builds on a past tradition, in the present, with a future aim. This prevents the concept of classicism from being too closely associated with traditionalism. It is a purely formal classicism, used to organize what d'Ors considers to be a humanistic content. Since

humanism is the accumulation of Wissenschaft used to better man's knowledge of himself and his position in the Universe ; it is the progressive tradition of a community.

D'Ors' concept of man's progress is, therefore, not a series of conflicting tendencies negating themselves through time, but a steady continuation of man's progress through all time. It is again the reorganization of a series of antagonistic concepts into a harmonious whole, in order to give the idea of progress a sense of stability. D'Ors reorganized Krausism so that its fundamental ideals could function in society without raising any objection. D'Ors is, therefore, indebted to the krausist movement against which he revolts.

D'Ors adopted a much wider perspective than Krausism. The latter had restricted its interests to Germanic literature, since, as we have mentioned previously, Giner de los Rios and his disciples were Francophobes. D'Ors, throughout the Glosari 1906-1910, makes continual reference to both French and German literature, and appears to favour French literature. Yet, at the end of 1910, d'Ors made an interesting series of parallels between contemporary German and Catalan literatures. In this comparison, d'Ors indicates that Noucentisme is a direct continuation of Modernism.

The glosses entitled "Notes sobre la novissima literatura alemanya" I - VII present a rapid survey of the development of German literature between 1870 and 1910. D'Ors uses these glosses to formulate a theory on the evolution of European literature. Throughout these glosses, d'Ors explicitly states that this model is not specifically particular to Germany. The new development of

literature is a return to the classicism of Goethe. D'Ors considers that literature until 1870 had followed Schiller's romantic and nationalist ideals, but that since the formation of nations, the classical ideal of Goethe had surpassed Schiller's Romanticism.

The romantic, revolutionary era of Europe had thus come to an end:

~~Avui~~ Alemanya com pertot, les idees del romanticisme, del liberalisme, del nacionalisme, les concrecions típiques de la vuit-centista mentalitat burgesa; han perdut tot prestigi en la consciència dels joves. A l'era revolucionària començà a succeir arreu ... L'era de les socialitzacions noves. Un nou classicisme més fort i més seriós que el del Renaixement, perquè ara ja no es tracta d'erudició sinó de religió, ha reemplaçat al cicle romàntic, nova Edat Mitja...

Total evolució de la literatura alemanya, entre 1810 i 1870, s'explica per la substitució lenta de la devoció schilleriana, per la devoció goethiana. 99

As the above quotation implies, the substitution of Schillerian romanticism with Goethe's classicism represents a different religious approach to life. Goethe's sense of unity, which is fundamental to d'Ors' ideology, is equivalent to the meaning of "the whole together" that "religion" has in this context. To d'Ors, the opposition Schiller- Goethe represents the initial impulse of revolutionary romanticism brought under control in Goethe's work. This initial impulse was the rebellion of the individual against society. Goethe's classicism is consequently the reintegration of individualism into society.

One must bear in mind that Goethe's work, though filled with classical references, is basically romantic. The meaning of classical art for Goethe has the same connotations as it had for all romantics.<sup>100</sup> The imitation of classical models was revolutionary. It was a return to an ideal of justice: Classical art became a symbol of political liberty and its reflection.

The greatest Greek art was produced by Athens, therefore tyranny stifled art... In literature, the noblest voices of this belief are Byron's The Isles of Greece, Shelley's Hellas and Hölderlin's Hyperion; while the loudest is Hugo's Les Orientales. 101

What came to differentiate Goethe's romanticism from that of Schiller and the others who stressed the popular and the spontaneous, was his sense of order, which he developed in his later age.

Gilbert Highet clarifies this point in the following statement:

On his trip to Italy, Goethe bought the famous treatise by Palladio (1518-1580), in which the principles of architecture are deduced from classical buildings and classical books. It was a revelation to him. He suddenly realized that great art was harmony. 102

It is to this sense of order, which has political repercussions in Goethe's later life, that d'Ors refers. Goethe's classicism, which searches for harmony in life, is opposed to rebellion. 103

The pattern of literary development that d'Ors perceives is very similar to that which happened in Catalonia between 1880 and 1906. 104 The romantic movement in literature culminates with the formation of the German Empire, that is, when Germany established its national identity. This is similar to Catalonia's growing sense of identity as a nation after the Restoration.

Romanticism in Germany is then countered by naturalism between 1880 and 1889. The naturalist reaction is considered by d'Ors to be only a prolongation of romanticism:

Zola, Tolstoi, Ibsen i les literatures francesa, russa i escandinava en general s'emportaren l'entusiasme de les noves generacions... Però ja havem dit que, no havent adoptat una posició filosòfica distinta de la que havia donat fruit en l'època anterior, i consistint més que en altra cosa en un renovellament de temes, el naturalisme estava fatalment condemnat a esterilitat definitiva. El schillerisme havia intentat vestir-se de goethisme. L'empresa de moment era fracassada, però no es perdia la bona voluntat. 105

Thus, positivism and rationalism are considered by d'Ors to be an

attempt to organize romanticism. It is therefore primarily to the rationalist-positivist school that Noucentisme was opposed.

The definite reaction begins after 1889. This reaction of classicism, from which the new idealism springs, is to be headed principally by two poets whose works influence the new generation in the last ten years of the nineteenth century. D'Ors considers this to be the seeds of Noucentisme. As E. Valentí demonstrates the era from 1889 to 1893 represents the final and most modernist period of the Avenç, which is prolonged by the activities of Rusinyol, Soler i Miquel and Maragall. D'Ors contends the following:

Però ben aviat, en l'última desena del segle XIX, es dibuixa un moviment de renovació, sempre en sentit progressivament anti-schillerià, moviment produït... (per) ...l'ensenyança i estímul de dos poetes que, aviat, sense proposar-s'ho ni voler-ho, esdevingueren els fars de les generacions que successivament arribaven a la literatura. Foren aquesta poetes Friedrich Nietzsche i Detlev Von Liliencron. 106

In the last ten years of the nineteenth century, the predominant foreign influence is the "nerviositat idealista" <sup>107</sup>, which is introduced by the neo-mystic writings of "Maeterlinck, Baudelaire Verlaine, Huysmans i Anatole France... Walt Whitman ... Carducci i d'Annunzio ... Wilde i Shaw ... Bang, Jens, Peter, Jacobsen, Selma Lagerlöf, August Strindberg." <sup>108</sup>

The new idealist movement that occurs is complemented by the philosophy of Nietzsche, which gives it new strength and energy, according to d'Ors. The other current that adds to the novelty of the movement is Liliencron. The latter's function is to create new rhythms and renovate the language. Thus, d'Ors establishes a direct parallel between Joan Maragall and Liliencron:

La música ve amb aquesta poesia de Liliencron, creadora de ritmes nous, fàcils i lliures... Liliencron representa una mica, dins la

moderna literatura alemanya, el que Verlaine per a la poesia francesa, el que Joan Maragall dins la nostra. És l'alliberador. És també el llicenciós, el desigual. També en podríem dir, en cert sentit, el corruptor. 109.

The modernization of literature by Maragall, or by Liliencron, is accompanied by the theory of spontaneity and the lack of logical control, and as such, it is unacceptable, or even detrimental, to the ideology of the new classicism.

It is consequently both Nietzsche and Maragall who prelude the new era of classicism in Catalonia. The energy of Nietzsche's ideals gave vitality and self-assurance that increased the progress of the nation. Maragall gave it "the music", the sense of beauty. All that it now lacked was the form. D'Ors explains that this German Modernism (Liliencron and Nietzsche), once organized, or given a form, became the present literary movement, that is, Noucentisme:

Arribem amb això als nostres dies. L'herència romàntica acaba de liquidar-se. Les influències estrangeres han laborat els esperits. La poesia ha recorregut els camins del parnasianisme i del simbolisme. La vindicació justiciera dels passats gloriosos no ha mancat tampoc d'una ressonància poderosa en la sensibilitat de les novelles generacions. Nietzsche i Liliencron han produït l'alliberació, però els alliberats no beuen doctrina únicament d'ells, sinó que remunten llur fidelitat fins a l'avi Goethe. Un nou classicisme s'imposa. El triomf és per a la que s'anomena "la forma". 110.

These two influences, Maragall and Nietzsche, which dominated Barcelona's literary scene between 1889 and 1900, also represent the culmination of romanticism. As Arthur Terry has pointed out :

"Maragall envers la llengua i la natura de la inspiració poètica sembla més aviat una herència directa dels romàntics". 109 Maragall is, above all, a romantic poet. In Nietzsche's case we shall note the same thing. Bertrand Russell has pointedly remarked of

Nietzsche's work:

Nietzsche was not consciously a romantic; indeed he often severely criticizes the romantics. Consciously his outlook was Hellenic, but with the Orphic component omitted... In spite of Nietzsche's criticism of the romantics, his outlook owes much to them; it is that of aristocratic anarchism, like Byron's, and one is not surprised to find him admiring Byron. 112

As romantics, they are the culmination, not only of individualism, but also of the irrationalist tendencies of the "fin de siglo". Indeed, Nietzsche's apparently rational rejection of Christianity and his sense of aristocracy is a "poetical" or sentimental reaction. Thus, both Nietzsche and Maragall react against positivism that represents the excessive use of reason. Maragall and Nietzsche can only prelude classicism in as much as the latter is understood in d'Ors' conception: organized romanticism.

In this frame of reference, one must understand that d'Ors' theory of Noucentisme is predominantly romantic. As Maragall had pointed out to d'Ors: "perquè vostî - sense paradoxa - és més romàntic que jo". 113 Both Modernism between 1889 and 1900 and Noucentisme react against positivism, scientific reason, that in itself had become a religion and denied the existence of God. The denial of positivism and realism is fundamentally a rejection of the critical spirit, which is inherent in individualism, as d'Ors had quoted from Pascal: "Cal 's'abêtir' ". 114

Nietzsche's aristocratic individualism, which in d'Ors' conception is the "Geni" which he socializes into "Bon Gust", is compatible with this reaction against individualism. D'Ors does not deny the hierarchical traits of Nietzsche's philosophy; not only does it represent organization, but action. It also provides the ideal of an intellectual aristocracy, which, when "socialized",

acts as an educational class within the "syndicalist society".

It must be noted, however, that it primarily provides a sense of stability, which romantic individualism negated .

Nietzsche's idea of man's progress to the superman, combined with Maragall's pantheism or the mystic tendencies such as Maeterlinck's, became compatible with panentheism once organized from an irrational basis into a logical structure. Contrary to Nietzsche's idea, God was not dead, and man's progress was understood in Christian terms. From Nietzsche, d'Ors took the idea of progress achieved through the will to action towards a transcendent goal, and combined it with the perception of divine presence immanent in the Creation. The sum of this combination became a panentheistically transcendent God. This transcendence was unassailable by the positivist, critical method, because new discoveries had discredited this movement and had removed the dogmatic aspects of the faith in Science.

D'Ors therefore monopolized the fruits of the scientific method in order to give a "rational" or "Kantian" aspect to his ideology. Without referring specifically to the panentheistic implications of his ideology, d'Ors did not have to deny either the immanence or transcendence of God and the *Weltanschauung* thereby implied. The "new" ideology was consequently compatible with the beliefs of the ruling class. It was stable, dynamic, scientific, and yet religious and apparently traditional; what was more, it was, on the whole, in keeping with the cultural progress of Europe. Noucentisme was, therefore, a continuation of Modernism, without the revolutionary overtones discouraging the middle-class's



support, which it needed in order to be fulfilled. It is consequently not surprising that most modernists were socially rehabilitated by d'Ors. As long as these conformed and allowed a slow but certain progress to be achieved, they were formally compatible with the noucentiste aims and ideals that d'Ors formulated. Only men such as Brossa-Roger, who refused to compromise, were considered unacceptable.

## Notes to Chapter VIII

- 1 E. d'Ors, Glosari 1906-1910 (Barcelona : Selecta, 1950) p. 1162.
- 2 Ibid. p. 1269.
- 3 Ibid. p. 1268.
- 4 Ibid. p. 1397.
- 5 Ibid. p. 340.
- 6 Ibid. p. 711.
- 7 Ibid. p. 186.
- 8 Ibid. p. 1044.
- 9 Ibid. p. 971.
- 10 Ibid. pp. 117-118.
- 11 Ibid. p. 1045.
- 12 Joan Ruiz i Calonja, Història de la literatura catalana (Barcelona : TEIDE, 1954) p. 506.
- 13 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 325.
- 14 Ibid. p. 1540.
- 15 Joan Fuster, Literatura catalana contemporània (Barcelona : Curial, 1972) p. 107.
- 16 Ibid. p. 107.
- 17 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 44.
- 18 Ibid. p. 1152.
- 19 Ibid. p. 1152.
- 20 This may be verified by referring to the gloss "Grill de ma finestra" (1906) pp.192-193.
- 21 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 427.
- 22 It would be very interesting, and relevant, to go more deeply into the relations between Alomar's ideology and that of d'Ors, since the origins of d'Ors' own theories might be greatly clarified. Owing to the limitations of the present work, and the absence of Alomar's works in North America, we have been unable to pursue this subject more deeply.
- 23 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 652

- 24 Ibid. p. 142.
- 25 Ibid. pp. 652-652.
- 26 Ibid. p. 653.
- 27 Ibid. pp. 611-612.
- 28 L'Avenç 2 Any III, número 3. (31 Març de 1891) pp. 82-91.
- 29 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 1512.
- 30 Ibid. p. 86.
- 31 A. Schneenerger, Conteurs Catalans (Paris : Librairie Académique Perrin et Cie., 1926) p. 79.
- 32 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 1513,
- 33 A. Cirici Pellicer, El arte modernista catalan (Barcelona : Aymà, 1951) p. 332.
- 34 E. d'Ors, Glosari MCMVI, prolech de Raymon Casellas (Barcelona: Francesch Puig, 1907) p. 97.
- 35 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 1547.
- 36 Ibid. p. 1549.
- 37 Joan-Lluís Marfany (ed.), Jaume Brossa : Regeneracionisma i Modernisme (Barcelona : Edicions 62 (Antologia Catalana) primera ed., 1969) p. 9
- 38 E. d'Ors, El nuevo glosario (Europa) (Madrid : Rafael Caro Raggio, 1922) p. 134.
- 39 Ibid. p. 133.
- 40 Jaume Brossa : Regeneracionisme i Modernisme p. 53
- 41 Ibid. p. 56.
- 42 Ibid. p. 56.
- 43 Ibid. p. 57.
- 44 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 1270.
- 45 Ibid. p. 85.
- 46 Ibid. p. 661.
- 47 Ibid. p. 1014

48 Ibid. p. 1044.

49 Ibid. p. 294.

50 Ibid. p. 5. One should also note that P. Corominas is also rehabilitated in the course of the Glosari 1906-1910, as in the glosses "El psicológic al miting" (1909) and "El cas Torres Garcia" (1910).

51 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 184.

52 Ibid. p. 186.

53 Ibid. pp. 184-185.

54 Ibid. p. 185.

55 Ibid. p. 184.

56 Ibid. pp. 256-257.

57 Owing to the forthcoming discussion in the conclusion of d'Ors' view of the development of Catalan literature as being parallel to that of contemporary German literature, and to the religious problem in Europe at that moment, it is interesting to note that Maragall's emotion and pantheistic reaction of despair to the circumstances bear significant relation to Rilke's position in the Duino Elegies.

58 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 1227.

59 Ibid. pp. 1047-1048.

60 In order to understand the religious position of d'Ors, it is of the utmost importance to acknowledge the significance of Walt Whitman's poetry in his work. As we have seen before, much of d'Ors' ideology was influenced by the American Pragmatism of W. James. The latter was, in turn, very much influenced by his friend, W. Whitman. Apart from d'Ors equivocal anti-democratic position, the praise of cities and his enthusiasm for human activities tend to underline the importance of Walt Whitman, especially of his poem, "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry". Indeed, the American poet is mentioned quite frequently in the course of the Glosari.

Another aspect of Whitman's poetry that should have appealed to d'Ors was his sense of tradition. The Homeric quality of Whitman's verses only goes to reflect Whitman's love for and knowledge of the ancients. Gilbert Highet, in his book The Classical Tradition, (London : O.U.P., 1964) p. 542 has stated:

Whitman called the Muses to come away from Greece and Ionia. His own poetry was boldly untraditional in pattern and feeling. Yet his friend Thoreau recalls that he loved to ride up and down Broadway on a bus, sitting beside the driver, just above the horses,

with his hair and beard flowing in the wind, declaiming Homer at the top of his voice. In fact, he must have looked rather like Homer, who would have heard him with a smile of friendship.

Though d'Ors was later to condemn the "spontaneity" of Whitman's poetry, in "Del mètode per a llegir" (1910), he made great praise of Whitman's poetry previously, in "Walt Whitman" (1909). In this gloss he does perceive the classical elements of Whitman's poetry:

Val a dir: Quan no ens seria actual Walt Whitman? Ell és tan u amb la concepció èpica de la vida moderna, que, cada cop que sentim aquesta fortament, és com si sentíssim fortament a Walt Whitman, i, quasi, com si "collaboréssim" amb ell... -¿No van ser en realitat, homèrics, qui més, qui menys, tots els grecs, els alexandrins i tot?... (p. 1046)

As is implied in the above quote, all is one with Whitman's poetry, and indeed, no reader of Whitman can overlook the strong immanentist tendencies of his work, which develop into pantheism. This was part of the reason why d'Ors was later to reject Whitman's "spontaneous" work. As we shall see, he rejected Maragall's for similar reasons. In both cases, the beauty of the work is not denied. The reason for the rejection is that as pantheists they believed that man lies subject to nature. D'Ors, who still recognizes the immanent nature of God, overcomes the subjection of man to nature through panentheism, in which man takes control of "nature", overcomes the subjective element of nature, and moves towards a transcendent end.

61 Glosari 1906-1910 pp. 1048-1049:

62 Antonio Comas, Ensayos sobre literatura catalana (Barcelona: Taber, 1968) pp 186-187.

63 Ibid. p. 198.

64 Arthur Terry, La poesia de Joan Maragall (Barcelona : Barcino, 1963) p.111.

65 Ibid. p. 110.

66 E. d'Ors, El nuevo Glosario VI ( U - turn - it) (Madrid : Caro Raggio, 1923) pp. 199-216.

67 Ibid. pp. 204-205.

68 These are by no means the only similarities, but the limits of our thesis do not permit us to further this investigation. Should the reader desire to pursue this research, he should verify the "Elogi de la poesia" and the "Elogi del poble", both of which are also rich in similarities with d'Ors' ideology.

69 Joan Maragall, "Elogi de la paraula", Obres Completes I (Barcelona : Selecta, 1960) p. 665.

- 70 Ibid. p. 664.
- 71 E. d'Ors, "La muerte de Isidre Nonell seguida de otras arbitrariedades", Cronicas de la Ermita (Barcelona : Plaza y Jones, 1966) p. 215.
- 72 "Elogi de la paraula" p. 667.
- 73 Ibid. p. 667.
- 74 Ibid. pp. 666-667.
- 75 E. d'Ors, "Signo de Juan Maragall en la historia de la cultura", Obres Completes de Juan Maragall II ( Barcelona : Selecta, 1961) pp. 1076-1077.
- 76 On this matter one should consult G.W.F. Hegel, Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion, trans. E.B. Spiers (London : Kegan Paul, Trenchard Trübner and Co., 1895), especially "Part I : Conception of Religion" pp. 89 -115 and particularly pp. 95-96.
- 77 All the glosses that mention Spinoza significantly are "Petita biblioteca de l'escolar desatent" (1907), "Spinoza a dinou sous" (1908), "Música de Bach" (1908), "Meravelles" (1909), "Schinz I " (1909), and "Dialog" (1910).
- 78 El nuevo glosario IV pp. 199-200.
- 79 Vide: Historia general de las literaturas hispanicas VI, ed. G. Diaz-Plaja (Barcelona : Vergara, 1967) between 272-273, top left hand corner.
- 80 This is not the only reference to Don Francisco in which d'Ors expresses his admiration. One shall also find similar praises in "La W." (1906), "Els Noucentistes Espanyols" (1907), "Glosa Portuguesa" (1908) and "El psicoleg al míting" (1909).
- 81 El nuevo glosario IV p. 200.
- 82 Ibid. pp. 202-203.
- 83 Eduard Valentí, El primer modernismo literario catalán y sus fundamentos ideológicos (Barcelona : Ariel, 1972) p. 321.
- 84 J. López-Morillas, El Krausismo Español (Mexico : Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956, p. 77.
- 85 In spite of the various "camouflage" methods employed by d'Ors, he was accused, as Sanz del Río before him, of "perverting the youth", as is noticeable in the gloss "Caríssim mestre Millet" (1907).
- 86 El Krausismo Español p. 77.

- 87 Ibid. p. 72.
- 88 Ibid. p. 73.
- 89 Ibid. p. 73.
- 90 Ibid. p. 35.
- 91 Ibid. p. 34.
- 92 The scheme which we propose as an approach to the problem of d'Ors and Krausism is by no means complete. It would, in fact, be the subject of another thesis. We shall only note here for the reader's interest that among the various themes that can be discussed, and which d'Ors integrates into his system, there are: the world of essences, which is fundamental to Krause's thought; Science and its role in civilization; the revolt against tradition as "lo caduco", and not necessarily that which is necessary to civilization; the importance of normalization; and the opposition to positivism.
- 93 El Krausismo Español p. 142.
- 94 Vide note 64, chapter V
- 95 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 1319.
- 96 Ibid. p. 1552.
- 97 El Krausismo Español p. 118.
- 98 Ibid. p. 119.
- 99 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 1497.
- 100 For a more ample discussion of the importance of the classics for the romantics, the reader should consult Gilbert Highet, The Classical Tradition pp 355-390.
- 101 The Classical Tradition pp. 362-363.
- 102 Ibid. p. 367.
- 103 In the glosses "Releyendo a Azorín" (El Nuevo Glosario IV) pp. 211-212, d'Ors furthered this idea:  
 ¿Qué cosa es peor, el desorden o la injusticia? Goethe, maduro, declaró mil veces más soportable ésta que aquél; y, por razón, "que el desorden engendra mit injusticias". Eso es valorado desde el punto de vista de la inteligencia. Pero Goetz de Berlichingen (que es tal vez uno mismo con Geothe mozo), por amor a la justicia se volvió bandido; y eso fue valorado desde el punto de vista de la pasión...

104 D'Ors seems here to be "arbitrarily" adapting what happened in Catalonia to the German model. One of the very important errors made by d'Ors is that he places Nietzsche's arrival on the literary scene after 1890. This is only correct for the Barcelonian development. Nietzsche, who was known as a figure before the publication of his major works, in fact published these in 1880 and 1885. This seems to us very important in forming the understanding of how d'Ors perceived the Modernist- Noucentiste relationship, as we shall see further on in this discussion.

105 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 1499.

106 Ibid. pp. 1499-1500.

107 Ibid. p. 1500.

108 Ibid. p. 1501.

109 Ibid. p. 1502.

110 Ibid. pp. 1502-1503.

111 Arthur Terry, La Poesia de Maragall p. 213.

112 Bertrand Russell, A History of Western Philosophy pp. 728-729.

113 Antoni Comas, Ensayos sobre literatura catalana p. 185.

114 Glosari 1906-1910 p. 977.



## Conclusion

The previous four chapters of this thesis have attempted, within the limitations of academic scholarship, to define the ideology of Noucentisme as developed between 1906 and 1910 in the main work of its propugnator, Eugeni d'Ors i Rovira. We have, throughout our work, intended to show that Noucentisme is a direct evolution from Catalan Modernism, and that it represents the first viable application of the latter. The theory of Noucentisme was not immediately related to the traditionalistic position of the Lliga, but it accomodated the progressive intentions of Modernism to the extremely conservative position of that movement.

One should now recall that Modernism is a fundamentally contradictory movement. As it evolves from a bourgeoisie that desires to progress and yet maintain a traditional point of view, it bears with it the fruits of its own incapacity to progress. This is explicitly defined by Eduard Valentí, in the conclusion of his book, El primer modernismo literario catalán y sus fundamentos ideológicos :

Hemos definido el modernismo como un progresismo conservador. Es la actitud que pretende conservar algo (en este caso Cataluña o su cultura) insuflándole modernidad. Esto implica la existencia de dos extremos, que siempre amenazan confundirse con lo exterior : Maragall escribiendo artículos reaccionarios en el Diario, los "avencistas" radicales predicando doctrinas que parecían perderse en un vago internacionalismo. Pero el tono empleado por unos y otros no admite confusiones. Ningún tradicionalista podía tomar a Maragall por uno de los suyos, por conservador que fuera el artículo que escribiera, y ningún auténtico revolucionario podía hacerse ilusiones sobre el dilettantismo literario o filosófico de un Cortada o un Brossa.

Finalmente, el modernismo es un movimiento reactivo, que implica una ruptura. Aquello con que se rompe es la tradición clásica o castiza española. Pero la misma ruptura se había producido también en el resto de España. Los modernistas catalanes están en relación con estos grupos de disidentes. También esto sirve, pues, para

situarlos y definirlos. 1

The polarization of classes in Catalonia, after 1893, and the political crystallization of the viable form of Catalanism, which had the financial support of the traditionalist bourgeoisie, invalidated the original positions defended by intellectual Modernism.

When d'Ors first formulated the ideology of Noucentisme, he was apparently reacting against Modernism, for he established a nebulous distinction between the new generation and their predecessors. D'Ors, who always insisted in "arbitrariness", constantly repeated two special terms that could only please the bourgeoisie because they implied social stability: tradition and civility. Yet there was a difference inherent in the meaning of these words; for d'Ors, tradition was related to the theory of "dogmes vives", and "civility" to the message of a certain socialism, based on Christian ethic. The idea of classicism was formality that was to permit the possibility of constant renovation with symmetry. The aesthetic theory of arbitration was to break with all traditionalist patterns of art, in order to create a purely Catalan art that was inspired by a special interpretation of classicism. This classicism was not the traditionalistic, outward servility to form. Thus, Noucentisme furthered the reaction of Modernism against the classical, or chauvinist, Spanish tradition. Culturally, Noucentisme reaped the benefits of Modernism's labour to interest the nation in European culture, and went beyond this by attempting to define its own tradition and the nature of Catalan art.

The need that Noucentisme found to define Catalonia's

culture implies that the preceding literary trend tended to confusion. Definition of culture was an attempt to organize and homogenize the diverse tendencies present in Catalonia. This idea had already been formulated before 1906 in d'Ors' La muerte de Isidre Nonell seguida de otras arbitrariedades, which critics have considered to be a Modernist work. The very fact that the basic concepts of d'Ors' ideology are to be found in it, indicates that, if it is a modernist work, then Noucentisme is purely a matter of chronological nomenclature. If, on the other hand, Modernism and Noucentisme are distinct, it is very difficult to explain why various of the stories had received literary prizes in modernist circles, prior to 1905, but were condemned by the official organs of the Lliga. What may have shocked critics, when the complete collection was published, is the prologue written by d'Ors, in which he related the theory of arbitration to protestantism:

Los artistas "arbitrarios", enfrente de esta Mitología artística habitual, vienen a ser como los Protestantes enfrente del Catolicismo; pero con más fuerza. Sustituyen la tradición por la invención. Defienden y practican, no solamente el "libre examen personal", sino la libre creación personal. 2

This position, which is particularly revealing of the implications of d'Ors' aesthetic credo during his Catalan period, was obviously unacceptable to both radical and conservative critics. It represented aesthetic dilettantism to the radicals, and blasphemy to the conservatives. The approach used by d'Ors was incompatible with the beliefs of either party.

When, in 1906, d'Ors returned to the Lliga, his aesthetic and social outlook did not change; all his theories continued to depend on the concept of "arbitration". From a sociological and

literary point of view this is of great importance for the understanding of the relation between the art-forms of Noucentisme and those of Modernism. D'Ors' reaction against "realism", which he considers to be chaos, is an attempt to organize the circumstance in which he lives. The act of organizing and defining this circumstance entails a "reductio ad absurdum" of temporal reality, for, as d'Ors insists, it is a search for eternity. In order to find this eternity, d'Ors, who rejects Aristotle,<sup>3</sup> refuses to see man in a historical and social context. As such, human significance is separated from the context; meaning lies in the transcendent object of man's search, not within life itself. The panentheistic tendency of his ideas leads d'Ors to point out repeatedly that life has no meaning if it is not conceived of as "collective action" towards the ideal of the City. Thus, d'Ors' theory of arbitration, which depends on the power of the will, is a highly subjective manner of imposing a meaning on life. According to d'Ors' theory of civility, organization gives meaning to life.

The results of this Weltanschauung<sup>u</sup> and aesthetic theory place Noucentisme in the currents of European Modernism. The negation of temporal reality leads d'Ors to perceive artistic expression in terms of a purely static reality. One of the characteristics of noucentiste literature that has perturbed critics who viewed Noucentisme as a complete antithesis of Modernism, is the absence of the novelistic genre. Prose narration, composed under an aesthetic theory of arbitration, because of its removal from objective reality, and the subjective aspect of this theory, tends to be allegorical. The model "novel" of Noucentisme, La ben

plantada, is a static description of a social ideal with a limited development; it is an allegory of d'Ors' "Catalan social ideal".

This tendency to allegory is characteristic of contemporary, modernist literature. G. Lukács, in his essay, "The Ideology of Modernism", has stressed the importance of allegory as representative of the rejection of realism by the modernists:

Allegory is that aesthetic genre which lends itself par excellence to a description of man's alienation from objective reality.... Allegory, in modernist literature, is clearly of the latter kind. Transcendence implies here, more or less consciously, the negation of any meaning immanent in the world or the life of man. 4

This vision of the human condition in terms of allegory depends not only on the negation of an immanent meaning in life, but on a static understanding of reality. It is a means of imposing stability in a shifting world. Lukács also considers this to be fundamental to Modernism:

... even those modernist writers who are less extreme in their rejection of history tend to present social and historical phenomena as static. It is, then, of small importance whether this condition is "eternal", or only a transitional stage punctuated by sudden catastrophes... In short: thus static apprehension of reality in modernist literature is no passing fashion; it is rooted in the ideology of modernism. 5

The allegorical conception of literature is by no means restricted to Noucentisme. Early Catalan Modernism, represented by a segment of R. Casellas' early work, such as "En Bicicletas", though based on realistic detail, is allegorical. In what E. Valentí has considered to be the first synthesis of Modernism, represented by the work of Santiago Rusiñol, it would be extremely difficult to deny the allegorical character of certain literary productions such as L'Auca del senyor Esteve. D'Ors' own collection of short stories, La muerte de Isidre Nonell seguida de

otras arbitrariedades, represents a modernist aesthetic because they are allegorical tales. In this sense, Modernism and Noucentisme are fundamentally related. The view of the world given to the reader is very much one in which the narrator tries to conserve a traditional content, and also longs to make it seem novel.

The extreme to which d'Ors took the consequences of this basic attitude makes Noucentisme a variation on, and a direct consequence of, Modernism. The allegorical vision typical of Modernism is contrary to d'Ors' precepts because the failure to find a transcendental meaning to life leads the modernist writer to construct a pessimistic and chaotic vision of the individual. Lukács quotes Walter Benjamin's definition of allegory, which sums up the basic elements of Modernism:

In Allegory, the facies hippocratica of history looks to the observer like a petrified primeval landscape. History, all the suffering and failure it contains, finds expression in the human face — or rather, in the human skull. No sense of freedom, no classical proportion, no human emotion lives in its features... 6

In d'Ors' theory of Noucentisme, there is a sense of proportions that contrasts with the chaos of Modernism, but there is no sense of individual freedom. Emotion, which is the expression of individualism, is condemned. The classical proportions that d'Ors imposes on modernist ideas and infuses with a sense of collective enthusiasm, harness the expansive character of Modernism. Once this is established, Modernism, with a new sense of stability and order, becomes acceptable to the ruling class.

Noucentisme is, therefore, a revitalization of Modernism. The problem of Modernism had been disorganization, but behind this was the deeper problem of its "static" vision of reality that had

led to its social unviability by 1906. This problem was inherited by Noucentisme. Though enthusiastic and productive in its beginnings, Noucentisme failed, as Modernism before it, to keep up with the progress of Europe. Bound to the destinies of a class that had reached its acme, it was to share the fate of that class after 1920. It represents in Catalan literary history a platform from which culture was defined, and opened its doors to Europe with a more receptive mentality. The definite character of Noucentisme gave maturity to Catalan literature. It established a solid tradition against which the following generation could react.

## Notes

- 1 E. Valentí, El primer modernismo catalana y sus fundamentos ideológicos (Barcelona : Ariel, 1973) pp. 341-342.
- 2 E. d'Ors, Crónicas de la Ermita : "La muerte de Isidre Nonell i otras arbitrariedades" (Barcelona : Plaza y Jones, 1966) p. 216.
- 3 E. d'Ors, Glosari 1906-1910 (Barcelona : Selecta, 1950) p. 448.
- 4 G. Lukács, "The Ideology of Modernism" in The Meaning of Contemporary Realism, trans. J. and N. Mander (London : Merlin Press, 1969) p. 40.
- 5 Ibid. p. 35.
- 6 Ibid. p. 41.



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