



The art of Noucentisme

Francesc Fontbona*
Institut d'Estudis Catalans

Received 27 October 2024 · Accepted 30 November 2024

ABSTRACT

Noucentisme was the name given to the hegemonic cultural trend in Catalonia in the early twentieth century. Although initially the main feature of its artistic version was its aim to represent the new century (called the *Nou-cents* in Catalan), it soon came to be characterised by its advocacy of the Mediterraneanist European tradition (Greco-Latin classicism, Italian Renaissance, etc.), in contrast to the Central European styles that were preponderant at the time, like symbolism and impressionism, which were considered alien. *Noucentista* art gained particular prominence when it was adopted by a new political generation which succeeded in the elections for the first time by waving the banner of Catalanism; they eventually became a veritable governing alternative that was extraordinarily active in the Catalan government, uniquely via the Mancomunitat de Catalunya, which governed the country's public life within the constraints allowed by Spain's constitutional framework.

KEYWORDS: Noucentisme, Mediterraneanism, classicism, Catalanism, fine arts, Catalan art.

In the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries, the hegemonic style of art—and culture in general—in Catalonia was Modernisme¹ (analogous to Art Nouveau). As it began to wane as a hegemonic movement, a new tendency in a clearly different vein called Noucentisme started to claim that role.²

The immediate heirs of Modernisme had an enormous potential to forge pathways that could be more than just echoes of European modernity, as proposed by the Modernists, and make their own original contributions. They included painters like Joaquim Mir, Isidre Nonell, Ricard Canals, Ramon Pichot, Joaquim Sunyer, Marià Pidelaserra and a very young Pablo Picasso, as well as sculptors like Pau Gargallo (1881-1934) and Emili Fontbona (1879-1938).³ However, they failed to find fertile ground for professional success.⁴ Mir spent some time under psychiatric surveillance, Nonell died young, Pidelaserra became disenchanted and temporarily retired, Fontbona went mad and Pichot, Picasso and Gargallo chose to live in Paris. Even though they had tried to organise themselves in Spain—the most visible attempt was the joint exhibition they held at the Sala Parés in April 1905⁵—their works never became collective in nature. Gargallo was unique, given that he combined dynamic, perfect classicist Noucentisme with an avant-gardism that would allow him to make an international name for himself.⁶

Noucentisme was not a concept created by historiography but is a name that became widespread at the time. Some of those postmodernists, especially Sunyer, and Gargallo to some extent, ended up becoming prominent names in Noucentisme, but most of the participants in this movement were new. The genealogy of this name comes from the essayist Eugeni d'Ors,⁷ who in 1906 heralded a new turn in Catalan culture—even before it happened—and gave it this name without any other special quality—at least at first—than simply designating a wished-for new Catalan culture befitting the new century, the '*nou-cents*' or twentieth century. Therefore, the main goal was to bury the nineteenth century, even though it had closed with such an extraordinary, fertile phenomenon as Modernisme.

It is worth noting that over the years the name Noucentisme ended up taking on a unique meaning of its own, closely related to Mediterraneanist classicism; however, when Ors invented the word, it lacked a given artistic style and would continue to for several years, simply because at that time Ors was more interested in underscoring the existence of a new cultural movement, the one he felt called to lead, than defining its specific aesthetic content. Thus, under the pseudonym of Xènius, which garnered him success, Ors began to hand out 'noucentista' credentials from his daily tribunal, his 'Glosari' column in the newspaper *La Veu de Catalunya*, which had become an extraordinarily influential medium, at least

* Contact address: francesc@francescfontbona.cat

among educated Catalanists. If we look at the artists whom Xènius officially ‘anointed’, we find creators without especially obvious aesthetic affinities. The first one was the sculptor, illustrator and engraver Ismael Smith (1886-1972),⁸ who made very peculiar art which mixed remnants of the Decadent movement with an expressiveness that could at times become grotesque and even sarcastic. He was followed by Feliu Elias (1878-1948),⁹ a well-rounded figure: painter, caricaturist, critic and art historian. Ors held up both of them as pioneers in *noucentista* art, but Smith ended up moving to the United States and Elias’s friendship with Ors ended. Other artists were also ‘anointed’ shortly thereafter: Josep Maria Sert (1907) and Oleguer Junyent (1908), two invaluable painters and decorators who nonetheless had very little in common with either each other or what was later described as Noucentisme.

Pere Torné Esquius (1879-1936)¹⁰ and Josep Clarà were closer to what became the *noucentista* canon. The former’s drawings—as well as his paintings—could be seen as a clear, neat paean to domestic intimism, especially through the illustrations in his book *Els dolços indrets de Catalunya* (1910), while the latter became the most successful Catalan sculptor of his generation—in Paris, however—with a classicism comparable to what prevailed at the heart of the movement. However, Ors ‘anointed’ him on equal footing with his brother Joan, a fellow sculptor, who practised an anecdotalism always focused on children’s figures, which hardly fit with the more widespread idea of Noucentisme.

Joaquim Torres-Garcia (1874-1949), an artist born in Uruguay whose father was from Mataró and who had lived in Catalonia since his adolescence, was fully a part of the Catalan art milieu of that period. He had had a brief Modernist phase in his youth, but he may have been the first to turn towards another trend which would end up becoming predominant later. Torres contributed a very modern version of classicism, filtered through a synthetic taste, as was common in the most recent French art at the time. And Torres’ personal classicism was first expressed as early as July 1901 on the cover of *Pèl & Ploma*: a landscape by the sea in pale tones, with a classical temple in the middle ground and a female figure semi-clad in a blue tunic in the foreground next to a fountain, left unequivocal proof that the style that would be called *noucentista* one decade later already existed back then, unnamed, even though it was in Torres’ personal work.

And that was no coincidence, given that in April 1907, Torres himself published a theoretical article¹¹ in the journal *Empori* entitled ‘La nostra ordinació i el nostre camí’, which challenged Catalan artists to turn towards the Mediterranean tradition—specifically the Greek, Latin and Italian Mediterranean—and avoid the French impressionism, the English pre-Raphaelites and German symbolism that had been fashionable in Catalonia until then. While a few months earlier Ors had striven to create a label for the country’s new art—the new culture—it was

not he but Torres-Garcia who precisely stated the nature of the content of what was supposed to be the new Catalan art: a nature that was rooted in Mediterranean classicism, although it aimed to revive not a new Enlightenment-era neoclassicism but a style imbued in that yet falling within the most recent post-impressionistic tradition.¹² In fact, even though there is no proof that they were in direct contact, Torres-Garcia was conceptually very akin to Aristide Maillol, the artist from Catalunya del Nord (southern France) who was associated with the Nabis and would soon become one of the great twentieth-century European sculptors.

Without causing such a stir, Francesc d’Assís Galí (1880-1965) founded a private art school in Barcelona in 1906 which was attended by different artists who over the years would become the main proponents of Noucentisme, as well as the subsequent generation. Noucentisme was a movement with powerful leaders, and Galí was one of them, even though his highly personal creative work was somewhat eclipsed by his subsequent role at the Directorate General of Fine Arts of the Spanish Republic during the Civil War.¹³

Another leader was the architect Josep Pijoan (1879-1963), the secretary general of the Institut d’Estudis Catalans, which had recently been founded in 1907 on his initiative. Pijoan was a key figure in showcasing Catalonia’s artistic heritage. In 1908, he anonymously published the first volume of *Les pintures murals catalanes*, which showcased the Romanesque murals that served as the foundation for a broad Catalan artistic tradition but had gone largely unnoticed until then. In fact, those murals became the embryo of the future Museu d’Art de Catalunya. Pijoan ended up forging an international career as an art historian much more than as an architect, but personal circumstances soon kept him away from the country, and his presence in the development of Noucentisme—and the IEC that he created—tapered off, even though he never lost touch with important figures in Catalan culture.¹⁴

The political backdrop always matters. It was the time of Solidaritat Catalana (1907), a disparate union of Catalan forces assembled in reaction to the Law on Jurisdictions enacted by the Spanish government to support the military’s attack on the newsrooms of *¡Cu-Cut!* and *La Veu de Catalunya*, instead of punishing it. They had been destroyed because a joke by Joan Junceda making light fun of the army was published in the satirical magazine. Interestingly, Junceda was the son of a military man. However, the members of Solidaritat Catalana were so politically disparate that the alliance lasted too briefly to wage a long, effective political defence of Catalonia’s interests.

One of the most militant Noucentistes from rather early on was the sculptor Esteve Monegal (1888-1970).¹⁵ He drew the cover of two emblematic poetry books in the new movement: the *II llibre de sonets* by Josep Carner (1907) and *La muntanya d’amethistes* by Guerau de Liost (1908). However, neither of the two designs have anything to do with the style that would later be considered typically *nou-*

centista: they were drawings that fit more with the style of Ismael Smith, with whom Monegal had worked at the women's magazine *Or i grana* (1906-1907).¹⁶

And the times were still tumultuous: the summer of 1909 witnessed what became known as Barcelona's Tragic Week, a grassroots insurrection incited by a protest against the mobilisation of young men to fight in Morocco, one of the most drawn-out and unpopular colonial conflicts in Spain. The protest led to fires set at many convents, and politically it created a division among the Catalanists themselves: some were in favour of harsh punishment against the insurrectionists, while others tried to explain their underlying motives.

Ors himself (AKA Xènius), who remained the official arbiter of his invention, Noucentisme, not only continued to pontificate in his 'Glosari' but also took advantage of advertisements from Joaquim Horta's small printing press to create what would become a kind of collective manifesto in the guise of a thorough book which he called the *Almanach dels Noucentistes* (1911). Those who participated in it, both writers and artists, as well as a few others from other fields, created a precise roster of what Ors interpreted that the concept represented five years after he created it. Here we can see that Ors, still quite eclectic, not only included Smith, who had been his first choice, but also included some of the artists who would become emblems of the movement in the future: Josep Clarà and Torné Esquius again, along with Xavier Nogués, Josep Aragay (1889-1973) (who was the artistic director),¹⁷ Pau Gargallo, Josep Pijoan and Joaquim Torres-Garcia. But what is surprising in retrospect is that the roster also included essential post-modernist names, like Nonell and Mir, as well as the more accommodating Canals, who later veered towards a classicist canon compatible with the new and definitive image of Noucentisme. Indeed, the movement was reinforced by the Greek art found in the excavations in Empúries,¹⁸ part of Prat de la Riba's cultural policy. Indeed, Prat was the politician who had pub-

lished the booklet *La nacionalitat catalana* in 1906—which would become a kind of catechism of Catalanism—and now presided over the Diputació de Barcelona on behalf of the Lliga Regionalista. However, the *Almanach* also included Picasso, six years after he had moved from Barcelona to Paris; Picasso was a cubist by that time, but Ors chose a subtle drypoint from his Rose period to represent the artist.¹⁹

We find the same formal hotchpotch at the start of the group Les Arts i els Artistes, founded in 1910, which aimed to be a platform for disseminating artistic, literary and musical Noucentisme that lasted until the Civil War. The embryo had been hosted by the gallery owner Santiago Segura in his Fayans Català workshop; indeed, Segura played a key role in the inception and development of Noucentisme in art.²⁰ Soon it only included fine artists. Presided over by Canals, who was the most international of the group as the painter of Paris's Durand-Ruel Gallery, Les Arts i els Artistes initially included the painters Feliu Elias, Nonell, Joan Colom and Iu Pascual and the sculptors Gargallo, Smith and the brothers Miquel and Lluçia Oslé.

The opening exhibition included yet other notable names, like Mir, Nogués and Clarà, as well as Enric Casanovas, Pere Ysern, Alexandre de Cabanyes, Sebastià Juñer Vidal, Francesc Labarta, Nicolau Raurich, Martínez Padilla, Manuel Ainaud and the sculptor Borrell Nicolau. The only possible conclusion is that postmodernism fit comfortably under the aegis of Noucentisme. And most of this mixed group were assembled in the benchmark art collection of the period: the one owned by Lluís Plandiura (1882-1956), who *de facto* set the canon of the leading artistic generation in the 1920s and 1930s.²¹ The favourite artists of Plandiura, a powerful businessman and former disciple at the Acadèmia Galí, did not represent all Catalan art at the time but essentially Les Arts i els Artistes, some members more than others, but ultimately those who came to be the most representative of Catalan art. This phenomenon seems inexplicable now, given that the most international Catalan artists who ended up being the avant-gardes, Joan Miró and Salvador Dalí—the latter who, incidentally, was a *noucentista* when he was young—were surprisingly left outside the canon and would not garner success at home until well into the post-war years.

Therefore, Noucentisme was never a monolithic style. We have discussed its inception, but even within the hegemonic faction, the one not clearly descended from postmodernism, there were two families: the idealists and the critics, which also somewhat corresponded to political alliances. The idealists were mostly with the Lliga Regionalista—even though many ended up turning to Acció Catalana—while the critics were further left, ranging from *El Poble Català* to non-Lerrouxian republicanism. Naturally, this split was not an exact science, but it can help to schematise and clarify the two families.

Joan Colom (1879-1964), who had gotten his start with Nonell, ended up becoming quite prominent, but he only occasionally fit in within mature Noucentisme. Francesc

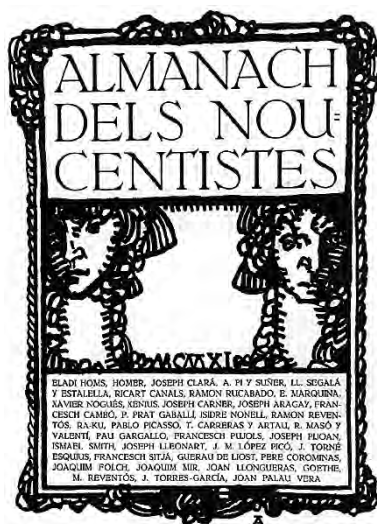


FIGURE 1. Inside front cover of the *Almanach dels Noucentistes* (1911).

Labarta (1883-1963), who seemed like constant presence in the artistic hotspots of the era, became a dandy caricaturist—signing his works Lata—and quite a solid painter, but he never fully partook of *noucentista* classicism.²² However, as a highly respected educator, he influenced many members of the movement's second generation. Iu Pascual (1883-1949) was also an important figure in the world of Les Arts i els Artistes,²³ but he practised a kind of landscape painting that had little to do with the stereotypical Noucentisme. Manuel Humbert (1890-1975) was also a common figure in all things *noucentista* but often went to Paris, where he was a friend and subject of Modigliani.²⁴ Ignasi Mallol (1892-1940), a bit younger, was the author of wonderful *noucentista* murals at the Banc de Valls (1920), which were warmly praised by Ors, but as an easel painter he preferred impressionist landscapes.²⁵

Such a dense, powerful figure as Ors, who worked to support Prat de la Riba's project while he was in Catalonia, was counterbalanced on the other side of Noucentisme by Feliu Elias, who was as influential and solid as Ors but much more realistic. At first they were on the same side. In fact, when a compilation of the first series of Xènius's *Glosari* was published (1907), the cover and title page of the book, which became a sort of magical breviary, were drawings signed by Apa, Elias's pseudonym when he worked as an artist. But Elias launched an ambitious project, the satirical magazine *Papitu* (des 1908),²⁶ which had an enormous influence on Catalan society with its ironic but not banal perspective. He also worked with illustrators who sided with the more conservative faction of society, represented by the humour magazine *¡Cu-Cut!*, which was controlled by the Lliga Regionalista party. The tone of *Papitu* soon bothered the Lliga and a schism was imposed: contributors to one magazine could not contribute to the other, which had many effects, including outright antagonism between Xènius and Apa. However, this did not stop Xènius's *Glosari* from continuing to use the cover that Apa had designed back when they were friends at least seven more years.

Politically, the rupture was wholesale, but socially, given that the two factions more or less addressed the same social world, albeit with their own nuances, they had to coexist. Therefore, we can say that that nebulous cultural entity called Noucentisme continued to exist with two souls: the one we could call idealistic and the one that was more critical.

Despite the defection of Ors and his gang, some of whom had initially contributed to *Papitu*, the magazine carried on and went through a fertile period, albeit clearly outside of institutional Noucentisme. First Apa had to fill many holes because some of his contributors pulled out, but he found strong support among young artists like the illustrators Labarta, Junoy and Humbert. They were joined by an unexpected reinforcement from Paris, the Madrid-based artist Juan Gris, who would later become a prominent name in international cubism and who left *Papitu* a dense collection of visual jokes brimming with per-

sonality, with no traces of cubism but without any signs of Noucentisme either. Nonell tentatively joined the team, as Nogués and Pidelaserra did later on.

Josep M. Junoy (1887-1955) was a peculiar figure: while he identified with Noucentisme at first, he soon turned towards and enthusiastically joined the avant-garde. However, despite his initial work as an illustrator, he became much better known as a poet and cultural activist.²⁷ Other popular illustrators were also loosely identified with Noucentisme, yet at a greater distance, such as Joan D'Ivori (1890-1947)²⁸ and Lola Anglada (1892-1984).²⁹

In parallel, what we could call the official line of *noucentista* art was not represented by *¡Cu-Cut!*, even though it was an instrument of the Lliga, given that it sought contact with a low-brow audience, and its caricaturists—Gaietà Cornet, Joan Llaverias and Joan Junceda—did not have much to do with the streamlined classicism that came to be defined as the mature Noucentisme style.

Noucentisme's definitive shift from an indeterminate new art to a very specific form of Mediterraneanist art came in 1911, shortly after the appearance of the *Almanach*. Nonell died unexpectedly in February of that year; beyond any stylistic considerations, he was the mature Catalan painter with the greatest ability to lead. When the *Almanach* was publicly launched, Nonell was left an empty seat as a sign of mourning, and that vacuum signalled a turning point. Perhaps nobody was aware of it at the time, but the absence of that highly personal painter, who had finally managed to win over the public recently at an exhibition at Fayans Català, was soon tacitly replaced by a painter who would also hold an exhibition at the same gallery that spring.

His 'successor' was Joaquim Sunyer (1874-1956), a painter from Sitges who had started out closer to a group called Colla del Safrà, like Mir, Nonell, Canals and Pichot, but who had spent around fifteen years in Paris and had few ties with the Catalan world. He had earned some degree of status, like the postimpressionists and Steinlen. Now he reappeared in Catalonia, and his re-encounter with the Mediterranean changed his style. He displayed paintings at Fayans, especially landscapes constructed similarly to Cézanne's yet with an expected simplicity. It seemed he might have been heeding Torres-Garcia's Mediterraneanist call, but in fact he was only capturing a collective zeitgeist. The fact was that he had such a huge impact that even such a 'modernist' figure as Miquel Utrillo 'conspired' to get the top intellectual figure in the country, Joan Maragall, the poet and essayist at the peak of his prestige and authority, to write an article enshrining Sunyer in the magazine *Museum*. Things were going so well that far before he was a household name, the emerging political leader of Catalanism, Francesc Cambó, wanted to buy Sunyer's painting that Maragall had praised the most fervently, *Pastoral* (now in the Maragall Archive, overseen by the Biblioteca de Catalunya).

And that was not merely a personal triumph of Sunyer, who curiously had not appeared in the *Almanach dels*



FIGURE 2. *The Goddess* (1928) is an iconic marble sculpture of a female figure carved by Josep Clarà. Clarà Bequest to the Barcelona City Council, 1969; on long-term loan to the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, 1992.

Noucentistes, but the embodiment of Mediterraneanism as a totemic style in the new Catalonia, and therefore the one that finally gave a specific entity to that Noucentisme that Xènius had been promoting, which had spent five years wandering aimlessly in the wilderness.³⁰ It had gone from a serious postimpressionism akin to Van Gogh—for example—to a style clearly marked by Cézanne.

Sunyer was not the only name to be enshrined at that time. Josep Clarà (1878-1958) participated in the great International Art Exhibition of Barcelona in 1911, and his extensive contributions based on figures boasting a vibrant classicism fuelled the sense among the influential cultural sectors that he should earn the top accolades at the event. When the jury failed to award him the top prize, a major homage was organised to encourage him, in which Maragall, once again backing the nascent Noucentisme, paid tribute to the sculptor, this time with a poem written for the occasion.³¹

At that same exhibition, Torres-Garcia presented a large oil painting depicting *Philosophy Presented by Pallas in Parnassus as the Eleventh Muse*. This piece would end up in the library of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, the prime instrument for high-brow culture, which Prat de la Riba's policy had imagined as a fundamental structure in the dreamt-of organisation to make Catalonia a stable, serious nation. In that work, Torres applied the same style he had shown in *Pèl & Ploma* at the beginning of the century without too many variations, back when Noucentisme was not yet either a name or a project.

Back at Fayans in the autumn, another sculptor, Enric Casanovas (1882-1948),³² also garnered notice with sculptures carved with an extraordinarily simple classicism, which were quite different from the more or less Rodin-esque figures that he had once shown at Els Quatre Gats. He had not been cited in the *Almanach* either, but he was a member of Les Arts i els Artistes, and that exhibition at Fayans would be repeated the next year and in 1914. He thus became the prototype of the *noucentista* artist, given that

the more solemn Clarà, who enjoyed high status in Paris, only vaguely dabbled in Catalonia's artistic battles. Classicism even informed the work of Catalans who did not move in *noucentista* circles, like Julio Antonio (1889-1919), a vigorous sculptor from Móra d'Ebre working in Madrid.

However, the most representative paintings of Noucentisme, besides Torres-Garcia's murals in the Palau de la Generalitat, were made by Xavier Nogués (1873-1941). The first ones were in the cellar of the Galeries Laietanes, the art galleries that succeeded Fayans Català, where in 1915 he made tempera murals in bluish tones that endowed the walls with the acerbic yet light-hearted humour that had enshrined the artist as an illustrator in the satirical press and as an etcher, a speciality in which he was a master. That work, located in one of the sites that was closely associated with Les Arts i els Artistes, gave Nogués even more visibility than he already had. The humorous tone was far from his colleagues' idealism, but it also gave Noucentisme a sarcastic dimension that somehow saved the movement from appearing overly cloying. Most of these murals ended up at the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya.³³ A touch of malice was healthy in the artistic version of Noucentisme, the movement that conveyed the voluntarism of Prat de la Riba's project. Nogués was still making a series of drawings for *Revista Nova* that he called *La Catalunya pintoresca*, a delightfully satirical vision of Catalonia that was later compiled in a volume in 1919. In parallel, in 1916 he started another of his most ambitious projects: the murals for the house of Lluís Plandiura, the collector who somehow dictated the artistic laws in that generation. However, irony was absent from this project: he devoted the series to depicting the stories told in Catalan folk songs with the circumspect, ponderous tone that Torres and the young Obiols had used.

Another member of Les Arts i els Artistes—and a sporadic member of Els Evolucionistes—was Jaume Guardia (1875-1935).³⁴ He practised a typical Noucentisme but had little visibility, perhaps because of his early death, a circumstance that also afflicted Francesc Vayreda (1888-1929).³⁵

Barcelona has always had incredible social and cultural clout in Catalonia, but Noucentisme aimed to be a movement not of the capital city but of what was called 'Catalunya-Ciutat'. Terrassa soon had its own *noucentista* cell, which could be personified by the magazine *Ciutat* (1910-1911) or the volume *Ínfimes cròniques d'alta civilitat* (1911), a compilation of notes that the musician and theoretician Joan Llongueras published in *La Sembla* under the pseudonym of Chiron, just as Ors did in *La Veu de Catalunya* (in fact, Ors wrote the prologue to that volume).³⁶ In Sitges, the sculptor Pere Jou (1891-1964)³⁷ and the painter Agustí Ferrer Pino (1884-1960)³⁸ dabbled in Noucentisme, yet without abandoning their own personalities. Examples include the decoration of the Casino Prado (1921-1930) and Terramar, a clearly *noucentista* urban estate in which the architect Josep Maria Martino (1891-1957)³⁹ played a prominent role.

However, the connection between Barcelona and Noucentisme's other urban satellites was not strong, so an episode like the publication of an important article by Maurice Denis—one of the great names in international contemporary painting—in a Girona-based magazine, *Lectura*, run by Prudenci Bertrana, was hardly noticed, even though it enshrined a great Catalan artist—on the other side of the French border—who would have fit in well with the nascent design in Noucentisme. If we bear in mind that the artist was Aristide Maillol (1861-1944),⁴⁰ who would become a prominent figure in international sculpture in the twentieth century, with his striking female figures stripped of all ornamentation, the lack of communication between Barcelona and Girona is even more unfortunate. In the article, Maurice Denis said: 'Maillol is continuing the tradition of Greek sculpture. Just like the Greeks and the great classics, he uses an economy of means, synthesises and makes an utterly simple thing from complicated nature'. He concluded that Maillol was 'an admirable man: he conjoins the virtue of a classic with the ingenuousness of a primitive'.⁴¹ Had these two strands, the work being done in France and the Noucentisme in Barcelona, been aware of one another, it would have unquestionably yielded incredible cultural fertility. By then, Maillol had sculpted his mythical *La Méditerranée*, which would have fit the new style of Noucentisme perfectly, but the news never went beyond the small circle of local readers, even though the Girona-based magazine was sold in four bookshops in Barcelona, so it must have been available there. Therefore, the great art being produced in the part of Catalonia within France interacted easily with the Empordà and the Gironès—that article was not an isolated phenomenon, and some Catalan sculptors, like Joaquim Claret (1879-1964),⁴² even worked with Maillol—but remained unknown in Barcelona. This hindered an effective pan-Catalan interpretation, which could have added what was being done in Roussillon to what was being done in the rest of Catalonia, thus enhancing its volume and power.

The gap between the two Catalonias was so great that one of the best sculptors in Catalonia proper at the time, Ricard Guinó (1890-1973),⁴³ remained unknown during his lifetime because his career had unfolded in France, first as a disciple of Maillol and later as the material executor of the sculptures that Renoir could not make himself because of his deformed hands. Guinó's subsequent long, artistically fruitful career, which could have easily fit within Noucentisme, remained unknown in Barcelona.

Ors' novel *La ben plantada* (1911) became a kind of talisman of Noucentisme, and this is why the sculptors mentioned in it, Clarà and Casanovas, became so prominent in the new movement. There was nothing about Maillol because Ors was not aware of him yet.

Despite Clarà's tepidness, we find him acting as the utmost practitioner of the *noucentista* idea; he went to see Torres-Garcia accompanied by Ors and Joaquim Folch i Torres—the museum man—to convince Torres-Garcia to

accept the assignment to make the aforementioned frescoes on the walls of the Saló de Sant Jordi in the Palau de la Generalitat, on direct commission from Prat de la Riba, president of the Diputació de Barcelona and immediately thereafter the new Mancomunitat de Catalunya. It was a masterpiece that was left unfinished and yet became controversial, even though president Prat was deeply personally involved in it. Torres-Garcia worked on it from 1913 to 1918, and he left four murals—and complete sketches of two more—in his familiar style that mythified the classical world using a modern language, which also revealed the stylistic imprint of Puvis de Chavannes' symbolism.

At that time, Torres-Garcia was also working on something that could have gone unnoticed because of its small scale: the revival of xylography as an art form.⁴⁴ Woodcut prints were considered a Catalan tradition—which was actually shared by many European countries, although not by Spain—which had fallen out of favour after the invention of photogravure. Maillol had also turned to this art form as early as 1892 and used it to illustrate the classics for both children and adults,⁴⁵ but the aforementioned disconnect between Catalonia north and south of the France-Spain border prevented his works from reaching Catalonia proper earlier.

This art was predicted to experience a revival in the *Almanach del Noucentistes*, but the person who actually revived it was Torres-Garcia, who used a woodcut print as the header of the catalogue of his solo exhibition at the Dalmau galleries in January 1912, with an introduction written Xènius. He also illustrated his book *Notes sobre art* (1913), published by Rafael Masó, with more woodcut prints made by himself and his wife and disciple Manolita Piña (1883-1994). After that, Torres-Garcia and Piña continued to practice xylography in their *Revista de l'Escola de Decoració* (1914) and elsewhere, thus ushering in the steady practice of an artistic technique that soon became one of the hallmarks of Noucentisme.

Catalunya-Ciutat encompassed not only Llongueras' Terrassa, which was also Torres-Garcia's adoptive city for a while after he built his home, Mon Repòs, there and decorated it with his outstanding frescoes (1914, now at the Centre Cultural in the former Caixa de Terrassa). Indeed, a totally autochthonous *noucentista* group had also cropped up in Girona, which was not a reflection of anything that had previously been done in Barcelona. It was led by the architect and writer Rafael Masó (1880-1935)—who had appeared in the *Almanach dels Noucentistes* and had published Torres-Garcia's book—and was made up of artists like the sculptor Fidel Aguilar and the potter Joan B. Coromina. It was channelled through the Athenea society, founded in 1913, whose headquarters—obviously designed by Masó—was like a statement of principles, reminiscent of a Greek temple but executed in a style derived from the Vienna Secession: classicism and modernity perfectly juxtaposed. It was a veritable emblem boasting high artistic and cultural quality which was unfortunately torn down in the 1970s. For years, that so-

ciety hosted the most important exhibitions, concerts and cultural events in the city's Noucentisme.⁴⁶ Below, we shall see how the cities of Vilanova i la Geltrú, Sabadell and Valls also had active *noucentista* cells.

Even though it was not as popular a style as Modernisme had been, the public presence of Noucentisme was obvious enough that artists from outside its circles readily copied a powerful *noucentista* aesthetic, such as Josep Guardiola (1869-1950), a potter and painter from Barcelona's Gràcia neighbourhood, although he never played a prominent role.

Counter to popular belief, early Noucentisme coexisted quite easily with the avant-garde that appeared in Catalonia during the same period. The same gallery owner who displayed Torres-Garcia's works, Josep Dalmau,⁴⁷ hosted a surprising exhibition of cubist art in 1912 with the participation of Marcel Duchamp, Albert Gleizes, Juan Gris—a contributor to *Papitu*, we should recall—Marie Laurencin, Jean Metzinger, Le Fauconnier and Fernand Léger.⁴⁸ Cubism was in no way an entrenched style but was just emerging in France, even though it is considered to have been founded in 1906, at least for public consumption. It was welcomed with interest by the Noucentistes, who appreciated its constructive nature. We think of Noucentisme as synonymous with nineteenth-century art, but what was presented at the Dalmau gallery was clearly a genuine twentieth-century product.

Not only was there interest in the new school; some Catalan *noucentista* artists like Sunyer, Maillol and Hugué spent the summer living in Céret (in Vallespir, France) with fully cubist artists like Picasso, Gris and Braque in a kind of cultural colony that lasted such a long time that a 'Céret School' has been suggested. With some comings and goings, the group was started in 1910 by Manolo Hugué (1872-1945), a sculptor—and painter—who had experienced the Barcelona of Els Quatre Gats but who flourished internationally from France with themes focused on the figure, particularly female figures, but much more schematically and expressively than typically *noucentista* sculptors.⁴⁹ An anarchic personality with a tendency towards marginality, Hugué was never part of *noucentista* orthodoxy, but his profound classicism, drawn from his poet friend Jean Moréas, somewhat resembled the Noucentisme in Xavier Nogués's 'critical' faction.

Politically, 1914 was the year when the Mancomunitat de Catalunya was established; the four 'provincial' councils of Catalonia were not abolished but united to build a country, which Prat, the first president of the Mancomunitat, pursued as the president of the Barcelona Provincial Council. This gave political Catalanism extraordinary possibilities for action, clearly limited to culture and public works, though, without the option of entering politics deeply, as this remained the exclusive purview of the state.

The library of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans opened to the public with the name of Biblioteca de Catalunya, and the sculpture called *Catalonia and the Sciences* meant to decorate its reading room was commissioned to the

sculptor Josep Llimona (1863-1934).⁵⁰ The spirit of that sculpture (today at the IEC's current headquarters, the Casa de la Convalescència in Hospital de la Santa Creu),⁵¹ matched Noucentisme, but formally Llimona was the most genuine representative of *modernista* sculpture. His female figures were more Nordic than Mediterranean, although he was strongly ideologically aligned with the promoters of the IEC.

Francesc d'Assís Galí's private initiative of creating an art school coalesced in 1915 as the official art education establishment, called the Escola Superior dels Bells Oficis. Galí himself was the director, but Monegal—now focused on delicately rendered female statuary—played an important role in planning it as part of the new Mancomunitat's cultural policy. Even though the school was officially devoted to the artistic trades, it was designed to be a modern alternative to the official fine arts school—the Llotja—that depended on the state, which had been overly rigid for some time. Different teachers in the new school went on to have important careers, including Gargallo, Josep Llorens Artigas, Solanic and the Valls native Jaume Mercadé (1889-1967),⁵² who combined goldsmithing with extraordinarily powerful stark, austere paintings inspired by the landscape of the Camp de Tarragona, which fit more with the aesthetic that ended up being called *evolucionista* than with Galí's own aesthetic.

Ramon Sunyer (1889-1963) was another great goldsmith, and in what were called then the *bells oficis* [artistic trades],⁵³ the Serra Abella brothers and Francesc Quer stood out in the field of pottery; Josep M. Gol and Ricard Crespo in glass; Miquel Soldevila in enamel; Tomàs Aymat in tapestry; and Antoni Badrina, Ramon Rigol and Joan Busquets Jané (1874-1949)—who had been an exemplary Modernist—in furniture and interior design.

Continuing with the Catalunya-Ciutat dynamic, the Exposició d'Art Nou Català (1915) was held in Sabadell, but its influence extended far beyond the city and it became an important show in the world of Les Arts i els Artistes.⁵⁴ A new *noucentista* artistic group coalesced in Vilanova i la Geltrú around the recently created magazine *Themis* (1915-1916). It was brought to life by the painters Rafael Sala, Enric-C. Ricart (1993-1960)⁵⁵—who had recently returned from Italy, where he had been exposed to both Renaissance art and Futurism—and Josep F Ràfols (1889-1965), who was also an architect and art theoretician, and fervently Catholic.⁵⁶ In 1915, Ricart had published his first woodcut prints, that art form that Torres had revived and Ricart practised in an extremely personal and intense way, although he never stopped painting. Later on, new future-looking initiatives would crop up around this 'Vilanova School'.⁵⁷

These names show that the concerns of Noucentisme were being adopted by a younger crop of artists. Some of them, like Ricart and Josep Obiols (1894-1967), Torres-Garcia's former student at his Escola de Decoració, became key figures in artistic Noucentisme. Obiols created some of the movement's emblematic designs, like the

trademark of *La Revista* (1917), one of the most iconic publications of Noucentisme, which he made with woodcut. He had previously illustrated books with woodcut prints back in 1916 and would continue to do so with simple female figures that personified popular modesty, as well as emblems of the consolidated Noucentisme.⁵⁸

The taste for woodcut prints was peaking. Several artists had used it—or its surrogate, linocut—to illustrate the covers of *Revista Nova* in 1916, including Humbert, Francesc Vayreda, Nogués, Colom, Labarta, Canals, Aragay and Ricart. Many would not return to it, but they had proven that it was fashionable. It was also used by Fidel Aguilar in Girona, and Ricart not only used it for illustrations but also presented woodcut prints in exhibitions (1917), while the magazine *Quaderns d'estudi*, directed by Ors, published an article on engravings on boxwood written by the French author Paul Bornet, who was regarded as an international proponent of this art.

Usually, the last of the fine arts to turn to a new style is architecture. That is logical, given that stirring up something as cumbersome as architecture is much more arduous and laborious than making a drawing or painting or even shaping a figure. Obviously this slowed down *noucentista* building construction. Until then, the only original architecture that may resemble Noucentisme was by Rafael Masó, but that was not the way of most *noucentista* architecture. Instead, it mostly came from groups of schools resulting from the General School Building Plan of the Barcelona Town Hall's Culture Commission under the direction of the architect Josep Goday (1881-1936), who had worked with Josep Puig i Cadafalch to research his *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, started in 1909. Goday's⁵⁹ most prominent work until then had been the Post Office building in Barcelona (designed in 1914 but not built until twelve years later) in conjunction with Jaume Torres Grau. Although its interior murals were *noucentista* (by Galí, Labarta, Obiols and Canyellas), the overall lines revealed a pompous historicism, in line with the official state taste, especially during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, when the building was completed.

But logically, the public school project took time to materialise. The La Farigola school group in Barcelona's Vallcarca neighbourhood was built between 1917 and 1923, Baixeras between 1918 and 1922 and Lluís Vives between 1920 and 1923. The Escola del Mar in Barceloneta—made of wood and dismountable—opened in 1921 (it was later destroyed), and Pere Vila was started in 1920 but not finished until the fall of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, which had halted construction on it. In fact, construction was also stopped on other schools, given that the project was poorly viewed by the dictatorial regime. That is, the school groups' architecture was not visible in its entirety on the streets until the 1930s, which means that in the public eye, Noucentisme did not have a strong showing in architecture until years after the movement peaked.

Another series of buildings typical of Noucentisme and its promotion of culture for the people were public librar-

ies. Promoted by Ors as the Director of Public Instruction, the libraries in Valls, Olot, Sallent and Les Borges Blanques opened in 1918 and the one in Canet de Mar in 1919. They were designed by the architect Lluís Planas i Calvet (1879-1954) and reflected the guidelines of classicism and clarity stipulated in the commission. The library in Valls best conserves its original appearance. Ors' successor, Jordi Rubió, opened up three more public libraries: the ones in Vendrell and Pineda de Mar in 1920—the latter quite well conserved—and the one in Figueres in 1922. This was another project halted by the Primo de Rivera dictatorship (1923-1930).⁶⁰

In 1917, Noucentisme was dealt a harsh blow with the unexpected death of Prat de la Riba, its supreme inspiration. This signalled a shift in direction, given that his successor in the presidency of the Mancomunitat, Josep Puig i Cadafalch (1867-1956), a great architect, art historian and heavyweight in the Lliga, did not have Prat's same ability to reach consensus.⁶¹ This led to a gradual disintegration of the cultural apparatus undergirding the movement: essential names like Ors and Torres-Garcia ended up leaving, and the party that had been the driving force behind it all—the Lliga—ended up being abandoned by its more cultural sector, who defected to Acció Catalana, which had less electoral clout than the party from which they had split off.

Additionally, 1917 was a politically critical year, with a general strike, military Defence Boards and the Assembly of Parliaments. On the cultural front, the seminal French Art Exhibition was held in Barcelona, where three of the great French art *salons* displayed their works, given that they were unable to in Paris because the Great War—later known as the First World War—heavily conditioned everything. Another major cultural impact that year was the presentation of Serge Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* at Barcelona's Teatre del Liceu, which combined a colourful aesthetic with Slavic roots with the open influence of Picasso's avant-gardism: the artist was one of the set and costume designers.

In addition, that year a new crop of young artists who wanted to distance themselves from *noucentista* idealism began to work, at first tentatively. Based on Torres-Garcia's manifesto entitled *Art-Evolució*, they called themselves the *Evolucionistes*.⁶² They included the painters Joan Serra, Alfred Sisquella and Ernest Enguix; Joan Corràs, who would later become a critic; the sculptors Josep Viladomat and Josep Granyer (1909-1983)—perennially ironic;⁶³ and the potter Francesc Elias. They had drunk from the fountain of Cézanne yet interpreted it not with Sunyer's clear vision but through the earth tones that symbolised the uneasiness in the air at that time.

The Italianism that had been so powerful until then was reinforced by Josep Aragay's (1916-1917) journey to Italy, which had new theoretical and literary consequences, although it also began to lose steam. Nonetheless, Italy was a siren call that attracted more artists, like the young Obiols, who also went there in 1919, the architects Rai-

mon Duran Reynals (1895-1966), Nicolau M Rubió i Tudurí (1891-1991)⁶⁴ and Ramon Reventós (1892-1976), who went in 1920, and Josep F Ràfols, who went in 1922, with the same fervour.

Rubió, who was also a writer and a wonderful landscaper, designed the Montserrat monastery in Barcelona's Pedralbes neighbourhood (1922)—later Maria Reina parish church—with total Brunelleschism, and Duran Reynals completed it around thirty years later.⁶⁵ The brothers Ramon (1886-1937) and Antoni Puig i Gairalt (1888-1935), originally from Galí's circle, were very prominent architects of Noucentisme in the first third of the century but ended up evolving towards the rationalism of the GATCPAC.⁶⁶

There were several other important names within *noucentista* architecture. Cèsar Martinell (1888-1973), a totally personal *noucentista*, nonetheless built in a style derived from Modernisme due to his devotion to Gaudí.⁶⁷ Other names worth recalling are Josep M. Pericas (1881-1966),⁶⁸ Adolf Florensa (1889-1968),⁶⁹ Josep Danés (1891-1955),⁷⁰ the great landscaper and illustrator Joan Mirambell (1892-1983) and Lluís Bonet Garí (1893-1993).

We could say that the specific definition of artistic Noucentisme was already in place. All the master lines of the style had already been drawn, and its prominent names had carried on with their careers and exhibitions, even though they did not evolve much.

The art exhibitions sponsored by the Barcelona Town Hall were an important new development. They were less ambitious than the exhibitions that had been held since 1888, but those larger ones were irregular in frequency, whereas these were annual, the expression of a steady cultural policy aimed at consolidating the country's role in the world of living art. Indeed, they started in 1918 but did not extend beyond 1923, with the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. Later, they were halted, like so many other things that were the victims of the new military regime.

Those municipal exhibitions somehow prompted the appearance of groups of young artists who had the chance to participate in them once they had banded together. In addition to the Evolucionistes, the best-known one despite its brief life, there was the Agrupació Courbet, founded in 1918 and a kind of continuation of what was known as the Vilanova School. It included Sala, Ricart and Ràfols, as well as Joan Miró, Obiols, Togores, Domingo, Rafael Benet, Marian A. Espinal and the potter and critic Llorens Artigas, while Lluís Mercadé hovered nearby. Unlike the Evolucionistes, most of whom were artists trained by Labarta who painted the slums, the Courbets, many of whom were Galí's disciples, started from the consolidated line of Noucentisme, and some of them (Ricart, Obiols) staunchly carried it on.

Of these names, some of the ones who were the least involved in the Agrupació Courbet had quite dense personal careers. Rafael Benet (1889-1979) was a very well-rounded figure: even though he had been a clear *noucentista* in Terrassa as a young man, he evolved towards

Fauve-influenced painting while also becoming a prominent art critic and historian.⁷¹ Francesc Domingo (1893-1974) went through different stylistic periods, from a style verging on cubism to extraordinarily delicate figuration, with a perspective close to Noucentisme.⁷² And Josep de Togores (1893-1970) went through a period of extraordinary success in 'neoclassical' Paris but evolved towards a personal avant-gardism before he returned home and turned to a conventional realism.⁷³

However, generally speaking, the new groups created at the time were closer to suburbialism than Noucentisme. The group that lasted the longest and was the most consistent was Nou Ambient, led by Francesc Camps Ribera and made up of Ramon Soler Liró, Antoni Roca, Vidal Galícia and Iglésias. They held five joint exhibitions at the Galeries Dalmau between 1919 and 1923, defended the figure of Nonell and published the magazine *Nou Ambient* (1924), which was often censored by the dictatorial regime. They later held smaller group shows at other galleries.⁷⁴

Another group of young artists, the Agrupació d'Artistes Catalans, whose most notable members were Emili Bosch-Roger and Pere Daura (1896-1976),⁷⁵ were originally closer to the stark world of the Evolucionistes than to the revived Noucentisme of the Courbets. The adjective '*noucentista*' reappeared in a new group, the Saló Noucentista (1921-1924), led by Alfred Figueres, who shared training with Labarta with the Evolucionistes; however, even though they used its name they were not closely connected with the official line of Noucentisme.

Some of the artists moved from one group to another: maybe they started in one but later showed their works with another, and independent artists occasionally joined one of the groups, even though they may not have fully shared their orthodoxy. They include Josep Mompou (1888-1968), who occasionally showed his works as a member of the Evolucionistes but later became perhaps the best synthesis between the joy of Fauvism and the serenity of Noucentisme.⁷⁶

Most of these groups, which fell outside the master lines of Noucentisme, can be considered the Generation of '17 because of the major crisis of 1917.⁷⁷ Even though the surrealistic Miró came later and Daura and Togores also went through important avant-garde periods, they mostly succeeded among the public of their time, making their streamlined figurativism the most common style in galleries, in large-group and even international shows, and the one that the Generalitat promoted during the Civil War.

Woodcut prints were not just a passing fluke. They took root among both the Noucentistes and others who were not involved in that movement. In the Reus-based magazine *La columna de foc* (1918-1920), Lluís Ferré personified a style in line with the Evolucionistes, two of whom, Enguiu and Francesc Elias, contributed with woodcuts or linocuts.

In Sabadell, Ricard Marlet (1896-1976) had cultivated a streamlined woodcut style since 1918 that was compatible

with that of his more famous counterparts.⁷⁸ They were used in the concert programmes of the Associació de Música de Sabadell, just as Ricart's were for the programmes of Barcelona's Associació de Música da Càmera. Many ex-libris were also made with woodcuts. Therefore, the image of the Associació de Música da Càmera's woodcut print was associated with highbrow culture, and Ricart made illustrations for publications issued by La Sirène in Paris in 1920. He, Obiols and Marlet became extremely active in the 1920s, and woodcuts also appeared in premium advertisements, like the ones for the hat shop owned by Joan Prats—Joan Miró's close friend and accomplice—which Francesc Canyellas (1889-1938) started making in 1921. Canyellas was truly a multifaceted artist who also made frescoes and designed all sorts of decorative elements, including sgraffiti, but always within the orthodoxy of mature Noucentisme.⁷⁹

A diehard Sabadell native, Antoni Vila Arrufat (1894-1989) came to Noucentisme a bit late, but he became one of its leading muralists, just like his contemporary Obiols. He also worked in easel painting and stood out as a chalcographic engraver who came up with new techniques.⁸⁰

Manolo Hugué, one of the most international Catalan artists from France, also occasionally dabbled in woodcuts, such as the illustrations for *Coeur de chêne* by Pierre Reverdy (1921), published by his dealer Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler. And in Catalonia, Antoni Ollé Pinell (1897-1991) almost fully turned to woodcuts in 1922, albeit with a *noucentista* tone only at the beginning.⁸¹ Ricart made several extraordinary bibliophile illustrations, like *La vida es sueño de Calderón* published by Gustau Gili in 1933. Around the same time, Montserrat Casanova (1909-1990), who was also a painter, was one of the few women making *noucentista* woodcuts.⁸²

However, the sculptors from the new generation, such as Josep Dunyac (1886-1957),⁸³ Joan Borrell Nicolau (1888-1951),⁸⁴ Rafael Solanic (1895-1990),⁸⁵ Llorenç Cairó (1896-1991), Martí Llauredó (1903-1957)⁸⁶ and Joaquim Ros (1906-1991),⁸⁷ did not veer far from the *noucentista* canon. The recurring theme was the nude woman, often erroneously identified as 'Ben Plantada'. Despite this, the most illustrious of all of them, Joan Rebull (1899-1981),⁸⁸ explicitly protested when he was called a Noucentista.

Though channelled through the government of the dictatorship, the 1929 Barcelona International Expo nonetheless drew on Noucentisme, partly because its '*comisario regio*' was Lluís Plandiura, who had an a very clear aesthetic agenda closely tied to Les Arts i els Artistes. If the Palau Nacional de Montjuïc, the expo's main building, was and still is pompous and monumentalist, inside—just like the Post Office—the murals on the dome by Galí, Humbert and Togores were clearly *noucentista*, while the murals in other areas were painted by Obiols, Colom, Canyellas, Josep M. Xiró and Labarta. And in the realm of architecture, the huge Alfons XIII and Maria Cristina pavilions were genuine examples of Puig i Cadafalch at his closest to

Noucentisme. Likewise, Goday, Duran Reynals and Pelai Martínez built palaces within the Brunelleschian wave, still fuelled by a monograph published by Ràfols in 1926 based on his direct knowledge of this style.

Poble Espanyol on Montjuïc, which the king himself inspected, and which was supposed to be a complex carrying the message of the unity of Spanish art, was designed by such successful artists as Utrillo and Nogués and the architects Reventós and Francesc Folguera, who made it exemplary despite the fact that it could have ended up a pastiche.⁸⁹

Some of the architects emerging from the *noucentista* milieu began to adapt their classicism to a monumentalism closer to the new official art, like Francesc de P. Nebot (1883-1965) in his striking Teatre Coliseum in Barcelona (1923). Eusebi Bona (1890-1972) took a similar position.⁹⁰

Though it lacked the support of the now-defunct Mancomunitat, Noucentisme did not end. It had taken root in a significant part of the more educated sectors of Catalan society. If we take solo exhibitions (in the Dalmau, Fayans, Laietanes, Parés, Camarín, Areñas, Pinacoteca, Busquets and Syra galleries, as well as in Girona, Reus and Sabadell) as an indicator to measure the presence of artists more closely or distantly associated with this movement, we find that until the Civil War, Josep Aragay held nine, but Iu Pascual, one of the first but most discreet, held twenty-one. Mir held twelve (although his style was no longer equated with the stable version of Noucentisme), Humbert twelve, Labarta and Rafael Benet eleven each, Nogués and Torné Esquius ten each, Enric Casanovas nine, Pidelaserra and Feliu Elias eight each, and even though he died in 1911, Nonell also had eight posthumous exhibitions until the war. Joan Serra also had eight, Manolo Hugué and Francesc Vayreda seven each, Torres-Garcia six (despite his later disconnect from Noucentisme) and Ràfols five. Nonetheless, some of the historically prominent names had just a few solo shows, like Galí, Sunyer, Ricart and Vila Arrufat with only four each, Clarà and Gargallo with three each and Obiols with just two. The artists from the younger generations made a stronger showing, like Jaume Mercadé with fifteen and Mompou with ten. Despite his clout in Paris, Togores only had four exhibitions in Catalonia.⁹¹

The war interrupted everything, yet Noucentisme still figured in the relatively normal cultural life in the rear-guard, especially with painters from the Generation of '17. In the postwar years, Noucentisme was taken as an aesthetic banner of the stifled Catalanism, perhaps because art was one of the few identity hallmarks that could be displayed with impunity, as long as it did not convey explicitly 'subversive' messages. For example, Noucentisme was prominent in the festivities to enthrone the Virgin of Montserrat (1947) alongside young intellectuals like Josep Benet and Alexandre Cirici Pellicer. Clarà, Casanovas, Obiols, Ricart, Vila-Arrufat, Sunyer, Aragay, Mercadé, Ràfols, Duran Reynals, Mompou, Marlet and even Galí when he returned from exile—albeit in Galí's

case it was mixed with a kind of surrealism who carried on Noucentisme, as obvious as it was discreet, in Montserrat and elsewhere in the country, which helped to build a bridge with the former world, now lost.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- [1] See Francesc FONTBONA: 'The Modernist Visual and Plastic Arts in the Catalan-speaking Lands', *Catalan Historical Review*. Institut d'Estudis Catalans (Barcelona), no. 1 (2008), pp. 113-132 (pp. 251-267 in Catalan).
- [2] Mercè VIDAL I JANSÀ (dir): 'Joies del Noucentisme', *Enciclopèdia Catalana*, Barcelona 2017; Aleix CATASÚS and Bernat PUIGDOLLERS: *El Noucentisme a Barcelona*, Àmbit /Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2016; Santiago ESTRANY I CATANY: *L'art gràfic al Noucentisme*, La Comarcal, Argenton 2002; Mercè VIDAL I JANSÀ: *Teoria i crítica en el noucentisme: Joaquim Folch i Torres*. Prologue by Joan AINAUD DE LASARTE. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Biblioteca Abat Oliva, no. 103. Barcelona, 1991; *El Noucentisme. Un projecte de modernitat*, Generalitat de Catalunya Departament de Cultura; *Enciclopèdia Catalana*, Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona, 1994, which includes an extensive bibliography; Francesc FONTBONA and Francesc MIRALLES: 'Del Modernisme al Noucentisme, 1888- 1917', *Història de l'Art Català*. Vol. VII. Edicions 62, Barcelona 1985; Francesc FONTBONA: "Noucentisme" y otras corrientes postmodernistas', in *Tierras de España, Cataluña II*, Fundación Juan March & Noguer, Barcelona 1978, pp. 239-284 .
- [3] Núria GIL DURAN: *Picasso Emili Fontbona*, Fundació Museu Picasso, Barcelona 2020; [Pilar VÉLEZ and Núria RIVERO:] *Emili Fontbona 1879-1938 Escultor*, Museu Frederic Marès, Barcelona 1999; Francesc FONTBONA: 'La escultura postmodernista: Emili Fontbona'. *Estudios Pro Arte*, no. 1, (1975). pp. 10-30.
- [4] Francesc FONTBONA: *La crisi del Modernisme artístic*, Curial, Barcelona 1975.
- [5] This had been a group made up of Fontbona, Pidelaserra, Ysern, Nogués, Torres-Garcia and Sebastià Junyer Vidal, who were left over from an attempt to group together restless youths sponsored by Sebastià Junyer. Prior to the *Glosari*, Ors was virtually the only person to praise and encourage them. Octavi de ROMEU [Eugeni d'Ors]: 'Gazeta d'Arts. Saló Parés', *El Poble Català* (Barcelona) (8 April 1905), p. 2.
- [6] Pierrette GARGALLO-ANGUERA: *Pablo Gargallo. Catalogue raisonné*, Éditions de l'Amateur, Paris 1998 (there is a great deal of literature on him both in Catalonia and abroad, which I summarise with this one, the most comprehensive work).
- [7] Laura MERCADER: *En un principi era... Dibuix, figura i màscara en l'obra d'Eugeni d'Ors*, doctoral thesis, Universitat de Barcelona 2017; *Eugenio d'Ors: del arte a la letra*, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid, 1997; Enric JARDÍ: *Eugeni d'Ors, vida i obra*, Aymà 1967.
- [8] *Ismael Smith: La bellesa i els monstres*, MNAC, Barcelona 2017; Enrique GARCÍA HERRÁIZ: *Ismael Smith i Marí: Barcelona, 1886-White Plains, New York, 1972*, Ajuntament, Cerdanyola del Vallès 2007; Josep M. CADENA: *Els dibuixants del ¡Cu-cut! Ismael Smith: 1905-1911*, Àmbit, Barcelona 2015; *Ismael Smith: Cuaderno de París, Fundación Cultural MAPFRE Vida*, Madrid 2001; *Ex-libris: quaderns d'investigació exlibristica* (Barcelona), No. 2 (December 1989), Monogràfic Ismael Smith; Manuel J. BORJA-VILLEL: *The Art of Ismael Smith*, Hispanic Society of America, New York 1989; Josep PALAU I FABRE: *Ismael Smith, reivindicat*, Fundació Palau-Centre d'Art, Caldes d'Estrac 2005; *Ismael Smith: Barcelona, París, Nova York*, Palau Antiguitats i Clavell & Morgades Antiguitats, Barcelona [2018]; Carmina BORBONET: *Ismael Smith: Precursor del noucentisme: escultures, dibuixos i gravats*, Sala d'Art Artur Ramon, Barcelona 1989; Enrique GARCÍA HERRÁIZ and Carmina BORBONET: *Ismael Smith, gravador*, Biblioteca de Catalunya & Calcografía Nacional, Barcelona-Madrid 1989.
- [9] *Feliu Elias: la realitat com a obsessió*, MNAC, Barcelona 1922; Josep M. CADENA: *Els dibuixants del ¡Cu-cut! Feliu Elias Apa*, Àmbit, Barcelona 2017 and 2018; Elvira ELIAS: *Una senyora de Barcelona*, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2012; Miquel MOLINS: *Feliu Elias una contribució a la història de la crítica d'art a Catalunya*, doctoral thesis, UAB, Bellaterra 1987 (microfiche); Miquel MOLINS: 'Feliu Elias dins del seu temps', *Revista de Catalunya* (Barcelona), 1986, pp. 109-126; *Feliu Elias 'Apa'*, Museu d'Art Modern, Barcelona 1986; *Apa*, Ed. Tàber, Barcelona [1970].
- [10] *Pere Torné Esquiús: poètica quotidiana*, MNAC, Barcelona 2017; Montserrat CASTILLO: 'Perrault, Charles; quatre contes il·lustrats per Pere Torné Esquiús', in *El patrimoni de la imaginació. Llibres d'ahir per a lectors d'avui*, Institut d'Estudis Balearics, Palma 2007; *Pere Torné Esquiús*, Caja de Madrid, Barcelona 1987.
- [11] Torres-Garcia was almost equally an artist and a theoretician. Regarding his latter work, see the anthology Joaquim TORRES-GARCIA: *Escrits sobre art*, overseen by Francesc FONTBONA, Edicions 62 & La Caixa (MOLC), Barcelona 1980.
- [12] Pere TIÓ I CASAS: 'Joaquim Torres-Garcia a Mataró', *Fulls del Museu Arxiu de Santa Maria* (Mataró), No. 118 (2017), pp. 18-36; Núria LLORENS MORENO: 'Busquem l'etern en lo nostre: Torres-Garcia i la decoració del Saló de Sant Jordi', in Marià CARBONELL I BUADES: *El Palau de la Generalitat de Catalunya. Art i arquitectura*, Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona 2015, vol. 2, pp. 558-613; *Torres-García*, Museu Picasso, Barcelona 2003; Pilar GARCÍA-SEDAS: *Joaquín Torres-García y Rafael Barradas: un diálogo escrito, 1918-1928*, Parsifal & Libertad Libros, Barcelona and Montevideo 2001; Joan SUREDA: *Torres García, passió clàssica*, Caixa de Terrassa-Lunewerg, Barcelona 1998; Pilar GARCÍA-SEDAS: *Joaquim Torres-Garcia: epistolari català: 1909-1936*, Curial Edicions Catalanes, Barcelona 1997; Raquel PEREDA: *Joaquín Torres-García*, Fundación Banco

- de Boston, Montevideo 1991; Enric JARDÍ: *Torres García*, Polígrafa, Barcelona 1973; J. TORRES-GARCÍA: *Historia de mi vida*, Asociación de Arte Constructivo, Montevideo 1939 (it has been reissued several times).
- [13] Albert MERCADER: *Francesc d'A. Galí, vida, obra i pensament*, doctoral thesis, UPF, Barcelona 2013; Roser MASIP I BOLADERAS: *Francesc d'A. Galí. Nova visió pedagògica de l'ensenyament artístic*, doctoral thesis, Universitat de Barcelona. Facultat de Belles Arts, Barcelona 1994.
- [14] Bonaventura BASSEGODA: 'Pijoan i Soteras, Josep', *Diccionari d'historiadors de l'art català, valencià i balear*, IEC, Barcelona [2016], which has a meticulous bibliography (online) https://dhac.iec.cat/dhac_mp.asp?id_personal=527 (consulted 13 August 2023); Pol PIJOAN and Pere MARAGALL: *Josep Pijoan. La vida errant d'un català universal*, Galerada, Catalunya 2014; Enric JARDÍ: *Tres diguem-ne desarrelats. Pijoan. Ors. Gaziol*, Barcelona, Selecta, 1966.
- [15] *Myrurgia 1916-1936. Bellesa i glamour*, MNAC-Lunwerg-Myrurgia, Barcelona 2003; Francesc FONTBONA: 'Esteve Monegal, artista noucentista (1888-1970)', *D'Art* no. 1, (April 1972), pp. 87-100. (In this article, I clarified that the Emili Montaner who signed drawings in *Or i Grana* was actually Monegal's pseudonym, information that virtually nobody has reported since then.)
- [16] Mireia FREIXA: 'La revista femenina *Or y Grana* (1906-1907). Dona i caricatura política en els inicis del Noucentisme' in *L'art de narrar les imatges: escrits en homenatge a Joaquim Garriga i Riera* / coord. by Meritxell Anton, Montse Gumà and Joan Bosch Ballbona (ed. lit.), 2021.
- [17] *Diari de viatge a Itàlia del pintor Josep Aragay 1916-1917*, Xavier CASTANER (ed.), Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2013; Xavier CASTANYER I ANGELET: *Josep Aragay, artista i teòric del Noucentisme*, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2012; Ricard BRU: 'La font de santa Anna del portal de l'Àngel', *Materia*, no. 4, (Barcelona), 2005, pp. 77-94; Ricard BRU: 'L'art de Josep Aragay. El seu ideari a l'exposició d'Art Nou Català de Sabadell (1915)', *Quadern de les idees, les arts i les lletres*, no. 148 (2004), pp. 15-19.
- [18] *Empúries, la gran empresa arqueològica de J. Puig i Cadafalch, 1908-1923*, Empúries, Barcelona 2017.
- [19] There is a facsimile edition: *Almanach dels Noucentistes*, with a prior study by Francesc FONTBONA, José J. de Olañeta Editor, Barcelona 1980; and see Aleix CATASÚS and Bernat PUIGDOLLERS: *L'Almanach dels Noucentistes: la consolidació d'un moviment*, Fundació Rafael Masó: Ursula Llibres, Girona 2021.
- [20] Jaume VIDAL I OLIVERAS: *Santiago Segura (1879-1918): una història de promoció cultural*, Museu d'Art de Sabadell, 1999.
- [21] Mireia BERENGUER: 'Lluís Plandiura i Pou', in *Repertori de Col·leccionistes i Col·leccions d'Art i Arqueologia de Catalunya*, IEC, online <https://rccaac.iec.cat/colleccions/> (consulted on 14 August 2023); Manel VILAR I BAYÓ: *Lluís Plandiura. El gran col·leccionista*, Edicions de La Garriga Secreta, La Garriga 2017.
- [22] *Lata*, Tàber, Barcelona 1969.
- [23] Alexandre CUÉLLAR I BASSOLS: *El pintor Iu Pascual. Biografia íntima*, Dalmau Carles Pla editors, [Girona] 1983.
- [24] Lluís BOADA I DOMÈNECH: *Manuel Humbert (1890-1975)*, doctoral thesis, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona 2013; *Humbert*, text by Francisco MIRALLES, Taber, Barcelona 1970; Rafael BENET and Marçal OLIVAR: *El pintor Manuel Humbert: estudios críticos y biográficos*, Edimar Gráf. Alfa, Barcelona 1960; Lluís BOADA I DOMÈNECH: *L'àngel del Noucentisme. Vida i obra del pintor Manuel Humbert*, Cossetània, Valls 2025.
- [25] Miquel-Àngel CODES LUNA: *Ignasi Mallol. La Catalunya quiescent*, Diputació de Tarragona and Viena, Barcelona 2010.
- [26] *Papitu*, prologue by Sebastià GASCH, Tàber, Barcelona 1968; Lluís SOLÀ I DACHS: *Papitu (1908-1937)*, Bruguera, Barcelona [1968].
- [27] Jaume VALLCORBA: *Noucentisme, mediterraneisme i classicisme. Apunts per a la història d'una estètica*, Quaderns Crema, Barcelona 1994; 3 dibujantes: *Pidelaserra/ Mompou/ Junoy*, Taber, Barcelona 1970.
- [28] Josep M. CADENA et al.: *D'Ivori: la màgia de la il·lustració*, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1997; Josep M. CADENA: *Exposició d'Ivori: Sala de 'El Tinell': catàleg bibliogràfic y estudio preliminar*, INLE, Barcelona 1975.
- [29] Lola ANGLADA: *Memòries 1892-1984*, Diputació de Barcelona, 2015; Montserrat CASTILLO: *Lola Anglada, o, La creació del paradís propi*, Meteora, Barcelona 2000.
- [30] Isabel SUNYER HANAPPIER and Juan A. VILLALBA MORENO: *Catálogo razonado de Joaquim Sunyer*, <https://www.joaquimsunyer.com> (accessed May 15, 2025); Francesc FONTBONA: *Joaquim Sunyer en el Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao*. In *Buletina* 8, Bilboko Arte Ederren Museoa, Bilbao 2014, pp. 159-183 (in Spanish and English) and 281-290 (in Basque); *Joaquim Sunyer, la construcció d'una mirada*, MNAC/Fundación MAPFRE Vida, Barcelona-Madrid 1999; Vinyet PANYELLA: *Joaquim Sunyer*, Gent Nostra-Columna, Barcelona 1997; *Joaquim Sunyer (A l'entorn del Clot dels Freres)*, Ajuntament de Girona, 1990; *Joaquim Sunyer, 1874-1956*, Caja de Pensiones, Madrid 1983; *Exposición Antológica Joaquín Sunyer 1874-1956*, Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Dirección General de Bellas Artes, Comisaría General de Exposiciones, Madrid 1974; Rafael BENET: *Sunyer*, Polígrafa, Barcelona 1974.
- [31] *Al taller de Josep Clarà. Guixos d'un escultor irrepètible*, MEAM, Barcelona 2016; *Josep Clarà i els anys de París 1900-1931 L'ànima vibrant*, Fundació Caixa de Sabadell - Museu Comarcal de la Garrotxa, Barcelona 2001; Mercè DOÑATE: *Clarà, Catàleg del fons d'escultura*, MNAC, Barcelona 1997.
- [32] Teresa CAMPS and Susanna PORTELL (eds.): *Les cartes de l'escultor Enric Casanovas*, MEMORIA ARTIUM, Barcelona 2015; Teresa CAMPS: *E. Casanovas*, Àmbit Serveis Editorials, Barcelona 1988; *Enric Casanovas: Palau de la Virreina*, Ajuntament de Barcelona 1984.
- [33] Website: <http://xaviernogues.org/> (consulted on 15 August 2023); Cecília VIDAL MAYNOU et al.: *Xavier Nogué*

- (1873-1941), Fundació Xavier Nogués & Àmbit, Barcelona 2010 (reissued); Cecília VIDAL MAYNOU: *Xavier Nogués i els vidres esmaltats al foc*, doctoral thesis, Universitat de Barcelona 1989; *Xavier Nogués. Pintures murals procedents del Cellar de les Galeries Laietanes*, Museu d'Art Modern, Barcelona 1984; Salvador ESPRIU: *Xavier Nogués i la seva circumstància*, Edicions 62, Barcelona 1982; J. M. AINAUD DE LASARTE and Cecília VIDAL MAYNOU: *Exposición Nogués*, Barcelona, Instituto Nacional del Libro Español, Barcelona 1976; *Exposición Legado Isabel Escalada, vda. Xavier Nogués. Catálogo*, Museos de Arte, Barcelona 1972; *Exposición Xavier Nogués. Barcelona 1873-1941*, Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, 1967; Jaume PLA: *Els gravats de Xavier Nogués*, Edicions de la Rosa Vera, Barcelona 1960 (reissued); Rafael BENET: *Xavier Nogués, caricaturista y pintor*, Omega, Barcelona 1949; Juan TEIXIDOR: 'Notas para un inventario de la obra de Xavier Nogués', *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, vol. III-1 (1945), pp. 7-14; SACS, Joan [Feliu Elias]: *La nostra gent. Xavier Nogués*, Quaderns Blaus, Catalònia, Barcelona [1926]; Francesc PUJOLS: *Artistes catalans contemporanis. Xavier Nogués*, Publicacions d'Art de La Revista, Barcelona 1924.
- [34] Rafael BENET: *Jaume Guardia*, Monografies d'art, Barcelona 1926.
- [35] Mariona SEGURANYES: *Francesc Vayreda. De l'impressionisme al noucentisme a Catalunya*, Museu Comarcal de la Garrotxa, Olot 2013.
- [36] Mireia FREIXA: *Modernisme i Noucentisme a Terrassa*, Xarxa de biblioteques Soler i Palet, Terrassa, 1984.
- [37] Ignasi DOMÈNECH I VIVES: *L'escultor Pere Jou (1891-1964), Forma i matèria*, Viena Barcelona 2016; David JOU I MIRABENT: *L'escultor Pere Jou* Sitges: Grup d'Estudis Sitgetans, Sitges 1991.
- [38] Antoni SANGRÀ BOLADERES: *El pintor Agustí Ferrer Pino (1884-1960)*, Doctoral thesis, Universitat de Barcelona, 2014. https://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/bitstream/2445/61523/6/ASB_5de15.pdf (consulted on 16 August 2023).
- [39] Beli ARTIGAS: 'Josep Maria Martino Arroyo, un arquitecte noucentista', on the blog <https://criticartt.blogspot.com/2007/04/josep-maria-martino-un-arquitecte.html> (consulted on 16 August 2023).
- [40] Aristide Maillol, Henri Frère, Joseph-Sébastien Pons: *Une Arcadie catalane*, Somogy éditions d'art, Paris 2016; Maillol. *Notes d'un voyage en Grèce. Notes d'un voyage a Grèce. 1908*, Museu Frederic Marès, Barcelona 2015; Bertrand LORQUIN: *Aristide Maillol*, Albert Skira, Geneva 1994; [Maria-Lluïsa BORRÀS]: *Maillol*, Centre Cultural de la Caixa de Pensions, Barcelona 1979; Waldemar GEORGE: *Maillol*, Neuchâtel, Éditions Ides et Calendes, 1964; Henri FRÈRE: *Conversations de Maillol*, Éditions Pierre Cailler, Geneva, 1956; John REWALD: *Maillol*, Éditions Hypérions, Paris 1939; Judith CLADEL: *Aristide Maillol: sa vie, son œuvre, ses idées*, Paris, Grasset, 1937.
- [41] Maurici [sic] DENIS: 'Aristides Maillol', *Lectura* (Girona), no. 1 (1 July 1910), pp. 13-16.
- [42] Cristina RODRIGUEZ SAMANIEGO: *Joaquim Claret, escultor de la Mediterrània*. Doctoral thesis, Universitat de Barcelona, 2006.
- [43] Website: <https://richard-guino.com/> (consulted on 15 August 2023); Cristina RODRIGUEZ SAMANIEGO: 'Ricard Guinó et Joaquim Claret: le destin de deux sculpteurs catalans en France face à la Grande Guerre', *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 82 (15 December 2011); Ricard Guinó. *Escultures i dibuixos*, Ajuntament de Girona, October 1992, pp. 11-17; Francesc FONTBONA: 'Ricard Guinó, el silenciós col·laborador de Renoir', *Serra d'Or*, year XIV, no. 158 (15 November 1972) pp. 31-32 (735-736).
- [44] Francesc FONTBONA: *La xilografia a Catalunya entre 1800 i 1923*, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona 1992.
- [45] Aristide Maillol (1861-1944). *La quête de l'harmonie*, Musée d'Orsay, Paris 2022.
- [46] See https://rafaelmaso.girona.cat/cat/fundacio_publicacions.php (consulted on 18 August 2023); Jordi FALGÀS (ed.): *Casa Masó: vida i arquitectura noucentista*. Fundació Rafael Masó-Editorial Triangle, Girona-Sant Lluís 2012; Joan TARRÚS GALTER and Narcís COMADIRA: *Rafael Masó: arquitecte noucentista*, Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya. Demarcació de Girona [etc.], Girona 2007 (new edition of a 1996 book); *Rafael Masó i Valentí, Arquitecte (1880-1935). Catàleg de l'Exposició*. Barcelona: Fundació La Caixa, 2006; *Rafael Masó: ciutadà de Girona*, Museu d'Història de Girona 2006.
- [47] Jaume VIDAL OLIVERAS: *Josep Dalmau: L'aventura per l'art modern*, Angle Editorial, Manresa 1993.
- [48] Mercè VIDAL: *1912 L'Exposició d'Art Cubista de les Galeries Dalmau*, Universitat de Barcelona 1996.
- [49] Francesc FONTBONA and Lluïsa SALA: *Manolo Hugué*, Museu de Arte Contemporáneo Esteban Vicente / Barclays, Segovia 2006; Artur RAMON and Jaume VALLCORBA I PLANA: *Àlbum Manolo Hugué*. Quaderns Crema, Barcelona 2005; Montserrat BLANCH: *Manolo Hugué*. Editorial Labor. Gent nostra, 97, Barcelona 1992; *Manolo Hugué, catàleg d'exposició*, Fundació Caixa de Catalunya and Ajuntament de Barcelona 1990; Montserrat BLANCH: *Manolo. Escultura. Pintura. Dibujo*, Ediciones Polígrafa, Barcelona 1972; Rafael BENET: *El escultor Manolo Hugué*, Argos, Barcelona 1942; Josep PLA: *Vida de Manolo contada per ell mateix*, La Mirada, Sabadell 1928 (reissued many times).
- [50] Natàlia ESQUINAS: *Una passejada per l'obra de Josep Llimona. 150 anys*, Fundació de les Arts i els Artistes, Barcelona 2014; Natàlia ESQUINAS: *Josep Llimona i el seu taller* (doctoral thesis) Universitat de Barcelona, 2015 (online <https://www.tdx.cat/handle/10803/394083#page=1> [consulted on 15 September 2022]); Manuela MONEDERO: *José Llimona, escultor*, Editora Nacional, Madrid 1966; José Manuel INFUESTA and Manuela MONEDERO: *Josep Llimona i Joan Llimona. Vida i obra*, Thor, Barcelona 1977.
- [51] Francesc FONTBONA: *Catalunya i les Ciències, grup escultòric de Josep Llimona per a l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 2009.

- [52] José CORREDOR-MATHEOS: *Jaume Mercadé*, Fundació Banc Sabadell, 2001; Assumpta ROSÉS and Jordi PARÍS I FORTUNY (eds.): *Jaume Mercadé: pintor i orfebre: un inventari poètic del Camp de Tarragona*, Museu de Valls 1994; Daniel VENTURA I SOLÉ: *Jaume Mercadé i Queralt: pintor-orfebre (Valls 1889-Barcelona 1976)*, Gràfiques Moncunill, Valls 1978; Enric JARDÍ: *Jaume Mercadé, pintor de una tierra*, Polígrafa, Barcelona 1977.
- [53] Francesc FONTBONA: 'Artes y oficios. El Noucentisme', in *España-Diseño*, EUROPALIA, Brussels 1985, pp. 125-128.
- [54] Josep Lluís MARTÍN I BERBOIS (ed.): *Cent anys d'Art Nou Català*, Museu d'Art de Sabadell, 2015.
- [55] Enric Cristòfol RICART: *Quaderns Kodak*, ed. by Enric Blanco Piñol. Punctum, Aula Joaquim Molas, Lleida & Vilanova i la Geltrú 2020; Oriol PI DE CABANYES: *Enric C. Ricart i el noucentisme*, Caixa Terrassa & Lunwerg, Barcelona 2007; Enric Cristòfol RICART: *Memòries*, notes by Ricard MAS PEINADO, Parsifal, Barcelona 1995; M. Rosa PLANAS I BANÚS: *Enric Cristòfol Ricart, gravador del noucentisme*, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona 1988; J.-F. RÀFOLS: *E. C. Ricart*, F. X. PUIG ROVIRA ed., El Cep i la Nansa edicions, Vilanova i la Geltrú 1981.
- [56] *Josep F. Ràfols (1889-1965)*, Biblioteca Museu Víctor Balaguer-Fundació Caixa Penedès, Vilanova i la Geltrú-Vilafranca del Penedès 2000; Francesc X. PUIG ROVIRA: *Josep F. Ràfols: escriptor*, Museu de Vilafranca del Penedès 1989.
- [57] Joan MIRÓ: *Cartes a J. F. Ràfols (1917/1958)*. Francesc FONTBONA and Amadeu J. SOBERANAS eds., Editorial Mediterrània-Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona 1993 [1994].
- [58] [PILAR VÉLEZ]: *Centenari Josep Obiols (1894-1994)*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1994; Pilar VÉLEZ: *Xilografies de Josep Obiols: Estudi monogràfic*, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1990; *Josep Obiols*, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1990.
- [59] Albert CUBELES I BONET and Marc CUIXART GODAY: *Josep Goday Casals: arquitectura escolar a Barcelona de la Mancomunitat a la República*, Institut d'Educació, Ajuntament de Barcelona 2008; Josep Francesc RÀFOLS: 'Josep Goday: arquitecto de los grupos escolares de Barcelona', *Cuadernos de Arquitectura*, Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de Cataluña y Baleares (Barcelona), no. 35 (1959), pp. 8-11; Joaquim FOLCH I TORRES: 'L'arquitecte Josep Goday', *Butlletí dels Museus d'Art de Barcelona* (Barcelona), (July 1936), pp. 223-224.
- [60] Teresa MAÑÀ TERRÉ: *Les biblioteques populars de la Mancomunitat de Catalunya: 1915-1925*, Pagès, Lleida 2007.
- [61] Mireia FREIXA and Eduard RIU (eds.): *Josep Puig i Cadafalch, arquitecte de Catalunya (1867-1956)*: compilation of the proceedings of the conference held on 18-21 October 2017 and other dedicated texts, Barcelona 2017; Albert BALCELLS (ed.): *Puig i Cadafalch i la Catalunya contemporània*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 2003; Josep PUIG I CADAFALECH: *Memòries*. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 2003; Enric JARDÍ: *Puig i Cadafalch, arquitecte, polític i historiador de l'art*, Ariel, Barcelona 1975.
- [62] Josep Miquel GARCIA: *Els Evolucionistes*, Parsifal Edicions, Barcelona 2004.
- [63] Sofia ISUS VENTURA: *L'escultor Josep Granyer i Giralt*, doctoral thesis, Department of Sculpture, Universitat de Barcelona 2012. <<https://www.tdx.cat/handle/10803/83841#page=408>> (consulted on 16 August 2023).
- [64] <http://rubioituduriontour.blogspot.com/2011/03/bibliography.html> (consulted on 14 August 2023); Nicolau Maria RUBIÓ I TUDURÍ: *Diàlegs sobre l'arquitectura*, Quaderns Crema, Barcelona 1999 (reissue); Manuel RIBAS PIERA: *Nicolau M. Rubió i Tudurí i el planejament territorial*, Altafulla, Barcelona 1995; Nicolau Maria RUBIÓ I TUDURÍ: 1891-1981, Ajuntament de Barcelona 1989; *Nicolau M. Rubió i Tudurí: 1891-1981: el jardí obra d'art*, Fundació Caixa de Pensions, Barcelona 1985.
- [65] Josep M. ROVIRA I GIMENO: 'Raimon Duran i Reynals o la soledad de un corredor de fondo', *Cuadernos de arquitectura y urbanismo* (Barcelona), no. 113 (1976).
- [66] Helena MARTÍN and Magdalena MÀRIA I SERRANO: *Guia d'arquitectura de l'Hospitalet, l'obra dels germans Puig Gairalt*, Universitat Ramon Llull, 2004; Àlicia SUÀREZ and Mercè VIDAL: *Els arquitectes Antoni i Ramon Puig Gairalt: Noucentisme i modernitat*, Curial Edicions Catalanes. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 1993; Marta CERVELLÓ CASANOVA: *Antoni Puig Gairalt, Arquitecte i humanista (1888-1935)*, Viena, Barcelona 2024.
- [67] Raquel LACUESTA: *Cèsar Martinell*, Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, Barcelona 1998.
- [68] Aleix CATASÚS: *Josep Maria Pericas i Morros, 1881-1966, arquitecte*, Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, Demarcació de les Comarques Centrals, [Vic 2019]; Aleix CATASÚS: *Josep Maria Pericas i Morros, arquitecte noucentista*, Patronat d'Estudis Osonencs, Vic 2016.
- [69] *Florensa i Ferrer, Adolf, 1889-1968*, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2000; Manuel de SOLÀ-MORALES: *Adolf Florensa*, Col·legi d'Arquitectes de Catalunya, Barcelona 1998.
- [70] Joaquim M. PUIGVERT I SOLÀ: *Josep Danés i Torras: noucentisme i regionalisme arquitectònics*. 1st edition Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2008; Joaquim M. PUIGVERT I SOLÀ: *Josep Danés i Torras, arquitect: una biografia professional*, Nova Biblioteca Olotina, Olot 2003.
- [71] Website: <https://fundacionrafaelbenet.com/?cat=1> (consulted on 15 August 2023); *Quaderns Rafael Benet* (Barcelona), from 1998 (no. 1) to the present (40 issues); Àlicia SUÀREZ: *Rafael Benet. Catàleg revisat i actualitzat de l'obra pictòrica*, Barcelona, Fundació Rafael Benet, 2004; Àlicia SUÀREZ: *Rafael Benet, La seva obra*. Prologue by Jordi BENET I AURELL, Fundació Rafael Benet, Barcelona 1991.
- [72] Natàlia BARENYS: *El plasticisme espiritual de Francesc Domingo*, Mediterrània, Barcelona 2008; Jaume PLA: *Francesc Domingo*, AUSA, Sabadell 1992; [Natàlia BARENYS] *Francesc Domingo: de Sant Just a São Paulo*, Fundació Vila Casas, Barcelona 2024.
- [73] Josep CASAMARTINA I PARASSOLS and Cécile DEBRAY: *Togores, du Réalisme Magique au Surréalisme*, Éditions Cercle d'Art, Paris, 1998; Josep CASAMARTINA I PARAS-

- SOLS: *Togores. Clasicisme i renovació (obra de 1914 a 1931)*, Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía / Museo Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Madrid / Barcelona, 1997; Esteve FÀBREGAS I BARRI: *Josep de Togores. L'obra. L'home. L'època* (Barcelona, Aedos, 1970).
- [74] M. Assumpció CARDONA IGLÉSIA: *Saló Nou Ambient (1910-1939): Context, estudi i fortuna crítica. El realisme vivent d'una generació*, doctoral thesis, Universitat de Barcelona, 2023; Josep Maria CADENA: 'Gentes de Pluma y Lápiz. "Nou Ambient", un grupo artístico y su revista', *Diario de Barcelona*, (1 October 1972).
- [75] Teresa MACIÀ: *Pere Daura (1896-1976)*, Àmbit, Barcelona 1999.
- [76] *Josep Mompou*, Caixa Catalunya Obra Social, Barcelona 2009; *Josep Mompou, un fauve a Tossa. Exposició antològica*, Museu Municipal de Tossa – Editorial Mediterrània, Tossa-Barcelona 2001; Francesc FONTBONA: *Josep Mompou. Biografia i catàleg de la seva obra (pintura, gravat i tapis)*, Editorial Mediterrània, Barcelona 2000.
- [77] For direct portraits of many members of this generation, see Jaume PLA: *Famosos i oblidats. 38 retrats de primera mà*, La Campana, Barcelona 1989.
- [78] Marc ROMEU: *Ricard Marlet i Saret (...) Escultura, pintura, dibuix, gravat*, Gràfiques Barberà, [Barcelona] 2008.
- [79] Santiago ESTRANY I CASTANY: 'Francesc Canyellas i Balagueró, col·laborador d'arquitectes mataronins i autor d'esgrafiats a Mataró', *Fulls del Museu Arxiu de Santa Maria* (Mataró) (01 April 1993), pp. 32-35.
- [80] Josep CASAMARTINA PARASSOLS: *Vila Arrufat a Sabadell*, Comissió pro-centenari del pintor Antoni Vila Arrufat, Sabadell 1994; *Vila Arrufat* [exhibition catalogue], Palau de la Virreina, Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1984; Francesc FONTBONA: *Vila Arrufat*, Bilbao-Barcelona: Gran Enciclopedia Vasca, 1980.
- [81] Immaculada SOCÍAS BATET and Esther ALSINA GALOFRÉ: *El fons documental d'Antoni Ollé Pinell (Barcelona 1997-1981) a l'Arxiu Comarcal del Baix Penedès*, Departament de Cultura de la Generalitat de Catalunya / Consell Comarcal Baix Penedès, El Vendrell 2015; Núria TERRADES BOSCA: *L'obra xilogràfica d'Antoni Ollé Pinell*, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona 1986.
- [82] Sergio FUENTES MILÀ: *Montserrat Casanova (1909-1990). Pintora entre pintors als anys 30*, Sala Parés, Barcelona 2020.
- [83] Maria Isabel MARÍN SILVESTRE: *Josep Duñach. L'escultor i el seu temps*, Museu Europeu d'Art Modern, Barcelona 2014.
- [84] Bernat PUIGDOLLERS and Aleix CATASÚS: *Joan Borrell i Nicolau: crònica de l'origen (catàleg d'exposició)*, Museu de Montserrat 2017; Enric MORERA I BORRELL: *Joan Borrell i Nicolau, escultor: catàleg raonat de l'obra*, Comú de Particular de La Pobla de Segur & Garsineu Edicions, Tremp 2013; Llorenç SÀNCHEZ I VILANOVA: *Joan Borrell-Nicolau: escultor: biografia*, Història i cultura del Pallars, [Lleida] 1987; Émile SCHAUB-KOCH: *Borrell Nicolau escultor-estatuari*, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Jorge, Barcelona 1953.
- [85] Lulú MARTORELL: *Sobre Rafael Solanic: un escultor, una biografia*, Roser Solanic Serra, Book-Print Digital, Hospitalet de Llobregat 2014; *Rafael Solanic: escultor*, Centre Cultural Tecla Sala, Ajuntament de L'Hospitalet & Generalitat de Catalunya, 1995.
- [86] *Escultures: Martí Llauredó*, Palau Moja, Departament de Cultura de la Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona 1993.
- [87] Lluïsa SALA I TUBERT: 'Joaquim Ros i Bofarull. Apunts de vida i art (1921-1936)', in Lourdes JIMÉNEZ (ed.): *Librer amicorum: a Francesc Fontbona, historiador de l'art*, Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura, Barcelona 2019, pp. 349-354. Nicolau GUANYABENS CALVET: 'L'escultor Joaquim Ros i Bofarull', in *Fulls del Museu Arxiu de Santa Maria de Mataró*, no. 42 (January 1992), pp. 35-45.
- [88] José CORREDOR-MATHEOS and Albert MERCADÉ: *Joan Rebull. Catálogo razonado de esculturas*, Fundación Arte y Mecenazgo, 2010; José CORREDOR MATHEOS: *L'escultura de Joan Rebull*. Barcelona: Àmbit Serveis Editorials, 1991.
- [89] Sandra MOLINER NUÑO: *Un viaje en el tiempo. El 'Poble Espanyol de Montjuïc'*, doctoral thesis, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya, Barcelona 2018.
- [90] Joaquim VALENTÍ FIOI: 'L'Arquitecte begurenc Eusebi Bona i l'evolució de la seva obra', *Revista de Girona-Arts*, no. 218 (2003), pp. 37-41.
- [91] Francesc FONTBONA (dir.): *Repertori d'exposicions individuals d'art a Catalunya (fins l'any 1938)*, Compilation by Antònia MONTMANY, Montserrat NAVARRO and Marta TORT, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 1999.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Francesc Fontbona i de Vallescar holds a PhD in Modern History from the Universitat de Barcelona and is a full member of the Reial Acadèmia de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi of Barcelona, a member of the History-Archaeology Section of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans and an honorary associate of The Hispanic Society of America of New York. He has also been a member of the Classification, Appraisal and Export of Historical Heritage Goods Board of Spain's Ministry of Culture and presided over the Generalitat de Catalunya's Classification, Appraisal and Export of Historical and Artistic Heritage Goods of Catalonia. He was the director of the Graphic Unit of the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona, is the author of numerous books and has lectured extensively in his field of specialisation.