1 Cultural Organizations, Networks and Mediators: An Introduction

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This collective volume sets the grounds for a new approach exploring cultural organizations at a multilateral level and cultural mediators as key figures in cultural and institutionalization processes. To do so, the book proposes an innovative conceptual and methodological understanding of the participation of these agents and agencies in international networks of culture that helped build modernity in contemporary time, specifically in the first half of the 20th century. *Cultural Organizations, Networks and Mediators in Contemporary Ibero-America* brings together microhistory and global history and addresses the importance of events, conferences, relations, and agents to capture local, national, regional, and continental connections as proposed today by global historians. Attempting to combine cultural and global history, sociology, and literary and transfer studies, the book stresses the need for an analytical focus on intercultural networks and cultural transfer and the transgression of fields through the overlap of actor roles and the multiple activities and multilateral programs that these mediators and cultural organizations set in motion.

The book addresses the fact that literature on aesthetic modernity tends to overlook Hispanic and Lusophone modernisms, as it keeps locating them on the peripheries and in doing so promotes temporal boundaries that mainly reflect an English-language bias. However, the interwar period saw an unprecedented increase of international cultural exchange driven by national and supranational bodies, and several cultural organizations, within an international scope, were founded to advance science, education, literature, religion, or arts (Vimr 2018). The international mobility of many Latin American mediators, who pioneered students exchange programs, were diplomats, traveled for professional commitments, political reasons, or exile and elicited greater international interest in the particular traits and local traditions of Latin American cultures and literatures (especially for indigenous cultures). In that respect, the book proposes a number of case studies that aim to analyze the role of Latin American, Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan cultural mediators in the institutionalization of Hispanic and Lusophone cultures in the early 20th century by means of two institutional networks: PEN International (the

non-governmental writer's association) and its multiple national committees and the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation and its executive branch, the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (predecessor to UNESCO). In doing so, we provide an in-depth analysis of the crossings between these two major cultural organizations, which were also connected to associations and conferences such as the National Associations of Writers or the second American Conference of National Committees on Intellectual Cooperation that took place in La Havana in 1941. We seek to demonstrate that Hispanic and Lusophone cultural mediators not only took part in the international cultural arena but also played a crucial role in the multilingual and intercultural networks of the time. Thus, this book pursues two main goals: first to retrieve the lost history of Ibero-American cultural mediators in institutional and intercultural networks and reappraise their role and second to contribute to a promising field of study by providing inspiring case studies for further research on cultural organizations; the institutionalization of cultures and literatures; and cultural mediators and their complex relations and overlapping roles across historical periods, disciplines, and geographies (Roig-Sanz & Meylaerts 2018; Meylaerts, Gonne, Lobes & Roig-Sanz 2016; Subirana 2018).

By mapping the intellectual sociability of a group of Ibero-American mediators through their contribution to international cultural organizations, we study how the mobility of these agents functioned as a shared transnational space for the institutionalization of Hispanic and Lusophone cultures, the dissemination of their various cultural and political national projects, and the increasing cosmopolitanism of the Ibero-American field (by which we mean Spain, Portugal, and Latin America, which includes Brazil). The book shows how these agents positioned themselves in contemporary debates and were intricately connected on an international level through institutional networks. Within this framework, we define institutionalization as 1) the emergence of the first cultural policies for the standardization of the cultural field and 2) the inclusion of Hispanic and Lusophone writers and intellectuals in an institutional and transnational cultural network. The book also empirically questions the idea that cultural exchange among Latin American countries was non-existent. To do so, *Cultural Organizations, Networks and Mediators in Contemporary Ibero-America* features contributions from a group of leading international scholars (very well-known historians and literary and translation scholars) who have worked on intellectual history and the history of international cultural organizations, political philosophy, comparative literature, and translation history.

Politics of the Spirit[1] in the Light of Ibero-America

At the request of John Middleton Murry, Paul Valéry wrote and published "The Crisis of the Mind" (originally in English) in two parts in

The Athenaeum, April 11 and May 2, 1919. The first letter begins with these words:

> We later civilizations . . . we too know that we are mortal. We had long heard tell of whole worlds that had vanished, of empires sunk without a trace, gone down with all their men and all their machines into the unexplorable depths of the centuries, with their gods and their laws, their academies and their sciences pure and applied, their grammars and their dictionaries, their Classics, their Romantics, and their Symbolists, their critics and the critics of their critics . . . We were aware that the visible earth is made of ashes, and that ashes signify something. Through the obscure depths of history we could make out the phantoms of great ships laden with riches and intellect; we could not count them. But the disasters that had sent them down were, after all, none of our affair. Elam, Ninevah, Babylon were but beautiful vague names, and the total ruin of those worlds had as little significance for us as their very existence. But France, England, Russia . . . these too would be beautiful names. *Lusitania* too, is a beautiful name. And we see now that the abyss of history is deep enough to hold us all. We are aware that a civilization has the same fragility as a life. The circumstances that could send the works of Keats and Baudelaire to join the works of Menander are no longer inconceivable; they are in the newspapers.

After the First World War, Western citizens were worried about the future of Europe, meaning Europe for them: Culture and Civilization. Valéry pictures an extraordinary shiver running through the marrow of Europe and how the Old continent was unable to recognize itself. Valéry wonders what will occur with the European spirit, and both mind and spirit will be (for him and for many thinkers and artists of his time) at the core of any potential solution to that huge crisis. Those who devoted their lives to the spirit were called to be the ones who could prevent the disaster happening again: artists and intellectuals in international scenarios were the frontrunners of a battle for spirit, and they were to stop the realm of thought and common sense from perishing. Thus, it is not by accident that, in 1919, the Society of Nations was formed and that two years later, in 1921, PEN International, the first world writer's organization, was established in London by Catherine Amy Dawson Scott, and only one year later, in 1922, the Society of Nations founded in Geneva the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC), which had in 1926 an executive branch in Paris called the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) (Roig-Sanz 2013; Grandjean 2018).

PEN International and the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation were two collective political and cultural endeavors that remarkably joined the individual role of great transnational intellectual figures

such as Thomas Mann, Stefan Zweig, José Ortega y Gasset, Salvador de Madariaga, Paul Valéry, Henri Bergson, Béla Bartok, and Rabindranath Tagore. All of them aimed to foster suitable forums for dialogue and exchange based on trust and the establishment of connections between those who could go beyond the mistrust that the rise of nationalisms had begun to generate. A great piece of novelty in the 1920s and 1930s was the increasing presence of cultural organizations that were more diverse and articulate and participated in the network of international figures mainly composed of white Western men from the great nations. As we will see throughout the book, this sort of collaboration and joint effort will not be lacking in ambiguity; constraints; and even gender, social, and geographical biases, but it also sheds light into new voices, places, and connections that will emerge and join an international cultural debate on a worldwide basis. Indeed, these new agencies of cultural legitimacy took the shape of a network of connections rather than the usual touring of great intellectuals and, from a methodological perspective, help us to overcome the individual level of analysis and adopt a more collective approach.

Certainly, times were changing, and 1936 was a key date for both intellectual and political reasons. For the first time, the world conferences of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, hosted in Paris, and the International PEN took place not in the Old continent but rather in Buenos Aires. In a similar vein, Adolf Hitler's political party had won the elections in Germany at the end of 1932, war had broken out in Spain in 1936, and a little later, in 1939, the Second World War would be declared. All those events proved that the spirit of Paul Valéry's two letters and the establishment of the Society of Nations and PEN International, as well as the foundation of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, had not been enough to avoid the great disaster, a new Great World War. Indeed, Paul Valéry's title and concern remained relevant over time, and on November 21, 1932, the Portuguese António Ferro borrowed Valéry's title in the article "Política do espírito". This expression became the heading of the Portuguese State program for the promotion of arts (see Fernandes in this book), and all initiatives undertaken by Ferro were meant to support Portuguese culture.

Within this general framework, this book understands temporal boundaries as porous and permeable and proposes 1914 and 1946 as critical dates for the exemplary case study. August 1914 marks the outbreak of the First World War (see Charle in this book), 1946 the First UNESCO Conference held in Paris and the approval of the International Institute of the Amazon Hylea and the creation of Scientific Cooperation Offices in underdeveloped regions, namely Latin America, Africa, and Asia (see Pumar in this book). Within that period, beyond their differences, Ibero-American countries also shared contemporaneous historical and cultural developments: for example, the writer's professionalization process, the

rise of cultural periodicals, and market growth in publishing, particularly relevant in the 1950s. However, despite this rich environment for intercultural analysis, Ibero-American modernisms have often been seen as peripheral developments playing a small role in the significant cultural changes that took place after the 1900s and, particularly, after the First World War (Jameson 1998, 2002; Griffith 2007; Gargatagli 2013). European and US cultural producers did not include Ibero-American actors in their international channels of modernity, particularly driven from the Anglo-American, French, and German fields.

Indeed, the institutional development of cultures and national literatures as well as academic fields (Sapiro, Brun & Fordant 2019) has proved to be diverse according to geographical zones, academic traditions, and disciplines. However, we have assumed that institutional processes were at the time widely developed in Central Europe and the English-speaking world, but they were less prominent or more fragile in Southern Europe or Latin America. Likewise, we have understood that modernity emerged in Europe and the United States and was literally reproduced or adapted overseas, but modern Europe and Latin America built themselves in a continuous and interrelated process. Cultural transfer and cultural dynamics are not linear, and we should move away from reductionist source-target binaries with hierarchical, unidirectional, and too-centered frames. Ibero-America promoted institutional processes that often oscillated between their presence in many social fields and fragility and lack of presence in others (Gadea 2007).

Thus, due to its linguistic, historical, and cultural ties, the geographical focus of Ibero-America (that is, Spain, Portugal, and Latin America, including Brazil), provides an exemplary object of research, as it allows us to analyze the revitalization, institutionalization, and marketing processes of particular cultures and literatures that overcome the nation-state paradigm. This book does not understand Hispanic and Lusophone institutionalization processes as homogeneous phenomena; indeed, it aims to shed light on points of regional coincidence and divergence among its various manifestations. With awareness of the functional overlap between Hispanic and Lusophone mediators (contacts, exchanges, collaboration), the book also explores the role of Portuguese and Brazilian mediators and their networks as a point of reference and contrast (see Fernandes and Pumar). The comparison between Spain, Portugal, and Latin America and the idea of considering them as a relatively coherent constellation promotes the evaluation of intra- and international networks and test geographical concepts that show different channels of transfer in the migration of people, ideas, and texts. The Hispanic and Lusophone cases highlight how interest in intercultural aspects supported the construction of national identities (Thiesse 1999), offering a unique account of the crucial role of networks, cultural transfer (Espagne & Werner 1987; Espagne 2013), and cultural mediators (Roig-Sanz & Meylaerts 2018;

Meylaerts, Gonne, Lobes & Roig-Sanz 2016) in the internationalization and institutionalization of a particular cultural field (Subirana 2018).

Systems, Fields, Networks and Institutions

Insofar as there is a basic distinction by Itamar Even-Zohar (2002, 2005) between culture understood as goods and culture understood as tools, we are ready to notice, first, that the cumulative, treasured, and measured goods and the possession of objects within a culture often grant status as much as wealth and, secondly, that tools as sets of instruments within a culture serve the purpose of better organizing individual and especially collective life, for example, making it more comfortable and effective. Thus, the study of literature (historically) has mainly focused on the analysis and evaluation of written works seen as assets of the author (to whom we grant, let's not forget, the right of legacy over them), while it has also been instrumental in organizing the collective heritage of the writer's community. In addition to the view of works as goods, the other great academic focus of the study of literature has traditionally illuminated the life and role of individuals (novelists, storytellers, playwrights, or poets). This is why, by convention and tradition, is commonly understood that literature consists of books, on the one hand, and, on the other, of their authors. Only secondarily (and from Russian formalism onwards) has it been assumed that literature, as Claudio Guillén (1971) states, builds up "systems"; that is to say, it manifests itself in the form of a "system" or a "literary field", as stated by Pierre Bourdieu (1979, 1992) and field theory.

  Indeed, we have only recently supplemented the more conventional view with a new perspective that allows us to assess and value how "tools" may have contributed to organize literature understood as a network, that is, as a set of activities, figures, and relationships: we refer to publishing houses and literary series; journals, magazines, and newspapers; literary prizes and awards; public cultural activities; institutions; literary criticism; literary translation and literary translators; the teaching of literature; the study of readers; and so on. In a different vein, the actor network theory (Latour & Woolgar 1986; Latour 1987) also reminds us the traditional struggle between agency and structure and how networks are built on shifting and dynamic relationships.

  Certainly, the fields of international relations and global history are evolving considerably, and literary scholars and cultural historians have become familiar with new theoretical perspectives that come from other disciplines: sociology, anthropology, cultural studies, and global history. However, many of these works seem particularly inclined to theoretical and methodological reflections, and they are less involved in exploring case studies or, when they do, they prefer to focus on major institutions and large centers of cultural production, a particular case, geography, and

period, or, in the case of literature, on major figures (mainly writers) and those considered more central literatures. The debate over terminology and the fact that concepts such as "network" or "institution" have traveled across many disciplines also leads to discussion of how these terms overcome conceptual discrepancies or how can we accurately use them applied to our field of study. The term "institution" has been widely used in sociology, political and economic science, and law, and it has been mainly related to a dynamic understanding of how society is organized (that is, how we institutionalize or establish norms; see Carbó Catalan forth.). Another meaning of "institution" refers to a static conception of the term that has to do with fixed social relations, actions, behaviors, beliefs, and values (Guéry 2003). Finally, "institution" has often been used as an equivalent of "organization". As Hatch puts it, institutions are "powerful influences on behavior and important mechanisms of civilization and society" (2011, 56). We should also distinguish between "institution" and "organization" because not all "institutions" are "organizations", but all "organizations" seem to be "institutions" (Hodgson 2006). Ménard (1995) also distinguishes between "institution", "a longstanding historically determined set of stable, abstract and impersonal rules, crystallized in traditions, customs, or laws, to implement and enforce patterns of behavior governing the relationships between separate social constituencies", and "organization", which he defines as "an institutional arrangement designed to make possible the conscious and deliberate coordination of activities within identifiable boundaries, in which members associate on a regular basis through a set of implicit and explicit agreements, commit themselves to collective actions for the purpose of creating and allocating resources and capabilities by a combination of command and cooperation" (see Carbó Catalan forth.) In that respect, the importance of literary and cultural organizations has been little recognized in the making of the Spanish and Portuguese literary "systems" and "fields". Indeed, current literature does not go far beyond the view of books and authors, and much is lacking in literary studies regarding the analysis of "organizations" (entities, institutions, clubs),[2] both public and private, more or less formal, and more or less stable over time. Institutionalization has also built on four main axes: 1) teaching and education at the undergraduate, masters, and doctoral levels; 2) research institutes; 3) journals; and 4) professional organizations, networks, associations, and conferences (Rotger, Roig-Sanz & Puxán Oliva 2019), the latter being at the core of this book.

Likewise, many studies on cultural diplomacy and "soft power" have mainly focused on unilateral actions and bilateral cultural agreements (Haigh 1974; Northedge 1953, 1986), but multinational and cultural cooperation has a specific history and impact across boundaries and states (Renoliet 1999; Pernet 2007; Dumont 2008; Grandjean & Van Leeuwen 2018) that has been overshadowed. Literature on cultural and

international organizations has also privileged the narrative of their historical development (Laqua, Van Acker & Verbruggen 2018), and, as mentioned previously, it has often focused on the role of major multinational and non-governmental institutions such as the International Telegraph Union or General Postal Union at the end of the 19th century. Literature has also retained the role of major figures in important centers and channels of cultural production (London, Paris, Vienna, or New York). However, other regions, cities, and localities also played important roles in the organization of congresses and in the development of important forms of intellectual cooperation, for example, the case of the first conference of the American Commissions of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, which took place in Santiago, Chile, in 1939 or the First Conference of Argentinean Publishers and Printers in 1938 (Giuliani 2018). In a similar vein, we also know very little about the international relations and roles of other key secondary actors. Thus, this book offers insights into an under-analyzed body of actors, branches, and committees of international organizations such as PEN International and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, which promoted institutional networks and intercultural transfer in less-studied settings such as Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo, Mexico D.F., Havana, Santiago de Chile, Barcelona, Madrid, Lisbon, or Dubrovnik. We aim to transcend traditional geographic and linguistic frontiers and take comparative case studies at a large scale to convey agency, individual and collective histories, events, and locality within a global perspective.

We also argue against a standard (and Western) model and look at a broad and changing geography in the analysis of institutionalization processes by stressing the experience of less-studied cases from Spanish America, Brazil, Spain, and Portugal and non-state languages such as Catalan. By drawing on the activities of cultural organizations and mediators, topics still insufficiently addressed, we are able to corroborate (or not) prevailing conceptions regarding ethnicity (white), class (middle and upper), age (young in the case of the Catalan PEN, older in the case of the Spanish PEN), gender issues (the contribution of women in institutional networks or cultures: the Chilean Gabriela Mistral, the Argentinians Victoria Ocampo and Norah Lange, the Catalan Isabel Llorach), the role of less central languages (for example, Portuguese and Catalan), and genres and topics (for example, the circulation of specific themes in correspondences or the reference to specific movements or specific issues such as humanism or pacifism).

Finally, the study of institutionalization processes must take into account influential factors such as the cultural and the social but also the economical and the political. For example, the institutionalization of cultural policies in Portugal was related to Modernism and avant-garde, as well as to Estado Novo and Salazar's dictatorship (see Fernandes in this book), and the same goes for Brazil during the so-called Estado

Novo promoted by Getúlio Vargas. Likewise, the condemnation of the Nazi regime and the book burnings in Germany, as well as the case of Ernst Toller, founder of the German PEN in exile, were at the core of the intrigues and discussions at the 1933 Dubrovnik PEN Congress (see Škrabec). And one of the debates of the PEN congress held in Barcelona in 1935 focused on whether action should be taken to persuade the Haitian government to reconsider the case of imprisoned Haitian writer Jacques Roumain (see Rachel Potter in this book). In a similar vein, the power relations between Latin America, Europe, and the United States were also key issues in the shaping of Ibero-American institutionalization processes. For example, the absence of English-speaking writers at the meeting of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation in Buenos Aires in 1936 was understood as a new proof of the United States being the cradle of the utilitarian and materialist Caliban and an opportunity for Latin America to break with an historical relationship of domination that would allow it to recover national sovereignty (see Laura Fólica and Ventsislav Ikoff in this book).

Thus, this volume aims at including issues that have not been sufficiently addressed from a literary perspective, such as the analysis of literature in relation to human rights or materials closely related to the history of international cultural organizations that have been traditionally ignored in literary studies. Indeed, many literary scholars have mostly used literary or literary historical texts, but we still know very little about other materials (for example, letters or institutional documents) that will clearly help to recognize the role and impact of Ibero-American mediators in institutional, intercultural, and multilingual networks. By tracing how Ibero-American mediators fully participated in the first waves of institutional development and took an active part in institutional and multilingual networks, the book will also decenter world literary history and will prove how transnational cultural processes affected various places simultaneously.

Agents and Cultural Organizations: Towards a Network and Cultural Mediation Approach

As stated, *Cultural Organizations, Networks and Mediators in Contemporary Ibero-America* offers the reader a wide spectrum of examples that aim to analyze the institutionalization of Ibero-American cultures through the international and intercultural networks that key cultural mediators succeeded in building via their participation in international cultural organizations. The book stresses cultural interchanges, cultural movements, and multi-stranded connections through "soft power" across borders, nations, regions, and continents and focuses less on discursive products and more on the reality and materiality of institutional mediating practices and individuals: their active part in transferring cultural

products into another culture or their role in transnational and trans-regional networks. For example, Hermon Ould, Secretary of English and International PEN from the beginnings until his death in 1951, was a key actor who succeeded in connecting the Catalan writer Francesc Trabal in his exile in Chili and the Chilean writers with the tragic fate of Benjamin Crémieux, General Secretary of the French PEN killed in Buchenwald (Llopis & Subirana 2018). Thus, examples such as the ones included in this book open up novel lines of inquiry regarding their impact in these institutional networks of culture until the Second World War and highlight the, until now, largely ignored role of Ibero-American cultures in the first waves of institutional developments. Spanning a large geographical scale, we aim to shed light on conceptual and methodological issues to deal with the analysis of cultural international organizations from a network and cultural mediation approach, as well as to offer both unexplored figures and overshadowed scales in their relations to the wider world to demonstrate the impact and prominent role of Ibero-American cultural mediators, who were part of a transnational, multilingual, highly connected, and mobile elite. Following these central themes, this collective volume proceeds in three parts.

The first part of this book sets the grounds for a new approach exploring transnational organizations and cultural mediators as key figures in cultural and institutionalization processes from a global perspective. The French historian Christophe Charle proposes an innovative and inspiring hierarchy of three different forms of intellectual organization: official, semi-official, and indirect, where the mobility of students is highlighted. The mobility of students is an aspect that this book does not analyze in depth but that has certainly played a role. Just to give some examples (which are not included in this book), the Student Exchange program established by the Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios, in Madrid, and other financial aid established by the Mexican, Argentinean, and Catalan governments enabled writers and intellectuals to travel abroad. That is the case, for example, of the Catalan Manuel de Montoliu and the Argentinean Carlos Astrada, who traveled to Germany, or the case of the Mexican Jaime Torres Bodet, a key figure for Mexican educational institutions (see Mauricio Zabalgoitia in Part 3). The chapter by Christophe Charle also illustrates a fruitful cross-pollination of exchanges of ideas in some of the meetings organized by the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation and the League of Nations, such as Frankfurt 1932 and Madrid 1933.

Reine Meylaerts, on her side, deploys thrilling theoretical, and methodological frameworks such as those proposed by complexity theory (Marais 2015; Marais & Meylaerts 2018) or her invigorating remarks about how to conceptualize a cultural mediator through different examples in the Belgian cultural field (Meylaerts, Gonne, Lobes & Roig-Sanz 2016; Roig-Sanz & Meylaerts 2018). Meylaerts discusses polysystem

theory, descriptive translation studies, and translation sociology as dominant models to analyze cultural transfer and cultural interaction and suggests an epistemology of complexity to identify and interpret systems and processes that lack order and stability to produce universal rules about behavior and outcomes. This view is particularly inspiring for a network approach, as the simplicity paradigm allows us to analyze parts and wholes, but it does not go in depth in the interrelationships between "parts and parts" and "parts and wholes". In that respect, we are also interested in reviewing existing theoretical frameworks on the notion of the "network" as a metaphor but also as a research approach (Grandjean 2014) in order to advance on its application within global and cultural history, as well as literary studies. Within this framework, the chapter by Mauricio Zabalgoitia (Part 3) introduces an interesting variation of the network's metaphor, that of conceptual flows, which he calls transcultural flows.

The second part focuses on the analysis of congresses and meetings organized by the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, in the case of Martin Grandjean's chapter, and International PEN: Dubrovnik, in the case of Simona Škrabec; Barcelona, by Rachel Potter; and Buenos Aires, by Alejandra Giuliani, as well as the chapter by Gabriella Gavagnin on less-known cultural organizations such as Conferentia Club, held in Barcelona between 1929 and 1936 for a bourgeois feminine audience. Gavagnin sheds light on one of these not sufficiently well-known women, Isabel Llorach, and also analyzes the internationalization of independent institutions such as the Conferentia Club, which deployed an incredibly intense and invigorating program of international lectures. The chapters by Simona Škrabec and Alejandra Giuliani explore, respectively, the crucial Dubrovnik PEN Congress in 1933 and the international network of connections between Yugoslavia's leftist intellectuals and the fundamental meeting of the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation held in Buenos Aires in 1936, which aimed to reinforce relations between Europe and the Americas and which coincided with the XIV Congress of International PEN. Both chapters also allow us to have a better understanding of the role of cultural mediators such as the Slovenian Izidor Cankar (see Škrabec) and the Dominican Pedro Henríquez Ureña (see Giuliani). The list of attendees in the case of Giuliani draws up a list of names that brought into play their symbolic capital and appear repeatedly throughout this book: for example, Alcides Arguedas (Bolivia), Alfonso Reyes (Mexico), Carlos Reyles (Uruguay), Enrique Díez Canedo, and Joan Estelrich (Spain and Catalonia, see Coll-Vinent in this book), or Fidelino de Figueiredo (see Fernandes).

On a methodological level, Martin Grandjean's chapter suggests three different forms of networks: that is, how agents organize themselves, who met whom, and the network of the documents. Within an impressive work in the archives, Grandjean shows that many were the voices that

fostered international cooperation in all its forms and tried to integrate intellectual debates. Grandjean examines institutional documents such as the archives of the League of Nations, in Geneva, using digital tools that as he reminds us are means but not ends. In that respect, *Cultural Organizations, Networks and Mediators in Contemporary Ibero-America* also highlights the need to use digital tools and digital methods when examining a large corpus of data and institutional documents. Grandjean's and Ventsislav Ikoff's and Laura Fólica's contributions point to the discussion on how big data approaches (Meyer & Schroeder 2015) and data mining, KDD, or data sharing (Borgman) made a splash in the humanities (Burnard) and the social sciences. Considering that big data approaches have scarcely been developed in Ibero-American academia overall, this approach will yield significant results in reframing networks and re-evaluating actors and influence. For example, Grandjean's chapter does not conclude that Ibero-America was globally represented in the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, and neither did Ibero-American mediators occupy high positions (the presidency or vice-presidency). However, the diplomatic conference held in Paris in 1938 already showed a different proportion: Western Europe only represented a quarter of all participants, and the largest group of diplomats and intellectuals came from Latin America (one-third). The Latin American delegation showed an increase in the diversity of actors and countries represented, and the Peruvian Francisco García Calderón was for the first time the fourth vice-president of the conference. Indeed, two important milestones were about to occur: the Pan-American Conference of Intellectual and Cultural Cooperation would take place in La Havana in November 1941, and the Inter-American Office would also be organized in Cuba in 1943.

Finally, the third part of the book presents some case studies on agents taking part in these institutional networks of culture. Thus, we have a better understanding of the role of cultural mediators such as the Guatemalan Enrique Gómez Carrillo and the Argentinians Victoria Ocampo and Antonio Aita (see Fólica and Ikoff); the Spanish Júlio Casares, Blas Cabrera, Leonardo Torres y Quevedo, José María Quiñones de León, and José Castillejo, as well as the Catalan Joan Estelrich (see Coll-Vinent); the Spanish Ramón Gómez de la Serna (see Laget); the Portuguese António Ferro, Júlio Dantas, and Fidelino de Figueiredo (see Fernandes); the Mexican Jaime Torres Bodet (see Zabalgoitia); or the Brazilians Miguel Ozório de Almeida (see Pumar) and Aloysio de Castro (see Grandjean in Part 2).

The analysis of their profiles and habitus results in a majority of nationalist intellectuals, as well as a proportion of leftist writers who expanded their networks abroad: to the Atlantic space, as well as Europe and the United states. The chapter by Sílvia Coll-Vinent shows how nationalistic purposes were at the core of the Catalan Joan Estelrich, who

had received a twofold mission: on the one hand to disseminate Catalan culture abroad in the framework of the Spanish Primo de Rivera dictatorship and on the other to materialize a political national project. The chapter by Laurie-Anne Laget focuses on the figure of the international writer Ramón Gómez de la Serna and reminds us of the checkered history of the first Madrid PEN Club. Laget's and Coll-Vinent's chapters also show the struggles inside the Spanish literary field and two different models in the dynamics of the Spanish PEN and the Catalan one (see also Safont in this book and Subirana 2018). Laget also reviews the idea of "network" as an opportunity for Spanish writers to take part in the dynamics of cultural exchanges from an horizontal perspective, which would allow us to revise the traditional perception of Hispanic modernity as a peripheral one. In that respect, Laget understands Gómez de la Serna as a nodal point in a social network of Spanish and international contemporary writers, though the international purpose that was at the heart of the foundation of the Spanish PEN Club turned into national and local purposes, as the Spanish center was understood as a way of giving visibility to agents already dominant in the Spanish literary field instead of promoting new actors in the international cultural arena (see Laget).

Thus, whereas some cultural mediators advocated internationalism and universalistic aims (for example, the Argentinean group Sur led by Victoria Ocampo), others such as Antonio Aita (secretary of the Argentinean National Committee of the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation) put forward Americanism and internationalism side by side (see Fólica & Ikoff in this book); stressed the indigenous and Afro-American cultures of Latin America (see Enríquez Ureña in the chapter by Giuliani); or were involved in the debates on a temporary center for international cooperation in America, as was the case for the Brazilian Miguel Ozório de Almeida (see Pumar). Likewise, other intellectuals appropriated cultural organizations as powerful platforms for condemning Nazism or the restriction of freedoms (as in the case of Yugoslavia's writers; see Škrabec, or Haiti; see Potter). In any case, all of them participated in the cultural arena and played a prominent role in institutional and multilingual networks, helping them revitalize their local milieu. Indeed, many of these cultural mediators were also related to newspapers and journals, as in the case of the Portuguese António Ferro (the editor of *Orpheu*, 1915; see Fernandes in this book), the Catalan Joan Estelrich in *La Veu de Catalunya* (see Coll-Vinent), or the previously mentioned Victoria Ocampo and *Sur* (see Giuliani and Fólica and Ikoff). We also see major differences between national committees that were dependent on the state (such as Argentina and Brazil) and those that constituted an autonomous body (for example, the case of Chile).

Certainly, a cultural mediator approach can also shed light on less-known cultural endeavors such as the Catalan PEN (see Joan Safont in this book), which became the third affiliation in the history of this

worldwide association of writers (the English one was founded in 1921, the French in February 1922, and the Catalan in April 1922; see Roig-Sanz 2013; Subirana 2018). While Catalonia always undertook its own cultural projects apart from Spain, Catalan mediators played a leading role in the internationalization of the Hispanic field (see also Coll-Vinent). A year prior to the Spanish Civil War, PEN delegates from around the world attended the Barcelona PEN Congress. Hosted by Catalan writers, including the recently imprisoned and released Catalan linguist Pompeu Fabra, other delegates included International PEN President H. G. Wells; Italian F. T. Marinetti, who spoke in favor of a PEN global bureau of translations; Indian PEN President and theosophist Sophia Wadia, who received a standing ovation for her speech in favor of communication between Eastern and Western cultures; and German writer in exile Klaus Mann, who talked on behalf of Nazi victims (see also Škrabec's chapter for the 1933 Dubrovnik PEN Congress). Indeed, one of the main debates was centered on PEN's role as a worldwide organization devoted to the defense and protection of the rights of authors to freedom of expression. This is an old discussion: as John Ralston Saul, former PEN international president (2009–2015), puts it, "when I arrived people were still arguing about whether we are a literary organisation or a freedom for expression organisation. From the beginning I said this is an irrelevant argument. These are the same thing. You can't have one without the other" (Ralston Saul 2018).

In that respect, our book examines how these agents and agencies (institutions and events), and these old debates, renegotiated and renegotiate hierarchies both within and among cultures. The chapter by Laura Fólica and Ventsislav Ikoff rethinks the relationship between Latin American mediators with the Old Continent, as well as the sympathies and tensions with both North and South America and their indigenous and Afro-American origins. They also analyze how Latin America was perceived by their European colleagues. Specifically, they trace the trajectory by the Guatemalan Enrique Gómez Carrillo and Antonio Aita, both representatives of the Argentinean National Committee. Finally, the chapter by Letícia Pumar describes how the Brazilian Miguel Ozório de Almeida helped establish a center for international cooperation in the Americas when the activities of the Paris Institute ended. Ozório de Almeida was a member of both the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation and the International Commission of Intellectual Cooperation. Within the aim of renegotiating old hierarchies, Ozório de Almeida criticized at UNESCO the idea of cooperation as assistance rather than mutual support between intellectuals and scientists from all over the world (see Pumar).

This book therefore gives voice to scarcely known agents and agencies, and it also reveals how these institutions played a role in shaping international literary and cultural exchanges. We are interested in providing a network and cultural mediation approach for the study of cultural

organizations from a supranational perspective. A network approach can also hint at different clusters of male and women who are closely related, or not. In that respect, the chapter by Mauricio Zabalgoitia shows how homosociability, in the case of the diplomat Jaime Torres Bodet, is shaped from the Colonial through the Porfiriato and also represents the building of the national unification process. At the same time, we see how Torres Bodet builds himself as a "modern male" after his residencies in Madrid, Paris, Brussels, The Hague, and Buenos Aires, which allows us to examine intercultural actors and cultural organizations and institutions as part of a transnational and highly connected space. Indeed, we are convinced that a transnational approach and the analysis of mediators, understood here as actors shaping regional, transregional, national, and transnational literatures, are vital tools for unraveling the still-unexplored implications that derive from the vast movement of people in an interconnected world.

However, we still have some challenges ahead: from a theoretical and methodological perspective, it would be good to advance in some of the conceptual issues that this book raises: for instance, we still need to agree on the different meanings of "institution" and "organization" applied to cultural history and literary studies. These terms are often vague and used simultaneously or as equivalents. In that respect, we also have to clarify the way in which we study literature in relation to "international institutions" and "cultural organizations", literature in relation to "human rights", or, more specifically, the discussion about the profile of these institutions. We should also verify the mediator's profile and corroborate (or not) those prevailing conceptions previously mentioned regarding ethnicity, class, age, gender issues (we are now aware of Gabriela Mistral, Victoria Ocampo, Norah Lange, and Isabel Llorach, but there were other women, and it's urgent to shed light on them), the role of less central languages (for example, Catalan and Portuguese), and genres (the circulation of poetry and theatre vs. the novel or the circulation of specific topics in the correspondences we could analyze: the mention of specific movements or specific themes such as humanism or pacifism).

From a conceptual point of view, the book also sheds light on inspiring conceptual frameworks such as those proposed by Rachel Potter in relation to an "international literary public space" and "multiple networks and maps". This notion of "multiple networks" includes a wide range of connections that compose political networks, human rights networks, conceptual networks, and linguistic maps, in which many of the Ibero-American mediators could be included (for example, the Bolivian Alcides Arguedas), but much work can be still done. Another huge challenge is to reconstruct the history of institutionalization processes and cultural organizations when data is missing or when archives are non-existing, as in the case of the Croatian PEN Club (see Škrabec).

Finally, the contributions gathered in this book show the connections between one mediator and another and the networks they succeeded in building and offer accurate knowledge on the international

and intercultural networks that were established. However, new social and institutional connections between Southern Europe and nations of the Global South (Latin American countries, in our case) and accurate accounts of exchange, circulation, and multidirectional flows are a few of the challenges awaiting the field. Likewise, the crossings between the PEN Club and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, as well as with other local institutes and organizations within an international scope (such as Conferentia Club; see Gavagnin) or private initiatives such as the support given by the Guggenheim Foundation or the Rockefeller Foundation (see Pumar in this book) also deserve further research. This collective volume is a step forward, but there is still much work to be done.

Conclusions

Cultural Organizations, Networks and Mediators in Contemporary Ibero-America analyzes the role of Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, and Latin American cultural mediators in the institutionalization of Hispanic and Lusophone cultures in the early 20th century by means of institutional networks such as PEN International and the different PEN centers and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (the former UNESCO). As mentioned previously, we have defined institutionalization as 1) the emergence of the first cultural policies for the standardization of the cultural field and 2) the inclusion of Hispanic writers and intellectuals in an institutional and transnational cultural network. This book helps revise the traditionally peripheral position of Hispanic and Lusophone modernity in existing bibliography and demonstrates that Hispanic and Lusophone mediators not only took part on the international cultural arena but played a crucial role in the multilingual and intercultural networks of the time. In that respect, we map the intellectual sociability of a group of mediators through their contribution in international organizations, conferences, and associations and study how the mobility of these agents mostly functioned as a shared transnational space for both the institutionalization of culture, the dissemination of the various cultural and political national projects, and the increasing cosmopolitanism of the Hispanic and Lusophone field. The book also provides an analysis of the crossings between the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation and PEN International, the worldwide writer's association. This is work that had not been undertaken and sheds light on the crossings of two of the most important international cultural organizations of the time.

In short, this book provides more knowledge on intellectual organization (Charle) and new theoretical frameworks (Meylaerts) to understand cultural interaction and cultural transfer and focuses on the international and intercultural networks that were established and on how these networks were built from a twofold perspective: that of the congresses

and meetings organized by PEN (for example, Dubrovnik, in the case of Simona Škrabec; Barcelona, by Rachel Potter; and Buenos Aires, by Alejandra Giuliani) and by the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation (Grandjean), and a second approach focused in case studies: the Argentinians Victoria Ocampo (Giuliani) and Antonio Aita (Fólica and Ikoff) and the Dominican Pedro Enríquez Ureña (Giuliani); the Guatemalan Enrique Gómez Carrillo (Fólica and Ikoff); the Catalan Joan Estelrich (Coll-Vinent); the Spanish Ramón Gómez de la Serna (Laget); the Portuguese António Ferro, Júlio Dantas, and Fidelino de Figueiredo (Fernandes); the Mexican Jaime Torres Bodet (Zabalgoitia); and the Brazilian Miguel Ozório de Almeida (Pumar). The book also has a focus on the internationalization of specific institutions, such as the Conferentia Club, in the chapter by Gabriella Gavagnin, or Joan Safont in the case of the Catalan PEN.

Also, we discuss some theoretical and methodological reflections and review existing theoretical frameworks on the notion of the "network" as a metaphor but also as a research approach. We think that we advance in this task and we may now integrate in our object of study interesting theoretical and methodological frameworks such as those proposed by Reine Meylaerts (the complexity theory) or her inspiring remarks about how to conceptualize a cultural mediator through the different examples she gave on the Belgian literary field. The chapter by Rachel Potter also made us think in this "international literary public space" and in other potential networks and maps already underlined: political networks, linguistic maps, and human rights networks, in which we can include some relevant agents (for instance, Alcides Arguedas; see Giuliani).

To sum up, this book is aimed at scholars working in a wide range of fields: international relations, cultural and postcolonial studies, global and cultural history, sociology of culture, anthropology, literary studies, world literature and comparative literature, and, of course, new Hispanisms. It is aimed at postgraduates, researchers, and academics rather than undergraduate students and will sell primarily to the international academic library market, though it might also be an engaging read for a wide-ranging audience (professional writers among it). The topic has an international appeal and does not assume a great amount of prior (specialist) knowledge. The focus on social and cultural networks and connections between agents and agencies from Latin America and Southern Europe and accurate accounts of exchange, circulation, and multidirectional flows in less studied settings can certainly draw the attention of Latin American scholars and Western scholars working in those fields, but it may also be of great interest for Asian and African scholars working in similar case studies and fields. As said, the investigation on how cultural practices overcome traditional geographic and linguistic barriers and flow across the world is nowadays a stimulating area of research, so

we anticipate that this book will be of great interest considering its inter-disciplinary character: international relations and organizations, literary studies and world literature, transfer studies, sociology, cultural history, global studies, or history of diplomacy. We have gathered a list of top scholars who are diverse in terms of their affiliations and geographical origins (United Kingdom, Canada, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Bul-garia, Slovenia, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico) and who have published widely from a global perspective in their own disciplines.

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Notes

1. We take this expression from Paul Valéry, who understood Europe as a space lacking a 'Politics of Spirit', in the sense that nations and individuals were only focused on their own interests.
2. A brief historical note. The first organization of modern writers that we have proof of (before there were, for example, the baroque academies) was the "Société des gens de lettres de France", founded in 1838, inspired by Honoré de Balzac and formed by 24 writers, including Balzac, Victor Hugo, Alejandro Dumas, Théophile Gautier, or George Sand, and declared of Public Utility in France as early as 1891. After that, and falling closer to what we understand today as an association of writers, a number of Nordic organizations were founded: the Den norske Forfatterforening, DnF (Association of Writers of Norway) in 1893, or the Suomen Kirjailijaliitto (Union of Finnish Writers) in 1897. As already stated, we will have to wait until 1921 for the the first world writers organization to be launched in London: the PEN Club.

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