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11. Pedro Henríquez Ureña's Hellenism and the American Utopia

Rosa Andújar

The Dominican intellectual Pedro Henríquez Ureña (1884-1946) is widely recognized for his contributions to Hispanic Modernism and the development of a pan-Latin American cultural and literary identity, although his role in disseminating ancient Greek literature, culture, and philosophy is largely overlooked. In Argentina, for example, he was commissioned to write introductions to Homer's *Odyssey* (1938) and *Iliad* (1939), Aeschylus' tragedies (1939) and the comedies of Aristophanes (1941) for a popular series, *Las Cien Obras Maestras de la Literatura Universal*, 'The Hundred Masterpieces of World Literature'.¹ But most notably, during his time as the 'Socrates' of Mexico's *Ateneo de la Juventud*, 'Young People's Athenaeum', from 1906 to 1911, he spearheaded a philhellenic cultural programme prior to the Mexican Revolution, introducing fellow members such as Alfonso Reyes and José Vasconcelos to 'the Greek way' (*la moda griega*).² That self-conscious turn to Athens and the classical past, was aimed at dismantling the positivism which had come to be dominant under the long presidency of Porfirio Díaz, and it became crucial to the larger project of nation-building in Mexico.³

The present chapter examines the manner in which Henríquez Ureña's deep and comprehensive engagement with the ancient Greeks continued to inform both his broader ideology and his unique vision of a Latin American *magna patria*.⁴ The focus will be on three influential essays, which were first delivered as public lectures and subsequently published and circulated across Latin America: *La cultura de las humanidades* (National University of Mexico, 1914), *La utopía de América* (La Plata, 1922) and *La patria de la justicia* (Buenos Aires, 1924).⁵ These texts are significant not only because they were circulated among a wide range of intellectuals in diverse locations from Montevideo to La Habana and from Minneapolis to Madrid — but also because they showcase the manner in which Henríquez Ureña combined a Hellenic ideal with a larger utopian vision for a pan-Latin American future.

The first section of this chapter illustrates the manner in which the texts elaborate a specific future for Latin America, guided by an idealized conception of ancient Hellas. The second part traces some

¹ Gutiérrez Girardot 2014, 241.

² Roggiano 1989; García Morales 1992 (especially 87-98); Curiel 1998.

³ Brading 1984 73-5; Laird 2010, 174-81. Andújar 2018 explores Henríquez Ureña's particular importance for the Mexican *Ateneo*.

⁴ Álvarez (1981); Febres (1989), 71-84.

⁵ *La cultura de las humanidades* was published in Mexico and Havana; *La utopía de América* was excerpted in Argentine newspapers after the event, and later published with *Patria de la Justicia* in 1925 in Argentina and the Dominican Republic: Barcia (1994), 71-72. Henríquez Ureña summarised his speeches in letters to friends e.g. *La cultura* in Henríquez Ureña and Reyes (1981), 214-5.

of the ways in which Henríquez Ureña transformed ideas about the Greeks found in both José Enrique Rodó and in British Victorian intellectuals into a single utopian vision for the region. The closing discussion considers the larger ideological implications of this idealised Greece both for contemporaneous debates – about Hispanism and about their emerging conflict between Latin America and the English-speaking north – and for its ramifications for more recent controversies and racial politics.

A GREEK VISION FOR LATIN AMERICA

Henríquez Ureña's delivery of *La cultura de las humanidades* in 1914, at the start of the fourth year of classes in the School of Advanced Studies (*Escuela de Altos Estudios*) at Mexico's Universidad Nacional,⁶ probably marked the first time in which an intellectual, publicly and in an official capacity, argued for the continuing relevance of ancient Greece to modern Latin America, although prior to that this argument had been made to select the membership of the *Ateneo de la Juventud*.⁷ From 1910 onwards the group, which included several of post-Revolutionary Mexico's future political and intellectual leaders, became involved in the reformation of Mexican universities and began to craft public policy that drew from their readings and lectures previously conducted in private.

Henríquez Ureña begins *La cultura de las humanidades* by providing a brief history of the *Ateneo* as a society of studious young intellectuals eager to improve the condition of their country. Initially they had sought inspiration from Spanish Golden Age writers, Dante, Shakespeare and Goethe as well as the Greeks, but it was Greek texts which provided the *ateneistas* with firsthand 'spiritual discipline'. There is an anecdotal recollection of how the young men were enraptured by the compelling nature of Plato's *Symposium*:

Una vez nos citamos para leer en común el *Banquete* de Platón. Éramos cinco o seis esa noche; nos turnábamos en la lectura, cambiándose el lector para el discurso de cada convidado diferente; y cada quien lo seguía ansioso, no con el deseo de apresurar la llegada de Alcibiades, como los estudiantes de que habla Aulo Gelio, sino con la esperanza de que le tocaran en suerte las milagrosas palabras de Diótima de Mantinea...La lectura acaso duró tres horas; nunca hubo mayor olvido del *mundo de la calle*, por más que esto ocurría en un taller de arquitecto, inmediato a la más populosa avenida de la ciudad. [... C]on esas lecturas renació el espíritu de las humanidades clásicas en México (Henríquez Ureña 2004, 266-7).

Once we met to read Plato's *Symposium* together. There were five or six of us that night; we would take turns reading, with

⁶ Stabb 1967 and Díaz Quiñones 2006, 76.

⁷ Álvarez 1981, 113 notes that this is the first time Henríquez Ureña broaches the subject of utopia.

a different reader for each symposiast, and each one followed it eagerly, with no desire to rush the arrival of Alcibiades, like the students mentioned by Aulus Gellius, but in the hope that with luck the miraculous words of Diotima of Mantinea would fall to him [...]. The reading lasted about three hours; never had there been such disregard for the outside world, despite the fact that this occurred in an architect's workshop, right by the city's busiest avenue. [...]. With those readings the spirit of the classical humanities was reborn in Mexico.⁸

As well as linking the experience of reading the ancient Greeks to a rebirth of the humanities in Mexico, Henríquez Ureña explains the role of the broader humanities in Mexico after the revolution:

Las humanidades [...] han de ejercer sutil influjo espiritual en la reconstrucción que nos espera. Porque ellas son más, mucho más que el esqueleto de las formas intelectuales del mundo antiguo: son la musa portadora de dones y de ventura interior, *fors olavigera* para los secretos de la perfección humana.⁹

The humanities [...] must wield a subtle spiritual influence in the reconstruction that awaits us. Because they are much more than the skeleton of the intellectual forms of the ancient world; they are the muse that brings gifts and inner happiness, the *fors olavigera* for the secrets of human perfection.

Incorrectly naming *Fors Clavigera* (1871), John Ruskin's epistolary work addressed to British workmen, Henríquez Ureña's view that the spiritual awakening and inner peace provided by the humanities enable men to remain focused on the task at hand leads him to propose a larger humanistic educational programme for the masses, despite the fact that his own experience of the Greeks was born in a elite setting, reminiscent of a symposium.¹⁰

Henríquez Ureña's views on the relevance of the Greeks go beyond the philhellenism of the European Romantics. He bases the 'Greek miracle' on a 'perpetual restlessness for innovation and reform' (*perpetua inquietud de la innovación y la reforma*), as he contrasts the Greeks to other 'oriental' civilisations which sought stability rather than progress.¹¹ His history of the classical humanities illustrates the effect that the 'restlessness' of the Greeks had on various societies from the Renaissance onwards leads to conclude

⁸ All translations from Spanish are my own.

⁹ Henríquez Ureña 2004, 267.

¹⁰ García Morales (1992), 237 relates that the members of the *Ateneo* had also established the Universidad Popular Mexicana, whose purpose was to develop the culture of the people of Mexico, especially that of its working class. Cf. Curiel (1998), 339-40.

¹¹ Henríquez Ureña 2004, 268

that the youth of America should emulate the Greeks, who established perfection as the human ideal.¹²

Henríquez Ureña elaborated upon this vision in the two influential speeches delivered in Argentina in the following decade, *La utopía de América* (1922) and *Patria de la Justicia* (1924). Both offer a more concrete articulation of an utopian *Nuestra América* than *La cultura de las humanidades*. In making his case for a Greek renaissance in Latin America, the Dominican intellectual argues for the fundamental relevance of the ancient Greek past to the future of the entire region. Even though *La utopía de América* was addressed to an Argentine, it begins, like *La cultura de las humanidades*, with the Mexican intellectual landscape: Henríquez Ureña is speaking as part of an official educational delegation led by José Vasconcelos, to advise Argentina new president of the new cultural and educational changes enacted in Mexico.¹³

The speaker moves on from Mexico and political nationalism to address larger vision of spiritual nationalism that, in his view, unites the region and allows him to broach the subject of a *magna patria* for the first time, as he asserts that Latin American countries after four centuries of history share ‘unity of purpose in political and intellectual life’ (*la unidad de propósito en la vida política y en la intelectual*).¹⁴ Henríquez Ureña’s vision of ‘*nuestra América*’, stresses the youthful audacity which spiritually connects the present day Americas to classical Greece and the Italian Renaissance:

Si conserváramos aquella con que nuestros antepasados llamaban Atenas a cualquier ciudad de América, no vacilaría yo en compararnos con los pueblos, políticamente disgregados pero espiritualmente unidos, de la Grecia clásica y la Italia del Renacimiento.¹⁵

If we were to preserve that [youthful audacity] with which our forebears called any city in America Athens, I would not hesitate to compare us with the peoples, politically separate but spiritually united, of classical Greece and Renaissance Italy.

The youthful utopia should include universal education for all men, social justice and liberty. Stressing that utopia is one of the great spiritual creations of the Mediterranean, Henríquez Ureña again attributes to the Greeks a particularly Western drive for perfectionism, again built on a notion of restlessness.¹⁶ As in the previous speech, the Greek example is framed in terms of a larger conflict between progress and complacency. And once again the

¹² Henríquez Ureña 2004, 269.

¹³ Roggiano 1989, 251-57; Barcia 1994, 67-80. For Vasconcelos, see Conn in this volume

¹⁴ Henríquez Ureña 2014, 127; on a similar speech see Barcia 1994, 69-71.

¹⁵ Henríquez Ureña 2014, 127-8.

¹⁶ Henríquez Ureña 2014, 129; ‘the people of Greece give the western world a restless urge for constant perfection’, (*el pueblo griego da al mundo occidental la inquietud del perfeccionamiento constante*).

'Greek miracle' is contrasted with the ancient Near East, in which justice was sacrificed to order, and progress to tranquillity.

Two years later, *Patria de la Justicia*, was delivered in Buenos Aires, in honour of Carlos Sánchez Viamonte, an important jurist who later became a leading figure in the Socialist Party of Argentina.¹⁷ Again attributes utopianism to the Greeks, 'our spiritual forefathers from the Mediterranean' (*nuestros abuelos espirituales del Mediterraneo*), and it is opposed to 'Asiatic ideals which only promise man a better life beyond this terrestrial life' (*los ideales asiáticos que solo prometen al hombre una vida mejor fuera de esta vida terrena*).¹⁸ But there is a significant addition. This Greek vision is a democratic one, for the benefit of all:

Al diletantismo egoísta, aunque se ampara bajo los nombres de Leonardo o de Goethe, opongamos el nombre de Platón, nuestro primer maestro de utopía, el que entregó al fuego todas sus invenciones de poeta para predicar la verdad y la justicia en nombre de Sócrates (Henríquez Ureña 2014, 135).

Against selfish dilettantism, though it may shelter under the names of Leonardo or Goethe, let us put forward the name of Plato, our first teacher of utopia, who threw all his poetic inventions into the fire in order to preach truth and justice in the name of Socrates.

This opposition to personal intellectual self-improvement or dilettantism resists precisely the 'Byzantine' tendencies identified in Eric Culhed's chapter in this volume. Henríquez Ureña's three texts present a vision of Latin America is unlike other early twentieth century projections of what the region should be. *Nuestra América* is imagined as an equal society in which a generalised Hellenic conception of art and culture play as large a role as economic growth in creating social justice. The spirit of a Greek past is directed towards a democratic and collective Latin American future.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN UTOPIAN THINKING

The three speeches described above were not informed by any particular ancient Greek author or by classical utopian ideas or motifs, such as those found in Hesiod's poetry or Plato's dialogues – though Henríquez Ureña had read those texts and he names Aristophanes and Plato. Nor does it follow engagements with utopian thinking in Latin America or elsewhere, such as Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's *Argirópolis* (1850) or Ernst Bloch's *Geist der Utopie* (1918).¹⁹ It will be proposed here that the novelty of Henríquez Ureña's vision for Latin America lay in the conjunction of three main themes – youth, progress, and discipline – which he ascribed to the 'restless' ancient Greeks. This dynamic and unique form of

¹⁷ Zuleta Alvarez 1997, 249-51.

¹⁸ Henríquez Ureña 2014, 133-4

¹⁹ Febres 1989, 74; Gutiérrez Girardot 2014.

Hellenism combined the Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó's conception of a regenerative Greece with that of nineteenth-century British thinkers, notably Matthew Arnold and Walter Pater.

Ideas of ancient Greece as especially 'youthful' and 'energetic' were widespread in the European Hellenic revivalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth century.²⁰ These ideas seem to correspond to the youth of the *ateneistas* in the the halcyon days when they could stay up all night enraptured by Plato's *Symposium*.²¹ Henríquez Ureña certainly advertised the efforts of the *Ateneo de la Juventud* outside Mexico by appealing to the power of youth: in 1907 he stated in an article for Santo Domingo's newspaper, *Listín Diario*, that Mexico's future literary history would be indebted to these young men, who were 'good sons of Greece'.²² In a letter published the same year in another Dominican journal *Cuna de America*, 'Cradle of America', he invited his cousin to join the *ateneistas* in Mexico as they read Greek literature in an 'atmosphere of intellectual activity and youthful happiness' (*este ambiente de actividad intelectual y alegría juvenil*).²³

Henríquez Ureña is in fact amplifying connections already made in José Enrique Rodó's *Ariel* (1900). In that groundbreaking essay, dedicated to 'the youth of America', Rodó affirmed that Latin America's potential hinged precisely on its youthfulness and he linked 'the youthful soul' (*el alma joven*) symbolised by ancient Greece to his vision for the future of the region, which he also perceived as another young and emerging civilisation.²⁴ Rodó made the same case elsewhere: in a letter to Porfirio Parra, the director of the *Escuela Nacional Preparatoria* of Mexico he stated that his writings 'are and will be property of the youth who will work and fight for the civilization, the culture, and the moral and intellectual elevation of our America'.²⁵ Rodó's new spiritual model of cultural identity for Latin America which served to differentiate the region from the capitalist north appealed to its European and Christian heritage. This was in contrast to José Martí's earlier emphasis on indigenous elements²⁶ Henríquez Ureña had first facilitated the Uruguayan's acquaintance with Parra; more importantly he introduced Rodó's

²⁰ Jenkyns 1980, 169

²¹ Henríquez Ureña 2004, 249, quoted above.

²² Henríquez Ureña 2004, 243

²³ Garcia Morales 1992, 67

²⁴ Rodó 1967, 26; cf. Van Delden 1990, 304 The association of youth with ancient Greece was made in Europe, but in the context of a historical theories that the present represented deterioration in relation to the past period childhood which Greece represented: Jenkyns 1980, 168-70.

²⁵ Rodó, in Rela 1992, 16

²⁶ Martí 2012, 17: 'The European university has to give way to the American one. The history of America, from the Incas until now, has to be taught in detail, even if the history of the archons of Greece is not. Our Greece is preferable to the Greece that is not our own.' (*La Universidad europea ha de ceder a la universidad americana. La Historia de América, de los Incas a acá, ha de enseñarse al dedillo, aunque no se enseñe la de los arcontes de Grecia. Nuestra Grecia es preferible a la Grecia que no es nuestra*). Miller 2008, 44-5 examines Martí's and Rodó's competing visions of *Nuestra América*; Martí's Hellenism is treated by Miranda Cancela in this volume.

Ariel to a Mexican readership, having arranged for it to be published in Monterrey.²⁷

But where Rodó found evidence of the same Greek youthfulness in Christianity, Pedro Henríquez Ureña was promoting a more secular vision, explicitly intended to fight utilitarian and pragmatist educational trends. What is more, Henríquez Ureña was amalgamating his knowledge of English authors and intellectual trends in Victorian Britain with Rodó's conception of a youthful Hellas.²⁸ Henríquez Ureña's ideas of Greece as a source of spiritual discipline and reasoned learning for the improvement of humanity were inspired by Matthew Arnold, who defined culture as a 'study of perfection'.²⁹ The ideas of Walter Pater were also of critical importance: indeed Pater and Plato are named as the two individuals responsible for Henríquez Ureña's conversion to Hellenism.³⁰ Pater's *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* proposed a new understanding of the period, which was centred on notions of renewal and progress.³¹ That is epitomised by the quotation from Plato that appeared at the end of the work:

Heraclitus somewhere says that everything moves and nothing is at rest.³²

Other Victorian writers connected progress to the ancient Greeks, but maintained that the modern world lacked the same discipline and innovation, so that each generation had to reclaim and revive Hellenic values. That was to propose a more dynamic conception of 'evolutionary humanistic Hellenism' and its value to modernity.³³ John Addington Symonds, for example, claimed in the concluding chapter to *Studies of the Greek Poets* that the notion of progress was characteristic of ancient Greece and that advances in later times could be measured in terms of a society's contact with the Greeks: all modern civilised nations could thus be regarded 'colonies of Hellas'.³⁴ But for Symonds this Greek past was especially difficult to recover in the British industrial world of his time. The values of Greece were not universal, as others had believed, because they were lacking to modern man.³⁵

²⁷ Henríquez Ureña 1989, 61; Rela 1992, 10-16.

²⁸ Díaz Quiñones (2006), 178 and 225-230 is exceptional in recognising this. Henríquez revealed in a letter to Alfonso Reyes (25 March 1914) that John Sandy's *A History of Classical Scholarship* (1903) was a source for his *La cultura de las Humanidades*: Henríquez Ureña and Reyes (1981), 215. The same letter quotes George Saintsbury and Matthew Arnold in English.

²⁹ Arnold 1993, 59 and especially 66.

³⁰ In his early years in Mexico Henríquez Ureña produced the only ever translation into Spanish of Walter Pater's *Greek Studies* for *Revista Moderna*: Henríquez Ureña 2008, discussed in Andújar 2018.

³¹ Pater 1873, 21; Evangelista 2015, 643-44

³² Evangelista 2015, 644. Plato attribution of this remark to Heraclitus is in *Cratylus* 402a.

³³ Turner 1981, 61-76.

³⁴ Symonds 1893, 397-8

³⁵ Symonds 1893, 362.

Henríquez Ureña's claims for a Latin American exception, built on an intrinsic spiritual affinity to the Greeks, are a novel departure from these reflections. In this manner, the Dominican intellectual not only extends Rodó's thinking on the importance of the youthful Greece to the equally youthful Spanish America, but he also marries these to current debates about Hellenic progress and whether it is achievable in modernity.

THE GREEKS: A NEW PARADIGM FOR LATIN AMERICA

Pedro Henríquez Ureña was by no means the first intellectual to invoke idealized notions of ancient Greece for Latin America but his thinking brought a fresh perspective to the 'culture wars' over 'Hispanism' and peninsular Spain's legacy for the twentieth century.³⁶ By seeking to establish their direct spiritual link to the ancient Greeks, Henríquez Ureña sought to free the new Latin American nations from the claims of an imperialist Spanish literary tradition. *La Cultura de las Humanidades*, presented in 1914, had been conceived in the wake of Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo's formidable *Historia de la poesía hispano-americana* which was first published three years before. Scholars such as Arcadio Díaz-Quinoñes have shown how Menéndez y Pelayo's work is part of a larger attempt by Spain to re-assert a kind of control over its former colonies by laying claim to their literature:

El erudito español quería restaurar la autoridad espiritual del imperio y el prestigio del Libro, asegurando así un lugar protagónico a la España vencida. [...] Era una Guerra por la autoridad de la tradición.³⁷

The erudite Spaniard wanted to restore the spiritual authority of the empire and the prestige of the Book, thus assuring the defeated Spain the position of protagonist. [...] It was a war over the authority of tradition.

The very notion of language and literature is part of the imperial project for Menéndez Pelayo, who cited the examples of Greece and then Rome to show how the ancients extended their empire through distant regions.³⁸ It is no coincidence that Henríquez Ureña's pan-American *magna patria* was being formulated during this period. Having spent a significant amount of time in Spain, he was familiar with the efforts of Menéndez Pelayo and others to re-establish Spain's authority in the domain of Latin American literature.³⁹ For the Dominican intellectual, ancient Greece, I would like to suggest, afforded a new beginning for Latin America: by creating a direct link with Spanish America's 'Mediterranean forefathers' (*nuestros abuelos del Mediterráneo*), Henríquez Ureña could bypass the influence of

³⁶ Gutiérrez Girardot 2014, 233-34; Aronna 1999, 102-5.

³⁷ Díaz Quiñones 2006, 28

³⁸ Menéndez Pelayo 1911, 11.

³⁹ Zuleta Alvarez 1997, 125-58

peninsular Spain, in order to define a Latin American essence that did not depend on Rome, which had always been invoked as an important forebear for Spain.

Additionally, the Greeks afford a new perspective in light of the other imperial power that haunted Latin America at the time: the United States. For the new Latin American republics to achieve progress capitalism was a prominent choice. The spectre of the North American labour and economic system had been tackled both by José Martí and José Enrique Rodó. Even though Henríquez Ureña does not address the question of the United States as directly,⁴⁰ I would argue that his invocations of the ancient Greeks were also aimed against the northern power at a time when it began to expand beyond its continental borders, with the acquisition of Puerto Rico and the Philippines following the Spanish-American war. The United States began to cast itself as a new Rome in celebration of its new empire, wealth and power.⁴¹ Henríquez Ureña's construction of a Latin America's affinity with the Greeks conferred a certain degree of autonomy and even cultural superiority on the the region, offering an opportunity to align itself with a different cultural model.

The Hellenic model was furthermore attractive as a means of unification. In the speeches analysed above, Henríquez Ureña continually appeals to the joint history, language and experience of Latin America as a basis for utopia. However, the effacing of important considerations on the ground would ultimately doom the vision to failure. In his personal recollections of Henríquez Ureña, Jorge Luis Borges addresses the larger issues of race and nationalism:

Yo tengo el mejor recuerdo de Pedro [...] bueno, él era un hombre tímido y creo que muchos países fueron injustos con él. En España, claro, lo consideraban, digamos, un mero indiano; un mero centroamericano. Y aquí en Buenos Aires, creo que no le perdonamos el ser dominicano, el ser, quizá, mestizo; el ser ciertamente judío — el apellido Henríquez, bueno, como el mío, es judeo-portugués. Y aquí él fue profesor adjunto de un señor, de cuyo nombre no quiero acordarme; que no sabía absolutamente nada de la materia, y Henríquez — que sabía muchísimo — tuvo que ser su adjunto, porque, finalmente, un mero extranjero... el otro, claro, tenía esa inestimable virtud de ser argentino [...] la gente nunca se portó bien con él; la República Argentina no se portó bien con él. España tampoco [...] nunca lo reconocieron del todo.⁴²

⁴⁰ *Patria de la Justicia* though rejects the North American utopia despite being the archetype of liberty because the US is 'one of the least free countries in the world' (*uno de los países menos libres del mundo*): Henríquez Ureña (2014), 134.

⁴¹ Malamud 2009, especially 150-185; Wyke 2012.

⁴² Borges 1985, 182. Henríquez Ureña only rarely and obliquely discussed his physical appearance, or the discrimination he must have regularly experienced: in a letter to Reyes of 13 March 1908 (Henríquez Ureña and

I have the best of memories of Pedro [...] well, he was a shy man and I think that many countries were unjust towards him. In Spain, of course, they considered him, well, a mere Indian, a mere Central American. And here in Buenos Aires, I don't think that we ever forgave him for being Dominican, being, perhaps, mestizo; certainly being Jewish — the surname *Henríquez*, well, like mine, is Judaeo-Portuguese. And here he was the adjunct professor to a gentleman, whose name I do not wish to remember, who knew absolutely nothing about the subject, and *Henríquez* — who knew so much — he had to be his adjunct, because in the end he was a mere foreigner [...] the former, of course, had the inestimable virtue of being an Argentine [...] the people never treated him well; the Argentine Republic did not treat him well. Neither did Spain [...] they never fully acknowledged him.

Henríquez Ureña was thus dismissed for being a colonial of mixed race, and potentially a Jew.⁴³ This accentuates the narrow view upon which his utopia was ultimately founded: a *Nuestra América* constructed as the spiritual heir of Mediterranean forefathers but which excluded any mention of elements crucial to Latin America: the indigenous, Afro-Latinos, and women. Even in Mexico, where *Henríquez Ureña* was celebrated as a founder of the renowned *Ateneo*, he encountered resistance for being a foreigner: newspaper headlines reported that student strikes were incited by his status as a foreigner in a *Mexican* university.⁴⁴ In the end, the vision of a Latin American utopia inspired by Greece was unsustainable in a fragmented post-imperial world in which nationalism would reign supreme.

Reyes 1981) he attributed his decision not to relocate to New York to the evidence of prejudice he experienced on a daily basis because he was not a white north American.

⁴³ Compare Díaz Quiñones 2006, 178.

⁴⁴ Roggiano 1989, 154-5.

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