

THE CARLIST WARS IN THE SERIAL NOVELS
OF
GALDÓS, BAROJA AND VALLE INCLÁN

by

Richard M. Mikulski
B.A., Queens College, 1945
M.A., Columbia University, 1948

Submitted to the Department
of Romance Languages and
Literatures and the Faculty
of the Graduate School of
the University of Kansas in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy.

Advisory Committee:

Redacted Signature

Chairman

Redacted Signature

Redacted Signature

April, 1956

Table of Contents

	Page
Table of Contents.....	iii

Preface.....	vii
--------------	-----

Galdós, Baroja and Valle Inclán focus their attention on history, vii.- Lack of comprehensive critical opinion on their Carlist War novels, vii.- Previous studies, viii.- Aim and scope of the present study, ix.

List of Abbreviations.....	xii
----------------------------	-----

1. Works studied, xii. 2. Periodicals used, xiii.

Chapter I Introduction.....	1
-----------------------------	---

Return to Fernando VII and absolutism, 1.- Origins of the dynastic struggle, 2.- Carlist insurgence, 5.- Cruel character of the war, 6.- Struggle between opposing political factions, 8.- Convenio de Vergara (1839), 10.- Attempts at reconciliation, 11.- Further Carlist uprisings, 12.- End of the Carlist threat to national stability, 15.

Chapter II Galdós, Baroja, Valle Inclán: Character and Ideology.....	18
--	----

Galdós: sensitivity, 19; impartiality, 20; moderation, 21; optimism and pessimism, 21; sense of justice, 22; patriotism, 23.- Baroja: extreme individualism, 23; simplicity, 24; sentimentality, 25; sublimation of eroticism, 26; his ideal of action, 27; vocero for Spanish youth, 28.- Valle Inclán: aristocratic heritage and affectations, 29; theatricality, 29; poseur, 30; love for the military and adventure, 31.

Galdós: liberalism, 31; anticlericalism, 33; opinion of Carlism, 33; ideas on the problem of Spain, 35; ideological legacy to the nation, 37.- Baroja: anarchism, 38; anticlericalism, 39; antimilitarism, 40; opinion of Carlism, 41; sensitivity to the problem of Spain, 42; definition of his liberalism and its effects, 44.- Valle Inclán: less ideological emphasis, 45; attitude toward clerics, 46; interest in Carlism, 46; relatively little attention to the problems of Spain, 49.

Chapter III Historical Sources..... 58

Need for accuracy and documentation, 58.- Various sources, 58.- Galdós: previous experience with historical material, 59; opinions on the historicity of his works, 59; source material in his library, 61; his research in the Ateneo, 62; old periodicals and newspapers, 64; personal travel to historical sites, 64; oral tradition, 65; information sent by readers, 66; interviews with historical personages and their descendants, 66; imputations of plagiarism, 68.- Baroja: pride in investigative technique, 69; reconstruction of Aviraneta's life, 69; libraries and archives, 70; negative results in queries to historians, 71; civil and clerical records, 72; folletos, 73; eyewitness accounts, 73; lithographs, 74; printed sources acknowledged in works, 74; newspapers and periodicals, 75; accusations of careless documentation and plagiarism, 77.- Valle Inclán: artistic temperament in conflict with rigid historical techniques, 77; little need for extensive documentation, 78; source material in his library, 79; oral tradition, 80; first-hand accounts, 80; extent of personal reconnaissance of backgrounds, 80; accusations of plagiarism, 81.

Chapter IV Stylistic Currents and Language..... 88

Galdós: literary maturity in years between second and third series of Episodios, 88; didactic bent, 89; elements of epic style, 89; realism, 92; Romanticism, 94; the folletín, 96; epistolary style, 97; difference in style of earlier and later Episodios, 98; preoccupation with purity of language, 99; popular and regional linguistic elements, 102; use of foreign and classical languages, 104.- Baroja: ideas on style, 106; his reputed stylistic sins, 107; stylistic simplicity, 108; conscious evasion of epic elements, 109; impressionism, 110; realism, 111; Romanticism, 113; the folletín, 114; linguistic preferences, 116; notes of vulgarity in language, 117; various elements of popular and regional languages, 119; use of foreign and classical terminology, 123.- Valle Inclán: reformer of Spanish prose, 126; his style a synthesis of many arts, 126; change from churriguerismo of Sonatas to more natural prose of Guerra carlista trilogy, 126; erotic note of Sonatas absent in Carlist War works, 127; intensity of epic spirit, 130; extreme care in choice of language, 132; archaisms, 132; use of popular language, 134.

Chapter V Technique..... 143

Galdós: ideas on the novel, 143; ideas on history, 144; the fusion of fiction and history, 146; the role of a central re-appearing character, 148; intrusions on the pages of the Episodios, 149; dialogue, 150; stream of consciousness, 151; historical accuracy and reconstruction, 152; dramatic terminology, 152; satire, 153; dreams, 154; historical chronology, 156; titling, 156; literary references, 158.- Baroja: ideas on the novel, 160; distrust of formal history, 161; fictional and historical elements, 161; no set novelistic technique, 163; preoccupation with the detail, 164; peripatetic nature of his novels, 164; role of Aviraneta as the central character, 166; dramatic techniques, 168; the personaje misterioso, 169; his habit of digression, 170; dreams, 173; historical chronology, 174; titling, 175; classical allusions, 177.- Valle Inclán: his literary art and precepts, 178; history subservient to esthetic purpose, 179; dramatic techniques and dialogue, 181; possible origin of some of his exotic effects, 181; blending various sensorial stimuli, 182; violent imagery, 183; sensitivity for the past, 185; titling, 185; literary references, 186.

Chapter VI Characters..... 193

Galdós: ability to create original characters, 194; piecemeal portrayal, 194; use of color, 195; the muletilla in character identification, 197; literary, classical, historical and mythological comparisons, 198; the apodo in characterization, 201; symbolical names, 202; allegorical characters, 203; personification of natural phenomena, 203; conception of the pueblo, 204; changes in character, 205; re-appearing characters, 207; development of Fernando Calpena, 209; José Fago, alter ego of Zumalacárregui, 212; treatment of Don Carlos, 213; Zumalacárregui, 214; Aviraneta, 215; historical characters with minor roles in the Tercera serie, 216.- Baroja: personajes drawn from life, 220; classification of personajes, 222; lack of psychological depth in most characterizations, 223; character analysis by comparison, 224; changes in character, 226; descriptive methods, 227; animal references, 229; literary, historical and artistic references, 230; extensive use of the apodo, 233; the muletilla, 234; attitude toward different tipos, 234; treatment of female characters, 236; treatment of clerics and Jews, 237; development of

Pello Leguía, Aviraneta's alter ego, 238; literary reconstruction of Aviraneta, master conspirator, 240; the Pretender, Don Carlos, 247; Zumalacárregui, 248; Conde de España, 249; portraits of other historical characters, 250.- Valle Inclán: descriptive methods, 251; literary posture before Carlist characters, 251; personajes are syntheses rather than individuals, 252; fascination for eyes, 253; succinct character studies, 254; attitude toward the pueblo, 255; re-appearing characters, 256; Marqués de Bradomín, 257; Don Juan Manuel, 258; worshipful perspective of Don Carlos, 260; literary re-creation of the priest-warrior, Santa Cruz, 262; paucity of other historical characters, 265.

Conclusion..... 274

Their differing character, ideology and literary experience influenced their varying treatment of the same theme, 274.- Comparative resumé: character and ideology, 274; preparatory research and documentation, 275; style and language, 277; technique, 279; treatment of fictional and historical characters, 280:- Contribution of each to the canvas of History, 281.

Bibliography..... 283

1. Works studied, 283. 2. Works of reference and criticism, 285.

Appendix..... 302

Nineteenth century newspapers and periodicals mentioned by Galdós, Baroja and Valle Inclán in the works studied, 302.

+ + + + +

Preface

The fact that three of Spain's best modern novelists turned to national history for inspiration is not surprising in Spanish literature, which has long relied on History to supply it with many and varied themes. The colorful events of Spanish History have enriched many genres and periods like the epic, the Romancero, the Golden-Age drama and the Romantic novel.

Galdós, Baroja and Valle Inclán focussed their attention on the nineteenth century, which produced little, if any, progress in Spain, but was nevertheless charged with dramatic incidents and intriguing characters. These were shaped by a nation first engaged in repulsing an invader and then divided against itself. Following the War of Independence, the seemingly unending Carlist Wars were an incomparable source of novelistic material, for they presented a violent panorama of human beings, ideas and emotions in conflict:

. . . debajo de la disputa dinástica, que era la superficie, había tantas cosas en pugna, lucha del campo con la ciudad, del localismo con una concepción más amplia del Estado, del individualismo contra la abstracción de un Gobierno de leyes. . . ; la tradición contra la novedad, de la aristocracia vieja contra los nuevos señores de la clase media.¹

Critics have tended to overlook or merely to generalize pro and con about the novels in which these authors reproduced the essence of the Carlist Wars, reserving more comprehensive critical opinion for their more famous and widely read works

like Baroja's Zalacaín el aventurero, César o nada and El árbol de la ciencia, Galdós Novelas contemporáneas and early Episodios, and Valle Inclán's Sonatas. However, their Carlist War novels also have a great measure of intrinsic literary merit and deserve more careful study and appreciation.

Several short studies have touched in part upon some facet of these largely neglected works. Pons deals generally with the entry of Galdós and Valle Inclán into the realm of the historical novel.² Boussagol has made an excellent investigation into the sources and composition of Zumalacárregui, the first novel in the Tercera serie of Galdós' Episodios nacionales.³ Fernández Almagro, in his biography of Valle Inclán, has an illuminating chapter entitled, "Carlismo y literatura."⁴ Gaspar Gómez de la Serna has written some useful analytical articles on the "episodio nacional" as a literary genre, in which he discusses mainly the relevant works of Galdós and Valle Inclán.⁵ And Castillo Puche, in a recent study on Aviraneta based upon newly discovered biographical information, attacks the validity of Baroja's portrayal of his famous protagonist of the Memorias de un hombre de acción.⁶

Douglas B. Swett, in a doctoral dissertation, has studied the theme of the Carlist Wars in the Episodios nacionales of Galdós.⁷ His treatment, despite the literary orientation of the title of his work, emphasizes the historical rather than the literary aspects of the problem,

for he devotes most of his study to accounts of the historical events, figures and life of the times, and to Galdós' ideas on Spain.

The present study aims to afford a more detailed comparative view of the preparation for and development of the Carlist War theme by Galdós, Baroja and Valle Inclán than has been available in critical opinion until now. It is hoped that it will help fill the gaps in critical evaluation and appreciation of their total literary production, caused by the overshadowing of these Carlist novels by their more famous works.

These worthy products of the novelistic art of three master craftsmen will be studied in the light of the influence of their character, temperament and ideology, their varying historical sources, their style, techniques and development of both historical and fictional characters. Style will be treated very generally in terms of the manner of expression peculiar to clearly defined stylistic currents in literature including the epic, Romanticism, realism and others. Techniques are considered separately only for the sake of convenience in handling all the myriad and varied literary resorts and resources which, in sum, delineate and contribute to each man's style.

The study is limited to their serial novels and only those in which their creative effort is almost exclusively directed toward a re-creation and interpretation of this turbulent era in Spain's national history, even though

occasional treatment of the same period appears elsewhere in their novelistic production. For Galdós, this comprises the ten novels of the Tercera serie of the Episodios nacionales and the last of the Segunda serie (Un faccioso más y algunos frailes menos), because the events it describes were the immediate causes of the conflict. All of the twenty-two novels in Baroja's Memorias de un hombre de acción must be examined, even though the first nine are primarily concerned with the War of Independence. Baroja's generous use of the flashback technique tends to confuse historical chronology so that the first half of the series is a mixture of incidents and characters from both conflicts. While Galdós and Baroja concentrated upon the vigorous, hopeful Carlist campaigns in the first half of the century, Valle Inclán portrayed the convulsive last gasps of the dying Cause in the novels of his Guerra carlista trilogy. His Sonata de invierno is included in the study for its portrayal of the Pretender and his court.⁸

Footnotes

1. E. Gómez de Baquero, "Valle Inclán, novelista", La Pluma, enero de 1923, pp. 11-12.
2. Joseph Sebastian Pons, "Le Roman et l'Histoire: De Galdós à Valle Inclán", in Hommage à Ernest Martinenche (Paris, 1939), pp. 381-389.
3. G. Boussagol, "Sources et composition du 'Zumalacárregui' de B. Pérez Galdós", BHi, 1924, pp. 241-262.
4. Melchor Fernández Almagro, Vida y literatura de Valle Inclán (Madrid, 1943), pp. 142-154.
5. Gaspar Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio Nacional como género literario. I: De la épica al episodio pasando por la novela", Clay, 14 (marzo-abril, 1952), pp. 21-32. See also his, "El Episodio Nacional como género literario. II: Las dos Españas de Don Ramón María del Valle Inclán, Clay, 17 (septiembre-octubre, 1952), pp. 17-32.
6. José Luis Castillo Puche, Memorias íntimas de Aviraneta o Manual del Conspirador (Réplica a Baroja) (Madrid, 1952).
7. Douglas B. Swett, A Study of the Carlist Wars as a Literary Theme in the "Episodios Nacionales" of Benito Pérez Galdós. (An unpublished Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Southern California, 1948).
8. All of the references to Galdós' individual Episodios are from Volume II of the Aguilar edition of his Obras completas (Madrid, 1944). The editions from which textual references are made for the novels of Baroja and Valle Inclán are listed in the Bibliography.

+ + + + +

List of Abbreviations

1. Works Studied

Galdós

Faccioso	<u>Un faccioso más y algunos frailes menos</u>
Zumalacárregui	<u>Zumalacárregui</u>
Mendizábal	<u>Mendizábal</u>
Oñate	<u>De Oñate a La Granja</u>
Luchana	<u>Luchana</u>
Campaña	<u>La campaña del Maestrazgo</u>
Estafeta	<u>La estafeta romántica</u>
Vergara	<u>Vergara</u>
Montes	<u>Montes de Oca</u>
Ayacuchos	<u>Los Ayacuchos</u>
Bodas	<u>Bodas reales</u>

Baroja

Aprendiz	<u>El aprendiz de conspirador</u>
Escuadrón	<u>El escuadrón del Brigante</u>
Caminos	<u>Los caminos del mundo</u>
Pluma	<u>Con la pluma y con el sable</u>
Recursos	<u>Los recursos de la astucia</u>
Ruta	<u>La ruta del aventurero</u>
Contrastes	<u>Los contrastes de la vida</u>
Veleta	<u>La veleta de Gastizar</u>
Caudillos	<u>Los caudillos de 1830</u>

Isabelina	<u>La Isabelina</u>
Sabor	<u>El sabor de la venganza</u>
Furias	<u>Las furias</u>
Amor	<u>El amor, el dandysmo y la intriga</u>
Figuras	<u>Las figuras de cera</u>
Nave	<u>El nave de los locos</u>
Mascaradas	<u>Las mascaradas sangrientas</u>
Enigma	<u>Humano enigma</u>
Senda	<u>La senda dolorosa</u>
Confidentes	<u>Los confidentes audaces</u>
Venta	<u>La venta de Mirambel</u>
Crónica	<u>Crónica escandalosa</u>
Principio	<u>Desde el principio hasta el fin</u>
Santa Cruz	<u>El cura Santa Cruz y su partida</u>

Valle Inclán

Cruzados	<u>Los cruzados de la causa</u>
Gerifaltes	<u>Gerifaltes de antaño</u>
Resplandor	<u>El resplandor de la hoguera</u>
Invierno	<u>Sonata de invierno</u>

2. Periodicals Used

A	Atenea. Concepción, Chile.
Arb	Arbor. Madrid.
BSS	Bulletin of Spanish Studies. Liverpool.
BHi	Bulletin Hispanique. Bordeaux.
CCLC	Cuadernos del Congreso por la Libertad de la Cultura. París.

Clav	Clavileño. Madrid.
Cu	Cuadernos. París.
Cur Con	Cursos y Conferencias. Buenos Aires.
DM	Diario de la Marina. La Habana.
Esfera	La Esfera. Madrid.
Esp Mo	La España Moderna. Madrid.
Gent Mag	The Gentleman's Magazine. London.
Hisp Cal	Hispania. California.
Hisp W	Hispania. Washington, D. C.
HR	Hispanic Review. Philadelphia.
IAL	Indice de Artes y Letras. Madrid.
Lectura	La Lectura. Madrid.
MF	Le Mercure de France. Paris.
N Spr	Die neueren Sprachen. Marburg.
N Tiem	Nuestro Tiempo. Madrid.
Pluma	La Pluma. Madrid.
RAB	Boletín de la Real Academia española. Madrid.
RCHL	Revista Crítica de Historia y Liter- atura. Madrid.
RDM	Revue des deux Mondes. Paris.
Rev Con	Revista Contemporánea. Madrid
RHi	Revue Hispanique. Paris.
RHM	Revista Hispánica Moderna. New York.
ROcc	Revista de Occidente. Madrid.
RRQ	The Romanic Review. New York.
Soc	Social. La Habana.
Sol	El Sol. Madrid.

Introduction

If any color can be said to symbolize the events of a period of History, then red, blood-red, must be chosen to paint the violent history of nineteenth-century Spain. The War of Independence to repulse the French invader, found the Spaniard, fighting and dying selflessly, giving new, more glorious horizons to man's concept of patriotism. Then paradoxically, as if exchanging a crushing yoke for one equally as heavy but at least of their own choosing, the pueblo, wild with enthusiasm, welcomed Fernando VII back to Madrid with shouts of "¡Viva el despotismo y las caenas! ¡Muera la libertad!"¹ They called him El Deseado and yet, many who survived the vagaries of his cruel despotism were to recognize their folly and mouth such epithets as El Rey Felón, Nazirotas, Tigre Kan, and El Calígula Español whenever they referred to their despised sovereign.²

Except for the brief respite provided by the trienio (1820-1823), absolutism and traditionalism prospered and liberalism with its attendant political improvements suffered until 1833, when, in Adams' expressive phrase "Death released Spain from the noxious presence of Ferdinand VII."³ His deeds, however, poisoned the political atmosphere of the entire century, leaving Spain in the throes of a civil war, whose immediate cause was a dynastic question, but whose roots dug deeply into a struggle between the forces of absolutism and liberalism, traditionalism and enlightenment. Even before his death, as a

result of his maneuvers to assure succession to the throne for his daughter Isabel instead of his brother Carlos, there occurred a curious reversal of roles, the defenders of absolutism becoming revolutionaries, and the liberals assuming the defense of the monarchy they had been seeking to modify.⁴

Much of the responsibility for this paradoxical situation rests with the Bourbon monarch Spain acquired from France, Felipe V. On May 10, 1713, he published, without referral to Cortes, his Auto Acordado which introduced the Salic Law into Spain, effectively prohibiting female succession to the throne:

Quiero y ordeno que la sucesión se arregle en adelante según la forma expresada en la nueva ley, y que ésta se considere como ley fundamental de estos reinos, no obstante la ley de Partida, y todas las leyes, estatutos, costumbres, usos, capitulaciones y cualesquiera otras disposiciones de los reyes mis predecesores, derogándolas y anulándolas en cuanto se opongan a la presente ley, quedando en cuanto a lo demás en su fuerza y vigor, porque tal es mi voluntad.⁵

With this maneuver, Felipe V attempted to abolish a tradition of succession by the oldest child, male or female, a tradition which had been strictly adhered to in Spain for more than seven centuries. And it was on this royal decree that Carlos based his tenuous claim to the throne upon Fernando's death.

Felipe's work was secretly undone, however, by Carlos IV, who on May 31, 1789 petitioned the Cortes to restore the old laws of succession. This they did with the formulation

of the Pragmatic Sanction which abrogated the Auto Acordado. It remained an important but unpublished state document, until the uncertainty concerning the result of the pregnancy of Fernando VII's fourth wife, María Cristina, dictated haste to prevent the line of succession passing to the King's brother, Don Carlos. The Pragmática Sanción was published over Fernando's signature on March 24, 1830 and on October 10th of that year, Isabel was born. Because her sex was not in consonance with the exigencies of the historical moment, Spain was destined to become a nation of divided loyalties, ripe for carnage and destruction.

María Cristina and her politically astute sister, Luisa Carlota, congratulated themselves on their foresight in influencing Fernando to assure Isabel's right to the throne. Don Carlos respectfully but firmly refused to be bound by the terms of the Pragmática Sanción. Until then, propriety, fraternal respect and court etiquette had helped to maintain an uneasy equilibrium in the strained situation, but suddenly, animosities and hidden pretensions burst into the open and the battle lines were clearly drawn.

If the adherents of Don Carlos nurtured any hope that a possible early death of the new princess would swing the balance in favor of the august Pretender, it was destroyed by the fertility of María Cristina, who on January 30, 1832 gave birth to Princess Luisa Fernanda, a reserve stumbling-block to Carlos' pretensions. Now, no easy solution was

possible and since the most reactionary elements aligned themselves with the Pretender, "es natural que María Cristina buscase el arrimo de los liberales para defender a su hija."⁶

On September 18, 1832, Fernando, believing he was dying, was pressed by Calomarde to revoke the Pragmática in order to avoid the needless bloodshed of a civil war. When the fiery Luisa Carlota heard of this political stroke by Don Carlos' adherents, she rushed to La Granja on September 31, 1832, in order to counter it by pressuring Fernando to revoke his codicil to the Pragmática and restore his daughter's right to succession. Then she angrily slapped Calomarde for his part in the incident and gave him his opportunity to utter the words which are repeated in almost every historical account: "Manos blancas no ofenden, señora."⁷

Other steps were also taken by Fernando to weaken the claims of Don Carlos. On June 22, 1833 he convened the Cortes and the nobles for the ceremony of swearing fealty to Isabel as his heir and naming her Princess of Asturias, the title reserved for the first in line of succession. In his will, which he signed on June 12, 1830, Fernando had willed his throne to his heir and named Cristina to reign as Regent until the heir should reach the age of eighteen. All these maneuvers angered Carlos, and he protested against them, but it must be said to his credit that he made no overt attempts to unseat Fernando in his lifetime. He refused to support some premature outbreaks because he considered them rebellions

against the constituted authority, even though they favored his cause. However, his very presence in Spain incited unrest and he was sent by Fernando to accompany the Princess de Beira to Portugal. It was from that country, after Fernando's death in 1833 that he began issuing manifestoes and proclamations, claiming his rights as the lawful monarch of Spain and calling upon all Spaniards to help him win them from the usurping faction, that of Maria Cristina and her supporters.

His pleas found a ready answer from his adherents in the northern provinces who were now known as carlistas and whose motto was "Dios, Patria y Rey." The supporters of the Regent, or cristinos had a virtually impossible task, trying with inadequate means, to cope with one pronunciamiento after another. Scores of partidas took to the field to wage guerilla warfare against the regular government forces, proving the accuracy of Galdós' observation that "el español ha nacido eminentemente peleón y cuando no sale guerra natural, la inventa, digo que se distrae y da gusto al dedo con las guerras artificiales." (Montes, p. 1121).

There was a resurgence of that type of warrior peculiar to Spanish soil, that awesome mixture of hero and bandit, the cabecilla:

En los cabecillas más distinguidos de las guerras carlistas, en aquellos curas y aquellos escribanos que batieron tantas veces a los soldados profesionales, subsistían algunas de las cualidades

heroicas de los guerilleros y adalides antiguos. Eran Viriatos o Cides venidos a menos, a veces contaminados del espíritu bandolérico, a que es tan dado el partidario. El héroe y el forajido se amalgaman frecuentemente en tales tipos. Estas castizas figuras no se dieron sólo en el campo carlista. También en el liberal los mejores caudillos fueron los que tenían dotes de guerrilleros cabecillas.⁸

Names like Cabrera, Maroto, Mina, el cura Merino and Tristany struck terror into the hearts of the campesinos in the areas in which they operated. For lack of unified direction, the Carlist bands operated at the whim of their leaders, often ineffectively until Tomás Zumalacárregui, a regular army colonel, declared for Don Carlos and was appointed supreme military commander. His genius for organization and skill as a tactician gave the Pretender a unified fighting force and a long series of military victories. His usefulness was quickly cut short, however, when Don Carlos, on the urging of his political advisers, ordered the siege of Bilbao, hoping that its capture would win prestige abroad for his cause, and bring him financial and military support. Zumalacárregui died on June 24, 1835 of complications arising from a poorly-tended, minor flesh wound he received at Bilbao, and with him died any Carlist hopes for quick military success.

The war was characterized by extreme cruelty on both sides: "A nombre de la Constitución o a nombre de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo se cometían las mismas atrocidades." (Confidentes, p. 229). Each side considered the other mere rebels,

not entitled to any of the customary courtesies of humane warfare. Cabrera, the Tigre del Maestrazgo, an insatiable executioner, was incited to even greater carnage by the execution of his mother by the cristiano general Noguera. The terrible Conde de España levelled a town in Cataluña and left standing only a stone inscribed "Aquí fué Ripoll."⁹

Military excesses were quickly echoed in the outrages perpetrated by the civilian populacho. Certainly the most violent was the so-called Degollina de San Isidro in July, 1834. Cholera had struck Spain in the wake of the misery brought by the war and in Madrid, fear of the unseen killer, maliciousness and ignorance gave birth to the monstrous rumor that the clerics had poisoned the city's water supply to help the Carlists. The lie found fertile ground in many careless mouths and soon an ugly mob was formed, screaming for vengeance. They stormed the Jesuit Instituto de San Isidro, then known as the Colegio Imperial, and tortured and killed every hapless cleric they could find, pillaging and destroying as they searched for more victims.

The thirst for clerical blood, intensified by the Church's ardent support of the Pretender, had to be slaked by further butchery and in the next year, 1835, the awful scenes which shamed Madrid were repeated in Zaragoza, Barcelona, Valencia and many other cities: "Centenares de conventos desaparecen entre llamas. Se respeta a las religiosas; pero no a monjes ni jesuitas. Fuera del radio que ocupan los carlistas se

grita: '¡Mueran los frailes!' Y donde el carlismo domina se responde con rabia: '¡Mueran los liberales!'"¹⁰

The dynastic struggle was quickly overshadowed by the political struggle between the reactionaries, including the clergy, who surrounded Don Carlos, and the liberals, who championed Cristina. This was the deep, underlying cause of the conflict and the two opposing forces would have come to grips without the excuse provided by the question of succession. To its detriment, each group was also divided into dissident elements; broadly speaking, the liberals split into moderados and progresistas and the Carlists, into intransigent apostólicos and moderados. This divergence of opinion, principles, ideals, aims and methods within each contending group helped to prolong the conflict, because neither could bring enough unified strength to bear to win ascendancy over the other.

This debilitating political stalemate continued through the ministries of Zea Bermúdez, Martínez de la Rosa and the Conde de Toreno. Mendizábal, who succeeded Toreno on September 14, 1835, in a bold move to find the needed financial support to prosecute a successful campaign against Don Carlos, issued, in February and March 1836, his radical decrees of Desamortización, closing the monasteries, selling their land and property and pensioning off the exclaustrados. His reforms were attacked by the moderado faction of the liberals and one of them, Istúriz, soon succeeded him.

The progresista elements of the liberals everywhere set

up a clamor for the restitution of the Constitution of 1812, and at La Granja in August, 1836, three sergeants, Alejandro Gómez, Juan Lucas and Higinio García blundered into History by entering the Palace and forcing María Cristina to sign adherence to the sacred document born at Cádiz. This progresista coup brought Calatrava to power, and this faction of the liberals brought even greater pressure to bear upon the Church.

The military stalemate was not to be broken until the advent of Baldomero Espartero, a strong, determined military leader, who lifted the Carlist siege of Bilbao in 1836 and turned Don Carlos' army away from Madrid in 1837. His military victories were rewarded with titles like Conde de Luchana and Duque de la Victoria. His crushing blows dismayed and disheartened the Carlist armies, which were already tired of fighting inconclusive battles in an interminable, miserable war between brothers. Overtures for a negotiated peace, once haughtily rejected, were now received with a greater display of interest on the part of some Carlist generals.

Don Rafael Maroto, the general in charge of the Carlist forces in the North, feeling that the Pretender paid greater heed to the camarilla of courtiers surrounding him than to his field commanders, received emissaries from Espartero, in a series of complicated negotiations for the longed-for peace. Eugenio de Aviraneta, a liberal conspirator, helped widen the breach between Maroto and Don Carlos, by forging a whole sheaf

of correspondence, known as the Simancas, on the negotiation between Maroto and Espartero and making sure that they found their way into the Pretender's hands. His subsequent attempt at replacing Maroto as commander-in-chief, prompted the general to cease his vacillations and agree to the terms of the Convenio de Vergara on August 31, 1839. His forces were to recognize the Constitution and the rights of Isabel II, and in return Espartero would recommend recognition of the traditional fueros and open the ranks of the national army to the Carlist troops and officers. The two armies drew up to watch their generals embrace each other and then rushed forward to fraternize as Spaniards, not as carlista and crisino.

Ramón Cabrera continued to resist in Cataluña but he was finally forced to flee into France with the remnants of his forces, and Espartero, from his headquarters in Berga, proclaimed the end of the Carlist War on July 7, 1840.¹¹

The end was not yet, however, and the struggle for political and religious ascendancy with its attendant military insurrections, was to continue to exhaust the physical and moral resources of Spain for most of the blighted nineteenth century. In the face of a popular rebellion, María Cristina, who had always sought the support and counsel of the moderado faction of the liberals, was forced to step down as Regent, turning the reins of government over to Espartero, whose political acumen was in no way equal to his military genius. He surrounded himself with a military camarilla and in 1841 put

down a rebellion inspired by María Cristina from France, and championed by Diego de León, Montes de Oca and Borso di Carminati, all of whom were executed. General Narváez however, empowered by the revolutionary Junta of Barcelona, removed his former chief from the Regency, and occupied Madrid, in July 1843, while the frustrated Regent fled to London.

In November, 1843, thirteen year old Isabel II was declared of age and the moderado government headed by González Bravo allowed María Cristina to return to Spain in April, 1844. The reactionary tendencies of González Bravo were mirrored by the acts of Narváez who succeeded him, and together with María Cristina dominated the political scene for the next ten years.

An attempt at reconciliation with the Carlists was made in 1846, when eligible consorts were sought for Isabel. Don Carlos had abdicated his rights in favor of his son, Carlos Luis, the Conde de Montemolín and self-styled Carlos VI. The new Pretender was proposed as a husband for the young Queen, but the plan failed because Carlos Luis wanted to reign as King, not as King-Consort. Thus was lost another opportunity to eliminate the dynastic dissension which had so long irritated the political body of Spain. On October 10, 1846, Isabel was married to Don Francisco de Asís, the Duque de Cádiz, whose impotence had earned him the mote "Paquita", and soon sent his new bride on a series of affairs with generals, courtiers and commoners which surpassed even the best efforts of her grandmother, María Luisa, and Godoy.

Unable to win the throne through marriage, Don Carlos resorted to force and Cabrera once more was active in Cataluña and the Maestrazgo. The government forces under Concha were victorious in 1849 and again in 1860 when Don Carlos made another abortive attempt to invade Spain. He was captured and released only after swearing to renounce his claims. Immediately after reaching safety in France, he retracted his renunciation, and died several months later in Trieste. His claims were not again revived until after Isabel was deposed in 1868. Montemolín's nephew, Don Carlos, Duque de Madrid, assumed the mantle of the Pretender.

Isabel's reign was marked by a series of despotic, reactionary ministries which saw Narváez as virtual dictator and led to the constant unrest that is the breeding ground of revolution. Her immorality sickened her subjects, led to an attempt on her life by the demented liberal el Cura Merino and brought into the world several children of questionable paternity. The first, a male child, born in 1850, lived only a short time and there were ugly rumors of infanticide directed at the Carlists, whose hopes would again be ruined if the child had lived. The second was a girl born in December, 1851, named Isabel, and like her mother given the title of Princesa de Asturias. The birth of Alfonso on November 28, 1857, reputedly fathered by a young army officer named Puig Moltó, el Pollo Real, further dampened the spirit of the Carlists.

Repressive measures taken by Isabel's ministers produced

a smouldering resentment which exploded into the revolution of 1854. It brought Espartero and the progresistas back into power and elicited a public confession by Isabel of "Una serie de lamentables equivocaciones."¹² The political pendulum quickly swung back to the moderados, bearing Narváez once more into the government, and he saw to the destruction of many of the liberal reforms made after 1854. He quickly fell from grace and soon O'Donnell was in power with his new party, the Unión liberal, a combination of the most conservative elements of the progresistas and the more radically-inclined moderados. There followed a period of relative political calm and material progress, but its benefits to the national welfare were nullified by a series of military adventures in Morocco (1859-1860), Mexico (1862) and Santo Domingo (1863-1864).

The year 1868 was to bring an end to Isabel's infamous reign with the revolution known as La Gloriosa, led by generals Prim and Serrano. Protesting vociferously, Isabel crossed the border into France on September 30, 1868. Her departure gave some hope to the increasing group of republicanos, but the dominant element in the provisional government was the progresista, and it had monarchical convictions.

Don Carlos now had another opportunity to win the throne, but he was in competition with Alfonso, Isabel's son, and many other candidates of regal and plebeian blood. All proved to be too controversial and therefore unacceptable, except Amadeo de Saboya, the Duque de Aosta, an Italian prince, who was

elected to the throne of Spain by the Cortes on November 16, 1870 and very grudgingly accepted the honor.

Again frustrated, Don Carlos entered Spain in 1872 at Vera and stimulated uprisings in the traditional Carlist regions, Vascongadas, Navarra, Cataluña and El Maestrazgo. New attempts were made to seize Bilbao and San Sebastián but again the Carlists failed to attain their objectives. In spite of another Convenio, the Acuerdo de Amorabieta, the war dragged on as it had in the first half of the century, and elicited from Ruiz Dana, a general who fought against them, an analysis of their tenacity and dedication:

A los treinta y tres años de terminada por medio de un convenio una guerra fratricida en las Provincias Vascongadas y Navarra se levanta nuevamente en ellas la bandera de la insurrección, se proclaman los mismos principios políticos y se pelea con la misma tenacidad, con el mismo fanatismo y con el mismo encarnizamiento; . . . La idea carlista, cuantas veces apela a las armas para imponer por la fuerza un régimen político poco en armonía con las ideas del siglo, encuentra siempre un poderoso auxiliar en aquellas provincias vencidas, pero no arrepentidas ni convencidas de la imposibilidad del triunfo.¹³

This second war, too, was characterized by guerilla warfare and extreme cruelty, especially in the person of El Cura Santa Cruz, whose exploits and violent character were to be so well drawn by Valle Inclán in his Guerra carlista trilogy.

Spain had never really accepted Amadeo, El Rey Macarroni, and realizing he lacked the strength to maintain order in the seething country, he abdicated on February 10, 1873, and the

Cortes proclaimed the first Republic. It lasted only until December, 1874 when General Martínez Campos in a pronunciamiento, proclaimed Isabel's son Alfonso the new monarch of Spain. His mother had already abdicated in his favor in 1870, and he now ruled as Alfonso XII, in a country where almost all his subjects in the North gave aid, comfort and allegiance to the obstinate Pretender.

The Restoration of the Borbones was recognized by the Papacy, to the great consternation of the Carlists, who had always received fervent support from the Church and clergy. Many Carlists were won over by Cánovas' judicious use of cajolery and large sums of money. Even the old Tigre del Maestrazgo, Cabrera, was suborned to urge the remaining Carlist crusaders to surrender. The government resorted to terror in its fight against them, removing thousands of families from the North because they had members serving the facciosos. Unable to withstand further pressure, the Carlists ceased their operations after victories by national troops under Generals Martínez Campos and Quesada, early in 1876.

Carlism was never again to pose a serious, unified threat to Spain's national stability, although it continues to this day to attract small numbers of firm adherents of traditionalism. As Berkowitz has noted: "The civil wars reflected the resolute determination of the forces of bigotry to control Spanish life at the center, to poison the heart and kill the body of the nation."¹⁴ This they never quite accomplished,

and Spain survived the internecine conflict, giving the world a blood-stained picture of the very best and the very worst in her national character.

+ + + + +

Introduction

Footnotes

1. Manuel Ciges Aparicio, España bajo la dinastía de los borbones (Madrid, 1932), p. 250.
2. ibid., p. 259.
3. Nicholson B. Adams, The Heritage of Spain (New York, 1943), p. 221.
4. E. Gómez de Baquero, "La tercera serie de los Episodios Nacionales", Esp Mo (julio, 1898), pp. 173-174.
5. Antonio Pirala, Historia de la guerra civil y de los partidos liberal y carlista, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1868), I, 100-101.
6. Ciges Aparicio, op. cit., p. 256.
7. Ciges Aparicio, p. 258.
8. E. Gómez de Baquero, De Gallardo a Unamuno (Madrid, 1926), p. 242.
9. Ciges Aparicio, p. 269.
10. Ciges Aparicio, p. 270.
11. Pirala, VI, 89.
12. Ciges Aparicio, p. 300.
13. Pedro Ruiz Dana, Estudios sobre la guerra civil en el norte de 1872 a 1876 (Madrid, 1876), pp. 3-4.
14. H. Chonon Berkowitz, Pérez Galdós, Spanish Liberal Crusader (Madison, 1948), p. 124.

+ + + + +

II

Galdós, Baroja, Valle Inclán: Character and Ideology

In the realm of ideas, the Carlist Wars were a national manifestation of that conflict which is often the essence of the novel. In their novelistic interpretation of the period, Galdós, Baroja and Valle Inclán reacted to this conflict, revealing facets of their character and their opinion of Carlism as a political movement. And, in general none of them left ungrasped an opportunity to expound his individual political philosophy as he wrote.

Nineteenth-century Spain, although she made material progress in many fields, presented a politically dismal picture: "Paréntesis largo. Una centuria de no hacer nada. . . . Porque, contra lo que proclamaban los políticos, el siglo XIX, siglo de la política, ha sido para España de una infecundidad desoladora, de un descendimiento notable en el concepto universal, de un mal gusto evidente."¹

This picture of Spain came under their keen, novelistic observation and the "problem of Spain" was inevitably reflected in their works. This was especially true of Galdós who is looked upon as a precursor of the famed "generación del 98" and the initiator of this tendency toward national self-analysis in modern Spanish literature.

It was probably didactically advantageous for them to dwell consciously upon Spain's problems, and they thus gave a richer picture of the history they were recreating, for "La

historia se empequeñece. . . cuando únicamente trata de descubrir las acciones del hombre y no sus sentimientos y su manera de raciocinar."²

However, by continually inserting bits of political philosophy in the form of comment, rhetorical question and soliloquy, Baroja and Galdós tended to break down the illusion of the past they attempted to reconstruct. Allusions to the problems of the Spain of their day, even though they had their origin in the Spain they were recreating, provided digressions which interrupted the continuity of their novels and demanded of the readers an ambivalent perspective which many of them did not possess. Baroja and Galdós had much more to say about Spain and betrayed much more didactic intent than did Valle Inclán, who, although he was not entirely silent on the problem of Spain, nevertheless preserved the illusion of the past with every artistic technique at his command.

+ + + + +

Of all the facets of Galdós' character perhaps the most well-defined was his sympathetic sensitivity to everything in his environment: "Galdós une a su talento prodigioso y a su espíritu analítico una sensibilidad exquisita que le hace atender a todo, amarlo todo, interesarse por todo."³ Nothing escaped the scrutiny of his penetrating insight as he sought to know the soul of Spain as few men had before him. To this sensitivity was added a sense of personal equilibrium, a lack

of passion which enabled him to see things in a more valid perspective, devoid of extremes: "Galdós, en general, con un poco más de pasión, con menos equilibrio congénito o estudiado, sería un Goya de la literatura."⁴

Of this equilibrium was born his sense of moderation, fair play and impartiality. He was in no sense a neutral observer of the civil conflict, but he did maintain impartiality in his presentation of the virtues and faults of both contending sides. "Ni por un momento deja de mostrar sus ideas a favor de un régimen de libertad y democracia, aunque tampoco disimula, y éste es su dolor, que el gobierno cristino apenas puede diferenciarse con frecuencia, del partido carlista; Los horrores, las crueldades, los crímenes, abundan más en la zona carlista; pero la arbitrariedad, la falta de respeto a la rey, reina por igual en las dos partes contendientes."⁵

Galdós did not dwell on scandal, hearsay or the faults of historical figures as did Baroja with the private life of María Cristina and the rumors of a homosexual relationship between Don Carlos and his principal minister Teijeiras. (Mascaradas, p. 166; Amor, p. 179). His feelings of fair play extended even to his fictional characters. Referring to uncertain information about Jenara, the novia of Salvador Mon-salud he wrote: "Careciendo de noticias ciertas, nos abstenemos de afirmar cosa alguna; que en casos dudosos vale más atenerse a la opinión buena, como mandan la moral de la historia y de la caridad cristiana." (Faccioso, p. 221).

And if it became necessary to add a defect to round out a fictional character, he made sure it was an innocuous one, as in the case of the ancient lady-in-waiting, Cristeta: "Merece pues, doña Cristeta, sinceras alabanzas; y si hay necesidad de poner algún defectillo para guardar siquiera las apariencias de imparcialidad, dígase que era la camarista muy golosa y que toda su vida fué apasionada de las yemas y tocinos del cielo. . . ." (Bodas, p. 1347).

He even allowed his innate moderation to prevail over wounded pride after Valle Inclán in one of his typical desplantes attacked his literary reputation. He went angrily home, ready to write a violent article against his defamer, but before doing so, happened to notice some of Valle Inclán's works in his library: "Abrí sus páginas debidas a la pluma de mi detractor. Y entonces fué cuando decidí no responder, por respeto y por admiración a mi talentoso adversario."⁶ Of the three, only Galdós was capable of such self-effacing self-control.

Like any human being, Galdós was subject to moods of both optimism and pessimism when he paused to consider the future of his country: "De un extremo a otro, la obra de Galdós está traspasada por el mismo anhelo, anhelo optimista, lleno de comprensión, de fé; sobre todo de fé, que apenas si se eclipsa un momento en los años de mayor depresión, volviendo a irradiar, pasada la crisis, más brillante que nunca."⁷ In Zumalacárregui (p. 400), he gave vent to a vein of pessimism

which may have had its origin in the ruined state of his personal fortunes in 1898 when he started his Tercera serie: "Somos unos seres infelices que creemos saber algo y no sabemos nada, que inventamos reglas y principios para engañar nuestra impotencia; vivimos a merced de la Naturaleza y de los misteriosas combinaciones del tiempo y del espacio."

The facets of his character we have already examined produced another, a firm uncompromising sense of justice, which was evident in all his ideas:

Amante del pueblo, culpa durísimamente sus extravíos. Liberal, ataca a la masonería. Republicano, zahiere violentamente a la república de 1873. Anticlerical, respeta a los curas. Antiisabelino, guarda a Doña Isabel extremadas consideraciones. Cantor de glorias militares, es antimilitarista resuelto. ¿Contradicción? ¿Volubilidad? ¿Ligereza? No. Justicia. Galdós es la Justicia. Y las gentes le respetan y le siguen, por eso, porque no hay nada más popular que la justicia. La justicia es en nuestro novelista el sentimiento popular.⁸

He had the moral courage to state his opinions unequivocally and especially did he give the pueblo its due for its ignorant excesses during the civil wars: "Sólo es verídico el pueblo en su ignorancia y candidez; por eso es el burro de las cargas. El lo hace todo: él pelea, él paga los gastos de la campaña, él muere, él se pudre en la miseria para que estos fantasmones vivan y satisfagan sus apetitos de mando y riquezas. No imitemos al pueblo, el gran inocente, el eterno bobo del mundo civilizado, el polichinela sobre cuya joroba recaen todos los palos." (Oñate, p. 610).

Galdós' patriotism is transparent in all his work, but especially so in his Episodios Nacionales, and his country and its history meant so much to him that he adorned his summer home at Santander with its emblems: "El hotel San Quintín. . . ostenta en su fachada, el escudo alegórico de los Episodios Nacionales. En un ángulo del huerto álzase con esbeltez briosa el asta, donde juguetea el vientecillo salobre, rizando y extendiendo la bandera española, también adornada con el expresivo emblema."⁹

+ + + + +

Ortega y Gasset has defined the key to Baroja's character: "En Pío Baroja tendremos que meditar sobre la felicidad y sobre la acción'; en realidad, tendremos que hablar un poco de todo. Porque este hombre, más bien que un hombre, es una encrucijada."¹⁰ Many currents, some of them incompatible, come together to make up the polyfactic personality that is Pío Baroja. The most brilliant facet is perhaps his extreme individualism. He refuses to be enchained by the norm, by tradition, by social, political or literary conformism: "El precedente no le sirve y las cosas las entiende buenas o malas porque en sí mismas puedan ser o parecerle buenas o malas, jamás porque hayan venido siendo aplaudidas o disculpadas, o censuradas."¹¹

Baroja himself recognized this trait in his despedida to his character Aviraneta: "¡Adios, señor Aviraneta, pariente,

paisano y correligionario en liberalismo, en individualismo y en vida un tanto desastrada!" (Principio, p. 251).

This militant individualism practiced by him developed into a rare faculty for completely independent thought:

Su posición en la vida acusa una máxima independencia. Soltero, no tiene preocupaciones que salgan del ámbito de su propia persona. Pobre, goza, sin embargo, de una mediana burguesía y tranquila que facilita extraordinariamente el desarrollo de sus actividades literarias, sin necesidad de doblegarlo a exigencias incompatibles con su autonomía. Sin partido político, disfruta de una despreocupación doctrinaria que está de sobra afirmada en sus libros. Sin religión, de pruebas de un eclecticismo moral que es característico de la época moderna.¹²

His independence, his strong desire to see and judge for himself, is delineated in the motto "andar y ver."¹³ It permeates his literary work, which is in reality a life-long, personal attempt to combat the evils he has seen along the way, and can be characterized by the maxim "Contra el fanatismo, la crueldad y la estupidez."¹⁴

Another striking note in his character is his simplicity, a trait which led him to shun the glare and glitter of life and to concentrate instead on unadorned, human values: "Yo me contento con lo que abarca la medida humana; creo que hay en sus límites materia bastante con que llevar el corazón y la cabeza de un hombre, y no aspiro a más." (Amor, p. 142). All he writes is tinged with a deep, personal sincerity which lends value to his most radical and contradictory passages and makes the reader more tolerant of them.¹⁵

He is by nature a sentimentalist, and reflections of everything he has felt and experienced shimmer in the depths of his work; and this is as it should be, for as he himself has remarked: "Creo que este fondo sentimental. . . es lo que da carácter al novelista, lo que le hace ser lo que es."¹⁶ His sentimentalism is the source of his propensity for melancholy, which he sees everywhere in Nature and evokes so well in the following passage:

Este es uno de los grandes placeres tristes y melancólicos del campo. Mirar la llama de la hoguera, ver el humo que mancha las claridades del crepúsculo mientras las estrellas comienzan a presentarse en el cielo. . .

Hoy, al pensar en ello, siento melancolía, la melancolía del enamorado de la Naturaleza unida a la melancolía del reumático. (Ruta, pp. 246-247).

He feels that everyone follows the wake left by the great sentimental currents of the past, whether he plunges in blindly or chooses his path with care. Here, his characteristic pessimism overcomes him, revealing a sense of deep personal frustration: "Ahora, al notar esa estela que queda en el mar de las ideas; que es la nuestra, la que hemos escogido, quisiéramos avanzar por ella rápidamente y llegar a su más puro origen. Ya es tarde, el barco ha pasado para siempre y ya no volveremos a divisar sus velas." (Veleta, p. 165). One of his many attempts to analyze his own character resulted in this delineation of his pessimism: "No niego que sea pesimista, pero no soy un pesimista triste y lacrimoso, sino más bien un pesimista estoico y, a veces, jovial."¹⁷

According to Demuth, Baroja's inability to find an outlet for his eroticism was a source of unspeakable distress to him, leading him on one occasion to exclaim "casi me hubiera alegrado de ser impotente."¹⁸ His attitude toward sex is both negative and defensive, a rationalization based on his conception of the Spanish national view: "Actualmente veo que en los países del centro de Europa se habla con un entusiasmo lírico de la vida sexual: hay profesores serios que cantan el amor físico con una mezcla de lirismo y de pedantería, como algo misterioso y sublime, y lo que para nosotros, los españoles, sobre todo los españoles viejos, es puro cerdismo, para ellos es algo intelectual y maravilloso." (Amor, p. 59).

He is irked by the characteristic egocentricity of women and instead of seeking them out, clings to the many ideas that are the center of his world. (Isabelina, p. 272). His erotic drive has been sublimated into an unquenchable thirst for knowledge: "Yo creo que de todo se puede cansar uno, menos de saber. Yo, al menos, me canso de las gentes, y creo que me cansaría de la riqueza y de las mujeres; pero de saber, de comprender la razón de las cosas, creo que no me cansaría nunca." (Confidentes, p. 289). His complete submersion in the world of ideas is attested to by the literally hundreds of references to literature, history, politics, art, music, science, religion, mythology, sociology, philosophy and many other fields, which profusely stud his works.

His legendary irascibility and ostensible nihilism are the outer shell of an essentially tame individual: "Es un hombre

manso. . . ; hijo respetuoso y hondamente devoto de su madre; cada día más filial y más casero, más gato de cojín y de estufa, menos realizador. . . El imaginario revolucionario de otrora va dejando en el caserón de Itzea su piel leonina y queda lo que en el sólo es positivo: la literatura."¹⁹

Perhaps the crowning contradiction in Baroja's character, the inner struggle which most strikingly reveals itself to his commentators and critics, is one which is common to many of the writers of his literary generation: "La intensidad de vida espiritual interior juntamente con la incapacidad de realizarla por medio de la acción."²⁰ His desire to be a man of action conflicts with the reality of his status as a man of ideas, condemned to an inert existence in the stultifying atmosphere of his Spain. He must content himself with dreaming about a life of action, which he always identified with true happiness.²¹

His literature is not only a vehicle for expressing his ideas, but it also affords him an escape from his imprisoning, bourgeois existence: "Baroja es, ante todo, un burgués furiosamente antiburgués. Toda su vida - holgada, cómoda, ordenadísima, ejemplar. . . Toda su obra - nómada, aventurera, irregular, sombría, misantrópica, sarcástica."²² Bored with the monotony of life, Baroja's pulse quickens when he hears the word acción. "He has a worship for energy, the will and action and would seem to be bent upon the Nietzchanization of Spain. . . But 'action' with Baroja is largely action in the

void, a sort of ambulatory mania, which is again in the Quijotic tradition."²³

Baroja himself, often defined his ideal of action: "La acción por la acción es el ideal sano y fuerte; lo demás es parálisis que nos ha producido la vida sedentaria." (Recursos, p. 163). In his essay Meditaciones del Quijote, Ortega y Gasset has coined a phrase which could well sum up Baroja's ideal and be the prime article of his personal Constitution, "se permite la aventura."²⁴

The recurrent themes of acción and voluntad, although impossible of attainment for him, serve as a stimulating example for introspective Spanish youth:

Este novelista, en medio de su escepticismo total y maldiciente, conserva vivísima la fe en el poder de la voluntad, en la eficacia de la acción, y cuando tropieza en sus invenciones con un tipo capaz de afirmarse intensamente frente al mundo entero, dotado de coraje para imprimir el sello de su personalidad en las cosas y en las almas, olvida su habitual posición de desengañado y lleno de entusiasmo prorrumpe en encendidos himnos. Nada más sano para nuestra juventud, propensa a la contemplación y al ensueño, que la familiaridad con estos héroes de Baroja.²⁵

He has assumed the role of vocero for the youth of Spain.²⁶ Many of them, like Menéndez y Arranz, have found their sadness and disillusionment faithfully reflected in his works: "Buscaba en los libros del novelista la expresión magistralmente realizada de lo que en mi alma entonces ocurría. Mis tristezas, mis deseos insatisfechos, mis rebeldías, mis anhelos por un mundo mejor, mi descontento de lo presente. . . , allí estaban

retratados."²⁷

+ + + + +

Scores of anecdotes, many of them apocryphal and some even invented by Valle Inclán himself, distort the true picture of his life and make it extremely difficult to paint his real character. His propensity for extravagance in word and deed, for theatricalism, was legendary and became his trademark and personal modus operandi.

His aristocratic heritage, by which he placed great store and which often came under suspicion, seems to come through his grandmother, a Montenegro. Her family's heraldic motto was: "No nos venimos de reyes, que reyes vienen de nos." And certainly the proud lema displayed on his father's home, "El que más vale no vale tanto como vale Valle," only heightened his enthusiasm for aristocracy.²⁸

Baroja chided Valle Inclán for his aristocratic affectations²⁹ and finally broke off their friendship, when Valle Inclán, in another typical desplante, found him poring over an árbol genealógico of his illustrious ancestors and indignantly denied his right to "flores de lis ni menos a unos lobos de plata sobre campo de gules."³⁰

He had a sense of the theatrical which made him an unequalled poseur. His megalomaniacal temperament often rendered him incapable of discerning the tenuous border between truth and fiction in his own existence.³¹ He had an overwhelming

desire to create his own personality, without too stringent ties to the present or to the past, and the bizarre behaviour that resulted led to his being classified as an extravagante.³²

The extent of his dependence upon external theatrical props to maintain the rarity of his personality is illustrated by his reaction to a practical joke played by some of his friends on the artist Echevarría, who was then engaged in painting the writer's portrait. Echevarría, led to believe that Valle Inclán had suddenly shaved off his beard, was reassured only when he reappeared to tell him: "Pero Juan ¿cómo iba yo a quitarme la barba. . . ? Hubiera sido como suicidarme. . . Yo no soy más que mi barba. . . y el brazo que me falta."³³

Madariaga feels that the traits inherent in Valle Inclán, the poseur, had a detrimental effect on Valle Inclán, the littérateur. His ideas were adopted not from sincere convictions but because they fitted the esthetic need of the moment, and so, lacking sincerity, they undermined the esthetic emotion they were chosen to portray.³⁴ Valle Inclán himself has openly professed the philosophy of the triumph of the "laughing lie":

¡Oh, alada y riente mentira, cuando será
que los hombres se convenzan de la necesi-
dad de tu triunfo! ¿Cuándo aprenderán
que las almas donde sólo existe la luz de
la verdad, son almas tristes, torturadas,
adustas, que hablan en el silencio con
la muerte, y tienden sobre la vida una
capa de ceniza? ¡Salve, risueña mentira,
pájaro de luz que cantas como la esperanza!
(Invierno, pp. 101-102).

Fernández Almagro, intimate friend and biographer of Valle

Inclán, came to the startling psychological conclusion that he was really a timid soul, whose brusque desplantes were nothing more than a defense mechanism to plug up this unsuspected chink in the carefully-crafted armor of his unique personality. Francisco Madrid, another of his biographers, saw in him the perfect synthesis of two divergent currents, paganism and Christianity, richly steeped in the spirit and tradition of his native Galicia.³⁶

Another significant trait of his character which was to find expression in his works, was his almost childish love for the military and adventure. He liked to imagine himself a great general and received esthetic pleasure from "una guerra novelesca, como la carlista, en que la inspiración personal halla tantas ocasiones de lucimiento."³⁷ This love for the military had its origin in his experiences in Mexico, where he claimed to have served with General Rocha: "No podía dejar de ser militar en México. Todo huele a guerra, a muerte y a aventura, y a mí me encantaba ese perfume."³⁸

In an autobiography published in Alma Española, he admirably gave the sum of all the strange, fascinating sides of his character: "Tengo una divisa y esa divisa es como yo, orgullosa y resignada: 'Desdeñar a los demás y no amarse a sí mismo'."³⁹

+ + + + +

Liberalism was the keynote of Galdós' ideology and it

found fervent expression in all his work. It was much more than a partisan idea or doctrine for him, being more in the nature of an innate sentiment or physical necessity.⁴⁰ He used his symbolically named character Santiago Ibero, on several occasions, as a sounding board for his liberal ideals, allowing him in Montes de Oca (p. 1111) to state his liberal creed:

Antes de haber leído lo mucho y bueno que sobre la libertad han escrito hombres muy sabios, sentía yo en mi alma la fe de esta idea y con entusiasmo la adoraba. Antes que en mi entendimiento, estuvo en mi corazón el deseo de que los pueblos fuesen libres. Amo a mi patria tanto como a mi familia y a mí mismo: quiero para ella los bienes del progreso. Alguno me hablará de los males que ocasiona: yo los reconozco; pero los males son chicos y pasan, los bienes son grandes y quedan. Creo que con libertad, igual para todos, tendremos ilustración, dignidad, riqueza; sin libertad caeremos en la ignorancia, en la pobreza y en la ignominia. . . Más que convicción clara, es esto fe ciega.

He was, then, untouched by the traces of traditionalism in his family. His mother's family was from Azpeitia, a traditionalist stronghold, and his maternal grandfather, Don Domingo Galdós y Alcorta had come to the Islas Canarias at the end of the eighteenth century as secretary of the Inquisition.⁴¹

Though always fully in accord with liberal ideology he often decried inept liberal political action: "Estos pobres liberales son unas criaturas que se pasan la vida mudando notas y letreros, sin reparar en que varían los nombres, y las cosas son siempre las mismas." (Luchana, p. 667). He felt bound to support a liberal constitutional monarchy, when he saw that the

Bourbon Restoration was succeeding in the endeavor in which the Republic had failed, that of restoring peace and unity to the nation.⁴²

The ideals of liberalism conflicted with the force of clericalism as represented by the strength of the monastic orders in Spain. He saw this force as the underlying cause for the nation's troubles and "was convinced that the regeneration of Spain was impossible without the utter destruction of clericalism."⁴³ His most violent attack came in 1901 with Electra, but in his Episodios, some of his most sympathetically presented characters were priests like Pedro Hillo in Mendizábal and Padre Gracián in Un Faccioso Más, y Algunos Frailes Menos. His dislike for the cura guerrero was displayed in a speech by the Carlist general Zumalacárregui: "Tengo para mí que nos afea la Causa el espectáculo de Cristo con un par de pistolas." (Zumalacárregui, p. 352). And one of his liberal characters expressed his scorn for the clergy thus: "A mí no me hable usted de gente levítica." (Campaña, p. 814). Galdós' anticlericalism, although it was not a strong element in the Tercera serie, earned him the undying hatred of the traditionalist faction and after his death "only Carlist El Siglo refused to forgive and forget. At the same time that it called on its readers with unctious piety to invoke heavenly mercy on Galdós' soul, it urged them to remember that all his life he had endeavored to undermine the religious faith of the nation."⁴⁴

His personal opinion of Carlism ran the gamut from condem-

nation to ridicule. This condemnation was not based upon political reasons, but upon a humanitarian aversion for war and its dreadful consequences to the progress and prosperity of the nation.⁴⁵ He missed no opportunity to ridicule the Carlist cause as in this example from Faccioso (p. 275): "Correrán ríos de sangre. . . y los hermanos matarán a los hermanos. . . , Todo por saber si ha de reinar la sobrina del tío o el tío de la sobrina." And again in Faccioso (p. 299), in a passage replete with Quijotesque overtones, Galdós aimed the barb of ridicule at Don Carlos himself:

Esta noche duerme en casa del señor
cura un desgraciado loco que va de paso.

--¿Para dónde? . . . ¿Y cuál es su
manía?

--La más extraña y disparatada que
puedes imaginar. Ha dado en creer y
sostener que es Rey de España.

--¿Y quién le conduce?

--Otros tan locos como él.

Don Carlos' soldiers, his crusaders, were presented as an unthinking fanatic horde: "Tenían cara de pergamino, músculos de acero, corazón de piedra y sesos de algodón que ni el sol derretía ni el pensamiento inflamaba jamás." (Faccioso, p. 299). With characteristic justice, he gave genius its due in his praise of the finest Carlist leader, Zumalacárregui. The Carlist cause, although its dream of success died with him, refused to remain buried: "Es que algunos muertos descansan, y otros, no." (Zumalacárregui, p. 428).

The Tercera serie is filled with Galdós' expressions of sorrow over the tragic waste of Spanish energy during the civil wars. (Zumalacárregui, p. 343; Oñate, p. 617; Luchana, p. 785).

He marvelled at the fact that Spain was able to survive the debilitating struggle: "Y cuando la raza no se ha extinguido peleando consigo misma es porque no puede extinguirse."

(Zumalacárregui, p. 418).

Galdós was irresistibly drawn to the turbulent history of nineteenth-century Spain because its problems cried out for the revealing scalpel of his political philosophy. Like Larra before him, he felt a complete preoccupation with the problems, conscience and life of his society: "Libertad, progreso, independencia intelectual, lucha contra el prejuicio, formas innovadoras del vivir, concepción grande y humana del amor. . . , todos éstos son temas que se respiran en la obra del maestro."⁴⁶ His political doctrine evolves from his study of the external events of history interpreted in the light of the social conditions which produced them, "llenando las entrañas de su literatura histórica de una evidente armadura ideológica muy de su tiempo."⁴⁷

He alluded to nineteenth-century Spain as a "Carnaval político". (Luchana, p. 684) and as a badly constructed vessel whose capital defect "está en la quilla (the Constitution), y mientras no se emprende la reforma por lo hondo, construyendo de nuevo todo el casco, no hay esperanzas de próspera navegación." (Oñate, p. 588). He tried hard to maintain a non-partisan attitude toward her political problems as is evidenced by these words about the Spain of 1834 with which Salvador Mon-
salud closed the Segunda serie: "No creo en el presente. Me parece que asisto a una mala comedia. Ni aplaudo ni silbo."

(Faccioso, p. 324).

He traced Spain's political troubles back to the evil heritage of "el mayor monstruo de la Historia," Fernando VII: "Dejaba a su país un semillero de guerras, discordancias irreducibles entre los españoles, un Estado siempre débil, una Monarquía fundada en la conveniencia antes que en el amor de los pueblos, una religión formulista, una paz armada, métodos de gobierno con carácter provisional, como si nunca se supieran las necesidades que había de traer el día de mañana." (Vergara, p. 1082).

He saw with great clarity the faults in the Spanish national character and dared to confront his compatriots with bitter truths they could not deny.⁴⁸ "He criticized Spanish politics on the ground that it did not rest on moral principles or philosophic concepts, but was merely a set of consecrated practices indulged in by conservatives and liberals alike."⁴⁹ Spain was a country which would take centuries to rid itself of its sentimental habits. (Luchana, p. 667). Its most singular vice was its propensity for military uprisings: "Es un vicio de la sangre, del cual participamos todos, y con él hemos de vivir hasta que Dios quiera curarnos." (Estafeta, p. 98). Those who governed Spain usually failed not through sins of commission, but because of the many things they left undone: "En fin. . . nuestros mandarines se parecen a los toreros medianos. . . en que no rematan." (Mendizábal, p. 444).

He counted upon the tenacidad and gallardía caballeresca in Spain's character to save her (Zumalácarregui, p. 409), and

he viewed the future of the sick nation with stoic optimism: "España tenía fibra y agallas para resistir tanta calamidad; su sobriedad de mendigo le garantizaba la existencia; su pasividad fatalista le permitía seguir arrastrándose y dando tumbos hasta que vinieran hombres y tiempos mejores." (Oñate, p. 662).

Berkowitz has summed up Galdós' political philosophy as "a mixture of enlightened patriotism and liberal nationalism."⁵⁰ These elements are very much in evidence in Beltrán de Urdaneta's long speech to the Carlist officers who have ordered him executed. Here Galdós gave Spain a political and moral testament designed to turn her from the morass of revolution and anarchy to the firm path of social and material progress: "Haced un país donde haya todo lo contrario de lo que unos y otros, a quienes no sé si llamar guerreros o bandidos, representáis, haced un país donde sea verdad la justicia, donde sea efectiva la propiedad, eficaz el mérito, fecundo el trabajo y dejaos de quitar y poner tronos. . . ." (Campaña, p. 876).

Menéndez y Pelayo, in his contestación to Galdós' speech upon his reception into the Real Academia Española, recognized the merit of his ideological legacy to the nation:

Si en otras obras ha podido el Sr. Galdós parecer novelista de escuela o de partido, en la mayor parte de los Episodios quiso, y logró, no ser más que novelista español; y sus más encarnizados detractores no podrán arrancar de sus sienes esta corona cívica, todavía más envidiable que el lauro poético.⁵¹

Ideologically, Baroja tends toward anarchism, towards the continual destruction of traditional ideas and institutions of government, church and society. His negativism is not born of irascibility but rather of a sincere altruism; the predominant motif of his literary production is an honest inclination toward reform.⁵² He is a modern philosophe, of the type so well delineated by La Bruyère in his Caractères:

Le philosophe consume sa vie à observer les hommes, et il use ses esprits à en démêler les vices et le ridicule: s'il donne quelque tour à ses pensées, c'est moins par une vanité d'auteur, que pour mettre une vérité qu'il a trouvée dans tout le jour nécessaire pour faire l'impression qui doit servir à son dessein. . Il demande des hommes un plus grand et un plus rare succès que les louanges et même que les récompenses, qui est de les rendre meilleurs.⁵³

In spite of his apparently limitless devotion to the truth, which led Madariaga to label him "nuestro Caballero de la Verdad",⁵⁴ his characteristic anarchical attitude toward life has been criticized as a literary anarchism, a mere artistic posture without any real basis in life.⁵⁵ Mas y Pi defends him from such criticism, stressing the need for sincere commentators to transmit to the public "la noble esencia de vida encerrada dentro de su obra tumultuosa y extraña."⁵⁶

Baroja has displayed a contradictory attitude toward tradition. In an article for El Globo in 1902, entitled Vieja España, patria nueva, he accepted it as necessary and desirable: "Los que esperamos y deseamos la redención de España no la queremos ver como un país próspero sin unión con el pasado; la queremos ver próspera, pero siendo substancialmente la España

de siempre. . . Hay en el viejo edificio muchas cosas aprovechables."⁵⁷ Later, he completely reversed himself: "No hay que respetar nada, no hay que aceptar tradiciones que tanto pesan y entristecen. . . ; ahora hay que vivir."⁵⁸

Perhaps the most violent of Baroja's personal antipathies is his anticlericalism, which has given an acrid flavor to his work and is often the basis of his humor.⁵⁹ He has written a strange formula to arrive at the index of culture:

$$X \text{ (Indice de la cultura)} = \frac{\text{Vino} + \text{Moscas} + \text{Clérigos}}{\text{árboles}}$$

Las profundas consecuencias que se desprenden de mi descubrimiento, las entrego a la humanidad. Ella sabrá plantar más árboles y exterminar las moscas. (Ruta, pp. 298-299).

In his opinion, "Únicamente el clero puede ponerse a veces a la altura del ejército en rapacidad, en lubricidad, y en malas costumbres." (Ruta, p. 73). He is led to extremely bad taste by recourse to conjecture about the non-priestly pleasures possibly enjoyed by El Cura Merino who was forced to hide in a convent in 1820: "Es muy posible que de cuando en cuando la superiora obsequiara al viejo cura satírico y sanguinario con alguna monja guapa, pues todas ellas le consideraban como un santo varón. Es muy posible, pero no consta en los archivos que Merino dejara en el convento descendencia mística." (Pluma, p. 219).⁶⁰

He combines his anticlericalism with a hatred for Catholicism⁶¹ and a disgust for Christianity, which he ascribes to the paganism inherent in his Basque descent.⁶² He cannot see the efficacy of Christian principles when, in his opinion, they have

failed to make man more moral after nineteen centuries of sustained effort.⁶³ Many anticlerical books by other authors are mentioned in his own works⁶⁴ and his anticlerical passages often betray "inexactitud en las pruebas y argumentos esgrimidos, una falta absoluta de decoro y un tono populachero y hasta soez que contrasta, dolorosamente, con el rango literario de la obra barojiana."⁶⁵

Baroja looks rather to science to inspire man and relieve his ills. (Amor, p. 114). He has put a hint of his personal religious creed in the mouth of his character, J. H. Thompson, who replied when asked if he believed in the Virgin and the Saints: "Los de mi secta creemos más bien en la substancia única, y practicamos el culto del nuestro señor del Yo, y de nuestra señora de la Cosa en Sí." (Ruta, p. 267).

His ideology also embraces a fervent antimilitarism, an attitude readily understandable in an individualist like Baroja, who has himself spared military service by virtue of his father's status as a liberal volunteer in the last Carlist War.⁶⁶ For him, "Militar y ladrón son sinónimos." (Caminos, p. 136). He decries the ascendancy of the military over the civil power and wants "nada de soldados que quieren imitar a Napoleón." (Aprendiz, p. 171). He sees nothing glorious about war, which is only "una reina que lleva como séquito el hambre, la peste, la rapiña, la violación, el incendio, el engaño y el fraude." (Escuadrón, p. 292). These evils of war prove that "La civilización, en último término, es como una piel muy fina sobre la animalidad humana; el menor movimiento rompe la piel y sale

a flote la barbarie nativa." (Mascaradas, p. 130).

His unsympathetic ideas concerning Spanish America and the criollo have materially damaged his literary popularity in this hemisphere.⁶⁷ He makes no attempt to hide his disdain, as in this example from Pluma (p. 400): "O'Daly. . . era falso como buen criollo e hipócrita como hombre iglesiero."

Baroja's aversion for tradition (Amor, p. 75), shaped his completely derogatory opinion of the Carlist movement:⁶⁸ "El carlismo. . . le parecía una de tantas cosas con mucha fachada y por dentro vacías." (Nave, p. 205). Carlism demanded his attention because it represented a reactionary force opposing the progress of liberalism in Spain. Its fundamental bases, legitimacy and religion, were unacceptable to him and would not withstand the test of validity and time.⁶⁹

Like Galdós he presented Carlist soldiers in a bad light: "Era una gente sucia, desarrapada, de malísimo aspecto, aquellos tipos no eran para inspirar confianza, ni mucho menos." (Aprendiz, p. 23). He mirrored, too, Galdós' horror at the excesses of the typical cura guerrero: "En cualquier parte se oyen predicadores que nos quieren demostrar que una pequeña manifestación de sensualidad merece el infierno. . . en cambio, ese cabecilla carlista que se dedica a fusilar, a degollar, a incendiar pueblos, ése es un bendito que trabaja para la mayor gloria de Dios. ¡Qué estupidez! ¡Qué salvajismo!" (Escuadrón, pp. 137-138). He pointed to the popular or bourgeois origin of the majority of the Carlist military leaders, contradicting Valle Inclán's cherished ideal of the aristocratic character of

Carlism: "El tradicionalismo español tenía un sello clerical y demogógico. . . pero no aristocrático." (Mascaradas, p. 210).

Although Baroja has repeatedly protested his inclusion in the Generación del '98,⁷⁰ he cannot escape the testimony of his own works and character: "Su manera bronca y directa es el ejemplo máximo de 'el lenguaje como vehículo'; su interés por la realidad circundante, por la sociedad y sus problemas; su anarquismo rebelde; su sentido pesimista de la vida lo definen resueltamente como uno de los noventayochistas típicos."⁷¹ His extreme sensitivity to the problem of Spain, his critical preoccupation with its misfortunes,⁷² make him the perfect representative of "la actitud violenta y dolorosa del pensamiento de España ante la tragicomedia española"⁷³ and lead to the bitterness typical of his generation: "Yo. . . he tenido la preocupación de pensar en el presente y en el porvenir más que en el pasado, cosa absurda en España, en donde, por ahora, lo que menos hay es presente y porvenir." (Aprendiz, p. 6).

He is frustrated by Spain's inertia, her lethargy, her traditional resistance to change and progress. (Pluma, pp. 91-92). His adjectives all have a dismal connotation when they are applied to Spain, "un país tan retrogrado" (Pluma, p. 367); "pobre, áspero, desabrido, frío y sin efusión social." (Isabelina, p. 121), "desangrado y anémico" (Nave, p. 322), "tan enteca, tan mal dotada." (Amor, p. 144).

In his description of Tudela, he pictures the stultifying atmosphere of Spain:

Este polvo, este calor, esta mezcla de

barbarie y de simplicidad esta contraste de la pobreza de los callejones del pueblo con la pompa de la catedral me dió la revelación de la España clásica, emborrachada con su sol, con su vino, con su fanatismo y con su violencia. (Ruta, p. 312).

He sees the innate individualism in the Spanish national character as a prime cause of her weakness. The Spaniards' unwillingness to submit to central authority, to march united toward a common goal (Principio, p. 139) produces a Spain that is "un cuerpo débil con la cabeza débil." (Nave, p. 323). The cancer of caciquismo has helped to disease her political body (Aprendiz, p. 85) and the mania for oratory has produced, even in the progressive Spaniard "una extraña incapacidad para enterarse del fondo de las cuestiones, de la realidad de los hechos y de la exactitud de las ideas." (Pluma, p. 423).

His observation of these evils leads him to this pessimistic conclusion: "No hay pueblo que pueda tener un gobierno de hombres justos. Tendría que haber un medio social sano, cuerdo, en perfecto equilibrio. Es decir que para sostener una utopía habría que inventar otra." (Recursos, p. 266).

In a political atmosphere where justice cannot prevail over force, he seeks an acceptable alternative and has hinted at an enlightened liberal dictatorship,⁷⁴ for: "El liberalismo ha producido una forma social aristocrática e inteligente."⁷⁵ His friend, Azorín, believes that his political philosophy can be summed up in these words of Pascal: "No pudiendo hacer que lo justo sea lo fuerte, hacemos que lo fuerte sea lo justo."⁷⁶

As Baroja sees it, the harsh realities of geopolitics have

also had their debilitating effect on Spain and its inhabitants, locally (Furias, p. 129) and nationally: "Es, además, país pobre, sin ríos navegables, sin lluvia suficiente. Es lo primero que debía reconocer España ante el mundo, que es un pueblo pobre, zarrapastoso, que se zafa de todos los compromisos y que quiere vivir para él sólo. Nuestra casa es una casa mísera que ha gastado mucho y tiene que vivir ahora en la máxima estrechez." (Nave, pp. 322-323). In Confidentes (p. 211), he again examines the influence of geography upon political ideology: "La democracia se desarrolla siempre mejor en la llanura fértil, la aristocracia en cambio se defiende en los cerros y en las colinas rodeadas de campos estériles, con sus clérigos, sus militares y sus hidalgos."

Liberalism in nineteenth-century Spain, according to Salaverría, was characterized by a hatred of clericalism and a more or less manifest aspiration to a Republic.⁷⁷ Baroja sees the triumph of its ideals delayed because it is not a popular instinct but rather "algo pegadizo y de aluvión." (Senda, p. 50). He defines his own liberalism as "libertad de pensar, libertad de movimientos, lucha contra la tradición que nos sofoca, lucha contra la Iglesia." (Mascaradas, p. 200). And his notion of true liberalism as laissez-faire doctrine defies improvement: "Dejad hacer, dejad pasar. Esta ha sido la divisa del verdadero liberalismo. Hay que dejar pasar, no sólo a los dioses, sino también a los diablos."⁷⁸

The voluminous body of his liberal political philosophy has failed to have any immediate practical effect on the nation.

In December, 1901 he, Azorín and Maetzu, banded together as Los Tres and issued a Manifiesto, asking Spaniards to unite in a common effort for regeneration and proposing public reforms based upon scientific progress.⁷⁹ Their effort was received with apathetic indifference. Baroja's enthusiasm for the practical regeneration of Spain was dimmed and he adopted a "trick of disguising the fatuity of life with adventure."⁸⁰ Reid, too, saw his preoccupation for the heroic as shifting "the emphasis from logical, reasoned concepts, suitable for building an ordered plan of social progress, to the personal, the adventurous, and the extravagant."⁸¹

He remains aloof from any liberal group intent upon realizing social change⁸² and restricts himself to pointing out the negative, defective aspects of the social entity, hoping that they will be avoided in the society of the future.⁸³

He is a hurt, unheeded, solitary figure, waving his literary lance in a vacuum: "Un bárbaro de hoy, que lamenta no poder repetir los estragos de Atila con su pluma. Baroja es así, naturalmente, a consecuencia de no haber podido edificar con su pluma una nación."⁸⁴

+ + + + +

Valle Inclán succeeded in reducing the ideological content of his Carlist war works to a minimum. His literary alter ego, Bradomín, reveals his philosophy and lack of didactic purpose in these lines: "Yo no aspiro a enseñar, sino a divertir. Toda mi doctrina está en una sola frase: ¡Viva la bagatela! Para mí, haber aprendido a sonreír, es la mayor conquista de

la Humanidad." (Invierno, pp. 177-178).

His attitude toward clerics is similar to that of Galdós, who on his deathbed was heard to shout "¡Ni Santo Cristo, ni Dios Bendito!"⁸⁵ Valle Inclán, fearing the effects of irrationality on his last hours arranged not to have any clerics in attendance at his deathbed: "Ni cura discreto, ni fraile humilde, ni jesuita sabihondo. . ."⁸⁶ Although he generally presented his clerical characters in a favorable, if fanatical, light, he could not resist an anticlerical pun in this exchange between Don Carlos and Bradomín, who had just discarded his clerical disguise:

--Pronto ahorcaste los hábitos, Bradomín.
Tales fueron las palabras con que me
recibió Don Carlos. Yo respondí, procurando
que sólo el rey me oyese:
--Señor, se me enredaban al andar.
El Rey murmuró en el mismo tono:
--También a mí se me enredan. . . Pero
yo, desgraciadamente, no puedo ahorcarlos.
(Invierno, pp. 109-110).

His interest in Carlism is akin to Baroja's interest in action and adventure. Their predilection for the heroic⁸⁷ led them to escape the harsh realities of their lives in swash-buckling literature. Valle Inclán wrote: "Mi obra es un intento de lo que quise hacer,"⁸⁸ and further "Yo, por vocación, hubiera sido guerrillero. Siempre soñé con un levantamiento carlista que me permitiese formar la partida de Don Ramón María, 'El Manco'."⁸⁹ The perfect individualist, he was intrigued by the opportunities that Carlism offered for standing out "au dessus du troupeau."⁹⁰

Araquistáin believes he became a Carlist to escape "la

ñoñería de la Restauracion,"⁹¹ and Casaldueiro concurs, delving more deeply into the psychology of his action: "El carlismo de Valle Inclán es una desrealización del Poder. Su ansia de ser dirigido, al no ser satisfecha por la monarquía reinante, le lleva a acogerse a una forma pasada, precisamente por ser pasada y por estar seguro de que no será puesta nunca a prueba."⁹² González-López attributes his adhesion to the Causa to his Galician heritage of "tradicionalismo, que está muy metido en las entrañas del alma gallega, tan vieja como su tierra."⁹³

He fell under the romantic spell of Carlism even as a child, while it was in the death throes of its last military campaign.⁹⁴ Chaumié views Carlism as the last great manifestation of romanticism in Europe, especially in its heroic acts of folly and noble devotion to a lost cause,⁹⁵ and Valle Inclán's romantic vision encompassed "la belleza romántica de las viejas iglesias destartaladas, de las fuentes y de los jardines abandonados, de los viejos mitos solitarios."⁹⁶

His conversion to Carlism was not viewed with sympathy in all quarters: "El que tan soberano artista como Valle Inclán queme el incienso sabio de su prosa en los altares de la causa carlista no es sino emblema de los tiempos que corren. El viejo patrón de libertad se ha quedado fuera de moda."⁹⁷ Putting his pen at the service of the Causa hurt his literary acceptance: "Mis primeras producciones literarias fueron alabadas por la prensa en general, porque no eran carlistas; pero tan pronto como empecé a escribir en la carlista, todos

mis lectores anteriores dejaron de serlo. No me importaba. . . al convencerme que el que tiene un ideal debe trabajar por él, y por eso puse mi pluma al servicio del mío."⁹⁸

His Carlism was esthetic rather than political, however: "Soy carlista solamente por estética."⁹⁹ His stated lack of interest in the political aspects of the movement¹⁰⁰ militated against his complete acceptance by the Carlists themselves: "Quizás entregados a la verdad entrañable de su causa no dieron importancia al artificio aristocrático y fantasioso del carlismo valleinclinanesco."¹⁰¹ His highly personal brand of Carlism was expressed in these words: "Hay dos clases de carlistas. Los otros y yo. A los otros, ni los miro, ni los trato."¹⁰²

Valle Inclán's interest may have been primarily esthetic, but there is evidence of at least some sincere partisan interest. At every opportunity, he extolled the moral and soldierly superiority and the crusading zeal of the Carlist troops¹⁰³ and pictured the Republican troops in the worst possible light.¹⁰⁴ His home contained pictures of the Carlist royal family¹⁰⁵ and he rendered tribute to the Carlist dynasty by naming his children after them.¹⁰⁶ He attended Carlist social functions, entertained the idea of leading proposed military operations around Toledo, which never materialized,¹⁰⁷ and for his services to the Comunión Tradicionalista was decorated by Don Jaime with the "Cruz de la Legitimidad Respuesta, la cual ha presidido siempre y con toda circunstancia el salón de su casa junto a los retratos expresivamente

dedicados a toda la estirpe carlista."¹⁰⁸

The Guerra carlista trilogy demonstrates without any doubt, that Valle Inclán was deeply affected by the holocaust of the civil wars and their destructive effect on Spain. But he did not have in this series the intense preoccupation with political philosophy or the problem of Spain that characterized the series of Galdós and Baroja.¹⁰⁹ This absence of a "dolor de España"¹¹⁰ and his stress on esthetic values¹¹¹ tend to crystallize his role as a literary rather than political renovador of the Generación del '98. Guillén rejoiced in Valle Inclán's aversion to mixing ideology with literature: "Por lo que 'escribió' y por lo que no escribió, vitor, vitor al poeta puro de la generación del '98."¹¹²

Nevertheless, some bits of political philosophy can be discerned in these works. He seemed to believe in the revolutionary method of political change: ". . .antes del triunfo, debía pasar una hoz segando las cabezas más altas. Es preciso destruir y crear." (Cruzados, p. 115). He pointed to the need for a humane body of laws to govern nations:

Más que actos de una justicia cruenta,
 más que arroyos de sangre, los pueblos
 necesitan leyes sabias, leyes justas,
 leyes cristianas, sencillas como las
 máximas del Evangelio. Los pueblos son
 siempre niños y deben ser regidos por una
 mano suave, y las leyes deben ser consejos,
 y sentirse en todos los mandamientos del
 soberano, la sonrisa del Cristo. (Cru-
zados, p. 100).

He looked with longing to the strong Spain of old, which had "capitanes y santos y verdugos, que es todo cuanto necesita

una raza para dominar el mundo." (Cruzados, p. 27). Spain's only consolation for her lost greatness was to live the risueña mentira: ¡Viejo pueblo del sol y de los toros, así conserves por los siglos, tu genio mentiroso, hiperbólico, jacaresco, y por los siglos te aduermas al son de la guitarra, consolado de tus grandes dolores, perdidos para siempre la sopa de los conventos y las Indias! ¡Amén!" (Invierno, p. 102).

Like Galdós and Baroja, he too looked with hope to the future for Spain's millenium: ". . . los pueblos, como los mortales, sólo son felices cuando olviden eso que llaman conciencia historica, por el instinto ciego del futuro que está cimero del bien y del mal, triunfante de la muerte." (Invierno, p. 132).

II

Footnotes

1. José María Salaverría, Nuevos retratos (Madrid, 1930), p. 37.
2. Pirala, Historia de la guerra civil, I, XIV.
3. Luis Ruiz Contreras, Memorias de un desmemoriado (Madrid, 1916), p. 68.
4. U. González Serrano, "Galdós y sus 'Episodios nacionales'," N Tiem, III (1903), p. 348.
5. Joaquín Casaldueiro, Vida y obra de Galdós (Madrid, 1951), p. 169.
6. Francisco Madrid, La vida altiva de Valle Inclán (Buenos Aires, 1943), p. 316.
7. Joaquín Casaldueiro, "El desarrollo de la obra de Galdós", HR, X (1942), p. 250.
8. Ángel Ossorio, "El sentido popular de Galdós", Cur Con, XXIV (1943), pp. 125-126. For further ideas of Galdós on the mentality of the pueblo see Ofiate (p. 662), Estafeta (p. 988) and Faccioso (pp. 306-307). See also Matilde Carranza, El pueblo visto a través de los Episodios Nacionales (San José, 1942), pp. 33-38, et passim.
9. Ruiz Contreras, Memorias, p. 66.
10. José Ortega y Gasset, Obras de José Ortega y Gasset (Bilbao, 1932), p. 15.
11. Camilo José Cela, "Las memorias de Baroja y la última cuartilla de Valle Inclán", Clav, II, 2 (1950), p. 38.
12. Raúl Silva Castro, "Pío Baroja: el hombre y el escritor", A, IV (1927), p. 39.
13. M. Pérez Ferrero, Pío Baroja en su rincón (Santiago de Chile, 1940), p. 108.
14. Salvador Reyes, "Baroja en toda su estatura", Insula, XI, 105 (15 de septiembre de 1954), p. 2.
15. Rufino Blanco Fombona, Motivos y letras de España (Madrid, 1930), p. 143. See also A. R. Pastor, "Spain", in Contemporary Movements in European Literature, ed. William Rose and J. Isaacs (London, 1928), p. 100.

16. Pío Baroja, "Sobre la novela realista", Hisp W, XXIX, 2 (1946), p. 188.
17. Pío Baroja, El escritor según él y según los críticos (Madrid, 1944), p. 292.
18. Helmut Demuth, Pío Baroja: das Weltbild in seinen Werken (Hagen, 1937), p. 30. For a critical evaluation of Demuth's work see C. E. Anibal's review in HR, VII (1939), pp. 178-180.
19. José María Salaverría, Retratos (Madrid, 1926), p. 63.
20. Federico de Onís, "Pío Baroja", in Antología crítica: Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero, trans. J. García Mercadal (Zaragoza, 1948), p. 228.
21. José Ortega y Gasset, "Ideas sobre Pío Baroja", in El Espectador (Madrid, 1916), I, p. 186.
22. Cristóbal de Castro, "Pío Baroja o el burgués antiburgués," Esfera, 24 de enero de 1925.
23. Samuel Putnam, The European Caravan (New York, 1931), p. 326.
24. Ortega y Gasset Obras, p. 62. For further treatment of Baroja's ideal of action see: Luis Araquistáin, Las columnas de Hercules (Madrid, 1921), p. 127; Doris King Arjona, "La voluntad and abulia in contemporary Spanish ideology", R Hi, LXXIV (1928), p. 632; Ortega y Gasset "Ideas sobre Pío Baroja", p. 187; Piero Pillepich, "Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero, pp. 176-177; John T. Reid, Modern Spain and Liberalism: a Study in Literary Contrasts, (Stanford University, 1937), p. 212; José María Salaverría, A lo lejos, España vista desde América (Madrid, 1914), pp. 142-143; Ramón María Tenreiro, "El aprendiz de conspirador por Pío Baroja", Lectura, XIII, 1 (1913), p. 406. For more of Baroja's own ideas on acción, see also Caudillos (p. 290), Sabor (p. 22) and Veleta (p. 164).
25. Tenreiro, "El aprendiz", p. 406.
26. Juan Mas y Pi, Letras españolas (Buenos Aires, 1911), p. 48.
27. Juan Menéndez y Arranz, "Recuerdos y comentarios", IAL, IX, 70-71 (1954), p. 26.
28. Ramón Gómez de la Serna, Don Ramón María del Valle Inclán (Buenos Aires, 1944), p. 19.
29. Baroja, El escritor, p. 58.
30. Gómez de la Serna, Don Ramón, pp. 169-170.

31. José A. Balseiro, Blasco Ibáñez, Unamuno, Valle Inclán y Baroja, cuatro individualistas de España (Chapel Hill, 1949), p. 126.
32. Gómez de la Serna, Don Ramón, p. 12.
33. Melchor Fernández Almagro, "Valle Inclán de cerca", IAL, IX, 74-75 (1954), p. 19.
34. Salvador de Madariaga, Semblanzas literarias contemporáneas (Barcelona, 1924), p. 211.
35. Fernández Almagro, "Valle Inclán de cerca", p. 19.
36. Madrid, La vida activa, p. 317.
37. Manuel Azaña, "El secreto de Valle Inclán", Pluma (enero 1923), p. 88.
38. Madrid, La vida activa, p. 160.
39. Gómez de la Serna, Don Ramón, p. 23.
40. Angel Ossorio, "El sentido popular de Galdós", Cur Con, XXIV (1943), p. 121.
41. A. Alarcón Capilla, Galdós y su obra (Madrid, 1922), p. 51. See also Berkowitz, p. 4.
42. Berkowitz, Benito Pérez Galdós, p. 197.
43. Berkowitz, p. 346.
44. Berkowitz, p. 455.
45. William H. Shoemaker, "Preliminary Study", to Crónica de la Quincena (Princeton, 1948), pp. 35-36. See also Casaldüero, Vida y obra de Galdós, p. 136 and Berkowitz, pp. 202-203.
46. Azorín, El paisaje de España visto por los españoles (Madrid, 1917), pp. 169-170.
47. Gómez de la Serna "El Episodio Nacional como género literario. II", Clav, 17 (1952), p. 20.
48. L. Louis-Lande, "Le roman patriotique en Espagne: Les Episodes Nationales de Mr. Pérez Galdós", RDM, XIV (1876), p. 945.
49. Berkowitz, Benito Pérez Galdós, p. 201.

50. Berkowitz, ibid., p. 208.
51. Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española en la recepción pública del Sr. D. Benito Pérez Galdós (Madrid, 1897), pp. 35-36.
52. Ludwig Pfandl, "Pío Baroja. Ein kapitel aus der Geschichte des modernen spanischen Romans", N Spr, XXVIII (1920), p. 239.
53. Jean de la Bruyère, Caractères de la Bruyère, ed. M. L'Abbe Drioux (Paris, 1852), pp. 45-46.
54. Madariaga, Semblanzas literarias, p. 182.
55. Nicolás González Ruiz, "Baroja y la España de Baroja" BSS, I (1923), p. 10.
56. Juan Mas y Pi, Letras españolas (Buenos Aires, 1911), p. 86.
57. Antonio Alonso, Antología de ensayos españoles (Boston, 1936), p. 100.
58. Ortega y Gasset, "Ideas sobre Pío Baroja", p. 183.
59. S. Serrano Poncela, "Pío Baroja y su novela", Cu, VII (1954), p. 35.
60. See also Isabelina, p. 64.
61. See Recursos, p. 82, and Figuras, p. 39.
62. J. A. Van Praag, Enkele opmerkingen over Pío Baroja, zijn leven en zijn werk (Amsterdam, 1927), p. 24.
63. César Barja, Libros y autores contemporáneos (New York, 1935), pp. 307-308.
64. For anticlerical books mentioned by Baroja see Figuras (pp. 89, 110) and Recursos (pp. 90-91).
65. Luis S. Granjel, Retrato de Pío Baroja (Barcelona, 1953), p. 278.
66. Demuth, Pío Baroja, p. 46.
67. For some of Baroja's ideas about Spanish America, see Figuras (p. 253), Furias (p. 196) and Caminos (p. 359).
68. Even in one of his earliest literary efforts, Zalacain el aventurero, which is set in the second Carlist War, he ridiculed the Carlist cause, its leaders and adherents. See also Amor, (p. 44).

69. Pío Baroja, Divagaciones apasionadas (Madrid, 1924), pp. 167-168.
70. José A. Balseiro, Blasca Ibáñez, Unamuno, Valle Inclán y Baroja, cuatro individualistas de España (Chapel Hill, 1949), p. 228.
71. Guillermo Díaz Plaja, Modernismo frente a noventa y ocho (Madrid, 1951), p. 161.
72. Ramón María Tenreiro, "El escuadrón del Brigante, por Pío Baroja", Lectura, XIV, 1 (1914), p. 68.
73. José Escofet, "Los escritores están solos", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal español (Zaragoza, 1947), p. 131.
74. Baroja, El escritor, p. 80.
75. Baroja, El escritor, p. 294.
76. Azorín, El paisaje de España visto por los españoles (Madrid, 1917), p. 178. His quotation is from Pascal's pensée (No. 298) on force and justice: "Et ainsi ne pouvant faire ce qui est juste fût fort, on a fait que ce qui est fort fût juste." For the complete pensée see Blaise Pascal, Pensées et opuscules, ed. M. Léon Brunschvicq (Paris, 1946), p. 470.
77. José María Salaverría, Retratos (Madrid, 1926), p. 76.
78. Baroja, Divagaciones apasionadas, p. 168.
79. Granjel, Retrato, pp. 224-225.
80. Arjona, "La voluntad", p. 666.
81. Reid, Modern Spain, p. 220.
82. Reid, ibid., p. 82.
83. Raúl Silva Castro, "Pío Baroja", p. 43.
84. Escofet, "Los escritores", p. 132.
85. Berkowitz, Benito Pérez Galdós, p. 452.
86. Madrid, La vida activa, p. 91.
87. Melchor Fernández Almagro, "Ramón del Valle Inclán: Vida y obra", RHM, II (1936), p. 299.
88. Madrid, ibid., p. 104.

89. Madrid, p. 159.
90. Jean Camp, "Preface", in Ramón del Valle Inclán, Comme un vol de gerfauts, trans. Jean Camp (Paris, 1941), p. 23.
91. Araquistáin, Las columnas, p. 124.
92. Joaquín Casaldueiro, "Elementos funcionales en las Sonatas de Valle Inclán", Clav, V, 25 (1954), p. 23.
93. Emilio Gonaález López, "Valle Inclán y Curros Enríquez", RHM, 1-2 (1945), p. 219.
94. Melchor Fernández Almagro, Vida y literatura de Valle Inclán (Madrid, 1943), p. 145.
95. Chaumié, "Don Ramón", p. 241.
96. Madrid, La vida activa, p. 283. See also Pastor, Contemporary Movements, p. 101.
97. R. M. Tenreiro, "Los cruzados de la causa", Lectura, IX, 1 (1909), p. 330.
98. Madrid, La vida activa, pp. 181-182.
99. Madrid, ibid., p. 282. See also Invierno (pp. 216-217).
100. Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio. II", p. 24. See also Valle Inclán Blanco, "Fragmentos", p. 8; Guillermo Díaz Plaja, Modernismo frente a Noventa y Ocho (Madrid, 1951), p. 152.
101. Gómez de la Serna, Don Ramón, p. 118.
102. Madrid, ibid., p. 283.
103. Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio", p. 25. See also Fernández Almagro, Vida, p. 147.
104. See Resplandor (pp. 44, 89, 120) and Gerifaltes (p. 20).
105. Valle Inclán Blanco, "Fragmentos", p. 11.
106. Fernández Almagro, Vida, p. 154.
107. Fernández Almagro, p. 153.
108. Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio. II", p. 26.
109. Gómez de la Serna, ibid., p. 20.

110. Alonso Zamora Vicente, Las "Sonatas" de Ramón del Valle Inclán (Buenos Aires, 1951), p. 88.
111. Díaz Plaja, Modernismo, p. 152.
112. Jorge Guillén, "Valle Inclán y el 98", Pluma, enero de 1923, p. 70.

+ + + + +

III

Historical Sources

The fact that they were to portray the events of a recent and still painful era of Spain's national history, a period whose incidents and personalities were well known through oral tradition even to the pueblo, focussed the attention of our three novelists on the need for historical accuracy and adequate documentation in preparation for the exacting task which they had set for themselves. None had the training or exhaustive technique of the research scholar or historian seeking the elusive ultimate truth, but each pursued the spectre of history in accord with his own artistic temperament and the technical exigencies of his conception of the historical novel.

Their historical sources were many and varied and have been generally well defined by the authors and their literary critics. This study aims only to bring these sources together for comparison and to add to them specific sources of information acknowledged in the novels themselves.

For authenticity of geographical background, they each made more or less extensive tours over the ground they would describe in their works; personal contacts were made with living participants in historical events or with their descendants; they pored over written records of the period: newspapers, memoirs, government archives, biographies, eyewitness chronicles, letters and formal histories. Much of their material was amassed from oral tradition, the great

preserver and embellisher of the fading tapestry of history.

The result of their labors in documentation, in the opinion of Gómez de Baquero, is a generally similar view of the historical facts, notwithstanding their personal differences of style, temperament and political philosophy.¹ In several instances, the integration of their borrowings of source materials into their own style has not always been thorough, and as a consequence, all three have been accused of varying degrees of plagiarism, as will be shown below.

+ + + + +

The historical novel was not a new, untried genre to Galdós when he began his Tercera serie of Episodios nacionales in 1898. His experience in seeking out historical facts stemmed from the very beginning of his novelistic endeavors with the two historical novels La Fontana de Oro (1867-1868) and El audaz (1871) and the first two series of Episodios (1873-1875, 1875-1879). There is almost complete unanimity of opinion concerning his excellence as a researcher. Menéndez y Pelayo, in his critical appraisal of Galdós' work at his reception into the Real Academia in 1897, underscored the "rigor histórico" of the Episodios.² Rojas, who heard of Galdós' research from the author's own lips, has only praise for his enormous labors of investigation and his skilful method of weaving the results into his work so well that his diligence as a historian goes almost unnoticed.³ Pons marks his infinite patience in the preparation of the Episodios and

his realization that a man who proposed to reveal the conscience of his country must adhere to the techniques of the historian because "l'histoire ne s'improvise pas."⁴ Balbín pays tribute to his exhaustiveness saying that in order to prepare himself adequately for his task "es notorio que no ha omitido diligencia alguna."⁵ Galdós' careful documentation was not lost upon Darío, who was quick to note that, "El autor no ha descuidado la documentación; se ve que se ha tomado el trabajo de informarse en las mejores fuentes; y pone ante el lector, viviente y palpitante, esa curiosa vida de comienzos de siglo."⁶

Carlos Vázquez Arjona in several studies of Galdós' earlier Episodios gives eloquent testimony of their extreme historicity and Galdós' assiduous research: ". . . estos libros en realidad no son novelas sino verdadera historia."⁷ His method is to compare Galdós' passages with those he obviously used from the works of such historians as Toreno, Gómez de Arteche, Thiers and Castro. He finds Galdós' interpretation of History almost infallible⁸ and that his minor errors in detail were only a reflection of similar confusion in the works of the historians he read as sources.⁹

Baroja himself is perhaps the strongest dissenter from the previously expressed opinions, feeling that Galdós leaned too heavily on ready-made history; "Como investigador, Galdós ha hecho poco o nada: ha tomado la historia hecha en los libros."¹⁰ He relates one instance in which he thought Galdós did not describe the town of La Guardia very well in

De Oñate a la Granja. He found out later that Galdós had never been there, but had relied upon second-hand information, received by mail from the secretario del Ayuntamiento.¹¹ Bataillon's study of the sources of Zaragoza tends to prove Baroja's point in general, but he takes pains to pay tribute to Galdós' historical accuracy¹² and to appreciate the novel's "valeur immense comme oeuvre de vulgarisation historique."¹³ Sarrailh agrees that Galdós did not bother to go to original sources, but was almost always satisfied with second-hand information, although in spite of this limitation he was extremely successful in recreating the atmosphere of the times.¹⁴

There is evidence which gives some support to both points of view. Much of it can be gleaned from a perusal of the titles in Galdós' personal library; as listed by Berkowitz.¹⁵ Of a total of 3,974 volumes, 550 were on History, and of these 326 were concerned with the history of Spain. Of 163 volumes of voyages and descriptions, eighty-four or more than half dealt with Spain. Even taking into account the fact that 156 or twenty-eight percent of the historical volumes remained uncut, it is evident that Galdós had readily at hand, both in Santander and Madrid, a wealth of secondary sources and many first-hand accounts and memoirs, which furnished him the incidents and anecdotes he was to fashion into his "historias anoveladas" [sic], as Menéndez y Pelayo so aptly termed them in 1897.¹⁶ Besides such a standard historical reference as Lafuente's Historia general de España, Galdós had

available volumes which were studies of the civil wars and of such renowned participants as Espartero, Mendizábal, Zumalcárregui and Cabrera.¹⁷

After carefully cataloging Galdós' library and making a study of his literary tastes, Berkowitz was able to conclude that "lo único que se puede afirmar rotundamente es que Galdós prefería la lectura de historia y geografía a todos los demás géneros",¹⁸ another evidence of Galdós' intensive acquiring of background information in these fields. His technique of marking significant historical passages in many volumes, indicated that they were read and reread, not merely for pleasure, but for planned future use:

A muchos [de sus libros] se asoman tiras de papel amarillento, señalando trozos que, convertidos en literatura amena, pasaron sin duda a alguna obra galdosiana, sobre todo los Episodios nacionales. Mención especial merecen los libros de historia en los cuales se trata de los personajes y las épocas que tan magistralmente están reproducidas en las novelas históricas, porque estos patentizan una lectura minuciosa y escrupulosa; muchas páginas marcadas con lápiz rojo o azul, muchos párrafos cuya importancia para Galdós está señalada con la advertencia "¡Ojo!" en la margen, alguna que otra fecha corregida o puesta en duda por un signo de interrogación; en fin, casi toda la "técnica" que empleó Galdós en la lectura de las cosas serias.¹⁹

For many years, but especially between 1870 and 1873, Galdós could be seen regularly at the old Ateneo, Madrid's intellectual club at 22 Calle de la Montera. He was diligently amassing information from its well-stocked reading rooms for future integration into his novels: "Known to only a few

members of the Ateneo, Galdós acquired a measure of fame for his long sieges in the library and the periodical room. . . He was taking copious notes, among which, his neighbors furtively observed, he often interspersed odd drawings."²⁰ He admitted receiving help in his documentation from one of his friends there:

En la Biblioteca del Ateneo viejo, D. Ventura Ruiz Aguilera me hizo un plano de Salamanca que me sirvió para escribir Arapiles, pues entonces no conocía yo la citada capital. Después fui varias veces a Salamanca y vi que había acertado en las descripciones que hice en dicha obra, valiéndome del plano que me trazó aquel ilustre poeta.²¹

Galdós betrays reliance on some secondary sources for his Tercera serie by explicit references to them in the text of the Episodios. He mentions Miñano's, Diccionario geográfico in Mendizábal (p. 465), and used unchanged, the expression of another historian in De Oñate a La Granja (p. 604): "Llamábanse los tales netos, puros, y su ridículo y brutal fanatismo ocasionó el menoscabo y vuelco de la Causa, como diría el historiador Mor de Fuentes." Another instance in which he credits a historical source with language he decided he would not improve upon occurs in Bodas reales (p. 1390), in which he describes the preparations for the wedding of Isabel II: "Lo más extraordinario de tal fábrica era que todo debía iluminarse al transparente, con lo que resultaría un efecto de ensueño, romántico poema arquitectónico, según la feliz expresión de un cronista de aquellas soberanas fiestas."

The limitations of his written sources become obvious

when he confesses his inability to garner all the facts on a historical incident, in a conversation between Espartero and Calpena, concerning a mission to Maroto, in Vergara (p. 1049):

"Imposible transmitir la conversación que hubo de quedar en vaguedad incierta como nebulosa de un suceso histórico.

Otras conversaciones se relatarán; ésta no. El oído indiscreto, procurando apoderarse de las ideas allí manifiestas, sólo pudo coger algún concepto deshilvanado."

In his eagerness to amass details on historical personages and incidents, Galdós would hardly have deprived himself of the rich vein of documentation open for all to see in collections of old periodicals and newspapers. They certainly provided him with valuable historical information, although admittedly, it is difficult to gauge the extent of his dependence upon them from the mere fact of their being profusely alluded to in the course of the Episodios.²² Monner Sans calls attention to his use of the "Diario de Avisos": Para elaborar los Episodios sabido es que Galdós recogía, por diversos medios, cuantos datos podían añadir preciso colorido a sus diferentes cuadros de época. Algunos de esos datos, bien fidedignos, los había hallado nada menos que. . . en el Diario de Avisos.²³

Galdós, an incessant traveler, personally covered the ground over which the civil wars were fought, seeking authentic backgrounds. Sainz tells of his arming himself with letters of introduction from his tradicionalista friend, Juan Vázquez de Mella: "Habló con viejos generales carlistas. . . viejos

soldados. . . posaderos locuaces. . . buhoneros y trajinantes que conocían mil historietas, sucedidos, tradiciones y retazos de diálogos históricos. . . con curas. . . quienes incluso habían tomado parte activa en las empresas 'por don Carlos'. . . ."25

In Vergara (p. 1002), he credits the description of the death of the Carlist general González-Moreno to an eyewitness account: "como a un cerdo (así lo cuenta un testigo presencial) le mataron en medio de las calles." Rubén Darío has noted a striking dependence upon an eyewitness account in La estafeta romántica, in the incident of the death of Larra: "Figura en la estafeta, una carta simulada de D. Miguel de los Santos Álvarez, el amigo íntimo de Espronceda y de Figaro. No hay duda de que el señor Galdós trató a Álvarez y de sus labios obtuvo muy interesantes informes."²⁶ Darío was so impressed with the ring of vibrant truth in the letter, that he insisted Galdós had supernatural assistance: "D. Miguel de los Santos Álvarez se la ha dictado desde el otro mundo como otros espíritus lo han hecho con Hugo o Claretie. . . ¡El Sr. Galdós ha sido espiritista sin saberlo!"²⁷

Another important source of information about the early years of the nineteenth century was afforded him from his friendship with Mesonero Romanos, whose keen personal observation of personajes and paisajes filled the pages of his own works and helped to document Galdós.²⁸ In his travels, he gained access to hundreds of personal letters of people involved in the Carlist Wars and gleaned a wealth of curious

facts on historical figures and incidents from them.

He received many letters from his readers after each Episodio was published, offering criticism, correction of errors in historical fact and often helpfully suggesting additional sources of information which he used in later volumes: "Many of the letters about the historical novels came from aged persons, either eyewitnesses of the events or relatives of the historical figures portrayed by Galdós. In the aggregate these letters constitute a glowing tribute to Galdós' historical accuracy and impartial treatment of the material."²⁹

Invaluable first-hand information often came to Galdós from the lips of a principal historical character or his relatives. In his Memorias he proudly reported his visits with the exiled, aged Queen Isabel in Paris,³⁰ remembering too, her sudden departure after the revolt known as La Gloriosa in 1868: "¡Adiós, generosa Isabel; hasta que volvamos a vernos en Paris, Palacio de Castilla, donde has de contarme interesantes casos de tu azaroso reinado!"³¹ Trend emphasizes the literary advantage Galdós gained from these interviews: "What attracted him most about her was her way of speaking. As a novelist, it fascinated him for reasons of literary technique; as a historical novelist. . . it was beyond the price of many documents. . . Galdós had the supreme good fortune to hear the actual voice of one of his own characters in fiction."³² Alas thinks these interviews documented his treatment of Isabel II in Los ayacuchos. His insight into

the psychology of the young queen trying to enjoy the pleasures of childhood while being groomed to manage serious matters of state gives credence to this observation.³³

For accuracy in the portrayal of the Carlist general Tomás Zumalacárregui, he consulted his nephew, Miguel Zumalacárregui, in Cegama.³⁴ Galdós sometimes revealed the source of his information in the text of his novel as he did in Vergara (p. 1103). Describing the clerics' hatred of Maroto for his part in the Abrazo de Vergara, Galdós relates an anecdote of Maroto's daughter being angrily denied absolution in the confessional after her identity became known to the priest: "El brazo eclesiástico, firme apoyo de la facción. . . no perdonó a Maroto su cooperación en la obra de la paz, como se verá por este hecho regurosamente histórico. . . ¿Se pone en duda este hecho? Pues de él puede dar testimonio doña Margarita Maroto, viuda de Borgoño, anciana respetabilísima, que aún vive. Reside en Valparaíso."

All these many sources of Galdós, both oral and written, were welded by him into a vibrant amalgam of incidents and personalities, the coldness of his historical documentation being dissipated by the warmth of his literary personality and novelistic craftsmanship. His great attention to historical accuracy and truth put the Episodios on a firm historical footing, lending an air of greater verisimilitude to his purely fictional elements and inspiring many critics to prophesy their use as school text books for the history of nineteenth century Spain.

Galdós has been scored for sometimes adhering a little too closely to the style and expression of his historical and literary sources. Critics have often called attention to his borrowing of incident and matter and Rogers considers it one of his most important techniques in the writing of the Epi-sodios, giving as an example his use of Tamayo's letter substitution device for La corte de Carlos IV. The device was perfect for his story, so he borrowed it, not as a covert act of plagiarism, but knowing that many of his readers would instantly recognize its origin.³⁵ Gómez de la Serna defends him from the often repeated charge that he was "un mero glosador de Lafuente."³⁶

Perhaps Galdós' hasty composition contributed to his carelessness in transferring source material into his own words in Zumalacárregui. Boussagol studied its sources and found that Galdós had depended chiefly upon histories of the Carlist general by Du Casse, Madrazo and Zaratiegui. The first two furnished him several incidents, while Zaratiegui, as proven by Boussagol's comparison of incident and even expression, is revealed as Galdós' primary source for Zumalacárregui.³⁷ The French critic has no quarrel with the legitimacy of the technique of elaboration of borrowings, but he laments "il est vraiment regrettable que Galdós ne l'ait pas poussé jusqu'au détail de l'expression. Il n'a pas eu assez le souci de s'assimiler Zaratiegui. L'assaisonnement dont il les accompagne ne suffit pas à masquer la crudité de ses emprunts."³⁸ Boussagol's criticism is softened, however,

by his admission that Zumalacárregui gained in truth and impartiality because of Galdós' direct transfer of historical material to his novel.³⁹ Pattison, in a study on Galdós' literary creativity in Gloria, has demonstrated a more tolerant attitude toward his "plagiarism", suggesting that very little difference exists in borrowing ideas from literary or from living models,⁴⁰ and that in the final analysis "an artist must work with something, not create out of nothing."⁴¹

+ + + + +

Baroja prided himself on his research technique and thoroughness and made many allusions to it in his works, even devoting the entire prologue of his biography of Aviraneta to a detailed description of his investigative methods.⁴² His quest for factual material was not limited to his historical novels: "Yo, en cualquier asunto literario. . . he buscado primero la información, los datos, y éstos los he respetado; luego el comentario, naturalmente, es personal."⁴³ After deriding Galdós' dependence upon secondary sources, he claims credit for greater diligence: ". . . en este sentido, yo he trabajado algo más: he buscado en los archivos y he recorrido los lugares de acción de mis novelas, intentando reconstruir lo pasado."⁴⁴

He felt very much like a detective, reconstructing the life of Aviraneta following an interminable trail of clues: "Sería cosa muy larga de contar todos los caminos que he seguido para buscar datos acerca de mi personaje y de la

época."⁴⁵ His claim to exhaustive research is supported by his friend Azorín:

Baroja ha hecho obra de historiador; se ha documentado minuciosamente; ha leído cuanto sobre esa época se ha escrito; he recogido - con mil trabajos - papeles y documentos varios; ha recorrido los lugares en que los principales sucesos de las guerras civiles se han desarrollado; la topografía del país vasco la conoce palmo a palmo; en el Maestrazgo, el otro teatro de la guerra carlista, también ha estado en diversas ocasiones; respecto de la figura central de estas novelas, el "hombre de acción", es decir, Aviraneta, él ha reunido cuantos datos, pormenores, y particularidades pueden ser conocidos.⁴⁶

Gómez de Baquero points to a peculiar effect of Baroja's care in seeking original sources on the Memorias de un hombre de acción:

Atraído por el interés dramático del asunto, Baroja se ha engolfado en la lectura de papeles históricos y aunque pocos autores habrá que respondan menos que él a la imagen corriente del erudito, ha adquirido, a mi parecer, cierta afición erudita y hasta ha dado a sus novelas de los orígenes de la España contemporánea un matiz erudito que consiste en la propensión a lo raro, al episodio curioso, que no es del dominio público. Esto bastaría para distinguir profundamente dichas novelas de los Episodios nacionales . . . que son más épicos y adoptan, por lo general, la versión popular y consagrada de la historia.⁴⁷

In the autumn of 1911, he began his search for information on Aviraneta in such places as the Biblioteca Nacional, the Biblioteca del Ayuntamiento and the Librería de García Rico, where he examined several folletos on Aviraneta.⁴⁸ Then followed visits to various archivos, which netted him his

hero's hoja de servicios from the Archivo de las Clases Pasivas.⁴⁹ He experienced a long period of fruitless investigation and was about to give up his project for lack of information, when a lucky purchase of manuscript memoirs, purporting to be about El Empecinado, turned out to be a mine of material on Aviraneta.⁵⁰ In spite of all his efforts to secure adequate documentation, he admits that he failed to fill in many gaps in Aviraneta's adventurous life, and where he could not base his novel on facts, he relied upon indications and deductions.⁵¹

He sought information from historians, but with negative results: "escribí a . . . Morayta, al duque de Mandas y a don Juan Pérez de Guzmán. Me contestaron cartas amables, pero un poco extrañas, que me hubiesen demostrado, si no hubiese estado convencido ya, de que el español no brilla por su espíritu filosófico ni científico."⁵² Morayta responded with patent misinformation and Mandas joined Pérez de Guzmán in scolding Baroja for his desire to write about a man whose actions were outside the law and who was not an hombre de bien: "Aviraneta no merece que su pluma de usted ni aun estampe su nombre en ningún sentido para conservarlo a la posteridad."⁵³

The aid of formal historians being denied him, Baroja was left to his own resources, and relied upon his own observation and on-the-spot research for records in the cities and towns which felt the brunt of the battles in the guerras carlistas. Azorín attests to the reality he thus achieved

in his backgrounds:

Baroja no es hombre a quien guste escribir de lo que no ha visto. Las creaciones de su imaginación necesitan un suelo real en que asentarse. Su novelística se enlaza con naturalismo, a pesar de ser una reacción contra su estilo. Recordemos como protesta en sus Memorias de que Galdós describiera un pueblo sin haberlo visto y sin que luego respondiera a la realidad, o sus críticas al país vasco descrito por Valle Inclán (más a su gusto que fiado de la exactitud). Baroja ha conocido la mayor parte de los escenarios que aparecen en sus novelas.⁵⁴

He does refer however to several printed references which he used for information on the history and geography of towns: "Al final del siglo XVIII, don Antonio Ponz, que visitó Mirambel, decía en su Viaje por España: 'Su población es de doscientos vecinos. . .' . Mirambel, en el siglo XIX, apenas aumentó de habitantes; no varió, se quedó inmóvil, paralizado dentro de sus muros de piedra, como un fósil." (Venta, p. 25). A little later on, he writes "Don Rodrigo Méndez Silva, en su Población general de España, trae la fundación de (Bordón) en 1306 a fines de la dominación de los templarios en el país." (Venta, pp. 29-30). His detailed itineraries and routes of travel for his personajes were carefully checked with maps and he mentions two of them: "Llevaba Hugo dos mapas; uno de Cataluña, de Tomás López y otro de España hecho por Mentelle y Chaulaire, publicado en Londres en 1808 por John Stockdale de Picadilly para uso de las fuerzas inglesas que iban a operar en la península." (Senda, p. 197).

Baroja's burrowing in old church and town records is

illustrated by his long chapter on the intricate, detailed genealogy of the Conde de España (Enigma, pp. 54-66). Success did not always crown his efforts, and he had to admit failure in finding proof of the existence of a historical character who played a part in the disappearance of the calavera of the murdered Conde de España: "Hay quien ha asegurado que el doctor Alegret de Guisona no se llamaba así, hay quien ha dicho que ha visto la lista de los médicos de esa villa catalana y que en ella no aparece ningún doctor Alegret. No queremos nosotros sentar plaza de escépticos. Esperamos que haya otros investigadores más expertos que encuentren las huellas que dejó en este mundo el doctor Alegret." (Senda, p. 287). Here Baroja terms himself investigador and indeed, he deserves the name for his careful, painstaking reconstruction of the character, ancestry and brutal assassination of the Conde de España, whose colorful life had been shrouded in mystery, ignorance and confused oral tradition.

Folletos of the era, circulated by and about the historical personajes were consulted by Baroja and he copied into his text several versos ramplones which he had seen illustrated with cartoons depicting the death of the Conde de España. (Senda, pp. 318-320). In the previously mentioned prólogo on sources, he lists many of the folletos written by Aviraneta himself, which he used for documentation of several incidents in his life. (Aviraneta, pp. 10-12).

Baroja was extremely fortunate in having available eyewitness accounts of his main character from members of his

own family and from acquaintances:

Como en todos los asuntos de que me he ocupado mi curiosidad por Aviraneta parti6, m6s que de una lectura previa, de las relaciones familiares e individuales.

Mi padre y mi madre conocieron a Aviraneta en su juventud. . . Aviraneta era tío segundo de mi madre. Mi madre refiere bastante an6cdotas de la vida del conspirador. . . Mi tía Ces6rea de Goñi todavía podía haberle recordado mejor. . . pero no se ocup6 gran cosa de 6l. . .

La condesa de Lersundi; de San Sebastián, recuerda a Aviraneta con simpatía y con muchos detalles. La condesa me ha contado como su hermana y ella, siendo niñas, iban a visitarle cuando era viejo, a la calle del Barco, en Madrid. . .

Otra persona que me hablo de Aviraneta fu6 don Angel Pirala, hijo del historiador de la guerra civil.

Tambi6n le conoci6 don Nicol6s Est6vez quien me dijo que había hablado con 6l una vez en un caf6 de la Puerta del Sol.⁵⁵

Lithographs of historical characters were avidly sought by Baroja, and Azpeitua gives us a picture of him in his Paris apartment, writing the Memorias de un hombre de acci6n, surrounded by various prints: "Las paredes del alojamiento sostenían los retratos en litografía de Zumalac6rregui, del cura Santa Cruz y otros personajes de la guerra carlista, que Pío Baroja había encontrado en los puestos de libros viejos a orillas del Sena."⁵⁶ For accurate physical descriptions of Aviraneta, he relied upon two lithographs and a photograph of a painting, sent to him by various friends. (Aviraneta, p. 12).

References to various memoirs and histories are scattered throughout his novels. He borrowed from the memoirs of an

Englishman who appears as a minor character in Humano enigma (p. 28): "De su viaje, Riverdale publicó un tomo en 1847, con dibujos, llamado Recuerdos, en Londres, en la Casa Editorial Partridge S. W. y Cía. . . Paternoste [sic] Row 9. De estos Recuerdos el autor ha tomado muchos de sus datos." The work of a Frenchman who also is made a minor historical character in La venta de Mirambel (p. 269) was also known by him: "[Marcillón] escribió un librito en un estilo imitado del vizconde de Chateaubriand titulado Memorias de un voluntario realista en España impreso en Tolosa." He cites too a posthumous volume by Aviraneta, Mis memorias íntimas, 1825-1829 published by Luis García Pimentel in Mexico in 1906. (Aviraneta, p. 12). Another Englishman, a journalist named Mitchell wrote an account entitled La Corte y el campo de Don Carlos which was seen and mentioned by Baroja in La venta de Mirambel (p. 185) and Las figuras de cera (p. 237). A statement concerning the credibility of this particular source came from C. F. Henningsen, an English officer who served with the Carlist general Zumalacárregui:

It is to the correspondent of the Morning Herald, a Mr. Mitchel, that the public is indebted for the most impartial and correct narration of all that occurred during the civil war in the northern provinces of Spain, since the beginning of the contest. He spent some months in the Christino camp, and was afterwards repeatedly in our own. I do not mean to say that he has always been right; but on looking through the columns of the Morning Herald of the last year, I have been surprised at his general accuracy.⁵⁷

For his characterization of Espartero, he used José Segundo Flores, Vida militar y política de Espartero (Senda, pp. 51-52) and in documenting one of his many digressions, a ten page history of the Knights Templar in Spain, he referred to such works as Mariana's Historia de España, Pedro Mexía's Silva de varia lección and Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes' Disertaciones Históricas del Orden y Caballería de los Templarios. (Venta, pp. 57-61).

Baroja too, used newspapers and periodicals of the nineteenth century as primary sources of historical data on characters and incidents. In Los confidentes audaces (p. 227), he mentions the "bisemanario carlista publicado en Morella con el título de Boletín del Ejército Real de Aragón, Valencia y Murcia." More than a score of other periodicals, both Spanish and French, of all political shades are named by him throughout the twenty-two volumes of the Memorias de un hombre de acción.⁵⁸

Baroja's personal library would undoubtedly furnish more information on the nature and variety of the source materials for his historical novels.⁵⁹ The great effort he expended in his search for historical accuracy is evident in this statement from his despedida to Aviraneta at the end of the last novel in the series: "Adiós papeles, estampas y documentos! Ha perdido una energía y paciencia para buscarlos." (Principio, p. 252).

José Luis Castillo Puche, who found memoirs of Aviraneta which Baroja had missed, and takes delight in filling in the

obvious gaps in his documentation of the life of his hero, accuses Baroja of flagrantly plagiarizing Martínez Villergas, Los políticos en camisa; he nevertheless defers the needed proof of his charge:

El panfletario y folletinesco Villergas sí que dió plenamente en el clavo, y es incomprensible cómo Baroja resbaló sobre esta valiosa cantera. Poco escribió Villergas sobre Aviraneta, pero aprovechado. . . Acaso algún día podamos hacer un recorrido sobre los escritos de Villergas, y se verá hasta que punto Baroja ha aprovechado elementos de este anónimo autor, aunque dándoles sabiamente la vuelta, como hacen con los calcetines las amas de casa al zurcirlos.⁶⁰

In another thrust, Castillo Puche ridicules the credulity of Baroja and one of his sources, the historian Pirala, painting them both as victims of a scheming vainglorious Aviraneta: "El juego no ha podido ser más simple. Don Antonio Pirala escribió al dictado de Aviraneta y Baroja bebió en la fuente del académico sin filtro de ninguna clase. Es desconcertante ver cómo los párrafos esenciales pasan de una mano a otra como la falsa moneda de la copla." (Castillo Puche, p. 90). Clearly, Castillo Puche does not share the tolerant viewpoint of Pattison (p. 139) in regard to artistic plagiarism and perhaps the flagrancy in this instance better fits the accusation than the crime.

+ + + + +

The very nature of Valle Inclán's artistic temperament militated against a prolonged research effort in preparation for the Guerra carlista trilogy and, indeed, it is almost

unthinkable that his great imaginative genius could be chained to the rigid techniques of the historian. Yet he could not and did not avoid the task of documentation so necessary for the achievement of verisimilitude in the historical novel.

This basic conflict between fact and fancy in his creative process is unmistakable in the Sonata de invierno (p. 101) when Bradomín is disappointed in Fray Ambrosio's reaction to his fanciful tale of his conversion: "Yo callé compadecido de aquel pobre exclaustro que prefería la Historia a la Leyenda, y se mostraba curioso de un relato menos interesante, menos ejemplar y menos bello que mi invención." He was fully conscious of this difficulty, as he admits, and he derived a literary comfort from the inclusion of historical material in his works: "En mis narraciones históricas la dificultad mayor consiste en incrustar documentos y episodios de la época. Cuando el relato me da ocasión de colocar una frase, unos versos, una copla o un escrito de la época de la acción me convenzo que todo va bien."⁶¹

Contrary to the vast panoramic view of the Carlist Wars given us by Galdós and Baroja, Valle Inclán limited the scope of his treatment to a few local incidents which in themselves passed almost unnoticed in the larger picture of the bloody conflict. His need for extensive documentation was therefore not as great as was that of Galdós and Baroja. Boyd sees little relationship between the Guerra carlista trilogy and

the Episodios nacionales, because Valle Inclán did "not treat the Carlist Wars as a national political event."⁶²

Rather than follow the thread of the incidents related by formal historians like Pirala and Lafuente "Valle da en la Historia el corte o cortes que le parecen más significativos, y ahí trabaja en profundidad."⁶³

Darío credits his brilliant evocation of the epic spirit of "aquel encuentro largo de leones, de una y otra parte" to the fact that "está documentado como en todo."⁶⁴ Chaumié notes a conscious effort on his part to adhere to the truth: ". . . ce sont des tableaux presque toujours très soisissants et, mérite rare chez un défenseur d'un des partis en cause, peints sinon avec une impassibilité qui ne convient qu'à une oeuvre purement historique, au moins avec une très consciencieux effort de vérité."⁶⁵

Valle Inclán's son Carlos has listed sixty-five volumes on the politics and history of nineteenth-century Spain which were in his father's library and were used by him as reference works for creating his historical novels.⁶⁶ Gómez de la Serna accepts this as "Buena prueba de que es la Historia el objetivo principal de los episodios carlistas. . . ; que Valle Inclán operaba sobre la realidad histórica, carlista e isabelina, con pasos, si no más, tan seguros al menos como los de Galdós."⁶⁷ None of his sources is ever mentioned in his works; he makes no references to books or newspapers which he may have used.⁶⁸ Their inclusion might have tended to destroy the illusion of a medieval atmosphere which per-

vaded his trilogy.

More than to any other source, his sensitive ears were attuned to the confused cacophony of oral tradition: "Il ne semble pas être préoccupé des sources écrites ou encore il a usé à leur égard de beaucoup de liberté, en ne leur empruntant que le schéma nécessaire. Il s'est apparemment attaché à la tradition orale qui garde son intensité dans les foyers du pays basque."⁶⁹ He, like Baroja, was fortunate in having heard many first-hand accounts of the war during his childhood: ". . . uno de sus tíos intervino en la última guerra carlista. . . , y los relatos que el sobrino escuchó de éste y de otros parientes suyos, habían de resucitar-estilizados-en la pluma del futuro novelista."⁷⁰

He travelled to Navarra⁷¹ in search of factual material and in Carlist circles there, was introduced to the most important paladins of the Cause. According to his son Carlos, he would listen to these men, skilfully prodding them with questions until he had absorbed all the information they possessed. He did not bother to transcribe this oral tradition into written notes, but retained it all in his prodigious memory, using it later to provide the exact phrase, expression or emotion he needed to permeate an incident or characterization with historicity.⁷²

Baroja pointed out Valle Inclán's weakness as a researcher as he had done with Galdós: "¿Cómo me van a divertir a mí las tres novelas de la guerra carlista que escribió Valle Inclán, que pasan en el país vasco sin haber estado el autor

en él?"⁷³ Gómez de la Serna refutes Baroja's statement completely:

. . . la recogida de la tradición oral, aún viva entonces, por el propio D. Ramón, que, contra lo que cree Baroja, se tomó el trabajo de recorrerse palmo a palmo el escenario vasconavarro de las guerras carlistas, hablando con supervivientes de la azarosa cruzada de la Causa y manejando archivos familiares de viejos cabecillas y de correligionarios capitostes de inextinto carlismo.⁷⁴

Pillement agrees with Baroja however that his backgrounds were false, because he described Vasconia as if it were his native Galacia.⁷⁵ So great was his consternation, after he made a trip to the Basque provinces and discovered how wrong he was, that he abandoned the project of two more novels about the Cura Santa Cruz, which were to conclude the series on the Guerra carlista.⁷⁶

Plagiarism has been imputed to Valle Inclán too, the best known accusation being made by Julio Casares in connection with his use of material from Casanova in his Sonata de Primavera.⁷⁷ For the Guerra carlista trilogy, Bell notes correctly that "he has taken matter. . . from a source so well known to all Spanish readers as an episodio nacional of Pérez Galdós, the final paragraphs of Juan Martín el Empeinado having clearly inspired a passage in Gerifaltes de Antaño.⁷⁸

Alfonso Reyes, like Pattison with Galdós, has a calmer view of Valle Inclán's use of material from other authors: "Ya en Anatole France, precisamente, Santa Catalina observa,

con encantadora pedantería, 'La imaginación no crea: combina y compara'.⁷⁹ Valle Inclán's ability at comparing and combining elements from diverse sources and impressing upon them the original stamp of his peculiar genius needs no more proof than that provided by his works themselves.

III

Footnotes

1. E. Gómez de Baquero, De Gallardo a Unamuno (Madrid, 1926), p. 239.
2. Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia española en la recepción pública del Sr. D. Benito Pérez Galdós. El domingo 7 de febrero de 1897 (Madrid, 1897), pp. 33-34.
3. Ricardo Rojas, Retablo español (Buenos Aires, n.d.), p. 222.
4. J. S. Pons, "Le Roman et l'histoire. De Galdós à Valle Inclán", in Hommage a Ernest Martinenche (1939), p. 381.
5. Antonio Balbín de Unquera, "Novela y novelistas históricos en España", Rev Con (October, 1905), p. 406.
6. Rubén Darío, España contemporánea (Paris, 1901), pp. 273-274.
7. Carlos Vázquez Arjona, "Cotejo histórico de cinco Episodios Nacionales de Benito Pérez Galdós", R Hi, LXVIII (1926), p. 518.
8. Vázquez Arjona, loc. cit.
9. Carlos Vázquez Arjona, "Introducción al estudio de la primera serie de los 'Episodios Nacionales' de Pérez Galdós", PMLA, XLVIII (1933), p. 905.
10. Pío Baroja, La intuición y el estilo (Madrid, 1948), p. 258.
11. Pío Baroja, El escritor según él y según los críticos (Madrid, 1944), p. 238.
12. M. Bataillon, "Les sources historiques de Zaragoza", B Hi, XXIII (1921), p. 131.
13. Bataillon, ibid., p. 136.
14. Jean Sarrailh, Prosateurs espagnols contemporains (Paris, 1930), pp. 40-41. See also his "Quelques sources du Cádiz de Galdós", B Hi, XXIII (1921), p. 33.
15. H. Chonon Berkowitz, La biblioteca de Benito Pérez Galdós (Las Palmas, 1951).
16. José María Monner Sans, "Galdós y la generación de 1898", Cur Con, XXIV (1943), p. 59.

17. See Berkowitz, pp. 79-89, for a list of these volumes, many of which certainly served Galdós as valuable reference material for the Tercera serie.
18. Berkowitz, Biblioteca, p. 14.
19. Berkowitz, p. 15.
20. H. Chonon Berkowitz, Pérez Galdós, Spanish Liberal Crusader (Madison, 1948), p. 94.
21. Luis Antón del Olmet and Arturo García Caraffa, Los grandes españoles: Galdós (Madrid, 1912), p. 67.
22. A list of the newspapers of the era mentioned in the Tercera serie is provided in the Appendix. Galdós had in his personal library the Semanario pintoresco español (18 tomos, Madrid, 1833 y 1837-1852) and many other incomplete collections of early 19th Century periodicals. See Berkowitz, pp. 208-210. He undoubtedly used Eugenio Hartzenbusch's Apuntes para un catálogo de periódicos madrileños desde el año 1661 al 1870 (Madrid, 1894), as a guide to useful periodicals. He had it in his library at Madrid. See Berkowitz, p. 202.
23. Monner Sans, p. 59.
24. Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, "Don Benito Pérez Galdós. Su vida y sus obras", in Don Benito Pérez Galdós, Obras completas (Madrid, 1945), I, xiv.
25. Sainz, p. xvi.
26. Darío, España contemporánea, p. 274.
27. Darío, p. 277.
28. H. Chonon Berkowitz, "Galdós and Mesonero Romanos", RRQ, XXIII (1932), p. 205. See also E. Varela Hervías, Cartas de Pérez Galdós a Mesonero Romanos (Madrid, 1943).
29. H. Chonon Berkowitz, "Gleanings from Galdós' Correspondence", Hisp Cal, XVI (1933), p. 271.
30. Benito Pérez Galdós, Memorias (Madrid, 1930), pp. 235-237. See also Berkowitz, Benito Pérez Galdós, pp. 108-109.
31. Pérez Galdós, ibid., p. 44.
32. J. B. Trend, The Origins of Modern Spain (London, 1934), p. 13.

33. Leopold Alas, "Los Episodios Nacionales, Galdós", in Obras completas (Madrid, 1912), I, p. 354.
34. Berkowitz, Pérez Galdós, p. 335.
35. Paul Patrick Rogers, "Galdós and Tamayo's Letter-Substitution Device", RRQ, XLV, 2 (1954), p. 117.
36. Gaspar Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio Nacional como género literario. II: Las dos Españas de Don Ramón María del Valle Inclán", Clav, 17 (1952), p. 18.
37. G. Boussagol, "Sources et composition du 'Zumalacárregui' de B. Pérez Galdós", B Hi (1924), p. 243. The works of these three historians are: Baron du Casse, Ecós de Navarra o Don Carlos y Zumalacárregui (Madrid, 1840); Francisco de Paula Madrazo, Historia militar y política de Zumalacárregui (Madrid, 1844); D. J. A. Zaratiegui, Vida y hechos de Zumalacárregui (Paris, 1845). The volume by Zaratiegui was part of Galdós' personal library (No. 912 at Santander). See Berkowitz, La biblioteca de Galdós, p. 89.
38. Boussagol, p. 261.
39. Boussagol, p. 262.
40. Walter T. Pattison, Benito Pérez Galdós and the Creative Process (Minneapolis, 1954), p. 73.
41. Pattison, p. 139.
42. Pío Baroja, Aviraneta o La vida de un conspirador, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1931), pp. 7-19.
43. Baroja, La intuición, p. 148.
44. Baroja, La intuición, p. 258.
45. Baroja, Aviraneta, p. 19.
46. Azorín, "La última novela de Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal español (Zaragoza, 1947), p. 90.
47. E. Gómez de Baquero, "Baroja y la técnica", Sol, 18 diciembre 1924, p. 1.
48. Baroja, Aviraneta, p. 8.
49. Baroja, Aviraneta, p. 17.
50. Baroja, La intuición, p. 258.

51. Baroja, Aviraneta, p. 19.
52. Baroja, Aviraneta, p. 12.
53. Baroja, Aviraneta, p. 16.
54. Azorín, "Geografía barojiana", IAL, IX, 70-71 (1954), p. 2.
55. Baroja, Aviraneta, pp. 7-8.
56. Antonio Azpeitua, "Pío Baroja en París", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero (Zaragoza, 1948), p. 103.
57. C. F. Henningsen, The Most Striking Events of a Twelve-Month's Campaign with Zumalacárregui, in Navarre and the Basque Provinces (London, 1836), I, p. vi.
58. A list of these periodicals is given in the Appendix.
59. Although Baroja has frequently indicated his literary preferences and sources throughout his work, no information concerning his private library has been published and will probably not be forthcoming until someone like the late H. C. Berkowitz assumes the task after his death.
60. José Luis Castillo Puche, Memorias íntimas de Aviraneta o Manual del conspirador. Réplica a Baroja (Madrid, 1952), p. 92.
61. Francisco Madrid, La vida activa de Valle Inclán (Buenos Aires, 1943), p. 109.
62. Ernest Boyd, Studies from Ten Literatures (New York, 1925), p. 92.
63. Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio Nacional. II", p. 24.
64. Rubén Darío, Todo al vuelo (Madrid, 1912), p. 66.
65. J. Chaumié, "Don Ramón del Valle Inclán", MF (1914), CVIII, p. 241.
66. Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio Nacional. II", p. 32.
67. Gómez de la Serna, ibid., p. 19.
68. Valle Inclán did possess an almost complete collection of the Semanario pintoresco and a complete one of El Padre Cobos. See Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio Nacional. II", p. 32.

69. Pons, "Le Roman et l'histoire", p. 386.
70. J. A. Balseiro, "Valle Inclán, la novela y la política", HispCal (1932), XV, p. 437.
71. Chaumié, "Don Ramón", p. 241.
72. Carlos de Valle Inclán Blanco, "Fragmentos de una biografía de Don Ramón del Valle Inclán", in Ramón del Valle Inclán, Gerifaltes de antaño (Buenos Aires, 1945), p. 10.
73. Baroja, El escritor, p. 127.
74. Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio Nacional. II", p. 19.
75. J. Pillement, "Una visita a Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero (Zaragoza, 1948), p. 302.
76. Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio Nacional. II", p. 20.
77. Julio Casares, Crítica profana (Madrid, 1931), pp. 101-109.
78. Aubrey F. G. Bell, Contemporary Spanish Literature (New York, 1928), p. 127. Galdós had Araceli search at night for Mosén Antón Trijueque and finally find him dead, hanging from a tree. Like Judas, he had killed himself in desperation over betraying El Empecinado by going over to the French forces. In Valle Inclán's work, Ciro Cernín searches for his master, Miquelo, and finds him dead, hanging from a tree, being devoured by a wolf. The dreaded cura Santa Cruz had betrayed him and ordered his execution.
79. Alfonso Reyes, "La fuentes de Valle Inclán", Soc (1922), V, p. 48.

+ + + + +

IV

Stylistic Currents and Language

More than one literary manner was required to portray the multiple characters, events and emotions spread over so large a part of Spain's nineteenth-century history. In these many novels dedicated to the Carlist wars, we find stylistic currents peculiar to realism, impressionism, romanticism, costumbrismo, the epic, the epistle, the folletín and the unique, deliberately archaic manner of Valle Inclán.

+ + + + +

In 1879, Galdós finished the first of two series of Episodios with a promise to abandon "para siempre y con entera resolución el llamado género histórico." (Faccioso, p. 324). In 1898, he again took up the genre because "los amigos que me favorecen, público, lectores o como quiera llamárseles, me mandan escribir la tercera serie de Episodios y la escribo." (Zumalacárregui, p. 326).

In the nineteen years between, Galdós had matured literarily, producing the greater part of his novelas españolas contemporáneas and several dramatic works. He approached the Tercera serie with a deeper sense of his literary craftsmanship and a greater desire to experiment with new forms.¹ The earlier series show more fire and spontaneity while the later ones bear the stamp of greater mastery in all the facets of

their composition: "La variación que se observa entre unos y otros Episodios es la correspondiente a las edades de la vida. Las primeras series tienen la frescura de la juventud, más fuego, más creadora, más vivo movimiento novelesco. Las últimas tienen más artificio externo, más lima, mayor maestría en la ejecución, frutos éstos de una larga experiencia literaria."²

Galdós' style was influenced by his seriousness of purpose, his didactic bent which led him to consider his art as "un sacerdocio serio y la literatura una misión sagrada, un mundo mejor."³ The dissociation from subjective reality inherent in l'art pour l'art was in conflict with his intense interest in man and his problems. As a literary craftsman whose style was, above all, sincerity and truth, he used his words as tools, not as ornaments.⁴

Ethics were more important to him than esthetics and the moral lessons he left his compatriots on almost every page, have caused his Episodios Nacionales to be compared with Cervantes' Novelas Ejemplares.⁵ This emphasis on didacticism had the effect of denuding his style of lyricism and Menéndez y Pelayo, Clarín and Azorín all viewed this lack of personal effusion and exaltation, of the "llama lírica", as a characteristic note of his style.⁶

Although the historical setting of the epic is usually remote in time and place, various critics have discerned elements of epic style in the Episodios: "Galdós es ante todo, un épico. Poesía épica con vistas a la novela y zumo

de historia son sus Episodios Nacionales, donde el autor saca del pueblo su materia épica y al pueblo se lo devuelve. Cuando la devuelve, es dorada por la luz de su fantasía y remozada por su intuición artística."⁷

Since warfare is central to the epic mode of life, these Carlist war novels are in a sense a modern epic projection of history: "Por ser un fenómeno tan viviente, tan real, encerraban aquellas contiendas un fondo poético y dramático que se ha vertido en ese florecimiento de novelas, forma moderna de la épica."⁸

Gómez de la Serna recognized this epic note and saw it enriched by new elements: ". . . una valoración psicológica para los personajes, una carga radicalmente nueva, costumbrista y realista, para sus ambientaciones, una profundidad sociológica y nacionalista para el tema mismo."⁹ As much as the asunto, the personajes themselves have epic quality: "Los partidarios de las guerras civiles. . . eran. . . mezcla de heroísmo, abnegación y barbarie, ejemplares de la raza casi en estado de naturaleza, muy poco corrompidos o muy poco perfeccionados - como se quiera - por la civilización; tipos de contextura épica, de alma de romance."¹⁰ Zoilo Arratia, whose inspiring heroism on the besieged ramparts of Bilbao was a rallying force for all the bilbaínos, is perhaps the most outstanding example of the personaje infused with epic grandeur. (Luchana, p. 738 et passim). In the test of battle, his characterization assumes epic proportions: "Era la encarnación de la fuerza física, alimentada por el horno interno,

inextinguible, de la energía moral; formidable máquina muscular movida por la fe." (Luchana, 740).

The most striking use of the epic-heroic style in the Tercera serie was in the description of the defense of Bilbao in Luchana, which Alas thinks was completely worthy of the pen that had previously written Zaragoza, Gerona and Cádiz.¹¹ The citizens of the beleaguered city prove themselves worthy of the deathless example of Numancia. Sabino Arratia and Doña María speak eloquently for the entire pueblo:

No somos nada; el pueblo es todo, y el pueblo dice: "Morir antes que rendirse." Doña María, que apenas tenía movimiento después del esfuerzo que hizo para engañarse y soltar los furibundos vivos, modificó el concepto: Morir, tal vez; rendirse, nunca. (Luchana, p. 751).

However, although the Tercera serie contained pages of "sabor épico"¹² the events they described did not have the essential epic grandeur of the events in the earlier series: "Todo se ha empequeñecido, la política, sucesos y hombres, y como falta también por la mayor cercanía de la época el esfumado de la distancia que envuelve como en un gloria lejana a las figuras y a las escenas históricas, esa impresión de disminución, de pequeñez, de menoscabo es mas señalada y acaso influye en la misma apreciación artística de los Episodios, cuando se comparan las antiguas series con las nuevas."¹³ Galdós prudently refrained from flattering national vanity with the illusion of a Homeric Spain in the anti-heroic era of petty political, religious and moral perspectives that characterized the dynastic struggle.¹⁴

Galdós used realism as a knife to slice across nineteenth century historical events, exposing a cross-section of the Spanish national character. He portrayed the tragedy of his nation with an intensely dramatic realism.¹⁵ It served as a fitting vehicle for the social criticism in his ideology, which has already been discussed in Chapter II, for it allowed events and conditions to speak eloquently for themselves. The words of some of his personajes attest to Galdós' belief in the literary power of reality. Demetria de Castro Amézaga expressed it thus: "Ya sé ye que la vida sabe más que los autores y lo inventa mejor, y más doloroso, más intrincado y con más sorpresas y novedades." (Oñate, p. 638). Fernando Calpena immediately echoed her thought with his own: "La realidad tiene más talento que los poetas." (Oñate, p. 638).

The fantastically cruel realities of the civil war in the Maestrazgo are witnessed by the horrified Don Beltrán de Urdaneta, a prisoner of the Carlist general, Cabrera. Galdós piles one brutal scene on top of another, culminating with a verbal picture of Cabrera's mass execution of crístino captives at Burjasot. It is as brutally conceived and starkly drawn as any of Goya's famous Desastres de la guerra. Firing squads worked ceaselessly to provide a mountain of cadavers as a grisly backdrop for the drunken revelry and debauchery of the Carlist troops:

Excitados con los vivos insolentes de las
víctimas, la soldadesca, entregada a la
gula, prorrumpió en gran vocerío, aclamando

a los suyos, escarneciendo a los vencidos, que no tenían bastante con la muerte. Mientras traían otra cuerda del cercano corral donde los desnudaban, en la explanada vaciaron más pellejos. Los vacíos yacían en el suelo, como cuerpos despanzurrados, sanguinolentos. En algunos grupos, donde con la borrachera se había perdido hasta el último destello de la razón, gritaban: "Más, más." ¿Que pedían? ¿Más bebida o más muertes? Las dos cosas: vino bautizado con sangre. (Campaña, p. 842).

The wealth of realistic detail gave a markedly costumbrista character to his Episodios¹⁶ and this tendency is especially apparent in Montes de Oca: "Galdós comienza el tomo describiendo los menguados, pero positivos adelantos de nuestra vida civil en alimentos y cosméticos que deben rodearlos, en el vestir de la dama, y en ciertas costumbres complejas y divertidas, que traen aparejados ciertos peligros morales."¹⁷ The social life and customs of the period in Madrid were skilfully portrayed in this volume in the hectic acquisition of correct, current dress and manners by the lately-provincial, social-climbing daughters of Doña Leandro Carrasco, la manchega. Galdós' detailed descriptions of women's fashions of the era were probably based on careful research in contemporary newspapers and magazines. The following examples show his accurate knowledge of materials and styles:

Para los primeros [vestidos] eligió Rafaela las telas llamadas bareges y popelines, entonces muy en boga, y resultaron lindísimos. . . (Montes, p. 1152).

Eran [los vestidos de sociedad] de lo que llamaban Pekin glacé, con rayas arrasadas

de colores pálidos y guarnecidos de encajes,
 canesús de batista bordada con hilo de
 Escocia y cuellito fruncido a la Lucrecia.
 (Montes, p. 1152).

Although Casona professes to see evidences of Romantic style in Galdós' early works,¹⁸ Galdós was born too late to suffer any direct Romantic influence in his youth, with the result that except for some notable passages in Marianela, his work is generally free of Romantic sentimentality.¹⁹ In Vergara (p. 1016), he even intruded into the narration to avoid cloying sentimentality in a description of a long-awaited meeting between Fernando Calpena and his mysterious mother: "Y como el más lerdo puede imaginar, cual si las viera, las ternuras, la hermosa efusión del encuentro de aquellas almas, se omite la descripción prolija del suceso."

He began to write in an era when Romanticism was plainly waning, but still in evidence on the literary scene. He took from it its typical nostalgia for history,²⁰ but when he did have recourse to Romantic style, it was usually in the spirit of satire.

The historical epoch of the Tercera serie coincides in time with the rising star of Romanticism, which pervaded all levels of Spanish society and even reached into the government, as in this reference to a duel between Mendizábel and Istúriz: "Para que el romanticismo, ya bien manifiesto en la guerra civil, se extendiese a todos los órdenes, como un contagio epidémico, hasta los ministros presidentes iban al terreno, pistola en mano, con ánimo caballeresco, para

castigar los desmanes de la oposición." (Oñate, p. 578). He made the series a vehicle for his parodies of Romantic plots and foibles, notably in Mendizábal, La Campaña de Maestrazgo, Luchana and La estafeta romántica. The treatment of Fernando Calpena and "his long-haired associates"²¹ was especially designed to point up the exaggerations of Romanticism. The mysterious manner in which Calpena is met and lodged in Madrid reeked of Romantic style and Galdós admitted it: "Se empeña uno en ser clásico, y he aquí que el romanticismo le persigue, le acosa. Desea uno mantenerse en la regularidad, dentro del círculo de las cosas previstas y ordenadas, y todo se le vuelve sorpresa, accidentes de poema o novelón a la moda, enredo, arcano, qué será, y manos ocultas de deidades incógnitas, que yo no creía existiesen más que en ciertos libros de gusto dudoso." (Mendizábal, p. 434).

The Romantic drama receives its share of satire in La Campaña del Maestrazgo, in a situation which is purposely reminiscent of Don Alvaro. Nelet, hopelessly in love with the strange nun, Marcela, kills Francisco Luco, not knowing he was her brother. He then kills her and himself after she runs from him, horrified at the enormity of his crime:

Marcela - ¿Por qué vienes así, en esa forma
que más de hombre es de demonio?

Nelet - Porque lo soy. . . Demonio del
Infierno es quien dió villana
muerte a Francisco Luco.

(Campaña, p. 899).

La estafeta romántica could serve as a catalog of the out-

standing Romantic authors of Spain, France, Germany and England. Many of their works are mentioned and some of their plot material is included, where it has a similarity to the Romantic travail of Fernando Calpena.

In spite of the evident pleasure Galdós derived from his satirical sallies into Romanticism, his innate sense of fair play inspired him to give the Romantics their due: "Aquella juventud, en medio de la generación turbulenta, camorrista y sanguinaria a que pertenecía, era como un rosal cuajado de flores en medio de un campo de cardos borriqueros, la esperanza en medio de la desesperación, la belleza y los aromas haciendo tolerable la fealdad maloliente de la España de 1836." (Mendizábal, p. 523).

The episodic nature of the Episodios with its cast of familiar historical and reappearing fictional characters recalls the style of the folletín or serialized novel. Some of Galdós' work did, in fact, appear in that form "at the bottom of the page of a halfpenny newspaper, the Republican País,"²² and a pre-publication fragment of Zumalacárregui was first seen in the Ilustración Española y Americana on May 15, 1898.²³ The element of suspense in the Tercera serie was developed to a greater degree than in the preceding series and Galdós was criticized for the technique he used to achieve it: "His practice of ending a novel in the middle of an important event was interpreted not as a literary exigency but as a commercial device for arousing interest in the next volume."²⁴

He even adopted folletinista tricks to pique the curiosity of his readers, holding out to them the tempting promise of further interesting developments and delaying a definite dénouement: ". . . y en aquel delicioso edén. . . aconteció lo que pronto, muy pronto, verá el juicioso lector." (Faccioso, p. 265); "Y anocheecía cuando escribí [Salvador] una carta a don Benigno Cordero, manifestándole lo que más adelante sabrá el curioso lector." (Faccioso, p. 278). Typical of his baited endings, are the following examples from Los ayacuchos and Montes de Oca:

. . . y llegó el día del doble casamiento [Fernando y Demetria, Santiago y Gracia] que fué principio de una era matrimonial gloriosa y fecunda. De esto se hablará en otra parte de estas historias alternando con sucesos graves, como la caída del gran ayacucho Espartero y el cuento de unas bodas más afamadas [Isabel y Francisco] y no tan venturosas. (Ayacuchos, p. 1295).

Quédese para otra ocasión lo restante del cuento de este noble militar, [Santiago Ibero] el luto que guardó a su amigo [Montes de Oca], las resoluciones que tomó, instigado por la dulce y tragica memoria del mártir; los falsos caminos por donde le llevaron sus desdichados pensamientos y los desmayos y caídas que en ellos sufrió hasta encontrar por aviso de Dios la vía verdadera. (Montes, p. 1190).

In the Tercera serie Galdós made several essays into the epistolary genre, which he hoped to enrich in Spain, as evidenced by this passage in a letter from Miguel de los Santos to Fernando Calpena: ". . . las letras castellanas, tan pobres y deslucidas en el género epistolar. Gracias a tu ausencia y a mi solicitud en informarte de lo que no has

visto, se encuentra la patria literatura con esta joya, que no esperaba. . . ." (Estafeta, p. 927). He used the style frequently, especially in Mendizábal, De Oñate a la Granja, Luchana, Vergara and Los ayacuchos. La estafeta romántica was written entirely in this form and was aptly entitled because the genre was in vogue during the era described.²⁵

Alas scored him for his abuse of a style which was alien to his literary nature: "Galdós, que aunque siempre lleva a César, tiene mucho más de Balzac que de Madame Sevigné. A mi juicio en Los Ayacuchos mejora la novela cuando se acaban las cartas sin que sepamos por qué se acaban."²⁶ Galdós himself at times grew tired of epistolary style and abandoned it to resume the narration: "Agotado, con la carta que antecede, el precioso archivo epistolar que a la narración con indudable ventaja sustituía, continúa el relato de los hechos." (Ayacuchos, p. 1275). However, it served to gather together all the loose threads of his plots, both fictional and historical. Material that might seem fragmentary and disjointed in straight narration or dialogue, assumed naturalness in a letter, which was a convenient package for loose bits of necessary but unrelated information.

As has already been noted, there was a discernible difference in style between the earlier and later series of Episodios: "Los Episodios de la primera están escritos en lenguaje familiar, animado, vivo, pero Galdós se cuida poco de su corrección. . . En las dos últimas series y en la incompleta, Galdós escribe con mucho más atildamiento y pureza,

encontrándose trozos de elocuencia, a los que no podría poner tacha justificada el más exigente purista; su expresión es más clásica."²⁷

The smooth, simple, pure, unaffected style of Galdós differed so radically from the stylistic innovations of Valle Inclán that the latter reproached him for what he considered his deficient artistic quality: "'Don Benito el garbancero,' dice despectivamente, mirando desde la altura de su bellísima prosa barroca, trabajada, de orfebre 'que hace geometría con el español' la prosa modesta, mesocrática y simplista de Galdós."²⁸

Galdós was thoroughly familiar with the best in Spanish writing²⁹ and impressed Rubén Darío with the manner in which he carried on the traditional purity of Castilian prose: "En estos libros, donde dice Benito Pérez Galdós, no se pone el aditamento: De la Real Academia Española. Debía hacerse, pues, pocos escritores contemporáneos contribuyen más a sostener dignamente la amojamada castidad del idioma."³⁰

Although his style was extremely measured, he consciously avoided monotony: "Above all, he regarded repetition as an unpardonable stylistic sin, and to avoid guilt on that score he often requested someone in the family to check the galleys scrupulously and replace all repeated words with synonyms."³¹

His preoccupation with the purity of language led him to avoid dwelling on the linguistic peculiarities of some of his characters. Instead of reproducing the halting, incoherent speech of the deaf Churi in Luchana, he merely provided a

summary of what he said: "De pronto saltó con una retahila, acompañada también de gesticulación epiléptica, mezcla de torpes cláusulas castellanas y éuscaras, que reducidas a un solo idioma eran así: . . ." (Luchana, p. 721). Elsewhere, he put Churi's confused speech into clear castellano: "[Churi] remusgaba en oscuro lenguaje que es forzoso aclarar y traducir." (Luchana, p. 781). The following sample of Churi's speech illustrates his wisdom in not employing it throughout the entire characterization:

De lo último que hablaron se copia lo menos violento, dejando intraducidas y al natural las locuciones del maligno sordo:
 Zoilo: Estoy seguro de que me quiere. . .
 Churi: Patuo, no cuerras tanto. . . ,
 por detrás el pingajo te
 cae. . . .Qué pamparria tener .
 tú! . . . Eso dite, pues.
 (Luchana, p. 732).

He made only a casual attempt at rendering the speech defect of one of his historical characters, the Carlist general Cabrera: "Haría usted mal en creer que le tenemos aquí por gusto de su co. . . mpañía dijo Cabrera, que hablando familiarmente, tartamudeaba un poco: su lengua, disparándose en articulaciones rapidísimas, tropezaba a cada instante."
 (Campaña, p. 839).

In a bid for linguistic realism, he reproduced the poor orthography of young Gracia in her letters to Fernando Calpena: "Mira niño, entre paréntesis te digo que no agas caso de mi ortografía, no porque sea muy mala, sino porque, como me equivoco siempre en las haches, he determinado

suprimirlas, y así no tengo que devanarme los sesos por saber donde caen y donde no." (Estafeta, p. 947). He abandoned the device when he realized it was on the point of being overdone: "Advertirás que ya sé poner las haches." (Ayacuchos, p. 1227).

With characteristic good taste, he eschewed the rendition of unplesant language: "Esto lo dijo Ibraim con formas premiosas y groseras, que traducimos al lenguaje usual para no afear con ellas estas páginas." (Montes, p. 1108).

Galdós had come to realize that "language was the spice of life for the humble people,"³² and his conscious cultivation of it made him "muy ducho en los secretos de la lengua popular."³³ Although the earlier series were a "tesoro de habla familiar"³⁴ the Tercera serie, written with greater attention to the niceties of language, contained fewer elements of popular language. He was in a rhetorical mood when "he penned a lengthy and mock-serious discussion of figures of speech between Fernando Calpena and his friend the priest Don Pedro Hillo."³⁵ He cluttered parts of Mendizábal with rhetorical terminology like prolepsis, perisología, anfibología, conminación, anagnóris and edynaton. This may have helped him draw the character of Hillo, the cura retórico, but at the same time it was a display of specialized knowledge which may have been chocante to the unrhetorical reader and probably detracted from his enjoyment of the novel.

Nevertheless, the Tercera serie fits Reyes' observation

that "en cuanto al estilo, todos saben que el habla en los libros de Galdós, es un repertorio del coloquio familiar y corriente."³⁶ These popular linguistic elements often came from deep within the soul of the people like the "grito céltico, Hiujuju, característico de las razas cántabras y eúscaras, relincho salvaje, pastoril, guerrero, pues todo lo expresa y dice sin decir nada." (Zumalacárregui, p. 365). A castellano baturro was affected by Fernando Calpena as a part of his disguise on one of his missions to the Carlist chief Maroto: "Ridiós, si vos digo que razón tenís más que serafines. Que afusilen a Maroto si vedis que no cumple. . . ." (Vergara, p. 1046).

Many refranes found their way into these novels and it was perhaps no accident that most of them were provided by the character Doña Leandra Carrasco, a manchega transplanted to Madrid, whom Galdós described as a "compatriota de Sancho Panza." Two of her favorites were "No con quien naces, sino con quien paces" (Bodas, p. 1356) and "Al que madruga, Dios le ayuda." (Bodas, p. 1358). Not only did her proverbs lend the novel the popular, Quijotesque flavor of which Galdós was so fond, but they also served as compressed, vivid, moral lessons to her husband and daughters, for whose convenience she sacrificed her ambition of returning to the simple life of La Mancha.

Fernando Calpena also used the refrán with quixotic intent when, in a dangerous escapade, he offered encouragement to his appropriately named escudero, Sancho: ". . . a mal

tiempo, buena cara." (Oñate, p. 633). Elsewhere, Don Beltrán de Urdaneta, in counseling Calpena, used the refrán didactically, as did Doña Leandra: "Te advierto que no siempre estriba nuestra felicidad en llegar pronto a donde queremos ir, como dice un refrán." (Luchana, p. 706). The compressive quality of the refrán "No es oro todo lo que reluce," was used to satirical advantage in Galdós' description of Espartero's protegé, Marianito Centurión, "que de garrochista andaluz pasó a gentilhombre de palacio." (Ayacuchos, p. 1227).

To give more popular color to his novels, Galdós inserted many coplas, most of them inspired by the political upheaval of the era or regional antagonisms:

Reinará Don Carlos
con la Inquisición
cuando la naranja
se vuelve limón.
(Faccioso, p. 251).

¡Muera Cristo
viva Luzbel!
¡Muera Don Carlos
viva Isabel!
(Faccioso, p. 308).

Navarrito, navarrito,
no seas tan fanfarrón
que los cuartos de Navarra
no pasan en Aragón.
(Zumalacárregui, p. 333).

The fact that the historical setting shifted to different parts of Spain in this series, made it logical for Galdós to portray regional linguistic differences in the speech of his characters. Sometimes the regional dialect was liberally used as in this Andalusian example: "Zefío Carpena, España

pa loz españole. Diaquí a poco naide voz toze. Cuente zumerzé con ezte amigo pa cualziquiera coza de poer." (Oñate, p. 567). Elsewhere, Galdós avoided burdening the reader with the Andalusian ceceo of Don Mariano Díaz de Centurión, "el cortesano, cuyo ceceo se omite por no molé." (Ayacuchos, p. 1199).

Aragonés appeared in the speech of an arriero: "Con perdón de la seña tinienta. . . no niego haber estado en la faición." (Campaña, p. 803). His translation of vascuence terms like chapelchurris (de boina blanca), gari guchi (poco trigo) and Madrilgo gizona (el hombre de Madrid), was absolutely necessary for reader comprehension, and did not detract from the desired effect of local color.³⁷

Catalán appeared in the speech of Cabrera, who reverted to that language when excited or in the heat of battle: "Per asi, fils meus. . . Seguidme. . . Els destrosarem. . . ¡Viva Carlos Quinto! ¡Mueran exios pillos, cobards!" (Campaña, p. 834).

Many foreign words, some of them in vogue during the era described, can be found in the pages of the Tercera serie. They were used for the realism they imparted, for the War of Independence and the civil wars brought many different nationals and their languages to Spain. Galdós used them to this effect in approximately equal numbers in his narration and in the speeches of his personajes. The romantics, who thought it fashionable to dress like dandys, met and conspired in their clubs. Dandy with its Spanish

variant dandiles (Bodas, p. 1339) occurs often, as do mister, sport and sir. Galdós used French in familiar words or phrases like, politesse, deshabillé, faubourg, bon enfant, à la vieille, quand même, leaving them untranslated. He inserted common corruptions of French words like rendibú [rendezvous] (Bodas, p. 1387) and ordubres [hors d'oeuvre] (Montes, p. 1105) that added Gallic flavor to the Spanish of the era. Italian words like sotto voce and jettatura also appeared untranslated.

The classical languages, too, found a niche in Galdós' style. One Greek word, epimicion (moraleja) appeared in Mendizábal (p. 436) but the Tercera serie is dotted with scores of Latin locutions, which seem to have been one of his favorite stylistic devices. Many were put in the mouth of the cura retórico, Pedro Hillo and his friend Fernando Calpena, but Galdós used expressions like the following in his narration: in mente, rara avis, fiat lux, per accidens and et nunc et semper. He used Latin with striking effect in his characterization of the brave crístino general, Diego de León, equating him to Achilles, the personification of valor: "Se le podrían aplicar los cuatro enérgicos calificativos de Aquiles: impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer. (Veraga, p. 1044).

His use of latín macarrónico added a touch of humor to the Episodios in Don Rodriguín, a student at the Colegio Imperial, whose language and literary efforts were completely conditioned by the school's classical disciplines: "Las

lecciones se daban en latín y para que los chicos se familiarizasen con la lengua que era llave maestra de todo el saber divino y humano, hasta se les exigía que hablasen latín en sus conversaciones privadas, de donde vino esa graciosa latinidad macarrónica, que ha producido inmenso centón de chistes, y hasta algunas piezas literarias, que no carecen de mérito." (Faccioso, pp. 260-261). A portion of Don Rodriguín's Discurso apologético macarrónico, describing Fernando VII at the ceremony in which the nobles swore fealty to Isabel, suffices to portray the humorous intent and satirical tone of this literary monstrosity: "Regium estafermum in throno posuerunt. Imobilis tanquam sacus furfuris lascivis oculis circunspicebat damarum pectorem quasi nudum et caritas guapas." (Faccioso, p. 262).

+ + + + +

The question of style in Baroja has inspired much critical opinion and many attempts at definition of something which essentially defies definition or classification. Baroja himself adhered to a broad view of style: "Para mí, el estilo en la literatura no es cosa exclusiva de forma, sino que está en el fondo, en la acción, en los personajes, en las intrigas, en los diálogos, en todo."³⁸ What was generally considered "style" he preferred to call "amaneramiento." (Enigma, p. 143).

In a letter to García Sanchiz he attempted stylistic self-analysis: "No soy escritor por vocación, sino por

imposibilidad de realizar una vida intensa. Por esto en todo lo que escriba habrá siempre un dejo de tristeza y alguno que otro ultraje a la gramática. No domino tampoco los medios de expresión, y tiendo siempre, por temperamento, al decir gráfico y sin adornos."³⁹ His stylistic aspiration was to give "un matiz no latino, poco retórico y poco elocuente, de precisión y de sequedad, dentro de la literatura española."⁴⁰

Baroja has been accused of many stylistic sins, both of omission and commission. Blanco Fombona made the gross error of thinking his prose lacked a "sello personal," saying: "El estilo del autor consiste en no tener ninguno."⁴¹ Araquistáin speaks of his "indigencia de estilo,"⁴² while Villaurrutia states flatly: ". . . es un estilo de necio."⁴³ It has also been characterized as "parco en el decir,"⁴⁴ "desnudo, crudo, deshilado, extremadamente pobre de jugos líricos y emotivos, despojado de todo oropel de arte."⁴⁵

Even his denial that he is an "escritor de vocación," has given ammunition to his critics. Salaverría sees personal indiscipline reflected in his style which always gives "una impresión de principiante o aficionado genial."⁴⁶ Silva Castro agrees: "Y sobre todo, no olvidemos que es, a su modo, un amateur. Ese desprecio surge por el métier, por la sujeción a las convenciones literarias no es o no sería propio de quien confesara ser escritor profesional. Al escribir como escribe, Baroja parece decirnos que la literatura en lo que tiene de aliño y elaboración - lo deja

sin cuidado."⁴⁷

However, even these stylistic sins contributed something to the total effect of his works: "Baroja's deliberately uncouth prose, his absence of artifice and incredible carelessness, produce - one sometimes doubts if in spite or because of seeming gross errors of composition - an impression of painfully intense life which Galdós rarely, if ever, achieves."⁴⁸

Onís, a friendly critic, also points out that from his supposed stylistic defects "nace la fuerza de un estilo inconfundible."⁴⁹ In the case of Baroja, style is an "instrumento apropiado al hombre."⁵⁰ It is molded by the very same qualities which are his fundamental inspiration:

". . . sentido de verdad, exigencia de precisión, necesidad de claridad."⁵¹ Ortega y Gasset notes a happy confluence of errant style and errant subject matter in the Memorias de un hombre de acción: "Nada se parece tanto al estilo de la literatura de Baroja como el estilo de la vida de Aviraneta."⁵²

His style is notable above all for its conscious "negación de la retórica y del estilo barroco"⁵³ and its simplicity: "La obra de Pío Baroja, por su desnudez de todo ornato inútil, por su deseada pobreza ornamental, por su seriedad evangélica, hace la impresión de las iglesias disidentes, de esas iglesias en que se prescinde de los símbolos consagrados y se adora a Dios, no como al corazón inflamado, sino como a la gran verdad."⁵⁴ It is almost as

if he is afraid that the slightest esthetic development of his material might tend to destroy the freshness of his first impression.⁵⁵

One must agree with Reyes that Baroja's style is usually neutral.⁵⁶ It defies strict classification, but Manuel Bueno's apt simile comes closer to its definition than many serious critical essays: "Su estilo, rico de sugerencias, recuerda esos frutos de cáscara espinosa que ocultan una pulpa exquisita. Sería una arbitrariedad el afiliarlo a ninguna de nuestras escuelas literarias."⁵⁷

Galdós was drawn to epic style, even if only by the nature of his material, but Baroja, on the contrary, "elude la epopeya deliberadamente, lo que le es fácil, por la condición de su héroe, Aviraneta, conspirador que vive al día, despreocupado de lo objetivo y transcendental."⁵⁸ Aviraneta moves only in cloak and dagger intrigues on the fringe of great events and in the shadow of great men. He even takes part in such non-epic escapades as the abduction of a friend's sweetheart from a convent (Ruta, pp. 111-138) and the tracking and recovery of a kidnapped child (Caudillos, pp. 115-124). Even Pello Leguía, the master conspirator's apprentice, deserts exhilarating adventure for plebeian comfort with a pretty wife and a sinecure in María Cristina's bureaucracy in Madrid. (Amor, pp. 316-317).

In general, the Memorias de un hombre de acción contain no scenes, people or events of really epic proportions. Most of its characters eschew epic battles for involvement in

relatively minor plots, conspiracies, escapes, abductions, executions, skirmishes and assorted acts of pillage and villainy. Baroja himself recognized the non-epic quality of his life and literature: "He vivido en tono menor, y casi todo lo que he escrito está en ese tono."⁵⁹

He is a confirmed impressionist: "El impresionismo es en Baroja su distintivo literario. . . Nos da las cosas animadas por su manera de ver, por su ojo de pintor selvático, rabioso y humorista, y las cosas tienen así un perfil único que las dota de una vida nueva, intensa, extraña, llena de matices violentos y audaces."⁶⁰ The following example demonstrates his keen ability to describe with sensations rather than real, visual details:

Siempre me dió la calle de Silva y sus alrededores una impresión de poca honorabilidad; con su aire tranquilo, modesto y provinciano tenía muchos escondrijos y madrigueras. Era una calle curiosa, misteriosa, donde había un pequeño comercio sórdido y en donde aparecían de cuando en cuando fantasmas. Era como esos pozos de agua tranquila que no parecen profundos ni turbios, pero que tienen capas de lodo espeso que por su inmovilidad no ensucian el agua. (Confidentes, p. 169).

He feels a kinship with the painters of the school: "Si yo hubiera sido pintor, hubiera sido un discípulo de los impresionistas desde Turner hasta Sisley. . . ." ⁶¹ For him, observing with the synthesizing eye of a painter, the sky of Madrid "está en la paleta de Velázquez, en esos tonos un poco grises, de una gran suavidad y de una gran elegancia,"

and the Palacio Real at twilight "más que un conjunto de piedras, es una masa de rosa pálido en un cielo de ópalo." (Amor, p. 158). The simple, natural phenomena of weather charge his artistic sensibility with varied auditory and visual impressions:

Las ráfagas de aire daban alaridos, mugidos, silbidos; zarandeaban los árboles, cuyo follaje seco se estremecía y producían un rumor como el del mar en un robledal lejano. Algunas ramas golpeaban el cristal de la ventana como si fueran manos que llamaron. . . Un momento la lluvia se convirtió en granizo y quedó todo el campo cubierto de perlas brillantes. Caía el granizo con un repiqueteo como el de un tambor. (Veleta, p. 37).

A stylistic eclectic, Baroja admits to partial alliances with literary schools: "Yo soy un escritor sin escuela clara, en parte realista, en parte romántico."⁶² His most strikingly realistic passage is the repugnant spectacle of the execution and quartering of a young Carlist soldier by the cruel Conde de España:

Batalla comenzó a saltar, vociferando, echando sangre a borbotones por el muñón. El conde de España chilló hasta ponerse morado y obligó al desdichado desertor a poner la cabeza en el tajo. El verdugo, trastornado por tantos gritos, tuvo que dar diez o doce hachazos sobre el cuerpo del soldado y mientras se retorció en el suelo, hasta separar la cabeza del cuerpo. . . El conde mandó después de la ejecución descuartizar el cadáver y colocar los pedazos y la cabeza en las avenidas del pueblo. (Enigma, pp. 168-169).

His realism is especially in evidence in the wealth of unobtrusive costumbrista detail in the treatment of his

personajes: "Tiene la virtud de infundir con nada a sus personajes una vida genérica. . . Una 'vida de los insectos'. Su punto de vista es del historiador natural, que en la literatura se llama costumbrista."⁶³ Chapter after chapter throughout the series is dedicated to the description of tipos. Clerics, nuns, peasants, guerrilleros, cabecillas, merchants, gypsies, criminals, police spies, prostitutes, beggars, señoritos and a host of other types who shared in common and contributed to the cataclysmic experience of the civil wars crowd the pages of Baroja's novels.

The towns and cities inhabited by these many tipos also contribute to a synthetic view of classic Spain and its problems. Cuenca in 1823 illustrates the pervading influence of clericalism: "Tenía catorce iglesias parroquiales, una extramurca; siete conventos de frailes, seis de monjas, cinco o seis ermitas y la catedral. Con este cargamento místico no era fácil que pudiera moverse libremente."

(Recursos, p. 39). A religious procession in Tudela gives a revealing insight into Spanish customs:

En esto oí una campanilla y vi poco
después delante de un portal estrecho
una fila de hombres con cirios en la
mano que, sin duda, acompañaban al
Viático. Tenían la cabeza para abajo
iluminada por el resplandor de los
cirios. ¡Qué caras! ¡Qué aires de
cansancio y de resignación! ¡Qué
miradas de abatimiento! ¡Qué español!
¡Qué terriblemente español era aquello!
(Ruta, pp. 308-309).

In a chapter entitled El Madrid de 1800, he reconstructs the picturesque neighborhood of Aviraneta's boyhood:

Era difícil encontrar un barrio tan sintetizador como aquel de la vida cortesana y aun de la vida nacional; era el barrio más castizo de Madrid, el más antiguo, el más típico, el receptáculo de todo lo viejo, de todo lo jaque, de todo lo abigarrado y pintoresco de la villa del oso y del madroño. Representaba como ningún otro, la vida del país. (Aprendiz, p. 214).

Baroja's individualism, his rebellion against rules, authority and tradition, is akin to the Romantic ideal. His yo reacts to external reality, rejects and modifies it,⁶⁴ substituting a romantic mode of life, so dear to him but lived only by his literary brain-children: "The accent on heroism places Baroja squarely among the romanticists, both as regards his use of heroic characters and as regards his sources. Of what period does he write when his stories treat of the deeds of adventurous men? Almost invariably of the earlier half of the nineteenth century. From Zalacaín through Tristán de Aguirre to Capitán Chimista, all his successful men of action have belonged to the romantic family."⁶⁵ Blanco Fombona also noted the "chispa de romanticismo" in Baroja, whose popular instinct led him to create "personajes de acción romántica siempre. . . caros al pueblo."⁶⁶

Aviraneta, himself a Romantic figure, was attracted by the Romantic magnetism of Lord Byron and travelled to Greece where he spent fifteen days with him, relating his adventures but doing no fighting. His thrilling escapades in the cause of liberalism evoked Byron's admiration: "¡Per. Bacco! ¡Que es usted un hombre!" (Contrastes, p. 211).

Like Galdós, Baroja introduced some typically Romantic stories into his narrative with lightly veiled satirical intent. In La venta de Mirambel, a wounded republican captain takes refuge in a convent of Augustinian nuns. There he meets his former novia, Carmen Abarca, now Sor Juana de la Cruz. After unsuccessfully urging her to flee with him, he dies in an encounter near Berga and two years later she succumbs with symptoms of a typically Romantic illness:

"Al parecer, sufría una enfermedad de languidez, una apatía y un cansancio profundos. . . ." (Venta, p. 117). Their immortal shades linger on in Romantic ambients: "Se afirmó luego que algunas noches aparecían las sombras del capitán y de la monja en las proximidades del cementerio y de la ermita del Santo Sepulcro; pero esto no lo creyeron más que algunos pobres exaltados y algunas mujeres medio locas." (Venta, p. 118).

The style of the folletín was almost innate in him. His father was an intimate friend of Fernández y González and he devoured mountains of folletines in his adolescence.⁶⁷ The adventurous subject matter of the Memorias de un hombre de acción lent itself admirably to such a style⁶⁸ and Baroja found a generic mean, somewhere between the novela, "género de arte plácido para la lectura sosegada" and the folletín, "rápido y enérgico, de líneas esquemáticas."⁶⁹ He was aware of this stylistic proclivity, admitting to a friend while doing research for the Memorias de un hombre de acción, that the next volume in the series "será un tanto folletinesco,

como todos los míos."⁷⁰

El sabor de la venganza is almost a collection of folletines; it includes three stories of love, hatred and vengeance set against a background of civil and revolutionary war. These stories are tenuously linked by the fact that they are about people whom Aviraneta has observed while imprisoned in the Cárcel de Corte in Madrid. They are only incidental to the theme of the entire series, however, for human passions are dissected here, not history. In Las figuras de cera, reader interest is whetted to a keen edge by an intrigue involving the smuggling of precious religious objects across the French border by hiding them in wax figures. A kidnapping at the very end provides a bridge of curiosity on which the reader anxiously crosses to the next volume.

In Los caminos del mundo, Baroja gave the separate narratives (La culta Europa, Una intriga tenebrosa, La mano cortada) "títulos un tanto extraños y folletinescos." (Caminos, p. 6). Araquistáin, an unfriendly critic, cites one advantage of his use of the style: "A mi juicio, se le lee porque en sus novelas hay un aire de folletinismo que siempre agrada a la gente más simple. . . En fin su estilo está al alcance de todas las inteligencias y esto siempre se agradece, porque el vulgo lector odia en el fondo toda forma de expresión que está por encima de su nivel medio."⁷¹

Baroja's language has been a source of dismay and puzzlement to some critics who sought the reason for his lack of obeisance to grammatical rules in the negative influence of

his regional linguistic heritage: "Baroja tiene un estilo rudo y difícil y además, como buen vasco, no acaba de hallarse a bien con la Gramática castellana."⁷² His vocabulary is informal and he prefers to use words he has heard, displaying an affinity for sounds with a familiar ring: "El escritor que emplea las palabras que ha oído, sobre todo de niño, les da un sabor especial de verdad, de autenticidad, que no tienen casi nunca cuando las toma del diccionario."⁷³

Certain words occur with great frequency in his vocabulary. The improperio (words like canalla, estúpido, imbécil, repugnante) is a typical element.⁷⁴ Other recurring elements are keys to the secrets of his psychological make-up: "Esta palabra 'entusiasmo' con la de 'farsa y farsante' y con la expresión 'un tanto' que antepone a casi todos sus adjetivos, temiendo siempre comprometerse. . . serán las que más veces encuentran escritas en su obra los eruditos futuros que escriban y comenten su vocabulario; y en ellas se resume. . . lo más genuino de la psicología de su autor."⁷⁵ However, he does not have Valle Inclán's concern for le mot juste endowed with magical emotive quality: "La palabra suelta dice poco; sólo un conjunto de ellas, una impresión sensorial."⁷⁶

Baroja's medical education influenced his style to the extent that he often uses technical terminology in descriptions, as in these examples:

. . . se había encontrado a la Veremunda tendida en tierra, a la entrada del caserío, con dos heridas, una entre los omoplatos y otra muy profunda que había roto una costilla y había entrado por el

pulmón hasta la aorta. (Mascaradas, p. 125).

De pronto el sol se ponía detrás de un robledal, y en un instante desaparecía la llamarada; la case entonces era como un cadáver electrizado a quien se le acababa la corriente y quedaba en seguida tenebrosa, siniestra. . . . (Caudillos, p. 238).

Ella quisiera ser el nudo de su tertulia, el cerebro o la medula espinal. (Isabelina, p. 272).

Azorín points to the purifying effect of Baroja's medical training on his prose style:

. . . pero seguramente que sus estudios profesionales, los libros de patología y de clínica que ha leído en la Facultad de Medicina, le han ayudado mucho para desentenderse del estilo dominante en su época (de Castelar-amplificador, espléndido, sonoro, gallardo) y llegar a crearse una prosa de diagnóstico, una prosa precisa, clara, exacta, incisiva, profunda, una prosa en que, cuando, alcanza su grado de intensidad máxima, hay una sensación de poesía y de tristeza poderosas, inefables.⁷⁷

There is a note of vulgarity in Baroja's language, which inspired a reproof from his friend Azorín: ". . . nos permitimos, con todo el cariño y respeto que de antiguo sentimos por Baroja, no aprobar ciertos radicalismos de frase. . . Baroja, que en el terreno de la moral se ha guardado siempre de licencias y obscenidades, bien pudiera hacer la concesión que indicamos."⁷⁸

Strangely, most of Baroja's vulgarity appears in untranslated French, as if to soften its effect on the reader. The Conde de España was born in France and uses the word "Merde!"

easily and often. (Senda, p. 134). He reproduces some libelous verses about a French prelate:

Pour modérer un peu l'odeur puantissime
qui sort du cul pourry de l'Eminentissime.
(Senda, p. 235).

In a discussion of the venality of French politics, he quotes Marshal Villerooy:

Il faut tenir le pot de chambre aux
ministres tant qu'ils sont en place et
le verser sur la tête dès qu'ils n'y
sont plus. (Crónica, pp. 160-161).

A rare instance of inebriation in Aviraneta, disguised in a monk's habit, provides Baroja with an opportunity to launch a grosería at Fernando VII:

De pronto Aviraneta se detuvo, se
remangó el hábito y se quedó inmóvil.
--¿Qué le pasa a usted? -- le dije.
--No puedo más -- contestó él.
--¿Es el alcohol que hace efecto
diurético?
--Sí. Pero con este balandrán no me
las puedo arreglar. ¿Aquí le
quisiera yo tener a Fernando VII!
--¿Para qué?
--Para inundarlo. (Caminos, p. 317).

He makes attempts to link language to the cultural level of his personaje, showing the illiteracy of Sole, a girl with whom Aviraneta lived for a while in Paris, by her poor orthography in a letter telling Aviraneta why she was leaving him for a French marquis. (Pluma, pp. 331-332). Elsewhere, he describes the linguistic errors himself: "Cometía el Epístola, al hablar, faltas no raras en hombre sin cultura. Decía, como el Peinado, diferencia y ojecto, y pronunciaba muy a menudo Ingalaterra," (Nave, p. 320). He tries to reproduce, with disagreeable effect, the stuttering of Cabrera

(Confidentes, p. 234) and other characters like Joliveau (Figuras, p. 279) and Coronel Hervás (Ruta, p. 61).

Ever alert to the freshness and appeal of popular language, Baroja uses it profusely in the Memorias de un hombre de acción. He even inserts a romance, ascribed to a personaje named Don Victor but written by himself, intimating misconduct between a widow and a canónigo. Certainly his description of the author could fit him perfectly: "El autor de A la Canóniga demostraba una malevolencia grande, cierta facilidad de pluma que no tenían sus colegas y un desprecio por el clero poco natural." (Recursos, p. 104).

Many popular coplas, which were in vogue in the era he describes lend authenticity to his narration. Some are politically inspired:

Clamaban los liberales
que Cristina no paría
y ha parido más Muñoces
que liberales había.
(Sabor, p. 101).

Bórrese de la memoria
la infernal Constitución
y solo sirva en la historia
para eterna execración.
(Isabelina, p. 71).

Others are jail ballads, or regional songs, highly seasoned with local color:

En la reja de la treña
no te pongas a llorar
ya que no me quitas penas
no me las vengas a dar.
(Escuadrón, p. 16).

Aun las personas más sanas
si son en Madrid nacidas,

tienen que hacer sus comidas
de píldoras y tisanas.

(Confidentes, p. 86).

Aunque la Mancha tenga
muchos lugares,
no hay otro más salado
que Manzanares.

(Confidentes, p. 294).

Para alcarrazas Chiclana;
para trigo, Trebujena
y para niñas bonitas
Sanlúcar de Barrameda.

(Ruta, p. 346).

The refrán, synthesis of popular humor and wisdom was widely used by Baroja for its inherent capability to provide popular sentiment and color, even though he admitted little personal enthusiasm for "Estas máximas de sabiduría popular que, cuando no son vulgaridades, son extravagancias producidas por la fuerza del consonante." (Mascaradas, p. 263). Using them much more frequently than did Galdós, he put refranes in the mouth of many of his major and minor characters and even used them himself in his role as narrator. To add to the irony of the meeting in which several former subordinates plan to kill the Conde de España, he wrote: "La reunión iba a llevar a práctica el refrán castellano que dice: 'Junta de rabadanes, oveja muerta'." (Senda, p. 222). To sum up the misfortunes of the plotters after their deed was done, he used another: "La traición place más, no al que la hace." (Senda, p. 268). He used some proverbs in the literary quotations which prefaced each chapter of El sabor de la venganza. "Quien mal anda, mal acaba," (Sabor, p. 133) was a reference to Aviraneta's hazardous existence.

A quotation from the Arcipreste de Hita's Libro de buen amor, "Muger, molyno e huerta syempre quieren el uso," neatly set the scene for the downfall of a neglected wife. (Sabor, p. 159).

In one of his many digressions, he cited refranes to demonstrate the existence of a "mala voluntad inter-regional" in Spain:

El viento y el varón no es bueno
de Aragón. Aragonés, falso y
cortés. Valenciá y home de be no
pot ser. El catalá, si no la ha
hecho la hará. De ponent ni vent ni
gent. Navarro, ni de barro.
(Enigma, p. 151).

Even Aviraneta succumbed to the national propensity for succinctness of expression through the medium of the refrán. The bitterness of his desire to avenge his persecution was heightened by his use of the refrán, "Amor con amor se paga," (Principio, p. 87), which he had used with gentler intent in La ruta del aventurero (p. 79). His alter ego, Pello Leguía, referred to his early education at the hands of frailes with, "La letra, con sangre entra." (Amor, p. 28).

Most of the refranes were used by several minor characters whose addiction to these bits of homespun wisdom was a characteristic speech habit. Don Policarpo in Las mascaradas sangrientas and Don Blas and El Peinado in La nave de los locos faithfully followed Sancho Panza's example with refranes like:

Por dinero baila el can, y por pan,
si se lo dan. (Mascaradas, p. 263).

. . . humo, gotera y mujer

vocinglera, echan al hombre de su casa fuera. (Nave, p. 303).

Al amigo y al caballo, no hay que cansallo. (Nave, p. 221).

In the case of El Peinado, the refrán was an all-consuming fetish: "Para él, el refrán a tiempo o el juego de palabras oportuno, constituía una victoria." (Nave, p. 302).

In many places elsewhere, Baroja used the refrán in the speeches of his personajes as a mirror of popular attitudes and superstitions. The idea of submissiveness and obedience in a wife was concisely expressed in "Boca con rodilla y al rincón con el almohadilla." (Figuras, p. 38). One popular method of assessment of character appeared in the universal, "Dime con quién andas y te diré quién eres." (Isabelina, p. 151). And a popular means of weather prognostication was portrayed in Paco Maluenda's quotation of, "Anochecer rojo de Castilla, calentar te ha la costilla." (Mascaradas, p. 89).

He used regional languages and dialects abundantly for the realism they imparted. The popular speech of Andalucía was reproduced in these examples: "Oiga uzté, inglés. Yo zabe la obligación de loz novatoz" (Ruta, p. 339) and "Déjemono de cuidao y vamo a la posesión." (Nave, p. 231).

Baroja took a keen delight in giving his readers an insight into his intimate knowledge of his native region, its people, customs, language and psychology.⁷⁹ He grasped every opportunity to insert scores of popular songs in vascuence (almost always translated in parentheses), at times almost saturating his pages with them: "El autor comprende que es

un poco abusive el poner tantas canciones insignificantes. A él le dicen algo, aunque a la mayoría de sus lectores, claro es, no le dicen nada. El autor es un individualista y las pone." (Figuras, p. 55).

They were songs about the war, the Basque countryside, love and the sea:

Zori gaiztoan
A guertu izan zan.
Carlos quintoren copeta
A sheri zar bat
Balitz becela
Iduqui dute aseta
Orañ Franciaran
Iguesi eguindu
Bazterrac zorrez beteta.

(En mala hora apareció la jeta de Carlos Quinto. Como si fuera una zorra vieja, le han tenido harto de comida, y ahora se ha escapado a Francia, dejando deudas por todas partes.) (Mascaradas, p. 302).

Ichasua urac aundi,
es tu ondoric agueri.
Pasaco nisaqueni andic
maitea icuzteagatic.

(En el mar de grandes olas, no se ve bien. Yo pasaría siempre por el mar para ver a mi amada.) (Figuras, p. 52).

Catalán was often used in the speeches of Cabrera and the Conde de España, who were native to the region. The linguistic peculiarities of Galicia are recorded in the speech of a complaining juez gallego: "Peru qué sardinas sun éstas? Estu no vale nada; estu no está frescu." (Furias, p. 10).

Like Galdós, Baroja uses foreign terminology that was in

vogue in nineteenth-century Spain in an attempt to achieve realism and to lend exotic flavor to his account of the period. He uses many English words, of which dandy was the most frequent, even becoming part of the title of El amor, el dandysmo y la intriga. Some others were, gentleman, sportsman, partner, fashionable, groom, square, ball, whist and clown.

Several times he uses German words (Caminos, p. 149) and even copies the "Romanche" inscription on a Swiss sundial: "Il solacl splendura per touts." (Amor, p. 8).

Italian finds its way into the speeches of personajes like Ronchi in La nave de los locos and Poncalieri and the Jew, Bonaffús in Los contrastes de la vida. Baroja uses words like faccia morta and mascalzone, Italian improperios, in his descriptions and adds humor with an Italian pun:

En casi todos los papeles antibona-
partistas se citaba esta con-
versación entre dos italianos:
--Tutti li francesi son latri? --
preguntaba uno; y el otro con-
testaba;
--Non tutti ma buona parte.
(Escuadrón, p. 180).

A great number of French revolutionary songs, some of them sung by the Conde de España (Enigma, p. 277) are put in the pages of the Memorias de un hombre de acción. The Napoleonic invasion and later the constant Carlist traffic over the border between France and Spain, made the French language familiar to many Spanish ears. Baroja uses French phrases freely without translation and quotes lines from French

writers like Voltaire (Caudillos, p. 287), Chateaubriand (Amor, p. 86) and Hugo (Amor, p. 64).

Baroja uses Latin locutions as frequently as Galdós, his narration often being liberally sprinkled with phrases like motu proprio, a posteriori, a priori, and in albi. He is fond of quoting Latin inscriptions he has seen on churches and clocks, like this foreboding reference to the fleeting hours: "Vulnerant omnes, ultima necat." (Recursos, p. 16). The classical erudition of the Conde de España was evidenced by his ability to quote the Latin verses of Catullus (Enigma, p. 249), Virgil and Horace (Senda, p. 236).

Latín macarrónico was used by Baroja, too, for humor and anticlerical satire. In the following example he is quoting "el padre Barletta, el predicador de Nápoles":

Vos quœritis á me, fratres carissimi
quómo itur ad paradisum? Hoc dicut
vobis campanae monasteri; dando, dando,
dando. (Isabelina, p. 64).

+ + + + +

Valle Inclán was quite conscious of the esthetic revolution which he helped bring about in Spanish letters.⁸⁰ He deplored their stylistic poverty: "A la lengua castellana le faltan siglos de evolución. En español no hay estilo. En español nadie ha dicho 'lo suyo,' sino lo de todos. Hay una tonta adoración al diccionario."⁸¹ His search for a unique expression of "lo suyo" was perhaps his greatest literary contribution: "No ha creado ninguna fábula grande, no ha forjado ningún personaje universal, no ha revelado ninguna idea trascendente en sus símbolos; pero ha sido un

reformador de la prosa española."⁸²

He fell in love with rhetoric⁸³ and his style was really stylization which involved "sacando de las cosas todo su oculto tesoro, todo el carácter y sentido que encierran. Estilizar una cosa es tanto como exprimirla para que dé todo su sabor y jugo estético."⁸⁴ He was a fantaseador,⁸⁵ whose style, in contrast to that of Galdós and Baroja, was akin to the other arts. In his work "la poesía, la música, la escultura orfebral y la pintura van a descender al valle de la prosa y a los desiertos de la aventura novelesca."⁸⁶ His impeccable prose is characterized by "la cadencia musical del estilo"⁸⁷ and "sobria elegancia estatuaria."⁸⁸

His stylistic refinements were avidly examined by young writers seeking literary orientation,⁸⁹ but left Baroja unimpressed: "Respecto a la obra de Valle Inclán, no me parece nada homogénea, y creo que hay en ella algo de taracea. La considero como un traje lleno de adornos y de lentejuelas un poco cogidas de aquí y de allá."⁹⁰ Baroja's lack of enthusiasm probably stemmed from his disregard for the full development of esthetic effects in his own work.

The Carlist wars, with their mixture of violence, mysticism and cruelty, appealed to the extravagant imagination of Valle Inclán and his highly developed stylistic artistry captured their essence with great strength and originality.⁹¹ Written very soon after the sensual, refined Sonatas, they nevertheless show a change from what might be called his churriguerismo to a more natural prose.⁹² Gómez de Baquero

thought the two series completely dissimilar in stylistic conception: "Las novelas de la guerra carlista de Valle Inclán no se parecen a las otras. Están construídas con una sencillez clásica. Un breve episodio en torno del cual gira la acción, tiene virtud expresiva para que en él veamos no sólo el hecho particular, sino el ambiente y el carácter de la época."⁹³ Fernández Almagro attributed the classic harmony and equilibrium of these works to "la sinceridad que probablemente no puso Valle Inclán en ninguna de las obras anteriores, tanto como en éstas de La guerra carlista."⁹⁴

One can agree with Fernández Almagro if he accepts Valle Inclán's apparent ideological inclination toward Carlism, but the degree of difference indicated by Gómez de Baquero is exaggerated. Except in perhaps one important respect, the style of the Sonatas and the Guerra carlista trilogy is similar. The decadent, sensual spirit that motivated the Marqués de Bradomín, influenced the feminine targets of his almost unquenchable amorous desire and even suffused the ambientes in which he moved in the Sonatas, is completely gone in the Carlist novels. Thus the style of the new works lacks this one facet not in keeping with the seriousness of their theme of fratricidal war, even though they are still pervaded by richly suggestive sights, sounds and smells. The "aroma de leyenda" hangs heavily over them too, for the pungent odor of poetic legend rather than mere history was what he really sought to evoke from his literary excursions into the past.

Bradomín's former haunts, romantic scented gardens and richly-accoutred palaces, have been replaced by the foreboding atmosphere of a war-ravaged, primitive countryside. The passionate love of the Sonatas and even Christian love for fellow men have disappeared before the onslaughts of a new reigning passion, fanatical hatred.

The flame of Bradomín's eroticism, although waning fast, still flickers in the Sonata de invierno. It provokes a highly sensual description of his last "amorosa epopeya" with María Antonieta and of her physical charms:

Aquella noche rugió en mis brazos como la faunesa antigua. . . En tales momentos, con los senos palpitantes como dos palomas blancas, con los ojos nublados, con la boca entreabierto mostrando la fresca blancura de los dientes entre las rosas encendidas de los labios, era de una incomparable belleza sensual y fecunda. (Invierno, p. 125).

Later, in an encounter with another of his former conquests, the Duquesa de Uclés, the erotic note is still present as he describes her: "¡Divinos labios que desvanecían en un perfume de rezos el perfume de los olés flamencos!" (Invierno, p. 135). But the final flaring and extinguishing of the passionate flame that dominated his spirit throughout the Sonatas comes in the love he subtly engenders, almost from force of habit, in the heart of the novice nun, Maximina, who is later revealed to be his own daughter:

Yo adivinaba que aquellos ojos aterciopelados y tristes serían ya los últimos que me mirasen con amor. Era mi emoción como la del moribundo que contempla los encendidos oros de la tarde y sabe que

aquella tarde tan bella es la última.
(Invierno, pp. 153-154).

From this point on, Bradomín's eyes have lost the sensual patina that clouded them for so long. This is forcibly demonstrated by his radically different visual impression of María Antonieta in his last rendezvous with her:

Había en su persona tal mudanza que aparentaba haber envejecido muchos años. María Antonieta era muy alta, llena de altiva majestad en la figura, y con el pelo siempre fosco, ya mezclado de grandes mechones blancos. Tenía la boca de estatua y las mejillas como flores marchitas, mejillas penitentes, descarnadas y altivas, que parecían vivir huérfanas de besos y de caricias. Los ojos eran negros y calenturientos, la voz grave, de un metal ardiente.
(Invierno, p. 180).

The lover in him dead at last, Bradomín's role in Los cruzados de la Causa, the only novel of the Carlist trilogy in which he appears, is one with a more serious purpose, that of supplying arms and money to keep the Pretender's troops in the field. He has no erotic encounters and the young women who inhabit the pages of these novels are described by Valle Inclán naturally and with no trace of decadent sensuality.

The little barragana who is forced to submit to Don Juan Manuel but loves his son Cara de Plata, is charmingly innocent: "Tenía los ojos azules y cándidos, con algo de flor, era casi una niña. . . ." (Cruzados, p. 19). The young girl who brings Bradomín a message from the abadesa, Isabel "Tenía una sonrisa casta, que parecía perfumar de una manera triste,

su pobre voz apagada y oscura, que por veces se quebraba en un sonido caótico, dejando escapar el aire como el fuelle roto de una gaita." (Cruzados, p. 122). Ugena, a wholesome young peasant woman greets Doña Isabel with "la sonrisa de su boca toda bermeja y campesina." (Resplandor, p. 139).

And finally, as further evidence of the lack of a sensual note in the style of the Guerra carlista trilogy, witness the hand-holding love scene between Eulalia and the Duque de Ordax, which is in no way reminiscent of the exultant triumphs of Bradomín:

Quedaron los dos silenciosos y conmovidos. En aquel gran salón de la abuela evocaban el aspecto amoroso y romántico de los héroes novelescos que en las litografías del año treinta se dicen sus ansias bajo una cornucopia, enlazados por las manos en el regazo del sofá, que tiene caído al pie un ramo de flores. (Gerifaltes, pp. 63-64).

The spirit of the gesta heroica burned intensely within Valle Inclán, and seeing the epic possibilities of the Carlist wars, he made a conscious effort to infuse his work with the epic flavor inherent in his subject matter: "L'horreur tragique de la guerre et les sentiments qu'elle suscite appartiennent au domaine de l'art. Retenu par son sujet, Valle Inclán discerne les forces élémentaires qui l'expliquent. Comme il crée des types primitifs et que l'horizon psychologique se voile dans le surnaturel, le caractère épique est toujours accentué. Ces héros d'une grandeur sauvage rejoignent l'esprit des vieilles gestes. Ils retrouvent l'énergie intacte du Romancero."⁹⁵

Scenes of tragic and barbaric intensity, redolent of the "música lejana de los antiguos poemas,"⁹⁶ fill the pages of these novels in which he rediscovered "l'esprit barbare de l'épopée."⁹⁷ They are evocations of legendary character "sobre hechos heroicos y galantes que el escritor recuerda con una noble nostalgia."⁹⁸

The Carlist participants in the dramatic national struggle are usually depicted in epic terms and proportions. Bradomín and the canónigos who visit him to plan for financial support of the Causa, consider themselves part of a holy Crusade: "¡Cruzados cual aquellos que iban a redimir el Santo Sepulcro!" (Cruzados, pp. 13-14). The entry of Carlist troops into a sympathetic town evokes the same public fervor that greeted the Crusaders of yore: "Como en los siglos medievales y religiosos llegaban desde la calle las voces del pueblo: ¡Viva Dios! ¡Viva el Rey!" (Invierno, pp. 155-156).

The call of a bugle has the heroic quality of the horn of Roland and awakens warlike passions in Bradomín:

Seguíase oyendo el toque vibrante y luminoso de la corneta que parecía dar sus notas al aire como un despliegue de bélicas banderas. Yo sentí alzarse dentro de mí el ánimo guerrero, despótico, feudal, este noble animal atávico, que haciéndome un hombre de otros tiempos, hizo en éstos mi desgracia. ¡Soberbio Duque de Alba! ¡Glorioso Duque de Sesa, de Terranova y Santángelo! ¡Magnífico Hernán Cortés!: Yo hubiera sido alférez de vuestras banderas en vuestro siglo. (Invierno, p. 158).

Even in a minor skirmish, the soldiers replenish their courage with memories of ancient epic heroism. Here it is a

republican captain who rallies his men: "¡Firmes, hijos míos! ¡Vais a ceñir vuestras frentes invictas con el laurel de la victoria! ¡Acordaos de Numancia!. . ." (Resplandor, p. 125). An exultant, taunting, primitive war-cry, "¡Jujurujú!", bursts from the throat of a lone Carlist soldier moments before a republican bullet silences its epic echo. (Resplandor, p. 129).

To implement his esthetic purpose, Valle Inclán chose his language with the great care of an artisan mindful of the important role it played in his style: "Son las palabras espejos mágicos donde se evocan todas las imágenes del mundo."¹⁰⁰ He adapted the tone of his novels to his subject matter using prose less poetic than that of the Sonatas: "Las frases son más largas y menos rítmicas. Las palabras están escogidas con más atención al significado que al sonido, la adjevitación es menos estudiada. Resulta una prosa bella, eso sí, pero una prosa más llana, más sencilla y más sobria."¹⁰¹ His prose was not sober enough for Baroja's taste, however. "No tiene precisión la lengua de Valle Inclán. . . Una prosa que se elabora pensando mucho en el sonido de las palabras no puede tener exactitud ninguna y tiene que marchar lógicamente a expresar vaguedades."¹⁰²

A distinguishing characteristic of his style was his renovation or rehabilitation of archaic words and phrases: "Es el estilo de un poeta, de un artista, que, si arranca al filón inagotable del idioma palabras caídas en desuso, logra darles el fulgor de las piedras preciosas, añadiéndolas al

aderezo cincelado de sus creaciones."¹⁰³ His characters "parlent un langage qui se prolonge dans les époques antérieures et réveille d'étranges échos."¹⁰⁴

His style was inevitably influenced by the primitive paisajes and cantos of his native Galicia,¹⁰⁵ creating a language that was a delicate amalgam of two currents:

. . . esa lengua [de Castilla] siempre nueva y rancia, depurada, se funde dulcemente y sin esfuerzo con la lengua de Galicia, fresca, popular y un tanto dormida, en esa otra lengua de Valle Inclán, tan plástica y tan rítmica, tan expresiva y poderosa de matices y sentidos; una lengua que no es puro preciosismo - como piensan algunos - aunque tenga ribetes de acicalamiento y orfebrería, sino, realmente, un instrumento lógico y ¹⁰⁶ necesario para expresar un mundo poético.

Galdós and Baroja both portrayed stuttering in some of their characters and Valle Inclán attempted, with more telling emotional effect, to reproduce the halting speech of a babbling, ancient, infirm maestrante, coming to contribute money to the Carlist cause. He convulsively explains his poverty but finds the emotional stimulus to speak clearly when he has aided the Causa:

El viejo asentía con un alarido, sujetándose la mandíbula siempre convulsa. Al cabo pudo decir:
 --¡Muy pobre! . . . ¡Beh! . . . ¡Beh!
 . . . ¡Muy pobre! . . . Arruinado. . .
 ¡Beh! . . . Aquel hijo . . . Ya murió
 . . . ¡Beh! . . . ¡Beh! . . . Y el
 viejo, con los ojos llenos de lágrimas,
 dejó caer tres onzas de oro que traía
 apretadas en la mano.
 --¡Para la guerra! (Cruzados, p. 145).

In a lecture given in Buenos Aires in 1910, Valle Inclán

affirmed his faith in the vitality of popular language and its indispensability to good style:

Yo puedo decirlo que llené mis alforjas por los caminos de las dos Castillas. Entrando en las ventas y calentándome en las cocinas y durmiendo en los pajares. Tales fueron las Universidades donde aprendí los más expresivos y sonoros vocablos y el modo de usarlos, que es lo más esencial, y las imágenes y las comparaciones, y los adjetivos sin antecedentes literarios. Porque la primera virtud del estilo es que se parezca al estado hablado, como quería Montaigne. En el habla del labriego de Castilla está el espíritu de nuestra lengua, y no en los clásicos que vivieron latinizando e italianizando.¹⁰⁷

He achieved popular flavor through the use of localisms, often archaic, like: "Yo solamente los vide de lejos," "Qué Dios, van lo mesmo," and "Ya me lo maginaba." (Resplandor, p. 9). The excessive use of tú in the speech of minor characters added a matiz popular to their speech: "Maribelcha, tú," "¡Qué gente, tú?" (Resplandor, p. 19), "¡Eres un raposo muy viejo tú!" (Resplandor, p. 20). A young child replies to a question: "No me arrecuerdo bien." (Gerifaltes, p. 127). An ama de casa exclaims: "¡Ave María!Cuánta priesa!" (Invierno, p. 104). The popular equivalent of por causa de appears in "El amo viene por el mor de vender," and on the same page is found the archaic form of ahora: "Agora era ocasión, si no hobiéramos comprado los Agros del Fraile." (Cruzados, p. 36).

Although he did not make frequent use of regional languages and dialects in his narrative, he recognized the power of

vascuence to create a severe mood of distant antiquity:

Terminada la misa un fraile subió al púlpito y predicó la guerra santa en una lãgua vascongada. . . Yo sentíame conmovido: Aquellas palabras ásperas, firmes, llenas de aristas como las armas de la edad de piedra, me causaban impresión indefinible: Tenían una sonoridad antigua: Eran primitivas y augustas como los surcos del arado en la tierra cuando cae en ellos la simiente del trigo y del maíz. Sin comprenderlas, yo las sentía leales, veraces, adustas, severas. (Invierno, p. 95).

Foreign terminology is represented in these novels only by the word dandy, so often used by Galdós and Baroja, and employed repeatedly by Valle Inclán to identify Bradomín, el viejo dandy. (Cruzados, p. 13).

Like his literary colleagues, Valle Inclán sensed the popular appeal of regional songs: "Algunos soldados republicanos embozados en las mantas, bajaban al río, y sus cantos tenían una claridad juvenil en la mañana fría y lluviosa. Eran cantos regionales donde se sentía el alma primitiva del pueblo, pastoril y guerrera." (Resplandor, p. 93).

One of his popular coplas was inspired in political malice:

¡Isabel y Marfori,
Patrocínio y Claret,
para formar un banco,
vaya unos cuatro pies! . . .
(Cruzados, p. 58).

Another was an example of improvisation of a song about Don Carlos' wife, Doña Margarita, in a contest between two versolaris:

Blancas manos de la Señora:
Aún más que flor de limonero,
Más que bellón, más que farina,
y el pedrisco del aguacero,
Más que la boina del rey Carlos
Y que la luna en el enero. . .
Blancas manos de señoría
En cada un dedo su lucero.
(Resplandor, p. 71).

IV

Footnotes

1. Casaldueiro, Vida y obra de Galdós, p. 172.
2. E. Gómez de Baquero, Novelas y novelistas (Madrid, 1918), p. 23.
3. Andrés González Blanco, "Prólogo", in Antonio Alarcón Capilla, Galdós y su obra (Madrid, [1922]), p. 12.
4. Madariaga, Semblanzas, p. 82.
5. Alejandro Casona, "Galdós y el romanticismo", Cur Con, XXIV (1943), p. 103.
6. Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia Española en la recepción pública del Sr. D. Benito Pérez Galdós, El domingo 7 de febrero de 1897. (Madrid, 1897), p. 48. See also Azorín, El paisaje de España, p. 169.
7. Andrés González Blanco, Historia de la novela en España desde el romanticismo a nuestros días (Madrid, 1909), p. 403. See also Fernández Almagro, Vida y literatura, p. 152.
8. E. Gómez de Baquero, De Gallardo a Unamuno (Madrid, 1926), p. 240.
9. Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio. I", pp. 30-31.
10. Gómez de Baquero, Novelas, p. 202.
11. Leopold Alas, Obras completas (Madrid, 1912), I, 327. See also Luchana, p. 754.
12. Roberto F. Giusti, "La obra galdosiana", Cur Con, XXIV (1943), p. 11.
13. Gómez de Baquero, Novelas, p. 17. See also Matilde Carranza, El pueblo visto a través de los "Episodios nacionales" (San José, 1942), p. 13.
14. Alas, Obras, I, 313.
15. González López, "Valle Inclán", p. 216.
16. César Barja, Libros y autores modernos (Los Angeles, 1933), p. 334.
17. Alas, Obras, I, 350-351.

18. Casona, "Galdós y el romanticismo", pp. 103, 109.
19. Angel del Río, Historia de la literatura española (New York, 1948), II, 137.
20. Salaverría, Nuevos retratos, pp. 31-32.
21. Shoemaker, "Preliminary Study", to Crónica de la Quincena, pp. 32-33.
22. W. Miller, "The Novels of Pérez Galdós", Gent Mag, 291 (1901), p. 226.
23. Shoemaker, Crónica de la Quincena, p. 17.
24. Berkowitz, Benito Pérez Galdós, p. 340. See also Alas, Obras, I, 342.
25. Darío, España contemporánea, p. 273.
26. Alas, Obras, I, 357. He makes a similar observation on the spistolary style of Vergara. See Obras, I, 345.
27. Carranza, El pueblo, p. 18.
28. Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio. II", p. 21.
29. González Blanco, "Prólogo", p. 13.
30. Darío, España contemporánea, p. 273.
31. Berkowitz, Benito Pérez Galdós, p. 116.
32. Berkowitz, p. 59.
33. González Blanco, "Prólogo", p. 13.
34. Gómez de Baquero, Novelas y novelistas, p. 20.
35. Shoemaker, Crónica de la Quincena, pp. 50-51.
36. Alfonso Reyes, Capítulos de literatura española (Segunda Serie) (Mexico, 1945), p. 269.
37. Miller, "The Novels", p. 225.
38. Pío Baroja, La intuición y el estilo (Madrid, 1948), p. 169.
39. F. García Sanchiz, Pío Baroja (Valencia, 1905), p. 13.
40. Pío Baroja, Divagaciones sobre la cultura (Madrid, 1920), p. 98.

41. Blanco Fombona, Motivos, pp. 142-143.
42. Araquistáin, Las columnas, p. 122.
43. Xavier Villaurrutia, Textos y pretextos (Mexico, N. D.), p. 144.
44. Armando Donoso, La senda clara (Buenos Aires, 1919), p. 224.
45. Piero Pillepich, "Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero (Zaragoza, 1948), pp. 177-178.
46. José María Salaverría, Retratos (Madrid, 1926), p. 105.
47. Silva Castro, "Pío Baroja", p. 39.
48. Pastor, Contemporary Movements, p. 98. See also F. Mateu Llopis, Autores contemporáneos. Baroja y Azorín (Barcelona, 1945), p. 31; Nicolás González Ruiz, En esta hora (Madrid, 1925), p. 154.
49. Federico de Onís, "Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero (Zaragoza, 1948), p. 225.
50. Salvador Reyes, "Baroja en todo su estatura", Insula, XI, 105 (1945), p. 1.
51. César Barja, Libros y autores contemporáneos (New York, 1935), p. 345.
52. José Ortega y Gasset, El Espectador (Madrid, 1916), I, 135.
53. J. F. Pastor, "La generación del '98' - su concepto del estilo", N Spr, XXXVIII (1930), p. 413. See also Ortega y Gasset, I, 195-196; Reginald F. Brown, "A Reader's Notes on the Contemporary Spanish Novel", BSS, XIV, 55 (1937), p. 120; Hans Juretschke, "La generación del 98, su proyección, crítica e influencia en el extranjero", Arb, XI, 36 (1948), p. 536.
54. R. Cansinos Assens, La nueva literatura (Madrid, 1916), I, 80.
55. Madariaga, Semblanzas, p. 166.
56. Alfonso Reyes, Simpatías y diferencias (Madrid, 1921), p. 150.
57. Baroja, El escritor, p. 235. Here he is quoting an article by Bueno in "un cuaderno de una publicación

- popular titulada La novela de ahora." See p. 234.
58. M. Fernández Almagro, "La novela española contemporánea", Clav, 5 (1950), p. 20.
 59. Baroja, El escritor, p. 28.
 60. González Ruiz, En esta hora, p. 153.
 61. Baroja, El escritor, p. 152. See also Díaz Plaja, Modernismo, pp. 38-39.
 62. Baroja, El escritor, p. 191.
 63. Corpus Barga, "Una novela de Baroja", R Occ, VIII (1925), p. 124.
 64. Nicolás González Ruiz, "Baroja y la España de Baroja", BSS, I (1923), p. 7.
 65. Dwight L. Bolinger, "Heroes and Hamlets: the protagonists of Baroja's novels", Hisp Cal, XXIV (1941), p. 93.
 66. Blanco Fombona, Motivos, pp. 141-142.
 67. Salaverría, Retratos, p. 60. See also Arjona, "La voluntad", p. 630.
 68. Barja, Libros y autores contemporáneos, p. 328. See also González Ruiz, "Baroja", p. 6.
 69. Cansinos Assens, La nueva literatura, I, 78-79.
 70. Figarola Maurin, "Tres semanas con Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero (Zaragoza, 1948), p. 127.
 71. Araquistáin, Las columnas, pp. 122-123.
 72. González Ruiz, "Baroja", p. 5. See also Barga, "Una novela", pp. 124-125.
 73. Baroja, La intuición, p. 294.
 74. José Ortega y Gasset, "Observaciones de un lector", Lectura, III (1915), p. 352.
 75. Gregorio Marañón, "El academismo de Don Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal español (Zaragoza, 1947), p. 55.
 76. Baroja, La intuición, p. 300.

77. Azorín, El paisaje, pp. 176-177.
78. Azorín, Ante Baroja (Zaragoza, 1946), p. 2.
79. Baroja's intimate knowledge of his native region is evidenced by one of his latest works, a long guidebook complete with pictures, text and maps: El país vasco, Barcelona, 1953.
80. Gómez de la Serna, "El episodio. II", p. 21.
81. Madrid, La vida activa, pp. 118-119.
82. Ricardo Rojas, Retablo español (Buenos Aires, 1938), p. 281.
83. Ramón Gómez de la Serna, "La personalidad fantasmagórica de Don Ramón", Pluma, enero de 1923, p. 76.
84. Gómez de Baquero, "Valle Inclán, novelista", p. 9.
85. Fernández Almagro, Vida, p. 254.
86. Ramón Gómez de la Serna, Azorín (Madrid, 1930), p. 108.
87. Camp, "Préface", p. 99.
88. E. Gómez de Baquero, Novelas y novelistas (Madrid, 1918), pp. 227-228.
89. Azorín, Clásicos y modernos (Madrid, 1913), p. 253.
90. Baroja, La intuición, p. 308.
91. Pons, "Le Roman et l'histoire", p. 386.
92. Ramón María Tenreiro, "Los cruzados de la causa", Lectura, IX, (1909), p. 334.
93. E. Gómez de Baquero, "Valle Inclán novelista", Pluma, enero de 1923, p. 12.
94. Fernández Almagro, Vida, p. 152.
95. Pons, "Le Roman et l'histoire", p. 388.
96. Gómez de Baquero, Novelas y novelistas, pp. 242-243.
97. Pons, p. 389.
98. Guillermo Díaz Plaja, Historia de la literatura española (Barcelona, 1952), II, 184.

99. Fernández Almagro, Vida, p. 147. See also Gómez de Baquero, pp. 231-232.
100. Madrid, La vida activa, p. 220.
101. A. L. Owens, "Sobre el arte de D. Ramón del Valle Inclán", Hisp Cal, VII (1923), p. 74.
102. Baroja, La intuición, p. 307.
103. Alvaro Alcalá Galiano, Figuras excepcionales (Madrid, n. d.), p. 196.
104. Jean Cassou, "Ramón del Valle Inclán", Pluma, enero de 1923, p. 69. See also Pons, p. 388.
105. Rojas, Retablo, p. 281.
106. Luis Trabazo, "El mundo poético de Valle Inclán", Indice, IX, 74-75 (1954), p. 25.
107. Madrid, La vida activa, p. 188.

+ + + + +

Technique

To capture the essence of history within a framework of fiction, Galdós, Baroja and Valle Inclán used narrative techniques that evolved from their conception of the novel and of history and from their fusion of these two elements. Galdós and Baroja portrayed a wide sweep of important events and characters over many years, while Valle Inclán was content to concentrate on quick intimate glimpses of isolated, unspectacular incidents, involving few but representative characters.

+ + + + +

Galdós had very definite ideas on the definition of the novel, and they reflected his allegiance to realism. At his reception into the Academia in 1897, he defined in detail his view of the mechanics of this genre:

Imagen de la vida es la novela, y el arte de componerla estriba en reproducir los caracteres humanos, las pasiones, las debilidades, lo grande y lo pequeño, las almas y las fisonomías, todo lo espiritual y lo físico que nos constituye y nos rodea, y el lenguaje, que es la marca de raza, y las viviendas, que son el signo de la familia, y la vestidura que diseña los últimos trazos externos de la personalidad: todo esto sin olvidar que debe existir perfecto fiel de balanza entre la exactitud y la belleza de la reproducción.¹

To him the novel was life itself, a bit of man's conscience, a reflection of his surroundings.² To accomplish

the transfer of life to the confines of the novel, the novelist, besides having innate ability, must fulfill certain essential requirements. He outlined these in a literary conversation with Carlos María Ocantos: "¿He dicho también que hay que conocerse a sí mismo, que es el modo de conocer a los demás, y haber vivido ampliamente, sufrido y gozado en lo que cada edad da de sí, siempre sin pretender imbuir a los personajes las propias ideas y hacerlos hablar a capricho?"³

Galdós viewed History as the epitaph of the centuries and worn-out institutions which sink "como ríos de polvo en el mar de ruinas de lo pasado, que se agita por algún tiempo y se emborrasca, hasta que, al fin, se asienta, se endurece, se petrifica y queda para siempre muerto." (Faccioso, p. 282). History was not the province solely of accounts of kings and queens, wars and treaties, but also of "el vivir, el sentir y hasta el respirar de la gente."⁴

His own historical technique involved the integration of people and events, public and private, great and small, all interdependent and woven like dull and brilliant threads into the immense, unending tapestry of History. For the Carlist episodios his method is well outlined in the following paragraph from Bodas reales (p. 1329) in which these elements complement each other:

Fueron hechos culminantes en el paso de un año al otro [1842-1843]: el pronunciamiento de Alicante. . . ; la mudanza de la familia Carrasco de la Cava Baja a la calle Angosta de Peligros; la

sublevación de Cartagena. . . ; el catarro pulmonar que cogió doña Leandra. . . ; los desarmes de la Milicia Nacional . . . ; los amagos de levantamiento carlista en las provincias del Norte; los nuevos vestidos que se hicieron Lea y Eufrasia para dar testimonio público de la nueva posición de su padre. . . ; . . . y, en fin, mil sucesos y menudencias que, tejidos con estrecha urdimbre forman la historia del vivir colectivo en aquellos tiempos, la historia grande, integral.

He had an aptitude for the literary treatment of history and an artistic imagination capable of evoking the past with precise imagery.⁵ But he was also conscious of the more severe discipline imposed by historical writing: ". . . no es menos espinosa la descripción de lo real que la de lo fingido, pues en esto tenemos campo libre para elegir o desechar lo que nos diere la gana, mientras que en la narración real, que los sabios llamamos Historia, el respeto de la verdad nos embaraza y confunde, y el miedo de mentir nos corta los vuelos de la fantasía." (Estafeta, p. 927).

Almost all of his novels, with the exception of Marianela⁶ reflect the social and political history of Spain in the nineteenth century and evoke all her originality, individuality and collective psychology.⁷ Historical events are faithfully recorded and by Galdós' imaginative genius are endowed with a sense of vital actuality and human warmth. He restores an entire era to life so that his readers may live in it.⁸

The greatest difficulty he was to encounter in the his-

torical novel was the artistic problem of the harmonious fusion of its two currents, fact and fiction.⁹ He had to select representative historical incidents and personajes with great care for in general they defined the limits of each Episodio and curtailed the freedom of his fictional plots. To enlarge upon history he had to balance his historical characters with a multitude of tipos to represent the pueblo, creating them from living and literary models.¹⁰ The development of these popular characters was important for the tone of living history they imparted to the Episodios.¹¹

Reyes has compared Galdós' methods of intertwining history and fiction to the technique of the Byzantine novel in which "Los amantes separados a cada instante por una fatalidad adversa, van encontrando a lo largo de su aventura, como otros tantos obstáculos, los episodios históricos, las batallas, los motines, las fugas de poblaciones en masa."¹²

He attacked the knotty problem of recreating a still-twitching, pain-wracked body of national history with characteristic circumspection and impartiality in the sense that he made no attempt to hide the virtues and defects of Spaniards in opposing camps.¹³ He was in no wise neutral, for his innate liberal tendencies led him to favor the Liberal cause. But in spite of obvious sympathies, the popularity of the Episodios remained unaffected by political rivalry, for "el modo templado y benévolo con que Galdós ha sabido tratar esta materia histórica ha hecho que los Episodios hayan sido lo menos discutido de su obra, aquello

en que el aplauso ha sido más unánime y ha reunido a gentes de los más opuestos bandos."¹⁴

Fact and fiction were not always combined in equal portions. While the historical narration was predominant in the first series of Episodios, the fictional thread between historical incidents assumed growing importance in the Tercera serie.¹⁵ The opening Episodio, Zumalacárregui, has little fictional interest, being filled with an abundance of military and topographic details written in the expository style of a historian,¹⁶ which suggests that he may have followed too closely his excellent source material for this novel, to the detriment of his fictional plot. The historical anecdotes in La estafeta romántica overshadow the fictional intrigue, while in Vergara and Bodas reales, Galdós most closely approaches the desired perfect union between fictional and historical action.¹⁷

He may have felt some trepidation on assuming his demanding task for he had one of the characters who most often acted as his spokesman, Beltrán de Urdaneta, say: "Compadezco al que tenga que escribir esta parte de la historia patria." (Estafeta, p. 981). He wrote the Episodios at headlong speed, usually within the space of six or eight weeks per volume,¹⁸ with the result that they often lacked technical polish and evoked the criticism that his enterprise was more commercial than literary.¹⁹ Darío, who had profound respect for Galdós as a literary artist, was saddened by his "fecundidad inquietante. . . , la falta de gestión. . . , ese

producir absolutamente mecánico" and attributed the poor reception accorded the new serie by the press to this undue haste in execution.²⁰

To hold the ten new volumes together, he resorted to the same technique he had used in the earlier series. He invented a central, reappearing personaje whose station in life, social and political background would give him logical access to and participation in the historical plot while living the various episodes of his own fictional existence.²¹ This convenient witness of the events of his time for the first series was Gabriel Araceli, for the second, Salvador Monsalud, and for the third, a man molded by the era in which he lived, Fernando Calpena.

Calpena's role as the fictional protagonist of the Ter-cera serie is interrupted by the emergence of other characters to the forefront of the intrigue. Not mentioned in Zumalacárregui, whose plot is mainly historical, Calpena makes his first appearance in Mendizábal and plays an important part also in De Oñate a la Granja and Luchana. But in La campaña del Maestrazgo, Beltrán de Urdaneta assumes the protagonist's mantle, while Fernando is mentioned only in passing. His adventures are resumed in La estafeta romántica and Vergara, but he does not appear in Montes de Oca, where the fictional interest is centered in Santiago Ibero. He reappears in Los ayacuchos and receives only casual reference in Bodas reales, whose true protagonist is Doña Leandra Carrasco, la manchega.²²

In attempting to have his literary observer logically

take part in events taking place in widely separated parts of Spain, Galdós often strained verisimilitude with clumsy transitions in the fictional action: "Galdós toma un protagonista fantástico y le obliga a trasladarse de un sitio a otro, como a tratante de feria, que siempre se halla en aquélla que le señala el calendario."²³

In order to have his readers view the action in both Carlist and Cristino controlled territory through the same eyes, he had Fernando go to the North with Rapella who had a laissez-passer for both camps. (Oñate, pp. 596-597). He achieved abrupt change of locale by telling the reader: "Es ahora forzoso que así el que lee como el que escribe corran en seguimiento del llamado Rapella con toda la celeridad que los medios de locomoción de aquellos calamitosos tiempos permitan." (Oñate, p. 597). His device for shifting interest from one character to another was bereft of subtlety: "Dejemos ahora a esta digna familia, para quien parecerán siempre pocas todas las bendiciones del cielo, y sigamos al venerable jesuita, cuyos pasos son ahora del mayor interés." (Faccioso, p. 303).

Galdós often appears on the page himself with interjections and opinions like the following:

Pues señor, cenaron los tres. . .
(Oñate, p. 571).

. . . y ya un tanto mareado Don Beltrán con aquella erudición fastidiosa, diputó a Marcela por un papagayo, con más memoria que discernimiento. Aún era muy pronto - dice el narrador - para formar juicio tan terminante.
(Campaña, p. 824).

Poco gratos para el que los escribe,
 como para el que los lee, los pormenores
 de los hechos de armas que precipitaron
 la caída del regente.
 (Bodas, p. 1306).

Elsewhere, he unnecessarily foists his literary technique upon the reader:

Sólo pronunció entrecortadas voces,
 que eran, empleando un simil guerrero,
 como migas de pan arrojadas contra un
 baluarte de granito.
 (Luchana, p. 761).

He is at his best when he lets his characters speak for themselves, dropping the emphatic, taciturn tone of the historian. In Mendizabal (p. 505), describing the mounting passion of Aura and Calpena, he relinquishes the reins of the narration to achieve greater naturalness: ". . . la pasión crecía por momentos, como una enfermedad fulminante Mejor que el narrador lo expresan ellos mismos." Again, he dissociates himself from the fictional dialogue: "El narrador no dice nada. Deja que hable Prudencia, la cual, cogiendo a su hermano Valentín. . . le hizo subir, y por la escalera le manifestó lo que se copia. . . ." (Luchana, p. 742).

He used dialogue profusely. "Here he felt he was forging something new, and his chief concern was not brevity but appropriateness and naturalness. Moreover, convinced that conversation was the most effective means of revealing personality he regarded amplitude as a virtue in this instance."²⁴ Marañón believes that his dialogue retained the flavor of theatrical artifice for "En cada novela de Pérez

Galdós hay una obra dramática frustrada."²⁵

He used monologue in having Churi express his love for Aura. (Luchana, p. 722). A long, soul-searching mental soliloquy bared Mendizábal's ideas about the expropriation of church property and his political situation: "Su pensamiento iba de un asunto a otro undulante, vagabundo, como mariposa que no sabe en qué flor quedarse. A lo mejor se posaba en una idea y en ella permanecía, perdiéndose en un discurrir opaco, dulce imaginar que casi tocaba en la somnolencia." (Mendizábal, p. 535). This stream of consciousness technique, long before its great European vogue, was successfully employed in the presentation of Fago's doubts about the role of the priest-warrior in the civil war (Zumalacárregui, p. 367) and in Aura's inconclusive comparison of the qualities of her two suitors, Fernando Calpena and Zoilo. (Luchana, p. 764).

Although no formal documentation of the historical material was attempted in the Episodios, he took great pains to achieve a feeling of textual accuracy, prefacing his passages with remarks like "Entre otras cosas, dijo estas palabras, que como textuales se copian aquí. . . ." (Oñate, p. 588), and "El diálogo que se transcribe es exacto en sus ideas y sentido; el arriero Echaide, rigurosamente histórico." (Vergara, p. 1043). He tried to extend this sense of historicity even to fictional incidents, as in this line from Bodas Reales (p. 1366): "Mes y medio y algunos días más, según los documentos más autorizados, duró el

eclipse del buen don Bruno."

He freely admitted historical reconstruction, where no accurate version was possible, as in the private dialogue between María Cristina and Espartero upon her abdication in 1840: "En ningún archivo histórico consta ni puede constar, aquel diálogo; pero la verosimilitud y el arte hipotético pueden reconstruirlo. Lo verdaderamente indescifrable es el pensamiento de una y otro mientras hablaban; lo que dijeron no ofrece dificultad grande al historiador." (Montes, p. 1125).

Marañón's idea of the frustrated drama in each of Galdós' novels, achieves a measure of validity when dramatic terminology itself appears in the narration, and even in the letters from Valvanera to Pilar: "He pensado que resultará mayor claridad para la lectora presentándole la copia de estas largas conferencias en disposición semejante a la de un catecismo con preguntas y respuestas, que hacen imposible toda confusión." (Ayacuchos, p. 1219). Here Galdós achieves the dramatic effect of dialogue by inserting stage direction like "(Besándome con efusión)", "(Sin poderme contener)" and "(Con solemnidad)". (Ayacuchos, pp. 1221-1222).

Urdaneta, writing to Calpena describes in dramatic terms the secret plotting between Don Carlos and María Cristina to end the civil strife with a convenio. He gives his dramatis personae and then has them appear with appropriate stage directions like "(Sale Cristina maldiciendo)", to play their

part in the political farce. Galdós justifies his technique thus: "Rematada felizmente conforme a programa la tramoya . . . habría merecido los honores de una narración grave; concluída por un fracaso, entra en los dominios sainetescos." (Estafeta, pp. 982-984). In the tragicomic interview between the sergeants and María Cristina, Galdós, sensing the drama of the moment, is impelled to embellish the scene with stage directions like "(Asombro e indignación de los sublevados)", and "(Risas)". As the Queen and the palaciegos confuse the soldiers with legalistic clap-trap about the Constitution, Galdós interjects: "Ya iba picando en sainete la histórica escena." (Luchana, p. 673).

Galdós seldom fell prey to the temptation to digress that is so characteristic of Baroja. He weakened long enough to tell a good story about a beautiful French fan, its famous and infamous owners: "Pues si notable es esta pieza por su arte, no lo es menos por su historia, que voy a contar." (Mendizábal, p. 490). Generally, however, "he contents himself with the more useful function of interpreting the past life of the Spanish people for the benefit of the new generation."²⁶

To censure some of the detrimental facets of that life, he often used satire, predominantly in Bodas reales.²⁷ He humorously flayed the "plaga de cesantía" which followed every change in government: "Aún sufría [Don Mariano Centurión] dolores agudos a la parte posterior de su individuo, efecto de la violentísima puntera con que le arrojaron del

real servicio a los pocos días de la caída de su protector, el serenísimo regente, y el hombre se llevaba sin cesar la mano, idealmente, a la parte lastimada. . . ." (Bodas, p. 1311).

Shoemaker points to the dream as a familiar, recurrent narrative device in almost all of Galdós novelistic production.²⁸ Madariaga saw in this aspect of his work an anticipation of the new ideas on psychoanalysis: "Los sueños no son meras tretas de melodrama, sino que, por el contrario, se hallan íntimamente ligados a los movimientos psicológicos del personaje que los sueña y actúan como erupciones de la subconsciencia que arroja a la superficie informes fragmentos de los materiales que se ocultan en sus profundidades."²⁹

Galdós viewed dreams as mysterious harbingers of reality, keys to truth: "Los sueños no son absolutamente obra de un cerebro desconcertado; los sueños nos ofrecen, en multitud de casos, maravillosas conexiones con la realidad. La Historia sagrada y profana nos dice que por el conducto de los sueños se han revelado a ciertos y determinados hombres verdades como puños." (Zumalacárregui, p. 395). In the rhetorical questions of Benigno Cordero, he hints at his use of dreams for foreshadowing future action: "¿Qué será esto del soñar? ¿Anunciarán los sueños realidades? ¿Estas horribles mentiras traerán consigo algo que con la misma verdad se relacione?" (Faccioso, p. 217).

Urdaneta has a dream in which he sees Nelet crucifying

a smiling victim, who parallel's Christ's words, "¡Pacho! no sabes lo que haces." (Campaña, p. 884). The next day Nelet comes to tell him that he has killed Francisco Luco, the brother of his adored Marcela, not knowing his identity. Here the dream anticipates reality. Elsewhere, Galdós used it to heighten suspense by putting the obvious dénouement in doubt. Santiago Ibero, charged with guarding the insurgent Montes de Oca, has a vision of Marcela imploring his aid to help him escape execution. (Montes, p. 1190). Within sight of a happy reunion with their fiancées, Santiago Ibero dreams that Demetria succumbed to a sudden heart attack, while Fernando Calpena dreams that Gracia died from the bite of a rabid dog. (Ayacuchos, p. 1290). Neither of these dreams is translated into reality, but they implement Galdós' desire to increase interest by intensifying suspense.

He used a dream to introduce Larra as a live character after his suicide. He appears to Calpena, who has also suffered a tragic love affair. (Estafeta, p. 916). Galdós thus achieved vividness and a tone of historical accuracy by believably bringing back a dead man to speak for himself. He used the dream, too, in its most common role, that of symbolizing and synthesizing the thoughts, doubts and frustrations experienced by his personajes in their wakeful moments. Fago, the clerical alter ego of Zumalacárregui dreams that he is killing Cristinos from the altar, bloodying his vestments and returning to his Mass as if nothing had happened, except that now the sacramental wine tastes of gunpowder and

his acolyte plays a drum instead of ringing bells. (Zumalacárregui, pp. 381-382). The dream serves to crystallize and reinforce Fago's profound doubts about the morality of his dual status as a cleric and warrior.

In regard to the chronology of historical events, Galdós adhered rigidly to their actual order of occurrence. He swerved from this straightforward path once to give a more complete development to the character of Narváez: "Aunque esto sea violentar el orden histórico, conviene decir ahora que cuando la nación gobernada una y otra vez por Narváez, y sintiéndose repuesta de sus indigestiones, le pidió ideas que la llevasen a fines gloriosos y a una existencia fecunda, Narváez no supo dárselas, sencillamente porque no las tenía." (Bodas, p. 1306). He constantly mentioned dates and in the opening line of Mendizábal (p. 431) saw fit to remind his readers that he was writing about the nineteenth century: "Al anochecer de aquel día, el no sé cuantos de septiembre del año 35 (siglo XIX). . . ."

His titling technique revealed the primarily historical focus of the Episodios. He usually chose the names of men or events which were characteristic of a limited historical period to portray the life and spirit of the era.³⁰ The titular subject did not always merit or receive sustained development, however, and the fictional narrative often received more attention. Un faccioso más y algunos frailes menos was a composite of man and incident. When Don Carlos entered Spain to direct his campaign personally, he was

popularly referred to as "un faccioso más." The "Degollina de San Isidro" in July, 1834 in Madrid provided the basis for the second half of the title. Zumalacárregui, Carlist commander-in-chief in the North, gave his name to the opening Episodio of the Tercera serie, and the turbulent times which evoked Mendizábal's strong financial measures were recorded in the Episodio bearing his name.

De Ofiate a la Granja continued the account of Mendizábal's ministry and gave only brief glimpses of the titular events, Don Carlos at Ofiate and the sergeants' insurrection at La Granja. Fernando Calpena's quest for his beloved Aura and his rescue of Demetria, her sister and father from Carlist custody in Ofiate, occupy the major portion of the novel. Luchana derived its title from the name of a strong point taken by Espartero in lifting the siege of Bilbao and the last half of the novel was mainly devoted to a splendid reconstruction of the epic event. La campaña del Maestrazgo is an account of the battles in that area, chiefly concerning Cabrera, the feared and hated "Tigre del Maestrazgo."

La estafeta romántica was an exception to his usual titling technique, consisting entirely of correspondence between the fictional characters, relating incidents in the Romantic movement and tying together the dispersed threads of the historical and fictional plots. Vergara related the events and negotiations leading up to the Abrazo de Vergara on August 31, 1839, which brought the first Carlist war to an inconclusive end. The ill-fated titular protagonist of

Montes de Oca provided the only noteworthy historical incident of the era, the plot to return María Cristina as Regent after her abdication in 1840.

Los Ayacuchos was derived from the scornful term applied to Espartero and his camarilla, although originally it referred to Spanish soldiers who surrendered to Sucre at the battle of Ayacucho in Peru, in 1824. Galdós used it because of its popular acceptance, in spite of the fact that it was a misnomer:

Y yo pregunto: "¿Qué significado tiene esta palabra y qué se quiere expresar con ella?" Ni Espartero estuvo en la batalla de Ayacucho, funesta para nuestra nacionalidad en América, ni los feligreses de su camarilla, a quienes acusamos de infinitos males, pelearon tampoco en aquella célebre acción de guerra. Esto es tan peregrino como el llamar borracho a José Bonaparte, que no lo cataba. La imaginación popular emborriona la Historia, y luego nos cuesta Dios y ayuda descubrir con raspaduras la verdad. (Ayacuchos, p. 1246).

The intrigues involved in the search for a suitable consort for Isabel and her marriage to Don Francisco de Asís, the Duque de Cádiz, provided the title for the last novel in the Tercera serie, Bodas reales. The history of the period is skilfully linked with the life of the Carrasco family and is generally seen through their eyes.

Galdós was addicted to the technique of using literary references to embellish his descriptions. He thus achieved an added dimension which acquired its vitality through association of characteristics and ideas with classical Spanish

works. He was very fond of the Quijote and made allusions to its personajes and situations whenever the opportunity presented itself.³¹ De Oñate a La Granja is perhaps the most Quijotesque in tone and subject matter of all the Episodios of the Tercera serie: ". . . aquel felicísimo pasaje del encuentro de Calpena con el Sr. de Castro y sus hijas. . . es de lo más cervantino que Galdós ha hecho."³²

He set the archaic tone for this same encounter by a reference to the libros de caballería: "¡Bonita empresa, singular aventura se preparaba, digna de los Amadises y Esplandianes, por donde había de resultar que las hermosuras morales de la edad de la caballería, en la nuestra prosáica y materialista, gallardamente se renovaban." (Oñate, p. 568).

A reference to Quevedo's Historia de la vida del Buscón allowed vividness and completeness in description, with economy of language: "En la comida decretó [La Zahón] parvedades de la escuela del licenciado Cabra." (Mendizábal, p. 541). The same effect was attained by an allusion to a sainete of Ramón de la Cruz: "¡Ah! esto parece la casa de Tócame Roque, según la gente que entra y sale. (Faccioso, p. 232).

+ + + + +

Baroja's novels have puzzled and confounded critics seek-

ing regularity in technique, composition and organization for they are as indisciplined as the man himself. Some notes about his novelistic technique published by Ortega y Gasset in El Sol,³³ prompted him to do some thinking about his own conception of the novel and his literary methods. This resulted in a long "Prólogo casi doctrinal sobre la novela," which appeared in La nave de los locos and was a sort of novelistic self-analysis and credo.

Replying to Ortega y Gasset's criticism of the porosidad of his works, he used the word permeable to characterize his novels, open to diverse ideas, characters and experiences, as haphazardly joined as in life itself, and the word impermeable to describe novels which were strictly limited to the observation of life within a narrow spectrum arbitrarily set by the author, ignoring the existence of the vast, palpitating world outside his chosen segment.

He refused to be bound to the confines of the novela impermeable, viewing the novel instead as "un género multiforme, proteico, en formación, en fermentación. Lo abarca todo, el libro filosófico, la aventura, la utopía, lo épico, lo lírico, todo absolutamente. Pensar que para tan inmensa variedad puede haber un molde único me parece dar prueba de doctrinismo y de dogmatismo."³⁴

His indiscipline leads to the disorganized novel, a novelistic invertebrate without the skeletal elements of plot, structure and composition, which "como la corriente de la historia, no tiene ni principio ni fin; empieza y

acaba donde se quiera."³⁵

He is constantly searching for a definition of his technique (Nave, p. 43), especially in the Memorias de un hombre de acción: "Esto podría atribuirse, más que a otra cosa, a que sus novelas han producido comentarios agrios, fosfóricos, cosa que ha impulsado a Baroja a establecer sus fueros no como vasco sino novelista, para que se le comprenda, y no para que el lector sienta simpatía o antipatía por su obra."³⁶

A purveyor of history himself, Baroja had an uncharitable view of the efforts of formal historians like "los Bossuet, los Solís, los Macauley, los Cantú, los Thiers, y otros grandes historiadores, magníficos por su elocuencia, su pedantería y su moral, que han contribuido a aburrir al mundo." (Ruta, p. 6). Pello Leguía, one of his spokesmen in the Memorias de un hombre de acción, reflected his distrust of formal history: ". . . desconfío de la historia que se tiene por seria. La historia es siempre una fantasía sin base científica, y cuando se pretende levantar un tinglado invulnerable y colocar sobre él una consecuencia, se corre el peligro de que un dato cambie y se venga abajo toda la armazón histórica. Creyéndolo así, casi vale más afirmar las consecuencias sin los datos." (Amor, p. 16).

By adding the intuitive powers of the literary artist to the matter-of-fact techniques of the historian, Baroja cut through the externals of History to expose "la entraña social. . . lo menudo, sólido y cotidiano."³⁷ Not a true

historian, he shrank from the burden of research involved in preparing a historical novel on ancient Rome, an idea which had inspired a trip there in 1908.³⁸ He chose, instead, to portray a closer period and background with which he was intimately familiar and peopled it with tipos he observed from life, who had not changed enough in character or habits, from their immediate forebears, to distort the picture he was creating: "Yo encuentro que en una época cercana se puede suponer, imaginar o inventar la manera de ser psicológica de los hombres que vivieron en ella. En cambio, el modo de ser de los hombres de hace doscientos, quinientos o más años, a mí al menos se me escapa."³⁹

He left no doubt as to which genre afforded a more vivid impression of the era it described, as is evident in this discussion between Leguía and Aviraneta:

--¿Es que es más verdad la historia
que la novela?
--Naturalmente.
--Eso creía yo también antes; hoy no
lo creo. El Quijote da más im-
presión de la España de su tiempo
que ninguna obra de los historiadores
nuestros. Y lo mismo pasa a la
Celestina y al Gran Tacaño.
(Figuras, p. 9).

Baroja, motivated by patently less historizcal intent than Galdós,⁴⁰ used the history of nineteenth-century Spain as a stage for the histrionics of the adventurous Aviraneta. The fictional elements overwhelm the historical details in the series as a whole and yet are so redolent of intra-his-toria that the events narrated usually ring true, with only

occasional embellishment, like that which might be provided by an imaginative eye-witness. He, like Galdós, faced the problem of making a believable mixture of fact and fancy, and produced a literary alloy with Art as his catalyst, that gave a deeper sense of reality than History itself. His friend, Azorín, wrote: "La ficción está mezclada a la realidad en las Memorias de un hombre de acción. Pero la realidad sola, la sola histórica, ¿sería más verdadera, más auténtica que esta alianza de lo ficticio y de lo real? . . . ¿Padecerá algo la historia con esta mistificación artística? Y el arte, en definitiva. . . ¿no habrá dado más honda impresión que hubiera dado la realidad misma?"⁴¹

He has affirmed that his novels follow no set pattern or technique and that he has abandoned the belief that one might exist for the type of novel that attracts him.⁴² His technical criteria are selfishly set in that he writes mainly in a manner to please himself: "Si yo pudiera depurar mis obras y mejorarlas, las depuraría y mejoraría en parte quizá por el público, pero principalmente por mí." (Nave, p. 11).

His technique is based upon his observation of life around him, giving an intense ocular impression of people and events struggling to come into focus, some passing into oblivion and others leaving some impression in the readers memory. The novelists role was to see, to be "un tipo de rincón agazapado, observador curioso."⁴³ He is then, an observer of life instead of a creator of it. When inter-

viewed by Carlos Edmundo de Ory, he remarked, "Mis novelas son vidas. Yo no invento nada. Todo lo saco de lo que me rodea. Al menos, así pienso yo que sea la novela. . ."44

His artistic attention is thus centered in the detail, for in it lie literary originality and interest: "Yo necesito escribir entreteniéndome en el detalle, como el que va por el camino distraído, mirando este árbol, aquel arroyo y sin pensar demasiado donde va."⁴⁵ His descriptive power is derived in great measure from this preoccupation with detail and his ability to find precisely those which portray the essence of things, the "arquetipo del fenómeno"⁴⁶ with simplicity and economy of language: "Para un espíritu impresionable el insinuar, el apuntar, basta y sobra; en cambio el perfilar, redondear, le fastidia y le aburre. Cada cosa tiene su punto en extensión y en perfección muy difícil de saber cuál es. Si bastaría hacer las cosas perfiladas, todo el mundo haría maravillas."⁴⁷

His is a novel constantly in motion, full of peripatetic elements, an itinerant literature in which "tenemos la sensación de que estamos andando y de que, en estas andanzas, la vida, intensa vida, nos circunda."⁴⁸ The narrative thread draws the reader at a gallop through time and space,⁴⁹ glimpsing "un desfile heterogéneo de seres humanos, cuyos antecedentes y circunstancias quedan expuestos en las páginas de sus libros, al mismo tiempo que los ambientes en que se desenvuelven."⁵⁰

The hodge-podge structure of Baroja's novels can be

ascribed to his incomplete planning. His technique is to start "a la buena de Dios" with his only literary pre-occupation being to avoid boring his reader by keeping his chapters and paragraphs short.⁵¹ He prefers the impromptu narration "que marcha al azar, que se hace y deshace a cada paso, como ocurre en la novela española antigua. . . ."52 In spite of his lack of organization, his method produces natural, even, rapidly moving prose whose words "puestas, al parecer, con desaliño, tenían la poderosa virtud de evocar en nuestra mente imágenes de personas y cosas, de formas y colores."⁵³

He is truly a creative writer, relying almost completely upon creative inspiration to supply the needed words and ideas at the proper instant to his hurrying pen. Ortega y Gasset has reproached him for his inordinate haste in composition: "En Baroja se suceden los volúmenes con una periodicidad rigurosamente astronómica. Por el otoño se van las últimas hojas de los árboles cuando en los escaparates brotan las hojas de un nuevo volumen de Baroja. Hacia mayo no sabemos bien quién ha venido, si la primavera o Aviraneta. Este ritmo zodiacal de su literatura es ya una objeción contra ella."⁵⁴ Gómez de Baquero sought the explanation for his awkward composition in the "nomadismo" of his personajes, a trait inherited from the picaresque novel.⁵⁵

His creativity is catholic, knowing no bounds but his impatience: "Baroja es el novelista de cualquier tipo humano, de cualquier ambiente, de cualquier tema, con tal de que no se

le pida la insistencia hasta agotar el tema, la situación o el personaje."⁵⁶

Ostensibly, the twenty-two volumes of the Memorias de un hombre de acción are held together by the adventures of Aviraneta, who provides the principal motive for the narration. Attention is not consistently focussed upon him, however, and often he disappears altogether or serves as a listener to the intrigues of others.⁵⁷ Baroja, conscious of the decreasing importance of his central personaje, warns the reader in advance, that he will appear only in disjointed episodes. "Como verá el curioso o indiferente lector en las dos narraciones thompsianas, aparece nuestro héroe Aviraneta de una manera un tanto episódica." (Ruta, p. 5).

Within the larger serie are two lesser groups of novels, in which Aviraneta plays a relatively minor part, "whose members are so interdependent that the reader who does not happen to have read the first of them, will be at some loss to catch the story."⁵⁸ The first group, the story of Chipitiguy, Alvarito and Manón, includes Las figuras de cera, La nave de los locos, and Las mascaradas sangrientas. The second, relating the exploits and murder of the Conde de España includes Humano enigma and La Senda dolorosa.

Several of the novels of the serie are really two or three short novels, sometimes completely independent of each other, tenuously linked by some reference, explicit or implied, to Aviraneta or his friends.⁵⁹ In Los recursos de la astucia there are really two separate narratives, the

story of La Canónica and Los guerrilleros del Empecinado, a series of episodes with Aviraneta. The pages of Los caminos del mundo are crowded by three short novels, with Aviraneta the protagonist of only one. The first is La culta Europa in which Aviraneta helps Don Ignacio de Arteaga escape from a French prison after the fall of Zaragoza. The second, Una intriga tenebrosa, is concerned with the anti-absolutist plots of the Baron de Oiquina and Aviraneta and the tragic story of María Visconti, while the third, La mano cortada is a violent narration of Aviraneta's adventure in Mexico, which seems "concebida en plena ebullición del Romanticismo."⁶⁰

By the time he came to the end of the series, he had grown tired of the genre and was hard-put to sustain his own and the readers' interest in the declining fortunes and life of Aviraneta. After completing Los confidentes audaces and La venta de Mirambel in 1931, he stopped work on the series to write a biography of Juan Van-Halen in 1933, remarking in the first chapter: "Si yo no hubiera estado un poco harto de novelas de aventuras, hubiera escrito con su vida una novela, mejor que una biografía."⁶¹ Resuming the series in 1935, he wrote the final volume Crónica escandalosa and Desde el principio hasta el fin which lacked the dynamism of the earlier volumes and had a tired, unenthusiastic tone.⁶²

Onís has noted: "Todo parece existir en las obras de Baroja menos la unidad."⁶³ His observation can be fairly applied to single novels, but the attainment of a feeling of

unity throughout a long series of novels embracing many years, characters and backgrounds is a difficult task, for which Baroja was literarily and temperamentally unsuited. He was especially impatient with the necessity for reducing the number of characters to achieve unity: ". . . me molesta. . . hacer una selección de los tipos vistos y pensados y no dar entrada más que a aquellos de buen aspecto." (Nave, p. 49). Unity, whether dramatic or novelistic, seemed to mean little to him and he favored a haphazard braiding of history and fiction:

Aquí el autor tendría que comenzar esta parte pidiendo perdón a los manes de Aristóteles, porque va a dejar a un lado, en su novela, las tres célebres unidades: tiempo, lugar, y acción, respetables como tres abadesas o tres damas de palacio con sus almohadas y sus colchas correspondientes. El autor va a seguir su relato y marchar a campo traviesa, haciendo una trenza, más o menos diablo! Está uno metido en las encrucijadas de una larga novela histórica y tiene uno que llevar del ramal a su narración hasta el fin.

Iremos pues, así mal que bien, unas veces tropezando en los matorrales de la fantasía y otras hundiéndonos en el pantano de la historia. (Figuras, p. 91).

Since much of the action in the series is multiple and episodic in nature, unity of a kind can be found only in Aviraneta, the central personaje. But even that is only a relative unity, for he is so often relegated to a minor place or none at all in the narrative.

Like Galdós, Baroja had recourse to dramatic techniques to clarify his narrative. The novena parte of La senda

dolorosa is composed of a weird farsa entitled Gran Batuda Macabra en la Catedral de Gervera un Día de Difuntos.

Complete with setting, dialogue and stage directions, it was obviously written to inform the reader of the fate of several historical characters involved in the murder of the Conde de España.

One of his favorite recurring techniques is that of the personaje misterioso, to achieve greater interest and suspense. In El amor, el dandysmo y la intriga (p.22), there is "un francés misterioso cargado de dinero, cuyo nombre no se conoce, y que sólo se sabe que su apellido empieza con Z y que firma sus cartas con esta inicial Ya te diré, con el tiempo, quien es esa Zeda." In La ruta del aventurero, three plague-ridden men are landed from a Neapolitan vessel at the town of Ondara. They are quarantined in a deserted house on the shore, where one dies. The two survivors, who had been with Lord Byron in Greece, are J. H. Thompson and an enigmatic adventurer known as "El Capitán." The latter's liberal ideas and love for adventure, even if the escapade be only the kidnapping of a girl from a convent, make his identity as Aviraneta readily apparent, even though Baroja does not actually reveal his name until the Epílogo.

Baroja also used an unnamed, mysterious character, who makes only one fleeting appearance, to inspire terror in a novel already replete with violence, Las mascaradas sangrientas:

Maluenda se encontró con una mujer cuya figura le sobrecogió. Era una mujer vieja, melancólica, huraña, haraposa, de pelo blanco, sin medias ni zapatos, que iba con una guadaña al hombro, seguida de un perro. Parecía la estampa de la muerte. Maluenda la contempló con un terror supersticioso; la siguió con la mirada, asustado, hasta que desapareció en un ribazo. (Mascaradas, p. 84).

Baroja blithely made digression a habit in the Memorias de un hombre de acción, making them the scene not only of acción but also of reflexión.⁶⁴ Into these frequent parentheses, he poured his sharpest observations and deepest thoughts,⁶⁵ which, if collected, would be, as Salaverría had written of Baroja's earlier works, "un raro y admirable libro de filosofía barojiana."⁶⁶ He often dropped his role of observer to assume that of commentator and his comments and opinions are the only elements in his novels that he did not take from the outside world. They came from within himself, forming the "trasfondo ideológico de sus relatos."⁶⁷ Serrano believes he has only inherited a Spanish literary trait: "Hay en todo novelista hispano una veta escondida de moralista, un clérigo regañón y sábelotodo repartiendo excomuniones o bendiciones y no podía faltar en don Pío. En este aspecto, su obra sí es legitimamente española y por ende intraducible a otras lenguas sin perder, al hacerlo, una de sus dimensiones."⁶⁸

His addiction to digression is in consonance with his theory of the novela permeable which he extended to include "la novela séptica e infecciosa, donde se encuentran cosas

inesperadas. . . " (Nave, p. 276). The reader is forewarned of their occurrence: ". . . añadí al texto algunas digresiones que no llamo ligeras, porque de darme cierto aire de hombre erudito y de lucir la vastedad de mis conocimientos históricos, filológicos, antropológicos y políticos." (Aprendiz, p. 14).

He claimed further privileges of interjection in the famous Prólogo to La nave de los locos, citing classical examples: ". . . se asegura que el autor no debe hablar nunca por su voz, sino por la de sus personajes. Esto se da como indiscutible; ¿pero no hablaron en su propia voz, interrumpiendo sus textos, Cervantes y Fielding, Dickens y Dostoievski? ¿No interrumpía Carlyle la historia con sus magníficos sermones? ¿Por qué no ha de haber un género en que el autor hable al público, como el voceador de las figuras de cera en su barraca?" (Nave, p. 45).

His doctrine firmly established in his own mind, he follows its precepts zealously, often adding to his digressions sometimes peremptory, sometimes humorous, sometimes apologetic statements like the following:

J. H. Thompson pone aquí discurso que dirigió a la sombra de su amigo, que aunque no viene muy a cuento, lo insertamos. (Ruta, p. 205).

Este preámbulo [El viajero y su canción] que parece que quiere ser alegórico, puso J. H. Thompson a su Viaje sin objeto. Su única legitimación para estar aquí es que es tan sin objeto como todo el libro. (Ruta, p. 158).

Quiero abandonar las reflexiones

filosóficas que no le cuadran a un hombre de acción, y seguir adelante. (Escuadrón, pp. 137-138).

His ability and predilection for story-telling lead to some of his most diverting digressions for he often stops the main narration to relate intriguing incidents from the life of an interesting minor character who has come on the scene. His anecdote from the life of Tobalos, entitled La justicia del buen alcalde García, is a delightful interruption, strongly reminiscent of El alcalde de Zalamea. (Escuadrón, pp. 147-158). He excuses his lapses and tempts the reader to bear with them by such phrases as "La historia de Eguaguirre era interesante" (Ruta, p. 50) and "La historia de Choribide el Muscadin era una historia curiosa." (Veleta, p. 117). Sometimes, a story will have a tenuous connection with the central narrative: "Esta historia tiene alguna relación con un agente que Aviraneta envió al Maestrazgo en tiempo de la guerra civil y por eso he pensado que debía incrustarla en Las Memorias de un hombre de acción." (Venta, p. 16).

There are few subjects on which he does not vent his sagacity and his spleen, sometimes with imperfect knowledge and elsewhere exaggerating his point of view to the border of impertinence.⁶⁹ His longest digression is, of course, the Prólogo casi doctrinal sobre la novela que el lector sencillo puede saltar impunemente. (Nave, pp. 7-50). A few of his other essays into commentary are on the following varied subjects: racial prejudice (Amor, p. 141); sexual attraction

(Ruta, pp. 82-83); a history of the Knights Templar (Venta, pp. 51-70); the horrors of monastic life (Venta, pp. 44-45); bullfighting (Amor, pp. 26-27); The French and the Spanish (Amor, pp. 51-52); Spanish fondas (Nave, pp. 271-276); generalizations on the character of the hombre mediterráneo (Senda, pp. 170-173); reflections on the efficacy of the Christian commandment, "No matarás" (Escuadrón, pp. 137-138); the mentality, morality and ethnography of the Basques (Mascaradas, pp. 129-136).

All these many digressions only serve to prove that he was really portraying himself, when he described the style of J. H. Thompson, one of his characters who wrote some memoirs entitled Viaje sin objeto: "Thompson tenía el vicio de expandirse, de dispersarse en el comentario; por otra parte, quería ser muy exacto." (Ruta, p. 151).

To accomplish foreshadowing in his action, Baroja, too, used dreams.⁷⁰ Even though his readers already know about the legend of the missing skull of the Conde de España, he has the victim relate a dream about the incident: "El conde contó a Hugo que durante varias noches había soñado que iba al valle de Josafat; algunas veces le faltaba una mano o la cabeza, que se la habían quitado en vida y andaba por el valle buscando el órgano que le faltaba con una gran desesperación." (Senda, p. 79). Bertache, leader of a pillaging partida has strange dreams in his delirium after being wounded, of people he has murdered or robbed, and his violent end is foreshadowed: "No era remordimiento lo que sentía Bertache,

sino miedo, terror: la idea de que había entrado en una vena de mala suerte, que le llevaría tan lejos que le haría perder la vida." (Mascaradas, pp. 249-250).

Dreams or dream-states come to his characters after highly emotional experiences, while in a state of physical exhaustion or illness. After an encounter with the troops of Merino and a long sleepless vigil in the Castillo de Trevejo, Aviraneta falls asleep and dreams that he is making a speech on liberty, the subject nearest his heart. (Recursos, p. 317). His friend, Leguía, impressed by violent assassinations he has witnessed in Málaga in 1836, succumbs to a dream-state in which some of the incidents and characters are fantastically reproduced. (Furias, pp. 243-245).

The twenty-two volumes of the Memorias de un hombre de acción give a ragged panorama of the history of nineteenth-century Spain. The first nine deal with the period of the War for Independence and the succeeding uprisings, while the rest treat of Spain divided by the Carlist wars. Unlike Galdós, Baroja demonstrated great carelessness in his chronology of the events he was narrating, being unimpressed with the exigencies of historical time. His indiscriminate use of flashback in more than half of the volumes in the series leads to much confusion in the mind of the reader, who must struggle to fit together the jumbled maze of characters, locales and events that are piled together in each novel. Azorín viewed this historical disorder as a manifestation of his personal psychological make-up: "El espíritu de Baroja errátil,

caprichoso, amigo del desorden - del desorden aparente, - odiador de toda norma, se manifiesta en el plan cronológico de sus novelas, como en el estilo y en la filosofía. . . . Pío Baroja, odiador de la historia, ha jugado desdeñosa y elegantemente - a veces con genio - con el tiempo, el espacio y la realidad de España."⁷¹

Baroja knows he has given a hodge-podge account of history and seeks the reader's indulgence: "Si algún curioso ha llegado en la lecutra hasta aquí, no cabe duda que es amigo y que habrá perdonado los innumerables olvidos, equivocaciones y errores que me han pasado en tan larga narración." (Amor, p. 16).

His titling technique is generally oriented toward the adventures or travails of his central personajes in each volume, and only one, La Isabelina is named for a historical event. They often smack of the folletín and sometimes fall wide of their mark, causing some irritation to Ortega y Gasset: "Al poner títulos a sus libros Baroja se siente sansculotte: no los toma en serio. Recuérdese que lo propio acontecía a Stendahl. Taine estuvo tres meses pensando qué quería decir Le Rouge et le Noir. Yo, aleccionado por la experiencia no emplearé ni tres minutos en resolver por qué se llama Los recursos de la astucia una novela donde hay amor y odio, emboscadas y huídas, pero ni un átomo de astucia."⁷²

His use of the title La nave de los locos to symbolize the madness prevailing in the Carlist War period in Spain, is directly ascribed to Sebastian Brandt's satirical work Das

Narrenschiff (1494): "Hermana en intención de las Danzas de la Muerte, así como éstas querían demostrar la igualdad de los hombres ante el sombrío esqueleto, con su guadaña y su reloj de arena, La Nave de los Locos quería probar la universalidad de la tontería y de la estulticia humana y del absoluto de la Dama Locura." (Nave, p. 51). His titles for the two novels about the Conde de España were aptly chosen. Humano enigma is a character study of this terrifying military figure, whose origin was shrouded in mystery and tradition. In La senda dolorosa, the betrayal, seizure and agony of Christ, his Vía Dolorosa, are mirrored by the betrayal, seizure and assassination of the ill-fated Conde.

Where Galdós and Valle Inclán merely number their chapters, Baroja also entitles them. These chapter headings usually summarize very neatly the action they announce. In Las mascaradas sangrientas, he entitles, not only the chapters, but also each section of the several chapters, which are, in general, longer than those in other volumes. In parts of Los contrastes de la vida he varies his technique by using asterisks to indicate breaks in the narration, instead of the usual numbered chapter.

In El sabor de la venganza, each chapter is also adorned with a literary quotation. The very first one, quoting Goethe, in the Prólogo, is a nutshell description of his own prose style: "Hablemos un poco." (Sabor, p. 9). Rather than being a mere display of erudition, they probably increased his writing pleasure:

Como los chicos cuando terminan un castillo de arena le adornan con unas banderolas vistosas para que tenga más apariencia, así he hecho yo poniendo después de acabada mi obra frases literarias de escritores célebres al frente de los capítulos.

Así, he pretendido dar a éstos cierto aire de pompa y de solemnidad que, naturalmente, no tienen; porque yo nunca he sido ni pomposo ni solemne. De esta manera, al que no le guste el texto se puede entretener con las banderolas. (Sabor, p. 11).

He prefaced each chapter of the last two volumes in the series, Crónica escandalosa and Desde el principio hasta el fin, with quotations from the earlier volumes and others outside the series, ascribing the technique to exhaustion of literary inspiration: "Todo se repite en la vida y en la literatura. Así he puesto al frente de los capítulos trozos de los anteriores volúmenes en calidad de leit motiv. Es difícil, creo yo, que en el escritor viejo pueden encontrarse nuevas vetas en su cantera. El filón está visto y reconocido. No hay más." (Crónica, p. 10).

Baroja often makes his descriptions more vivid and interesting by clothing them with classical allusions from Spanish, Biblical or mythological literature. When Aviraneta is wounded in 1808, Doña Celia prepares a salve for him, which is "el mismísimo bálsamo de Fierabrás." (Escuadrón, p. 47). A crowded diligencia "podía considerarse como la Caja de Pandora o el Arca de Noé." (Nave, p. 210). A man on foot, accompanied by a woman mounted on a borrico elicited added visual interest when described thus: "Tenían un poco

el aspecto de las figuras clásicas de la huída a Egipto." (Nave, p. 306). The unburied human debris left in the wake of civil war was "una visión de Danza Macabra." (Nave, p. 171).

Critics might find many chinks in Baroja's technical armor, but cannot escape the intrinsic lustre of literary genius which emanates from it: "En general, la técnica no es el fuerte de Baroja. La espontaneidad, el genio creador, avaloran sus obras más que la composición estudiada y los primores instrumentales. En realidad, son superiores excelencias."⁷³

+ + + + +

Unlike his colleagues, Valle Inclán did not often express himself on what the novel should be nor did he seek to define history. Perhaps the reason for this lack of technical interest can be deduced from the ideas of Manuel Bueno: "Valle Inclán no era escritor fácil y su labor era lenta y premiosa. Habría que clasificarle entre los románticos 'con quienes le unen la pasión de la libertad sin trabas, y la indiferencia por los dogmas morales corrientes.' No llegó a entrar por completo en la novela con el dominio del género de un Balzac o de un Dickens. Fué un gran prosista más que un gran novelista."⁷⁴

For him, the art of writing consisted in learning to discern the elusive beauty in all things and being able to express it, leaning always on one infallible guide: "Lo que

importa es que toda obra literaria posea un ritmo interior y que sostenga la fórmula que se ha propuesto lanzar. No hay más religión para el escritor que ésta. . . . En arte, cuando no se es un genio, lo mejor es imitar al pueblo. Este es el guía y el maestro más certero. Yo me he valido de él siempre y no me ha ido mal."⁷⁵

He did not possess the rigorous mentality of the scientific historian, but rather the poet's intuitive grasp of history.⁷⁶ He was not interested in the surface events of History, but rather in the spirit that animated them, "el basamento social, colectivo, sobre el que todo ello se levantaba."⁷⁷

Thus, history must always serve his esthetic purpose,⁷⁸ never imposing itself upon his artistic imagination⁷⁹ or the stylistic elements which, in his works, are more prominently displayed than any historical information or political message. His combination of historical and novelistic elements accomplishes a transfiguration of both in which "Les faits se suivent avec rapidité, imprévus et dispersés, surprenants comme la vie."⁸⁰ Avoiding the monotony of long historical accounts and stressing expressive details he evokes "con penetrante intensidad la sensación poética del momento y del ambiente."⁸¹

The historical event never unfolds completely, in all its ramifications, for the reader, but he sees only the limited action that passes before the eyes of the narrator, who adjusts "la guerra y sus accidentes a la medida de su

caminar. Las batallas comienzan cuando sus ojos llegan a mirarlas; el terrible rumor de la guerra se apaga cuando se aleja de los parajes trágicos, y vuelve cuando se acerca a ellos. Todos los relatos están limitados por la posición geométrica del narrador."⁸²

His Carlist War novels are completely episodic, written as if he were a Carlist eye-witness, recording his experiences from within History itself. None of them have any real plot or central action, but are a loose jumble of intimate glimpses of the war's impact on a few individuals at a time. Working without a well-defined plan, he preferred to portray the war from the point of view of those who lived it on the lowest plane, "como la vida misma después de todo: fragmentaria, desconcertada, ocasional."⁸³ In spite of the dearth of battle scenes, there is achieved "la sensación viviente de la guerra, del paisaje bélico, de las fatigas, crueldades, dolores, arranques de fanatismo y de valor, y movimientos de venganza con que se amasaron las guerras civiles."⁸⁴

This episodic view of the wars precludes any real novelistic unity and the salient binding force is a unity of feeling, the sum of the violent sentiments engendered by civil war, that are evoked in full measure in each of these works.

His chapters are short, with a paucity of narration. They contain many descriptive passages in which he frequently utilizes passive and reflexive forms in the present tense,

that tend to leave a static rather than dynamic impression.⁸⁵ He is content to remain in the background, letting his personajes mold history with their own lives: "Il lui plait d'abandonner le récit aux impressions de ses personnages, de limiter l'histoire á leur mesure, d'en négliger surtout ce qui pourrait nuire á une évocation sensible et spontanée."⁸⁶

His technique is highly dramatic, for he prefers dialogue to personal narration:⁸⁷ "Escribo en forma escéncia, dialogada, casi siempre. . . porque me parece que es la forma literaria mejor, más serena y más 'impasible' de conducir la acción."⁸⁸

Using dramatic technique, he prefaced the dialogue in the last chapter of Los cruzados de la Causa with a complete stage setting, in effect separating it from the rest of the novel, almost in the nature of an afterthought:

El huerto del convento. Una tarde, cerca del anochecer. Dos monjas sacan agua del pozo; a su lado, unas pajarritas muy gentiles picotean las malvas que crecen en el brocal, y hay un vuelo de campanas que parece diluirse en la tarde azulada, y un ruiseñor que canta escondido entre los laureles de un seto, donde otras tardes bajo al sol, la maestra enseña a las novicias calados y bordados de primor monjil. El huerto tiene el aroma de una leyenda piadosa. Sentadas en un banco de piedra, al pie de los laureles, están la niña de la posada y la madre abadesa. La niña viste de luto. (Cruzados, p. 147).

Valle Inclán's addiction to hashish may have contributed to some of the exotic effects he achieved in his work. Con-

fessing his abundant use of the drug, he describes its effect upon him, evoking a reminiscence of Baudelaire's Correspondances: "Mi individualidad llegó a descomponerse en dos distintas. Comencé por ver en las cosas, condiciones nuevas: cómo se creaba una desarmonía y otras veces una afinidad quimérica. Algo que pudiera decirse 'la armonía de los contrarios'."⁸⁹ To illustrate these "condiciones nuevas" he chose a passage from Gerifaltes de antaño to read in a lecture entitled "Los excitantes," given in the Teatro Nacional de Buenos Aires on June 28, 1910:⁹⁰

Llovía [a] menudo y ligero en aquella fértil tierra de Baztán. Era una cortina gris, que a los prados húmedos, tendidos detrás, daba un reflejo de naranja, agrio como una desafinación de violín. Con aquel reflejo, sol anaranjado, armonizaban extrañas las cornetas militares tocando dianas. Era agresiva la clara voz del metal en la paz aldeana y religiosa del valle, con campanarios entre arboleda y caserío, con rebaños o metidas por los herbales. (Gerifaltes, p. 143).

Literarily responsive to sensorial stimuli, like Baudelaire, he used the interplay of sound, smell and color constantly to achieve his vivid effects.⁹¹ His description of the Sala Capitular in Los cruzados de la Causa, depends upon a blend of all three for its intensity of mood:

De tiempo en tiempo se oía el golpe de una puerta y el vuelo inocente de un esquilón. Viejos sacristanes, y monagos vestidos de rojo, iban y venían en la sombra. La Sala Capitular era grande, silenciosa y con olor de incienso. Tenía el techo artesonado y los muros revestidos de terciopelo carmesí franjeado de oro. En los rincones brillaban algunas

cornucopias, colgadas sobre cómodas antiguas con incrustaciones. Por las mañanas el sol doraba los cristales de una ventana enrejada. . . . (Cruzados, p. 29).

Some scenes are completely dominated by sound, as in the following from Sonata de invierno:

Fray Ambrosio tosía con un eco cavernoso, y allá en el fondo de la casa continuaba oyéndose el marullar confuso de la barragana, y en los momentos de silencio el latido de un reloj, como si fuese la pulsación de aquella casa de fraile donde reinaba una vieja rodeada de gatos: ¡Tic-tac! ¡Tic-tac! Era un reloj de pared con el péndulo y las pesas al aire. La tos del fraile, el rosmar de la vieja, el soliloquio del reloj, me parecía que guardaban un ritmo quimérico y grotesco, aprendido en el clavicordio de alguna bruja melómana. (Invierno, p. 106).

He developed the search for violent effects into a "pasión loca por la pintura de los desvarios monstruosos en las almas perversas. . . ." ⁹² He took obvious delight in shocking his readers and his technique tends to lend support to the Concourts' theory that "El genio del horror es el genio de España." ⁹³ His platonic affection for violence ⁹⁴ found extremely fertile ground for development in the Spain of the Carlist War period, "un mundo de terror y violencia: de supervivencias medioevales." ⁹⁵

Although the technique is used throughout the trilogy, the majority of his violent images are concentrated in El resplandor de la hoguera. A sergeant, hoping to restrain his bloodthirsty men, relates an incident from the first

Carlist War, in which twenty Republican soldiers were executed by the Carlists, who carved twenty crosses into the pine trees where the deed was done. Republican forces under Mina shot forty Carlists in reprisal, cutting forty new crosses into the trees: "El veterano volvió la cabeza y miró atrás. -¡Todavía creo haber reconocido alguno de aquellos árboles!" (Resplandor, pp. 104-105).

In a scene which recalls the Infantes de Lara story and its dramatic treatment by the Senecan de la Cueva, the men of the partida of Miquelo Egoscué slaughter seven goats for a rustic banquet, and set up a gruesome centerpiece of the severed heads: ". . . eran de aspecto brujesco bajo el resplandor de la hoguera, con sus ojos lívidos, y sus barbas sangrientas, y sus cuernos infernales." (Resplandor, p. 70). Violent death is no stranger to soldiers and Valle Inclán did not dramatize such casualties: "Cuatro o cinco soldados cayeron a lo largo de la carretera como peleles en su tinglado de feria." (Resplandor, p. 122). He chose instead to concentrate his violence on his description of the sudden death of a twelve year old boy in a skirmish:

Cuando alcanzó el asno, el muchacho cabalgó alegremente, y espoleándole con los talones corrió confundido entre los cazadores. Cerca del puente, una bala le abrió un agujero en la frente. Siguió sobre el asno con las manos amarillas y un ojo colgante sobre la mejilla, sujeto de un pingajo sangriento. Fué inclinándose lentamente hasta caer, y el asno quedó inmóvil a su lado. (Resplandor, p. 124).

For sustained horror, few scenes can match the ordeal

of Roquito, who is forced to hide in the chimney of a lighted fireplace to escape capture, and falls out finally, his face a mass of blisters and his eyes burned out: "Con silencioso espanto, las mujeres juntan las cabezas en un racimo para contemplar aquellos ojos ciegos y llagados." (Resplandor, pp. 150-151). These scenes of violence are dangerously close to melodrama and in Salinas' opinion are "melodrama para exquisitos, dramones para refinados."⁹⁶

Writing only about isolated incidents in the last Carlist War, Valle Inclán had little concern for chronology and mentions only one specific date in the trilogy: "En octubre de 1873, las tropas republicanas ocupaban muchas aldeas y caseríos en el valle de Baztán." (Gerifaltes, p. 19). He had a marvelous sensitivity for the preterite, almost as if his eyes could focus only on the past, maintaining an almost perfect illusion of medieval time and ambient. He was able to break the bonds of time to transport a modern action into a setting deep in the misty past. Pons describes this strange facet of his art as the ability to "noyer le présent dans le passé."⁹⁷ His dissolution of the reader's awareness of chronology and historical time was accomplished by many technical artifices: ". . . la tonalidad de color, sugestión de sensibilidad, ideación, luz y ambiente, mediante imágenes, adjetivos y hasta ritmo y son de la fraseología."⁹⁸

He chose titles fraught with symbolism and tradition, none of them relating to a specific historical incident as

did those of Galdós. Conscious of the traditional and religious spirit that pervaded the conflict, he entitled the first volume of the trilogy Los cruzados de la Causa, evoking the atmosphere of heroism, sacrifice and religious fervor associated with the Crusades themselves. El resplandor de la hoguera is not only an obvious reference to the holocaust of the Carlist war, but also a symbolic expression of the fervently loyal, fanatically religious flame that burned in the hearts of all true Carlists. Gerifaltes de antaño describes the partida of the Cura Santa Cruz, who swooped down upon defenseless towns to terrorize their Liberal inhabitants.

Most of the literary references which he used to reinforce the illusion of medieval atmosphere, came from epic sources. Don Juan Manuel, hoping his sons will aid him to avenge the death of the marinerito, recalls the romance about the father of the Cid: "¡Si mis hijos quisiesen ayudarme! . . . Pero ellos no son como yo, y ni aun sabrán ver la afrenta, . . . Yo debía llamarles ahora, como hizo Diego Laínez . . . ¿Para qué? Dios me ha desamparado y no hallaría entre ellos a mi Rodrigo." (Cruzados, p. 80). Pero Mingo, bringing six youths to join the partida of Miquelo Egoscué, equates them to epic heroes, as Miquelo, with fierce but simple pride and dignity, does the same for himself:

--¡Son lobos de Roncevalles, de la
ascendencia de los que devoraron al
gran Carlomagno! ¡A esos no hay
quien los manda!
--Tío, que me hablen a mi,

--¡Pues ni que serías el gran Bernal
del Carpio!
--Soy Miquelo Egoscué. (Resplandor,
p. 109).

Even the braying of a donkey bolting riderless through
a skirmish has an epic echo: "El animal daba rebuznos tan
sonoros que el eco milenario de aquellas montañas pudo
despertarse recordando el son de la bocina de Rolando."
(Resplandor, pp. 123-124).

Footnotes

1. Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia española en la recepción pública del Sr. D. Benito Pérez Galdós. El domingo 7 de febrero de 1897 (Madrid, 1897), p. 8. See also José María Monner Sans, "Galdós y la generación de 1898", Cur Con, XXIV (1943), p. 61.
2. Carlos María Ocantos, "Del arte de hacer novelas", RAB, XXIV (1945), p. 415.
3. Ocantos, ibid., p. 416.
4. González Blanco, Historia de la novela, p. 386.
5. Rafael Altamira y Crevea, Arte y realidad (Santiago, 1936), p. 54.
6. Efraín Huerta, "Galdós y la novela histórica", A, LXXII (1943), p. 101.
7. Rafael Altamira, "La mujer en las novelas de Galdós", A, LXXII, 215 (1943), pp. 158-159.
8. M. Romera Navarro, Historia de la literatura española (1928), p. 576.
9. Berkowitz, Benito Pérez Galdós, pp. 335-336. See also Barja, Libros y autores modernos, p. 334.
10. Pons, "Le Roman el l'histoire", p. 383.
11. Carranza, El pueblo, p. 114.
12. Reyes, Capítulos de literatura, p. 273.
13. Casaldueiro, Vida, p. 135. See also Balbín de Unquera, "Novela y novelistas históricos", pp. 406-407; E. Martinenche, "Le théâtre de M. Galdós", RDM, avril, 1906, p. 820.
14. Gómez de Baquero, Novelas y novelistas, p. 13.
15. Barja, Libros y autores modernos, pp. 335, 337. See also González Blanco, Historia de la novela, p. 385.
16. Gómez de Baquero, "La tercera serie", p. 180.
17. Alas, Obras, I, 359.
18. Miller, "The Novels of Pérez Galdós", p. 228. See also Boussagol, "Sources", p. 264.

19. Barja, Libros y autores modernos, pp. 338-339. See also Berkowitz, Benito Pérez Galdós, p. 161.
20. Darío, España contemporánea, pp. 271-273.
21. Pons, "Le Roman et l'histoire", pp. 382-383. See also Díaz-Plaja, Historia de la literatura, p. 146.
22. Alas, Obras, I, 362.
23. A. Marín Alcalde, "Crónica escandalosa y Desde el principio hasta el fin", Ahora, 23 de mayo de 1935.
24. Berkowitz, Benito Pérez Galdós, p. 116.
25. Marañón, "El academismo", p. 55.
26. Miller, "The Novels", p. 226.
27. Alas, Obras, I, p. 360.
28. Shoemaker, Crónica de la quincena, p. 48.
29. Madariaga, Semblanzas literarias contemporáneas, p. 79.
30. Alas, Obras, I, pp. 319-320.
31. J. Warshaw, "Galdós' Indebtedness to Cervantes", Hisp Cal, XVI, (1933), pp. 127-142. A dissertation on this subject has recently been completed at the University of Minnesota. See Antonio H. Obaid, El Quijote en los Episodios Nacionales de Pérez Galdós, 1953. For a similar and earlier study dedicated to the Novelas contemporáneas of Galdós see the University of Kansas dissertation by J. Chalmers Herman, Don Quijote and the Novels of Pérez Galdós, 1951.
32. Rafael Altamira, "Sobre Pérez Galdós, B., De Oñate a la Granja - Luchana (Episodios Nacionales. Tercera Serie), Madrid, 1898-99", RCHL, IV (1899), pp. 100-101.
33. Ortega y Gasset, Obras, p. 920.
34. Pío Baroja, "Sobre la novela realista", Hisp W, XXIX, 2 (1946), p. 181.
35. Baroja, La intuición, p. 216.
36. F. Sánchez "Sobre las Memorias de un hombre de acción de Baroja", Hisp Cal, XIII (1930), p. 301.
37. Azorín, Ante Baroja, p. 235.

38. Pío Baroja, Páginas escogidas (Madrid, 1917), 308.
39. Pío Baroja, Divagaciones sobre la cultura (Madrid, 1920), p. 36.
40. Gómez de Baquero, Novelas y novelistas, pp. 193-194.
41. Azorín, "La última novela de Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo, Tribunal español (Zaragoza, 1947), pp. 91-92.
42. Baroja, La intuición, p. 212.
43. Baroja, "Sobre la novela realista", p. 187.
44. Carlos Edmundo de Ory, "El ocaso de los dioses", DM, 9 de agosto de 1953, p. 40.
45. Baroja, La intuición, p. 154.
46. Gómez de Baquero, Novelas y novelistas, p. 198.
47. Baroja, "Sobre la novela realista", p. 186.
48. Azorín, Ante Baroja, p. 310.
49. Díaz Plaja, Modernismo, p. 252.
50. Francisco Pina, Pío Baroja (Valencia, 1928), p. 51.
51. Pérez Ferrero, Pío Baroja, p. 212. See also Baroja, La intuición, p. 154.
52. F. Uriarte, "Pío Baroja, sus memorias y su obra," A, LXXXV (1946), p. 418.
53. Menéndez y Arranz, "Recuerdos y comentarios", p. 26.
54. Ortega y Gasset, "Ideas sobre Pío Baroja", pp. 189-190.
55. Gómez de Baquero, De Gallardo, p. 274.
56. Fernández Almagro, "La novela", p. 20.
57. Mateu Llopis, Autores contemporáneos, p. 39.
58. Claude E. Anibal, "Introduction", to Baroja, Pío, Paradox Rey (New York, 1937), p. xxxiii.
59. Gómez de Baquero, De Gallardo, p. 274.
60. Gómez de Baquero, Novelas y novelistas, p. 203.

61. Pío Baroja, Juan Van Halen, el oficial aventurero, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1933), p. 11.
62. A. R., "Sobre Pío Baroja: Memorias de un hombre de acción: Crónica escandalosa", RHM, III (1937), p. 220.
63. Federico de Onís, "Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero (Zaragoza, 1948), p. 223.
64. Barja, Libros y autores contemporáneos, p. 322.
65. Salaverría, Retratos, p. 100.
66. José María Salaverría, A lo lejos, España vista desde América (Madrid, 1914), p. 147.
67. Granjel, Retrato, p. 140.
68. S. Serrano Poncela, "Pío Baroja y su novela", CCLC, VII (1954), pp. 34-35.
69. Serrano Poncela, p. 34.
70. Baroja's most frequent use of the dream in the Memorias de un hombre de acción was to aid in the analysis of the character of Alvarito Sánchez de Mendoza, a dream-ridden personaje who will be studied in Chapter VI.
71. Azorín, "La última novela", p. 92.
72. Ortega y Gasset, "Ideas", p. 190.
73. Gómez de Baquero, "Baroja y la técnica", El Sol, 18 de diciembre de 1924, p. 1.
74. Pedro Salinas, Literatura española siglo XX, 2nd ed. (México, 1949), p. 120. Here, Salinas quotes and paraphrases an article on Valle Inclán by Manuel Bueno, "aparecido en algunos diarios de provincias." He offers no further source identification.
75. Madrid, La vida activa, p. 26.
76. Gonzalo Torrente Ballester, "Algo sobre Valle", IAL IX, 74-75 (Mayo y Junio de 1954), p. 22.
77. Gómez de la Serna, "El episodio. II", p. 19.
78. Gómez de la Serna, ibid., p. 21.
79. José A. Balseiro, "Valle Inclán, la novela y la política", Hispania XV (1932), p. 449.

80. Pons, "Le Roman el l'histoire", p. 386.
81. Gómez de Baquero, "Novelas y novelistas", p. 235.
82. Valle Inclán, Ramón del, La medianoche, visión estelar de un momento de guerra (Madrid, 1917), p. 5.
83. Fernández Almagro, Vida, p. 149.
84. Gómez de Baquero, p. 233.
85. Ramón Sender, "Algo más sobre Valle Inclán", Cu A, XII, 2 (1953), pp. 281-282.
86. Pons, "Le Roman et l'histoire", p. 386.
87. Gómez de Baquero, "Valle Inclán, novelista", pp. 8-9.
88. Madrid, La vida activa, p. 108. Madrid identifies his source only as "De una entrevista periodística" (p. 109).
89. Madrid, La vida activa, p. 194. Again, Madrid does not identify his original printed source for this quotation.
90. Madrid, ibid., p. 194.
91. Aubrey F. G. Bell, Contemporary Spanish Literature (New York, 1925), p. 128.
92. J. López Prudencio, "Notas de lector", ABC, 28 de febrero de 1924, p. 8.
93. José Agustín Balseiro, Blasco Ibañez, Unamuno, Valle Inclán y Baroja, cuatro individualistas de España (Chapel Hill, 1949).
94. Pérez Ferrero, Pío Baroja, p. 200.
95. Angel del Río, Historia de la literatura española (New York, 1948), II, 191-192.
96. Salinas, Literatura española, p. 91.
97. Pons, "Le Roman el l'histoire", p. 388.
98. López Prudencio, "Notas", p. 8.

VI

Characters

For Galdós, Baroja and Valle Inclán the task of peopling their novels was twofold, consisting in the selection of the most representative historical characters of the period and the creation of believable fictional characters to provide the ebb and flow of life that bore them to their historical destiny. The trajectory of their historical characters was rigidly fixed in the shimmering firmament of History and each author could add to its lustre or tarnish, according to the dictates of his political convictions and artistic intuition and interpretation. But it was the fictional characters that were to tax their powers of reconstruction and evocation, for they had to give an accurate portrayal of the scores of different tipos from all levels of the social structure whose collective lives, beliefs and aspirations formed the broad carpet of History trod upon by the salient military and political figures of nineteenth-century Spain.

+ + + + +

Galdós was well aware of the difficulty involved in the faithful literary reproduction of characters representative of all the forces stirring in his historical novels: ". . . entre un retrato y su original hay siempre un abismo." (Luchana, p. 703). Yet, for many critics, his foremost liter-

ary virtue and achievement was his prodigious ability to create original characters.¹ Although he was not always consistent in the completeness of his treatment of major and minor characters, many of his secondary characters were drawn with a masterly hand.²

The physical description and character traits of his major characters are usually given piecemeal in their several appearances, while minor characters are described, more or less completely, when they first appear. He often suggests only a few broad conventional strokes as a frame or outline, leaving the minutiae of physical details to the imagination and preconceptions of the reader, as in these examples:

[Don Beltrán de Urdaneta era] un simpático y noble anciano de buena estatura, algo rendido al peso de la edad, de afable rostro y modales finísimos, revelando en todo el alto nacimiento y el refinado trato social. (Luchana, p. 694).

[Zoilo era] rudo, fuerte, bien plantado, de hermoso rostro moreno y ojos como centellas. (Estafeta, p. 991).

Era el capitán [Francisco Serrano Domínguez] un mozo de lo más vivo y simpático que se pudiera imaginar; mediana estatura, rostro agraciadísimo y sonriente, edad poco más o menos la de Calpena. (Oñate, p. 647).

His procedure was to model his fictional characters on similar tipos he had observed from life, his skilled scrutiny almost always capturing some essential psychological insight: "Siempre que vemos por primera vez a una persona, tratamos, sin darnos cuenta de nuestra investigación, de escudriñar su espíritu y conocer por el mirar, por la actitud, por la

palabra, lo que piensa y desea. Rara vez dejamos de enriquecer nuestro archivo psicológico con una averiguación preciosa."³

Where historical facts are lacking or inadequate for a well-rounded portrait, he did not hesitate to supply them intuitively, especially when he tried to reconstruct logically the reasons why the Infante Don Sebastian, a man of known liberal tendencies, should suddenly become an absolutist: "Yo me agarro a la filosofía de la Historia y reconstruyo con elementos humanos un personaje oscuro." (Oñate, p. 608).

A salient feature of his descriptive technique is his rare use of color. Shoemaker has rightly ascribed this peculiar insensitivity to Galdós' habit of sketching his personajes before writing about them. Using this method, he probably conceived and retained only a black and white image of them.⁴

He was a dibujante rather than a pintor, his descriptions showing the influence of a charcoal pencil rather than oil colors. His long description of Sor Marcela is done in various shades of black: "Era el rostro moreno. . . . Los ojos grandes, negros. . . . El cabello caía en guedejas que parecían plumas de un gallo negro. . . el pie desnudo, de color de antigua caoba. . . ." (Campaña, pp. 822-823). Muel, a tragic madman, is described as "flaco, de tez tan morena que. . . parecía negra. . . los pies, desnudos, negros también, como la cara, como las manos, semejantes a manojos de sarmientos; todo él perfecto plagio de un santón

árabe." (Campaña, p. 808). He ends his sketch of Churi's features and clothing with ". . . todo de un gris terroso." (Luchana, p. 704).

He did give the hair color for some female fictional characters, when it was not moreno. Demetria's hair is castaño (Oñate, p. 627) and that of Rafaela Milagro, rubio (Montes, p. 1136). This paucity of color extended even to male fictional characters. Calpena is described as having "ojos garzos" (Mendizábal, p. 431) but with the hermit, Borra, color is merely suggested: "El cabello entrecano le caía hasta los hombros, y la barba era de variados colores, uno y otra de extraordinaria aspereza." (Zumalacárregui, p. 363).

Not all his fictional characters were sketched beforehand as this uncertain description of the servant girl, Romualda, seems to suggest: "La fisonomía de Romualda estaba de tal manera desvirtuada por la palidez y por la suciedad que no se podía decir si era fea o bonita. Igual dificultad había para declararla niña o mujer, y así, lo menos expuesto a equivocaciones será decir que no tenía edad ninguna." (Faccioso, p. 253).

Much more color appears in the descriptions of historical personajes, for Galdós probably reproduced closely descriptions of these people from histories, contemporary accounts and memoirs as well as paintings, portraits and illustrations. His portrayal of Cabrera's mother shows this tendency: "[Llevaba] . . . saya de cotolina azul. . . jubón

de pana verde. Llevaba al cuello un pañuelo oscuro con fleco, y a la cabeza otro, blanco. . . Era delgada, de mediana estatura, rostro moreno y curtido, con arrugas en la frente, el mirar dulce, expresión candorosa." (Campaña, p. 817). His description of Cabrera himself is brilliantly colored: ". . . un rostro harto parecido al de un gato, los ojos flamígeros, la color verdosa, henchida la nariz. . . Su capa blanca, con vueltas rojas sujeta al cuello, ondeaba como una bandera." (Campaña, p. 834). The color he ascribed to Zumalacárregui's boina, "azul de las comunes," (Zumalacárregui, p. 339) is at variance with that in the eyewitness account by C. R. Henningsen: "His costume was invariably the same - the bouina (sic), the round national cap or berret of the provinces, of a bright scarlet colour. . . stretched out by a willow switch inside. . . ."5

Although nowhere in the Tercera serie did Galdós use the muletilla with such frequency as the familiar, "Francamente, naturalmente," which prefaced many of the speeches of José Ido del Sagrario,⁶ several characters habitually use a phrase or word often enough for it to become an identifiable part of their personality. Rufete embellishes his statements with the remark, "Es un hecho." (Oñate, p. 567). The interjection "¡Barástolis!" always falls from the lips of don Benigno Cordero. (Faccioso, p. 283). Calpena's mentor Don Pedro Hillo habitually swears upon all the Saints, "¡Por San Blas, por San Crispulo. . . !" (Oñate, p. 550).

A striking example of Galdós' use of an outstanding

physical feature to identify a fictional personaje is the case of Zugarramurdi, the possessor of a huge beard:

"Apareció en la puerta una enorme barba, a la cual estaba pegado un hombre." (Faccioso, p. 224). It was not really necessary to append his name to his appearance a few pages later: ". . . y apareció la cara, mejor dicho, la zalea con ojos del señor Zugarramurdi." (Faccioso, p. 227).

Another device he used to strengthen characterization, reinforce physical description or illuminate the relationship between characters was the allusion to a literary, historical, classical or mythological hero, whose well-known attributes could be mentally associated with the character being treated. Fermín Iracheta is "ese nuevo Rómulo," (Oñate, p. 578), Ildefonso Negretti has a "cuerpo de Hércules," (Oñate, p. 621), Jacoba Zahón is saddled with "el lívido rostro de María Antonieta guillotizada," (Mendizábal, p. 531) and the exact outlines of the relationship between Pedro Hillo and Fernando Calpena are fixed by Galdós repeated reference to them as Mentor and Telémaco. (Oñate, pp. 569, 572-575).

Among the historical characters, Zumalacárregui is referred to as "el Macabeo redivivo" (Zumalacárregui, p. 339) and Mendizábal and Istúriz, forced by political enmity to challenge each other to a duel, had once been like "; . . . Píldes y Orestes, camaradas en la adversidad, amigos en la próspera fortuna!" (Oñate, p. 578).

Berkowitz attests to Galdós' liking for Shakespeare.⁷

He often alluded to certain characters and even paraphrased their speeches. Aura tries unsuccessfully to kill Jacoba Zahón with a knife: " . . . iba perdiendo aquel aspecto de Lady Macbeth, con que se apareció a los encandilados ojos del fámulo." (Mendizábal, p. 531). Lopresti, who had stopped her, cautions: " . . . el matar es cosa fea y sucia. Se manchará de sangre la señorita, y esas manchas de sangre no se las quitará nunca, por más que se lave. . . ." (Mendizábal, p. 532). The tormented state of mind of the historical personaje González Brabo is swiftly portrayed by another Shakespearean allusion: " . . . le asustaban las imágenes de las personas a quienes mató, como un pobre Macbeth de bajo vuelo, para ver realizado el vaticinio de las brujas." (Bodas, p. 1330).

Nelet, a handsome Carlist captain, assumes the characteristics of Zorilla's Don Juan Tenorio in this paraphrase of one of his famous speeches:⁸ " . . . cada día era yo más terrible acodador del sexo femenino, llegando a no respetar ya soltera ni casada, seduciendo también por depravación a las que no eran bonitas, y a las religiosas, a las altas, y a las bajas, y a las medianas. . . ." (Campaña, p. 846).

Galdós' favorite literary allusions were to the protagonists of Don Quijote for both his fictional and historical characters. Zoilo "era un valentón a lo Don Quijote. . . contra la voluntad de toda la familia se lanzó a quijotear." (Vergara, p. 1065). Pedro Hillo reflects upon a new development in his personality: "Sí, lo digo a

boca llena: estoy más perdido que Don Quijote. . . y se me mete en el magín la convicción de que no soy sacerdote, sino caballero, desfacedor de agravios, como quien dice, y cuando me da esa tremolina hago y digo atrocidades sin número." (Oñate, p. 584). Demetria provides an even closer parallel with her description of her father: ". . . de tanto leer. . . se fué poniendo como Don Quijote con los libros de caballerías, enteramente perdido de la cabeza. . . Advierta usted que la Dulcinea de mi buen padre era la Libertad. . ." (Oñate, p. 631).

Galdós' readiness to employ allusions to the Quijote is evident from this description of Aníbal Rapella where physical alteration was necessary to achieve comparison: "[Era] un sujeto espigado y enjuto, en quien podría verse la reproducción exacta de Don Quijote, quitando a éste diez años, dándole un poco más de carnes y una ligera mano de belleza y frescura en el rostro." (Oñate, p. 598).

The Carlist general, Don Tomás Zumalacárregui, while still an obscure lieutenant-colonel in Los apostólicos (p. 117) was equated both in physique and incident to Don Quijote. He is thrown from his horse during the parade welcoming María Cristina to Madrid in 1829:

Era un hombre de cuerpo largo, flaco, cara morena y varonil. Al ser levantado del suelo hacía recordar involuntariamente la figura de Don Quijote tendido en tierra después de cualquiera de sus desventuradas aventuras. . .
 --Se parece al de la Triste Figura -
 indicó Bringas.
 --Es el mismísimo Don Quijote - observó Olózaga.

However, Galdós did not again associate this historical character with the Cervantian hero in his appearances in later Episodios. The tragic gesture of Montes de Oca, his frustrated revolt, is also described in Quijotesque terminology: Todos sus actos como político y como escritor eran los de un Quijote chico que había tomado a María Cristina por Dulcinea y al moderantismo por ley de la andante caballería." (Montes, p. 1108).

Galdós made frequent use of nicknames to bring salient behavior characteristics of his characters into bold relief. Don Beltrán de Urdaneta is called Don Gastón to underscore his prodigious ability for spending money. (Estafeta, p. 904). Valentín Arratia, Zoilo's deaf brother, is known to all as Churi: "Le vino del nombre de un balandro que tuvo su abuelo, en el cual pasó el chico toda su adolescencia, por desmedida afición a la mar." (Luchana, p. 713). Fernando Calpena, in the disguise he uses to enter Maroto's camp to negotiate the Convenio de Vergara is immediately tagged with the apodo, Patarrastrando, because of his affected lameness. (Vergara, p. 1047).

The historical characters were hung with many satirical apodos which were inspired by the newspapers supporting opposing factions: "En el novísimo lenguaje de la Prensa callejera aparecen cada día nuevos términos y frases que al instante entran en el uso común de los pueblos y se apegan a todas las bocas." (Ayacuchos, p. 1248). Fernando VII was Nazirotas (Oñate, p. 591), Fernando Muñoz, María Cristina's

secret husband, Fernando Octavo (Mendizábal, p. 535), the stern Espartero, El Tío Cromwell (Ayacuchos, p. 1227), the loquacious Argüelles, El Divino (Ayacuchos, p. 1194) and the dandy, Marvéez, El guapo de Loja (Bodas, p. 1333).

María Cristina was a frequent target of the Spanish propensity for applying motes and was referred to variously as La ninfa de Parténope (Montes, p. 1131), La Napolitana (Faccioso, p. 226) and La Desgobernadora (Ayacuchos, p. 1203). This penchant extended even to royalty; for Isabel labeled her tutor Quintana, Tío Pasahuevos: ". . . Quintana, con ser el respeto mismo, no se ha librado de la graciosa, inocente malicia de su Majestad y Alteza para poner motes." (Ayacuchos, p. 1208).

Shoemaker points out that "It is a commonplace in Galdosian criticism that names and nicknames often carry a burden of symbolical, frequently ironical, meaning."⁹ Several of the fictional characters of the Tercera serie, like Don Benigno Cordero de Paz (Oñate, p. 592), bear such names. Santiago Ibero is a shining symbol of patriotic Spanish youth, both in physical appearance and aspirations: "Era Santiago Ibero un mozo gallardísimo, franco, con todo el alma en los ojos y el corazón en los labios, cetrino, de mirada ardiente. . . Quería dar su sangre, su vida, por la libertad y el progreso, en los cuales veía fuentes inagotables de dichas para la nación." (Vergara, p. 1025). José del Milagro, one of Mendizábal's clerks, is aptly named for the miracle he has accomplished in holding his government post

after many periods as a cesante due to the vagaries of changing governments: "Ya ve usted si es alegórico mi apellido. . . Y usted dirá que el mayor milagro mío es mantener, con tan poco sueldo, mujer, suegra y cinco criaturas." (Mendizábal, p. 471).

Another touch of Galdosian humor and irony appears in the name of Modesto Gallo, a young officer who "no sabía querer sin violencia, ni profesar opiniones sin llevarlas hasta el delirio. Arrogante y garboso era el tal, y muy bien le caía el nombre de Gallo. . . Su encrespado cabello parecía una cresta." (Montes, p. 1114).

Allegorical characters are liberally sprinkled among the flesh-and-blood characters of the Tercera serie. La Bienaventuranza, el Destino, la Divinidad, la Fatalidad, la Fortuna, la Humanidad, la señora Libertad, la Locura, la Muerte, la Providencia and la diosa Razón, all pull the strings that motivate the human puppets in the tragi-comic guignol of nineteenth-century Spanish history. Fernando Calpena, disappointed upon hearing of his beloved Aura's marriage to Zoilo, makes some of them seem even more real: ". . . pienso que la Humanidad es una vieja celestina, y la Naturaleza una mujer frágil. . . ." (Luchana, p. 786).

The personification of natural objects is another of Galdós' favorite techniques. Ice, snow and other seasonal features were personified in a description of Winter in Un faccioso más, y algunos frailes menos.¹⁰ The sea receives the same treatment in a scene in Luchana where Aura has been

to Bermeo to recover her health: ". . .la joven. . .
adquirió un gran amigo que la rehizo el alma. . .arrullándola
con acentos de vaga poesía, entreteniéndola con juegos y
ejercicios muy saludables. . .este amigo era el mar."

(Luchana, p. 713). Later in this same episodio, everything
surrounding the two lovers, Aura and Zoilo, is personified:
". . .allí tenían los dos por intermediario de sus amores. . .
las llamas y el calor de la forja, el aire del soplete y aquel
campo ameno y triste, el río que mugía, los pájaros, la mena
roja y el carbón negro. Todo aquello hablaba, todo sonreía, y
era bueno. . .y amigo." (Luchana, p. 728).

Galdós' conception of the pueblo as a character changes
markedly from admiration in the Primera serie where its
role was the assumption of a cohesive, heroic defense of
the patria against the French invader to disgust in the
Tercera serie where it split into quarreling factions,
allowing itself to be led by mediocre mentalities to the
destruction of its own welfare and that of the nation it
represented. His treatment of the pueblo is generally
deprecatory as in these examples: ". . .el pueblo es un
buenazo a quien se engaña con colorines y palabras vacías."
(Estafeta, p. 988); "Todo lo que es razonable y conforme al
sentido común se resiste a la mente plebeya. Para que en él
halle resonancia y acogida una idea es necesario que sea
perfectamente absurda." (Faccioso, pp. 306-307). Political-
ly inarticulate as a group, the pueblo uses devious means
to strike its ineffectual blows for freedom, as in the
incident at La Granja: "Es la obra del pueblo, el cual
entre nosotros, no sabe actuar por sí, y se infiltra en

las clases militares para dar forma, realidad tangible a sus ideas." (Oñate, p. 662).

In a curious paragraph about the passing of a character named Don Nicomedes, he views the pueblo in a larger sense as an ever-flowing stream of humanity in which the individual is submerged but ever-present, a view akin to Jules Romains' theory of Unanimisme:

. . . no ha pasado a la Historia. . .
 Apenas ha dejado rastro de sí, como
 no sea el descubierto con no poca
 diligencia por el que esto refiere;
 rastro apenas visible, apenas perceptible
 en el campo de la historia anónima, es
 decir de aquella historia que podría y
 debería escribirse sin personajes, sin
 figuras célebres, con los solos elementos
 del protagonista elemental, que es el
 macizo y santo pueblo, la raza, el
 Fulano colectivo. (Mendizábal, p. 435).

Some of Galdós' fictional personajes experience a change in character, sometimes naturally, as a result of environmental change and sometimes abruptly, when approaching death strips away a lifetime of delusions to expose the naked truth. The spell of Romanticism affects Calpena's companion, the rhetorical priest, Pedro Hillo, transforming him almost completely: "Es que de algún tiempo acá, desde que la desconocida mamá de Calpena me fué metiendo con suavidad en este berenjenal romántico, no me conozco; no soy el Pedro Hillo de antes, de tantos años pacíficos y oscuros dentro de la paz sacerdotal. . . . Me he convertido, insensiblemente, en otro ser, menos de Dios y más del siglo." (Oñate, p. 583). The practical, patriotic army officer, Santiago

Ibero, abandons his sane, idealistic outlook to embark upon a completely bohemian life, alien to his character: "Se ha pasado con armas y bagajes a la literatura de tumba y capaz de que tanto nos hemos reído, y sus melancolías entiendo que son una enfermedad ocasionada por desvaríos de amor." (Ayacuchos, p. 1214).

Aura, during her relationship with Calpena, is a completely Romantic character, ". . . melancólica, como imagen de la poesía osiánica." (Oñate, p. 642). But her character changes visibly under the forceful, almost hypnotic influence of Zoilo, in the healthful natural atmosphere of the seaside town to which she is sent to forget the Romantic notions she acquired in Madrid. The abruptness of this personality reversal disturbed the critical sensitivity of Alas: "Intencionada es la transformación, pero acaso demasiado violenta, y no sería milagro que el autor, como Zola a veces, se hubiera olvidado más que nosotros del carácter que antes había atribuido a su criatura artística."¹¹

Carlitos Navarro, a mad Carlist captain, comes to believe he is Zumalacárregui and in his illness resembles the addled protagonist of Cervantes: ". . . resultaba que el señor Navarro, mirado desde fuera, escuálido, aburrado, entumecido y soñoliento, se pareciese algo a Don Quijote, cuando le llevaban encantado desde la venta a su aldea." (Faccioso, p. 284). And, as with Don Quijote, only the cold hand of approaching Death can dispel the fog of irrationality that had submerged his true character:

Yo no soy Zumalacárregui; yo no soy lo que mi cerebro abrasado y enfermo me fingió. De repente, lo mismo que se rasga un velo, se ha roto en mi cerebro no sé qué cortina de telarañas . . . Pasmado estoy de que un hombre como yo, jamás inclinado a fantasías ni figuraciones, haya estado por tanto tiempo. . . Ya es tarde: corre el tiempo y yo me muero, porque seguramente esta vuelta mía a la razón es, como en Don Quijote, señal de muerte próxima. (Faccioso, p. 300).¹²

The device of reappearing characters in Galdós' works is receiving more critical attention and study.¹³ It had the effect of adding a sense of continuity to serial novels like the Episodios, and was employed often in many of the Novelas contemporáneas.¹⁴ Galdós consciously used this device and often referred to it, as in the final paragraphs of the Segunda serie: "Aquí concluyen definitivamente [los Episodios Nacionales]. Si algún bien intencionado no lo cree así y quiere continuarlos, hechos históricos y curiosidades políticas y sociales en gran número tiene a su disposición. Pero los personajes novelescos, que han quedado vivos en esta delatadísima jornada, los guardo, como legítima pertenencia mía, y los conservaré para casta de tipos contemporáneos, como verá el lector que no me abandone. . . ." (Faccioso, p. 324).

Miller points to an inherent weakness in the technique, as used in the Episodios: "But in each novel there is a more or less complete scene of private life, as affected by the public events of the time. In this respect, however, the 'Episodios Nacionales' suffer from a defect common to all

long series of stories and indeed inevitable in that class of composition. The same characters reappear in successive volumes, often without the slightest explanation, and thus the reader, who has neither time nor patience to wade through all the previous books of the series, finds himself suddenly plunged into the middle of things with no clue to guide him."¹⁵

Galdós does, however, very often fill in the reader on some of the background of his reappearing fictional characters, even though he may leave some part of their life in darkness, as in this instance: "Toda esta parte de la historia de Galán y Saloma es algo oscura y no ofrece bastante interés para que se emprendan por esclarecerla, investigaciones muy minuciosas." (Campaña, p. 800).

Galdós' lapses of memory induced embarrassing inconsistencies in his development of some of his reappearing characters.¹⁶ Jenara Baraona, novia of Salvador Monsalud, appeared in seven Episodios of the Segunda serie, acting as the narrating protagonist of Los cien mil hijos de San Luis. Galdós makes a point of dropping her as a character in the last novel of this series, giving, however, some interesting details of her future life and the approximate date of her death: "Esta mujer acabó ya para nosotros. Dentro de los límites señalados a estas historias no cabe ya el resto de su vida. . . . Sólo diremos que vivió muchos años, y que. . . murió de repente hacia el último tercio del 68, si no están equivocadas las crónicas." (Faccioso, p. 312).

She does reappear in Bodas reales in the Tercera serie and in Los tormentos del 48, Narváez, and La revolución de julio in the Cuarta serie. José García Fajardo, protagonist of many of the later Episodios, writing in his Memorias of the death of Mendizábal in 1853 also refers to the demise of Jenara as occurring in the same year: "Murió también Jenara, la viuda de Navarro, mujer de larga historia propia y de grandísimo ingenio para contar lo de los demás." (La revolución de julio, p. 23). This slip of fifteen years in the date of death of an important reappearing character tends to support Shoemaker's contention that Galdós' use of the device "was neither planned nor even consciously employed for the growth and development or the expansion of individual personajes."¹⁷

Two of the fictional characters from the Tercera serie deserve closer scrutiny, Fernando Calpena, for his role as a witness to the events of the era they encompass and José Fago, for his curious relationship with Zumalacárregui. Calpena, under the direct influence of Romanticism and some of its greatest literary figures, developed into a typical, if not always consistent, Romantic youth, mirroring the interests, dreams and social conduct of the era in which he lived. Galdós even compared him to Dumas' famous Antony. (Mendizábal, p. 544).

Even the circumstances of his birth bear Romantic overtones for they are a mystery to him until 1837 (Estafeta, p. 954), when he learns that he is the natural son of Pilar

de Loaysa, the Marquesa de Arista and the Polish nobleman, Prince Poniatowsky. (Estafeta, p. 922). Prior to this revelation, he had known his mother only as "la incógnita," a high-born, cultured woman who ministered to all his needs and protected him through the good offices of Pedro Hillo, his mentor.

His physical attributes at once set him above the common herd: "Era el tal un joven de facciones finas y aristocráticas, ojos garzos, bigotillo nuevo, melena rizada y negra. . . Su talle sería sin duda, airoso cuando cambiara el anticuado y sucio vestido de mahón por otro limpio de mejor corte." (Mendizábal, p. 431). His violent love affair with Aura completes the Romantic infection acquired through his association with other youths in advanced stages of this highly contagious spiritual disease, whose symptoms are most evident in his physical appearance:

La transformación moral del enamorado joven se traslucía claramente en lo físico: había enflaquecido: sus ojos que antes eran hermosos y alegres, brillaban después de la crisis con mayor hermosura, y su alegría era extraña combinación de zozobra y delirio. Hablaba con más viveza, amontonando ideas sobre ideas, empleando con frecuencia imágenes felices. Vestía con elegante descuido. . . Dejaba crecer la negra melena y la mantenía crespa, indómita, dando a los rizos y mechones libertad para estirarse o encogerse como quisieran. Había llegado a adquirir con estas y otras costumbres nuevas, un sello propio, personal, que le distinguía y señalaba entre sus amigos. (Mendizábal, pp. 522-523).

Galdós lets Calpena look into his own heart for an un-

flattering analysis of his character: "He aquí un hombre sin carrera, sin profesión, que no sabe como vive hoy ni como vivirá mañana. . . ; un hombre que desconoce el trabajo y que no da señales de vida en la sociedad más que perturbarla." (Oñate, p. 657).

To further his frustrated amores with Aura, he tried to translate into reality all the impossible plots of the Romantic dramas. At the home of Valvanera, his mother's friend, he helps stage Romantic dramas, while recuperating from physical and mental exhaustion induced by his attempts to find Aura. Valvanera recognizes the conflict between espíritu and realidad that has reduced him to such a deplorable state: "En todo lo que me refiere se revela el mal gravísimo que tiempo ha viene padeciendo, y no es otro que la desproporción monstruosa entre lo que piensa, siente o sueña y lo que le sucede. ;Tanta poesía en su espíritu y prosa tan baja en la realidad!" (Estafeta, p. 922).

The inability to resolve this basic, inescapable conflict brought many of these typically Romantic youths to the border-line of insanity and subsequent suicide, a desperate measure, born of futility and steeped in Romantic tradition, in imitation of Goethe's Werther. Herein is the inconsistency in Calpena's Romantic character. His desperation over Aura's marriage to Zoilo, the day before he arrives in Bilbao, does not lead him to the Romantic solution of suicide, as would seem logical in light of the intense passion they shared. Instead, as if returning to reality from a distant planet,

he buries the disappointments of his Romantic interlude with the spade of Reason, recognizing the emptiness and futility of following Romantic tenets from the sublime to the ridiculous: "El carácter de Werther sin suicidio no me convenía en modo alguno, ni era papel airoso para ningún cristiano. Nunca he gustado de los llorones: yo lo fui tan poco tiempo, que no llegué a excitar la conmiseración burlesca de mis amigos." (Estafeta, p. 915).

José Fago, a priest attached to the headquarters of Don Carlos, is the main fictional personaje of Zumalacárregui, making only this one appearance before ceding the spotlight to Calpena, whose adventures tie together most of the remaining Episodios of the Tercera serie. Fago's role is psychologically interesting because he is every inch the alter ego of the titular historical protagonist, the Carlist general, Zumalacárregui, not only mirroring the great man's thoughts, but actually projecting many of his own into his idol's mind: "En Zumalacárregui, las ideas de Fago se anticipan a las del célebre guerrillero, el pensamiento se transfunda milagrosamente de uno a otro cerebro, y acaba por no saberse qué es lo vivo y qué lo imaginado. Estamos en plena realidad unamunesca o pirandelliana, a no dudarlo."¹⁸

Given to irresistible impulses of emulation of distinguished men, he wanted to become a guerrillero the moment he set eyes upon Zumalacárregui, his martial zeal making him typical of many priests who felt an overwhelming temptation to desert flock and frock for gun and glory. He

constantly refers to his mental forays into the brain of his hero: "La obra de este hombre. . . paréceme que es obra mía, y que mi espíritu se ha introducido en él para inspirarle sus resoluciones." (Zumalacárregui, p. 350); "Fago se decía: 'Ya, ya conozco tu plan; . . . Estoy dentro de tu cerebro y sé todo lo que vas a disponer mañana, pasado mañana o cuando sea'." (Zumalacárregui, p. 369); "Todo lo que yo pienso, lo piensa él; pero lo piensa después que yo. . . ." (Zumalacárregui, p. 374).

Fago is so much one with the Carlist general, that he expires at the same time Zumalacárregui succumbs to complications arising from a poorly-treated minor wound. His raison-d'être dies with his chief, and he is heard to say, "Nos morimos, nos morimos." (Zumalacárregui, p. 429). In José Fago, Galdós created a convenient device for presenting to the reader the thoughts of the Carlist leader and for giving an account of the historical incidents in which he took part, without leaving the scene of the fictional action in which Fago is involved.

Among the historical characters, it is interesting to note that Don Carlos, whose pretensions to the throne generated the shower of sparks that started the conflagration of civil unrest in nineteenth-century Spain, receives relatively little literary development from Galdós. The most complete description of the Pretender comes to us through the eyes of Fernando Calpena, who sketches him both physically and morally by the technique of comparing him to his brother,

Fernando VII. Such a comparison could only be advantageous to Don Carlos from both points of view: "La prolongación del maxilar hacía muy desapacible el soberano rostro, sin llegar a la fealdad que al de su hermano daba la trompa que tenía por nariz. . . . Considerados en lo moral, grande era la diferencia entre Fernando y Carlos, pues la bajeza y sentimientos innobles de aquel no tuvieron imitación en su hermano, varón puro y honrado, con toda la probidad posible dentro de aquella artificial realeza y de la superstición de soberanía providencial." (Oñate, p. 617).

Galdós, personally, had a poor opinion of Don Carlos that developed into an idéé fixe, as shown by the similarity of language and imagery in the following sets of descriptions of him:

La luz iluminó de lleno el semblante de Don Carlos, en el cual no resplandecía ningún destello ni aun chispa leve de inteligencia. . . . (Faccioso, pp. 298-299).

La graciosa lucecita iluminaba el rostro antipático del Rey (que si algo expresaba era lo contrario de la inteligencia) (Vergara, p. 1060).

. . . aquella piedra viva que se llamó don Carlos, piedra por la tenacidad y falta de inteligencia. (Faccioso, p. 268).

. . . era un rostro de efigie inexpresiva, de esas que no dicen nada al devoto que las adora. . . sus vasallos no veían en ella más que en convencimiento tenaz y un fatalismo irreductible. (Vergara, p. 1068).

Although Zumalacárregui makes relatively few appearances

in the Episodio which bears his name, Galdós' enthusiasm for this historical personaje as a symbol of the best in Spain's national character is transparent in his literary treatment of him: "¡Zumalacárregui, página bella y triste! España le hace suya, así por su hermosura como por su tristeza." (Zumalacárregui, p. 327). His development is accomplished chiefly through the spiritual consonance that existed between him and Fago, the passionate priest-warrior who occupies the center of the stage in this novel.

His physical description is given rather fully before his appearance in the Tercera serie: "Era un hombre de alta estatura, moreno, de ojos negros, bigote y patillas. . . nariz aguileña. . . . Las patillas, las botas, la zamarreta, la aguileña y delgada nariz, los ojos de cuervo y la gravedad taciturna, son rasgos suficientes a trazar sobre el lienzo o sobre el papel la inequívoca figura de Zumalacárregui." (Faccioso, p. 287). Later, in Zumalacárregui (p. 339) Galdós expanded his description with more precise physical details to show the effect of illness on his physique. Again he differs in color detail with C. R. Henningsen, an English adventurer who fought with the Carlist general. Galdós, relying on his source materials, states that his eyes were black, while the eyewitness says they were gray.¹⁹

Galdós made several references to Eugenio de Aviraneta in Un faccioso más y algunos frailes menos, Mendizábal, De Ofiate a la Granja and Vergara, Episodios which covered the

period of his most intensive conspiratorial activity. His role in the series is insignificant when compared with the prolific use to which his intrigues and adventures were put by Baroja in Las memorias de un hombre de acción. Galdós fell victim to the metathesis often occurring in the spelling of the conspirator's name sometimes rendering it as Aviraneta and sometimes, Avinareta. In spite of his admiration for him as "un colosal genio de la intriga y un histrión inimitable para el gigantesco escenario de los partidos" (Faccioso, p. 241), Galdós did not share Baroja's regard for his patriotic qualities, tending instead to be suspicious of his personal motives: ". . . Aviraneta, justo es decirlo, tenía de todo, menos de espíritu puro. . . se podía jurar que sólo era instrumento de una voluntad superior, maquinilla engrasada por el oro y movida por una misteriosa mano." (Faccioso, p. 240). Castillo Puche, again in a negative vein, ascribes Galdós' scanty treatment of this important character to literary caution; "Se ve claramente que don Benito tiró a hacer de Aviraneta un tipo standard y que premeditadamente quiso huir del análisis. Era expuesto dedicarse a un revolucionario, y el buen canario no quería líos con la policía."²⁰

Many of the more important historical figures of the era play decidedly minor roles in the Tercera serie,²¹ very seldom entering directly into the action. Always moderate, Galdós avoided intemperance in his descriptions of some of those whose actions deserved severe castigation by History.

María Cristina is sympathetically treated and there are several references to the effect of her personal charm and beauty on the political destiny of Spain: "Su venida fué un feliz suceso para España, y su belleza, el resorte político a que debieron sus principales éxitos la Libertad y la Monarquía. Su gracia sonriente enloqueció a los españoles. . . ." (Mendizábal, p. 483).

He seems to have had a soft spot in his heart for Isabel, coming to her defense at every turn:²² "No es justo culpar a la pobre niña, sino a los que pusieron la nación en sus manos, como un juguete complicado, cuyo manejo se reservaban el interés y la ambición." (Bodas, p. 1357). Even her physical shortcomings are made to seem advantages, not defects: ". . . nariz respingada, que bien podía llamarse una nariz popular; . . . su boca, que no habría sido tan simpática si fuese más chica. . . ." (Bodas, p. 1397). He did not hesitate to penetrate more deeply into Isabel's psychology than he dared with other historical characters, giving an especially revealing portrait of her as an adolescent princess in Los ayacuchos.²³

Although Galdós gives his own physical description of Mendizábal, including much detail about his clothing which was always cut to the latest London mode (Mendizábal, p. 469), he accepted a historical moral portrait as the best: ". . . Joaquín María López había hecho con cuatro palabras el exacto retrato del ministro de la Desamortización: "Alma candorosa y apasionada, cabeza fecunda en recursos,

corazón a la vez de héroe y de niño." (Oñate, p. 589). With a characteristic gesture of fair play, he attempted to set History right in regard to Mendizábal's religious origin: ". . . eso que cuentan de que el señor Álvarez y Méndez no viene de casta de cristianos viejos es calumnia, señor; cosas que inventa la maldad del absolutismo para rebajar a los patriotas." (Mendizábal, p. 434). The entire Episodio is more successful, however, in portraying the era in which he was so influential, rather than the character of the man himself.²⁴

Cabrera, the fierce Carlist chieftain who is the historical protagonist of La campaña de Maestrazgo receives ungrudging admiration from Galdós who calls him "Un Napoleón de montaña" (Campaña, p. 810) and blames his cruel excesses on revenge for the Cristino execution of his mother. His direct appearances are few, however, with Don Beltrán de Urdaneta, the fictional protagonist playing a more important role. The ambitious Narváez is subjected to a penetrating analysis in a few lines: ". . . fué la mitad de un gran dictador, poseyendo en altísimo grado las cualidades del gesto bravucón y de la rapidez del mando, desconociendo en absoluto la psicología indispensable para guiar a un pueblo." (Bodas, p. 1306). Montes de Oca, who also plays a minor part in the Episodio bearing his name, is pictured as having appropriate physical attributes to play his historical role: ". . . fisonomía grave, dulce y melancólica. . . su juventud, su hermosura, su expresión soñadora y romántica. . . ."

(Montes, p. 1116); ". . . representación viva de la poesía política, arte que ha tenido existencia lozana en esta tierra de caballeros. . . ." (Montes, p. 1174).

Many more minor historical personajes received some development, as well as many of the principal literary figures of the era like Espronceda, Larra, Bretón de los Herreros, García Gutierrez, Nicasio Gallego and Hartzzenbusch. Some of the descriptions of these last were rather unflattering. Hartzzenbusch: "Era pequeñín, todo nervios, con una cara ratonil, graciosa y llena de inteligencia, unos ojuelos que despedían lumbre y una boca como la de los ángeles feos, que también los hay, según dicen." (Mendizábal, p. 521). Larra is glimpsed as he appears in Calpena's dream after his suicide: "Su boca entreabierta dejaba ver los dientes ennegrecidos, y lo blanco de sus ojos amarilleaba más de lo habitual; tenía los lagrimales muy rojos, con irritación que le hacía pestañear de continuo." (Estafeta, p. 916).

The roster of historical personajes is enlarged by passing mention of more than three hundred figures representing the fields of politics and government, literature, art, religion, music, philosophy and mythology. The inclusion of their names is almost always pertinent to the action and not merely a display of erudition by Galdós.

The hundreds of characters who flit through Baroja's Memorias de un hombre de acción seem to belie a statement he made in an address in the Casa Americana in Madrid in 1945: "En la novela y en todo arte literario, lo difícil es inventar, sobre todo inventar personajes que tengan vida y que nos sean necesarios sentimentalmente por algo. La imaginación, la fantasía, en la mayoría de los hombres constituye un filón tan pobre que cuando se encuentra una veta abundante, produce asombro y deja maravillado."²⁵

Like Galdós, Baroja was a penetrating observer of humanity and drew freely from life for the raw material with which to fashion his personajes: ". . . en 'El escuadrón del Brigante' los guerrilleros son tipos vistos en los pueblos de la provincia de Burgos en el año 1914."²⁶

He is so indiscriminate in his choice of characters that his novel has been compared to a net dragged through society, permitting no tipos to escape.²⁷ In a section of La nave de los locos (pp. 49-50) entitled Alocución a mis mufecos, he addresses his characters as "Queridos hijos espirituales," assuring them that they all have a place in his "pequeña barraca." So many personajes crowded into each novel leave little room for individual development. His heroes appear briefly, shine momentarily and disappear to be replaced by others whose literary life span is no longer than that of their immediate predecessor: "El desfile de tipos, como en la calle, es la principal distracción."²⁸

Baroja's penchant for and great ability in portraying

characters who claim our attention for a few fleeting but intense moments and then usually disappear forever, exposes him to the charge of failure to create "figuras de marmol,"²⁹ strong, enduring personalities: ". . . va a poblar sus novelas de gente pequeña que entra y sale, sin más misión que representar. . . . Por eso Baroja no es creador de arquetipos. Solo son tipos los que nos presenta. Ninguno de ellos ha de destacar entre sus compañeros. . . ." ³⁰

Aviraneta, although an archetype of the conspirator, is really a historical character, being a creation of Baroja only in so far as he developed him literarily, relying upon his artistic intuition to fill in the gaps in his life for which he had no documentation. All his characters seem to be cut from the same cloth³¹ and have the same vitality, even to some of the lifeless wax figures in La nave de los locos, who are described in a manner that breathes life into them.³²

His personajes lack independence, that facility for living their own lives and surprising their creator with demands for special treatment, as did Augusto Pérez in Unamuno's Niebla. In all of them, regardless of age, sex, intellectual or social status, there is some intimate reflection of their creator:³³ ". . . todos ellos al pasar ante nosotros nos dicen una misma cosa y nos dejan una misma impresión: nos descubren en sus gestos el alma de quien los vió y nos dejan siempre la misma emoción de indiferencia amarga, de renunciamento penoso, de mansa

resignación, de humor compasivo y de todo lo demás que forma la compleja personalidad de Pío Baroja."³⁴

Granjel has classified his personajes into three general groups, each a symbol of some vital attitude of Baroja at some period in his life. The first is composed of those who remain aloof from the stream of life, spectators, commentators, observers, who symbolize his voluntary, personal and literary isolation. The second group harbors the frustrated, abulic personajes of the era before and after 1898, who seek to flee the pragmatism of the Spanish society of their time, fail, try to remake society to fit their dreams and aspirations only to fail again. The third group, whose representatives are legion throughout the Memorias de un hombre de acción, are the adventurers, men of action, both fictional and historical, who perpetuate Baroja's yearning for a heroic life, another of his unrealized ambitions.³⁵ This last category is the most insistent, recurring theme in his literary production: "Además nunca falta en sus libros el hombre fuerte, digno, rebelde, hombre de acción, un tanto nietzschiano, que es como el 'leit motiv' de toda su literatura y que, por lo que se repite, parece resumir la aspiración humana de Baroja."³⁶

For all his skill in depicting the physical exterior of his characters, he has been consistently attacked for leaving them bereft of psychological interest. Perhaps he was content to accept them at their face value, unwilling to penetrate the mysteries of human personality. He gives his

attitude in the words of Conde de España: "Es que nadie sabe lo que es el hombre. Es un enigma. Todos lo somos para los demás, y para nosotros mismos." (Enigma, p. 324).

Baroja's technique of having a torrent of characters parade through his novels militates against full literary development and the fact that they seldom leave a lasting impression is a natural outcome of his limited treatment of them. Also, many of them are only tipos that he has observed and recorded rather than complete literary creations of his artistic imagination. Ortega y Gasset goes so far as to insist that his characters are really left outside the confines of his novels, and that we are left only with Baroja's opinion or impression of them, a subjective shadow of reality.³⁷

Serrano Poncela too, decries his paucity of psychological depth in characterization: "Son siluetas de teatro chino, discursadores y andarines a quienes vemos hacer movimientos, gesticular y afanarse sin saber nunca bien sus íntimas razones."³⁸ Baroja admits the emptiness of some of his characters and defends his treatment of them: "Hay personajes que no tienen más que silueta y no hay manera de llenarla. De algunos, a veces, no se pueden escribir, aunque se quiera, más que muy pocas líneas, y lo que se añade parece vano y superfluo. El detalle inventado y mostrenco salta a la vista como cosa muerta."³⁹ He immediately thrusts female characters outside the pale of psychological analysis: "Yo no he pretendido nunca hacer figuras de mujeres miradas como

desde dentro de ellas, estilo Bourget, Houssaye, Prévost; esto me parece una mistificación; las he dibujado como desde fuera, desde esa orilla lejana que es un sexo para otro."⁴⁰

One critic has come to his defense, maintaining that his personajes acquire their psychological make-up through the medium of action rather than long analytical descriptions.⁴¹ Another finds that Baroja is not the real culprit at all: "Y no culpemos a Baroja, culpemos al siglo de donde extrajo su novelesca fauna. El siglo XIX español está nutrido de vidas así, meramente exteriores, episódicas, sin esa gran arquitectura interior, que, a través de los tiempos, pudiera mantenerlos en alto. . . ."42

One of Baroja's favorite techniques for the psychological development of important characters was analysis by comparison. Aviraneta most often serves as the basis for comparison, especially for the fictional character Leguía who serves as the conspirator's apprentice and confidant: ". . . a las cosas y a los hombres hay que compararlos para apreciar sus caracteres; y en esta narración, Aviraneta y yo [Leguía] estamos con frecuencia frente a frente, no como enemigos, sino como tipos de modalidad espiritual distinta." (Amor, p. 16). Aviraneta is also compared with historical characters like the Conde de España (Enigma, pp. 261-262) and Riego (Pluma, pp. 47-50). In the latter case, each man's psychology and motivation is laid bare by exposing facets of character side by side, one by one. Their unspoken opinion of each

other is also given, revealing a personality clash. Here, Baroja completely ignores Riego's physical characteristics, and cannot be accused of indifference to psychological development, for he is concerned even with the idea of multiple personality in the individual: "Si cada individuo, como suponen algunos observadores, en vez de ser un yo, es un conjunto de yos oscuros y embrionarios, lo que hacía Aviraneta lo hacía con todos los Aviranetas de su alma; en cambio, lo que hacía Riego, lo hacía por el esfuerzo y la victoria de un Riego sobre los demás Riegos de su espíritu." (Pluma, p. 48). Elsewhere, the technique is used to provide a psychological parallel between Cabrera and Zumalacárregui (Nave, pp. 233-234) and to delineate the character of the ambitious Luisa Carlota and her grasping sister, María Cristina (Principio, p. 148).

Humano enigma is completely dedicated to a reconstruction of the enigmatic personality of the cruel, mysterious Conde de España. Another excellent character study is entitled El Cura Merino, de cerca (Escuadrón, pp. 103-133). Azorín points to La veleta de Gastizar for examples of Baroja's development of the psychology of other historical figures: "Nos referimos al capítulo entitulado 'Los jefes.' Mina, Valdés, Chapalangarra, otros personajes históricos de menor cuantía están estudiados, analizados desde un punto de vista nuevo. . . ."43

In one striking instance, Baroja uses one of the modern psychiatrist's tools, the dream, as a key to open the door to

personality analysis. Alvarito Sánchez de Mendoza, a character important in the action of La nave de los locos and Las figuras de cera is continually beset by dreams which he and his mother try to interpret. Physically underdeveloped, he was spiritually "un muchacho despi-tado, sin rumbo" (Figuras, p. 71), inheriting a propensity to fantasy and superstition from his mother. His dream personality, in which he was always valiant, daring and cruel is completely different from the character evident during his waking hours, timid, sensitive, easily frightened. His dreams are usually peopled with the same terrifying wax figures who surround him in the junk-filled home of Chipitiguy: "Alvarito tenía el temor de que toda su vida la pasaría así, con la perspectiva de su sótano negro con figuras de cera." (Figuras, p. 144).

Baroja is extremely skilful at reproducing the dream feeling of illogicality and logicality at the same time, especially in portraying Alvarito's progressive dissociation from reality. His mental aberrations were an overwhelmingly influential factor in his novelistic life: "Llegó una época en que Alvarito notó que la alarma, la inquietud, nacían en él antes que el motivo y que después encontraba el motivo para legitimar su alarma." (Figuras, p. 74).

In another character, Baroja hints at personality change through incipient schizophrenia: "Sí, es un muchacho [Tilly] que va alimentando la parte mala de su alma con la sustancia de la buena; cada vez más cínico y más atrevido, va asesina-

narco al buen muchacho que había en él y va a terminar siendo un canalla." (Caudillos, p. 51). Another psychological reversal, a return to reality patterned after Don Quijote's deathbed scene, occurs in the last moments of Don Francisco Sánchez de Mendoza, Alvarito's father. He spent his life making believe he was an hidalgo, his head full of escudos, blasones, árboles genealógicos and even a false barra de bastardía which made him suffer. The maze of pretense and falsehood is cut away by the scythe of approaching Death:

Tengo que decirte. . . , Alvarito. . . ,
 que todo esto de la nobleza de mi
 familia. . . , de la alcurnia de los
 Sánchez de Mendoza. . . , está inventado
 por mí. . . Yo no comprendo la locura
 que he tenido durante tantos años. Ha
 debido de ser una cosa enfermiza. . . ,
 una mascarada carnavalesca de mi alma. .
 . En este momento, para mí el mayor
 consuelo es decir la verdad. . . . No
 pasaré de esta noche. (Mascaradas,
 p. 268).

Baroja's descriptive techniques are many and are influenced, as were those of Galdós, by his habit of sketching his personajes,⁴⁴ and relying on external physiognomy to reveal personality traits. Like Aviraneta, he was interested in the theories of the Swiss philosopher, Lavater, who thought character could be deduced from facial features: "Creía que la primera impresión visual era importante, que se podía llegar a averiguar el sentido de una vida por la cara de un hombre." (Pluma, p. 119).

Generally, his descriptions contain many physical details, but at times he relies upon a broad classification to conjure

an image in the reader's mind: "Tenía [Narbonne] el tipo borbónico, vestía bien y llevaba un alfiler con una flor de lis, de oro, en la corbata." (Amor, p. 99). He often begins or ends his description with a general impression like "aire bestial," "parecía un zorro," "aspecto enfermizo," or "parecía un actor." He proceeds to the shape and features of the face then to the torso and appendages usually working from the top down. In one instance he even gives a birds-eye view of the head of a character: "Pardies. . . para disimular su calvicie tenía el sistema de llevar los pelos de un parietal a otro, así que su cabeza mirada a vista de pájaro tenía un enrejado que parecía un dibujo topográfico hecho con tiralíneas." (Caudillos, p. 250).

He is unprecise about the height of many of his characters, even Aviraneta, leaving the reader to interpret as well as he can the often-used expression "más bien bajo que alto." (Aprendiz, p. 98). He often makes his descriptive adjectives fit the profession of his character as in the case of Señor Silhouette, an undertaker: "Silhouette era, indudablemente, funerario, feretral, panteónico." (Figuras, p. 283). A striking instance of repetition of one trait to hammer home an impression to the reader is in the reflection of Doña Cleofé's personality in her surroundings and acquaintances:

Doña Cleofé solía tener una tertulia en su casa, en una sala tan antipática como ella, con unas estampas religiosas tan antipáticas como la sala, con una consola y unas butacas tan

antipáticas como las estampas, y una alfombra y unas cortinas tan antipáticas como las butacas y la consola. En este cuarto antipático se reunía la tertulia de las viejas beatas más antipáticas del pueblo. (Pluma, p. 100).

Neither the fictional nor the historical characters escaped his penchant for summing up his total physical impression with a reference to the finned, furred or feathered members of the animal kingdom: "Sí, Baroja poco menos que agota el reino zoológico en la descripción de sus personajes."⁴⁵ Aviraneta shares Baroja's tendency to connect a tipo with some animal, even finding a definite pattern to the phenomén in Paris: "Yo le mostraba al padre Anastasio caras de buey, de cerdo, de perro y de rata. La expresión de roedor la encontraba con frecuencia en las viejas. Las jóvenes me recordaban más a los patos y a los caballos." (Crónica, p. 214).

His animal references were sometimes to physical characteristics and sometimes to moral ones. In one of his characters nicknamed "el Lince" he sees "nada en su físico ni en su moral que justificara el apodo." (Isabelina, p. 231). This negation of animal resemblance is perhaps an indication of his awareness of his addiction to this particular technique. He even used it in reverse in this humorous description of Aviraneta's dog, Philonius: ". . . un perro feo y poco estético, que tenía cara de persona, lanas rojizas y unas barbujas lacias de filósofo cínico." (Ruta, p. 279).

He achieves the effect of ludicrous caricature with an animal comparison for father and daughter: "Al verlos juntos y saber que eran padre e hija se hubiese pensado en una mariposa hija de un elefante o en un megaterio padre de un mosquito." (Nave, p. 232). A similar, devastatingly clear effect is obtained in Aviraneta's description of Nogueras: "Nogueras es un cínife, una chinche, un piojo, sabio y burocrático." (Isabelina, p. 108).

Among the historical characters, guerrilla chieftains are most commonly compared with beasts famous for their savagery and cunning:

El guerrillero nuestro aparece como medio zorro y medio tigre. Mina y Merino son más zorros; Zurbano y Cabrera, más tigres. Hay también algunos tipos que tienen algo de león, como el Empecinado y algunos militares sin ambiciones, valientes e inteligentes, como Oraá, el Lobo Cano. (Furias, p. 251).

Baroja must have realized that he had abused the technique by overuse, for after being very much in evidence for the first fifteen volumes of Memorias de un hombre de acción, it is notably almost totally absent in the remainder of the series.

Another comparative element in his descriptive technique is found in his use of literary, historical and artistic references to emphasize moral or physical character traits in his personajes. The majority of these allusions come from familiar Spanish literature with the name Celestina serving to describe in a word the activities of many of the

female characters and even of one male: "Al parecer, José [Buonaparte] había visto en Vitoria a una criada muy guapa y, entusiasmado, encargó a su ayudante que le sirviera de Celestina." (Escuadrón, p. 316). Comparison with other literary archetypes is also a common practice as in this example: "Al parecer, todos, o casi todos los generales emigrados [en París] eran unos Tenorios." (Principio, p. 117).

References to the Quijote are less frequent than similar ones occurring in the works of Galdós but the familiar names like Dulcinea, Caballero de la Triste Figura, Sancho Panza, Clavileño and Rocinante all play their part in facilitating more vivid descriptions of fictional and historical personajes: The infante Don Francisco is typed immediately when Baroja sketches him as "un tipo ridiculo, especie de Sancho Panza grotesco." (Confidentes, p. 102). In foreign literature, he used the works of Sir Walter Scott to characterize Manón irrevocably as a Romantic heroine: "Alvarito encontraba a Manón en las heroínas de todas las novelas del autor escocés. Era Diana Vernon, de Rob Roy; Minna y Brenda, del Pirata; Julia, de Guy Mannering; Edith, de Los Puritanos de Escocia; Lady Rowena, de Ivanhoe; y Amy Robsart, de Kenilworth." (Figuras, p. 228).

Folklore mythology, history and classical literature are represented by such references as the following: "[Dámasa] siempre dispuesta a hacer cuanto le mandaron,

como la Cenicienta de la casa." (Nave, p. 351); "[el Calavera] era un Hércules rechoncho, con aire bestial" (Aprendiz, p. 115); "[la Tiburcia] era una Mesalina insaciable." (Mascaradas, p. 236); "[el señor Elías] tenía el físico de un bárbaro, de un beocio" (Mascaradas, p. 57); "[el coronel Camps] parecía heredero de todos los Matamoros de las ciegas comedias españolas y lejanamente de Pyrgopolinices, el héroe del Soldado Fanfarrón de Plauto." (Enigma, p. 252).

The fine arts, too, give Baroja a frame of reference for his succinct descriptions, especially for his female characters. Some are compared to sculpture: "La Trabuca tenía unas caderas de yegua poderosa. Por su basamento podía pasar por una venus calipiga." (Venta, p. 195); "[la Demetri] tenía unos ojos brillantes, los pómulos acusados, y al reír, las comisuras de los labios se extendían hacia arriba, dándole un aire extraño y burlón de algunas antiguas figuras asiáticas." (Mascaradas, p. 63). Others find their counterparts in painting, even to a specific canvas, as in this example: "[Luci Belz era] una mujer pequeña, fea, negra con una cara de enana que tenía algo de la Mari Barbola de Velázquez. Era la curiosidad, la malicia y la mala intención reunidas." (Amor, p. 178).

An allusion to the plot of Mozart's Le Mariage de Figaro creates an immediate parallel with the situation of the lovers Oiquina and Conchita: "Seguía entregado a mis amores, luchando con el viejo cura del hotel de la Cometa,

que hacía de Don Bártolo con mi Rosina, y quería guardarla en un rincón obscuro. . . ." (Caminos, p. 199).

Baroja's tendency toward succinctness in character description is exemplified in another overworked technique, the typically Spanish propensity for tagging people with an apt apodo. Scores of characters, especially the guerrilleros are known by nicknames like, "el Hereje," "el Fraile," "el Cómico," "el Santo Negro," "el Telaraña," "el Ochavito," "Sin Penas," "el tío Guillotina" and "la Pinta." Some of them have even forgotten their real names. The explanation of the source of many of these nicknames accounts for a great number of his digressions.⁴⁶ Often, a character's favorite expression became his apodo as with "Santo Dios" and "Considerando" in Las mascaradas sangrientas (p. 147).

The character or actions of many of the historical personajes is also reflected in the notes applied to them. María Cristina's supposed heeding the advice of the monarch of France caused the liberals to call her "la Felipona." (Crónica, p. 222). The effeminate Don Francisco de Asís was popularly referred to as "Doña Paquita", while Sor Patrocinio, the nun who wielded great influence in the royal palace, was nicknamed "Soplatocino." (Principio, p. 195). The cruel head-hunting executioner, the Conde de España, was known by the Catalán apodo "Trenca-caps." (Senda, p. 203). These nicknames supplied rich popular flavor to Baroja's narrative besides sharply delineating a salient feature of a character's physique or personality.

In some instances, Baroja uses the muletilla advantageously to add color to a personaje. It developed humor in Pardies d'Espelunques whose favorite expression was "¡Pardies!" followed almost immediately by "No asustarse, señoras. Así me llamo." (Caudillos, p. 250). Ollarra, the untutored, half-savage mountain boy who acts as a guide for Alvarito and Manón, constantly sings an absurd refrain in patuá gascón which satisfied "al mismo tiempo su sentido muscial poético y su instinto de ironía brutal y salvaje." (Nave, p. 75). Even as he is being executed by a crístino troop, it leaves his throat as a last mocking, defiant gesture in the face of death:

Six sous costaren
Six sous costaren les esclós.
(Nave, p. 175).

Alvarito's romantic attachment for Manón from whom he has been separated by her disappearance, leads him to recite many times the romance of the Marqués de Mantua from the Quijote. It reflects his inner torment much more than a simple description by Baroja could:

¿Dónde estás, señora mía,
que no te duele mi mal?
O no lo sabes, señora
o eres falsa o desleal.
(Nave, p. 202).

His treatment of different types and classes of characters often reflects his own attitudes and prejudices. He delights in delineating regional character traits and differences, never hesitating to make the most sweeping

generalizations.⁴⁷ Foreigners are usually regarded unsympathetically:

Los extranjeros en las filas carlistas, en su mayoría no pasaban de ser gentuza de mala índole. Los franceses y los ingleses eran borrachos y pendencieros; los italianos, ladrones y traidores; los alemanes, bárbaros y crueles. Casi todos ellos, y principalmente los alemanes, desertaban con facilidad; la cuestión religiosa y dinástica que se debatía en España no la sentían. . . (Nave, p. 145).

The vagabond, a mixture of pícaro and idealist is one of his favorite tipos: "Nada mejor podía hallar para reunir en un solo individuo sus dos tendencias: La crítica y el aumento dinámico."⁴⁸ Carnival folk, eternal wanderers, are the subjects of some of his best descriptions and he obviously enjoys writing about them.⁴⁹

His rough-hewn portraits of the guerrilleros make them barely distinguishable from their counterparts in the Middle Ages and in romances like those of the Cid and the Infantes de Lara: "Aquellos campesinos no sentían el tiempo interpuesto entre estas viejas historias y la época nuestra, y para ellos, el Cid, el conde Lozano, Mudarra y Diego Lánuez eran casi contemporáneos suyos, hombres que tenían iguales pasiones e idénticas maneras de sentir." (Escuadrón, p. 99).

He displays a noticeable preference for the simple peasant whose face is blackened by the sun rather than the clinging soot of the cities. The urban dweller often reflects the ugliness of his environment while the campesino

usually mirrors the beauties of his natural habitat in his physique and personality.⁵⁰

Baroja has been accused of relegating women to an insignificant role in his literary work;⁵¹ as if contact with them even as personajes made him ill at ease. However, women do play a large part in the plot of many of the novels in the series and many excellent physical portraits and character studies are devoted to them. Not all these passages are complimentary to their sex, but the sympathetic portraits are in the majority. His obvious enthusiasm for the slender, beautiful Elena de Montferrat might almost point to her as his ideal woman: ". . . era una mujer alta, delgada y esbelta. Tenía el perfil romano, el óvalo de la cara, alargado; la nariz, recta, la boca, grande pero hermosa y fresca, los ojos negros, brillantes, y el pelo, rubio oscuro. . . En todos los ademanes de Elena había siempre una distinción aristocrática, unida a un gesto amargo y desdénoso. A mí me parecía, por su tipo, una emperatriz romana." (Furias, p. 66).

In contrast, he also drew the kind of woman with which he was psychologically unable to cope: "[María la Cañí era] morena, de ojos negros, pelo negro y piel oscura; era gitana o media gitana; tenía un aire de erotismo y de suspicacia. . . Era como un animal lascivo, que sabía encender el instinto sexual de los hombres." (Mascaradas, p. 54).

Baroja's personal prejudices are transparent in many of

his descriptions, especially those of clerics and Jews. Almost without exception, they are badly treated, most of them being tagged with an uncomplimentary animal reference. One fraile is "grueso, panzudo, con un aire de ballenato putrefacto." (Ruta, p. 375). El Padre Anastasio "era alto, flaco, escuálido y zancudo; parecía una cigüeña vieja y apolillada." (Crónica, p. 205). El Padre Cecilio is "grueso, abultado, poco inteligente y, por eso quizá, predicador favorito de las monjas." (Sabor, p. 150).

The strongest example of his anticlerical attitude is in a description of Padre Madruga: ". . . era de lo más antipático y repulsivo que puede haber en la clase de frailes. Era pequeño, negro, de movimientos rápidos y violentos. Tenía los ojos brillantes de un animal selvático . . . los dientes amarillos. . . una risa de fraile, grosera, plebeya y cínica. Por dentro era bajo, adulador, cobarde, enemigo furioso de toda novedad y de todo lo extranjero." (Caminos, p. 303). Nuns too, were unsympathetically portrayed, as is shown in this reference to the cloistered inhabitants of the Convent of Santa Clara: "Las caras. . . tenían un aire de estupor petrificado, duro e inexpressivo; como si la vida, retirándose de aquellos rostros, sólo dejara una máscara helada." (Nave, p. 247). One lowly, angelical village priest, Padre Anselmo, melts Baroja's prejudice because he is "un hombre sin ninguna malicia" (Sabor, p. 31), and a military chaplain, Suñer, proves to be a cleric to his liking, for three reasons: ". . . era

hombre poco místico; trataba a los soldados como camaradas y decía la misa en cinco minutos." (Furias, p. 271).

Two examples of his biting portraits of Jews suffice to indicate the tenor of the rest: ". . . por su tipo un naturalista hubiera clasificado al señor Raposo como un pajarracus semiticoide." (Nave, p. 237); "[Gomes Salcedo era] un judío. . . hombre más listo que el hambre. Claro que esta listeza en un judío no es cosa rara, y menos siendo de la familia de Leví, como Gomes Salcedo, porque los Leví descienden del rey David, o del rey Salomón, o de no se qué otro ilustre granuja bíblico. Gomes Salcedo, con su aire de cabratriste, era un águila." (Amor, p. 81).

The two outstanding fictional characters in Memorias de un hombre de acción are Eugenio de Aviraneta and Pello Leguía, who is the titular protagonist of El aprendiz de conspirador and the character to whom Baroja ascribes the authorship of these memoirs of Aviraneta. Leguía is the first important character encountered in the series and after much of his background is given, he then meets Aviraneta. After sharing several spirited escapades, he accepts his offer to come with him on his adventures, becoming in effect the conspirator's apprentice, his alter ego.

According to Trend, "Leguía also is founded on a real person, and an excellent bust of him is to be seen in the small village of Navarre which was his birthplace."⁵² He was physically handsome: ". . . un hombre joven, alto, elegante, vestido de negro, con pantalón estrecho,

entrabillado y sombrero de copa," (Aprendiz, p. 15). Baroja calls him a dandy, the same word Valle Inclán used to describe Bradomin and indeed Leguía bears some resemblance to him in his violent nature, cynicism and sarcastic wit. He has a psychological predisposition to violence, evidenced by his swashbuckling answer to Aviraneta's question:

--¿De manera que lo que tú quieres es
conspirar, intrigar, andar a tiros?
--Robar algo bueno si se tercia. . .
--Seducir infelices doncellas. . .
--Desvalijar las iglesias. . .
--Asaltar los conventos. . .
--Comer bien. . .
--Beber mejor. . .
--Jugarse las pestañas. . .
--Pello, permíteme que te lo diga,
eres un bandido. (Aprendiz, pp. 156-
157).⁵³

He affects a philosophical indifference to death in keeping with his youthful violent character, and his romantic vanity at first leads him to believe he will eclipse his master. (Amor, p. 268). In a period of critical self-analysis, he sees through the mist of self-deception that surrounds him. "Qué bruto soy - pensaba muchas veces - ¡Qué farsantería hay dentro de mí! Me emborracho de petulancia y de deseo de ser interesante." (Amor, p. 77).

After several years in the shadow of constant danger, he marries and settles down in a safe, comfortable sinecure, admitting that the perennial conspirator is made of sterner stuff: "Dentro de la burocracia fui avanzando en mi carrera. Ya se me había pasado el brío, la confianza en mi fuerza. Comprendía cuán inferior era en este sentido a Aviraneta,

que llevaba más de treinta años en una constante aventura, y que aún no estaba saciado." (Amor, p. 317).

As Mrs. Arjona puts it, the Memorias de un hombre de acción were "an attempt at a second series of Episodios nacionales in which the protagonist sank from a nation to an adventurer."⁵⁴ Aviraneta, the historical figure whose peripatetic life inspired the series, naturally receives the greatest amount of literary development. And in portraying him, Baroja has revealed himself: "Eugenio de Aviraneta - providencialmente descubierto en un armario viejo - ha venido a ser el símbolo supremo, la representación más alta. . . de la obra, las meditaciones, los anhelos y las esperanzas de Pío Baroja."⁵⁵ Aviraneta mirrors his individualism, his love of liberty and his desire to create for himself "una moral, un derecho, una visión del mundo que no es ni la moral, ni el derecho, ni la visión de todos los demás."⁵⁶

He is a projection of Baroja,⁵⁷ thinking his ideas, living as he wanted to live and affording his creator a vicarious realization of all his youthful dreams:⁵⁸ "Más que el tema, Aviraneta es un trampolín del que parte el salto del autor para seguir los caprichosos vuelos de su férvida fantasía."⁵⁹ Ortega has glimpsed another tie between them: "Han nacido el uno para el otro y nada se parece tanto al estilo de la literatura de Baroja como el estilo de la vida de Aviraneta."⁶⁰ Physically, Aviraneta shares Baroja's chronic complaint, rheumatism, and in

conversation he commits the same sins, as is shown by Leguía's impatience with the conspirator's story of his life: "Al grano, don Eugenio, al grano. Se pierde usted en disquisiciones, maestro." (Aprendiz, p. 205).

Baroja is remarkably consistent in repeating details of Aviraneta's physical description throughout the series, portraying him at various stages in life, from vibrant youth to decrepit old age.⁶¹ Habitually dressed in black, he was a small man, erect, slender, blond, clean-shaven with a large, triangular head, broad at the forehead and narrow at the chin. His nose was large and aquiline and his eyes extraordinarily crossed. As the years and his adventures aged him, he acquired a rheumatic limp that was more of a convenience than an infirmity,⁶² graying hair thinned by creeping baldness, and a strong reading glass.

At the age of fifty, he was physically worn out: "Notaba que los cincuenta años eran para mí la vejez; perdía mis condiciones de combate y ya no aspiraba a más que a la tranquilidad." (Principio, p. 103). At seventy, ten years before his death in 1872 only the spirit of the conspirator was withstanding the ravages of time: ". . . estaba hecho una momia grotesca. . . Su cara, seca, arrugada, apareció debajo de una gran peluca roja; su nariz, grande y también roja, amenazaba caer sobre el labio; sus ojos brillaban de inteligencia y de malicia." (Recursos, p. 19).

Aviraneta, too, was saddled with apodos like Pisaverde

and Vinagrete. His most prominent physical feature must have been his nose for the majority of animal references Baroja uses to facilitate or clinch his descriptions of him are to large-beaked birds like cuervo, águila, buitre, pajarraco and ave de rapiña. Elsewhere, he compares him to the vanishing monarch of the plains: "Estaba en su elemento, en la acción. Marchaba como un búfalo a través de las selvas, embriagado por sus aventuras." (Pluma, p. 294).

In spite of his intense literary treatment of Aviraneta, Baroja has been accused of shallow psychological development, emphasizing his adventures rather than analysis of his inner life.⁶³ However, much of his character can be inferred from his actions, for it was so well cast that it admitted no possibility of change:

Aviraneta fué siempre hombre de una pieza. Desde su juventud hasta la vejez siguió siendo el mismo, sin variar en nada. Para él no había posibilidad de cambio.

Le sucedía como a algunos tipos animales, como por ejemplo, el gato, que son demasiado perfecto en su género para cambiar. (Amor, p. 19).

Marañón characterized him as insensato, undismayed by repeated failure and deeply conscious of the importance of his conspiratorial art in itself: "Por ser insensato, al conspirador le importa menos triunfar que intrigar, lo importante es bucear en el fondo de los mares, aunque vuelva a la superficie sin otra perla que el relato de lo que ha visto o de lo que ha imaginado ver."⁶⁴

Baroja himself, saw him as a "tipo mal determinado," essentially rational and calm, but lacking important elements: ". . . por ejemplo el sentido de lo patético. Yo podría suplirlo, al menos para el vulgo, con una simulación retórica, pero eso, en el fondo, no me satisface."⁶⁵ An essentially lonely man, he needed space and solitude to give his strong will free play: "Parecía que los resortes de su voluntad perdían su fuerza cuando tenía que contar con otra voluntad. Le era indispensable estar solo, dirigir él, para que su energía tomara el máximum de tono." (Caminos, p. 239).

Movement, action, dynamic and intense living were the mainspring of his existence. He sought out greater and greater difficulties, his own adventurous spirit often creating the adventure itself rather than waiting for life to supply the proper set of contingencies: "Tenía la furia de hacer por hacer. . . ." (Caminos, p. 113).

He characterized himself as a "buen diablo" (Aprendiz, p. 154) and relied upon his great strength of will to mitigate the "mala suerte" that pursued his machinations. He remained psychologically faithful to one moral philosophy: "Obra de modo que tus actos concuerdan y parezcan dimanar lógicamente de la figura ideal que te has formado de tí mismo" (Pluma, p. 117). An Italian phrenologist gave a complete psychological synthesis of him when he remarked: "Esta no es una cabeza filosófica, no es una cabeza artística, éste es un condottiere. . . ." (Isabelina, p. 153).

Politically, Aviraneta was "un liberal y un patriota monomaniaco." (Caminos, p. 339). He came under the liberal influence of his father and his uncle, Etchepare, who professed "ideas modernas, que en aquella época no se llamaban todavía liberales." (Aprendiz, p. 207). Machiavellian in theory and practice, he used his Masonic connections to aid his fight against traditionalism, but ridiculed their aims, rites and superstitions. (Pluma, p. 292). His consuming hatred for the forces of conservatism is plain in this angry utterance: "¿Porqué no habrá una peste que acabe con todos los reyes, emperadores, papas, mariscales, aristócratas y demás canalla?" (Caminos, p. 106). Yet after years of effort in behalf of liberalism his only satisfaction is that of having been faithful to his ideals and having had a part in bringing about the Convenio de Vergara, the accord which robbed Carlism of ultimate success. (Sabor, p. 122). Imprisoned in the Cárcel de la Corte in Madrid, he writes an invocation to his Memorias in which he bitterly recognizes the futility of most of his life's work:⁶⁶

Oh tú, ciudadano desconocido, que encuentres este cuaderno en algún rincón de mi calabozo si pasas los ojos por estas líneas, sabe que el hombre que las ha escrito, encerrado aquí, ha sufrido por la libertad, ha querido que los hombres sean hombres y no sean bestias; sabe. . . pero, en fin, no sepas nada; me es igual. (Escuadrón, p. 18).

His seeds of liberalism fell on a barren field and he

never aimed as high as the establishment of a republic in Spain: "Republicano por principios, estoy plenamente convencido de que los españoles, desgraciadamente, no nos hallamos en estado de abrazar el sistema de gobierno más barato y perfecto que se conoce desde el origen de las sociedades." (Furias, p. 171).

Ideologically, he is akin to his creator, sharing his rabid anticlericalism, subject to terrible tirades against the Church and religion (Escuadrón, pp. 376-377) and even gleefully burning religious books at a commandeered convent for warmth. (Pluma, pp. 160-164). Cognizant of the absurdity of war (Recursos, p. 286), he nevertheless viewed it as a necessary evil of his epoch (Escuadrón, p. 130) in accord with Machiavellian precepts:

El hombre de guerra, por lo mismo que vive entre catástrofes - decía Aviraneta - tiene que ser inmoral. Esta es su superioridad. Aquí conviene ser benévolo, se respetan las personas y las cosas; allí conviene ser severo, se fusila a todo el mundo y se quemán las casas y los campos. En una parte, religioso; en otra, impío; aquí, blando; allí, duro. El militar es lo arbitrario. No puede rechazar medio ninguno. Para nosotros, el fin lo purifica todo. (Recursos, p. 265).

One might dispute his aims, his methods and even his sincerity, but no one could deny that he was an "ejemplar prototípico del conspirador, verdadero genio de esta compleja y tortuosa actividad."⁶⁷ Danton, Robespierre and Cagliostro are his heroes for their skill at intrigue and he considers adventure its own reward as is shown in his answer

to a dangerous proposition to hunt down and destroy an absolutist faction:

--¿De manera que acepta usted?
 --Sí, señor.
 --¿Condiciones?
 --Para mí ninguna. Lo hago por amor al arte. (Pluma, p. 131).

Though he took his profession seriously, he had enough perspective to think jokingly of writing a manual for the perfect conspirator (Sabor, p. 37) and to call his assistants in an abduction of a young girl from a convent "La Sociedad de Raptos y Empresas peligrosas reunidas." (Ruta, p. 135). He is always prepared for any eventuality with the tools and tricks of his trade. His bag always contains a pistol, ammunition, a dagger and a twelve-yard length of silken rope, and he has cached other arsenals in strategic locations. Expert friends have made of him "un espadachín y un buen jinete." (Aprendiz, p. 278). Disguise as a priest, a vendor or even an Italian perfumer, is second nature to him and he uses a battery of secret codes to suit any situation: singing in vascuence, embroidered dots and dashes on a handkerchief and various secret inks and colored papers. His cunning prompted ruses such as leaving compromising documents on the premises of those with whom he conspired, so he could denounce them to the police if that became necessary for self protection. (Caminos, p. 323).

Recently much maligned as a false patriot and self-interested conspirator,⁶⁸ Aviraneta earned the accolades of the historian Pirala, who said of him: "El desinterés y la

honradez han sido patrimonio siempre de Aviraneta, uno de los hombres que más servicios han prestado a la causa liberal y a España. Su notable historia merece ser conocida."⁶⁹ After admirably fulfilling the historian's desire, and vicariously sharing Aviraneta's myriad adventures, Baroja takes leave of this character who was his kindred soul, in a speech reminiscent of Horatio's farewell to Hamlet: "¡Adiós, señor de Aviraneta! ¡Adiós, don Eugenio! Buenas noches." (Principio, p. 253).

Baroja, like Galdós and Valle Inclán, tended to give greater development to the interesting military figures among his historical characters, generally leaving the political figures on the fringes of the literary limelight. In Don Carlos' many but unimportant appearances in the series, he is almost always portrayed antipathetically, his lineage, physical features and moral conduct being the butt of Baroja's sharpest barbs. He compares him to his brother, Fernando VII, just as Galdós did:

Don Carlos, aunque probablemente no es hermano de Fernando VII más que de madre, tiene condiciones muy parecidas a él: es astuto, desagradecido, egoísta; se puede decir de él lo que de Fernando dijo un escritor francés: "Corazón de tigre y cabeza de mula." Don Carlos, como casi todos los Borbones, tiene la inclinación por la intriga, el favoritismo y la bajeza. Es verdad que ha odiado a Zumalacárregui, como odia a Maroto, a Cabrera y a todos los hombres fuertes, exaltados y valientes. Es decir, que es un miserable. (Amor, p. 183).

He portrayed the frustrated Pretender as stolid, cold

and physically unattractive: ". . . no puede usted decir que es guapo. Con esa quijada, y ese bello y ese aire tristón y ridículo! La verdad es que estos Borbones, desde el punto de vista estético, no valen gran cosa." (Amor, p. 269). Almost exhausting his store of uncomplimentary epithets, Baroja terms him a carnero, babieca, canalla, mentecato, imbécil, papanatas and cretino. And to crown his degrading portrait, he repeats the rumors concerning Don Carlos' homosexual relationship with his Ministro de Gracia y Justicia, Arias Teijeiro. (Amor, p. 179; Mascaradas, p. 166).

Baroja shared Galdós' admiration for Zumalacárregui as a coldly analytical organizer, tactician and military strategist. His physical appearance, "hombre triste, flaco, de aire enfermo y de mal color." (Nave, p. 119) was no match for his moral stature: ". . . compararía. . . a Zumalacárregui. . . con San Ignacio de Loyola." (Nave, p. 234). To portray him meaningfully, he compares him with another famous military man: "Zumalacárregui y Cabrera eran en este tiempo, y peleando en el mismo bando, dos símbolos de las dos corrientes opuestas y contrarias de la España clásica. El uno, la perseverancia y la visión clara y penetrante del hombre del Cantábrico; el otro, el brío, la gallardía y la fiereza del Mediterráneo." (Furias, p. 35). Later, another military figure, the Conde de España, analyzes his two Carlist colleagues, making a similar comparison. (Enigma, pp. 257-258).

Cabrera, the cruel Tigre del Maestrazgo, is presented as the prototype of the Carlist guerrilla chieftains:

"Cabrera es el modelo, el tipo de paladín, el representante como ningún otro de la tradición, el héroe, el santón, con sus castigos violentos, sus orgías y sus desplantes. . . el hombre de su tiempo y de su época." (Enigma, p. 319).

His fearsome apodo was well-earned: "Como hombre de presa no tenía rival. Era el más felino de todos los guerrilleros españoles." (Venta, p. 82).

Humano enigma and La senda dolorosa are both devoted to a complete investigation into the family background, character and psychology of the mysterious Conde de España. They are a study in sheer brutality and a case history in schizophrenia:

En el orden moral tenía la anestesia psíquica, la insensibilidad, el desdoblamiento de la personalidad frecuente: la crueldad, la piromanía, el odio profundo e inmotivado contra ciertas personas, la chistosidad, el humorismo, la manía razonadora y el terrorismo. (Enigma, p. 267).

Su manera de ser fermentaba constantemente, sufría una perpetua transformación y renovación. Era hombre doble, triple y hasta cuádruple. (Enigma, p. 280).

His character is so unpredictable that several exact but different moral portraits could be made of him at different times and in conflicting moods, making him indeed a human enigma. Drug addiction is offered as one possible cause for his many moods and manías, his sadism, misogyny and macabre theatricalism. (Enigma, p. 274). His physical

description is given at first in broad outline, "grueso, viejo, de pelo blanco, apoyándose en un bastón" (Enigma, p. 104), and much later expanded with greater detail. (Enigma, p. 245).

Baroja's Espartero is a vanity-ridden egotist (Senda, p. 43) and Narváez a strong, ambitious irrational energumen with delusions of Napoleonic grandeur. (Furias, pp. 266-279). He concedes Mendizábal's intelligence in economic matters but cannot refrain from repeating the stories of his Jewish origin and his changing his name from Alvarez Méndez. He reinforces this impression in his physical description: ". . . muy alto, con un tipo aguileño de judío por lo que Borrow lo encontraba aspecto de un Beni-Israel. . . ." (Furias, pp. 175-176).

Lacking Galdós' gallantry, Baroja drew a very unflattering picture of the Queen Regent, María Cristina: "Tenía la cara ancha y gruesa, la nariz corva y los labios pequeños, rojos. Como dijo alguno, refiriéndose a ella, su nariz parecía el pico de un pájaro comiéndose una guinda." (Principio, p. 70). He tags her with the same adjectives over and over: guapetona, vasta, gorda, gruesa, and fondana, as in this caustic simile: ". . . es el tipo de la italiana gorda, fondana, un poco abandonada, que se pasaría la mayor parte de la vida en la mesa y en la cama." (Isabelina, pp. 155-156). Lacking majesty and intelligence, her speech was affected and her liberalism a convenient pose. As with the other historical characters, his literary portrait of

her is obviously tinged with the violent hues of his personal political ideas and prejudices.

+ + + + +

Adhering to his own dictum of impassivity in art, Valle Inclán follows a technique of presenting his characters, which is completely different from those of Galdós and Baroja: "Amo la impasibilidad en el arte. Quiero que mis personajes se presenten siempre solos y sean en todo momento ellos, sin el comentario, sin la explicación del autor."⁷⁰ Although he did not sketch his personajes, he had a complete mental picture of each one, his physical appearance, personality and past life, before putting him on paper, often using only a minute portion of the entire preconceived portrait. Like his adventures, which are usually short, inconclusive episodes, his characters are proportionally incomplete, seen only in the moment in which their action is significant to the spirit and cause of Carlism: ". . . no busca más que la nota de función histórica que, sumada a la que le proporcionan otros personajes o paisajes, conduzca a la impresión totalizadora que quiere obtener."⁷¹

He considered most of his personajes inferior to him,⁷² but adopted a more humble literary posture, reminiscent of Homer's glorification of the Greek hero, in his Guerra carlista trilogy: "Don Ramón ha contemplado arrodillado en pleno territorio carlista la historia guerrera de las huestes de Don Carlos. . . ."⁷³ His descriptive powers endow his

characters with an aura of epic poetry derived from knowing how to "pintar a las figuras añadiéndolas aquello que no hayan sido. Así un mendigo debe parecerse a Job, y un guerrero a Aquiles."⁷⁴ This poetic superrealization is so well accomplished that "Sus personajes, sin otro requisito que el de dotarlos de adecuada indumentaria, podrían colocarse en los siglos pretéritos, y acaso encontrarán en ellos más adecuado escenario que en los presentes. . . ." ⁷⁵

Baroja and Galdós paid much greater attention to the psychological analysis of their characters than did Valle Inclán, who had his personajes serve History, rather than develop from it: "Valle opera con ellos justamente para obtener su precipitado popular y esencialmente histórico."⁷⁶ His characters are historical projections, syntheses rather than real individuals. "Esos personajes son personas en el sentido dramático y quizás filosófico de la palabra; no individuos. Las personas para él representan estamentos, planos de realidad con diferentes niveles, modos de comunidad. Un cura es para él la Iglesia; un mayorazgo, la aristocracia; un campesino, el campo."⁷⁷

Essentially a plastic writer, he produced characters forged in pure artistry but lacking in the inner depth developed through analysis. Whatever glimpses we may catch of their souls is revealed first in their actions and the emotion imparted by his works "es más bien el producto de una visión pictórica que de un minucioso análisis psicológico."⁷⁸

One of his favorite descriptive techniques is the repetition of the same descriptive adjective for a salient physical feature. In the case of the abadesa, Isabel Montenegro y Bendaña, the reader's attention is focussed on her hands: ". . . alta, ojerosa, con las manos tan blancas que parecían hechas del pan de las hostias." (Cruzados, p. 26); "Las manos, siempre cruzadas sobre el hábito, eran tan blancas que parecían tener una gracia teologal para obrar milagros." (Cruzados, p. 28). Her hands become an identifying characteristic as is evident from this speech of Roquito: "¡Ay, cómo no la reconocí por esas manos tan blancas, señora madrecita!" (Resplandor, p. 27). Similar treatment is given in the repeated use of "toda encorvada" for una vieja (Cruzados, pp. 67-68), "inolvidable" for General Redín (Resplandor, pp. 55-58), "brazos ensangrentados" for Martín Rojal (Resplandor, pp. 69-71) and "ojos aterciopelados" for the young nun, Maximina. (Invierno, pp. 146-162).

Valle Inclán seems to have a fascination for the eyes in all his descriptions, insinuating the most subtle personality traits by the adjectives and metaphors he uses to express their ephemeral qualities: "Los ojos para Valle Inclán simbolizan lo mudable, lo inconsistente, nos proporcionan las imágenes de la vana solicitud de la hora que pasa, de lo efímero y fugaz de la vida."⁷⁹

The most notable example of his attraction to eyes is that of the nun Maximina whose character is suggested by

phrases like "ojos aterciopelados, compasivos y tristes," "muy amorosos y dulces," "grandes ojos como dos florecillas franciscanas de una aroma humilde y cordial," "ojos llenos de sueños tristes," and "los ojos poblados por los sueños." (Invierno, pp. 146-166). A young barragana "tenía los ojos azules y cándidos con algo de flor." (Cruzados, p. 19). The Condesa de Volfani has a personality mirrored in her eyes, which are ardientes, místicos, obstinados. (Invierno, pp. 114, 122). The violent nature of Cara de Plata is unmistakably seen in his eyes: ". . . verdes como dos esmeraldas, tenían una violencia cristalina y alegre, parecían los ojos de un tigre joven." (Cruzados, p. 51). The cruel young republican soldier, Agila, is first described as having "ojos azules" (Gerifaltes, p. 58); but Valle Inclán, in an obvious lapse of memory, later refers to them thus: "Los verdes ojos de Agila eran dos piedras verdes, de una dureza cruel." (Gerifaltes, p. 88).

The succinctness of his descriptions has earned him critical admiration: "Quelques gestes, quelques attitudes acquièrent sous la plume de Valle Inclán une puissance descriptive plus grande que celle de longs portraits."⁸⁰ He has great skill in packing a character study into as little as one line. The cruel Agila reveals his inner weakness when he says, "Yo para atreverme a una cosa necesito no haberla pensado." (Gerifaltes, p. 58). A twisted pride is seen in Fray Ambrosio Alarcón, who, after having led Bradomín to a tryst with María Antonieta, blackmails him

for one hundred pieces of gold with which he plans to raise a partida in the field. When Bradomín wonders why he did not ask for the money in a friendly manner, the priest replies: "Yo no sé pedir: Me da vergüenza." (Invierno, p. 121). No amount of added detail could improve his sharp portrait of two ladies-in-waiting to Doña Margarita, the wife of the Pretender: "Doña Juana Pacheco y Doña Manuela Ozores, rancias damas que acordaban la guerra de los siete años. . . ." (Invierno, p. 115). Perhaps his best effort is his characterization of the "antiguo guerrillero," Don Pedro Mendía: "Desde [el caserío de Urría], sus ojos callados contemplaban los montes, menos altos y enteros que su fe." (Gerifaltes, p. 121).

Every inch the aristocrat, Valle Inclán always disdained the pueblo soberano, "en cuya soberanía, por otra parte, no creyó jamás."⁸¹ However, in the Guerra carlista trilogy, the picture of a dedicated mass group in action is superior to that of any of the individuals: ". . . el verdadero personaje de este ciclo no es otro que la España carlista, cuyo profundo sentido histórico, popular y nacional, se ha propuesto Valle Inclán historiador."⁸² It is a picturesque, lively multitude, its peasants, beggars, noblemen and guerrilleros all inspired by a mighty cause, and all achieving the same high level of esthetic development.⁸³

Not endowed with the inventiveness of Galdós or Baroja, Valle Inclán did not create a whole new set of

characters for his trilogy, but instead relied upon the reappearance of some of the strong, inimitable, unforgettable personajes he had forged in the Sonatas and the Comedias bárbaras. The Marqués de Bradomín, his ancient passions extinguished, now devotes his energy and fortune to the Causa. The feudal spirit of Don Juan Manuel fits the new scene perfectly, adding to its feeling of antiquity, strength and violence. Isabel de Bendaña, the woman who shared some of Bradomín's passionate moments appears as a nun, tending the wounded, seeking spiritual purification in the resplendor of the hoguera that was consuming Spain. Cara de Plata, youngest son of Don Juan Manuel, finds a fertile field for the satisfaction of the violent needs of his adventurous spirit. Don Galán, the buffoon, and Micaela la Roja, Don Juan's ancient and faithful servant, complete the roster of familiar personajes who are completely at home in these new novels:

Ce sera le même monde de passions tumultueuses, le même clairobscur des âmes à demi hallucinées, partagées entre la mystique, et la superstition, et comme horizon immédiat le même paysage de prairies noyées, de bois chargés de brumes, et vers les hauteurs voilées, ces chemins de neige où vagabondent les mendiants aveugles.⁸⁴

However, these personajes do not assume the importance they had in previous works and they too bow to the more grandiose perspective of an entire pueblo on the march: "La gravedad del asunto colectivo se impone a las figuras

individuales, las anega en el mar popular y las reduce a condición de accesorios."⁸⁵ Their role is minor and episodic⁸⁶ and most of them have already reached the pinnacle of their literary development.⁸⁷

In the transition from the Sonatas to the trilogy, the Marqués loses the libidinous facet of his character. The change from amores to guerra makes the "caballero legitimista" a more noble and sympathetic personaje.⁸⁸ He continues to champion the cause he espoused in the Sonata de Invierno (p. 158): ". . . la tradición es bella como un romance y sagrada como un rito." Perhaps his greatest virtue is his pride which did not even bow to his King. When Don Carlos asked him to mount a chair and recite a sonnet he had composed about his cousin Alfonso, Bradomín refuses: "Señor, para juglar nací muy alto." (Invierno, p. 130). Suffering the loss of an arm like his creator,⁸⁹ his pride again sustains him in this ordeal: "No exhalé una queja ni cuando me rejaron la carne, ni cuando serraron el hueso, ni cuando cosieron el muñón." (Invierno, p. 149).

His lost left arm is the only detail of his physical description given in the trilogy, except for indications of advanced age like "el viejo dandy" and "aquel anciano caballero." (Cruzados, pp. 13-14), the reader already having received a well-developed portrait from youth to old age in the Sonatas. His physical decline mirrors the decline of the Carlist cause: "Son dos tradiciones viejas que se juntan para morir: la del amor del viejo Marqués de

Bradomín y la de la guerra carlista. . . Como en el amor, ha penetrado en el carlismo el frío de la desilusión y de la muerte."⁹⁰

He feels the "primer frío de la vejez, más triste que el de la muerte," at the beginning of the Sonata de invierno (pp. 93-94), and although still occasionally capable of youthful emotional response when looking into the burning black eyes of María Antonieta (Invierno, p. 114), he recognizes the degeneration of his erotic impulses when she is at last in his arms:

- Mira que voy a ser muy exigente.
Confieso que al oírlo temblé. ¿Mis
noches, ya no eran triunfales como
aquellas noches tropicales perfumadas
por la pasión de la Niña Chole!
(Invierno, p. 124).

Some fleeting reminders of his former cynical virility still appear, as in his thoughts while his arm is being amputated: ". . . sólo pensé en la actitud que a lo adelante debía adoptar con las mujeres para hacer poética mi manquedad." (Invierno, p. 148). And when dining with Cara de Plata who insolently asks him if they are eating his lost arm, he replies with cold elegance: "Yo solamente he dado a comer de mi corazón. . . Pero ha sido a las mujeres más hermosas de mi época." (Cruzados, p. 51).

In his new appearance, Don Juan Manuel too, is presented only in profile rather than in repetitive detail. He is ". . . un viejo con ese hermoso y varonil tipo severo tan frecuente en los hidalgos de la montaña gallega." (Cruzados,

p. 19). His character is suggested metaphorically and by association with a historical figure: "Es un roble;" "Parece aquel Carlomagno, emperador de la barba florida." (Cruzados, p. 44). A strange new note of basic Christianity, somewhat alien to his previous character, creeps into the personality of the unregenerate old sinner. After witnessing the death of a young, deserting sailor, he pours forth an indignant monologue filled with Christian philosophy and sympathy rare in his previous utterances. (Cruzados, pp. 82-83). Casares tends to view this change as a weakening in characterization:

Aquel Don Juan Manuel "liberal aforrado de masón," cuya frente "parecía encerrar todas las exageraciones y todas las demencias, lo mismo las del amor que las del odio, las celestes que las diabólicas. . . ", es ahora un viejo hidalgo, justiciero y violento, despreciador de reyes, amparador de los humildes y enemigo jurado de caciques y curiales.⁹¹

Two of the minor fictional characters offer intense studies in fanaticism and hatred. Roquito, a sacristán de monjas, runs away to join a Carlist partida. While hiding in a chimney to avoid capture by Republican troops, he suffers the agony of heat and smoke until his eyes are burned out. He is sustained, however, by his combined religious and political fanaticism, considering that dying for the Pretender is like dying for the faith: "¡Moriré abrasado! ¡Quiero el martirio de un santo bendito!. . . ¡Viva Carlos VII!" (Resplandor, p. 150). Josepa, a pitiful

beggar-woman offers to spy on the Republican forces to satisfy three compelling drives, fanatic loyalty, hunger and vengeance: "El mucho camino no hace. Zapatos de fierro rompiese yo por el rey don Carlos. . . ;Y por ver en una horca a todos los negros, que me dejaron viuda, y pusieron a pedir por las puertas." (Resplandor, p. 91).

Valle Inclán paints his portrait of Don Carlos with a brush dipped in praise, for he has found a character he believes worthy of his aristocratic ideals and esthetic principles. Refraining from giving physical details, which might destroy the illusion of greatness, he endows the Pretender with all the attributes of ancient regal tradition and glory:

. . . mis ojos solo pudieron distinguir - la figura prócer del Señor. . . admirable de gallardía y de nobleza, como un rey de los antiguos tiempos. La arrogancia y brío de su persona, parecían reclamar una rica armadura cincelada por milanés orfebre, y un palafrén guerrero paramentado de malla. Su vivo y aguileño mirar hubiera fulgado magnífico bajo la visera del casco adornado por crestada corona y largos lambrequines. Don Carlos de Borbón y de Este el el único príncipe soberano que podría arrastrar dignamente el manto de armiño, empuñar el cetro de oro y ceñir la corona recamada de pedrería, con que se representa a los reyes en los viejos códices. (Invierno, pp. 94-95).

Don Carlos is considered sacred by his followers (Invierno, p. 112) and even his royal glance reveals the nobility, serenity and inner sadness of a great King. (Invierno, p. 141). Even outside the trilogy, he sought

opportunities to extol the greatness of the Pretender, comparing him to Lenin: "Entre uno y otro hombre él descubría, forzando razones y pretextos, un punto de contacto que le bastaba. Los dos iban contra el liberalismo parlamentario, en cuyo menosprecio realmente era consecuente D. Ramón."⁹²

Certain weaknesses in the Pretender reduce the too-perfect picture of him to a more human perspective. Bradomín and his friend Volfani accompany the monarch to an amorous tryst, "viniendo en aventura con el Rey." (Invierno, p. 135). The violent Don Juan Manuel has little patience with Carlos' inability to deal sternly with his enemies:

Contáis, como beatas compungidas, que [Carlos] anduvo huído por sus pueblos para no firmar una sentencia de muerte, y eso no acredita su ánimo de rey. ¿Dónde están las horcas a lo largo de los caminos, y colgados de sus bandas los generales, y de los cordones de sus bolsas los indianos, los avaros, los judíos, toda esa ralea de tiranos asustadizos a quienes dió cruces y grandezas Isabel II? (Cruzados, p. 100).

His queen, Doña Margarita is physically idealized in greater measure than her meagre importance as a character deserves: ". . . aquella dama que tenía las manos como lirios, y el aroma de una leyenda en su nombre de princesa pálida, santa, lejana; ". . . voz de plata. . . ojos de madonna, bellos y castos. . . la frente que parecía de una blancura lunar. . . ." (Invierno, p. 113).

Gerifaltes de antaño provides the bloody stage for the dramatic figure of the cruel cura, Santa Cruz. He does not appear in Los cruzados de la causa, and he is only mentioned in the Sonata de invierno, and El resplandor de la hoguera. These passing references serve to give hints about his character long before he makes his first actual appearance: "El cura es un bandido." (Invierno, p. 47); "¡Hace la guerra como un bandolero!" (Resplandor, p. 65); "Santa Cruz quiere ser solo en el mando. . . Por [ello] ya le ponen tacha de traidor." (Resplandor, p. 69). When he does swoop down upon the village of Otáin in the opening paragraph of the third volume of the trilogy, he lives up to or surpasses the reader's expectations.

Santa Cruz, "l'âme noire du carlisme,"⁹³ is the only character who dominates any of the novels in the trilogy and his natural, honest development is considered by Fernández Almagro to be one of Valle Inclán's literary triumphs.⁹⁴ The nebulous portrait left by history is conjured into sharper focus by his literary re-creation and psychological interpretation of the terrible caudillo. And in this instance, Gómez de Baquero believes that the historical truth has been well served by the fictional reconstruction of the artist: "¿Exacta? [la figura de Santa Cruz]. Por lo menos de una fuerza estética que irradia sugestión, haciendo del personaje una de esas figuras que parece que salen definitivas y vivientes de mano del artista, de suerte que, si algo se apartan de la verdad, parece que aquél ha retocado y no

contrahecho la obra de la naturaleza."⁹⁵

His physical description is given piecemeal in several appearances: "Era fuerte de cuerpo y menos que mediano en la estatura, con los ojos grises de aldeano desconfiado y la barba muy basta, toda rubia y encendida. Boina azul muy pequeña, zamarra al hombro, calzón de lienzo y medias azules, bajo los cuales se descubría el músculo de las piernas." (Gerifaltes, pp. 16-17). Using his technique of repeating the same adjective and emphasizing one physical feature, he again describes his beard: ". . . la barba de cobre;" "Abrió bostezando la boca grande y tan bermeja que parecía hilar sangre por la barba encendida." (Gerifaltes, pp. 34, 36). The only other physical detail given is "la mano blanca y pecosa, cubierta de un vello dorado." (Gerifaltes, p. 41).

Physically imposing and colorful, he is even more interesting psychologically. A dual personality, priest and warrior, his burning ambition is to conduct a "guerra santa; que está por cima de la ambición de los reyes, del arte militar y de los grandes capitanes." (Gerifaltes, p. 51). His troops are constrained to hear Mass regularly and to say the rosary, thanking God for His intercession in their victories against the Republican troops, whom the fanatical, crusading Santa Cruz regards as enemies of the faith rather than political adversaries. Besieging Otain, he urges his men forward, shouting: "¡Ahora a tumbar herejes!" (Gerifaltes, p. 33).

In spite of the rigors imposed by his fanatical leadership, there is a perfect communion between him and his men: "Jamás hubo capitán que más reuniese el alma colectiva de sus soldados en el alma suya. Era toda la sangre de la raza, llenando el cáliz de aquel cabecilla tonsurado." (Gerifaltes, p. 52).

In his inner schizophrenic struggle, it is the warrior who overwhelmingly dominates the priest. He rationalizes his extreme cruelty with the thought that someday he too will die "con cuatro balas en el pecho. Y si había inquietud en su conciencia, con aquel pensamiento la soterraba." (Gerifaltes, p. 56). And the evils he commits are the bitter necessities of his crusade: "Las torturas, los incendios, las muertes, eran males de la guerra, no pecados del hombre." (Gerifaltes, p. 130). Nor is he disturbed by any feeling of remorse: "Era su alma una luz clara y firme como piedra de cristal." (Gerifaltes, p. 55), and intuitively he realized he cannot entertain the slightest doubt about the morality of his actions: "Necesito saber que hago bien para seguir haciéndolo. Si una vez admitiese la duda, había concluido por siempre jamás Manuel Santa Cruz." (Gerifaltes, p. 126).

Viewing the cabecilla sympathetically, Valle Inclán tries to analyze his cruelty:

Era su crueldad como la del viñador que enciende hogueras contra las plagas de su viña. Miraba subir el humo como en un sacrificio, con la serena esperanza de hacer la vendimia en un día del Señor, bajo el oro del sol y la voz de aquellas campanas de cobre antiguo,

bien tañidas. (Gerifaltes, p. 46).

His underlying hope of restoring peace to the valleys and towns he is ravaging creates a propitious atmosphere for the occasional re-emergence of his priestly character:

"Anhelaba volver a sentir aquella gracia que le hacía amar el presbítero y su casa frugal y campesina, con el galgo a la puerta y el maíz secado en la colana. La casa vecina de la iglesia y la misa del alba." (Gerifaltes, pp. 46-47). Again, while the warrior in him cruelly presses a dying, old cabecilla for needed reinforcements the priest in him looks compassionately at the suffering of a fellow human being: ". . . le mira con aquella hondura triste y experimentada de los que han visto muchos moribundos. Era la mirada del clérigo, que, en su aldea, acompañaba a la hora de la muerte a todos sus feligreses, desde los niños de siete años a los viejos de cien." (Gerifaltes, p. 124).

The entire harsh portrait is softened by a very human touch in the tears of relief shed by the awesome Santa Cruz, when he is saved from capture by the unexpected withdrawal of republican forces: ". . . en la oscuridad se oye sollozar al cura de Hernialde." (Gerifaltes, p. 158).

Valle Inclán has succeeded in re-creating in fiction the indomitable energy⁹⁶ of this man-beast, this priest-warrior, whose violent ideals and passions have dissipated their evil strength in the endless shadows of History.⁹⁷

Very few other historical characters appear in the trilogy. Names like Isabel II, Mina, Enrique España,

Cánovas del Castillo, Castelar and Espartero receive only brief, passing mention. Mendizábal arouses Valle Inclán's ire as the "destructor de toda la tradición española" (Cruzados, p. 93), the underminer of the aristocratic spirit represented by the mayorazgos and hidalgos.

Fittingly, he has a cleric express the bitter opinion of the social classes whom his policies hurt most: "Haremos por la fe aquello que hemos visto hacer por el infierno al impío Mendizábal. . . ;Pronunciemos el nombre sin adjetivos, porque en sus letras lleva todos los estigmas!. . . reservamos toda entera para aquel hombre infausto, la triste gloria de haber sido un nuevo Atila. . . Así debía ser llamado, si no le reclamase el nombre de Anticristo." (Cruzados, p. 16).

Valle Inclán's views of two of the more important military figures of the struggle, coincide with those of both Galdós and Baroja. He recognizes the recklessness that tempered the military genius of Cabrera, (Invierno, p. 99) and shares in the universal admiration of Zumalacárregui: "Ese ha sido el más grande general de la Causa. Si tuviésemos hoy un hombre parecido era seguro el triunfo." (Invierno, p. 100).

VI

Footnotes

1. Altamira, "Sobre Pérez Galdós", p. 101. See also J. de B., "Sobre Pérez Galdós. Episodios Nacionales", RCHL, III (1898), p. 441 and William H. Shoemaker, "Galdós' Literary Creativity: Don José Ido del Sangrario", HR, XIX, 3 (1951), p. 204.
2. Gómez de Baquero, "La tercera serie", p. 181.
3. Carranza, El pueblo, p. 23.
4. Shoemaker, "Galdós' Literary Creativity", p. 212. See also Walter T. Pattison, Benito Pérez Galdós and the Creative Process (Minneapolis, 1954), pp. 99-100; Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles, "Don Benito Pérez Galdós, Su vida y sus obras", in Benito Pérez Galdós, Obras completas (Madrid, 1945), I, lxviii.
5. Henningsen, Campaign with Zumalacárregui, p. 90.
6. Shoemaker, "Galdós' Literary Creativity", p. 216.
7. Berkowitz, Benito Pérez Galdós, p. 182.
8. The verses referred to are the following:
 Yo a las cabañas bajé
 yo a los palacios subí,
 yo los claustros escalé
 y en todas partes dejé
 memoria amarga de mí. (Don Juan Tenorio,
 p. 31).
9. Shoemaker, "Galdós' Literary Creativity", p. 232.
10. Shoemaker, Crónica de la Quincena, p. 47.
11. Alas, Obras, I, 326-327.
12. Compare Navarro's deathbed speech with that of Don Quijote: Yo tengo juicio ya, libre y claro, sin las sombras caliginosas de la ignorancia que sobre él me pusieron mi amarga y continua leyenda de los detestables libros de caballería. . . . Yo me siento, Sobrina, a punto de muerte; querría hacerla de tal modo, que diese a entender que no había sido mi vida tan mala, que dejase renombre de loco; que puesto que lo he sido, no querría confirmar esta verdad con mi muerte. (Don Quijote, p. 714).
13. For information on progress and method in this facet of

- Galdosian studies see Shoemaker, "Galdós' Literary Creativity", pp. 204-209.
14. Shoemaker makes a sharp distinction in the use of this device in Galdós' single novels and in his multi-volume novels and Episodios nacionales, preferring to call those personajes who reappear in two or more Episodios of the same series, continuing rather than reappearing characters. See also Shoemaker, p. 205.
 15. Miller, "The Novels of Pérez Galdós", p. 223.
 16. Shoemaker, pp. 210-211.
 17. Shoemaker, p. 206.
 18. Huerta, "Galdós y la novela histórica", p. 106.
 19. Henningsen, Campaign with Zumalacárregui, p. 90.
 20. Castillo Puche, Memorias íntimas de Aviraneta, p. 86.
 21. Darío felt that Galdós did not develop his historical characters as fully as he should, in view of the fact that many eye witnesses were still available for documentation of a more complete analysis of their character. See Darío, España contemporánea, p. 278.
 22. For further sympathetic treatment of Isabel, see Los ayacuchos (pp. 1194-1195) and Bodas reales (pp. 1318-1397).
 23. Alas, Obras completas, I, 353.
 24. J. de B., "Sobre Pérez Galdós", p. 441.
 25. Baroja, "Sobre la novela realista", p. 184.
 26. Baroja, La intuición, p. 260.
 27. Reyes, "Baroja", p. 2.
 28. Blanco Fombona, Motivos, p. 140.
 29. E. Giménez Caballero, "La nave de los locos", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal español (Zaragoza, 1947), pp. 202-203.
 30. Juan Benet, "Baroja y la disgregación de la novela", IAL, IX, 70-71 (1954). See also Blanco Fombona, Motivos, p. 142.
 31. Giménez Caballero, "La nave", p. 203.

32. Barga, "Una novela", pp. 123-124.
33. Serrano Poncela, "Pío Baroja", p. 33.
34. Onís, "Pío Baroja", p. 220.
35. Granjel, Retrato de Pío Baroja, p. 170. For another classification of Baroja's personajes see Bolinger, "Heroes and Hamlets", p. 91. See also Katherine P. Reding, "The Generation of 1898 in Spain as seen through its Fictional Hero", Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, XVII, 3-4 (1936), p. 61 et passim. Her study omits consideration of the Memorias de un hombre de acción because of their historical basis.
36. Salaverría, A lo lejos, p. 147.
37. Ortega y Gasset, "Ideas sobre Pío Baroja", p. 194. For similar negative opinions on his psychological development of his characters see also Anibal, Introduction, p. xx; Blanco Fombona, Motivos, p. 142; Castillo Puche, Memorias íntimas de Aviraneta, p. 50; González Ruiz, "Baroja", p. 7 and Jean Sarrailh, Prosateurs espagnols contemporains (Paris, 1930), p. 134.
38. Serrano Poncela, "Pío Baroja", p. 32.
39. Baroja, La intuición, pp. 187-188.
40. Baroja, ibid., p. 204.
41. Cansinos Assens, La nueva literatura, p. 77.
42. B. J., "Baroja y sus desfiles", ROcc, XLII (1933), p. 348.
43. Azorín, Ante Baroja, p. 217.
44. E. Giménez Caballero, "Pío Baroja, ingeniero de sus novelas", GL, 1 (1927), p. 2.
45. Barja, Libros y autores contemporáneos, p. 347.
46. For examples of these digressions see La nave de los locos (p. 181) and Los recursos de la astucia (p. 219).
47. See La senda dolorosa (pp. 81-84) for his ideas on "El hombre del Mediterráneo".
48. Ortega y Gasset, "Observaciones", p. 378.
49. For his descriptions of carnival folk see Las figuras

- de cera (pp. 162-177).
50. This is a recurrent theme in character development in the Memorias de un hombre de acción. See Las figuras de cera (pp. 284-285).
 51. Luis Ruiz Contreras, Memorias de un desmemoriado (Madrid, 1916), p. 102.
 52. John Brande Trend, Alfonso the Sage and other Spanish Essays (London, 1926), p. 98.
 53. Leguía's violent ideas are strikingly similar to those of Bradomín on the horrors of warfare: "Yo siento, también, que el horror es bello, y amo la púrpura gloriosa de la sangre, y el saqueo de los pueblos, y a los viejos soldados crueles y a los que violan doncellas, y a los que incendian mieses, y a cuantos hacen desafueros al amparo del fuero militar." (Invierno, p. 158).
 54. Arjona, "La voluntad", p. 630.
 55. Azorín, Ante Baroja, pp. 191-192.
 56. Azorín, ibid., p. 172.
 57. Serrano Poncela, "Pío Baroja", p. 33.
 58. A. L. Owen, "Concerning the Ideology of Pío Baroja", Hisp Cal, XV (1932), p. 16.
 59. Carlo Roselli, "Una nueva novela de Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero (Zaragoza, 1948), p. 187.
 60. Ortega y Gasset, "Ideas sobre Pío Baroja", p. 167.
 61. For Baroja's physical descriptions of Aviraneta see El aprendiz de conspirador (pp. 98, 109, 123, 134), Los caminos de mundo (p. 247), Con la pluma y con el sable (p. 15), La ruta del aventurero (p. 28), Los caudillos de 1830 (p. 11), Las figuras de cera (pp. 246-247) and Los confidentes audaces (p. 27).
 62. Suspicious of Aviraneta's rheumatic attacks, Leguía asks him: "¿Pero tiene usted reuma, de veras, o es que dice usted que lo tiene cuando le conviene, don Eugenio? Porque voy viendo que cuando no quiere usted hacer algo, padece usted de reuma." (Aprendiz, p. 194).
 63. Van Praag, Enkele opmerkingen over Pío Baroja, p. 30.
 64. Gregorio Marañón, "Prólogo", to José Luis Castillo

- Puche, Memorias íntimas de Aviraneta (Madrid, 1952), p. XVI.
65. Baroja, La intuición, p. 181.
66. In one of many bitter moments, chagrined at the poor treatment he receives from those he is trying to help, he is ready to abandon idealism: ". . . ya no me hallo dispuesto a seguir siendo un Quijote." (Escuadrón, p. 7). His quixotic character is also referred to in El escuadrón del Brigante (p. 13) and La Isabelina (p. 291).
67. Marañón, "Prólogo", p. xlll.
68. In 1952, José Luis Castillo Puche published a volume entitled Memorias íntimas de Aviraneta in which he attacked Aviraneta's reputation as a patriot and master of intrigue. He also criticized Baroja's fanciful picture of him as resulting from inadequate documentation and lack of discrimination and judgment in the determination of the credibility of available source material. He furnished new source materials he had discovered, to substantiate his criticism, but even Gregorio Marañón, who wrote the "Prólogo" for the volume, was careful to point out: "Tal vez el autor insiste demasiado, con minucia y terquedad de objetante de oposiciones a Cátedra, en desmenuzar la versión del gran novelista español. . . ." (p. XIV). Baroja himself, made an admission in the series that he had been unable to gather all the date on Aviraneta's life. (Caminos, p. 5). This new literary controversy may never resolve the question of which Aviraneta is closer to the truth, Baroja's or Castillo Puche's, but at least one authoritative voice has been raised in Baroja's defense. When Camilo José Cela was asked which of Baroja's characters remained most vividly in his memory, he answered: "Quizás Aviraneta, en su buena versión barojiana, no, claro es, en el títere fantasmal que algún erudito a la violeta ha tenido la osadía y el impudor de querenos sacar a relucir." See "Encuesta en torno a Baroja", IAL, IX (1954), p. 30.
69. Pirala, Historia de la guerra civil, V, 491.
70. Madrid, La vida altiva, p. 108.
71. Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio Nacional. II", p. 26.
72. Madrid, p. 104.
73. Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio Nacional. II", p. 23.

74. Gómez de la Serna, ibid., p. 26.
75. López Prudencio, "Notas de lector", p. 8.
76. Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio Nacional. II", p. 19.
77. Angel Valbuena Prat, Historia de la literatura española, 3d. ed. (Barcelona, 1950), III, 512.
78. J. Moya del Pino, "Valle Inclán y los artistas", Pluma, enero de 1923, p. 64.
79. Enrique Segura Covarsi, "Los ciegos de Valle Inclán", Clav, 17 (1952), p. 51.
80. Sarrailh, Prosateurs, p. 119.
81. Torrente Ballester, "Algo sobre Valle", p. 22.
82. Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio Nacional. II", p. 26.
See also Barja, Libros y autores contemporáneos, p. 402.
83. Gómez de Baquero, "Valle Inclán, novelista", pp. 12-13.
84. Pons, Le Roman et l'histoire, pp. 385-386. See also
Gómez de Baquero, Novelas y novelistas, pp. 218-219.
85. Gómez de Baquero, p. 231.
86. Fernández Almagro, Vida, p. 146.
87. H. Heinrich, Die Kunst der Don Ramón María del Valle Inclán (Rostock, 1937), p. 97. Cara de Plata was to receive further development in Cara de Plata (1922).
88. Casares in a lightly veiled jibe at Valle Inclán, repudiates the sincerity of Bradomín's new role: "Tú no puedes ser paladín de ninguna empresa noble; eres legitimista 'por estética', y nada tienes de común con los ilusos defensores de la causa perdida . . . ;Bradomín, eres un majadero!" See Julio Casares y Sánchez, Crítica profana (Madrid, [1931]), p. 119.
89. Perhaps to confuse his critics, who purported to see many autobiographical similarities between the Marqués de Bradomín and his creator, Valle Inclán made the following statement in a lecture entitled Semblanzas de literatos españoles: "Y confieso que mi Marqués de Bradomín está inspirado en Campoamor y muchos de sus rasgos no son autobiográficos como creen algunos, sino que pertenecen al autor de las Doloras." See Madrid, La vida altiva, pp. 291-292.

90. Barja, Libros y autores contemporáneos, p. 375.
91. Casares, Crítica profana, p. 122.
92. Fernández Almagro, Vida, p. 218.
93. Pons, Le Roman el l'histoire, p. 386.
94. Fernández Almagro, Vida, p. 150.
95. Gómez de Baquero, Novelas y novelistas, p. 240. See also Casares, Crítica profana, p. 120.
96. Pons, Le Roman et l'histoire, p. 389.
97. Santa Cruz does not appear as a character in the Memorias de un hombre de acción, but Baroja did attempt a historical re-creation of him in his short biographical work, "El Cura Santa Cruz y su partida", published as a part of Divagaciones apasionadas (Madrid, [1924]). It was an effort to correct some of the misinformation published about him in the press, after his erroneously reported death in 1918. In a generally unsympathetic treatment, Baroja painted him as a cruel sadist, jealous and fearful even of his own captains, using any inhuman or immoral expedient to achieve his fanatic, theocratic ideal. He characterized him as a "santón perturbado", completely unrepresentative, physically and morally, of the typical Basque cabecilla.

+ + + + +

Conclusion

The foregoing chapters have shown, in long-neglected comparative detail, how the same literary theme received interestingly different treatments by three major Spanish novelists who possessed different characters, ideologies and literary bents. Baroja and Valle Inclán did not blindly follow the example of the master, Galdós, hoping to produce new Episodios nacionales. Rather, although dipping into similar historical sources, they forged works completely different in scope, purpose, psychology and historical and fictional emphasis.

In attempting to re-create the life and spirit of the Carlist War period, Galdós, Baroja and Valle Inclán were inevitably influenced by their personal sentiments and reactions to the problem of Spain so brutally exposed in those terrible conflicts. Each was concerned with it to a different degree and in a different way.

Galdós was extremely sensitive to his environment and his work amounted to an inquiry into the very soul of Spain. He proved himself a calm, fair, impartial observer of the national scene, with an uncompromising sense of justice. Baroja, an extreme individualist, a crossroads of many, often-conflicting ideas and emotions, is sincere if contradictory. Frustrated in his aspiration to be a man of action, he has become the vocero of all the desires, disappointments, hopes and fears of the youth of Spain. The extravagant behaviour of Valle Inclán was a defense mechanism

for an essentially timid character whose motto was "Desdeñar a los demás y no amarse a sí mismo."

Berkowitz rightly termed Galdós a "Spanish Liberal Crusader," for liberalism was the keynote of his ideology. His vaunted anticlericalism was not a strong element in the Tercera serie. Rather he focussed his condemnation and ridicule on the Carlist cause, leaders, and followers, because they inhibited the progress and prosperity of the nation. He felt keenly the problem of Spain and in the Episodios left a valuable ideological legacy to the nation.

Baroja tends toward anarchism with a continuing inclination to reform. His idea of liberalism is complete liberty coupled with a constant battle against tradition and the Church. One bitter manifestation of this struggle is his militant anti-clericalism. Like Galdós, he condemned Carlism because it represented a reactionary force opposing the progress of liberalism in Spain.

Valle Inclán aspired to divert, not to preach, and in his predilection for all that was noble and heroic, dreamed of himself as Don Ramón María, "El Manco," fearless guerrillero. His adhesion to Carlism was probably more rooted in esthetic than in ideological convictions for the obvious "dolor de España" prevalent in the works of Galdós and Baroja, is relatively absent in the Guerra carlista trilogy.

None of the three was a trained research scholar or historian, although their subject matter required the use of many of the special disciplines of these fields. Factual

documentation was necessary to lend validity to what might have ended as only a series of creative impressions of the period. Seeking historical accuracy, each of them made personal tours over the ground described, interviewed eye-witnesses or their descendants for oral tradition and perused all manner of public and private, written and printed records. Although they did not always emphasize the same events, they ended with a generally similar view of the historical facts.

Galdós was almost universally acknowledged to be well documented, except by Baroja, who thought he relied too much on formal histories. His personal library was heavily stocked with historical volumes and his favorite reading was in history and geography. Invaluable information came to him through his friendship with Mesonero Romanos and his careful documentation put the Episodios on a firm historical footing.

Baroja prided himself on the thoroughness of his search for documentary sources, filling in the obvious gaps by intuition and deduction. He was especially well versed in the geography of the area he wrote about.

Valle Inclán was cognizant of the need for documentation, but never let it interfere with the products of his imagination, although making a conscious effort to adhere to the truth. Especially responsive to oral tradition, his research effort was limited by the scope of the view of history he planned to present, a narrow view of selected, isolated,

local incidents fully exploited for their historical and emotional content and for their violent poetry. In contrast, the broad, panoramic view of episodes and characters over many years planned by Galdós and Baroja required much more extensive research.

Each of the three novelists trod stylistic paths fixed by the sum of all their previous experiences in life and literature, so that there is a discernible correlation between their personality and their literary style. Galdós brought literary maturity and seriousness of purpose to the Tercera serie, his main stylistic weapons being sincerity and truth. His apparent didacticism inhibited the infusion of poetic feeling in these works, although some epic overtones are inherent in the subject matter.

His striving for realism led him to include a wealth of costumbrista detail, and he was not above lampooning the Romantics by imitating their style in the adventures of his fictional characters. Many of his Episodios were reminiscent of the folletines and some attested to his valiant efforts to resuscitate the epistolary genre in Spain. Although he took great pains to maintain a simple, vigorous, classic style appropriate to his conception of castellano castizo, he spiced his work with liberal sprinklings of Latinisms, foreignisms, and popular speech, the latter reflected by his reproduction of regional dialects, popular coplas and refranes.

Baroja viewed style as an end result of all the elements

that make up literature, not to be defined by form exclusively. He eschewed mannerism, seeking an unadorned, dry, precise medium of self-expression, which, if disappointing many critics with its apparent carelessness and lyrical and rhetorical poverty, has impressed others with its strength, vitality, simplicity and clarity.

In contrast to Galdós and Valle Inclán, and in keeping with the non-heroic tenor of his private life, Baroja did not stress the epic quality of his material. It is difficult to classify him strictly within one literary school for, like a stylistic chameleon, he was an impressionist, a realist or a Romantic. Influenced by his adolescent reading of the suspenseful literary productions of Fernández y González, he adapted the style of the folletín to many of the volumes of the Memorias de un hombre de acción.

His language, too, differed from the ostensible purity of that of Galdós and the studied antiquity of that of Valle Inclán. It is plain, familiar, often ungrammatical and redolent of many an improperio and grosería. He, too, sought variety, freshness and realism by the use of many popular coplas, refranes, regional dialects and foreignisms.

Valle Inclán wrought the novels of the Guerra carlista trilogy in prose less refined, but no less redolent of the "aroma de leyenda" than that of his previous works. Its clarity and simplicity harmonized with his epic vision of his theme. The predominant erotic note of the Sonatas has no place in the style of the Guerra carlista trilogy. Ever

conscious of his conviction that words were magic mirrors able to reflect wondrous images, he chose his language with the care of an artisan matching priceless pearls for a necklace, using popular archaic words and phrases to achieve a subtle patina of antiquity, to blend with the epic spirit of Don Carlos' crusade.

The narrative technique used by Galdós, Baroja and Valle Inclán evolved from their conception of the novel and of history. For Galdós the novel was a faithful image of life in all its multiple facets and the realm of history was just as far-flung, the lives of the small often contributing as much as the lives of the great. He skilfully combined fact and fiction, avoiding with characteristic moderation the partisan flavor which might easily have suffused the Episodios because of his patently Liberal sympathies.

Baroja's narrative technique is as characteristically undisciplined as the man himself and he too refused to set arbitrary limits to the scope of the novel. Impatient with the methods and emphasis of formal historians, and relying upon his novelistic intuition, he endeavored in his Memorias de un hombre de acción to give greater development to the role of the ordinary people whose lives form the broad base for the actions of the salient figures of History. His acute observation and interest in the detail account for his intense descriptive powers and the unending movement of locale and characters for the absorbing interest of his

narrative, even though it is often interrupted by some impertinent digression.

Valle Inclán, ever the poet, was less concerned than Galdós or Baroja with the techniques of the novel or of history. For him, beautiful prose was the inevitable result of the writer's capturing and expressing the hidden beauty of all things that stimulated his senses. The salient feature of his narrative technique was his ability to immerse the present in the spirit of the past, to use history as the servant and not the master of his imagination and esthetic purpose.

The inhabitants of these novels came from two sources, the pages of History and the fertile imagination of the authors. Their most difficult task was the evocation of fictional characters who could realistically represent all levels of the social structure prevailing during the turbulent era of the Carlist uprisings. Most lived their brief fictional lives and then disappeared forever, while a favored few reappeared often, their lives closely intertwined with a series of historical events. Galdós and Baroja released a veritable flood of characters in their long series, while Valle Inclán was content to play out the drama of history with a very select cast, choosing several of them from his previous works.

Their fictional protagonists in these series faithfully reflect their own ideologies and aspirations. Galdós' Calpena manifests no firm partisan affiliation and represents

the cultural, moderate and progressive class to which Galdós looked to save the country. Baroja's Aviraneta is a prototype of the man of action, the soldier-conspirator, tilting his lance for the cause of liberalism, and Valle Inclán's Bradomín mirrors faithfully the aristocratic, Carlist sympathies of his eccentric creator.

The abstract protagonists of their works all differ, providing again, a clue to their interests and ideologies. From Galdós to Baroja to Valle Inclán the protagonist changes from a nation to an adventurer to a lost cause which inspired men to fanatical cruelty and sacrifice.

+ + + + +

As painters of History, they produced works of varying size, color, and technique. On his canvas, Galdós worked rapidly and with great precision, laying on one brush stroke after another in planned, orderly sequence, until he completed a mural depicting the vast panorama of nineteenth-century Spain. The composition is almost photographic in its realism.

Baroja paints in monochrome, the events he portrays ending in disordered, careless strokes that nevertheless form a harmonious whole. Many of the strokes cloud the picture, do not logically belong in it, and yet without them, one would be led to doubt the authenticity of the artist's signature, knowing his fatal propensity to digression.

Valle Inclán has primed his canvas with a gray base coat of hoary, medieval atmosphere and has painted upon it his

modern scenes with highly suggestive, intricate strokes which all lead directly to his primitive background. Yet there is no sense of clumsy grafting of time to action, but rather a feeling of oneness of spirit between man and his environment, both engulfed in barbaric violence.

Each of these literary artists added a human dimension to the impersonal canvas of History: Galdós, the depth of human understanding and sympathy, Baroja, the breadth of human values represented by his unending parade of big and little people, and Valle Inclán, the height of human passions in conflict and turmoil.

+ + + + +

Bibliography

1. Works Studied

- Baroja, Pío. El aprendiz de conspirador. Madrid, Renacimiento, 1913.
- . El escuadrón del Brigante. Madrid, Renacimiento, 1913.
- . Los caminos del mundo. Madrid, Renacimiento, 1914.
- . Con la pluma y con el sable. Madrid, Renacimiento, 1915.
- . Los recursos de la astucia. Madrid, Renacimiento, 1915.
- . La ruta del aventurero. Madrid, Renacimiento, 1916.
- . Los contrastes de la vida. Madrid, Renacimiento, 1916.
- . La veleta de Gastizar. Madrid, R. Caro Raggio, 1918.
- . Los caudillos de 1830. Madrid, R. Caro Raggio, 1918.
- . La Isabelina. Madrid, R. Caro Raggio, 1919.
- . El sabor de la venganza. Madrid, R. Caro Raggio, 1921.
- . Las furias. Madrid, R. Caro Raggio, 1921.
- . El amor, el dandysmo y la intriga. Madrid, R. Caro Raggio, 1923.
- . Las figuras de cera. Madrid, R. Caro Raggio, 1924.
- . La nave de los locos. Madrid, R. Caro Raggio, 1925.
- . Las mascaradas sangrientas. Madrid, R. Caro Raggio, 1927.
- . Humano enigma. Madrid, R. Caro Raggio, 1928.
- . La senda dolorosa. Madrid, R. Caro Raggio, 1928.
- . Los confidentes audaces. Madrid, Espasa Calpe, 1931.
- . La venta de Mirambel. Madrid, Espasa Calpe, 1931.

- . Crónica escandalosa. Madrid, Espasa Calpe, 1935.
- . Desde el principio hasta el fin. Madrid, Espasa Calpe, 1935.
- . "El cura Santa Cruz y su partida", in Divagaciones apasionadas. Madrid, R. Caro Raggio, n. d.
- Pérez Galdós, Benito. "Un faccioso más y algunos frailes menos", in Obras completas. Vol. II. Madrid, M. Aguilar, 1944.
- . "Zumalacárregui", in Obras completas. Vol. II. Madrid, M. Aguilar, 1944.
- . "Mendizábal", in Obras completas. Vol. II. Madrid, M. Aguilar, 1944.
- . "De Ofiate a La Granja", in Obras completas. Vol. II. Madrid, M. Aguilar, 1944.
- . "Luchana", in Obras completas. Vol. II. Madrid, M. Aguilar, 1944.
- . "La campaña del Maestrazgo", in Obras completas. Vol. III. Madrid, M. Aguilar, 1944.
- . "La estafeta romántica", in Obras completas. Vol. II. Madrid, M. Aguilar, 1944.
- . "Vergara", in Obras completas. Vol. II. Madrid, M. Aguilar, 1944.
- . "Montes de Oca", in Obras completas. Vol. II. Madrid, M. Aguilar, 1944.
- . "Los ayacuchos", in Obras completas. Vol. II. Madrid, M. Aguilar, 1944.
- . "Bodas reales", in Obras completas. Vol. II. Madrid, M. Aguilar, 1944.
- Valle Inclán, Ramón del. Sonata de invierno. Buenos Aires, Editorial Losada, 1938.
- . Los cruzados de la causa. Buenos Aires, Espasa Calpe, 1944.
- . El resplandor de la hoguera. Buenos Aires, Espasa Calpe, 1944.
- . Gerifaltes de antaño. Buenos Aires, Espasa Calpe, 1945.

2. Works of Reference and Criticism

- Adams, Nicholson B. The Heritage of Spain. New York, 1943.
- Alarcón Capilla, A. Galdós y su obra. Madrid, Librerías de Matheu, n. d.
- Alas, Leopoldo. Obras completas. Vol. I. Madrid, 1912.
- Alcalá Galiano, Alvaro. "El hidalgo de las letras. D. Ramón del Valle Inclán", in Figuras excepcionales. Madrid, Renacimiento, n. d.
- Alonso, Amado. "Estructura de las Sonatas de Valle Inclán", Verbum, XXI (1928), 7-42.
- Alonso, Antonio. Antología de ensayos españoles. Boston, 1936.
- Alonso Cortés, Narciso. "Precursores de Galdós", in Quevedo en el teatro y otras cosas. Valladolid, 1930.
- Altamira y Crevea, Rafael. "Sobre Benito Pérez Galdós. De Oñate a La Granja - Luchana. (Episodios Nacionales. Tercera serie. Madrid, 1898-99)", Revista crítica de historia y literatura, IV (1899), 100-103.
- Arte y realidad. Santiago, 1936.
- "La mujer en las novelas de Galdós", Atenea, LXXII, 215 (1943), 145-159.
- Anibal, Claude E. "Introduction", to Pío Baroja. Paradox, Rev. New York, 1937.
- Review of Helmut Demuth. Pío Baroja: das Weltbild in seinen Werken (Hagen, 1937), HR, VII (1939), 178-180.
- Araquistáin, Luis. Las columnas de Hercules. Madrid, 1921.
- Arjona, Doris King. "La voluntad and abulia in contemporary Spanish ideology", Revue Hispanique, LXXIV (1928), 573-671.
- A. R. "Sobre Pío Baroja. Memorias de un hombre de acción: Crónica escandalosa", Revista hispánica moderna, III, 3 (1937), 220-221.
- "Sobre Pío Baroja. Siluetas románticas y otras historias de pillos y extravagantes", Revista hispánica moderna, III, 3 (1937), 221.
- Azaña, Manuel. "El secreto de Valle Inclán", La pluma,

January 1923, 82-89.

- Azcárraga, Adolfo de. La timidez sentimental de Baroja y otros ensayos. Valencia, 1947.
- Azorín. La voluntad. Madrid, 1902.
- . "Baroja, historiador", in Los valores literarios. Madrid, 1913.
- . Clásicos y modernos. Madrid, 1913.
- . El paisaje de España visto por los españoles. Madrid, 1917.
- . "La última novela de Baroja [Las mascaradas sangrientas]", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal español J. García Mercadal, ed. Zaragoza, 1947, 90-94.
- . Ante Baroja. Zaragoza, 1946.
- . "Geografía barojiana", Índice de artes y letras. IX, 70-71 (1954) 2-3.
- Azpeitua, Antonio. "Pío Baroja en París", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero. J. García Mercadal, trans. Zaragoza, 1948, 103-106.
- B., J. de. "Sobre Pérez Galdós. Episodios Nacionales. Tercera serie. Vol. I. Zumalacárregui. Vol. II. Mendizábal. Madrid, 1898", Revista crítica de historia y literatura, III (1898), 440-441.
- Balbín de Unquera, Antonio. "Novela y novelistas históricos en España", Revista contemporánea, October 1905, 403-408.
- Balseiro, José A. "Valle Inclán, la novela y la política", Hispania, XV (1932), 437-464.
- . Novelistas españoles modernos. New York, 1933.
- . Blasco Ibáñez, Unamuno, Valle Inclán y Baroja, cuatro individualistas de España. Chapel Hill, 1949.
- Baquero Goyanes, Mariano. "Libros recientes sobre 'Azorín' y Baroja", Arbor, XI (1948), 555-560.
- . "Una visión de nuestra literatura contemporánea", Arbor, XVI (1950), 103-105.
- Barga, Corpus. "Una novela de Baroja", Revista de occidente, VIII (1925), 106-125. [Las figuras de cera].

- Barja, César. "Algunas novelas españolas recientes",
Bulletin of Spanish Studies, V, 18 (1928), 67.
- . Libros y autores modernos. Los Angeles, 1933.
- . Libros y autores contemporáneos. New York, 1935.
- Baroja, Pío. Zalacaín el aventurero. Barcelona, 1909.
- . Páginas escogidas. Madrid, 1917.
- . Divagaciones sobre la cultura. Madrid, 1920.
- . Aviraneta o La vida de un conspirador. 2nd ed.
Madrid, 1931.
- . Juan Van Halen, el oficial aventurero. Madrid, 1933.
- . El escritor según él y según los críticos. Madrid,
1944.
- . "Sobre la novela realista", Hispania, XXIX, 2 (1946),
181-189.
- . La intuición y el estilo. Madrid, 1948.
- Bataillon, M. "Les sources historiques de Zaragoza",
Bulletin Hispanique, XXIII (1921), 129-141.
- . "Para la biografía de un héroe de novela: Eugenio
Aviraneta", Revista de filología española, XVIII (1931),
255-258.
- Battistessa, A. J. "Son de muñeira: Notas sobre la lírica
de Valle Inclán", Nosotros, I (1936).
- Bell, Aubrey F. G. Contemporary Spanish Literature. New
York, 1925.
- Benet, Juan. "Baroja y la disgregación de la novela",
Indice de artes y letras, IX, 70-71 (1954).
- Berkowitz, H. Chonon. "Galdós and Mesonero Romanos",
Romanic Review, XXIII, 3 (1932), 201-205.
- . "Gleanings from Galdós' Correspondence", Hispania,
XVI (1933), 249-290.
- . "Galdós and the generation of 1898", Philological
Quarterly, XXI (1942), 107-120.
- . Benito Pérez Galdós, Spanish Liberal Crusader.
Madison, 1948.

- . La biblioteca de Benito Pérez Galdós. Las Palmas, 1951.
- Blanco Fombona, R. Motivos y letras de España. Madrid, 1930.
- Bolinger, Dwight L. "Heroes and Hamlets: the protagonists of Baroja's novels", Hispania, XXIV (1941), 91-94.
- Boselli, Carlo. "Una nueva novela de Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero. J. García Mercadal, trans. Zaragoza, 1948, 185-189.
- Boussagol, G. "Sources et composition du 'Zumalacárregui' de B. Pérez Galdós", Bulletin Hispanique, 1924, 241-262.
- Bowers, Claude G. The Spanish Adventures of Washington Irving. Boston, 1940.
- Boyd, Ernest. Studies from Ten Literatures. New York, 1925.
- Brenan, Gerald. The Spanish Labyrinth. Cambridge, 1943.
- . The Literature of the Spanish People from Roman Times to the Present Day. Cambridge, 1951.
- Brown, Reginald F. "A Reader's Notes on the Contemporary Spanish Novel", Bulletin of Spanish Studies, XIV, 55 (1937), 115-120.
- Camp, Jean. "Préface", to Ramón María del Valle Inclán. Comme un vol de gerfauts. Paris, 1941, 7-16.
- . "Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero. J. García Mercadal, trans. Zaragoza, 1948, 97-99.
- Cansinos Assens, R. La nueva literatura. Vol. I. Madrid, 1916.
- Carranza, Matilde. El pueblo visto a través de los "Episodios Nacionales". San José de Costa Rica, 1942.
- Casaldüero, Joaquín. "El desarrollo de la obra de Galdós", Hispanic Review, X (1942), 244-250.
- . Vida y obra de Galdós. Madrid, 1951.
- . "Elementos funcionales en las 'Sonatas' de Valle Inclán", Clavileño, V, 25 (1954), 20-27.
- . "Trayectoria de la creación galdosiana", Cuadernos, 6 (1954), 39-44.

- Casares, Julio. Crítica efímera. Vol. II. Madrid, 1919.
- Crítica profana. Madrid, [1931].
- Casona, Alejandro. "Galdós y el romanticismo", Cursos y conferencias, XXIV, 139-140-141 (1943), 99-III.
- Cassou, Jean. "Ramón del Valle Inclán", La pluma, January 1923, 68-69.
- "Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero. J. García Mercadal, trans. Zaragoza, 1948, 92-96.
- Castillo Puche, J. L. "Baroja no leyó las Memorias de Aviraneta", Correo literario, III, 40 (15 January 1952).
- Memorias íntimas de Aviraneta o Manual del Conspirador. (Réplica a Baroja). Madrid, 1952.
- Castro, Cristobal de. "Galería de contemporáneos: Pío Baroja o el burgués antiburgués", La esfera, 24 January 1925.
- Cela, Camilo José. "Las memorias de Baroja y la última cuartilla de Valle Inclán", Clavileño, I, 2 (1950), 38-41.
- Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. El ingenioso hidalgo, Don Quijote de la Mancha. Madrid, Editorial "Saturnino Calleja", n. d.
- Ciges Aparicio, Manuel. España bajo la dinastía de los borbones. Madrid, 1932.
- C. R. C. "Más cosas de don Ramón", La pluma, January 1923, 90-96.
- Chaumié, J. "Don Ramón del Valle Inclán", Le Mercure de France, CVIII (1914), 225-246.
- De Cal, Ernesto G. Lengua y estilo de Eça de Queiroz. Coimbra, 1954.
- Darío, Rubén. España contemporánea. Paris, 1901.
- Todo al vuelo. Madrid, 1912.
- Delgado Olivares, Carlos. "Aviraneta y Baroja", La gaceta literaria, 1 May 1931.
- Del Río, Angel. Historia de la literatura española. 2 Vols. New York, 1948.

- Demuth, Helmut. Pío Baroja: das Weltbild in seinen Werken. Hagen, 1937.
- De Obregón, Antonio. "Pío Baroja: 'Aviraneta o la vida de un conspirador'," Revista de occidente, IX (1931), 317-320.
- De Torre, Guillermo. "Nueva estimativa de las novelas de Galdós", Cursos y conferencias, XXIV, 139-40-41 (1943), 25-37.
- Díaz-Plaja, Guillermo. Modernismo frente a Noventa y Ocho. Madrid, 1951.
- Historia de la literatura española. 2 Vols. Barcelona, 1952.
- Diez-Canedo, Enrique. Conversaciones literarias (1915-1920). Madrid, n. d.
- Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia española en la recepción pública del Sr. D. Benito Pérez Galdós. El domingo 7 de febrero de 1897. Madrid, 1897.
- Domenchina, J. J. Crónicas de Gerardo Rivera. Mexico, 1946.
- Donoso, Armando. La senda clara. Buenos Aires, 1919.
- Dos Passos, John. "A novelist of disintegration", The Freeman, 20 October 1920.
- Drake, William A. Contemporary European Writers, New York, 1928.
- D'Ors, Eugenio. "La semana de Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal español. J. García Mercadal, ed. Zaragoza, 1947, 75-76.
- "Encuesta en torno a Baroja", Anon. art. Indice de artes y letras, IX, 70-71 (1954).
- Englekirk, John E. Edgar Allan Poe in Hispanic Literature. New York, 1934.
- Erickson, Effie L. "The influence of Charles Dickens on the Novels of Benito Pérez Galdós", Hispania, XIX (1936), 421-430.
- Escofet, José. "Los escritores están solos", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal español. J. García Mercadal, ed. Zaragoza, 1947, 130-133.

- Escudero, Alfonso M. "Contribución a la bibliografía de Pérez Galdós", Atenea, LXXII (1943), 178-196.
- Fernández Almagro, Melchor. "Ramón del Valle Inclán: vida y obra", Revista hispánica moderna, II (1936), 295-301.
- . Vida y literatura de Valle Inclán. Madrid, 1943.
- . "La novela española contemporánea", Clavileño, 5 (1950), 15-28.
- . "Valle Inclán de cerca", Índice de artes y letras, IX, 74-75 (1954), 1, 19-20.
- Fichter, William L. "Primicias estilísticas de Valle Inclán", Revista hispánica moderna, VII (1943), 289-298.
- Fishtine, Edith. Don Juan Valera, The Critic. Bryn Mawr, 1933.
- Ford, J. D. M. Main Currents of Spanish Literature. New York, 1919.
- García Sanchiz, F. Pío Baroja. Valencia, 1905.
- Giménez Caballero, E. "Pío Baroja, ingeniero de sus novelas", Gaceta literaria, 1 January 1927.
- . "La nave de los locos", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal español. J. García Mercadal, ed. Zaragoza, 1947, 195-204.
- Giusti, Roberto F. "La obra galdosiana", Cursos y conferencias, XXIV, 139-40-41 (1943), 3-12.
- Givanel Mas y Gaziell, Juan. Historia gráfica de Cervantes y del Quijote. Madrid, Editorial Plus-Ultra, n. d.
- Gómez de Baquero, Eduardo. "La tercera serie de los Episodios Nacionales", La España moderna, July 1898.
- . Letras e ideas. Barcelona, 1905.
- . "Los Episodios Nacionales", Cultura española, VIII (1907).
- . Novelas y novelistas. Madrid, 1918.
- . "Valle Inclán, novelista", La pluma, January 1923, 7-14.

- . "Baroja y la técnica", El sol, 18 December 1924.
- . El renacimiento de la novela en el siglo XIX. Madrid, 1924.
- . De Gallardo a Unamuno. Madrid, 1926.
- . Nacionalismo e hispanismo y otros ensayos. Madrid, 1928.
- Gómez de la Serna, Gaspar. "El Episodio Nacional como género literario. I: De la épica al episodio pasando por la novela", Clavileño, 14 (1952), 21-32.
- . "El Episodio Nacional como género literario. II: Las dos Españas de Don Ramón María del Valle Inclán", Clavileño, 17 (1952), 17-32.
- Gómez de la Serna, Ramón. "La personalidad fantasmagórica de Don Ramón", La pluma, January 1923, 71-81.
- . "Pío Baroja", in Azorín. Madrid, 1930.
- . Don Ramón María del Valle Inclán. Buenos Aires, 1944.
- González Blanco, Andrés. Historia de la novela en España desde el romanticismo a nuestros días. Madrid, 1909.
- . Los contemporáneos. 3rd series. Paris, 1910.
- . "Prólogo", to Antonio Alarcón Capilla, Galdós y su obra. Madrid, [1922].
- González López, Emilio. "Valle Inclán y Curros Enríquez", Revista hispánica moderna, 1-2 (1945), 215-226.
- González-Ruano, César. Azorín, Baroja. Madrid, 1923.
- González Ruiz, Nicolás. "Baroja y la España de Baroja", Bulletin of Spanish Studies, I (1923), 4-11.
- . En esta hora. Madrid, 1925.
- González Serrano, U. "Galdós y sus Episodios Nacionales", Nuestro tiempo, III (1903), 346-355.
- Granjel, Luis S. Retrato de Pío Baroja. Barcelona, 1953.
- Green, Otis H. "Blanco Fombona, Pérez Galdós and Leopoldo Alas", Hispanic Review, X (1942), 47-52.

- Guillén, Jorge. "Valle Inclán y el 98", La pluma, January 1923, 70.
- Heinrick, H. Die Kunst der Don Ramón María del Valle Inclán. Rostock, 1937.
- Henningsen, C. F. The Most Striking Events of a Twelve-month's Campaign with Zumalacárregui, in Navarre and the Basque Provinces. 2 Vols. London, 1836.
- Huerta, Efraín. "Galdós y la novela histórica", Atenea, LXXII (1943), 99-107.
- Hüsges, H. Der Schriftsteller Benito Pérez Galdós (1843-1920) als Vorkämpfer des Liberalismus in Spanien. Leipzig, 1928.
- Ibarra, J. "Don Ramón del Valle Inclán. Apuntes de historia novelesca o de novela histórica", Gaceta literaria, 15 August 1930.
- J., B. [Benjamín Jarnés]. "Baroja y sus desfiles", Revista de occidente, XLII (1933), 348-352.
- . Zumalacárregui, el caudillo romántico. Madrid, 1931.
- Jeschke, Hans. Die Generation von 1898 in Spanien. Halle, 1934.
- Juretschke, Hans. "la generación del 98, su proyección, crítica e influencia en el extranjero", Arbor, XI (1948), 517-544.
- Kercheville, F. M. "Galdós and the new Humanism", Modern Language Journal, XVI (1932), 477-489.
- La Bruyère, Jean de. Caractères. M. L'Abbé Drioux, ed. Paris, 1852.
- Lafuente Ferrari, Enrique. "La pintura española y la generación del 98", Arbor, XI, 36 (1946), 449-458.
- Latimer, Elizabeth Wormeley. Spain in the Nineteenth Century.
- Lavie, Hector Oliveira. "Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero. J. García Mercadal, trans. Zaragoza, 1948, 270-286.
- Lázaro, A. "España en su novelista: Galdós", Revista cubana, XIX (1945), 42-65.
- Liverpool Studies in Spanish Literature. First Series: From Cadalso to Rubén Darío. E. A. Peers, ed. Liverpool, 1940.

- López Prudencio, J. "Notas de lector [Cara de plata]," ABC, 28 February 1924.
- Louis-Lande, L. "Le roman patriotique en Espagne: Les Episodios Nacionales de Mr. Pérez Galdós", Revue de deux mondes, XIV (1876), 934-935.
- Lundeberg, Olav K. "An Evening with Valle Inclán", Hispania, XIII (1932), 399-403.
- McCabe, J. Spain in Revolt, 1814-1931. London, 1931.
- Madariaga, Salvador de. The Genius of Spain. Oxford, 1923.
- , Semblanzas literarias contemporáneas, Barcelona, 1924.
- Madrid, Francisco. La vida activa de Valle Inclán. Buenos Aires, [1943].
- Marañón, Gregorio. "El academismo de Don Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal español. J. García Mercadal, ed. Zaragoza, 1947, 51-59.
- , "Prólogo", to José Luis Castillo Puche. Memorias íntimas de Aviraneta. Madrid, 1952.
- Marín Alcalde, A. "Crónica escandalosa y Desde el principio hasta el fin", Ahora, 23 May 1935.
- Martinenche, E. "Le théâtre de M. Galdós", Revue de deux mondes, April 1906, 819-820.
- Mas y Pi, Juan. "Pío Baroja", in Letras españolas. Buenos Aires, 1911.
- Mateu Llopis, F. Autores contemporáneos. Baroja y Azorín. Barcelona, 1945.
- Maura, A. "Don Benito Pérez Galdós", Boletín de la Real Academia Española, VII (1920), 133-157.
- Maurin, Figarola. "Tres semanas con Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero. J. García Mercadal, trans. Zaragoza, 1948, 115-146.
- Menéndez y Arranz, Juan. "recuerdos y comentarios", Índice de artes y letras, IX, 70-71 (1954), 26.
- Menéndez y Pelayo, Marcelino. Historia de los heterodoxos españoles. Madrid, 1880-81.
- , Estudios de crítica literaria. Vol. V. Madrid, 1927.

- Mesa, Rafael de. "La génesis de los 'Episodios'," Revista de libros, III (1919), 33-46.
- Miller, W. "The Novels of Pérez Galdós", The Gentleman's Magazine, 291 (1901), 217-228.
- Miomandre, Francis de. "Don Ramón del Valle Inclán", La pluma, January 1923, 69-70.
- ". "Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero. J. García Mercadal, trans. Zaragoza, 1948.
- Monner Sans, José María. "Galdós y la generación de 1898", Cursos y conferencias, XXIV, 139-40-41 (1943), 57-85.
- Morales San Martín, Bernardo. "Memorias de un hombre de acción", El mercantil valencio, 15 May 1935.
- Moya del Pino, J. "Valle Inclán y los artistas", La pluma, January 1923, 63-65.
- Ocantos, Carlos María. "Del arte de hacer novelas", Boletín de la Real Academia española, XXIV (1945), 415-418.
- Olmet, Luis Antón del and Arturo García Caraffa. Los grandes españoles: Galdós. Madrid, 1912.
- Onís, Federico de. "Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero. J. García Mercadal, trans. Zaragoza, 1948, 217-228.
- Ortega, Juan. "El mito de Aviraneta. 'Don Juan' y 'Don Quijote'," Índice de artes y letras, IX, 70-71 (1954), 9.
- Ortega y Gasset, José. "Observaciones de un lector", La lectura, III (1915), 349-379.
- ". "Ideas sobre Pío Baroja", in El espectador. Vol. I. Madrid, 1916, 129-207, 211-261.
- ". "Azorín - primores de lo vulgar", in El espectador. Vol. II. Madrid, 1917.
- ". Obras, Bilbao, 1932.
- Ory, Carlos Edmundo de. "El ocaso de los dioses [Pío Baroja]", Diario de la marina, 9 August 1953, 40.
- Ossorio, Angel. "El sentido popular de Galdós", Cursos y conferencias, XXIV, 139-40-41 (1943), 113-128.
- Owen, A. L. "Sobre el arte de D. Ramón del Valle Inclán", Hispania, VI (1923), 69-80.

- . "Concerning the Ideology of Pío Baroja", Hispania, XV (1932), 15-24.
- Oyarzún, Román. Historia del carlismo. Bilbao, 1939.
- Pascal, Blaise. Pensées et opuscules. M. Léon Brunschvicq, ed. Paris, 1946.
- Pastor, A. R. "Spain", in Contemporary Movements in European Literature. William Rose and J. Isaacs, eds. London, 1928, 89-124.
- Pastor, J. F. "La generación del '98' - su concepto del estilo", Die neueren Sprachen, XXXVIII (1930), 410-415.
- Pattison, Walter T. Benito Pérez Galdós and the Creative Process. Minneapolis, 1954.
- Pedro, Valentín de. España renaciente. Madrid, 1922.
- Pérez Ferrero, M. Pío Baroja en su rincón. Santiago de Chile, 1940.
- Pérez Galdós, Benito. Memorias. Madrid, 1930.
- Peseux-Richard, H. "Un novelista español", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero. J. García Mercadal, trans. Zaragoza, 1948.
- Petriconi, H. Die spanische Literatur der Gegenwart seit 1870. Wiesbaden, 1926.
- Pfandl, L. "Pío Baroja. Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte des modernen spanischen Romans", Die neueren Sprachen, XXVIII (1920), 229-240.
- Pi y Margall, F. and F. Pi y Arsuaga. Las grandes conmociones políticas del siglo XIX en España. Barcelona, 1931.
- Pillement, Jorge. "Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero. J. García Mercadal, trans. Zaragoza, 1948, 74-79.
- "Una visita a Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero. J. García Mercadal, trans. Zaragoza, 1948, 301-306.
- Pillepich, Piero. "Pío Baroja", in Baroja en el banquillo. Tribunal extranjero. J. García Mercadal, trans. Zaragoza, 1948, 174-179.
- Pina, Francisco, Pío Baroja. Valencia, 1928.

- Pirala, Antonio. Historia de la guerra civil y de los partidos liberal y carlista. 6 Vols. 2nd ed. Madrid, 1868.
- Poe, Edgar Allen. The Raven and other Poems. New York, 1942.
- Pons, Joseph Sebastian. "Le Roman et l'histoire: De Galdós à Valle Inclán", in Hommage à Ernest Martinenche. Paris, 1939, 381-389.
- Portnoff, George. La literatura rusa en España. New York, 1932.
- Putnam, Samuel. The European Caravan. New York, 1931.
- Reding, Katherine P. "The Generation of 1898 in Spain as seen through its Fictional Hero", Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, XVII, 3-4 (1936).
- Reid, John Turner. Modern Spain and Liberalism: a Study in Literary Contrasts. Stanford University, 1937.
- Reyes, Alfonso. "Bradomín y Aviraneta", in Simpatías y diferencias. 1st Series. Madrid, 1921.
- "Las fuentes de Valle Inclán", Social, V (1922), 14, 48.
- Capítulos de literature española. 2nd Series. Mexico, 1945.
- Reyes, Salvador. "Baroja en toda su estatura", Insula, XI, 105 (1954), 1-2, 8.
- Rodríguez Alcalá, Hugo. "Ortega, Baroja, Unamuno y la sinceridad", Revista hispánica moderna, I (1949), 107-114.
- Rogers, Paul Patrick. "Galdós and Tamayo's Letter-Substitution Device", Romanic Review, XLV, a (1954), 115-120.
- Rojas, Ricardo. Retablo español. Buenos Aires, [1938].
- Romera-Navarro, M. Historia de la literatura española. New York, 1928.
- Rosenbaum, S. C. and J. Guerrero Ruiz. "Ramón del Valle Inclán, bibliografía", Revista hispánica moderna, II (1936), 3P7-314.
- Rosenberg, S. L. Millard and Laurence D. Bailiff. "Introduction", to Pío Baroja. Zalacaín el aventurero. New York, 1945.

- Ruiz Contreras, Luis. Memorias de un desmemoriado. 2 Vols. Madrid, 1916.
- Ruiz Dana, Pedro. Estudios sobre la guerra civil en el norte, de 1872 a 1876. Madrid, 1876.
- Saenz, H. "Ideario galdosiano", Hispania, XXVIII (1945), 364-369.
- Sainz de Robles, Federico Carlos. "Don Benito Pérez Galdós. Su vida y sus obras", in Benito Pérez Galdós, Obras completas. Vol. I. Madrid, 1945, v-lxxxvi.
- Salaverría, José María. A lo lejos. España vista desde América. Madrid, 1914.
- . Retratos. Madrid, 1926.
- . Nuevos retratos. Madrid, 1930.
- Salinas, Pedro. "Significación del esperpento", in Literatura española siglo XX. 2nd ed. Mexico, 1949, 87-114.
- . "Valle Inclán visto por sus coetáneos", in Literatura española siglo XX. 2nd ed. Mexico, 1949, 117-122.
- Sánchez, F. "Sobre las 'Memorias de un hombre de acción' de Baroja", Hispania, XIII (1930), 301-310.
- Sarrailh, Jean. "Quelques sources du Cadiz de Galdós", Bulletin Hispanique, XXIII (1921), 33-48.
- . Prosateurs espagnols contemporains. Paris, 1930.
- . "Notes sur Stendhal et Valle Inclán", Revue de la littérature comparée, XIV (1934), 694-702.
- Seeleman, Rosa. "Folkloric Elements in Valle Inclán", Hispanic Review, III (1935), 103-118.
- . "The Treatment of Landscape in the Novelists of the Generation of 1898", Hispanic Review, IV, 3 (1936), 226-238.
- Segura Covarsi, Enrique. "Los ciegos de Valle Inclán", Clavileño, 17 (1952), 49-52.
- Sencourt, Robert. Spain's Uncertain Crown. The Story of the Spanish Sovereigns, 1808-1931. London, 1932.
- Sender, Ramón. "La gestación literaria en Valle Inclán", Cuadernos americanos, XI, 2 (1952), 270-281.

- "Algo más sobre Valle Inclán", Cuadernos americanos, XII, 2 (1953), 275-283.
- Serrano Poncela, S. "Pío Baroja y su novela", Cuadernos [Paris], VII (1954), 30-36.
- Shoemaker, William H. "Preliminary Study", to Crónica de la Quincena. Princeton, 1948.
- "Galdós Literary Creativity: D. José Ido del Sagrario", Hispanic Review, XIX, 3 (1951), 204-237.
- Silva Castro, Raúl. "Pío Baroja: el hombre y el escritor", Atenea, IV (1927), 37-45.
- Solalinde, A. G. "Prosper Mérimée y Valle Inclán", Revista de filología española, VI (1919), 389-391.
- Suárez Solís, Rafael. "Tres octogenarios [Azorín, Baroja, Benavente]", Diario de la marina, 7 February 1954, 48.
- Suárez Verdeguer, Federico. "C. F. Henningsen y la historia de España en el siglo XIX", Arbor, III, 7 (1945).
- Tamayo, J. A. "Sobre B. Pérez Galdós: Obras completas. Tomos I, II y III. Episodios nacionales", Revista de filología española, XXV (1941), 547-553.
- Templin, E. H. "Pío Baroja, Three Pivotal Concepts", Hispanic Review, XII (1944), 306-329.
- "Pío Baroja and Science", Hispanic Review, XV (1947), 165-192.
- Tenreiro, Ramón María. "Los cruzados de la causa", La lectura, IX, 1 (1909).
- "El aprendiz de conspirador (Memorias de un hombre de acción) por Pío Baroja", La lectura, XIII, 1 (1913), 406.
- "El escuadrón del Brigante (Memorias de un hombre de acción) por Pío Baroja", La lectura, XIV, 1 (1914), 68.
- "Libros recientes de Baroja", La lectura, XVIII (1918), 405-408.
- Torrente Ballester, Gonzalo. "Algo sobre Valle", Indice de artes y letras, IX, 74-75 (1954), 21-22.
- Toulouse-Latrec, M. "un romancier espagnol contemporain: Pérez Galdós", Le correspondant, CXXXII (1883).

- Trabazo, Luis. "El mundo poético de Valle Inclán", Indice de artes y letras, IX, 74-75 (1954), 25-26.
- Trend, J. B. A Picture of Modern Spain. Boston, 1921.
- , Alfonso the Sage and other Spanish Essays. London, 1926.
- , The Origins of Modern Spain. London, 1934.
- Uriarte, F. "Pío Baroja, sus memorias y su obra", Atenea, LXXXV (1946), 417-424.
- Valbuena Prat, Angel. Historia de la literatura española. 3rd ed. Barcelona, 1950.
- Van Praag, J. A. Enkele opmerkingen over Pío Baroja, zijn leven en zijn werk. Amsterdam, 1927.
- Valle Inclán, Ramón del. La medianoche, visión estelar de un momento de guerra. Madrid, 1917.
- Valle Inclán, Blanco, Carlos de. "Fragmentos de una biografía inédita de Don Ramón María del Valle Inclán", in Ramón del Valle Inclán. Gerifaltes de antaño. Buenos Aires, 1945, 7-12.
- Varela Hervías, E. Cartas de Pérez Galdós a Mesonero Romanos. Madrid, 1943.
- Vásquez Arjona, C. "Cotejo histórico de cinco Episodios Nacionales de Benito Pérez Galdós", Revue Hispanique, LXVIII (1926), 321-551.
- , "Un Episodio Nacional de Benito Pérez Galdós: 'El 19 de marzo y el 2 de mayo'", Bulletin Hispanique, III (1931), 116-139.
- , "Un Episodio Nacional de Galdós. Bailén: Cotejo histórico", Bulletin of Spanish Studies, IX (1932), 116-123.
- , "Introducción al estudio de la primera serie de los 'Episodios Nacionales' de Pérez Galdós", Publications of the Modern Language Association, XLVIII (1933), 895-907.
- Villamil, Enrique, F. "Comprobaciones sobre la documentación en Pérez Galdós", Correo erudito, II (1941).
- Villaurrutia, Xavier. Textos y pretextos. Mexico, n. d.

Warshaw, J. "The Casa Museo Galdós - For Sale?", Hispania,
X (1927), 225-236.

-----". "Galdós' Indebtedness to Cervantes", Hispania,
XVI (1933), 127-142.

Wisdom, Thomas. Estudio histórico-militar de Zumalacárregui
y Cabrera. Madrid, 1890.

Zamora Vicente, Alonso. De Garcilaso a Valle Inclán. Buenos
Aires, 1950.

-----". Las "Sonatas" de Ramón del Valle Inclán.
Buenos Aires, 1951.

Zorilla, José. Don Juan Tenorio y El puñal del godo.
Buenos Aires, 1946.

+ + + + +

Appendix

Nineteenth Century Newspapers and Periodicals
Mentioned By
Galdós, Baroja and Valle Inclán
In The Works Studied

Galdós

La Abeja	<u>De Oñate a La Granja</u> , II, 558.
El Correo Nacional	<u>Montes de Oca</u> , II, 1114.
El Eco de Comercio	<u>Mendizábal</u> , II, 447, 540.
La España	<u>Montes de Oca</u> , II, 1114.
El Español	<u>Mendizábal</u> , II, 447.
La Esperanza	<u>Bodas reales</u> , II, 1340.
La Guindilla ⁺	<u>Los Ayacuchos</u> , II, 1227.
El Guirigay	<u>Montes de Oca</u> , II, 1114.
El Jorobado	<u>Mendizábal</u> , II, 540.
El Liberal	<u>Mendizábal</u> , II, 540.
El Mensajero	<u>Mendizábal</u> , II, 447, 540.
El Papagayo	<u>Los Ayacuchos</u> , II, 1266.
La Postdata	<u>Los Ayacuchos</u> , II, 1227.
El Republicano	<u>Los Ayacuchos</u> , II, 1266.

+ He owned copies of this newspaper. (Tomos I y II, Madrid, 1842). See Berkowitz, Biblioteca, p. 209.

Baroja

El Boletín del Ejército Real de Aragón, Valencia y Murcia	<u>Los confidentes audaces</u> , pp. 227-228.
El Centinela de los Pirineos	<u>El amor, el dandysmo y la intriga</u> , p. 41.
El Constitucional	<u>Las figuras de cera</u> , p. 84.

El Eco de la Razón y de la Justicia	<u>El amor, el dandysmo y la intriga</u> , p. 54.
La Esperanza	<u>Desde el principio hasta el fin</u> , p. 135.
El Faro de Bayona	<u>El amor, el dandysmo y la intriga</u> , p. 41.
Gaceta de Languedoc	<u>La venta de Mirambel</u> , p. 200.
Gaceta del Berry	<u>La senda dolorosa</u> , p. 13.
El Graduador	<u>Los confidentes audaces</u> , p. 131.
El Huracán	<u>Desde el principio hasta el fin</u> , p. 38.
La Iberia	<u>El sabor de la venganza</u> , p. 95.
Le Journal des Debats	<u>Las figuras de cera</u> , p. 84.
La Moda	<u>Las figuras de cera</u> , p. 63. <u>Las mascaradas sangrientas</u> , p. 209.
La Mentira	<u>El sabor de la venganza</u> , p. 95.
El Miliciano	<u>El sabor de la venganza</u> , p. 95.
El Murciélago	<u>El sabor de la venganza</u> , p. 95.
El Museo de las Familias	<u>El nave de los locos</u> , p. 227.
El Noticiario	<u>Las furias</u> , p. 258.
El Panorama	<u>El nave de los locos</u> , p. 227.
El Regenerador	<u>Las furias</u> , p. 190.
El Restaurador Catalán	<u>La senda dolorosa</u> , p. 259. <u>Humano enigma</u> , p. 227.
Sancho Gobernador	<u>Crónica escandalosa</u> , p. 109.
Semanario pintoresco español	<u>La nave de los locos</u> , p. 277.
The Times	<u>Las furias</u> , p. 270.
Tío Camorra	<u>Desde el principio hasta el fin</u> , p. 201.

El Vapor Catalán Las furias, p. 186.

El Zurriago Las furias, p. 228.

Valle Inclán

None are mentioned in the Carlist War novels, but he did have available almost all of the Semanario pintoresco and a complete collection of El Padre Cobos. See Gómez de la Serna, "El Episodio Nacional. II," p. 32.

+ + + + +