

Unamuno in exile, 1924-30. A writer's crisis of personal identity and public role

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D. Phil thesis, Trinity Term, 1990

Shorter abstract

This thesis provides a much-needed study of all the major aspects of Unamuno's experience of exile from the Spain of Primo de Rivera (1924-30).

It sheds light on the reasons for Unamuno's exile and on his understanding of his public role during exile itself. It shows how Unamuno saw himself at this time as the representative of certain essential Spanish values which he believed were being debased by the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, and how he came to feel in Paris that he had a mission to make those values known to his new European audience. A study of this mission helps to illuminate one of Unamuno's more complex exile works, La agonía del cristianismo.

The thesis also sheds light on the effects that exile had on Unamuno, both man and writer, showing that he could not function in his usual fashion as a public figure and a writer outside Spain. This state of affairs led to a severe personal crisis which affected the writings he produced in Paris and Hendaye.

This thesis has set out to show that Unamuno's exile crisis was principally a writer's crisis. To be able to do this, it has been necessary to set Unamuno's exile works in the context of his lifelong ideas on selfhood, self-creation and writing. It has thus been possible to show how the circumstances of exile forced Unamuno to confront once again his fundamental doubts concerning the effects that playing a public role and writing have on his sense of selfhood. A study of Cómo se hace una novela, the work in which he gives expression to this crisis, serves to reveal how the activity of writing lies at the very heart of his philosophy of self-creation.

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Longer abstract

This thesis provides the first systematic study of all the major aspects of Unamuno's experience of exile from the Spain of Primo de Rivera.

Unamuno spent six years in exile in Fuerteventura, Paris and Hendaye (1924-30). During these years, he wrote a large number of political articles, especially for the French newspaper Le Quotidien and for the clandestine anti-Dictatorship broadsheets España con honra and Hojas libres. He also wrote a number of important literary and philosophical works, some of which, especially La agonía del cristianismo, Cómo se hace una novela, El otro, El hermano Juan and the Cancionero, figure among the most complex and significant that he ever produced.

Yet exile also had a profoundly negative effect on Unamuno, both man and writer. He experienced the problems which face many writers and intellectuals forced to live outside their native country. Cut off from his cultural roots, from his family and readers and also from his language, Unamuno became painfully aware that he could not function in his usual fashion as a writer and a public figure outside Spain. He suffered from long periods of literary paralysis and entered into a severe personal crisis

in Paris which was to affect the contents and tone of his writings.

No critic has hitherto undertaken a systematic study of this period of Unamuno's life. Those who have touched upon Unamuno's experience of exile have focused their attention on one or other of the major works that he produced at this time. It is the main contention of this thesis that these works can only be fully understood if studied in the context of the totality of Unamuno's experience of exile. It has been necessary, therefore, to look at his political views of this time, his changing feelings in Fuerteventura, Paris and Hendaye, and at the crisis which he suffered during his stay in Paris and Hendaye.

First, then, this thesis sets out to study Unamuno's political views in the 1920s and focuses on the reasons that lie behind his banishment and on the development of his public role in exile. By making use of previously uncollected material, it has been possible to show that Unamuno opposed Primo de Rivera because he believed the Dictator shared the political outlook of the casticistas, the false patriots whose narrow vision of Spain he had been attacking since En torno al casticismo (1895). Unamuno first reacted to Primo's *coup d'état* by providing an explicit definition of his political views and an exposition of his thoughts concerning the major political ideologies, especially liberalism and socialism. A study of the

political articles which Unamuno produced between September 1923 and February 1924 has revealed how Unamuno reaffirmed at this time his faith in liberalism, which he believed to be an ideology dedicated to the defence of free speech and of certain fundamental spiritual and individual values. It has also revealed how Unamuno got closer than at any time since the 1890s to the Socialist Party and how he believed that genuine socialists and liberals should share the same basic ideals and political outlook.

And yet Unamuno refused at this time - and, indeed, throughout his exile - to rejoin the Socialist Party or even to join forces with any of the political parties opposed to the Régime of Primo de Rivera. He believed that his duty as a public figure was to remain above party politics and to engage Primo de Rivera and Alfonso XIII in a bitter and often aggressive verbal duel. The political writings he produced in exile reveal that Unamuno believed politics to be more a matter of personalities than of ideology.

Throughout his exile, Unamuno wrote as a representative of what he saw to be the specifically Spanish philosophy of life which he had been defending since En torno al casticismo and to which he had given full expression in Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho (1905) and Del sentimiento trágico de la vida (1912). In En torno al casticismo, Unamuno had studied the 'intrahistorical' values of Spain and claimed that the Spanish pueblo had retained an awareness of the

importance of the spiritual dimension of human life. Then, in Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho and Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, Unamuno had used Don Quixote as his guide as he defined the Spanish view of existence in terms of man's need to affirm his will-to-be and his individual worth in the face of death. From the early years of the century, Unamuno had therefore believed that his duty as a public figure was to play a role as an agitador de espíritus and defend this Spanish individualistic and spiritual philosophy. He carried on this role in exile and wrote articles in order to remind his compatriots of the truths of the spirit and of the genuine values of their country which were being debased by the Régime of Primo de Rivera.

Furthermore, Unamuno came to believe during his time in Paris that he had a duty to make these specifically Spanish values known to his new international audience. He was appalled by the growing materialism and devotion to rationalism and science which he found to be dominating French and, more generally, European culture. He therefore took advantage of his stay in the French capital in order to carry on his lifelong mission to remind Europe of her spiritual heritage. This previously unstudied mission came to a climax with La agonía del cristianismo in which Unamuno set out to underline the contradictions which, in his view, lay at the heart of, and consequently give vitality to, the Christian faith and the civilization it had brought into existence. By studying La agonía del cristianismo in the context of this mission, it has been possible to shed new

light on what is one of the more complex works that Unamuno wrote during his exile.

And yet Unamuno's confidence in his role as an agitador de espíritus and as a representative of the Spanish philosophy of life was not to last, and he started to suffer a severe crisis at the end of 1924, during which he came to question the implications of that philosophy. In order to be able to understand the nature of this crisis, it has been necessary to study Unamuno's changing feelings in Fuerteventura, Paris and Hendaye.

Fuerteventura represented for Unamuno a haven of peace after six months of intense political activity against the Régime of Primo de Rivera. He experienced a sense of spiritual rejuvenation on the island which he immediately lost upon his arrival in Paris. Unamuno felt in the French capital that he was cut off from Spain and from the values which he believed his country represented. He came to feel the full effects of exile and fell into a state of inactivity which made it impossible for him to write and to carry out his role as a public figure. He tried to remedy this situation in August 1925 by moving to Hendaye, on the French-Spanish border, but the effects of the crisis which had started in Paris were to mark his work right until his return from exile in early 1930.

A study of the crisis that Unamuno passed through in exile lies at the heart of this thesis. Several critics,

including Sánchez Barbudo, Zubizarreta, Gullón and Wyers, have shown that Unamuno came to question the authenticity of the role that he was playing at this time and also to question the very idea of role-playing itself.¹ This thesis has set out to show, however, that the crisis Unamuno suffered in exile was in fact principally a writer's crisis.

To be able to show this, it has been necessary to study that crisis in the context of Unamuno's lifelong thoughts on selfhood, self-creation and writing. In Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, Unamuno had put forward the belief that the individual can give expression to his sense of selfhood and to his desire for immortality through activity; the individual must, in fact, learn to see his life in terms of an obra which has to be created. Unamuno had also made it clear that his own way of acting and creating himself was through playing his role as a public figure and a writer. By writing works in which he explored and defended his philosophy of self-creation, he felt that he was creating the written obra by which he would be remembered after his death.

However, Unamuno had long had profound doubts not only concerning the effects of role-playing on his sense of selfhood but also concerning the self which is created through writing. He first gave expression to such doubts in

¹ Antonio Sánchez Barbudo, Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado (Madrid, 1968), pp. 173-232; Armando Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su nivola (Madrid, 1960); Ricardo Gullón, Autobiografías de Unamuno (Madrid, 1964), pp. 264-89; Frances Wyers, Unamuno: The Contrary Self (London, 1976), pp. 52-59.

the Diario íntimo of 1897. There, he questioned the authenticity of the self created through playing a public role and also the substantiality of the self that he was creating in words. He revealed his belief that words can, as nothing else, give expression to the lived experience of the self but can also empty the self of all substance.

In Cómo se hace una novela, the major work he produced in exile, Unamuno attempted to reaffirm his belief that life is like a novela or an historia which each individual has the duty to create. He also made it clear once again that he created his own novela-vida by writing. And yet the isolation of exile and the literary paralysis which he was suffering at this time made it impossible for Unamuno to feel confidence in the process of self-creation and in his own novela or written self. As a result, all the doubts about the authenticity of the self created by playing a public role and about the substantiality of the self created in words resurfaced in this work. Unamuno was therefore forced once again to face up to all the implications of his philosophy of self-creation and writing.

In the 'Continuación' and the other sections which he added to Cómo se hace una novela in 1927, Unamuno was at last able to affirm his confidence in the activity of writing. Indeed, he showed here how he needed to write both in order to play his public role and to create a lasting version of himself in words. However, he also realized that he would only live on through his 'written self' if he had

readers who were able to bring him to life within them. As a consequence, much of the 'Continuación' is concerned with the matter of how the writer should write in order to create an authentic and substantial expression of himself in words, and also with how the reader should read in order to ensure the continuing existence of the writer's 'written self'. The 'Continuación' serves to show, therefore, how Unamuno's ideas on writing and reading lie at the very heart of his philosophy of self-creation.

And yet the 'Continuación' represents only a moment of precarious balance in Unamuno's work in which he managed to bring together his need to play a role as a public figure and a writer and his desire to create an authentic and substantial version of himself in words. In the other works that he produced in Hendaye, especially the plays El otro, Sombras de sueño and El hermano Juan, Unamuno continued to be concerned with the problems of selfhood, self-creation and writing. This thesis has helped towards a better understanding of these complex plays by studying them in the context of Unamuno's exile crisis.

The final work that Unamuno wrote in exile, the Cancionero, reveals how he had become more obsessed by 1928 with advancing age than with the question of the authenticity and substantiality of the self created through playing a public role and writing. This collection of poetry serves to show that the ultimate effect of exile was to make Unamuno more aware of the greatest threat to personal

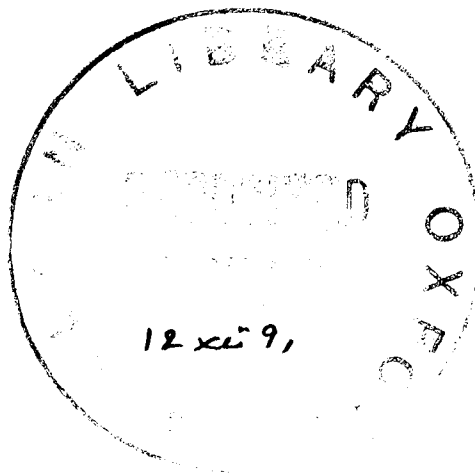
identity, that is, the threat of death.

By studying the totality of Unamuno's experience of exile, it has been possible to shed light on Unamuno's understanding of his political role, on his vision of Spain, and on the effect that exile had on his literary and philosophical ideas. Above all, it has been possible to reveal the true nature of the crisis he passed through at this time, a crisis which serves to show how Unamuno based his conception of life on his understanding of the possibilities and the limitations of the written word.

UNAMUNO IN EXILE, 1924-30. A WRITER'S CRISIS OF PERSONAL
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For María José and my Father, and in Memory of my Mother

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PREFACE

This thesis could not have been completed without the help and guidance of my supervisor, Dr R.W. Truman. I should like to acknowledge here my gratitude for his stimulating advice and continual support.

I should also like to thank María José Martínez Jurico, my father and Mr E.A. Southworth for their unflagging encouragement and patience.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes and in the Bibliography:

BHS - Bulletin of Hispanic Studies

CCMU - Cuadernos de la Cátedra Miguel de Unamuno

PMLA - Publications of the Modern Language Association of America

INTRODUCTION

The six years which Unamuno spent in exile from the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1924-30) represent a major and self-contained period of Unamuno's mature writing life. During these years, he wrote a number of important works, including essays, plays, poetry and an autobiographical "novel", some of which, especially La agonía del cristianismo, Cómo se hace una novela, El otro, El hermano Juan and the Cancionero, figure among the most complex and significant works in the Unamuno canon.

He also wrote a large number of political articles in exile, especially for the French newspaper Le Quotidien, and for España con honra and Hojas libres, clandestine publications set up in France by Vicente Blasco Ibáñez and Eduardo Ortega y Gasset respectively to do battle with the Régime of Primo de Rivera. However, much of his work of this time also had a more "international" flavour as Unamuno took advantage of his new-found fame in France to have some of the works he wrote there translated and published in French.¹

Yet exile also had a profoundly negative effect on Unamuno, both man and writer. He experienced the problems which face many writers and intellectuals forced to live outside their native country. Cut off from his cultural roots, from his family and readers and also from his

¹ Both La agonía del cristianismo and Cómo se hace una novela first saw the light of day in French translation.

language, Unamuno became painfully aware that he could not function in his usual fashion as a writer and a public figure outside Spain. He suffered from long periods of literary paralysis and entered into a severe personal crisis in Paris which was to affect the contents and tone - and, on occasions, the quality - of his writings.

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a study of all the main aspects of Unamuno's experience of exile. This is the first study to focus exclusively on this period of Unamuno's life. The only other work which sets out to look at the totality of Unamuno's experience of exile is Paulette Moracchini's unpublished thesis Unamuno pendant son exil en France.² However, despite providing useful biographical information, this thesis turns out to be descriptive rather than analytical in nature.

Other critics have tended to focus on the individual works which Unamuno produced at this time. So, *inter alia*, Victor Ouimette and José M. González Helguera have looked at De Fuerteventura a París,³ and Josse de Kock, Julio García Morejón, Ricardo Gullón and Mario Valdés have studied the

2 This thesis was presented at the University of Paris in 1955.

3 Ouimette, 'La agonía del desterrado: De Fuerteventura a París', in La poesía de Miguel de Unamuno, edited by José Angel Ascunce (San Sebastián, 1987), pp. 177-97; José M. González Helguera, 'Radiografía de una trama elemental (De Fuerteventura a París)', Cahiers du CRIAR, v (1985), 7-36. See also C. Bastons Vivanco, 'A propósito de seis sonetos de Unamuno compuestos durante su destierro en Fuerteventura', CCMU, xxvii-xxviii (1983), 203-13.

Cancionero.⁴ As regards the plays, Iris Zavala devotes part of her Unamuno: El teatro de la conciencia to the study of El otro, Sombras de sueño and El hermano Juan,⁵ while Carlos Feal Deibe has written extensively on El otro and El hermano Juan,⁶ and Martin Nozick, Ricardo Gullón and Donald Shaw have all examined one or other of the plays.⁷ Meanwhile, José López-Morillas, Marcel Gautrand and José Oroz Reta have studied La agonía del cristianismo,⁸ and Sánchez Barbudo, Zubizarreta, Inés Azar and Paul R. Olson have all looked at

4 J. de Kock, Introducción al Cancionero de Miguel de Unamuno (Madrid, 1968); García Morejón, Unamuno y el Cancionero (Sao Paulo, 1966); Ricardo Gullón, 'Unamuno y el Cancionero', in Gullón et al., Unamuno a los cien años (Salamanca, 1967), pp. 9-25; Mario Valdés, 'La imagen de Dios en el Cancionero (1928-1936) de Miguel de Unamuno', in Actas del Congreso Internacional Cincuentenario de Unamuno, edited by D. Gómez Molleda (Salamanca, 1989), pp. 181-88. See also Luis Felipe Vivanco, 'El mundo hecho hombre en el Cancionero de Unamuno', in Miguel de Unamuno, edited by A. Sánchez Barbudo (Madrid, 1974), pp. 349-74; and Pilar Maícan, 'L'Espagne dans le Cancionero', Les Lettres Romanes, lxi, (1987), 245-56.

5 Iris Zavala, Unamuno y su teatro de conciencia (Salamanca, 1963), pp. 79-99. See also Andrés Franco, El teatro de Unamuno (Madrid, 1971), pp. 195-256.

6 C. Feal Deibe, El otro y Don Juan (Madrid, 1976).

7 Martin Nozick, 'Unamuno, Ortega y Don Juan', Romantic Review, xl (1949), 268-74; Ricardo Gullón, 'Imágenes de El otro', in Pensamiento y letras en la España del siglo XX, edited by Germán Bleiberg and E. Inman Fox (Nashville, 1966), pp. 257-69; Gullón, 'The soul on stage', in Unamuno Creator and Creation, edited by José Rubia Barcia and M.A. Zeitlin (University of California Press, 1967), pp. 139-55; Donald Shaw, 'Three Plays of Unamuno', Forum for Modern Language Studies, xiii (1977), 253-64.

8 José López-Morillas, 'Unamuno and Pascal. Notes on the concept of agony', PMLA, lxxv (1950), 998-1010; Marcel Gautrand, Le refus de mourir et l'espérance chez Miguel de Unamuno (Paris, 1969); José Oroz Reta, El agonismo cristiano (Salamanca, 1986). See also Enrique Rivera de Ventosa, Unamuno y Dios (Madrid, 1985).

Unamuno's central work of exile, Cómo se hace una novela.⁹

However, it is the contention of this thesis that these works can only be fully understood if seen in the context of Unamuno's experience of exile. It is necessary, therefore, to look at all aspects of Unamuno's stay in Fuerteventura, Paris and Hendaye, and to study Unamuno's political ideas in exile, his changing feelings and states of mind at this time, and the effect that exile had on his literary and philosophical ideas.

First, then, the thesis will set out to study Unamuno's political ideas of the 1920s and will focus on the reasons that lie behind his banishment and on the development of his political role in exile. This is an aspect of Unamuno's exile which has received scant critical attention. Genoveva García Queipo de Llano devotes several sections of Los intelectuales y la dictadura de Primo de Rivera to a rather superficial overview of Unamuno's political ideas between 1924 and 1930.¹⁰ Victor Ouimette has briefly studied Unamuno's initial reactions to the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera as well as his participation in Le Quotidien and

9 Antonio Sánchez Barbudo, Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado (Madrid, 1968), pp. 173-232; Armando Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela (Madrid, 1960); Inés Azar, 'La estructura novelesca de Cómo se hace una novela', Modern Language Notes, lxxxv (1970), 184-206; Paul R. Olson, 'Unamuno's Lacquered Boxes: Cómo se hace una novela', Revista hispánica moderna, xxxvi (1970-71), 186-99.

10 Genoveva García Queipo de Llano, Los intelectuales y la dictadura de Primo de Rivera (Madrid, 1988), pp. 18-34, 121-47, 202-18, 311-28.

España con honra;¹¹ David Robertson has commented on some of Unamuno's articles from Le Quotidien and Hojas Libres;¹² and Eduardo Comín Colomer in his Unamuno libelista has published the bulk of Unamuno's Hojas libres articles, providing a short commentary on each one.¹³

By making use of previously uncollected material, this thesis will show how Primo de Rivera's coup caused Unamuno to revise all of his political ideas between September 1923 and February 1924. The political writings he produced during these months shed light on Unamuno's lifelong belief in liberalism and also on his idiosyncratic understanding of socialism. Then, a study of Unamuno's political activities in exile itself will reveal how Unamuno fought against the Régime of Primo de Rivera as a representative of certain specifically Spanish values which he had been attempting to define and defend at least since En torno al casticismo (1895). Furthermore, we shall see how Unamuno, especially during the first months of his stay in Paris, felt that he had a mission to introduce his European audience to his Spanish philosophy of life. A study of this mission - which

11 Victor Ouimette, 'El destierro de Unamuno y el ataque a la inteligencia', CCMU, xxvii-xxviii (1983), 25-42; 'Unamuno y Le Quotidien', Revista canadiense de estudios hispánicos, ii (1972), 72-82; 'Unamuno, Blasco Ibáñez and España con honra', BHS, liii (1976), 315-22.

12 David Robertson, 'Una guerra de palabras. Primo de Rivera y Unamuno en Le Quotidien', Cahiers du CRIAR, v (1985), 107-21; Dos artículos y dos discursos (Madrid, 1985); 'Unamuno y la dictadura de Primo de Rivera', in Gómez Molleda, Actas del Congreso Internacional Cincuentenario de Unamuno, pp. 91-106.

13 Eduardo Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista (Colección Siglo Ilustrado, Madrid, 1968). See also Bertrand de Muñoz, 'La actividad política de Unamuno y su colaboración en Hojas libres', Cuadernos americanos, clxxvii, (1971), 162-74.

has received no critical attention whatsoever - helps to illuminate certain aspects of one of Unamuno's most complex exile texts, La agonía del cristianismo.

Secondly, the thesis will look at Unamuno's feelings and reactions in exile itself. The biographical aspect of Unamuno's stay in Fuerteventura, Paris and Hendaye has been dealt with by several critics. Unamuno's time in Fuerteventura has been documented by Sebastián de la Nuez in his Unamuno en Canarias;¹⁴ his stay in Paris by Carlos Esplá in Unamuno, Blasco Ibáñez, Sánchez Guerra en París;¹⁵ and his stay in Hendaye by Eduardo Ortega y Gasset in Monodiálogos de Unamuno.¹⁶ Luis S. Granjel, for his part, includes an interesting literary biography of Unamuno's exile in his Retrato de Unamuno,¹⁷ while Emilio Salcedo's general biography of Unamuno entitled Vida de don Miguel also has an account - a rather unreliable one - of this period of Unamuno's life.¹⁸

However, none of these critics sheds sufficient light on

14 Sebastián de la Nuez, Unamuno en Canarias (Universidad de La Laguna, 1964), pp. 135-291. See also A. Armas Ayala, 'Unamuno y Canarias', CCMU, x (1960), 69-99; A. Linage Conde, 'La fuertemente venturosa clausura insular de don Miguel', CCMU, xxv-xxvi (1978), 5-21.

15 Carlos Esplá, Unamuno, Blasco Ibáñez, Sánchez Guerra en París (Buenos Aires, 1940). See also Antonio Precioso, Espanoles en el destierro. La vida de Francia de Santiago Alba, Blasco Ibáñez, Sánchez Guerra, Unamuno, Eduardo Ortega y Gasset (Madrid, 1930).

16 Eduardo Ortega y Gasset, Monodiálogos de Unamuno (New York, 1958). See also Isidoro de Fagoaga, Unamuno a orillas del Bidasoa (San Sebastián, 1964).

17 Luis S. Granjel, Retrato de Unamuno (Madrid, 1957), pp. 311-41.

18 Emilio Salcedo, Vida de don Miguel (Salamanca, 1964), pp. 255-315.

the effects that exile had on Unamuno, man and writer. This is an extremely important thing to do, not only because Unamuno's different reactions in Fuerteventura, Paris and Hendaye had a profound influence on the way that he wrote in those places, but also because the crisis that he experienced in Paris can only be fully understood in the context of Unamuno's feeling of isolation in the French capital.

A study of this crisis lies at the heart of this thesis. Several critics have already studied certain aspects of Unamuno's crisis of exile. The first to do so was Sánchez Barbudo who noted that Unamuno came to question the authenticity of the role that he was playing at this time.¹⁹ Later, Zubizarreta, Blanco Aguinaga, Gullón and Frances Wyers looked in more detail at Unamuno's thoughts on the effects that playing a public role had on his sense of selfhood.²⁰

However, it is the central contention of this thesis that Unamuno's exile crisis can only be fully understood if seen in the context of his lifelong ideas on the nature of his public role, on selfhood and on writing. In the first chapter of this thesis, therefore, there is a detailed study of Unamuno's political ideas before exile and of the way in

19 Sánchez Barbudo, Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado, pp. 173-232.

20 Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su nivola, pp. 171-97; Blanco Aguinaga, 'Interioridad y exterioridad en Unamuno', Nueva revista de filología hispánica, vii (1953), 686-701 (pp. 694-701); Gullón, Autobiografías de Unamuno (Madrid, 1964), pp. 264-89; Wyers, Unamuno: The Contrary Self (London, 1976), pp. 52-59.

which they are bound up with his understanding of selfhood and the process of self-creation.

Ever since the early years of the century, and especially since Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho (1905), Unamuno had given expression to the belief that the individual must react to the threat of death by expressing his fundamental will-to-be and by creating himself through activity. He had drawn inspiration for his philosophy of self-creation from the figure of Don Quixote who, in Unamuno's eyes, was a symbol of the essential values of Spain.

Unamuno believed that his own way of acting and creating himself was by playing a role as a public figure and a writer, thereby defending those Spanish values and that philosophy of self-creation. This he did by creating written works through which he also hoped to live on after his physical death.

It can be seen, therefore, that, by writing, Unamuno believed himself to be simultaneously playing out his role as a public figure and creating a written version of his self which might ultimately afford him permanence. And yet Unamuno harboured deep-seated doubts both about the effects that playing a public role had on his sense of selfhood and about the activity of writing itself. He gave expression to these doubts at key moments throughout his life, especially during the spiritual crisis which he suffered in 1897, when he came to question not only the authenticity of the self

that he created by playing his public role but also the substantiality of the self that he was creating in his writings. He also expressed a desire to withdraw from the written and 'created' self and to take refuge in another, inner self which he equated at that time with a God-given soul.

Exile would serve to bring these doubts once again to the surface and to cause Unamuno to enter into a profound crisis to which he gave full expression in Cómo se hace una novela.

This text has been studied in detail by Zubizarreta, who shows how Unamuno attempts to reaffirm his belief in his philosophy of self-creation by presenting life in this work in terms of a novela or an historia which each individual has the duty to create.²¹ However, Unamuno's doubts about the specific role that he is playing as a public figure in exile cause him to question the authenticity of his own novela-vida. As Zubizarreta, Sánchez Barbudo, Blanco Aguinaga and Gullón point out, this fact leads Unamuno once again to express a longing for another self which lies beneath and beyond the self created by playing his public role.²² In José Luis Abellán's words, Unamuno therefore returns in Cómo se hace una novela to 'su verdadero conflicto,...la lucha entre el yo superficial, externo y

21 Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela, pp. 137-45.

22 Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela, pp. 174-202; Sánchez Barbudo, Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado, pp. 218-21; Blanco Aguinaga, 'Interioridad y exterioridad en Unamuno', pp. 694-701; Gullón, Autobiografías de Unamuno, pp. 264-89.

público, y el yo profundo, interno e íntimo'.²³

And yet what these critics fail to point out is that Unamuno's exile crisis is in reality a writer's crisis. In the isolation of Paris, Unamuno found himself unable to write, that is, to carry out the activity which allowed him both to play his public role and to create himself. In Cómo se hace una novela, therefore, Unamuno questions and attempts to reaffirm not only his ideas on selfhood and self-creation but also his very belief in the activity of writing itself. As a result, Cómo se hace una novela turns out to be Unamuno's most detailed text ever on the related themes of writing and reading, and also serves to show how Unamuno's ideas on writing lie at the very heart of his philosophy of self-creation.

Furthermore, Unamuno continued to explore his ideas on selfhood, self-creation and writing in the plays which he wrote in Hendaye. This thesis will attempt to reveal the true significance of El otro, Sombras de sueño and El hermano Juan by studying them in the context of the crisis Unamuno passed through in exile. Finally, a study of the Cancionero, which Unamuno started to write in Hendaye in 1928, will show how he became more obsessed in the final years of his exile with the threat of death than with the problem of the authenticity and substantiality of the 'created' self.

23 José Luis Abellán, Unamuno a la luz de la psicología (Madrid, 1964), p. 48.

Chapter 1 of this thesis will therefore start off with a study of Unamuno's thoughts on selfhood and writing as expressed in the Diario íntimo, the fruit of his spiritual crisis of 1897. It will then look at the development of Unamuno's understanding of his role as a writer and public figure in the years between the crisis of 1897 and his exile, a role which allowed him to write both in order to influence others and to create his 'written self'. It will also look briefly at the doubts Unamuno had about this written and created self and at his occasional longings for a more intimate and substantial form of selfhood.

Chapter 2 will outline the reasons for Unamuno's exile in the light of the development of his political ideas and of his opposition to Primo de Rivera.

Chapter 3 will provide a literary biography of Unamuno's time in exile, studying his changing feelings in Fuerteventura, Paris and Hendaye and attempting to discover the psychological and personal reasons which lie behind the crisis he suffered there.

Chapter 4 will study how Unamuno's understanding of his political role develops throughout his exile, and will also look at his sense of spiritual mission which came to a climax with the writing of La agonía del cristianismo at the end of 1924.

Chapter 5 will focus first of all on the 1925 version of Cómo se hace una novela (and on the important and too little studied Alrededor del estilo which preceded it) in which Unamuno questions the whole idea of playing a role and creating himself through writing. It will then study the 'Continuación' which Unamuno added to this work in 1927 and in which he finds, although only temporarily, a balance between his attempt to create a written self and his longing for a more substantial form of selfhood.

Chapter 6 considers how Unamuno treats the themes which are central to his crisis in the three plays which he wrote during his first years in Hendaye. It will show how Unamuno lives through the aftermath of the crisis and how he comes in the Cancionero to be obsessed with the threat to personal selfhood posed by the approach of death.

CHAPTER 1

UNAMUNO'S PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE AND HIS ROLE AS A PUBLIC FIGURE AND WRITER, 1895-1924

The works that Unamuno produced in exile are, for the main part, highly complex in nature. However, on closer inspection, one finds that many of the essential concerns that Unamuno deals with at this time, including his thoughts about the nature of the public role that he was playing, about selfhood and about the activity of writing, had had an important place in his work since the early 1890s.

The purpose of this chapter is to set Unamuno's exile into a longer perspective by studying how he had dealt with these themes in certain key works written before 1924. It is only by doing this that we shall be able to understand the full significance of Unamuno's exile writings and also to gauge precisely what effects the experience of exile had on Unamuno the writer and the public figure.

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Before going on to study what Unamuno had to say about these central themes in the major works of the 1900s and 1910s, this chapter will start by looking in some detail at the Diario íntimo, the personal diary Unamuno wrote between 1897 and 1902 in order to give expression to the spiritual crisis he suffered at this time and which is now known as the 'crisis of 1897'.

This work, which was not published in its entirety until

1970 and which has still not been studied in sufficient depth, seems to hold the key to the development of Unamuno's ideas on the contents of his public role, on the activity of writing and on the central question of selfhood. This fact has not been totally lost on the commentators of this work. Sánchez Barbudo, the first major critic to study the crisis of 1897, referred to it as 'una como fuente secreta de todo su pensamiento posterior'.¹ As we shall see, both he and Zubizarreta point to similarities between the crisis Unamuno suffered in 1897 and the one caused by the writer's experience of exile.² Carlos París also takes up this point and writes that

en el Diario se encuentra virtualmente contenido lo más decisivo de toda la producción unamuniana, incluso los fundamentos posibilitadores de su crisis ulterior en la etapa del destierro.³

However, it is my belief that no critic has as yet studied in sufficient depth the relationship that exists between the Diario íntimo and Cómo se hace una novela or shown clearly the similarities and differences between the crisis of 1897 and the crisis that Unamuno suffered in exile. A detailed study of the Diario íntimo will ultimately help us towards a greater understanding of Unamuno's experience of exile and of the works that he produced at that time.

Unamuno wrote the Diario íntimo between 1897 and 1902,

1 Sánchez Barbudo, Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado, p. 127.

2 ibid., pp. 174-232; Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela, pp. 262-81.

3 Carlos París, Unamuno. Estructura de su mundo intelectual (Barcelona, 1968), pp. 239-40.

although most of the entries date from the years 1897 and 1898. The Diary is full of biblical references and explicitly religious terminology and gives expression to a crisis which was obviously spiritual in nature and which Sánchez Barbudo has described as a 'crisis religiosa, conquista de la fe'.⁴ This would immediately seem to distinguish this crisis from the one Unamuno passed through in exile, although it is clear that an overwhelming and almost pathological fear of death was one of the causal factors of both crises. One of the most striking aspects of Unamuno's Diario íntimo of 1897-1902 is his constant obsession with what he refers to as the 'angustias de muerte'.⁵ Zubizarreta, who has exhaustively studied the period of Unamuno's life leading up to the crisis of 1897, believes that two of the major factors which gave rise to that crisis were Unamuno's awareness of the fatal illness of his son, Raimundo, and his growing obsession with the poor state of his own health.⁶

Beyond the biographical details, it is obvious from the Diario íntimo that Unamuno had an urgent need at this time to discover some sort of religious faith or, more precisely, to rediscover the faith he had had as a child. Time and time again, Unamuno claims in the Diario íntimo that he is trying to overcome his natural "soberbia del espíritu"⁷ through the

4 Sánchez Barbudo, 'La fe religiosa de Unamuno y su crisis de 1897', Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, xix (abril-junio 1951), 397.

5 Unamuno, Diario íntimo (Alianza Editorial, Madrid, 1986), p. 15.

6 Zubizarreta, Tras las huellas de Unamuno (Madrid, 1960), pp. 122-30.

7 Diario íntimo, p. 17.

espousal of what he sees as the Christian virtues of humility and simplicity of spirit, and thereby receive the gift of faith which would provide an answer to his fear of death and his longing for personal immortality:

Vivir, vivir de veras, vivir espontáneamente, sin segunda intención, vivir para morir y seguir viviendo; he aquí lo que se consigue con la santa sencillez que da Dios al que se le humilla.⁸

The key word here is "sencillez", repeated many times in the Diario íntimo. Unamuno makes it clear that his previous rationalist and materialist approach to life had taken him away from religious belief. He contrasts this tendency towards what he calls "intelectualismo" with his present desire for simplicity of spirit and faith, and writes that 'el cultivo de la ciencia lleva al intelectualismo, a una triste sequedad del espíritu'.⁹

Sánchez Barbudo and Zubizarreta have both written much about Unamuno's loss of faith in the 1880s. The former affirms that Unamuno first questioned his belief in God when he went to study at Madrid University in 1880.¹⁰

Zubizarreta, for his part, has edited and studied a work Unamuno wrote in 1886 entitled Filosofía lógica which shows, according to the critic, that 'Unamuno asimiló hondamente el humanismo ateo de su época'.¹¹

This is not the place to go into a detailed study of Unamuno's philosophical ideas of the 1880s and early 1890s,

8 *ibid.*, p. 29.

9 *ibid.*, p. 103.

10 Sánchez Barbudo, Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado, p. 71.

11 Zubizarreta, Tras las huellas de Unamuno, pp. 15-32 (p. 30).

but it is clear that he had been questioning the basic tenets of his Christian faith since at least 1880. The doubts that Unamuno felt about religious faith, together with his movement towards Socialism in the early 1890s which will be studied later, helped to form what Zubizarreta refers to as the intellectual "antesala" to the crisis of 1897.¹² The rationalist and positivist tendencies of the young Unamuno lay behind his claim in the Diario íntimo that 'maté mi fe por querer racionalizarla'.¹³

The critics of the Diario íntimo - and indeed those of Unamuno's work as a whole - have spent much time arguing over the question of whether Unamuno actually managed to rediscover his faith in 1897. Most of them agree that, when the spiritual crisis started in March 1897, Unamuno was at least very close to believing in the existence of God. Even Sánchez Barbudo, who is always ready to throw doubt on the idea that Unamuno was ever an orthodox Christian believer and who exchanged a series of polemical letters on this very point with Hernán Benítez in the early 1950s,¹⁴ is ready to concede that, at the start of the crisis, Unamuno's need for God 'se elevó, a fuerza de dolor, a ser creencia'.¹⁵ Where the critics are divided, however, is on the authenticity of

12 *ibid.*, pp. 33-45.

13 Diario íntimo, p. 111.

14 Hernán Benítez, 'La crisis religiosa de Unamuno', Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, ix (enero-marzo 1949), 12-88; Hernán Benítez, 'Nuevo palique unamuniano', *ibid.*, xvi (octubre-diciembre 1950), 479-551; Sánchez Barbudo, 'La fe religiosa de Unamuno y su crisis de 1897', *ibid.*, xviii (abril-junio 1951), 381-443.

15 Sánchez Barbudo, 'La fe religiosa de Unamuno y su crisis de 1897', p. 386.

Unamuno's religious belief after 1897. Sánchez Barbudo claims that after that date, and especially after 1900, Unamuno did all that he could to 'engañarse a sí mismo olvidando que no había podido creer'.¹⁶ Zubizarreta, meanwhile, refers to Unamuno's experience of 1897 'como fecha clave de su *inserción* definitiva en el cristianismo'.¹⁷

I believe that both the opposing positions taken up by these critics miss the point of the Diario íntimo and also of Unamuno's later development as a religious thinker. It is not only that, as Nicholas Round has said in a recent article,

a serious case can be made out for the view that Unamuno sometimes wrote as a sincere believer, and sometimes as an equally sincere unbeliever,¹⁸

but that a careful reading of the Diario íntimo reveals that Unamuno is already feeling his way here towards what will later become his characteristic assertion that faith may be no more than man's basic need to believe, his querer creer.¹⁹

The polarization of Unamuno's critics on this point has caused them at times to misread the Diario íntimo and to oversimplify the doubts and tensions which start with the crisis of 1897 and characterize the rest of Unamuno's

¹⁶ Sánchez Barbudo, Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado, p. 98.

¹⁷ Zubizarreta, Tras las huellas de Unamuno, p. 113.

¹⁸ Nicholas Round, 'On the logic of Unamuno criticism: The problem of "belief"', in Volumen Homenaje a Unamuno, edited by D. Gómez Molleda (Salamanca, 1986), pp. 683-705 (p. 695).

¹⁹ At one point in the Diario íntimo, Unamuno writes that 'es ya gracia el deseo de creer' (p. 128).

output. In order to be able fully to understand how the Diario íntimo uncovers the conflicts which will be at the heart of all Unamuno's work, and in particular of the writings he was to produce in exile, we need now to look more closely at the context and contents of the diary.

What the critics who have dealt with the 1897 crisis have not sufficiently studied is the fact that this crisis - just like the one Unamuno was to suffer in exile - followed upon a long period of intense political activity. As we shall see, Unamuno had been active as a propagandist for the Spanish Socialist Party since 1894. In the Diario íntimo, he appears to criticize his previous political position, his socialist and materialistic belief in the perfectibility of mankind, which now seems to him to lack substance in the face of his more personal concerns. At one moment, he seems to redefine his understanding of Socialism and Communism:

Socialismo y comunismo. El santo comunismo de la comunión, el participar todos de un mismo Dios; el comulgar en espíritu.²⁰

At another moment, he goes so far as to question the necessity of all worldly activity:

Integristas, carlistas, mestizos, neos, etc.. Dios entregó el mundo a las disputas de los hombres. ¡Qué poca caridad! ¡Cuánto daño hace todo eso a las almas! Otra cosa sería si nos cuidáramos de la reforma del hombre interior, de nuestra renovación en Cristo.²¹

But what seems to preoccupy Unamuno most in the Diario íntimo is the fact that the playing of a public role has

²⁰ Diario íntimo, p. 21.

²¹ ibid., pp. 83-84.

caused him to overlook the needs of his own 'hombre interior'. One of the most significant effects of Unamuno's spiritual crisis of 1897 is the realization Unamuno comes to that he has within him an inner self, a self which lives in and for God. This he refers to as 'el eterno yo' or 'el yo cristiano', thereby equating it with the idea of a God-given soul.²² In the Diario íntimo, Unamuno contrasts this inner self with 'el yo social', the self which lives solely in and for the world.²³ In his eyes, this latter self is easily drawn to what he calls "comedia", that is, the playing of a role for the benefit of other people, which is to 'representar el papel sin ver la realidad'.²⁴ Unamuno's obsession with the status of his 'yo social' and with the role that he plays in the world have, in his own words, made him a slave to the way in which other people perceive him:

nos encontramos con un yo que el mundo nos ha hecho, o que nos hemos hecho esclavizándonos a él, y es todo nuestro empeño ser fieles al papel que en el miserable escenario nos hemos arrogado y representarlo del modo que más aplausos nos gane.²⁵

The fact that Unamuno had played such a prominent public role as a political figure and Socialist propagandist over the years preceding the crisis of 1897 has served only to increase Unamuno's dependence on others' perception of that role and of the self that is created by playing it. On several occasions in the Diario íntimo, he reveals just how far he is affected by the way in which his friends and

22 *ibid.*, p. 174.

23 *ibid.*, p. 174.

24 *ibid.*, p. 20.

25 *ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

Socialist colleagues are reacting to the news of his religious conversion. More often than not, he attempts to use his awareness of their reaction in order to reaffirm in his own mind the sincerity of his new religious feelings:

Se extrañarán del cambio, sin observar que no hay tal cambio ni de frente ni de costado. Lo que hay es que el Miguel que ellos conocían, el del escenario, ha muerto y al morir ha dado libertad al Miguel real y eterno, al que ahogaba y oprimía...²⁶

This quotation is significant in more than one sense. First, it shows that, in the private pages of his Diario íntimo, Unamuno was able to admit that there had always been a 'Miguel real y eterno' beneath the Unamuno who for years had been writing articles as a convinced Socialist and materialist. This would seem to lend support to Zubizarreta's point that, at least until 1895,

la evolución religiosa de Unamuno estaba contrapesada por una poderosa timidez que le impedía declarar públicamente su *querer creer*.²⁷

More importantly, the quotation confirms that Unamuno now perceives the self as a dual entity and believes that there is a seemingly unbridgeable gap between the public self that lives and acts in the world and the private, inner self. As Sánchez Barbudo puts it, Unamuno is now obsessed with

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 98.

²⁷ Zubizarreta, Tras las huellas de Unamuno, p. 35. Geoffrey Ribbans has shown that the letter sent by Bernardo Rodríguez Serra to Unamuno and which Zubizarreta uses to support his proposition that Unamuno was already questioning his materialism from a religious point of view in 1895 was actually written in 1897 and not in 1895 as Zubizarreta claims (Ribbans, Niebla y Soledad (Madrid, 1971), pp. 31-32). In the light of this quotation from the Diario íntimo, however, one can see that this error on Zubizarreta's part does not invalidate the substantial point that he makes.

la idea de que la personalidad externa, lo que uno es, tal como aparece visto desde fuera, acaba por ahogar lo más entrañable y verdadero del ser.²⁸

Moreover, as we shall see later, the language which Unamuno employs in order to make a distinction between the outer self and 'el Miguel real y eterno' directly recalls the language he had used two years previously in En torno al casticismo in order to distinguish between 'la vida intrahistórica' of Spain and the historical manifestation of the character of the country.²⁹ This is a point that Frances Wyers takes up in her Miguel de Unamuno: The Contrary Self.³⁰

Thus it becomes clear that, during the crisis of 1897, Unamuno became aware of the danger of making one's life a matter of acting out a comedia and of the effects that playing a public role have on his sense of selfhood. As a result of his doubts about the authenticity of his public self, Unamuno longed that there might exist within him an inner, unchanging self living in and for God, and in consequence started to explore the idea of the duality of selfhood. In all these respects, the Diario íntimo announces many of the preoccupations which were to feature so centrally in Unamuno's later work and, more importantly, were to obsess him during his stay in exile.

28 Sánchez Barbudo, Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado, p. 127. Zubizarreta (Unamuno en su nivola, p. 272) takes a similar view.

29 Unamuno, Obras completas (Escelicer, Madrid, 1966), Vol. i, 793. (Henceforth the Obras completas will be referred to as O.C.).

30 Frances Wyers, Miguel de Unamuno: The Contrary Self, pp. 4-5.

However, there is one more key element in the Diario íntimo which must be studied in order for us to be able to understand this diary and, indeed, the rest of Unamuno's work. This is that Unamuno's perception of his public role and its effects on his sense of selfhood owes much to his present attitude towards the activity through which that role was actually played; that is, the activity of writing. In many ways, the Diario íntimo - again like Cómo se hace una novela - can be seen to be a review of Unamuno's career thus far as a writer, and turns into a profound expression of what can only be called a writer's crisis.

As we shall see in Chapter 5, many critics have referred to the development of Unamuno's ideas on language and the word. Cerezo Galán, for example, writes that Unamuno 'no puede vivir sin escribir, esto es, sin dar forma verbal a su vida',³¹ while Mario Valdés adds that, for Unamuno, 'language becomes the great mediator between man and the external matter that surrounds him'.³² However, very few critics have looked at Unamuno's exploration of this problem as expressed in the Diario íntimo.

In fact, this work reveals Unamuno's fundamental obsession with writing and reading and his tendency to live in and through words. This tendency is itself the source of much frustration for Unamuno, since he believed at this

31 Pedro Cerezo Galán, 'Poesía y existencia', in Gómez Molleda, Volumen Homenaje a Unamuno, pp. 540-73 (p. 541).

32 Mario J. Valdés, 'Unamuno's Hermeneutics of Reading', Journal of Spanish Studies. 20th Century, iv (1976), 203-13 (p. 205).

point that it lay behind his rooted "intelectualismo" which was the main obstacle in his search for the commitment of the self to a simple and genuine faith. A cursory glance at the Diary shows just how much Unamuno relies on reading in order to receive a stimulus to think about his own experiences. Despite the fact that Unamuno complains constantly about his own bookishness or 'atroz bibliomanía',³³ he fills the Diary with quotations from religious thinkers such as St Augustine and Saint François de Sales and, in Nicholas Round's words, 'se mete a comentador de textos bíblicos'.³⁴ Furthermore, this basic need to read also fuels Unamuno's inescapable compulsion to write and comment on his own life and experiences. At one point in the Diario íntimo, Unamuno complains openly about this dual obsession:

es tal mi hábito libresco que sólo concibo pensamientos y propósitos piadosos leyendo, como comentario de lo que leo, y me veo forzado a cristalizarlos escribiendo. ¡Estudiar para escribir! éste es el fin del intelectualismo, ¡pensar para producir pensamientos!³⁵

It is in fact this overwhelming need to write, what Unamuno refers to as his "literatismo" or "esteticismo",³⁶ that most worries and even torments him in the Diario íntimo. He feels that it results from his "yoismo" or "yoización",³⁷ that is, his obsessive concern with himself, a concern which leads him to believe that his life is

33 Diario íntimo, p. 89.

34 Nicholas Round, 'Versiones protestantes del Nuevo Testamento en el Diario íntimo de Unamuno', CCMU, xxv-xxvi (1978), 169-81 (p. 172).

35 Diario íntimo, p. 181.

36 ibid., pp. 90, 154.

37 ibid., pp. 143, 144.

important and of significance for other people. His desire to write is therefore inevitably linked with his desire to publish, to use his writings in order to play a public role, to assert himself and to impose himself on others. Unamuno realizes that his main aim as a writer and public figure in the years leading up to 1897 has been to achieve fame and literary renown, to 'dejar un nombre en la historia'.³⁸ In the light of his present attempt to attain religious faith, however, he now sees that the type of immortality offered by the making of 'literature' is worthless when compared with religious immortality; that the "nombre", the written version of the self that may live on in words after a writer's death, is insubstantial when compared with the inner self which Unamuno equates in the Diario íntimo with a God-given soul. He now wishes no longer to live for historical and worldly fame, and writes:

He vivido soñando en dejar un nombre y viviré en adelante obsesionado en salvar mi alma.³⁹ (...) ¡Vivir para la historia! ¡Cuánto más sencillo y más sano vivir para la eternidad!⁴⁰

Unamuno's realization that he may be writing with only fame and posterity in mind is intimately linked with his fear of playing a comedia. Zubizarreta, who has looked in some detail at Unamuno's thoughts on this matter as expressed in the Diario íntimo, believes that Unamuno is principally concerned here with the general idea that life

38 *ibid.*, p. 95.

39 *ibid.*, p. 123.

40 *ibid.*, pp. 144-45.

is a comedia and the world a theatre.⁴¹ Unamuno does indeed make some general observations on this point, going so far as to say that he plays out a comedia not only for other people but also for himself:

la comedia de la vida. Obstinación en hundirse en el sueño y representar el papel sin ver la realidad. Y llega al punto de representar a solas, y seguir la comedia en la soledad, y ser cómico para sí mismo.⁴²

However, on closer inspection, it becomes clear that the theme of comedia in the Diario íntimo is closely linked to Unamuno's thoughts on writing, and that Unamuno is mainly preoccupied with the fact that the contents of his writings are profoundly influenced by his desire for fame. He is unable to forget that whatever he writes may be published and read one day:

¿Acaso mientras he escrito ciertas cartas no ha pasado por mi mente la idea de que el destinatario la (sic) guardara? ¿No he soñado acaso en momentos de abandono en que muerto yo se coleccionaran aquéllas y se publicara mi correspondencia?⁴³

Unamuno's awareness that he writes mainly for other people and for posterity makes him realize that he has a tendency to parade his innermost feelings in his writings and to exaggerate and falsify them in the process. As Sánchez Barbudo puts it, the writer cannot avoid the basic impulse to 'convertir en literatura sus dolores y esperanzas más entrañables'.⁴⁴ Unamuno even comes to feel that he is

41 Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su nivola, pp. 272-76 (p. 274). This belief also colours Zubizarreta's understanding of Cómo se hace una novela, as we shall see in Chapter 5.

42 Diario íntimo, p.20.

43 ibid., p. 144.

writing the Diario íntimo itself in order to 'dar toda esta crisis, toda esta llamada de la gracia, como una experiencia psicológica,...y trazar el relato de una conversión'.⁴⁵ He admits that his secret hope in writing the Diary may in fact be no more than to gain renown in the world and to 'dejar un nombre en la Iglesia'.⁴⁶

So, in this work, Unamuno reviews his role as a writer and a public figure with an extremely critical eye and comes to doubt not only the substantiality but also the authenticity of the self that he creates in his writings. These doubts tempt him to reject public activity and writing altogether; and yet, even in this most intimate and personal of his works, Unamuno knows that this will not be possible.

In En torno al casticismo, Unamuno had made a clear distinction between the real, inner Spain and her historical manifestation, but had also claimed that the potential values of the essential Spain had to be expressed so that they could influence the direction that the country should take. In the Diario íntimo, Unamuno seems to realize the same idea in relation to the concept of selfhood. He knows that he has to write because that is the only way in which

44 Sánchez Barbudo, Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado, p. 105. Unamuno also explores the idea of turning one's experiences into literature in La esfinge, a play he published in 1899, just two years after the crisis of 1897. There, one character says to another, referring to his experience of life: '¡Lo convertiría en literatura al punto! No hago más que representar un papel, Felipe; me paso la vida contemplándome, hecho teatro de mí mismo' (O.C., v, 153).

45 Diario íntimo, p. 154.

46 ibid., p. 89.

he can allow the potentialities of his self and his inner beliefs and needs to take on a concrete and useful form. Therefore, rejecting the 'contemplative life' which he knows would only serve to make still more acute his excessive obsession with himself, he asks God to allow him to continue to write so that he can 'hacer de la pluma un arma de combate por Cristo'.⁴⁷ From now on, he will write not for his own glory but for the glory of God and the good of man, since, 'cuando me haya despojado de mí mismo, podré trabajar para los demás, para mi salud'.⁴⁸

This is what Unamuno will try to do after 1897. He will not in fact be able to shake off his desire for literary fame (which, according to at least one critic, explains all that he ever did after the 1897 crisis).⁴⁹ However, at least initially, he will take advantage of his renown in order to increase his influence as a religious writer:

Y cuando ha permitido Dios que me haya creado cierto nombre literario en un círculo dado...será para algo.⁵⁰

He will return to the public realm with what Zubizarreta has called 'un fundamental sentido apostólico',⁵¹ with a message more personal, intimate and urgent than the one he had been

47 *ibid.*, p. 58.

48 *ibid.*, p. 148.

49 Sánchez Barbudo writes that, after 1897, Unamuno chose 'el camino de la fama...que así escogía por no haber podido creer en la existencia de otra vida' (Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado, p. 114). We shall return later to this very extreme interpretation of Unamuno's literary career.

50 Diario íntimo, p. 145.

51 Zubizarreta, Tras las huellas de Unamuno, p. 118.

proclaiming as a public figure before 1897 - a message based on his experiences of the crisis of 1897.

In these respects, Unamuno's trajectory as a writer and public figure seems to be prefigured in his description of the experiences of Pachico Zabalbide, one of the central characters in Paz en la guerra. At the end of this novel, which Unamuno published in the same year as his crisis, Pachico leaves behind the struggles of the world and withdraws to a mountain top where he has a premonition of his own death but also enjoys a feeling of mystical union with the natural world around him. When he finally re-enters the world, he does so with a renewed sense of spiritual purpose, since

allí arriba, vencido el tiempo, toma gusto a las cosas eternas... Allí arriba la contemplación serena le da resignación trascendente y eterna, madre de la irresignación temporal.⁵²

Like Pachico, the Unamuno of the Diario íntimo has become powerfully aware both of the fact that he is mortal and of the importance of 'las cosas eternas'. He has also realized that he must re-enter the world and carry out an important spiritual mission within it. In short, thanks to his crisis of 1897, Unamuno has learnt to reaffirm and deepen the significance of his role as a writer and public figure.

However, the doubts about writing, role-playing and selfhood which surfaced in 1897 would in fact stay with Unamuno for the rest of his life, not least during the time he was to spend in exile.

52 O.C., ii, 301.

It is clear therefore that the public role that Unamuno will take up after 1897 will be profoundly influenced by his religious crisis and will be more intimate and spiritual in nature than the one he had played before 1897. However, despite bringing about certain fundamental changes in Unamuno's outlook as a public figure, the crisis of 1897 does not mark a total break with the past.

Unamuno's public activity in the early 1890s had been fundamentally marked by his involvement in the Socialist movement. Like many writers of the 'Generation of 1898', Unamuno's youthful reaction to the decline of Spain and to the social injustice that he found in his country had caused him to turn to radical ideologies in his search for a remedy. This is an aspect of Unamuno's work which has received much attention from critics.

The first commentators to look in depth at Unamuno's early socialist beliefs claimed that the author wrote as an orthodox socialist and Marxist between 1894 and 1897; the period, that is, between the year he joined the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) and the year of his religious crisis. Both Pérez de la Dehesa and Blanco Aguinaga have studied in some detail the articles that Unamuno wrote at this time for the Bilbao socialist newspaper, La lucha de clases.⁵³ Pérez

53 Rafael Pérez de la Dehesa, Política y sociedad en el primer Unamuno (Madrid, 1966); Carlos Blanco Aguinaga, 'El socialismo de Unamuno', Revista de occidente, xiv (julio-septiembre 1966), 166-84.

de la Dehesa believes that Unamuno's mission at this time was to expound and explain the basic aspects of Marx's economic and social philosophy, including his critique of bourgeois society and his ideas on the relations between the different social classes.⁵⁴ Blanco Aguinaga adds that

el socialismo que predica Unamuno entre 1894 y 1897 no es ni "utópico", ni "humanitario", ni "reformista", sino marxista.⁵⁵

More recent commentators, however, tend to believe that Unamuno was never in fact an orthodox Marxist. Pedro Ribas, writing in 1976, warned that

es probable que termine decepcionado quien vaya a buscar en los escritos socialistas del bilbaíno una exposición sistemática de los supuestos teóricos del socialismo.⁵⁶

Elías Díaz believes that Unamuno's attraction towards Socialism was based on a genuine desire for social justice, but adds that the writer's brand of Socialism was 'más una voluntad, un sentimiento...que una concepción racional del mundo'.⁵⁷ Dolores Gómez Molleda echoes this view and claims that Unamuno's Socialism, 'ya antes de su afiliación a la Agrupación de Bilbao, era un socialismo ajeno por completo a la ortodoxia marxista'.⁵⁸ She adds that Unamuno came into

54 Pérez de la Dehesa, Política y sociedad en el primer Unamuno, p. 54.

55 Blanco Aguinaga, 'El socialismo de Unamuno', p. 172. In a later article, the same critic claims that Unamuno's period as an orthodox Marxist came to an end in October 1896 (Blanco Aguinaga, 'De nuevo: El socialismo de Unamuno (1894-1897)', CCMU, xviii (1968), 5-48 (pp. 46-47)).

56 Unamuno. Escritos socialistas, edited by Pedro Ribas (Madrid, 1976), p. 26.

57 Elías Díaz, Revisión de Unamuno (Madrid, 1968), p. 86.

58 Dolores Gómez Molleda, El socialismo español y los intelectuales (Salamanca, 1980), pp. 17-18.

conflict with the Socialist Party shortly after joining it because of his disagreement with the Party's line on the class struggle and anti-clericalism and on the need for strict party discipline.⁵⁹ Other critics, including Donald Shaw and Elías Díaz, believe that Unamuno's eventual estrangement from the Socialist Party had its roots in his obsession with religious matters which actually predated the crisis of 1897.⁶⁰ They quote a famous letter that Unamuno sent to Clarín in May 1895 in which the writer showed his impatience with the dogmatic and materialistic aspects of the Marxist philosophy and expressed the hope that true Socialism and religion could actually work together towards the same goal:

Sueño con que el socialismo sea una verdadera reforma religiosa cuando se marchite el dogmatismo marxiano y se vea algo más que lo puramente económico.⁶¹

However, the fact that Unamuno, for both temperamental and ideological reasons, was never a truly orthodox Marxist or socialist can best be seen by studying En torno al casticismo, which he published in 1895, that is, just a year after joining the Socialist Party. Although this work came out three years before Spain lost her last major overseas colonies in 1898, it is seen by critics to be Unamuno's most characteristic work as a member of the 'Generation of 1898'

59 Gómez Molleda, El socialismo español y los intelectuales, p. 31. She had already made this point when studying the notebook Unamuno wrote in 1894 entitled Socialismo. See D. Gómez Molleda, Unamuno socialista (Madrid, 1978), pp. 75-82.

60 Donald Shaw, The Generation of 1898 in Spain (London, 1975), p. 44; Elías Díaz, Revisión de Unamuno, p. 77.

61 Epistolario a Clarín, edited by A. Alas (Madrid, 1941), p. 53.

insofar as it deals with the decline of Spain and puts forward possible remedies for that decline.⁶² This work is of special interest to us because it is Unamuno's first major study of the Spanish character and reveals what he thought his role as an intellectual and a public figure should be at this time.

Unamuno is here principally interested in searching for and defining the true Spanish character. This leads him to ignore the superficial events of 'el presente momento histórico' and to focus on what he calls 'la vida intrahistórica' or 'la tradición eterna' of Spain,⁶³ which, as Ribas has pointed out, is a development of Hegel's and Herder's concept of Volksgeist.⁶⁴ Using the famous metaphor of the surface and the depths of the ocean, Unamuno declares his intention to study 'esa vida intrahistórica, silenciosa y continua como el fondo mismo del mar' as it is expressed in the mainly rural lives of

los millones de hombres sin historia que a todas horas del día y en todos los países del globo se levantan a una orden del sol y van a sus campos a proseguir la oscura y silenciosa labor cotidiana y eterna.⁶⁵

It is to the 'intrahistoria' of Spain that Unamuno turns

62 Many critics have dealt with Unamuno's work as a member of the 'Generation of 1898'. See, *inter alia*, Pedro Laín Entralgo, La generación del 98 (Buenos Aires, 1947); Herbert Ramsden, The 1898 Movement in Spain (Manchester, 1974); Donald Shaw, The Generation of 1898 in Spain (London, 1975).

63 O.C., i, 792-93.

64 Pedro Ribas, 'El Volksgeist de Hegel y la intrahistoria de Unamuno', CCMU, xxi (1971), 23-33. Elena de Jongh-Rossel has also pointed to the influence of the Krausists on Unamuno's idea of 'intrahistoria' (El krausismo y la generación de 1898 (Valencia-Chapel Hill, 1985), pp. 163-70).

65 O.C., i, 793.

therefore in order to discover the true character of his country. However, Unamuno is at pains to distinguish between his understanding of 'intrahistorical' Spain and the definition of the "true" Spain favoured by the traditionalist patriots or casticistas. The latter, he says, 'se buscan en el pasado *histórico* o a partir de él', and therefore define the Spanish character in terms of the past glories of the nation.⁶⁶ Unamuno, on the other hand, believes that "la tradición eterna española" is not something belonging to the past but rather 'vive en el fondo del presente, es su sustancia'.⁶⁷

Furthermore, the values expressed by the 'intrahistorical' life of Spain are not exclusively Spanish but are rather the values of all human beings, since 'la tradición eterna española...al ser eterna es más bien humana que española'.⁶⁸ Unamuno thus distances himself from the exclusivist patriotism of the casticistas and makes it clear, as Laín Entralgo has said, that he is as interested in what it means to be a human being as in the significance of being Spanish:

Unamuno no es nacionalista, aunque sienta de modo tan esencial su condición de español. El es y quiere ser hombre, nada más y nada menos que hombre. Por eso no hace de la casta íntima un casticismo estrecho y aislacionista sino, mucho más generosamente, un modo de ser hombre.⁶⁹

Unamuno's concept of 'intrahistoria', however, also distances him from the socialists. This is not to say that

66 O.C., i, 869.

67 O.C., i, 794.

68 O.C., i, 794.

69 Laín Entralgo, La generación del 98, p. 192.

En torno al casticismo is an openly anti-socialist text.

Indeed, John Butt has shown that Unamuno's early socialist beliefs were based on a critique of bourgeois individualism and that his interest in 'intrahistoria' represented an escape 'back into the womb, so to speak, of collectivised and "intraconscious" living'.⁷⁰ J.A. Maravall has also taken up this point and claims that, while Unamuno is not anti-individualist in this work, he is mainly interested in the values of the community and in

la esencia de un pueblo, transustanciada en cada uno de los individuos que precisamente aciertan a asumir su participación en la comunidad.⁷¹

Nevertheless, the implications of Unamuno's idea of 'intrahistoria' are far from socialist. This is mainly because he believed that what he refers to, in El porvenir de España (1898), as 'los hechos sub-históricos que permanecen' were more important and significant than 'los sucesos históricos que pasan'.⁷² He therefore had an essentialist view of history which caused him to feel that the course of history cannot be significantly modified by the efforts of man but is rather determined by what John Butt has referred to as the 'unconscious forces' of

⁷⁰ John Butt, 'Unamuno's Idea of "intrahistoria"; Its Origins and Significance', in Studies in Modern Spanish Literature and Art, edited by Nigel Glendinning (London, 1972), pp. 13-24 (p. 22).

⁷¹ José Antonio Maravall, 'De la intrahistoria a la historia', in Gómez Molleda, Volumen Homenaje a Miguel de Unamuno, pp. 175-230 (p. 177). In this article, Maravall contrasts Unamuno's early interest in the community with his later exaltation of individualism (p. 178).

⁷² O.C., iii, 661-62.

'intrahistoria'.⁷³ As a result, Unamuno was 'a determinist of a very extreme kind' whose view of history was dominated at this time by 'a seemingly absolute fatalism'.⁷⁴ This meant that he was unable to share his socialist colleagues' belief that political change could be brought about through revolutionary activity and even doubted that ideas and ideologies could ever influence the course of history. As Butt, once again, has shown, Unamuno's belief that '"ideas" do not rule the world; that political idealism is unscientific and leads to dogmatism' caused him very swiftly to come into conflict with the well organised and highly dogmatic Spanish Socialist Party.⁷⁵

And yet all this does not mean that Unamuno took up a wholly passive position in relation to history or that he believed that the individual could do nothing but resign himself to the fact that history was inevitably controlled by 'intrahistorical' forces.⁷⁶ Instead, he realized that the

73 John Butt, 'Determinism and the Inadequacies of Unamuno's Radicalism, 1886-97', *BHS*, *xlvi* (1969), 226-40 (p. 230).

74 *ibid.*, 230, 240. Ramsden (*The 1898 Movement in Spain*, pp. 46-95) has looked closely at the influence of Taine on Unamuno's early deterministic ideas.

75 John Butt, 'Determinism and the Inadequacies of Unamuno's Radicalism, 1886-97', pp. 231-34. Butt traces the development of Unamuno's opposition to political idealism over the years between 1883 and 1897 in John Butt, 'Unamuno's Socialism: A Reappraisal', in *Re-reading Unamuno*, edited by Nicholas Round (Glasgow, 1989), pp. 1-17. As we shall see below, Unamuno's anti-idealism played an important part in his eventual estrangement from Socialism.

76 The closest Unamuno came to turning his back on history at this time was probably in the article entitled 'La vida es sueño', of November 1898, where Unamuno railed against progress and what he called 'esa historia de muerte' (O.C., i, 940-46 (p. 946)).

values of 'intrahistorical' Spain had to be expressed in order to enable them to influence the direction of Spanish history. In a way that resembles what Unamuno was to say about the relationship between the inner and outer selves in the Diario íntimo, he claims in El porvenir de España that 'no podrá haber sana vida pública...mientras no se ponga de acuerdo lo íntimo de nuestro pueblo con su exteriorización'.⁷⁷

To achieve this, Unamuno in En torno al casticismo calls upon Spanish intellectuals to carry out a dual task. On the one hand, they must get to know the true values and traditions of 'intrahistorical' Spain, including what Unamuno refers to as the characteristically Spanish 'sentido religioso de las cosas'.⁷⁸ On the other, they must open Spain up to modern, progressive European ideas concerning social and political matters. Only by doing this can they ensure that they do not simply copy the casticistas and exalt those qualities which distinguish their country from other nations but rather defend those values of 'intrahistorical' Spain which are common to the whole of mankind - those values which Unamuno here calls 'el protoplasma universal humano'.⁷⁹ Using language which, as López-Morillas has pointed out, comes very close to that of the Europeanizing regenerationists led by Joaquín Costa,⁸⁰

77 O.C., iii, 661.

78 O.C., i, 866.

79 O.C., i, 869.

80 Juan López-Morillas, 'Unamuno y Costa. Una "transustanciación"', in J.L. Abellán et al, La crisis de fin de siglo: Ideología y literatura (Barcelona, 1975), pp. 223-41.

Unamuno writes that

sólo abriendo las ventanas a vientos europeos,
empapándonos en el ambiente continental, teniendo fe en
que no perderemos nuestra personalidad al hacerlo,
europeizándonos para hacer España y chapuzándonos en
pueblo, regeneraremos esta estepa moral.⁸¹

In a sense, by claiming that the Spanish intellectuals must both 'europeizarnos y chapuzarnos en pueblo',⁸² Unamuno was trying to marry the ideals of the progressives and modernizers and those of the traditionalists. Indeed, both these tendencies can be seen at work in Paz en la guerra, where Unamuno looks sympathetically at both the progressive ideas of the Bilbao Liberals and the traditionalist outlook of the Vizcayan Carlists. At the end of this novel, as we have seen, Pachico leaves behind the historical struggles of the Carlists and the Liberals and withdraws to a mountain top where he comes into contact with what John Butt has called the 'tide of dark instincts which makes the affairs of history inevitable and uncontrollable'.⁸³ Having gained spiritual strength and historical insight from this experience, Pachico 'cobra entonces fe para guerrear en paz' and is therefore able to re-enter the world 'decidido a provocar en los demás el descontento, primer motor de todo progreso y de todo bien'.⁸⁴

81 O.C., i, 869.

82 O.C., i, 867.

83 Butt, 'Unamuno's Idea of "intrahistoria"; Its Origins and Significance', p. 21.

84 O.C., ii, 301. Nicholas Round argues that the insights Pachico achieves in the final section of Paz en la guerra provide 'a new synthesis' of the ideals of Carlism and Liberalism (Round, '"Without a City Wall": Paz en la guerra and the End of Realism', in Round, Re-reading Unamuno, pp. 101-20 (p. 110)).

The Europeanizing and progressive element of Unamuno's political outlook was not to last much beyond 1897, however. This was due, in part, to the very nature of Unamuno's progressive ideas which, as we have seen, were tempered by his interest in the 'intrahistorical' values of the underlying continuing tradition of the inner Spain. For this reason, John Butt has questioned the view held by critics such as Zubizarreta and Blanco Aguinaga that the crisis of 1897 marks a profound turning-point in the development of the writer's social and political thought.⁸⁵ He traces Unamuno's gradual estrangement from progressive politics to its origins in what he calls the inherent inadequacies of his radicalism, claiming that 'Unamuno's withdrawal from political radicalism and progressivism...was due as much to the premises of his radical theories as to intrusive emotive factors'.⁸⁶

Nevertheless, the impact of the crisis of 1897 should not be underestimated. It served to undermine not only Unamuno's already tenuous faith in Socialism but also his belief that Spain should be opened up to European influences.

On the one hand, the heightening of Unamuno's spiritual concerns after 1897 meant that he became increasingly dissatisfied with the materialistic aspects of the socialist philosophy. Even though he continued for a brief period to

85 Zubizarreta, Tras las huellas de Unamuno, p. 150; Blanco Aguinaga, El Unamuno contemplativo, pp. 19-20.

86 Butt, 'Determinism and the Inadequacies of Unamuno's Radicalism, 1886-97', p. 227.

believe that Socialism and religion were not necessarily incompatible, Unamuno was well aware that Socialism was unable to deal with what he saw as the most important question in life, as a well-known letter that he sent to Juan Arzadun in October 1897 attests:

me siento más socialista que antes y en la misma manera en que antes lo era... Lo malo del socialismo corriente es que se da como doctrina única y olvida que tras el problema de la vida viene el problema de la muerte.⁸⁷

After 1897, Unamuno's own obsession with 'el problema de la muerte' and with matters of the spirit came to occupy the central position in his writings. This change in his work can best be seen in the articles '¡Adentro!', 'La ideocracia' and 'La fe', which Unamuno published in 1900 under the general title of Tres ensayos and can be seen as an open repudiation of his earlier socialist beliefs. In the first of these articles, Unamuno tells his correspondent that his watchword should henceforth be '¡adentro!' rather than '¡adelante!', thus clearly revealing that his own interest has shifted away from radical politics towards spiritual matters.⁸⁸ As a result of this shift, Unamuno is now obsessed with the role of faith in human life, and in 'La fe' initiates a discussion about the nature of religious faith which will come to a climax in Del sentimiento trágico

87 Quoted in Pérez de la Dehesa, Política y sociedad en el primer Unamuno, 1894-1904, pp. 75-76.

88 O.C., i, 952.

de la vida.⁸⁹

In 'La ideocracia', meanwhile, Unamuno protests against what he sees to be man's tendency to understand life in terms of ready-made concepts and ideas. In what is perhaps a veiled attack on his former socialist colleagues, he claims that 'interésanme más las personas que sus doctrinas',⁹⁰ adding that his own interest as a philosopher lies not in the study of ideas and ideologies but in understanding the "verdad" of human existence, since '*vivir verdad es más hondo que tener razón*'.⁹¹ From now on, Unamuno will put at the centre of his work his concern with human existence and with the way in which the individual lives out his life, and will be intent upon showing, as he had said in '¡Adentro!', that 'no hace el plan a la vida, sino que ésta lo traza viviendo'.⁹²

Unamuno's experiences during the crisis of 1897 also served to undermine his Europeanizing and regenerationist fervour.⁹³ This was because he started to identify regenerationism with a blind belief in material progress which he characterised as 'una superstición más degradante y

89 O.C., i, 962-70. As Martin Nozick, amongst others, has pointed out, Unamuno was already preparing a series of articles on spiritual matters and on religious faith in 1898. However, of the articles of Meditaciones evangélicas, only 'Nicodemo el fariseo' has survived. See Nozick, Miguel de Unamuno. The Agony of Belief, p. 38.

90 O.C., i, 956.

91 O.C., i, 958.

92 O.C., i, 948.

93 By the time he wrote Del sentimiento trágico de la vida in 1912, he had totally repudiated what he there speaks of as 'aquella horrenda literatura regeneracionista' (O.C., vii, 290).

vil que cuantas a su nombre se combaten'.⁹⁴ He also attacked European culture, which he believed was dominated by positivism and science, and wrote in his article 'Sobre la europeización' (May-December 1906) that

cuanto más en ello medito, más descubro la íntima repugnancia que mi espíritu siente hacia todo lo que pasa por principios directores del espíritu europeo moderno, hacia la ortodoxia científica de hoy, hacia sus tendencias.⁹⁵

As a result of this disgust with regenerationism and with 'el espíritu europeo moderno', Unamuno turned his attention more and more after 1897 towards the 'intrahistorical' values of Spain as they were expressed in the everyday lives of the Spanish people. Like many social and political thinkers of the Romantic period, he started to exalt the traditions and religious spirit of the common people of his country.⁹⁶ He became especially interested in the rural lives of the Spanish peasants because he believed that those who worked on the Spanish land were open to the truths of the spirit and were centrally preoccupied, like Unamuno himself, with what he referred to as 'el destino individual del hombre'.⁹⁷ He wished to protect the individualistic and spiritual values represented by the 'intrahistorical' life of Spain against what he saw to be the superficial and even

94 'La vida es sueño' (November 1898); in O.C., i, 943.

95 O.C., iii, 926.

96 The similarities between Unamuno's social and political thought and that of the European Romantics will be studied further in Chapter 4.

97 'La vida es sueño'; in O.C., i, 942. In 'Sobre la europeización', Unamuno talked about the Spanish people's 'sabiduría popular' and their obsession with death and matters of the spirit (O.C., iii, 928-29).

harmful scientific values of European life.⁹⁸

After the crisis of 1897, Unamuno was therefore, according to Martin Nozick, 'more ready to exalt the uniqueness of the Spanish soul than to recommend it for change'.⁹⁹ In En torno al casticismo, Unamuno had claimed that Spanish 'intrahistoria' was of interest to him insofar as it gave expression to certain fundamental values which were common to all mankind, since 'la tradición eterna española,...al ser eterna es más bien humana que española'.¹⁰⁰ After 1897, he comes to believe that the 'intrahistorical' life of Spain has retained certain human values which are lacking in the rest of Europe. As Ferrater Mora has said,

la "vida española" era, pues, para Unamuno una especie de símbolo de "la existencia humana", pero este símbolo encarnaba mejor que en ninguna parte en dicha vida.¹⁰¹

It is for this reason that, by the time Unamuno wrote 'Sobre la europeización' in 1906, he was no longer calling for the greater Europeanization of Spain but was rather exhorting Spaniards to impose their vision of life on Europe. In a way that prefigures much that he was to write in exile, Unamuno claimed in this article that he and his fellow countrymen should try to 'imponernos en el orden espiritual de Europa, de hacerles tragar lo nuestro, lo genuinamente nuestro,...de

98 In 'La vida es sueño', Unamuno said of the Spanish people: '¡Que no le sacrifiquen al progreso, por Dios, que no le sacrifiquen al progreso!' (O.C., i, 943).

99 Nozick, Miguel de Unamuno. The Agony of Belief, p. 85.

100 O.C., i, 794.

101 Ferrater Mora, Unamuno. Bosquejo de una filosofía, p. 92.

españolizar a Europa'.¹⁰²

Soon after the crisis of 1897, therefore, Unamuno was starting to believe that his duty as a public figure was to

conocer y estudiar con amor las tradiciones todas; pero para aprovecharlas en la fragua de la tradición eterna, de la que se hace, se deshace y se rehace a diario....¹⁰³

By doing this, by studying the traditions that make up 'la tradición eterna', Unamuno would be helping to create a new type of patriotism based on the values of 'intrahistorical' Spain. And Unamuno was now convinced that this new patriotism had to be religious in nature, simply because the inner life of Spain was profoundly influenced by what he had referred to in En torno al casticismo as 'el sentido religioso de las cosas'.¹⁰⁴ It is for this reason that Unamuno writes in the Diario íntimo that 'la religión hace la patria y es la patria del espíritu',¹⁰⁵ and later complains in the article 'La crisis actual del patriotismo español' (December 1905) that

el patriotismo español no tiene aún carácter religioso, y no lo tiene, entre otras razones, por una, la más poderosa de todas ellas, y es que le falta base de sinceridad religiosa.¹⁰⁶

Much of the work that Unamuno produced after the crisis of 1897 would therefore be centrally concerned with his

102 'Sobre la europeización'; in O.C., iii, 936.

103 'Más sobre la crisis del patriotismo' (10.5.06); in O.C., iii, 875.

104 O.C., i, 866.

105 Diario íntimo, p. 21.

106 O.C., i, 1296.

search to express the spiritual and religious values of Spain. However, it is extremely important to remember that Unamuno's search for the values of inner Spain was at the same time a search for the values by which he, as an individual human being and a Spaniard, wished to live. As a result, Unamuno's most characteristic works bring together his concern with the spiritual life of the individual and his interest in the make-up of the Spanish character. This can be seen, for example, in his travelogues such as Por tierras de Portugal y España (1911) and Andanzas y visiones españolas (1922) in which he searches for spiritual insight through his contact with the inner life of rural Spain, and writes that

recorriendo estos viejos pueblos castellanos...es cómo el espíritu se siente atraído por sus raíces a lo eterno de la casta.¹⁰⁷

It can also be seen in Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho (1905) where Unamuno uses his study of Cervantes' novel in order to give expression to his own individual philosophy and to indicate the ways in which that philosophy reflects the essential outlook of the Spanish people.¹⁰⁸

The work in which Unamuno most clearly brings together his philosophy of individual life and his understanding of the nature of the Spanish character is without doubt the

107 'Hacia el Escorial', Andanzas y visiones españolas; in O.C., i, 370. The characteristics of Unamuno's travel literature will be examined in Chapter 3 when we deal with the travelogues which Unamuno wrote in exile.

108 This work will be discussed as a part of the study of Del sentimiento trágico de la vida.

aptly named Del sentimiento trágico de la vida en los hombres y en los pueblos, of 1912. This work represents the climax to all that Unamuno had written between 1897 and 1912 and is essential to our understanding of the world-view that Unamuno was to take with him into exile in 1924. It sheds light on three different but interrelated aspects of Unamuno's thought which we shall now look at in turn: his ideas on what constitutes genuine religious faith; his understanding of the way in which the individual should live his life; and his definition of his role as a public figure.

Unamuno starts Del sentimiento trágico de la vida by declaring that his central interest as a philosopher lies in the study of what he calls 'el hombre de carne y hueso'.¹⁰⁹ Drawing on his experiences during the crisis of 1897, he stresses that what characterizes the life of each individual human being is 'el conato, el esfuerzo que pone en seguir siendo hombre, en no morir'.¹¹⁰ He believes that the individual, in the face of death, longs to continue living in the form and identity with which he finds himself in this life, and therefore wishes to defend his yo against the threat of extinction. As he says of himself,

no quiero morirme, no, no quiero ni quiero quererlo;
quiero vivir siempre, siempre, siempre, y vivir yo este
pobre yo que me soy y me siento ser ahora y aquí...¹¹¹

In the Diario íntimo, Unamuno had seen his preoccupation with his own yo as an obstacle in his search for religious

109 O.C., vii, 110.

110 O.C., vii, 112.

111 O.C., vii, 136.

simplicity, but now he sees it as the very starting-point of his philosophy of individual life. He not only wishes to protect his yo against death but to 'extenderme a lo ilimitado del espacio y prolongarme a lo inacabable del tiempo'.¹¹² His innermost wish is for his consciousness or conciencia to take possession of the whole universe and become limitless. And yet he also realizes that limitlessness is ultimately as much a threat to the individual and his conciencia as extinction. This is because the consciousness which has become limitless is in fact unable to perceive itself as a being distinct from other beings. Unamuno therefore believes that, while the individual should strive to take possession of the universe, he should also remain aware of his limits, since 'la conciencia de sí mismo no es sino la conciencia de la propia limitación'.¹¹³ As a result, he envisages immortality not as the attainment of limitlessness but as the individual's never-ending struggle to 'romper sus límites, limitándose'.¹¹⁴

Unamuno's desire for immortality and for an answer to

112 O.C., vii, 132.

113 O.C., vii, 192.

114 O.C., vii, 193. Elsewhere in this work, Unamuno describes immortality as 'un eterno acrecentarnos e ir hacia Dios,...sin alcanzarle nunca' (O.C., vii, 182). For a more detailed discussion of Unamuno's ideas on the individual conciencia, see François Meyer, La ontología de Miguel de Unamuno (Madrid, 1962), pp. 17-45; W.D. Johnson, 'La antropología filosófica de Miguel de Unamuno: la conciencia y el sentimiento trágico de la vida', CCMU, xx (1970), 41-76; Frances Wyers, Miguel de Unamuno: The Contrary Self, pp. 29-39; Esteban Tollinchi, La ontología de Unamuno (Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1978), pp. 45-80.

the threat of death causes him to turn to religious faith in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, just as he had done fifteen years earlier during the crisis of 1897. This time, however, Unamuno is painfully persuaded that faith cannot stand up to rational scrutiny. Reason, which is essential to man because it allows him to 'comprender y explicar el universo',¹¹⁵ also serves to "prove" that 'la conciencia individual no puede persistir después de la muerte del organismo corporal de que depende'.¹¹⁶

And yet, while Unamuno holds that reason leaves no room for the "irrational" belief in immortality, he also claims that it cannot take away or satisfy man's longing not to die. Continuing his critique of rationalism which he had started in the Diario íntimo and in 'Sobre la europeización', he explains that there are whole areas of experience which reason and science are unable to deal with, since

la ciencia podrá satisfacer, y de hecho satisface en una medida creciente, nuestras crecientes necesidades lógicas o mentales, nuestro anhelo de saber y conocer la verdad, pero la ciencia no satisface nuestras necesidades afectivas y volitivas, nuestra hambre de inmortalidad, y lejos de satisfacerla, contradícela.¹¹⁷

Unamuno argues therefore that reason and faith are irreconcilable and are forever coming into conflict with each other. However, it is on this very conflict that he will attempt to build a new definition of faith. This is because he believes that from the meeting of reason and

115 O.C., vii, 156.

116 O.C., vii, 171.

117 O.C., vii, 170-71.

faith, or rather, of rational scepticism and the desperate longing for faith which reason cannot quell, man derives what he refers to as the consolation of 'la salvadora incertidumbre'.¹¹⁸ Since he considers that man would not be able to put up with the certain knowledge that he was either mortal or immortal, limited or limitless, Unamuno believes that this fundamental uncertainty about his destiny makes life bearable (even if uncomfortably so) and also acts as a goad in his never-ending search for immortality. It is for this reason that he writes that 'no quiero poner paz entre mi corazón y mi cabeza, entre mi fe y mi razón; quiero más bien que se peleen entre sí'.¹¹⁹

Unamuno consequently wishes his faith to be active and self-questioning and to gain its vitality through coming into constant contact with what he calls the 'duda de pasión'.¹²⁰ It is to be a faith which forever attempts to assert itself in the face of rational scepticism. As a result, Unamuno believes that genuine faith is an act of will, the expression of man's need and desire to believe, his querer creer. As he puts it,

creer es querer creer, y creer en Dios ante todo y sobre todo es querer que le haya. Y así, creer en la inmortalidad del alma es querer que el alma sea inmortal.¹²¹

In the light of this definition of faith, one can now appreciate how misleading are the contrasting assertions of Sánchez Barbudo, who argues that Unamuno was incapable of

118 O.C., vii, 179.

119 O.C., vii, 180.

120 O.C., vii, 173.

121 O.C., vii, 177.

religious belief after 1897, and of Zubizarreta, who argues that that year saw the writer's 'inserción definitiva en el cristianismo'.¹²² In reality, Unamuno was neither an orthodox Christian believer nor an unbeliever after that date, but rather hung on to what Carlos París has called an 'anhelo de fe'.¹²³ As Unamuno himself put it in his article 'Mi religión', of 1907, his very vital and personal type of religious faith involved him in a never-ending and perhaps ultimately fruitless search for God and for an answer to the threat of death:

mi religión es buscar la verdad en la vida y la vida en la verdad, aun a sabiendas de que no he de encontrarlas mientras viva; mi religión es luchar incesante e incansablemente con el misterio; mi religión es luchar con Dios desde el romper del alba hasta el caer de la noche.¹²⁴

It can be seen, therefore, that Unamuno's understanding of what constitutes genuine faith also informs his vision of how the individual should live his life. To look at this 'practical' side of things, Unamuno turns in Chapter XI and the Conclusion of Del sentimiento trágico de la vida to the figure of Don Quixote.

In the article '¡Muera Don Quijote!', of 1898, Unamuno had unfavourably contrasted what he called Don Quixote's

122 Sánchez Barbudo, Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado, p. 98; Zubizarreta, Tras las huellas de Unamuno, p. 113. In a later work, Zubizarreta was forced to admit that 'Don Miguel, al no alcanzar la fe en 1897, se ve obligado...a vivir en el mundo esperando la gracia, a vivir desarrollando una "moral de batalla"' (Unamuno en su nivola, p. 274).

123 París, Unamuno. Estructura de su mundo intelectual, p. 41.

124 O.C., iii, 260.

'extraña y temporal locura' with Alonso Quijano's 'bondad eterna'.¹²⁵ As Villegas has pointed out, Unamuno at this time believed that Don Quixote embodied 'la dimensión histórica del pueblo español, (pero) Alonso Quijano la intrahistórica',¹²⁶ and so expressed the wish that Don Quixote should die in order to allow the religious outlook of Alonso Quijano and the Spanish people to thrive.

By the time that he wrote Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho and Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, Unamuno no longer wished for the death of Don Quixote because he now saw the knight as the true representative of the 'intrahistorical' values of Spain, as what González Vicen has called 'el símbolo y reflejo de la corriente eterna que discurre en el alma de su pueblo'.¹²⁷ As a result, Unamuno now believes that, by studying the life of Don Quixote, he will be able to discover how the values of 'intrahistorical' Spain can be expressed in history and in the life of each individual.

Unamuno therefore takes Don Quixote as his guide as he attempts to define the specifically Spanish philosophy by which he, as an individual and a Spaniard, wishes to live his life. What attracted Unamuno most to Don Quixote is the

125 O.C., vii, 1194.

126 Juan Villegas, 'El '¡Muera Don Quijote!' de Miguel de Unamuno', BHS, xliv (1967), 49-53 (p. 52).

127 Felipe González Vicen, 'La figura de Don Quijote y el donquijotismo en el pensamiento de Miguel de Unamuno', Romanische Forschungen, lvii (1943), 192-227 (p. 198). On this point, see also Ferrater Mora, Unamuno. Bosquejo de una filosofía, pp. 93-99; Paul Descouzis, Cervantes y la generación del 98 (Madrid, 1970), p. 25; Nozick, Miguel de Unamuno. The Agony of Belief, pp. 57-60 and 85-100; A.J. Close, '"Don Quixote" and Unamuno's Philosophy of Art', in Glendinning, Studies in Modern Spanish Literature and Art, pp. 25-44.

fact that he is a figure who refuses to be dominated by reason and who tries instead to impose his own vision of things on the world. Interpreting the significance of Cervantes' character in a religious way, Unamuno affirms that Don Quixote's life gives expression to his own and the Spanish people's view of existence as

una lucha entre lo que el mundo es, según la razón de la ciencia nos lo muestra, y lo que queremos que sea, según la fe de nuestra religión nos lo dice.¹²⁸

Taking Don Quixote's lead, therefore, Unamuno expresses his belief that man should live his life not according to the dictates of reason but rather according to his innermost desires and needs. In Unamuno's eyes, this means that the individual must learn to make his life into a never-ending attempt to affirm his longing not to die, to express what he elsewhere calls his querer ser.¹²⁹ Unamuno's advice to his readers is therefore summed up in the words: 'peleemos contra el destino, y aun sin esperanza de victoria; peleemos contra él quijotesicamente'.¹³⁰

Unamuno believes that the individual can fight against destiny and give expression to his will-to-be through activity. It is by acting - obrando - that he affirms himself in the face of death and attempts, in Unamuno's words, to 'dar finalidad humana, personal, al Universo'.¹³¹

128 O.C., vii, 297. On Unamuno's quixotic philosophy, see Segundo Serrano Poncela, El pensamiento de Unamuno (Mexico, 1953), pp. 248-62.

129 Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho; in O.C., iii, 83. As we shall see later, Unamuno was to look in more detail at the concept of querer ser in the Prologue to Tres novelas ejemplares y un prólogo (1920) (O.C., ii, 972-74).

130 O.C., vii, 267.

131 O.C., vii, 264.

Furthermore, as Unamuno had said in Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho, it is by acting that man can actually create his own life. This is because Unamuno comes to share Don Quixote's understanding that 'es cada cual hijo de sus obras y...se va haciendo según vive y obra'.¹³²

It can be seen, therefore, that Unamuno considers activity to be the chief characteristic of human existence,¹³³ and that he views human life as an obra which each individual has the duty to create - for himself and for others. It is for this reason that he says at the start of Del sentimiento trágico de la vida that 'yo, lo mismo que cada uno de mis hermanos, he venido al mundo a realizarme, a vivir'.¹³⁴ And yet, despite the apparent egoism of this statement, Unamuno also believes that the obra that is man's life can only be meaningful if it is in fact of significance to other people.

In Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, Unamuno claims that his longing to be immortal and limitless causes him to want to take over other people, to 'ser yo, y sin dejar de serlo, ser además los otros'.¹³⁵ However, he also realizes that he needs other people because they serve to remind him of his limits and therefore allow him to remain aware of his own self, his yo. Because of them, he can retain 'la conciencia de la propia limitación', since, as he says, 'me

132 Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho, O.C., iii, 66.

133 Already in the article 'El caballero de la triste figura' of 1896, Unamuno had claimed that 'existir es obrar' (O.C., i, 917).

134 O.C., vii, 116.

135 O.C., vii, 132.

siento yo mismo al sentirme que no soy los demás'.¹³⁶

Unamuno therefore defines the relationship between individuals in terms of 'una constante aspiración a ser otros sin dejar de ser lo que son'.¹³⁷ In practical terms, this means that the individual must try to "dominate" other people and make it impossible for them to forget him. This he can achieve by having an obra or vocación through which he stresses his individual worth, exercises a profound influence over others and thereby becomes "insustituible" for them.¹³⁸ As Unamuno says, man can therefore give meaning to his life by

obrando de modo que nos hagamos insustituibles, acuñando en los demás nuestra marca y cifra; obrando sobre nuestros prójimos para dominarlos, dándonos a ellos para eternizarnos en lo posible.¹³⁹

Unamuno leaves us in no doubt, in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, as to the nature of his own vocation, of the obra which gives meaning to his life and through which he attempts to influence others and become insustituible for them. It is the task, the obra, of introducing people to his Spanish philosophy, of waking them up to the quixotic view of life which he defines in terms of a never-ending search for spiritual truth. As he puts it,

mi obra - iba a decir mi misión - es quebrantar la fe de unos y de otros y de los terceros, la fe en la negación y la fe en la abstención, y esto por fe en la fe misma; es combatir a todos los que se resignan, sea al catolicismo, sea al racionalismo, sea al agnosticismo: es hacer que vivan todos inquietos y

136 O.C., vii, 192.

137 O.C., vii, 193.

138 O.C., vii, 267-68.

139 O.C., vii, 267.

anhelantes.¹⁴⁰

It is in terms of this obra, therefore, that Unamuno now defines his role as a public figure. He sees himself as an agitador de espíritus, an agitator of men's minds and spirits, whose mission, as he says in the article 'Mi religión' of 1907, is to make others rebel against death, assert their querer ser, and thereby create themselves:

lo más de mi labor ha sido siempre inquietar a mis prójimos, removerles el poso del corazón, angustiarlos si puedo. Que busquen como yo busco, que luchen como lucho yo.¹⁴¹

As Gómez Molleda has pointed out, Unamuno's understanding of his role as an agitador de espíritus owes much to the influence of the Krausist educational reformers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially Francisco Giner de los Ríos.¹⁴² Like Giner, Unamuno believed that, by addressing the spiritual needs of the individual, he could help to bring about what Gómez Molleda has referred to as 'la renovación educativa y la transformación silenciosa de la sociedad española'.¹⁴³ In Unamuno's eyes, therefore, the regeneration of each individual Spaniard and the regeneration of Spain now go hand in hand.

140 O.C., vii, 297-98.

141 O.C., iii, 261.

142 It was in a letter to Giner of 3 November 1900 that Unamuno first referred to himself as 'un pródigo espiritual, un agitador' (Gómez Molleda, Unamuno "agitador de espíritus" y Giner de los Ríos (Salamanca, 1976), p. 57). On Unamuno's debt to the Krausists, see also Elena de Jongh-Rossel, 'La ILE, el joven Unamuno y la pedagogía', Hispania, lxxix (December 1986), 830-36.

143 Gómez Molleda, Unamuno "agitador de espíritus" y Giner de los Ríos, p. 8.

Unamuno carried out his spiritual and regenerationist role as an agitador de espíritus in everything he ever wrote, whether in essay or fictional form. In the essays, he set out his quixotic view of life and explored the way in which he believed the individual should live and act. As we have already seen, this gave rise to his central works such as Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho and Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, where Unamuno attempts to express his philosophy of individual existence and also show how that philosophy has grown out of his understanding of the essential character of the Spanish people. It also gave rise to the many articles in which he attacks the national vices of Spain which, in his eyes, result mainly from the Spaniards' ignorance of the true values of their country.¹⁴⁴

However, Unamuno also used his novels in order to communicate his quixotic philosophy to his Spanish audience. Indeed, he openly states in the Prologue to his Tres novelas ejemplares y un prólogo (1920) that his main interest as a novelist lies in the study of what he calls 'la realidad más íntima' of his characters, that is, their querer ser.¹⁴⁵ This can be seen most clearly in Niebla (1914) where Unamuno shows how his central character, Augusto Pérez, finally comes to a full realization of the significance and value of his life when he is reminded by Unamuno himself that he is about to die. It is only in the face of death that Augusto

144 See, for example, the essays collected by García Blanco under the general title 'España y los españoles' (O.C., iii, 681-827), and those under the general title 'Inquietudes y meditaciones' (O.C., vii, 389-689).

145 O.C., ii, 972.

learns to express and affirm his querer ser. When he does so, he exclaims the following words which seem to come directly out of the recent pages of Del sentimiento trágico de la vida: 'quiero vivir, vivir..., y ser yo, yo, yo'.¹⁴⁶

All these essays and fictional works in which Unamuno carries out his role as an agitador de espíritus constitute the obra through which he hopes to become insustituible or irreplaceable in the eyes of his readers. What this means in reality is that Unamuno longs to make himself irreplaceable through the creation of written works which can be of use to other people. On closer inspection, it becomes clear therefore that Unamuno's search to become insustituible is in fact a development and a sublimation of his old desire for literary fame.

In the Diario íntimo, as we have seen, Unamuno had attempted to fight against his longing to 'dejar un nombre' and had tried instead to live 'obsesionado en salvar mi alma'.¹⁴⁷ After the crisis of 1897, however, he was no longer able confidently to believe in the idea that he had a God-given soul within him and he therefore came to see man's desire for fame as a desperate expression of his continuing longing for immortality. As he explains in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida,

¹⁴⁶ O.C., ii, 669. On this aspect of Niebla, see Blanco Aguinaga, 'Unamuno's Niebla: Existence and the Game of Fiction', Modern Language Notes, lxxix (1964), 188-205; and Leon Livingstone, 'The Novel as Self-Creation', in Unamuno. Creator and Creation, edited by José Rubia Barcia and M.A. Zeitlin (University of California Press, 1967), pp. 92-115.

¹⁴⁷ Diario íntimo, p. 123.

cuando las dudas invaden y nublan la fe en la
inmortalidad del alma, cobra brío y doloroso empuje el
ansia de perpetuar el nombre y la fama.¹⁴⁸

In fact, as he explains in Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho, he now sees man's desire for fame to be an integral part of his quixotic philosophy of life. In this work, he expresses his admiration for Don Quixote's search to 'cobrar eterno nombre y fama'¹⁴⁹ because he believes that that search grew out of the knight's realization that he was mortal:

el ansia de nombre y fama, la sed de gloria que movía a Don Quijote, ¿no era acaso en el fondo el miedo a oscurecerse, a desaparecer, a dejar de ser?¹⁵⁰

As a result, he believes that Don Quixote's 'sed de gloria' leads the knight to express his querer ser and his basic longing not to die, a longing which Unamuno claims to be the very cornerstone of the true Spanish philosophy.¹⁵¹ Indeed, Unamuno actually believes that the desire for fame acted as a stimulus in Don Quixote's creation of his life because 'el deseo de la gloria fue su resorte de acción'.¹⁵²

Basing himself on Don Quixote, therefore, Unamuno comes to understand that he must react to the threat of death by trying to achieve fame and renown. The way in which he will do this will be to create written works in which he expresses his own querer ser and desire for immortality and draws his readers into doing the same. If those works manage

148 O.C., vii, 140.

149 O.C., iii, 69.

150 O.C., iii, 193.

151 Unamuno writes, '¿Hay una filosofía española, mi Don Quijote? Sí, la tuya, la filosofía de Dulcinea, la de no morir' (O.C., iii, 233).

152 O.C., iii, 68.

to 'despertar al dormido',¹⁵³ they will be of lasting relevance to his readers who will continue to read them and make them part of themselves even after Unamuno's death, thereby allowing him to live on within them.

It is for this reason that Unamuno develops the belief that an author's creations are perhaps ultimately more "real" than their creator.¹⁵⁴ As Augusto Pérez tells Unamuno at the end of Niebla, 'mire usted, don Miguel, no vaya a ser que..., cuando usted se muera del todo, llevemos su alma nosotros'.¹⁵⁵ If his creations do manage to bring Unamuno back to life in the minds of future generations, then he will have satisfied his greatest longing, that is, to have truly become, like Don Quixote, 'el hijo de sus obras'.¹⁵⁶

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So, Unamuno defines his vision of life in Vida de Don Quijote y de Sancho and Del sentimiento trágico de la vida in terms of the individual's never-ending struggle to express his querer ser and become insustituible in the eyes of other people. He himself will attempt to do this by creating written works in which he plays his role as a public figure and through which he hopes to achieve lasting fame.

And yet the doubts which Unamuno had held in the Diario íntimo concerning the attempt to achieve fame and permanence

153 O.C., vii, 275.

154 Unamuno expressed this belief in a number of places, including the Prologue to his Tres novelas ejemplares y un prólogo (O.C., ii, 972-73).

155 O.C., ii, 678.

156 O.C., iii, 66.

through writing continued to plague him after the crisis of 1897. On the one hand, Unamuno sincerely believed that words allow him, like nothing else, to express his querer ser, create his obra and extend himself into a form that may be lasting. On the other, however, he also realized that the self fashioned out of words is - or can easily become - totally insubstantial.

Unamuno therefore had an essentially ambiguous reaction towards words, as can be seen in the poem 'Para después de mi muerte' which he included in the collection Poesías (1907). Here, Unamuno openly talks of his hope that he will live on after his death in the words he has written:

¡Cuando yo ya no sea,
serás tú, canto mío!
¡Tú, voz atada a tinta,
aire encarnado en Tierra,
doble milagro,
portento sin igual de la palabra,
portento de la letra,
tú nos abrumas!¹⁵⁷

However, he also makes it clear that, even if his song survives him, it will be but a shadow of the man of flesh and blood who had created it:

"Yo ya no soy; mi canto sobrevíveme
y lleva sobre el mundo
la sombra de mi sombra,
mi triste nada".¹⁵⁸

In the light of these doubts about achieving permanence through fame and about the substantiality of the self fashioned out of words, it is not surprising that Unamuno

157 O.C., vi, 173.

158 O.C., vi, 173. This poem announces one of the central themes of Cómo se hace una novela. See below, Chapter 5.

often longed for a more substantial form of immortality. This means that the desire to withdraw from the world and to live in God which he had expressed in the Diario íntimo stayed with Unamuno in one form or another after the crisis of 1897.

This is an aspect of Unamuno's work which was first studied in depth by Blanco Aguinaga, who pointed to the existence of texts in which Unamuno turned his back on his search for fame and sought instead to give expression to his longing to rediscover a simple and unquestioning form of religious faith. In his travelogues and poetry, Unamuno often described this longing in terms of his relationship with nature. The natural world represented for Unamuno, in Blanco Aguinaga's words, 'un refugio de paz y descanso'.¹⁵⁹ By immersing himself in the countryside around him, he attained a state of mind in which, as he says in the poem 'Hermosura' from Poesías, 'nada deseo,/mi voluntad descansa,/mi voluntad reclina/de Dios en el regazo su cabeza/y duerme y sueña'.¹⁶⁰

Blanco Aguinaga's study of poems such as 'Hermosura' led him to talk of the existence of what he called 'el Unamuno contemplativo' whose view of the world contrasted sharply with that of 'el Unamuno activo'.¹⁶¹ The distinction that he makes between these two Unamunos stands in parallel to the distinction that Unamuno himself had made in the Diario íntimo between 'el yo social' who lives in the world and

159 Blanco Aguinaga, El Unamuno contemplativo, pp. 211-81 (p. 260).

160 O.C., vi, 190.

161 Blanco Aguinaga, El Unamuno contemplativo, pp. 363-64.

hopes to achieve permanence through fame, and 'el eterno yo' who longs to achieve immortality through losing himself in God.¹⁶² And, as Sánchez Barbudo has pointed out, the tension that had existed in the Diario íntimo between these two selves persists in Unamuno's work after 1897 in the form of the conflict between 'el Unamuno de la lucha y el de la calma'.¹⁶³

Both Sánchez Barbudo and Frances Wyers have studied the texts that Unamuno wrote after the crisis of 1897 where he continues to talk of the conflict between his inner and outer selves. For example, Unamuno writes in the essay 'Sobre la consecuencia, la sinceridad', of 1906, that each person is made up of 'un yo profundo, radical, permanente,...y otro yo superficial, pegadizo y pasajero'. Unamuno is left with the problem of working out the exact status of these two selves and also the relationship that may exist between them. However, as will be seen in Chapter 5, it is not until exile that Unamuno is forced fully to confront this problem, which Sánchez Barbudo referred to as 'el misterio de la personalidad'.

After 1914, other doubts started to make themselves felt

¹⁶² Diario íntimo, p. 174.

¹⁶³ Sánchez Barbudo, Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado, p. 182.

¹⁶⁴ Sánchez Barbudo, Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado, pp. 175-88; Wyers, Miguel de Unamuno: The Contrary Self, pp. 3-18. See also Paul Ilie, Unamuno. An Existential View of Self and Society (University of Wisconsin, 1967), pp. 28-47.

¹⁶⁵ O.C., iii, 886-99 (p. 987).

¹⁶⁶ Sánchez Barbudo, Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado, p. 176.

in Unamuno's work. That year saw Unamuno being drawn into the world of politics and becoming more of a protagonist in the political affairs of Spain. The external reasons for this will be studied in Chapter 2. What is of interest here is the fact that Unamuno's entry into the political arena had profound consequences for his role as a public figure.

Gómez Molleda has argued that 1914 saw the end of Unamuno's mission as an agitador de espíritus.¹⁶⁷ This is in fact an exaggeration, but it is clear that Unamuno's entry into politics meant that his duties as a public figure became narrower while his public role was now shaped to a larger degree by the demands and expectations of other people.

It is not surprising that this state of affairs should cause Unamuno to ask ever more pressing questions about the role he was playing as a public figure and indeed about the very idea of role-playing itself. And, as playing a public role was Unamuno's way of creating the obra through which he hoped ultimately to become insustituible for others, the doubts about the specific role he was playing in the end undermined his very sense of personal selfhood.

In short, Unamuno's entry into politics in 1914 caused him to become gradually more aware of the implications and problems of his quixotic philosophy. In Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, as we have seen, Unamuno had claimed that the individual has to give meaning to his life and

167 She claims that 1914 saw 'el fracaso de la "misión"' (Gómez Molleda, Unamuno "agitador de espíritus" y Giner de los Ríos, pp. 49-52 (p. 49)).

indeed create himself through activity. Unamuno subsequently came to realize that this effectively means that the individual finds it difficult to be more than an actor who can never be totally sure of the authenticity of the role he is playing.

This is not in fact a new idea in Unamuno's work. In the Diario íntimo, as we have noted, Unamuno had already been preoccupied with the fact that he had turned his life into a comedia and had a tendency to 'representar el papel sin ver la realidad'.¹⁶⁸ However, this preoccupation takes on a new urgency in the work that Unamuno produced between 1914 and 1924, the date of his exile.

In his play Soledad, of 1921, for example, Unamuno directly addresses the problems involved in playing a political role. Agustín, the central character, is a playwright who is forced by circumstances to become a politician. However, he becomes totally disillusioned with the world of politics when he discovers that it is in fact 'más ficción' than the world of the theatre.¹⁶⁹ He seems to echo Unamuno's own feelings about the demands of role-playing when he claims that politicians are in reality no more than 'títeres' and 'muñecos de palo'.¹⁷⁰

Unamuno makes it clear here that he is centrally concerned with the effects that role-playing and acting have on his sense of selfhood. As he shows in 'Robleda el actor', of 1920, he longs to discover an unchanging, private self

168 Diario íntimo, p. 20.

169 O.C., v, 493.

170 O.C., v, 493.

which lies beyond the external self of action and acting. In this short-story, Unamuno describes the life of Octavio Robleda, an actor who attempts to hide his "real" self when he is on stage. Like the Unamuno of the Diario íntimo, he has a profound desire not to 'darme en espectáculo'.¹⁷¹ And yet this character finally has to admit that he is also an actor in his private life and that he has actually taken refuge 'en el teatro del arte, en el tablado de la escena, huyendo del otro teatro, del más grande'.¹⁷² Robleda's story serves to show therefore that the world itself is a theatre and that the longing for an inner self untouched by the role that one plays in that theatre may in fact be no more than an illusory aspiration.

Unamuno seems to confirm this view in Aforismos y definiciones, of 1923. In these essays, written shortly before he was sent into exile, Unamuno states unequivocally that man is an actor who must play his role in the world. Indeed, it is only by becoming a persona, that is, 'el hombre histórico, el que hace su papel en su tablado, su mundillo', that the individual can actually realize and create himself.¹⁷³ In Unamuno's view, therefore, self-creation necessarily involves the individual in acting out a role for himself and for other people. As a result, Unamuno answers the question '¿Qué se es uno?' in Aforismos y definiciones by writing 'el que representa, el que es para los otros'.¹⁷⁴

171 O.C., ii, 881.

172 O.C., ii, 881-82.

173 O.C., vii, 1518.

174 O.C., vii, 1518.

He adds that it is through other people that the individual discovers what his role should be, since 'los papeles nos los dan los demás'.¹⁷⁵ This would seem to be a development of Unamuno's assertion in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida that the individual must learn to 'darse a los demás para recogerse de ellos'.¹⁷⁶ The individual's duty is therefore to carry out the role that others have assigned to him in the theatre of the world and thereby create an image of himself in the eyes of other people. And yet, as Blanco Aguinaga has said,

within the view of life that sustains itself in the metaphor "world as stage", it is strictly necessary to conceive the image as corresponding to authentic being.¹⁷⁷

This is something that Unamuno fails to do here. He leaves the problem of how the individual ensures the authenticity of the role that he plays and the image he creates totally unanswered. Unamuno had in fact been haunted by this problem for many years; in Niebla, for example, he shows how Augusto Pérez reacts to the claim that all human life is a comedia by asking 'Pues, ¿qué es lo real, lo verdadero, lo sentido?'.¹⁷⁸ However, as we shall see, it is not until the works that he produced in exile that Unamuno fully faces up to the problem of the authenticity of the role he plays.¹⁷⁹

175 O.C., vii, 1519.

176 O.C., vii, 268.

177 Blanco Aguinaga, '"Authenticity" and the Image', in Rubia Barcia - Zeitlin, Unamuno. Creator and Creation, pp. 48-71 (p. 49).

178 O.C., ii, 663.

179 Writing of Unamuno's treatment of the problem of authenticity, Blanco Aguinaga claims that 'the definitive experience of this problem does not begin for Unamuno until 1924' ('"Authenticity" and the Image', p. 64).

Although Unamuno is not passing through a crisis in works such as Soledad and Aforismos y definiciones, there are signs that his own loss of faith in the role that he is playing as a public figure is causing him to question the very possibility of giving expression to a firm sense of selfhood through action and the playing out of a particular role. We can see therefore that, even before Unamuno goes into exile, he is already asking profound questions not only about the substantiality of the self he is creating in words but also about the authenticity of the self he creates through playing his public role.

Exile would serve only to exacerbate these already existent doubts.

CHAPTER 2

THE REASONS FOR UNAMUNO'S EXILE

Unamuno was banished from Spain by General Primo de Rivera on 20 February 1924. This chapter will look in detail at the reasons that lie behind Unamuno's exile.

Few critics have searched out the specific reasons which gave rise to Unamuno's banishment. Armando Zubizarreta briefly refers to certain abstract Unamunian ideals - truth, liberty, justice - which brought the author into conflict with the Dictator,¹ but he does not define those ideals or put them into the context of Unamuno's understanding of politics and his political role at this time. David Robertson skates over the reasons for Unamuno's exile and does not look in depth at Unamuno's initial feelings about Primo de Rivera.² Only Victor Ouimette looks briefly at how Unamuno first reacted to the Dictatorship in his capacity as a representative of the intellectual class.³

The reason for this lack of critical attention lies partially in the fact that many of the major texts which Unamuno wrote between Primo's *coup d'état* in September 1923 and his own exile in February 1924 have not as yet been collected and published. These texts yield up much useful

1 Armando Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su nivola, pp. 28-47.

2 David Robertson, 'Una guerra de palabras. Primo de Rivera y Unamuno en Le Quotidien', pp. 107-121.

3 Victor Ouimette, 'El destierro de Unamuno y el ataque a la inteligencia', pp. 25-42.

information concerning Unamuno's initial reactions towards Primo de Rivera.

This chapter will therefore attempt to explain Unamuno's exile by focusing on his clash with Primo de Rivera and by concentrating especially on Unamuno and Primo's conflicting visions of Spain and their conflicting ideas on what politics actually signifies and entails. We will notice particularly how Primo's Dictatorship caused Unamuno to revise his position as a political figure and to define his political ideas extraordinarily clearly in terms of ideology and party politics. By studying the way in which Unamuno, during the months immediately preceding his exile, takes up and develops his life-long concern with the true character of his country and with the nature of the public role he plays, we will also ultimately gain a better understanding of how his political ideas would evolve during exile itself.⁴

Unamuno's violent rebellion against Primo de Rivera - just like his eventual antagonism towards the Nationalists in 1936 - is all too often seen by *unamunistas* as a natural and inevitable reaction on the part of the intellectual. Perhaps the inevitability of this reaction should not be taken for granted. After all, in 1923, many intellectuals - including Ortega y Gasset and Azorín - gave their grudging

4 The evolution of Unamuno's political ideas during his stay in exile will be examined later. See below, Chapter 4.

or unquestioning support to the soldier who claimed to have saved Spain from "anarchy".⁵ More importantly, in the Manifesto that Primo, following classical nineteenth-century *pronunciamiento* practice, produced on 13 September 1923, there were many points with which Unamuno, in other circumstances, might have felt some sympathy.

In the Manifesto - a document which was to obsess Unamuno throughout exile - the Dictator attacked especially the violence which had dominated the political life of the Restoration period, and the corruption of the "turno pacífico" system and politicians. He referred, on the one hand, to 'asesinatos de prelados, ex gobernadores, agentes de autoridad, patronos, capataces y obreros' and to 'audaces e impunes atracos', and, on the other, to 'el cuadro de desdichas e inmoralidades' caused by 'los profesionales de la política' whose corruption had undermined the efficiency of Parliament and the judiciary.⁶

For years, Unamuno too had been attacking the corruption of the Restoration political system, especially its rigging of elections. In 1919, he had written that, to win elections, the politicians had to 'comprar los sufragios de sus electores o les ofrecen pequeños servicios personales o el obtener concesiones de servicios públicos',⁷ and that

5 For a study of the reactions of intellectuals such as Ortega y Gasset and Azorín to Primo's coup d'état, see Genoveva García Queipo de Llano, Los intelectuales y la dictadura de Primo de Rivera, pp. 16-176.

6 César González Ruano, El General Primo de Rivera (Barcelona, 1959), pp 57-58.

7 'Política y electorería', España (Madrid), 5.6.19; in Crónica política española (1915-1923), edited by Vicente González Martín (Almar Patio de Escuelas, Salamanca, 1977), pp. 239-41 (p. 239).

Spanish political parties were therefore becoming private interest groups rather than the representatives of specific political ideals. As a result, political life no longer had anything to do with ideas or the search for truth, but instead with the defence of private ambition. Unamuno's disillusionment with such a situation reached a climax in early 1923 when he wrote: 'la principal misión de los representantes del Reino de España - que no de la Nación de España - es la de desfigurar la verdad, es la de engañar'.⁸

Indeed, both Primo's Manifesto and Unamuno's political writings of 1923 at times recall the final chapter of En torno al casticismo where Unamuno, describing 'el marasmo actual de España', had focused on and criticized 'la pequeñez de la política'.⁹ Furthermore, Primo's moralizing tone, his crusade against corruption, his defence of the unity of Spain, his call for moral and material changes within the country - all this was not only reminiscent of the beliefs of a nineteenth-century Spanish liberal, but also carried heavy regenerationist, Costa-like overtones which would not have been lost on Unamuno. Indeed, when defining his political role as Spain's "iron surgeon" - both the representative and the healer of his country's "real being" and spirit -, Primo could easily have quoted the final words of En torno al casticismo and Unamuno's stirring call for the championing of 'el espíritu colectivo

8 'El reinado de la mentira', España (Madrid), 10.2.23; in González Martín, Crónica política española, pp. 332-35 (p.334).

9 Unamuno, O.C., i, 865.

intracastizo que duerme esperando un redentor!'¹⁰

And yet Unamuno did not for a moment agree with Primo's vision of Spain or with his rejection of party politics, nor did he share the Dictator's diagnosis of the political situation which had dominated Spain before the *coup d'état*. While both men recognized the corruption of Spanish public life, the Dictator believed that order could be restored only by interrupting parliamentary politics, whereas Unamuno felt that the system could be purified from within. The reason for this was that, by 1923, Unamuno believed strongly that the obstacle to true democracy lay not so much in the politicians or their parties as in the figure of the King, Alfonso XIII.

It was due in part to Alfonso XIII that Unamuno had been drawn into the world of politics in 1914 and had become more of a protagonist in the political affairs of Spain. The tension between the Monarch and Unamuno had its roots in their conflicting reactions to the First World War. From the start of the War, Unamuno made it clear that he supported the Allies and was deeply opposed not only to the bellicose authoritarianism of the Germans but also to the political views of those who supported the German cause in Spain.¹¹

Unamuno's chief concern was that the Spanish

¹⁰ O.C., i, 869.

¹¹ For Unamuno's reactions to the First World War, see Christopher Cobb's Introduction to Miguel de Unamuno. Artículos olvidados, edited by Christopher Cobb (London, 1976), pp. ix-1.

"Germanophiles" - headed by Alfonso XIII himself - wished to do away with democracy in Spain and set up instead an authoritarian monarchical régime. In an attempt to prevent this, Unamuno started a vigorous journalistic campaign against Alfonso XIII and the "Germanophiles" in which, as David Robertson has said,

defiende a los aliados que para él...representan la única posibilidad de salvar a España de un régimen arbitrario y ordenancista.¹²

In the articles he produced at this time, Unamuno made clear his belief that the King was exercising an unconstitutional influence on political decision-making. He claimed that Alfonso XIII had a hand in the appointment and dismissal of ministers and governments, and he referred to the ruling Conservative Party in 1917 as 'el gobierno faccioso y separatista de la Corte'.¹³

Furthermore, Unamuno did not believe that the King's meddling in political affairs came to an end in 1918. He openly declared after that date that Alfonso XIII exercised an unofficial censorship on public debate,¹⁴ and decided himself to defy it, just as he would defy Primo's censorship in 1923 and 1924, by writing articles insulting the Government and the King. In 'El orden y la monarquía', of 1919, for example, Unamuno accused Alfonso XIII of being a

¹² David Robertson, 'Unamuno y la dictadura de Primo de Rivera', in Gómez Molleda, Actas del Congreso Internacional Cincuentenario de Unamuno, pp. 91-106 (p. 92).

¹³ 'En las afueras de la Corte', España (Madrid), 9.8.17; in González Martín, Crónica política española, pp. 156-60 (p. 156).

¹⁴ 'Carta abierta a los italianos' (written 1921); in González Martín, Crónica política española, pp. 293-97 (p. 293).

corrupt and unpatriotic monarch who deliberately surrounded himself with sycophants who supported 'las personales pretensiones suyas'.¹⁵

It becomes clear from articles such as this that Unamuno's opposition to Alfonso XIII was as much personal as political. The writer came to believe that he was involved in a personal duel with the King, a duel which had its roots in Unamuno's dismissal from the Rectorship of Salamanca University in late 1914. Unamuno always maintained that his loss of the Rectorship owed much to the influence of Alfonso XIII and the King's mother, María Cristina, who were aggrieved at his criticism of the Monarch's stance in the first months of the First World War. Unamuno was to feel the full weight of the King's opprobrium once again in 1920 when he was almost sent to prison for sixteen years for criticizing and insulting Alfonso XIII in the national press.

Then, in 1922, Unamuno accepted an invitation to the Palace in order to explain his grievances to the King. As a result, he was vilified and branded a traitor by both republicans and liberals who objected to Unamuno associating so publicly with the corrupt Monarch. This event was to have a profound influence on Unamuno's political activity after 1922. He felt thereafter that he had to prove to his political allies that he was in total opposition to the Monarch's influence on Spanish political affairs, and

15 'El orden y la monarquía', España (Madrid), 30.1.19; in González Martín, Crónica política española, pp. 194-98 (p. 196).

therefore stepped up his anti-monarchical campaign and started openly to extol the virtues of the republican system of government.¹⁶ At the same time, the whole affair showed Unamuno just how far his role as a political figure was influenced by the demands and expectations of other people. It is perhaps no coincidence that the year in which Unamuno visited the King should also see the publication of Soledad, the play in which Unamuno studied in a very critical light the implications of playing a public role.¹⁷

However, Unamuno's opposition to Alfonso XIII was also based on the genuine belief that the King had anti-democratic and absolutist pretensions. The writer found proof of these pretensions in an event which took place in 1921 and which provided a focus for his anti-monarchical feelings for the next decade, that is, until Alfonso XIII's fall in April 1931. In July 1921, the Spanish Army was heavily defeated at Annual in Morocco after a madcap attempt to bring the Moroccan War to an end by taking the strategically-important town of Alhucemas.¹⁸ In the ensuing enquiry into the defeat, it was rumoured that the King had been the instigator of the campaign, going over the heads of

16 See, for example, 'Discurso en la Casa de la Democracia de Valencia', 7.9.22; in O.C., ix, 368-82; 'La crisis de la irresponsabilidad', España (Madrid), 2.12.22; in González Martín, Crónica política española, pp. 322-25.

17 That Unamuno was profoundly affected by his political allies' reaction to his visit to the King can be seen in the fact that he was still attempting to justify the visit in one of the first talks that he gave upon his return from exile. See 'Conferencia dada en el Ateneo de Madrid el día 2 de mayo de 1930', in Miguel de Unamuno, Dos artículos y dos discursos, pp. 65-66.

18 For a description of the Annual campaign, see Raymond Carr, Spain 1808-1939 (Oxford, 1966), pp. 516-23.

the government ministers. For Unamuno, this was further proof of Alfonso's attempt to direct Spain's political affairs, and constituted another step towards the establishment of an absolute monarchy, 'un régimen despótico y anticonstitucional'.¹⁹ Just before Primo's *coup d'état*, Unamuno was to affirm that the fiasco of Annual proved that the King had imperial designs and that, if the campaign had been successful, 'habría establecido, desde luego con golpe de Estado, el régimen absolutista a que con aquella y otras intentonas se tendía'.²⁰ From 1921 onwards, and throughout his exile, Unamuno's *cri de guerre* became '¡irresponsabilidades!', as he demanded the truth over the King's and the Army's involvement in the disaster at Annual and also over the Monarch's persistent meddling in political affairs.

As he revealed in the article 'La crisis de la irresponsabilidad', of 1922, the involvement of Alfonso XIII in the Annual campaign proved that there existed in Spain two "sovereign powers", that of the King who had almost absolute control over government decisions, and that of the people whose desires and wishes were consequently not represented or defended in Parliament.²¹ As a result, Unamuno started to suspect Alfonso XIII's presence behind almost every political decision. It was the King who was

19 '¿Habilidades?', El Socialista (Madrid), 13.7.23. (If an article is referred to without mention of a collection or without reference to its place within the Obras completas, this means that the article has not been reprinted since its original publication).

20 'Cobardía cívica', El Socialista (Madrid), 31.8.23.

21 'La crisis de la irresponsabilidad', España (Madrid), 2.12.22; in Crónica política española, pp. 322-25 (p. 322).

holding up the investigations into the Army's and the Monarchy's responsibility for the defeat at Annual by instigating 'el proceso de la mentira oficial';²² it was the Crown that 'hace los Gobiernos - y los deshace', thereby discrediting Parliament in the eyes of the people; it was Alfonso XIII who was behind the electoral and political corruption that stifled Spanish public life.²³ Above all, it was Alfonso who encouraged the Army to carry on the Moroccan War, even though 'el pueblo español, armado en Marruecos....no quiere la guerra'.²⁴ The Army continued fighting on the King's command - 'sin atender a la dirección política del Gobierno'²⁵ - and did so in order to avenge the disaster of Annual and ultimately to set up what Unamuno referred to as 'un viceimperio ibérico'.²⁶

The upshot of all this was that, in Unamuno's eyes, parliamentary politics had almost completely alienated the faith and confidence of the Spanish people. Unamuno referred to García Prieto's "concentración liberal" government - the last before Primo's coup - as 'el más cobarde, el más desconcertado, el más absurdo que cabe hoy',²⁷ 'entreteniendo al pueblo con camelo, embustes y

22 'El reinado de la mentira', España (Madrid), 10.2.23; in González Martín, Crónica política española, pp. 332-35 (p. 334).

23 'La crisis del monarquismo', España (Madrid), 3.3.23; in González Martín, Crónica política española, pp. 339-45 (p. 340).

24 'Trogloditismo en acción', El Socialista (Madrid), 17.8.23.

25 'Dos dilemas', El Socialista (Madrid), 10.9.23.

26 'El reinado de la mentira', España (Madrid), 10.2.23.

27 'Dos dilemas', El Socialista (Madrid), 10.9.23.

garambainas'.²⁸ And yet, unlike Primo, Unamuno did not believe that party politics necessarily brought about the distortion of the will of the people, but rather saw the King as the corrupting influence behind the degradation of Spanish public life. In May 1923, Unamuno predicted that Alfonso, threatened by the "responsabilidades" debate which, despite all pressure, continued in the Cortes, would search for a drastic solution to his precarious situation, since, in Unamuno's eyes, 'toda monarquía, todo reino, tiende, naturalmente, a la dictadura y al despotismo, y más cuando se siente en peligro de muerte'.²⁹ In September 1923, Unamuno's prediction came true.

In the light of all this, it is not surprising that Unamuno should immediately question the motives behind Primo de Rivera's *pronunciamiento*. Although Primo implied in his Manifesto that the King was not totally innocent of corruption, that the insurgents were not imperialists and that the Dictatorship would be interested in clearing up the question of responsibilities over Annual, Unamuno was not taken in by the transparent rhetoric of the General. After claiming in his Manifesto that 'la tupida red de la política de concupiscencias ha cogido en sus mallas, secuestrándola, hasta la voluntad real', Primo went on to say that the King had been 'el único, aunque débil freno' to the corruption of

28 'Teoría de la práctica', *El Socialista* (Madrid), 12.9.23.

29 'El dilema', *España* (Madrid), 19.5.23; in González Martín, *Crónica política española*, pp. 354-57 (p. 355).

the politicians.³⁰ Despite affirming that 'ni somos imperialistas ni creemos pendiente de un terco empeño en Marruecos el honor del Ejército', Primo added that the Spanish Army in Morocco had an "augusta misión" to fulfil.³¹ And finally, although the Dictator claimed that 'el país no quiere oír hablar de responsabilidades, sino saberlas, exigirlas, pronta y justamente', he made it clear that the responsibilities referred to were not those of the Army and the Monarch but rather 'la responsabilidad colectiva de los partidos políticos'.³²

A few months after the appearance of the Manifesto, Unamuno produced his first full reply to Primo's justification of the *coup d'état*, outlining what he saw as the reasons behind the *pronunciamiento*. The major motive in Unamuno's eyes was without doubt the desire to bring to an end the civilian investigations into the Annual disaster:

el pronunciamiento se llevó a cabo para evitar el completo esclarecimiento de lo que ha pasado en Africa, para evitar que....resaltase, acaso, a toda luz, la intromisión anticonstitucional del monarca en la dirección de la campaña.³³

Moreover, Unamuno saw that the King was firmly behind the *coup d'état* because 'esperaba que, deshecho el poder de la sedición, podría él asumir el poder personal'.³⁴ Therefore, in Unamuno's opinion, the *coup* had taken place solely to institutionalize the corruption and the lies of what the

30 González Ruano, El General Primo de Rivera, p. 57.

31 Ibid, p. 59.

32 Ibid, p. 60.

33 'Un pronunciamiento de cine', La Nación (Buenos Aires), 21.2.24.

34 'El supuesto nuevo régimen', La Nación (Buenos Aires), 22.2.24.

insurgents now called the "Old Régime" - the political régime which had existed before September 1923 - and Unamuno was at pains throughout the rest of 1923 to repeat that in essence the coup had changed nothing; the King was still in charge of Spanish politics and the direction of the Moroccan War, and the Army was now the direct agent of the monarchical will: 'el así llamado [Nuevo Régimen] tiene todos los vicios esenciales del que reputan antiguo, más su mayor competencia'.³⁵ As a result, Primo's Manifesto could deceive no-one except a few local "caciques" and bureaucrats who had gained promotion after 'unas ridículas cesantías',³⁶ or 'la desdichada plutocracia catalana' who, taken in by the authority's promise of an "iron hand" against political and social violence, 'vendió una vez más el alma de su pueblo por un poco de seguridad material'.³⁷

However, beyond the specific political reasons which forced him to oppose the coup, Unamuno noted something more worrying and sinister in Primo's Manifesto. In it, the Dictator referred constantly to his movement as a "causa" based on 'el orden....y la verdadera disciplina' and with the specific aim of protecting 'el honor de la patria'. The "Cause" would be defended by force if necessary, although 'nadie se atreverá con nosotros' and 'no habrá ninguna

35 Ibid.

36 'Un pronunciamiento de cine', La Nación (Buenos Aires), 21.2.24.

37 Ibid.

[sangre] limpia, pura y patriótica que se nos ponga en contra'. Primo labelled his followers 'el Somatén de legendaria y honrosa tradición española', and finally called on the support of all 'buenos ciudadanos', 'hombres rectos, sabios, laboriosos', 'hombres civiles que representen nuestra moral y nuestra doctrina', members of 'el pueblo sano' who 'sienten la masculinidad completamente caracterizada'.³⁸

In these expressions, Unamuno immediately recognized the bellicose, dogmatic, sexual and violently nationalistic language of a "casticista", a typical "false patriot" whose view of life he had been combatting ever since En torno al casticismo. As we have seen, Unamuno had complained in that work about those who perceived their country solely in terms of its past glories and went

en busca de lo castizo e histórico de la tradición al pasado de nuestra casta, mejor dicho, de la casta que nos precedió en este suelo.³⁹

These people he had termed the "casticistas" - those who judged their country according to the values and vision of the "group" or "class" to which they belonged and who were incapable of independent thought or judgement - and Unamuno had written many articles over the following thirty years attacking their narrow and dogmatic understanding of patriotism and of Spain.⁴⁰ Indeed, for Unamuno, there had

38 González Ruano, El General Primo de Rivera, pp. 57-62.

39 O.C., i, 795.

40 See especially: 'La crisis del patriotismo', March 1896; in O.C., i, 978. 'La crisis actual del patriotismo español', December 1905; in O.C., i, 1286. 'El porvenir de España', 1898-1912; in O.C., iii, 637. 'Más sobre la crisis del patriotismo español', March 1906; in O.C., iii, 865.

been a general "crisis of patriotism" in Spain in the early years of the century, caused not only by the growth of separatist feeling within the country itself, but also by the sabre-rattling of the Army, a "casta" within Spanish society which saw in Spain's loss of Empire in 1898 full proof of the decadence of the fatherland. This caste based its "patriotería hipócrita" on the old-fashioned and dangerous Spanish concept of "honra",⁴¹ a concept which - as Primo showed in his reference to men with 'la masculinidad completamente caracterizada' - had its roots firmly planted in sexual mores and convention. The worst aspect of the problem was that, at times of national crisis, the Spaniards tended to believe in the 'infalibilidad del sable' and to think that 'los militares sienten el patriotismo más vivamente que los demás ciudadanos'.⁴² In May 1905, Unamuno had already written that he felt it his duty to warn against 'la tendencia a que eso que se llama la religión del patriotismo asuma formas militares'.⁴³

Unamuno's strong reaction against any narrow definition - military or civilian - of Spain can be seen throughout his work, especially at moments of national upheaval, such as the First World War, the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and the Second Spanish Republic.⁴⁴ As we saw in Chapter 1, all

41 'La crisis del patriotismo'; in O.C., i, 978.

42 'La crisis actual del patriotismo español'; in O.C., i, 1286-7.

43 'La crisis actual del patriotismo español'; in O.C., i, 1287.

of Unamuno's life had in a sense been a reaction against the "casticistas" and their conservative and traditionalist understanding of Spain: from his earliest Europeanizing, regenerationist texts until his later writings which extol the Spanish vision of life over the European, Unamuno had searched for a deeper Spain beyond the clichés and lies of the so-called patriots. In works such as Vida de Don Quijote and Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, Unamuno had defined a highly spiritual and individualistic philosophy which he in fact believed to be an expression of the essential Spanish vision of life. This philosophy obviously allowed Unamuno to define authentic human existence in very individual and spiritual terms and also to produce a definition of the Spanish patria which was diametrically opposed to the closed, dogmatic vision of the "casticistas": Unamuno's ideal Spain was a living, questioning community of spiritually-minded individuals who tapped the religious impulses found in the "intrahistoria" of their country.

It is clear therefore that Unamuno was unlikely to be taken in by the rhetoric of a "casticista" like Primo de Rivera, a soldier who defined Spain in traditionalist and militaristic terms. Every reference in the Manifesto to honour, discipline, order and strength brought back memories

44 For Unamuno's First World War articles, see Miguel de Unamuno. Artículos olvidados, edited by Christopher Cobb (London, 1976). For his Second Republic articles, see República española y España republicana, edited by Vicente González Martín (Almar Patio de Escuelas, Salamanca, 1979); and Ensueño de una patria, edited by Victor Ouimette (Valencia, 1984).

in Unamuno of a thirty-year fight against false patriotism and convinced him that Primo was by no means the "redentor" he had looked for at the end of En torno al casticismo. Moreover, in September 1923, Unamuno was especially sensitive to the rhetoric of "casticismo" as he had just returned from Tudanca, a small Cantabrian village where, as so often happened when Unamuno spent time in natural surroundings, he had communed with a deeper 'intrahistorical' Spain.⁴⁵ His writings of this time were filled with references to 'la España que permanece, la que queda por encima y por debajo de la España que pasa',⁴⁶ as he tried once again to define his highly personal vision of the ideal patria.

Consequently, Unamuno's work between Primo's *coup d'état* and his own exile abounded in references to soldiers and false patriotism, as the intellectual's and the Dictator's visions of Spain came into conflict. Unamuno showed his indignation over the Manifesto - 'aquel desdichado documento' - in which 'se proclamaba en los militares "casta" y con una "moral" propia'.⁴⁷ He attacked Spain's nineteenth-century soldier-statesmen and Mussolini's fascist followers - 'los monaguillos de la superstición patrioter' - in thinly-veiled allegories on the state of Primo's

45 This point will be discussed further in Chapter 3 where we shall study Unamuno's differing reactions to his places of exile.

46 'La España que permanece', El Liberal (Madrid), 1.8.23; in O.C., i, 637.

47 'Un pronunciamiento de cine', La Nación (Buenos Aires), 21.2.24.

Spain.⁴⁸ He called Primo's unquestioned belief in the unity of Spain a form of 'separatismo de la civilización universal y liberal' in an article directly reminiscent of En torno al casticismo and other essays of the 1900s.⁴⁹ And finally, in a total indictment of Primo's Régime, he claimed that patriotism - especially that of the Dictatorship which only served 'para encubrir la oquedad de pensamiento y de propósito'⁵⁰ - could never be a political ideology or serve in government. It is at this point that we find Unamuno attacking not only Primo's vision of Spain but also the Dictator's very understanding of politics itself.

For Primo de Rivera, politics simply entailed the grouping together of unquestioning Spaniards bound by "patriotism" and trusting to the vision of their leader who presented himself to them as the archetypal Spaniard. Unfortunately, as Unamuno pointed out throughout exile, being archetypically Spanish for Primo meant drinking national wines, womanising and refusing to listen to the voice of intelligence.⁵¹ As a result of this understanding of things political, Primo mistrusted any individual who did not share his narrow "casticista" vision of Spain, who

48 'Los monaguillos fascistas', El Mercantil Valenciano (Valencia), 4.11.23. See also 'Historia de 1879. Martínez Campos y Cánovas', El Liberal (Madrid), 28.9.23.

49 'Un deber de la Iglesia', El Mercantil Valenciano (Valencia), 20.1.24.

50 'Animo mostrenco', El Mercantil Valenciano (Valencia), 20.1.24.

51 See especially the first poems of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 675-78.

questioned and criticized or who dared to put forward a more "international" definition of the role and function of politics. Such persons - above all the "intellectuals" - were for Primo dangerous and negative "pessimists" who knew only how to destroy what others tried to build.⁵² Indeed, Victor Ouimette has located a newspaper interview with the Dictator in which Primo described Unamuno as

un señor cuya labor ha sido totalmente negativa. Y no con este gobierno, el más modesto de todos, sino con los anteriores. Nunca aplaudió medida alguna y sí sólo lo criticó todo, pareciéndole malo todo cuanto se hacía.⁵³

It was in order to control the influence of such people that the Dictator put into force a mild form of censorship.

Censorship for Unamuno was a direct attack on his prerogative as an intellectual, on his freedom to write - an activity which, as we have seen, was a form of living for the author -, to question and criticize. It constituted, as Ouimette has pointed out, a total 'ataque a la inteligencia',⁵⁴ which for Unamuno meant not only an attack on the "intelligentsia" or the "intellectual class", but also, as he wrote in the letter which was to form the pretext for his banishment, a hatred of intelligence itself.⁵⁵ And, by attacking intelligence and exiling debate,

52 Unamuno laughs at Primo's and Alfonso XIII's references to the "pesimistas" in Poem vi of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 677-78.

53 'Dialogando con Primo de Rivera', El Liberal (Bilbao), 27.2.24; quoted in Ouimette, 'El destierro de Unamuno y el ataque a la inteligencia', p. 33.

54 Ouimette, 'El destierro de Unamuno y el ataque a la inteligencia', p. 36.

55 'Carta', Nosotros (Buenos Aires), December 1923; in O.C., ix, 1181.

Primo was, in Unamuno's eyes, negating the most important function of politics which was the search for "truth" carried out through the exercise of independent thought and criticism.

Unamuno believed that any movement or idea in politics which prevented the expression of truth could only lead to the establishment of a régime of lies. He had warned about this both in 'La crisis del patriotismo', of 1896, and in 'El ejército no es un casino', of 1919, where he had claimed that the military code of honour and rigid patriotism tended to get in the way of the expression of truth and the defence of justice.⁵⁶ He had also, from 1914 onwards, shown that the unconstitutional interference of the King in Spanish politics had led to a state of affairs in which truth was undermined and vilified. By 1923, Spain had become 'el gran mentidero',⁵⁷ and was suffering under 'el reinado de la mentira'.⁵⁸ What Unamuno wanted to show the world was that the genuine patriots and politicians were actually those who had the courage to criticize and tell the truth about their country and its political and social situation. Indeed, politics for Unamuno was no more and no less than the channelling of criticism and debate, and it was his duty both as an intellectual and as an authentic patriot to be 'al servicio de la verdad', because

56 'El ejército no es un casino', El Mercantil Valenciano (Valencia), 10.12.19.

57 'El gran mentidero', España (Madrid), 22.4.22; in González Martín, Crónica política española, pp. 302-05 (p. 302).

58 'El reinado de la mentira', España (Madrid), 10.2.23; in González Martín, Crónica política española 1915-1923, pp. 332-35 (p. 332).

el fin propio de la inteligencia es la verdad....Y para ir a la verdad el camino es la crítica. El deber de la inteligencia es, pues, criticar.⁵⁹

Unamuno's desire to criticize and express his truths can be seen in almost everything he ever wrote, but especially in the myriad articles he published in the newspapers and magazines of his day. These essays deal with every aspect of existence, from philosophy to religion, from social matters to literature, and are the objective proof of Unamuno's labour as a politician. His avowed "political" aim was to make people avoid "group thinking" and approach reality as questioning individuals. As we saw in Chapter 1, Unamuno saw himself as an "agitador de espíritus" whose duty it was to awaken his compatriots both intellectually and spiritually. On the political level, he believed that, by making public his own doubts, his own criticism of Spanish life, his own search for truth, he could at once expose the lies of national politics and help to goad the Spanish people into an awareness of their own need to exercise criticism and independent thought. In that way, through the encouragement of free debate and a sense of responsibility towards oneself and one's own country, a genuine "public opinion" could be created which would be the authentic expression of the national will. Unamuno therefore saw, as González Martín has said, that politics was 'ante todo y sobre todo, publicidad', that 'hacer política' actually meant 'crear

59 'El deber del profeta', Nuevo Mundo (Madrid), 26.10.23; in O.C., vii, 671.

opinión pública'.⁶⁰

However, in the Spain of the final years of the "turno pacífico" system, dominated by a corrupt Parliament and a King who directed political affairs in an almost absolute way, there was little chance that any interest in political debate could be encouraged or that an "opinión pública" could be created. Indeed, Unamuno at one moment actually stated that 'la monarquía es el obstáculo para que se forme conciencia, esto es, voluntad nacional', going on to claim that the Spanish people had lost all confidence and belief in political processes.⁶¹ The result of this was that, by the time Primo de Rivera had interrupted parliamentary democracy completely and had also prohibited free debate, the Spanish people showed no signs whatsoever of any real "voluntad nacional" and were in fact wasting away of what Unamuno believed to be the old Hispanic complaint of "apoliticismo".

In early 1924, Unamuno warned about the effects of such "apoliticismo" in an article entitled 'Napoleón, patriota civil':

En ningún pueblo civilizado puede estar suspendida mucho tiempo la vida política, es decir, la vida civil y constitucional, sin gravísimo detrimento de los más hondos intereses nacionales, y entre ellos, del más hondo, que es la vida del espíritu.⁶²

60 Crónica política española, p. 31.

61 'La crisis del monarquismo', España (Madrid), 3.3.23; in González Martín, Crónica política española, pp. 339-45 (p. 344).

62 El Liberal (Madrid), 9.2.24.

For Unamuno, the lack of invigorating debate was affecting the political and spiritual health of the country and was turning Spain into an apolitical nation, a nation where enforced unanimity had replaced criticism. As a consequence, Spain was becoming 'un pueblo inanimado o exánime'⁶³ full of 'imbéciles....gentes que no tienen ánimo',⁶⁴ people who were suffering from a disease which Unamuno called "tontería" or "stupidity" and which for years he had defined as the illness that affects those who cannot think for themselves.

In En torno al casticismo and Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho, Unamuno had already described the "tontos", those affected by the 'ramplonería ambiente' and who were incapable of understanding the "locura" of independent thought.⁶⁵ These people obsessed Unamuno and, just before Primo's coup, he wrote a series of essays in which he tried to define "tontería" and its relationship to "apoliticismo".⁶⁶ However, it was Primo de Rivera's Manifesto and Régime that allowed Unamuno fully to develop his ideas on stupidity, partly because Unamuno believed Primo himself to be an archetypal "tonto" and partly because he saw the Dictator as the agent of a typically Spanish inquisitorial spirit which had always despised intelligence and tried to stamp out originality. Back in 1908, Unamuno had written about those who suffered from an 'odio o....miedo a la inteligencia' and who therefore tried to

63 'Animo mostrenco', El Mercantil Valenciano (Valencia), 8.2.24.

64 Ibid.

65 Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho; in O.C., iii, 54.

66 Aforismos y definiciones, El Imparcial (Madrid); in O.C., vii, 1515-34.

'ridiculizar a los llamados intelectuales',⁶⁷ and, in 1923, he described those who introduced censorship as "tontos" suffering from 'el terrible cáncer de España...., la envidia....odio a la inteligencia'.⁶⁸

Between September and November 1923, Unamuno managed to extract some fun from his discussion of "tontería" by drawing humorous pen-portraits of the so-called "hombres nuevos" of Primo's "New Régime". In two articles written for El Socialista (Madrid) and entitled 'Don Wilibrordo' and 'Don Anfiloquio', Unamuno described a pair of Primo-like characters who act like boy-scouts and have very fixed ideas on what it means to be patriotic. Don Wilibrordo believes that, to be truly Spanish, 'debemos todos acostumbrarnos a escribir un castellano castizo, de casta' and that Spanish youth should dress up like soldiers, because '¡aquel traje! ¡aquellos hip, hip, hip, hurra! ¡aquellos desfiles! ¡esto es hacer patria!'⁶⁹ Don Anfiloquio, meanwhile, believes that the only authentic way to "hacer patria" is to 'dar ¡Palo! ¡Palo! ¡Palo!' against everyone who talks in 'paradojas y de cosas de extranjis'.⁷⁰

Unamuno's humour did not last long, however, because he soon became all too aware of the serious effects of such "tontería" and enforced uniformity. In his eyes, Spain was no longer a 'casa....de libres debates populares', but rather a 'casino....lleno de hombres....caseros, resignados,

67 'La conciencia liberal y española de Bilbao', 5.9.08; in O.C., ix, 236.

68 'Carta', Nosotros (Buenos Aires), December 1923; in O.C., ix, 1181.

69 'Don Wilibrordo', El Socialista (Madrid), 5.10.23.

70 'Don Anfiloquio', El Socialista (Madrid), 12.10.23.

neutrales, dormidos'.⁷¹ No longer could he find in Spain

un ámbito social y moral agitado por hondas preocupaciones, removido por nobles y fuertes pasiones, fecundado por ideales generosos, donde los ciudadanos debatieron vitales problemas de comunidad civil,⁷²

but only a nation with 'un espíritu de servidumbre', a people suffering from an awful superficiality, triviality and "frivolidad".⁷³ In an article which showed all of Unamuno's despair at this time, he wrote that: 'en el fondo la crisis moral de España no es crisis de autoridad, es crisis de inteligencia'.⁷⁴

By the end of 1923, therefore, Unamuno was giving full expression to his painful understanding of the crisis that Spain was passing through under the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. In the face of this crisis, Unamuno decided to review his own political ideas and to make them known to the country so as to encourage political debate and a greater awareness of the degrading situation Spain found herself in. And, interestingly enough, he seemed to realize that, in order to assist in the creation of an opposition to Primo, he would have to provide an explicit definition of his own ideological position and of his relationship with the political parties of Spain. As a result, between November 1923 and February 1924, Unamuno produced some of his most

71 'Casa y casino', El Liberal (Madrid), 9.12.23.

72 'Una anécdota más', El Liberal (Madrid), 16.12.23.

73 'Niarquinismo', El Liberal (Madrid), 7.11.23.

74 Ibid.

explicitly political writings since his "socialist" days of the 1890s. He described and defined his liberal outlook and he emphasized his belief in party politics and parliamentary democracy as the means to improve Spanish public life. This hitherto unstudied moment of political directness in Unamuno's work was the direct result of specific circumstances and was in fact short-lived. However, it throws much light on his political ideas in general and on his subsequent role as a public figure in exile, and therefore merits detailed study here.

In January 1924, on returning to his home-town of Bilbao, Unamuno gave a speech at the liberal club "La Sociedad El Sitio" and published two influential articles entitled 'Del Bilbao mercantil al industrial' and 'Desde mi Bilbao' in which he tried to define clearly his liberal faith.⁷⁵ It was no coincidence that he should talk of liberalism in Bilbao because, as Juan Marichal and Elías Díaz have pointed out, Unamuno's definition of liberalism was intimately bound up with his understanding of the character of his home-town.⁷⁶ Indeed, on previous visits, notably in 1908, Unamuno's mind had also turned to the

75 'Del Bilbao mercantil al industrial', El Liberal (Bilbao), 1.1.24; in O.C., i, 541; 'Desde mi Bilbao', El Mercantil Valenciano (Valencia), 6.1.24; in O.C., viii, 518.

76 Marichal, 'Unamuno y la recuperación liberal (1900-1914)', in Pensamiento y letras en la España del siglo XX, pp. 235-56; Díaz, Revisión de Unamuno, pp. 13-21.

problem of his political and liberal beliefs.⁷⁷

In the hitherto uncollected speech of early January 1924 given in the "La Sociedad El Sitio" club of Bilbao, Unamuno explained that his liberalism was not an abstract idea nor could it be defined doctrinally. It could, in fact, only be explained in historical terms, that is, by linking it to the history and character of Bilbao. For Unamuno, Bilbao was a centre of liberals because it had been one of the few Spanish cities in the nineteenth century which had had a true middle class, a mercantile bourgeoisie; and, in Unamuno's eyes, 'el liberalismo....es un producto mercantil más que industrial..., sale del almacén más que de la fábrica'. Being a centre of commerce, Bilbao had had 'una conexión con el resto del mundo culto', and Unamuno believed that

no se puede comerciar libremente en productos de manufactura sin comerciar libremente en ideas y en sentimientos. No es posible tener relaciones con las gentes de otras creencias, de otro régimen político, sin tener una amplitud, una cierta amplitud también de espíritu.

This open-mindedness had developed over the years and had been defended against the narrow-minded group-thinking traditionalism of the Vizcayan rural Carlists. As a result, the Bilbao liberals - like true liberals everywhere - had always respected and encouraged independence of mind, individualism and what Unamuno called the 'espíritu de

⁷⁷ See especially the speech entitled 'La conciencia liberal y española de Bilbao' also given at "La Sociedad El Sitio", Bilbao, 5.9.08; in O.C., ix, 232.

libertad de conciencia'.⁷⁸

For Unamuno, genuine liberalism centred upon the independence of the individual, the individual's relationship with himself, and his understanding of spiritual and personal freedom. It had both a political and a religious significance, so much so that in a speech he gave in 1909, Unamuno had said that 'el liberalismo es, ante todo, una teología. No se trata de cuestión de estómago, sino del hombre entero'.⁷⁹ An obvious consequence of this was that Unamuno rejected utilitarian liberalism, the liberalism of classical political economy which perceived society solely as a "mechanism" and individuals as purely economic entities.⁸⁰ Instead, as Marichal has said, Unamuno's own brand of liberalism was a "pensamiento trascendente", a way of looking at life itself that put morality before utility and emphasized the needs of the "whole man", the "hombre de carne y hueso".⁸¹ Elías Díaz has summed this up in the following words :

El liberalismo es para Unamuno una auténtica concepción general del mundo, una visión total de la vida, una religión incluso, un sentimiento de la existencia definido por su carácter espiritual agónico, crítico,

78 'Conferencia en "La Sociedad El Sitio"', El Socialista (Madrid), 9.1.24. Unamuno's generous description of the Bilbao middle-classes in early 1924 contrasts somewhat with the ironic way in which he treats them in many of his 1890s essays. In the well-documented novel Paz en la guerra, Unamuno showed that many of the Bilbao bourgeoisie could be anything but open-minded.

79 'La esencia del liberalismo', 3.1.09; in O.C., ix, 247.

80 'La conciencia liberal y española de Bilbao', 5.9.08; in O.C., ix, 738-39.

81 Marichal, 'Unamuno y el liberalismo español', p. 245.

aunque no racional, y antidogmático.⁸²

Unamuno's extremely idiosyncratic view of liberalism arose in part from his understanding of the very origins of the ideology. He considered that liberalism and the belief in individualism were products of the religious ideas of the Reformation which had emphasized 'el principio de libre examen' and the role of the 'conciencia individual', and had put 'al hombre cara a cara con Dios, sin medianeros de ninguna clase'.⁸³ In fact, Unamuno had noted a Protestant element in the liberalism of his youth, 'cierto sentido religioso....una nota puritana casi cuáquera'. The importance of the individual conscience and the idea of personal responsibility meant that, for the liberal, 'uno lleva la ley dentro y, por consiguiente, que no hay que imponérsela desde fuera'. As a result, Unamuno believed that the role of liberal politics was two-fold: on the one hand, it had to defend 'los derechos individuales' while, on the other, it had to further the individual's awareness of personal responsibility.⁸⁴

82 Díaz, Revisión de Unamuno, p. 15. Unamuno's idiosyncratic and spiritual understanding of liberalism has been studied by E. Inman Fox and Victor Ouimette. See Inman Fox, 'Los intelectuales y la política (1905-1914): el caso de Unamuno', in Gómez Molleda, Volumen Homenaje a Miguel de Unamuno, pp. 157-74; Ouimette, 'Unamuno, Croce y la religión de la libertad', in Gómez Molleda, Volumen Homenaje a Miguel de Unamuno, pp. 245-73; Id., 'Unamuno y la tradición liberal española', in Gómez Molleda, Actas del Congreso Internacional Cincuentenario de Unamuno, pp. 69-80.

83 Unamuno's positive view of the Reformation here contrasts with the belief he had expressed in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida that it had served to replace the 'ideal de una vida eterna ultraterrena por el ideal del progreso, de la razón, de la ciencia' (O.C., vii, 284).

84 'Conferencia en "La Sociedad El Sitio"', El Socialista (Madrid), 9.1.24.

Firstly, then, liberal politics had to guarantee the freedom of every person and allow them to develop their individual potential. From this point of view, the highest ideal for the liberal was "justicia" which Unamuno defined - following the classic definition of Ulpian - as the need to 'dar a cada uno lo suyo'. For Unamuno, 'la justicia es una santidad individual....la justicia es para individuos'. However, real justice was the belief not just in personal liberty but in 'la libertad para todos', and involved ensuring that no one person's freedom ever threatened another's. Therefore, for a liberal, politics had to define both liberty and authority and also fix 'los límites de la autoridad, que son, a la vez, los límites de la libertad'. In 1909, Unamuno had pointed out that the danger in this vision of politics was that the State could be reduced to playing the role of *gendarme*, simply ensuring the 'limitación de la autoridad al mínimo'.⁸⁵ In order to avoid this, the liberals had to make the State the active guarantor of individual freedom, by using politics as the means to create in individuals both a 'conciencia de la ley' and a 'conciencia personal', that is, an awareness of their potentialities as individual human beings. Therefore, the role of politics and the function of the State for Unamuno and true liberals was the dissemination of what he in 1909 had called 'la cultura, la elevación del espíritu humano'.⁸⁶ Liberal politics should have an educative function and teach people to think and question and be aware of their

85 'La esencia del liberalismo', 3.1.09; in O.C., ix, 246.

86 *ibid.*; in O.C., ix, 247.

responsibilities as individuals. Unamuno reveals here how his own definition of his role as an agitador de espíritus had grown from his understanding of what liberalism stands for. In a sense, he sees his duty as a liberal politician to be an extension of his educational role as a university teacher.⁸⁷ He consequently believes that liberalism is not a matter of doctrine and dogma but of culture and education. He refers to it as a "method", 'una manera de resolver, de tratar, de criticar las cuestiones; es, sobre todo, un método de libre examen'.⁸⁸

The ultimate aim of Unamuno's liberalism, as we have already seen, was the creation of a living community of questioning individuals who would create, through debate and criticism, a régime of "public opinion". Here, in the speech Unamuno gave in the "La Sociedad El Sitio" club in January 1924, Unamuno once again attacked the sorry state of Spain, where a lack of "opinión pública" had allowed Primo de Rivera to take power and even claim that he was universally popular. The only antidote to such a situation was to encourage a sense of political responsibility amongst the people and in fact oblige everyone to become political, to 'intervenir en la cosa pública y a preocuparse de ella y a no delegar'. In January 1924, reacting against the specific circumstances of the Dictatorship, Unamuno realized that the only way to achieve this, to "repoliticize" Spanish life,

87 On Unamuno's ideas on university education, see Yvonne Turin, Miguel de Unamuno, universitaire (Paris, 1962).

88 'Conferencia en "La Sociedad El Sitio"', El Socialista (Madrid), 9.1.24.

was to get rid of Primo and allow party politics to return to Spain: 'la política tendrá que volver España a que la hagan los políticos'. Only the parties could channel popular feeling and provide a focus and a forum for political debate. By saying this, Unamuno was making clear his faith in parliamentary democracy, a fact which can be corroborated by noting his excitement in early 1924 over the victory - through true 'sufragio libre' - of the Labour Party in Britain.⁸⁹ Unamuno was not often so openly in favour of the democratic system, but moments such as these do undermine blanket criticisms of Unamuno's political outlook such as the following:

Pero Unamuno....no realizará muy coherentemente el paso de ese liberalismo general a un liberalismo de estricto significado liberal; en ese sentido, sus críticas a las instituciones y métodos en que se asienta el sistema liberal son constantes: así ocurre con los partidos políticos, las elecciones o el parlamento.⁹⁰

When he affirmed his belief in party politics in 1924, Unamuno also described the type of parties he believed should channel the popular will. He was obviously opposed to any corrupt parties which only represented the vested interests of a minority, but he was also against any party which was set up around one specific, dogmatic idea. On the one hand, he despised those which were formed simply in order to defend a series of 'intereses económicos',⁹¹ and, on the other, he violently attacked so-called "national

89 'El triunfo del laborismo', El Socialista (Madrid), 13.2.24.

90 Díaz, Revisión de Unamuno, p. 16.

91 'Partidos de papel', El Liberal (Madrid), 3.1.24.

parties" which he believed to be devoid of any ideology except 'patriotism'. Between December 1923 and February 1924, Unamuno wrote several articles warning that "partidos nacionales" were not in fact political entities at all because 'el patriotismo no es política....El patriotismo no tiene contenido doctrinal para formar un partido político, de gobierno'.⁹² He added that patriotism could not solve any political problem because

tampoco a nombre de patriotismo....se puede imponer el sufragio universal o el restringido, el voto de las mujeres o el de los analfabetos o el quitárselo....⁹³

Indeed, patriotic movements could only serve as a focus for good will and unanimity and, as we have seen, Unamuno believed that 'la unanimidad sólo es posible entre imbéciles'.⁹⁴

So, Unamuno decided that the only parties possible and desirable were those with clearly defined and intellectually coherent policies on all aspects of the political situation: Spain should be ruled only by 'gobiernos homogéneos y fuertemente homogéneos - idiogéneos se diría - gobiernos de bien marcada orientación política'.⁹⁵ By saying this, Unamuno was in fact contradicting much that he had previously said about political parties and the desirability

92 'Nada de partido nacional', El Liberal (Madrid), 14.2.24. See also 'La minoría selecta', El Liberal (Madrid), 5.12.23; 'Animo mostrenco', El Mercantil Valenciano (Valencia), 8.2.24; 'Napoleón, patriota civil', El Liberal (Madrid), 9.2.24.

93 'Nada de partido nacional', El Liberal (Madrid), 14.2.24.

94 'Animo mostrenco', El Mercantil Valenciano (Valencia), 8.2.24.

95 Ibid..

of ideological politics. For instance, in May 1922, he had written that:

En nuestros partidos políticos,...lo que menos importa son las ideas, las verdaderas ideas....Es más: el que real y verdaderamente piensa por sí mismo, lo primero que defiende es la libertad de pensamiento....y ésta no cabe en partido político ninguno.

He had concluded that: 'Un pensador libre....es siempre un hereje y todo partido político es dogmático y constituye iglesia'.⁹⁶ However, in the special circumstances of January 1924, Unamuno realized the need for parties based on ideas and doctrines, parties which could give rise to and channel 'discordias' and political debate. Furthermore, he affirmed that the only parties that could carry out such a function were those which had already existed in the so-called "Old Régime": 'no hay más partidos posibles que los viejos partidos, los de siempre, los partidos ideológicos',⁹⁷ albeit transformed into living 'comunidades políticas',⁹⁸ and with programmes full of a 'contenido político ideal'.⁹⁹ Those parties had at least not been 'comunidades herméticas' like Primo's planned National Party, but had been 'abiertos a todos',¹⁰⁰ and had also welcomed criticism:

aquellos jerifaltes dejaban que se criticara, y acerbamente, su gestión - nosotros la criticamos -, y dejaban hasta que se les injuriara.¹⁰¹

Indeed, from September 1923 onwards, Unamuno showed a

96 'Literatura y política', Nuevo Mundo (Buenos Aires), 12.5.23; in O.C., vii, 804.

97 'Partidos de Papel', El Liberal (Madrid), 3.1.24.

98 'Napoleón, patriota civil', El Liberal (Madrid), 9.2.24.

99 'Partidos de papel', El Liberal (Madrid), 3.1.24.

100 'La sacudida', La Nación (Buenos Aires), 30.1.24.

101 'No hay que calumniar', El Liberal (Madrid), 25.10.23.

profound longing for a return to the form of politics which had existed before Primo's Régime, and this longing turned into a veritable nostalgia in some of the essays he was to write in exile. However, this did not prevent him from criticizing the parties which had existed in the "Old Régime", and especially those which had nominally represented ideals shared by Unamuno himself.

Specifically, Unamuno attacked what he called 'los liberales sin color ni grito',¹⁰² those who had betrayed "el eterno liberalismo" - the pure, idealistic liberalism of the early nineteenth century - by joining in the "embuste" of the Restoration.¹⁰³ Forgetting the republican nature of their First Republic liberalism, and often apologizing for 'su liberalismo puramente formal',¹⁰⁴ they had helped to set up the corrupt "turno pacífico" system. Unamuno could only tell them that party liberalism in a system dominated by a corrupt Monarch had been a contradiction in terms, and that 'el liberalismo dinástico español ha sido un equívoco y una fuente de errores y de claudicaciones'.¹⁰⁵ From now on, he warned them and Alfonso XIII, 'liberalismo y monarquía son incompatibles en España'.¹⁰⁶

For similar reasons, Unamuno took exception to the "turno pacífico" republican parties. Ironically, they too

102 'Sin color ni grito', El Liberal (Madrid), 13.12.23.

103 'Animo mostrenco', El Mercantil Valenciano (Valencia), 8.2.24.

104 'Sin color ni grito', El Liberal (Madrid), 13.12.23.

105 Ibid.

106 'Carta', Nosotros (Buenos Aires), December 1923; in O.C., ix, 1181.

had been no more than 'conformistas' in a monarchical régime and had discredited the idea of republicanism in the eyes of many: 'si la República no está implantada....es culpa de los jefes - no de la masa - de los partidos republicanos'.¹⁰⁷ In the case of the republicans, Unamuno singled out Alejandro Lerroux as the person who had most damaged the cause in Spain. The latter, as the head of the Partido Radical or Democracia Republicana, had for Unamuno been a 'fantasmón escénico', an opportunistic "caudillo" more interested in electioneering and in personal power than in true republicanism. His party had lacked a true 'opinión colectiva propia' even though at times it had tried to make pacts with 'los obreros....más turbios..., los más ambiguos'.¹⁰⁸

Indeed, the only party which seemed to have carried the torch of liberalism and republicanism in the "Old Régime" was, in Unamuno's eyes, the Partido Socialista Obrero Español. One of the most extraordinary aspects of the writings Unamuno produced between Primo's *coup d'état* and his own exile was the enthusiasm with which he talked about his former colleagues in the Socialist Party. He claimed in numerous essays that, ever since the 1917 General Strike, when the Socialists had started to exercise a powerful influence over public affairs, the PSOE had been the only

107 'Socialistas y republicanos', El Mercantil Valenciano, (Valencia), 13.12.24.

108 Ibid.

moral force in Spanish politics.¹⁰⁹ They had defended individual freedom and fought against injustice, and, more importantly, they had used their right to free speech in order to criticize the corruption of the Restoration system. Back in 1918, Unamuno had noted that the Socialists had gone to Parliament 'no más que para acusar'¹¹⁰ and, at the very end of 1923, he added that the PSOE 'había enjuiciado de veras al que han dado en llamar el Antiguo Régimen'.¹¹¹ Consequently, they had become the party which had fought most assiduously for "truth" and honesty in the public realm and, as such, had headed the campaign demanding an investigation into the disaster at Annual and the unconstitutional activities of the King.¹¹² Their stance on the question of the corruption of the Monarchy had meant that the PSOE 'como agrupación, y casi solos, mantienen la esencia del republicanismo, que no es puramente formal'.¹¹³ Furthermore, simply through their continual criticism and their defence of the freedom of speech, the Party had done more than any other organization to show up the 'cómoda cobardía del apoliticismo' and fight for the creation of a

109 '¿Qué más se quiere de mí?', España (Madrid), 7.11.23; in González Martín, Crónica política española, p. 69; 'Sin color ni grito', El Liberal (Madrid), 13.12.23; 'Balance de año', El Socialista (Madrid), 31.12.23; 'El triunfo del laborismo', El Socialista (Madrid), 13.2.24.

110 'Para la calle y como en la calle', España (Madrid), 25.7.18; in González Martín, Crónica política española, p. 173.

111 'Balance de año', El Socialista (Madrid), 31.12.23.

112 'Un pronunciamiento de cine', La Nación (Buenos Aires), 21.2.24. Unamuno added that the Socialists had also been the only Party unequivocally to condemn the Moroccan War and therefore the only one to reflect the popular will in this question.

113 'El triunfo del laborismo', El Socialista (Madrid), 13.2.24.

true "opinión pública" in Spain.¹¹⁴ Unamuno concluded that the PSOE had been behind all hopes for 'renovación', 'revolución' and 'saneamiento' in the "Old Régime",¹¹⁵ and he even went so far as to say that, before September 1923,

se veía venir la revolución, la revolución que acabaría con el régimen, y se veía que la traería el Parlamento dirigido, en realidad, por la minoría socialista.¹¹⁶

Such enthusiasm for the Socialists - whom Unamuno saw as the true republicans and liberals in Spain - led Unamuno in early 1924 to get closer to the PSOE than at any other time since he had been a party member in the 1890s. As a consequence, he felt the need to define his understanding of socialism - just as he had previously described his vision of liberalism -, and did so in a speech that he gave, significantly, in the "Círculo Socialista" of Bilbao on 14 January 1924. The text of the talk lies uncollected in the pages of El Socialista (Madrid, 16.1.24) and has not therefore been studied by critics who on the whole tend to believe that Unamuno's overt sympathies with the Socialist Party ended some time at the beginning of the century.¹¹⁷ Although Unamuno defined his socialism in the talk in a very personal way, and although this moment of socialist fervour was to last only a very short time, it is important to see

114 'Balance de año', El Socialista (Madrid), 31.12.23.

115 'El supuesto nuevo régimen', La Nación (Buenos Aires), 22.2.24.

116 Ibid. When Unamuno referred to the end of the "régimen", he was referring to the Monarchy and not to the system of parliamentary democracy.

117 As we saw in Chapter 1, the main writers on Unamuno's socialism tend to focus their attention on Unamuno's writings of 1890-1904.

how he presented his vision of socialism at this moment of crisis in Spanish history.

The first thing one notices about the "Círculo Socialista" speech is that Unamuno's definition of socialism in 1924 does not differ very much from his socialist ideas of the 1890s; at most, he gives a little more emphasis to the non-Marxist elements by bringing his socialism more into line with his liberal beliefs. This is not surprising in an author like Unamuno who, even after leaving the PSOE, still occasionally referred to himself as a socialist,¹¹⁸ but always made it clear that the socialism he sympathized with was not of an orthodox Marxist or materialistic nature. In 1909, Unamuno had written:

El liberalismo es socialista. Pero al decir socialista no entendáis ese socialismo puramente económico, el del materialismo histórico, no. No se trata de cuestión de estómago, sino del hombre entero.¹¹⁹

In 1924, Unamuno repeated almost the same words before going on to explain that his socialism could never be materialistic because it had strong liberal and idealistic roots. Like his liberalism, Unamuno's socialist beliefs had been shaped by the character of his home-town of Bilbao:

¹¹⁸ See, for example, 'Lo que ha de ser un rector en España', 25.11.14; in O.C., ix, 311. Díaz states that not only did Unamuno occasionally call himself a socialist after 1904, but that 'el [término] de socialista será casi siempre aceptado por él con sumo agrado como calificativo de su actitud política' (Revisión de Unamuno, p. 85).

¹¹⁹ 'La esencia del liberalismo', 3.1.09; in O.C., ix, 247. For a study of Unamuno's views on liberalism and socialism in 1909, see E. Inman Fox, 'Los intelectuales españoles y la política, 1905-1914: el caso de Unamuno', pp. 164-66.

El desarrollo industrial trajo el socialismo a Bilbao; pero así como la industria bilbaína se formó en un suelo espiritualmente mercantilista, así este socialismo se ha formado y desarrollado en un suelo espiritualmente liberal, en un suelo del espíritu que es adverso a cualquier forma de dictadura y a cualquier forma de dogmatismo.¹²⁰

Unamuno's socialism was therefore idealistic and spiritual, a "method" and not a "dogma", and, to underline this fact, Unamuno in 1924 used exactly the same words to describe his socialism as he did his liberalism:

El Socialismo es, ante todo y sobre todo, un método, una tendencia; no es un dogma....Método quiere decir camino, y sólo se les ocurre rechazar el método, el camino, a los que creen que pueden ponerse de un salto en el término del viaje.

It is clear, therefore, that Unamuno believed 'true' socialism and 'true' liberalism to be virtually synonymous. As a result, when Unamuno rejected or tried to find a justification for those Marxist elements of orthodox socialism which he felt unable to accept - especially, as we shall see, Statism, the class struggle and excessive internationalism -, he did so in terms of his liberal beliefs. To prepare the way for this, Unamuno started off the speech which he gave to the "Círculo Socialista" of Bilbao in January 1924 by trying to present Karl Marx himself as an orthodox liberal, a disciple of the 'mercantilismo manchesteriano', who fundamentally believed in 'la libre concurrencia....la libre competencia' and in the basic right of each individual to develop in freedom.¹²¹

120 'Desde mi Bilbao', El Mercantil Valenciano (Valencia), 6.1.24; in O.C., viii, 518.

121 'Conferencia de Unamuno en el "Círculo Socialista" de Bilbao', El Socialista (Madrid), 16.1.24.

By presenting Marx in this way, Unamuno's aim was to make it clear that, in his view, it was not Marx himself but the Marxists who were to blame for the 'excesses' of the socialist philosophy.

Unamuno's individualistic, liberal Marx never, therefore, believed in the idea that the State should have tyrannical powers over the individual. Although

por mucho tiempo se ha creído que el socialismo era la tiranía del Estado, la imposición de una tarea servil, la nivelación tiránica, la supresión del ciudadano,¹²²

Unamuno affirmed that, in reality, 'aquella doctrina de Marx no era nunca, en el fondo, una doctrina de imposición del Estado, una doctrina antiliberal'. Instead, for Marx and the genuine socialists, the socialist State should have the same function as the liberal State and act as 'algo liberador....la garantía individual del ciudadano y del trabajo'. It should define the limits of authority and freedom by removing 'los obstáculos y los privilegios que impiden que los hombres se encuentren en condiciones iguales de libertad'.¹²³

For Unamuno, therefore, the State should simply safeguard the liberty of each individual, just as socialism should create a fairer society for every citizen, whatever social class they belonged to. In the article 'Balance de año', Unamuno praised the PSOE's role in the politics of the

122 'Desde mi Bilbao', El Mercantil Valenciano (Valencia), 6.1.24; in O.C., viii, 518.

123 'Conferencia de Unamuno en el "Círculo Socialista" de Bilbao', El Socialista (Madrid), 16.1.24.

"Old Régime" because

aquella generosa actitud política nacional convenció a muchos de que el Socialismo no es cosa sólo de obreros y para obreros, que es para todos los ciudadanos.¹²⁴

By saying this, Unamuno showed his opposition to another basic tenet in the Marxist philosophy, the belief that the class struggle was necessary in order to ensure the ultimate establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Unamuno was firmly opposed to the concept of "class", because, like "casticismo", it implied a measure of group-thinking and therefore a negation of individuality and independent thought. He believed that, in a class, 'el hombre queda completamente ahogado', and he referred to that socialism which puts great emphasis on the question of class as 'un socialismo medievalista, ruralista, de gremios fósiles, de patronatos, de representación por clases y de cofradías, un socialismo antiliberal'.¹²⁵ He added that, in his view, Marx had developed the theory of class struggle not because he wished that one class should triumph over the others but rather because his dream was to

acabar con las clases y que queden sólo ciudadanos con libertad y con ciudadanía, dándoles, para que aprovechen sus iniciativas, cualidades para la lucha.¹²⁶

As a result of these ideas, Unamuno was strongly opposed

124 'Balance de año', El Socialista (Madrid), 31.12.23.

125 'Desde mi Bilbao', El Mercantil Valenciano (Valencia), 6.1.24; in O.C., viii, 518. In this way he drew an interesting parallel between this type of socialism and rural Carlism.

126 'Conferencia de Unamuno en el "Círculo Socialista" de Bilbao', El Socialista (Madrid), 16.1.24.

to what he called the dogmatic 'socialismo proletario',¹²⁷ especially when it preached violence - 'la locura de lo que se llama la acción directa'¹²⁸ - as the means to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat. This form of socialism had brought with it 'la agitación obrera' and was in fact a threat to 'el viejo y noble y cívico liberalismo'.¹²⁹ Moreover, those who professed this extreme socialist, or communist, beliefs were more often than not cut off from the real circumstances and situation of their country because they were wont to 'ir a pedir indicaciones y consejos a Moscú sobre lo que debían hacer, por ejemplo, en los problemas de las responsabilidades y de Marruecos'.¹³⁰

Unamuno showed here how in early 1924 - just as in the 1890s - he was strongly against any form of extremism in socialism. Furthermore, it must be added that, despite his attempted justification of Marx's philosophy, Unamuno's opposition to materialism, State interventionism, the class struggle and extreme internationalism proved that he was in fact in strong disagreement with many mainstream socialist

127 'Del Bilbao mercantil al industrial', El Liberal (Bilbao), 1.1.24; in O.C., i, 541.

128 'Balance de año', El Socialista (Bilbao), 31.12.23.

129 'Del Bilbao mercantil al industrial', El Liberal (Bilbao), 1.1.24; in O.C., i, 541.

130 Unamuno's condemnation of such extreme 'internationalists' once again reminds us of the first pages of En torno al casticismo (1895), where he had attacked not only the "casticistas" who hated the idea of any foreign influence on Spain, but also those who wanted Spain to be dominated by foreign cultures. The motto of the latter, according to Unamuno, was '¡Que nos conquisten!' (O.C., i, 785).

ideas. One could say of Unamuno's definition of socialism in 1924 what Gómez Molleda said of Unamuno's socialism of the 1890s, that it was 'ajeno por completo a la ortodoxia marxista'.¹³¹ Instead, Unamuno's socialism was humanitarian, liberal, idealistic - Ribas actually calls it 'un ideal no realizado'.¹³² - and, above all, educative. What had actually attracted Unamuno back to the PSOE in January 1924 was its liberal intelligence and the fact that it had fought against "apoliticismo" by educating its followers politically. Its leader, Pablo Iglesias - 'ese viejo titán del socialismo español' - 'ha educado a todas las generaciones obreras españolas que tienen conciencia de ciudadanía'.¹³³ Because of this, these

gentes que han venido serena, tranquilamente, luchando por que se establezcan unos términos de justicia en las relaciones sociales y económicas, por que haya, sí, libertad....serán mañana las que acaso con más autoridad moral puedan regir los destinos de nuestra patria.

Unamuno's belief in January 1924 was that the PSOE was the party which could show Spain the "método", the "camino", to a fairer society, and thereby help to set up the régime of 'liberalismo socialista y republicano, socialismo liberal y republicano, republicanismo liberal y socialista' which Unamuno believed at this time would be the answer to Spain's ills.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Gómez Molleda, El socialismo y los intelectuales, p. 18.

¹³² Ribas, Unamuno: escritos socialistas, pp. 32-33.

¹³³ 'Conferencia de Unamuno en el "Círculo Socialista" de Bilbao', El Socialista (Madrid), 16.1.24.

¹³⁴ 'Conferencia en "La Sociedad El Sitio"', El Socialista (Madrid), 9.1.24.

It should be repeated here that Unamuno's striking directness in his declaration of his political faith at this time was very much a symptom of the specific circumstances both he and Spain found themselves in at the very beginning of 1924. Such political directness was not normal in Unamuno's work and indeed ceased to be a characteristic of his writings soon after he went into exile. Within little more than a year of these declarations, Unamuno was once again expressing a profound mistrust of the PSOE and indeed of party politics in general.¹³⁵ In fact, it is important to point out that, even while Unamuno was praising the Socialists at the end of 1923, he was still reluctant himself to join any party or to become the leader of a political movement. In October 1923, the critic Rivas Cherif had asked Unamuno to act as the figurehead of the intellectual opposition to Primo,¹³⁶ causing Unamuno to reply that chaining himself to a party or a movement could only be 'perjudicial para los fines que ellos y yo perseguimos'. He added that he would not even consider rejoining the PSOE at that stage because

si mi relación con este partido....no es más íntima es por la misma razón por la que no debo, para el mejor logro de nuestros comunes fines civiles, encadenarme a un programa casuístico y de partido.¹³⁷

For Unamuno, the work of the Socialists in providing a focus

135 This point will be studied later. See below, Chapter 4.

136 'Carta abierta a Don Miguel de Unamuno', España (Madrid), 13.10.23.

137 'Conferencia de Unamuno en el "Círculo Socialista" de Bilbao', El Socialista (Madrid), 16.1.24.

for opposition to Primo was invaluable, but he, as an intellectual, had to remain free and independent. In his letter of reply to Rivas Cherif, Unamuno added: 'Declaro sin reticencia alguna que no sé bien qué es lo que de mí se espera o se pide. Otra cosa que lo que estoy casi a diario haciendo'.¹³⁸ Unamuno could not see what else he could do apart from carrying on his daily job of writing essays of protest and criticism. In a sense, even his liberal and socialist articles and speeches of early 1924 were just an extension of his mission as an "agitador de espíritus", his duty being to stimulate debate by discussing every characteristic of life in contemporary Spain. Unamuno's real role was that of an independent writer defying censorship in order to wake up the minds and spirits of his countrymen and prove to them that Primo the "casticista", the negator of political criticism, was not, as he claimed, universally popular. By doing this, Unamuno showed that he was an extremely courageous writer whose main weapon was personal politics and invective.¹³⁹

And, significantly enough, it was a letter of personal anger against the figures of Alfonso XIII and Primo de Rivera - and not the political tracts on liberalism and socialism - which finally led to Unamuno's exile in February 1924. In November 1923, the Argentinian magazine Nosotros published a letter that Unamuno had sent to a friend in

138 '¿Qué más se quiere de mí?', España (Madrid), 3.11.23; in González Martín, Crónica política española, pp. 369-71.

139 We shall look at Unamuno's brand of personal politics and his use of invective while in exile later. See below, Chapter 4.

which he referred to the King as a liar and to the Dictator as a 'botarate sin más seso que un grillo, un peliculero tragicómico'.¹⁴⁰ Although Primo, on exiling him, tried to justify his action by saying that Unamuno was a teacher who spent his time 'ausentándose continuamente de su cátedra y fuera de su misión', it was really the fact that Unamuno wrote such 'propagandas disolventes....desacreditando de continuo a los representantes del Poder y al propio Soberano' that had annoyed the Dictator.¹⁴¹

By reacting so violently to the letter that Unamuno had published in the Argentinian press, Primo de Rivera showed firstly how sensitive he was to foreign perception of his Régime, and secondly how much he feared the power of criticism and that of the intellectuals. Victor Ouimette has claimed that, by exiling Unamuno, 'el Directorio había dado una importancia exagerada a la participación real de Unamuno en la vida política nacional',¹⁴² but it must be said that, in 1924, Unamuno's lone and independent voice of criticism was highly respected within Spain and that his exile was in fact full reward for and proof of his influence as an "agitador de espíritus".

140 'Carta', Nosotros (Buenos Aires), November 1923; in O.C., ix, 1181.

141 'Nota oficiosa del General Primo de Rivera', El Imparcial (Madrid), 21.2.24.

142 Ouimette, 'El destierro de Unamuno y el ataque a la inteligencia', p. 40.

CHAPTER 3UNAMUNO'S PERSONAL AND LITERARY RESPONSES TO EXILE

On 20 February 1924, Primo de Rivera sent Unamuno into exile on the Spanish island of Fuerteventura. Thus started six years' absence from mainland Spain for this writer whose work and whole existence were intimately bound up with the realities and character of his homeland. Unamuno's exile can be seen to fall into three stages, each influenced and characterized by the place in which he found himself. After five months of enforced exile on Fuerteventura, Unamuno ignored an order for his reprieve and went into voluntary exile in Paris where he arrived on 28 July 1924. Then, in mid-August 1925, he left the capital and took up residence in Hendaye, on the western French-Spanish border. He remained there until his return to Spain on 9 February 1930, just twelve days after the fall of the Dictator, Primo de Rivera.

In this chapter, I intend looking briefly at the objective biography of Unamuno's exile, to outline his actions, movements and writings between 1924 and 1930, before going on to study in some depth his subjective reactions to his surroundings and the way in which he presented those reactions. The latter is important first because most of Unamuno's writings of this time take the form of a spiritual autobiography as he responded to the locations of his exile and recorded the resultant feelings,

states of mind and ideas; and secondly because the reappearance and special treatment of certain Unamunian themes during this period of his life are due not only to his political situation, but also to the very way in which he interpreted his reactions to the places and changing circumstances of his exile. Therefore, to be able fully to appreciate what Unamuno wrote about in Fuerteventura, Paris and Hendaye, we need to look at the context that gave rise to his ideas, to comprehend the significance of the places of his exile and the extent to which they influenced his way of thinking.

Firstly, then, we need to fix the coordinates of Unamuno's stay in exile by looking briefly at his movements between 1924 and 1930.¹

Unamuno's enforced, political exile got under way when he arrived on Fuerteventura, one of the Canary Islands, on 10 March 1924, nineteen days after the official order announcing his banishment. On the way there, Unamuno made it clear to the authorities that he intended neither to flee to a foreign country nor to pay for his stay on the island;² and, immediately upon his arrival on Fuerteventura, he wrote a poem violently rejecting any calls for his reprieve,

¹ These years of Unamuno's life have been quite well documented, albeit with several errors, by Salcedo, Vida de Don Miguel, pp. 255-315; and by Granjel, Retrato de Unamuno, pp. 311-41.

² See Salcedo, Vida de Don Miguel, pp. 256-57.

manifesting his intention of making his stay in exile a symbol of Primo's injustice.³ Unamuno was accompanied to Fuerteventura by the republican politician Rodrigo Soriano - notorious for his aggressive political rhetoric and his duel with fellow-republican Blasco Ibáñez - who had been exiled after giving an anti-Dictatorship talk in the Madrid Ateneo. He took with him three books which were profoundly to influence his perception of his stay on the island: the New Testament in Greek, Dante's Divina Comedia and a collection of poems by Leopardi.⁴

Despite a more or less benevolent police guard, Unamuno enjoyed full freedom of movement on Fuerteventura, to sunbathe near his hotel in Puerto Cabras, to fish off the coast and, above all, to explore and get to know every corner of the island.⁵ From these walks and the discussions with his 'contertulianos' in Puerto Cabras, including, during the month of May, his English friend and translator, Crawford Flitch, Unamuno gained inspiration to write the travel and allegorical articles which he published in La Libertad (Madrid), Nuevo Mundo (Buenos Aires) and Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires). On 20 April, he also started to

3 See especially Poem iii of what would become the collection De Fuerteventura a París, and its accompanying note; in O.C., vi, 676.

4 'La aulaga majorera', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 31.5.24; in O.C., i, 556. Unamuno had in fact visited the Canaries before, in 1909. For details of this visit, see Sebastián de la Nuez, Unamuno en Canarias (Universidad de La Laguna, Tenerife, 1964), pp. 33-131.

5 See the note to Poem xv of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 682; and 'A pesca de metáforas', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 21.6.24; in O.C., viii, 584-86. A description of the details of Unamuno's stay in Fuerteventura can be found in Sebastián de la Nuez, Unamuno en Canarias, pp. 147-79.

publish in El Imparcial (Madrid) a series of thirty-one articles entitled Alrededor del estilo (published between 20 April and 30 November 1924) in which he distilled philosophical ideas from his experience of exile. Meanwhile, on 11 May, Unamuno decided to build on the seven sonnets of political anger which he had written in the manner of Quevedo during and soon after his actual exile, and to create a daily poetic diary in the form of fifty-seven lyrical sonnets written between 11 May and 29 June. These poems were to become the first part of the collection De Fuerteventura a París.

From all accounts, and not least Unamuno's own description of his stay on Fuerteventura found in the introduction to the De Fuerteventura a París poems, Unamuno enjoyed both his time on the island and the fame spread throughout Europe by the news of his exile.⁶ However, what peace of mind he gained on Fuerteventura was gradually undermined from the end of May onwards when Unamuno came into contact with Henri Dumay, proprietor of the liberal French newspaper Le Quotidien and instigator of the plan to "rescue" Unamuno from the clutches of "totalitarianism".⁷ Despite Dumay's promise that Unamuno and Soriano would be taken from Fuerteventura before the end of May, it was not until 9 July that the ship 'L'Aiglon' arrived to carry the writer to Las Palmas. The weeks between were filled with anxiety and doubt as Unamuno waited for news and even spent

6 O.C., vi, 673-74.

7 For a brief description of the flamboyant Dumay, see Salcedo, Vida de Don Miguel, p. 260.

nights on the beach looking out for the arrival of the rescue ship.⁸ The final days on Fuerteventura were especially difficult - Unamuno called them 'días de agitación, de ansiedad',⁹ and were further complicated by the visit of an Argentinian woman, Delfina Molina y Vedia, who, despite the circumstances, insisted on declaring her love for the writer.¹⁰

When the "escape" finally took place, it was immediately turned into a controversy because the Spanish Government, aware of Dumay's plans, had decided on 4 July to reprieve Unamuno and declare him a free man. It is not at all clear that Unamuno knew of the measure before leaving Fuerteventura,¹¹ but he certainly learnt of it upon his arrival at Las Palmas on 11 July. There he spent ten days debating whether to go to France, Latin America or whether in fact to accept the reprieve and return to Spain. His indignation at the idea of being pardoned for what he believed to be an imaginary crime, and his awareness of the advantages that a visit to France could have for his cause and his name, made him choose to leave the Canaries on 21 July 1924, bound for Cherbourg and then Paris.

8 See Poem xxi of De Fuerteventura a París and its note; in O.C., vi, 685-86.

9 Note to Poem lxii of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 709.

10 Unamuno's feeling of aversion for this "mujer de letras" can be seen in Cómo se hace una novela, edited by Paul R. Olson (Guadarrama, Madrid, 1977), p. 83.

11 Salcedo declares categorically that Unamuno did not know of the reprieve before leaving Fuerteventura (Vida de Don Miguel, p. 262). However, Zubizarreta claims that Unamuno did know about his reprieve in Fuerteventura, perhaps notified by Delfina Molina herself (Unamuno en su novela, p. 32).

Unamuno's second exile - his self-imposed banishment - was initially stage-managed by Dumay and the publishers of Le Quotidien. Obviously some deal had been struck by which Unamuno agreed to write articles for the newspaper while allowing himself to be used as a symbol of the liberal fight against dictatorships throughout Europe. Dumay portrayed Unamuno's escape from Fuerteventura in the pages of Le Quotidien as a romantic adventure which reached its climax with the writer's arrival at Cherbourg on 27 July, where he was met by representatives of the French Liberal, Republican and Socialist Parties.¹² Once settled in the Hotel Novelty near the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, Unamuno was asked by Dumay and others to give several interviews and talks, both in Paris and Brussels.¹³ He also wrote a series of six highly political articles which were printed in the pages of Le Quotidien between 29 July and 26 August. In one of the principal interviews, published in Le Quotidien on 1 August, Unamuno can be seen to be in a confident mood. He gives his opinion on Psychoanalysis and the Russian Revolution, and claims that the most important works of world literature are Don Quixote, Pascal's Pensées and the novels of Thomas Hardy.¹⁴

And yet the problems which were to dog the whole of Unamuno's stay in Paris had already come to the fore. The

12 Le Quotidien (Paris) was to refer constantly to this "aventure" throughout the rest of 1924 and part of 1925.

13 Unamuno was in Brussels between 7 and 10 August 1924. It was the only time that he left Paris during his year in the capital.

14 Le Quotidien (Paris), 1.8.24.

right-wing press, especially the ultramontane L'Action Française, tried to deflate Le Quotidien's great coup by playing on Unamuno's reprieve and also on Soriano's anti-French stance during the First World War. In reaction to this, Dumay filled his newspaper with excuses for Unamuno's presence in France, explaining that Unamuno would have been in great personal danger if he had returned to Spain.¹⁵ Furthermore, the newspaper had not counted on the poor quality of Unamuno's spoken and written French. On his arrival at Cherbourg, Unamuno had said quite honestly: 'Je dois bégayer, bégayer d'émotion, bégayer parce que je dois parler dans une langue qui n'est pas la mienne'.¹⁶ This fault, excusable perhaps in the speeches Unamuno gave to French audiences, was not however accepted by the staff of Le Quotidien when he came to write his articles. The arguments that he had with his translator over the language he used were ultimately to put a great strain on relations between himself and Le Quotidien.¹⁷ By the end of August, Unamuno had written his last article for the newspaper which had become more interested by then in Blasco Ibáñez, another, perhaps more straightforward, Spanish republican figure who had also taken up residence in Paris.

In a sense, it was inevitable that Blasco Ibáñez and

15 Le Quotidien (Paris), 29.7.24.

16 Le Quotidien (Paris), 27.7.24.

17 See especially Alrededor del estilo, xxii, El Imparcial (Madrid), 21.9.24; in O.C., vii, 925-27.

Unamuno should meet.¹⁸ By December 1924, Unamuno, who had almost given up writing directly political articles for French or Spanish publications, agreed to collaborate on the Valencian novelist's anti-Dictatorship magazine, España con honra. Valentín del Arco López has confirmed that Unamuno wrote at least twelve articles for España con honra between its inception on 20 December 1924 and his departure from Paris in August 1925,¹⁹ although only one of these articles has come down to us.²⁰

However, apart from these political articles, Unamuno wrote very little between January and July 1925. Almost all of his Paris writings were the fruit of the experiences of his first six months in the French capital. From that period we have more articles in the Alrededor del estilo series published in El Imparcial, as well as some twenty articles describing his reactions to Paris and printed in the pages of Caras y caretas, Nuevo Mundo and El Liberal. Unamuno also wrote thirty-six sonnets in Paris which were finally published together with the Fuerteventura sonnets in the collection De Fuerteventura a París (1925). These articles and poems show Unamuno trying to come to terms with life in the capital where he seemed to lead a semi-Bohemian

18 For a humorous account of Unamuno's meetings with Blasco Ibáñez and of their difference in character, see Corpus Barga, Los pasos contados, Vol iv (Barcelona, 1986), pp 297-317. For further biographical information on Unamuno's stay in Paris, see Carlos Esplá, Unamuno, Blasco Ibáñez y Sánchez Guerra en París (Buenos Aires, 1940).

19 Valentín del Arco López, 'Unamuno y la dictadura de Primo de Rivera. Sus artículos en España con honra', in Gómez Molleda, Actas del Congreso Internacional Cincuentenario de Unamuno, pp. 377-81 (p. 380).

20 Republished by Victor Ouimette in 'Unamuno, Blasco Ibáñez and España con honra', pp. 315-22.

existence centred on his hotel and the famous Rotonde café in Montparnasse.²¹

Some time in late 1924, Unamuno started to become interested in the idea of writing more philosophical works. The fame caused by his exile had boosted the sale of his major books and had brought him into contact with translators and literary figures of the calibre of Jean Cassou, Valéry Larbaud and Georges Duhamel.²² Furthermore, on 27 August 1924, Unamuno had received a letter from P.L. Couchoud, editor of a series of books on Christianity, asking him to provide 'une contribution originale à l'histoire du cristianisme'.²³ As a result, he spent October and November 1924 writing La agonía del cristianismo, a new version for French readers of his Del sentimiento trágico de la vida.²⁴ In December, he also attempted to write an autobiographical work covering his period in exile, but found himself incapable of continuing it until 15 July 1925, when he restarted what was to become the first part of the major work of his exile, Cómo se hace una novela. In between these dates, Unamuno wrote almost nothing, apart from the articles for España con honra and the first four poems of the collection Romancero del destierro. Disgusted with the seeming invincibility of the Primo de Rivera Régime, Unamuno took the decision early in 1925 not to publish any articles

21 See Poem lxxvii of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 721-22.

22 Duhamel briefly describes his meetings with Unamuno in Lumière sur ma vie, Vol v (Paris, 1953), pp. 199-205.

23 Letter from Couchoud to Unamuno; Casa-Museo de Unamuno (Salamanca), code no: C6 115.

24 La agonía del cristianismo was finally published in French in April 1925.

in Spanish newspapers or magazines, lest they be taken as tacit approval of the Dictatorship's censorship.²⁵

Furthermore, the loneliness of a life in an alien culture and distant from his loved ones made Unamuno feel anguished and unproductive, and the same sensation of endless, useless waiting which had tortured him towards the end of his stay on Fuerteventura reduced him to a state of inactivity.²⁶ It was to escape from this paralysis that in mid-August 1925 Unamuno left Paris and went to live on the border with Spain in the little Basque town of Hendaye.

Apart from a few visits to Bayonne and Biarritz,²⁷ and despite several attempts by the French authorities to move him, Unamuno spent the next four and a half years based in the tiny Hotel Broca in Hendaye, just one hundred yards away from the border with Spain.²⁸ He refused several invitations to go to South America,²⁹ preferring to live 'a la vista

25 See Cómo se hace una novela, p. 69.

26 It must be said that Unamuno chose to live separated from his loved ones, partly, as he points out in Cómo se hace una novela, for economic reasons (pp. 82-83).

Furthermore, Unamuno's wife and family did manage to stay with Unamuno in January 1925 after they had won on the Spanish lottery (see Salcedo, Vida de Don Miguel, pp. 276-79).

27 Unamuno went to Biarritz in April 1926 in order to meet Count Keyserling.

28 Unamuno makes reference to the attempts to move him from the border in Cómo se hace una novela, pp. 95-97.

29 Unamuno was very interested in Latin America throughout his exile and gave the impression that he would very much like to visit it, but not in the normal way a European writer did. In a letter to his Costa Rican friend García Monge, dated 12.6.27 (published in Repertorio americano (Costa Rica), 23.7.27), Unamuno wrote: '¡Qué ganas tengo de conocer esas patrias. Pero no en jira de conferenciante espectacular!'

tantálica de mi España vasca',³⁰ where he was able to spend the summers with his wife and family. Although Unamuno travelled very little during these years, he explored the countryside around Hendaye extensively, and the fruit of his peripatetic meditations can be found in the poems of Romancero del destierro (written between 28 August 1925 and May 1927), as well as in the seventeen articles he produced for Caras y caretas between August and December 1925, recording his first reactions to his new surroundings.³¹ Throughout 1925 and part of 1926, Unamuno also prepared and wrote the plays Sombras de sueño and El Otro.

However, despite these occasional writings, Unamuno did not in fact completely recover from his mental paralysis until mid 1927. In two letters he wrote to Jean Cassou in March and November 1926, one can see that Unamuno still felt unable to dedicate himself fully to writing.³² He in fact wrote no political articles at this time and seemed to spend his time observing local life, receiving visits and playing cards in Hendaye's Grand Café.³³

April and May 1927 appear to have been something of a watershed in Unamuno's stay in Hendaye. While putting the finishing touches to his Romancero del destierro, Unamuno was suddenly faced with two propositions which radically

30 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 60.

31 These articles were published in Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires) between 23.1.26 and 28.5.27. These articles, along with six others which Caras y caretas failed to publish are found in O.C., viii, 643-706. There is also record of a further eleven articles that Unamuno wrote for Caras y caretas but were lost.

32 Jean Cassou, 'Unamuno l'exilé à perpétuité', Cahiers du sud (Paris), cccxxv (1954), 382-98 (pp. 393-94, 395-97).

33 Salcedo, Vida de Don Miguel, p. 286.

changed his writing habits. First, Eduardo Ortega y Gasset, who had been involved with España con honra in Paris, moved to Hendaye in early 1927 and enlisted Unamuno's help to set up another clandestine anti-Dictatorship publication entitled Hojas Libres.³⁴ Between 1 April 1927 and 1 January 1929, Unamuno wrote at least one article in each copy of this monthly magazine, and twenty-five articles in total, all of a highly political nature. Secondly, in late May 1927, Unamuno undertook the translation of the French version of his Cómo se hace una novela which had appeared in Le Mercure de France (Paris) on 15 May 1926, in order to prepare it for publication in Argentina. As he translated the work back into Spanish, reliving and rethinking its ideas, Unamuno could not resist commenting on the text and ultimately adding a highly significant "Continuación" and a prologue. This exercise seems to have had a cathartic effect on Unamuno, who gradually regained confidence in his writings. Sometime in 1927, he began to write the play El hermano Juan and then, in February 1928, he started a daily poetic diary which was eventually to grow into the massive Cancionero which now includes 1445 poems written between 26 February 1928 and Unamuno's return to Spain in February 1930. Furthermore, in the month of February 1928, Unamuno had proof that he had not been forgotten by his erstwhile

34 Unamuno had known Eduardo Ortega y Gasset in Paris. He had also read and annotated Ortega's book España encadenada. La verdad sobre la dictadura (Juan Dura, Paris, 1925), which, although not as influential as Blasco Ibáñez's Una nación secuestrada. Alfonso XIII desenmascarado (Paris, 1924), provides some useful information about the reception of Spanish intellectual and political exiles in Paris in 1924 and 1925.

friends in Paris when Henri Barbusse invited him to become part of the editorial board of the new liberal review, Monde.³⁵ Unamuno not only agreed but also wrote six highly political and philosophical essays for the magazine over the next fifteen months.

That Unamuno felt more content during 1928 and part of 1929 can be seen in a spate of interviews he gave at this time. Bogdan Raditsa, for example, found Unamuno in late 1928 almost reconciled to his lot and to his life in Hendaye. He described the writer in his nightly "tertulia" in the Grand Café and wrote that 'lui, semblait très content au milieu de cette foule qui voulait écouter sa parole'.³⁶ However, other writers, including Azorín, noticed that the anguish of exile still affected Unamuno deeply,³⁷ and José de la Luz León described Unamuno's state of mind as 'tristemente esperanzado', adding that the writer had told him: 'estoy pasando días de ansiedad borrascosa'.³⁸ Obviously, Unamuno's final years in exile were filled with both hope and despair - emotions which are clearly expressed in his Cancionero.

Early in 1929, Eduardo Ortega y Gasset was sent away from the frontier by the French authorities, and Hojas Libres gradually came to a halt. Despite this, Unamuno

35 Other members of the 'Comité directeur' included Einstein, Gorki, Upton Sinclair and Léon Bazalgette.

36 'Entretien avec Unamuno', Monde (Paris), 27.10.28.

37 Azorín's interview with Unamuno took place some time in October 1928 and was published in Repertorio americano (San José, Costa Rica) on 8.12.28.

38 León's interview with Unamuno took place some time in September 1928 and was published in Repertorio americano (San José, Costa Rica) on 30.11.29.

carried on publishing several political articles in French magazines and for clandestine broadsheets until the very end of 1929. Soon after, on 28 January 1930, Primo de Rivera resigned, and Unamuno was able to return to Spain on 9 February 1930, almost exactly six years after the date of his banishment.

Even a cursory glance at the external facts of Unamuno's stay in Fuerteventura, Paris and Hendaye shows just how far his personal reactions and states of mind were influenced by the surroundings in which he found himself. One critic has actually studied Unamuno's stay in exile in terms of the writer's differing reactions to the "tres paisajes" of Fuerteventura, Paris and Hendaye.³⁹ To make a record of these reactions, Unamuno had recourse to two modes of writing which he had often cultivated before his exile in order to explain his feelings about his surroundings: poetry and travel essays.

If we look briefly at Unamuno's work before exile, we can see how surroundings had always affected his feelings and had played a central role in his writings. In most of his novels, he studiously avoided mentioning his characters' background and physical surroundings because, as he tells us in the "Prólogo" to his Tres novelas ejemplares (1920), he wished to focus on their "realidad íntima" and create beings

39 Granjel, Retrato de Unamuno, pp. 311-26.

free from social determinism.⁴⁰ However, he fully exploited the description of surroundings in much of his other work. In En torno al casticismo, for example, he had studied in depth the effects that landscape had had on the Castilian character,⁴¹ while, in Paz en la guerra, he had shown how Pachico 'toma gusto a las cosas eternas' through his contact with nature.⁴²

After 1900, Unamuno developed his special understanding of nature in two genres which formed a counterpoint to the almost descriptionless novels that he was writing at the time. In his poetry and in his travel writings, Unamuno recorded his journeys through the countryside as he searched, often simultaneously, for signs of an eternal "intrahistorical" Spain and of the existence inside him of an eternal soul.⁴³ As Blanco Aguinaga has pointed out, these works give expression to the 'contemplative' side of Unamuno's nature.⁴⁴ In them, Unamuno developed the idea that 'el universo visible es una metáfora del invisible, del

40 O.C., ii, 972-74. Two obvious exceptions to this generalization are Paz en la guerra (1897) and San Manuel Bueno, mártir (1930/33).

41 O.C., i, 807-18.

42 O.C., ii, 301.

43 Despite John Butt's assertion that 'the term ['intrahistoria'] more or less disappears from Unamuno's twentieth-century work' ('Unamuno's Idea of "intrahistoria"; Its Origins and Significance', p. 13), the idea and indeed the term itself was certainly present in Unamuno's 1920s writings. See, for example, the uncollected article 'Horas de paz', El Liberal (Madrid), 22.9.23.

44 Blanco Aguinaga, El Unamuno contemplativo, p. 364. On Unamuno's travel writings, see also Richard Cardwell, '"Modernismo frente a noventa y ocho": el caso de las Andanzas de Unamuno', in Round, Re-reading Unamuno, pp. 19-51.

alma',⁴⁵ and he scoured the "universo visible" for a glimpse of permanence and for a spiritual certainty which could compensate for his vision of life as a never-ending struggle.

Noting all this, it is not surprising that Unamuno should revert to these two modes of writing in exile, as he tried to record his reactions to the natural settings of Fuerteventura and Hendaye and to the urban environment of Paris. As he wrote his poetry and travelogues, he was attempting to orient himself and to draw out the inner significance of his immediate surroundings. As a result, Unamuno's writings on Fuerteventura, Paris and Hendaye turn out to constitute a profound psychological and spiritual autobiography.

It becomes clear from a study of the poetry and travel writings which Unamuno produced on Fuerteventura that his stay on the island was a time of spiritual rejuvenation. He felt that Fuerteventura was not so much a place of exile as a haven of peace after six months of hard political campaigning against Primo de la Rivera. He wrote that he enjoyed a literal "isolation" on the island which was 'propicio al examen de conciencia, a la rumia de los recuerdos, a la contemplación del pasado vivo'.⁴⁶ He was

45 'País teresiano. El campo es una metáfora', Andanzas y visiones españolas; in O.C., i, 496.

46 'El caos', La Libertad (Madrid), 24.4.24; in O.C., viii, 573.

later to claim that Fuerteventura had shown him another face of God and of Spain and had given 'nuevas raíces a mi cristiandad y a mi españolidad'.⁴⁷

This was mainly because Unamuno came to believe that the landscape and the sea of Fuerteventura gave expression to fundamental spiritual truths and also to the 'intrahistorical' values of Spain. Unamuno developed this thought in a series of essays which deal with one of the most important themes of all his work, that is, the theme of style. In the articles which make up the series Alrededor del estilo, Unamuno sets out his ideas on style and studies the relationship between the essence - the inner, eternal being or significance of a place or person - and its outer, historical appearance.⁴⁸ He became interested in this theme because he was struck by the way in which the physical appearance of Fuerteventura perfectly reflected the eternal character and significance of the island:

La noble desnudez, el descarnamiento más bien, es el estilo de esta isla afortunada... Y el estilo de esta isla es ella misma, es la misma isla. Espíritu y cuerpo son una sola y misma cosa. Su cuerpo es ella misma, es la isla como valor espiritual y eterno.⁴⁹

Unamuno therefore believed that Fuerteventura could speak directly to him about its essential character and also

47 Note to Poem lxxiii of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 719.

48 O.C., vii, 885-947. Unamuno had previously dealt with the theme of style in the essays which García Blanco has collected together under the general title A propósito del estilo (1892-1924); in O.C., vii, 823-82. The essays of Alrededor del estilo contain many important observations on the "style" or personality of the individual human being, as we shall see later. See below, Chapter 5.

49 Alrededor del estilo, vii, El Imparcial (Madrid), 1.6.24; in O.C., vii, 897.

about its store of eternal truths. He came to see the island as a spiritual setting which allowed him to explore the religious dimension of human existence. Indeed, drawing on his daily readings from the New Testament, Unamuno wrote that '¡este paisaje de Fuerteventura es un paisaje bíblico! Evangélico más bien. Este es un clima evangélico'.⁵⁰ The hot, dry terrain obviously reminded Unamuno of the Holy Land and, as a consequence, Fuerteventura was filled for him with biblical echoes, becoming a landscape fit for the ascetic, the 'peregrinos del ideal ultraterrestre' and the 'romeros de la inmortalidad'.⁵¹

In the light of all this, it is not surprising that many of Unamuno's writings of this time should take the form of parables. As he explains in the essay 'Este nuestro clima', Fuerteventura served to reveal to him the power of Christ's form of teaching:

Aquí se funden y se derriten en el lecho del alma las parábolas, las metáforas y las paradojas evangélicas. (Metáfora, parábola y paradoja son todo el estilo evangélico, son toda la esencia del Evangelio).⁵²

As a result, he undertook to write new parables in which he moves from the physical description of a place or of the local flora to a spiritual disquisition which arises out of his understanding of the inner significance of what he is beholding. In Fuerteventura, Unamuno was visually struck by the poverty and lack of sophistication of the island, and,

50 'Este nuestro clima', Nuevo Mundo (Madrid), 24.4.24; in O.C., i, 553.

51 'La aulaga mayorera', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 31.5.24; in O.C., i, 557.

52 'Este nuestro clima', Nuevo Mundo (Madrid), 24.4.24; in O.C., i, 553.

as a consequence, many of his essays turn into a discussion on the relationship between physical poverty and spiritual wealth. So, in the essay entitled 'Este nuestro clima', the vision of a camel working hard at a waterwheel is turned into a symbol of fertile spiritual resignation;⁵³ in 'Leche de Tabaiba', the sap of the "tabaiba"-plant, sucked from the very entrails of the earth, becomes a visual sign of spiritual energy;⁵⁴ in 'Palabra de verdad', the healthy, frugal life of Fuerteventura is transformed into a metaphor for spiritual health;⁵⁵ and in 'La aulaga majorera', Unamuno remembered the Leopardi poem 'La ginestra o il fiori del deserto' which he had re-read on Fuerteventura, and presented the furze-like "aulaga"-plant both as a symbol of the hardships of the spiritual life and as a physical marker for Man as he treks through the desert of existence.⁵⁶

All of these essays serve to reveal Unamuno's heightened interest in spiritual matters on Fuerteventura. Yet the strength of Unamuno's spiritual and religious feelings on the island can best be seen in the poetry and essays in which he describes the sea. In all of the work Unamuno had produced since the 1890s, as Blanco Aguinaga has clearly shown, the sea had fulfilled a dual poetic function, being a symbol both of permanence and of change.⁵⁷ In En torno al casticismo, as we saw in Chapter 1, Unamuno had first used

53 Nuevo Mundo (Madrid), 16.5.24; in O.C., i, 552-53.

54 Nuevo Mundo (Madrid), 30.5.24; in O.C., i, 554-55.

55 Nuevo Mundo (Madrid), 25.7.24; in O.C., viii, 590-92.

56 Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 31.5.24; in O.C., i, 556-58.

57 El Unamuno contemplativo, pp 229-34. Blanco Aguinaga also gives an excellent résumé of the rôle of the sea in the whole of Unamuno's work (op. cit., pp. 286-314).

the metaphor of the depths and the waves of the ocean to represent the eternal and "intrahistorical" realm and historical change and activity respectively. He had set the 'fondo del mar, debajo de la historia....donde vive la verdadera tradición, la eterna'⁵⁸ against 'las olas de la historia, con su rumor y su espuma que reverberan al sol'.⁵⁹ And yet Blanco Aguinaga quite rightly points out that Unamuno more often than not uses the sea in his writings as a symbol of permanence:

Sin embargo, llevado de su afán de quietud, pocas son las veces que ante el mar o su recuerdo subraya Unamuno lo "bravío". Lo que en él había de contemplativo tendido hacia lo eterno, de buscador de interiores esencias inmutables, le hace ver, hasta en el mar...la quietud en medio del movimiento.⁶⁰

This statement is corroborated if we look at the sea-poems that Unamuno wrote on Fuerteventura.⁶¹ Just as in Por tierras de Portugal y de España, where Unamuno had described the sea around Tenerife as 'un poderoso sedante....casi un narcótico',⁶² Unamuno believed that the sea of Fuerteventura had a lulling and soothing effect: 'Recio materno corazón desnudo,/mar que nos meces con latido lento'.⁶³ It also provided a physical link across space and time with the Cantabrian sea of Unamuno's youth: '"Del fiero golfo de

58 O.C., i, 794.

59 O.C., i, 793.

60 Blanco Aguinaga, El Unamuno contemplativo, pp. 229-30.

61 Blanco Aguinaga quite rightly says that Unamuno "rediscovered" the sea while in Fuerteventura and that consequently 'su mejor poesía marina la escribe a partir de aquellas horas de 1924' (op. cit., p. 230, n. 20).

62 'La Laguna de Tenerife', Por tierras de Portugal y de España; in O.C., i, 322.

63 Poem 1 of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 702.

Vizcaya llego", /me canta una ola y a mis pies perece'.⁶⁴

Yet Unamuno also developed his relationship with the sea on a deeper, more religious level. In Poem lxxiii of De Fuerteventura a París, he claims that the sea has enabled him to come into contact with God, since 'donde la mar y el cielo se hacen uno/sobre mi frente posó Dios la mano'.⁶⁵ As a result, he claims on one occasion that his contact with the sea has caused him to rediscover an unquestioning form of religious faith which permits him to renounce spiritual doubt. As he puts it, 'baña tu azul mi oscuro pensamiento/y cuando me le llenas, ya no dudo'.⁶⁶

At times, Unamuno's fascination with the sea leads him to long to lose himself in it, to sink into the depths of the ocean which symbolise eternity:

Ya como a propia esposa al fin te abrazo,
¡oh mar desnuda, corazón del mundo,
y en tu eterna visión todo me hundo
y en ella esperaré mi último plazo!⁶⁷

However, more often than not, Unamuno withdrew from the possibility of total absorption into the sea. He realized that what the depths of the ocean represented was as much a loss of self, a personal death, as the attainment of eternity. He therefore simply asked the sea to provide him

64 Poem xli of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 697.

65 O.C., vi, 719. Elsewhere, Unamuno writes 'Pero aquí, frente a mí, están la mar y el cielo...y aquí, abrazándome el alma, ciñéndomela, está el Señor' (Alrededor del estilo, vi, El Imparcial (Madrid), 25.5.24; in O.C., vii, 897).

66 Poem i of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 702.

67 Poem xxxii of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 691. Unamuno expressed the desire to lose himself in the sea especially at those moments when he felt tired and alienated in exile. For a study of the more negative poems of De Fuerteventura a París, see Victor Ouimette, 'La agonía del desterrado. De Fuerteventura a París', in Asuncion, La poesía de Miguel de Unamuno, pp. 177-197 (pp. 190-97).

with a sense of consolation and comfort:

Olas que sois ensueños del Oceano,
y en cuya vista mi morriña anego,
lavad meciendo mi pasión, os ruego,
mas sin abrirme el misterioso arcano.⁶⁸

What Unamuno was ultimately searching for from the sea, and from Fuerteventura in general, was spiritual confidence in order to be able to carry on the search for immortality and 'la lucha eterna' that is life itself.⁶⁹ And he gained confidence for this search not only from the landscape and the sea of Fuerteventura, but also from the indigenous population of the island, the "majoreros". For Unamuno, the lives of these people expressed 'el dulce ensueño de la historia que queda, de la historia de todos los días'.⁷⁰ He saw in them a reflection of the 'intrahistorical' life of Spain itself which, as we saw in Chapter 1, he believed to be expressed in

la vida silenciosa de los millones de hombres sin historia que a todas horas del día y en todos los países del globo se levantan a una orden del sol y van a sus campos a proseguir la oscura y silenciosa labor cotidiana y eterna.⁷¹

By observing the life and work of the "majoreros", therefore, Unamuno came into contact with the 'intrahistorical' values of Spain, the spiritual values which lay at the heart of his quixotic philosophy. Furthermore, Unamuno felt that he came close to the spirit of Don Quixote himself on the island, and decided to

68 Poem xxvii of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 689.

69 Poem xlvi of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 700.

70 'De Fuerteventura a París', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires). 4.10.24; in O.C., viii, 602.

71 O.C., i, 793.

averiguar las miríficas aventuras que corrió aquí, en esta sedienta isla....Don Quijote, a donde vino después de morir y antes de subir a los cielos.⁷²

In short, Unamuno felt that he gained confidence in Fuerteventura in his role as a representative of the true spiritual and quixotic values of Spain. It is for this reason that he later claimed that the island had given 'nuevas raíces a mi cristiandad y a mi españolidad'.⁷³

It was precisely this spiritual confidence that Unamuno was to lose in Paris. After four months of spiritual meditation amidst the natural setting of Fuerteventura, he suddenly found himself in an environment full of noise, bustle and the trappings of modern civilization. He was to find in the French capital that he was no longer able to commune with God or with nature, and that he could not use the Spanish language to communicate with the people around him. As a result, Unamuno's move to Paris marked the true beginning of his exile from his homeland, and was to give rise to a personal and spiritual crisis which was to last, in one form or another, until his return to Spain in 1930.

In his Unamuno en su nivola, Zubizarreta claims that the crisis Unamuno passed through at this time arose, to a large degree, because the writer felt guilty at having left Fuerteventura voluntarily. Unamuno's "flight" from

72 'Ultima aventura de Don Quijote. La sepultura de Mahán', La Libertad (Madrid), 9.4.24; in O.C., vii, 1246.

73 Note to Poem lxxiii of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 719. The effects of this spiritual confidence and of Unamuno's "encounter" with Don Quixote on Fuerteventura will be studied later. See below, Chapter 4.

Fuerteventura 'pesaba sobre su conciencia', and his feelings of loneliness and self-doubt grew as he understood 'lo *inútil* de su gesto'.⁷⁴ There is, without doubt, some truth in these statements. However, it becomes clear from a study of Unamuno's writings of this time that his move to Paris had a profound effect on him as a man and a writer because it represented a severing of the religious and patriotic roots which he had put down so firmly on Fuerteventura. As we shall now see, Unamuno felt in Paris that he was cut off not only from nature but from Spain herself, and the resultant feeling of isolation severely affected his ability to write. The crisis that Unamuno passed through in Paris was therefore very much a writer's crisis.

As in Fuerteventura, Unamuno's feelings about his new place of exile can best be seen in his poetry and travel writings of this time. There, Unamuno showed, on the one hand, his inability to see, appreciate and adapt to his new surroundings; on the other, his desire to escape through memory to lost and cherished places. In these articles and poems, Unamuno lives and writes as if he were distant and even absent from the here and now, unable to exist contentedly in a place which only reflected historical change.

Almost all that Unamuno wrote about his time in Paris was presented in contrast to his experiences on Fuerteventura. Unamuno made this clear in one of his first Parisian articles in which he compared the late arrival of

74 Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su nivola, pp. 48, 50.

news on Fuerteventura with the immediacy of events in Paris, where 'voy ansioso, día a día, a saber qué es lo que pasa en mi España'.⁷⁵ Such a state of affairs gave Unamuno the impression that he was living stranded in 'la historia que pasa y no queda',⁷⁶ able to find out about what he called everyday historical "sucesos", but cut off from the real, eternal "hechos" of life. In an article which directly recalls El porvenir de España, of 1898, he writes:

Suceso, ya lo sabéis, es lo que sucede; más bien, lo que pasa; mientras que hecho es lo que se hace y queda así, hecho, lo que queda... Este París es enormemente más rico en sucesos que Fuerteventura, pero no creo que le supere en igual manera en riqueza de hechos permanentes.⁷⁷

Unamuno soon realized that what he was in fact missing was the natural landscape of Fuerteventura, since it was only through his contact with the sea, the sky and the mountains that he could glimpse the deeper, eternal truths of life. Paris, full of human beings and man-made objects, could not show any signs of permanence, could only point to a historical reality bound by time and death:

Aquí en París, atiborrado todo él de historia, de vida social y civil, y donde es casi imposible refugiarse en algún rincón anterior a la historia, y que, por lo tanto, haya de sobrevivirla...⁷⁸

In the French capital, everything Unamuno saw or experienced reminded him of time and historical change. The museums were filled with human artefacts which, just like

75 'De Fuerteventura a París', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 4.10.24; in O.C., viii, 603.

76 *ibid.*, p. 603.

77 *ibid.*, pp. 603-04.

78 La agonía del cristianismo; in O.C., vii, 307.

the extravagant tombs of the Père Lachaise Cemetery, seemed to be reminders of death, not markers to eternity.⁷⁹ Even the pavement beneath Unamuno's feet served only to point to what was transitory and bound by time: '¡Y pisar siempre en losa, en encachado! ¡Pisar siempre en historia!'⁸⁰ Unamuno was forced to conclude that '...todo es histórico....todo esto nació por el hombre y con el hombre',⁸¹ and to realize that he had a deep aversion to surroundings exclusively made by man and to modern civilization in general. He felt totally alienated in Paris, and could only express his

hastío de los bulevares, la tristeza que me había producido esta muchedumbre que circula entre autos y tranvías, el mareo de esta circulación de la corriente urbana...⁸²

Ultimately he felt himself contracting the disease of civilization, the "tedio" and the "fatiga social" which were products of the so-called "progreso urbano"⁸³ and threatened to send him into a deadening spiritual sleep.⁸⁴ He was bored in the "desierto de la civilización",⁸⁵ lost amidst what he saw to be the material luxury but spiritual poverty of

79 'Visitas de museos', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), February 1925; in O.C., vii, 632; and 'El Père Lachaise', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 20.12.24; in O.C., viii, 623.

80 '¡Montaña! ¡Desierto! ¡Mar!', Nuevo Mundo (Madrid), 3.10.24; in O.C., i, 572.

81 'El Père Lachaise', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 20.12.24; in O.C., viii, 623.

82 'La plaza de los vosgos', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), January 1925; in O.C., viii, 626.

83 'El metro', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), February 1925; in O.C., viii, 635-37.

84 'En el suave tumulto', Nuevo Mundo (Madrid), 22.8.24; in O.C., viii, 599.

85 Note to Poem lxx of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 712.

modern city life.⁸⁶

In this situation, Unamuno's longings for permanence could only grow and be continually frustrated. In the essay 'El "Père Lachaise"', Unamuno gave expression to such longings by writing:

Llévenme, por Dios, donde no haya ocurrido nada histórico, nada humano; llévenme a algo anterior a la historia y que, por lo tanto, será posterior a ella....déjenme respirar eternidad.⁸⁷

However, Unamuno could only find echoes of eternity in those parts of Paris which reminded him of his own past, and he spent many days visiting the Place des Etats-Unis and the Place des Vosges because they brought back memories of Salamanca's Campo de San Francisco and Bilbao's Plaza Nueva respectively.⁸⁸ In the articles that he wrote about this search for the past, Unamuno describes the Parisian location visited, then compares it with the lost and longed-for place, before going into a rêverie filled with memories and longings. Unlike his Fuerteventura travel writings which move from a physical description to a spiritual discussion, these essays move towards and finally become lost in nostalgia. They show Unamuno cutting himself off from the possibility of new experiences in Paris and living less and less in the present as he tried - mostly unsuccessfully - to exist in an idealized inner world of memory. The effect of

86 See 'El suave tumulto', Nuevo Mundo (Madrid), 22.8.24; in O.C., viii, 599-601.

87 'El Père Lachaise', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 20.12.24; in O.C., viii, p 623.

88 See 'Salamanca en París', Nuevo Mundo (Madrid), 19.9.24; in O.C., i, 567; and 'La plaza de los Vosgos', Caras y caretas, January 1925; in O.C., viii, 626, respectively.

this for Unamuno was the eventual loss of present coordinates and the total loss of those glimpses of the eternal present which he had enjoyed on Fuerteventura.

However, Paris also represented for Unamuno the loss of cultural roots. He was very much aware in the French capital that he found himself amidst an alien culture - and a culture which he had long disliked. As Martin Nozick has pointed out, Unamuno had always been something of a gallophobe,⁸⁹ and had attacked in his articles many aspects of French life. In the essay 'Eso de la lijereza francesa', of 1916, for example, he had complained about the influence of French literary ideas on Spanish writers,⁹⁰ while, in 'La unidad moral de Europa', also of 1916, he had pointed out that 'la ciencia académica, la erudición, la investigación francesa iban germanizándose, es decir, degenerando'.⁹¹

For Unamuno, French society had always been dominated by a certain frivolity and also, at the same time, by an all-powerful belief in reason and logic. His visit to Paris in 1924 confirmed him in his gallophobic prejudices. On the one hand, he noted with displeasure that France was a country which was obsessed with material comfort and therefore more of a 'desert' than an 'oasis' for the seeker after spiritual truths.⁹² On the other, he wrote that French people were

89 Martin Nozick, 'Unamuno gallophobe', Romanic review, liv (1963), 30-48.

90 O.C., ix, 1382-88 (p. 1382).

91 O.C., ix, 1601-04 (p. 1604).

92 'En el suave tumulto', Nuevo Mundo (Madrid), 22.8.24; in O.C., viii, 599-601 (p. 600).

still devoted to the ideals of 'la Enciclopedia',⁹³ the ideals of rationalism and science which he had attacked so violently in the final chapter of Del sentimiento trágico de la vida.⁹⁴

Unamuno felt incapable of becoming integrated into such a society. Furthermore, he disliked writing in French, claiming that 'en otras lenguas podré, aunque sea mal, vestir mi pensamiento; pero sólo en la mía, en la lengua española, puedo desnudarlo'.⁹⁵ As a result, Unamuno felt totally isolated in France, cut off from his language, from Spain and from the values which he believed his country represented. This sense of isolation became worse at the end of 1924 because, as he wrote in Poem xci of De Fuerteventura a París, he had the distinct impression that Spain herself was dying under the weight of the Dictatorship's stupidity and untruths:

Tu voluntad, Señor, aquí en la Tierra
se haga como en el Cielo, pero mira
que mi España se muere, la mentira
en su cansado corazón se aferra.⁹⁶

All this was to effect Unamuno's confidence as a public figure and as a writer. He started to feel that he had little influence over Spanish political affairs, a feeling which grew after he took the decision early in 1925 not to continue publishing in Spain.⁹⁷ It was then, as Zubizarreta

93 Poem lxxviii of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 284.

94 O.C., vii, 284.

95 Alrededor del estilo, xxii, El Imparcial (Madrid), 21.9.24; in O.C., vii, 925.

96 O.C., vi, 730.

97 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 69.

has said, that he began to wonder if his self-imposed exile in Paris was serving any purpose.⁹⁸ In Cómo se hace una novela, he questioned the motives that lay behind his decision to live in Paris, and he even threw doubt on the authenticity of the role he had decided to play as an exile:

Ahora hago el papel de proscrito. Hasta el descuido desaliño de mi persona, hasta la terquedad en no cambiar de traje, en hacérmelo nuevo, dependen en parte...del papel que represento.⁹⁹

But the worst effect of Unamuno's sense of isolation was that he slowly sank into a state of literary paralysis. Having lost contact with Spain, with the Spanish language and with his readers, Unamuno gradually came to feel that he was unable to write. As we saw in Chapter 1, Unamuno had always believed that writing was the most important way of giving expression to his life and of creating himself. The literary paralysis from which he started to suffer at the end of December 1924 therefore marked the start of a profound crisis which was to dominate the rest of his stay in Paris.

Unamuno attempted to give expression to this crisis in Cómo se hace una novela, which he started in December 1924 but felt unable to continue until July 1925. In the section of this work which he completed in Paris and published in Le Mercure de France in May 1926, Unamuno provides not only an account of his experiences in the French capital but also, in Randolph Pope's words, 'a description of the experience

98 Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela, pp. 48-50.

99 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 82. This aspect of Unamuno's stay in exile will be studied in more detail later. See below, Chapter 5.

of exile' itself.¹⁰⁰

Unamuno starts Cómo se hace una novela by describing a situation which must be common amongst those who find themselves exiled from their homeland. He shows himself to be in a constant state of expectation, 'i...imaginando cada día lo que puede ocurrir al siguiente! ¡Y lo que no puede ocurrir!'¹⁰¹ And, as he adds in July 1925, the fact of living 'en la expectativa' made it impossible for him to write, since

me hundía en una congojosa inacción de expectativa, pensando en lo que haría o diría o escribiría si sucediera esto o lo otro.¹⁰²

As a result, he found that he could not bring himself to start any written work and that 'la mayor parte de mis proyectos...quedaban en suspenso'.¹⁰³ Instead, he fell into a state of total inactivity, 'tendido sobre el lecho solitario de mi pequeño hotel..., contemplando el techo de mi cuarto'.¹⁰⁴ He spent his time in useless imaginings about the future of Spain and about his own future,¹⁰⁵ and fell prey to the day-dreaming which, according to Randolph Pope, affects all those who find themselves in exile.¹⁰⁶

In this state, Unamuno became obsessed with the passing

100 Randolph D. Pope, 'Unamuno in Exile', in Exile in Literature, edited by María-Inés Lagos-Pope (Bucknell University Press, 1988), pp. 72-81 (p. 80).

101 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 60.

102 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 69.

103 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 69.

104 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 60.

105 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 60.

106 Pope writes: 'The place of exile is a place where projects do not find their way into practice, where they whirl in the mind and on the page as shaky substitutes for action' ('Unamuno in exile', p. 74).

of time. He felt that he was living in the 'espantoso presente histórico' and was painfully aware of 'el tiempo que pasa,...el huidero hoy,...la muerte de cada instante'.¹⁰⁷ And, at the height of his crisis, he started to talk once again about his oldest fear, the fear of death which had also haunted him during the crisis of 1897. Now, as he shows in the first poem of Romancero del destierro, written some time between December 1924 and July 1925, this fear takes on a special urgency because Unamuno is faced with the prospect of dying in exile, far from his beloved homeland:

Si caigo aquí, sobre esta tierra verde
mollar y tibia de la dulce Francia,
si caigo aquí, donde el hastío muerde
celado en rosas de sutil fragancia,
si caigo aquí, oficina del buen gusto
donde sólo el olvido da consuelo,
llevad mi cuerpo al maternal y adusto
páramo que se hermana con el cielo.¹⁰⁸

Unamuno came to believe in mid-August 1925 that the only way to overcome this crisis was to leave Paris and to take refuge in a small town where he would be able to come into renewed contact with nature. As he shows in the writings he produced from the end of August 1925 onwards, his move to Hendaye immediately provided him with a sense of spiritual well-being. Everything around him became a reflection of peace: the villages near Hendaye offered a 'paz aldeana';¹⁰⁹

107 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 59.

108 O.C., vi, 743.

109 'En la iglesia de Biriātu', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 6.2.26; in O.C., viii, 647.

the river Bidasoa, which marked the border between France and Spain, 'envuelve mis pensamientos de proscrito en el aire tamizado y húmedo de nuestras montañas maternas';¹¹⁰ and the sea, as always, provided a balm which soothed his pain and self-doubt: 'juega el sol con las nubes y sonríe,/la mar me cuna,/y en sus olas la cuita se deslía'.¹¹¹

The tranquillity which he found in Hendaye gave Unamuno the confidence he needed to resume writing. Between September and December 1925, he produced twenty-three articles for Caras y caretas in which he recorded his reactions to his new surroundings.¹¹² In the first of these articles, he gave eloquent expression to the effect that the move to Hendaye had had on his spirit:

Al fin me despierto una mañana aquí, en Hendaya, frente a mi España, y me sacudo esta terrible modorra que amenazaba hundirme en perlesía el alma.¹¹³

However, Hendaye had another significance for Unamuno. On the one hand, he found himself no more than a stone's throw away from Spain and saw himself, as he said in the 'Continuación' which he added to Cómo se hace una novela in 1927, as his country's 'ujier', guarding 'la puerta de España'.¹¹⁴ On the other, he felt very strongly that Hendaye formed part of his native Basque Country and allowed him once again to put down firm cultural roots.

110 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 757.

111 Poem v of Romancero del destierro; in O.C., vi, 749.

112 O.C., viii, 645-706.

113 'Preludio', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 23.1.26; in O.C., viii, 645-46 (p. 645).

114 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 113.

As a result of his rediscovery of the Basque culture, Unamuno came into renewed contact with aspects of his character which had been buried in his memory. For instance, in his walks by the Bidasoa, Unamuno heard peasants speaking Basque, one of the languages of his childhood. The sounds of this language, coupled with the smells of the countryside, the taste of the local cider or of an apple, allowed Unamuno to travel back in a Proustian manner to the time when 'hice conocimiento con el campo'.¹¹⁵ Unamuno's work of Hendaye is consequently filled with memories of childhood,¹¹⁶ memories which put Unamuno in contact with a lost, inner self - what he called his "hombre interior" - ¹¹⁷ and gave him back a sense of spiritual fulfillment. As we shall see in Chapter 5, this rediscovery of his childhood and of his "hombre interior" was eventually to allow Unamuno to come to terms with the crisis which had affected his work since his stay in Paris.

Unamuno's contact with his native land also provided him with confidence of a different sort. Living amidst a culture which he recognized and loved, Unamuno quickly settled down and took up the local customs. He visited the town's café, held a nightly "tertulia", played "mus", the Basque card-

115 'En torno a una manzana', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 30.4.27; in O.C., viii, 685.

116 See, for example, 'Hojas de yedra', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 11.12.26; in O.C., viii, 672; and Poems 277 and 793 of the Cancionero (O.C., vi, 1037, 1181). This aspect of Unamuno's stay in Hendaye has been studied by Granjel, Retrato de Unamuno, pp. 327-41.

117 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 98.

game, and generally lived the life of a provincial.¹¹⁸ He seemed to fall with ease into this daily routine, and later described it in terms which directly recall his description of everyday and 'intrahistorical' reality in En torno al casticismo:

Quisiera poder comunicaros cómo en estos días siento lo hondo, lo abismático, lo etéreo de la trivialidad: todo lo que es y vale la vida al repetido minuto de la plazuela. Sobre ella ruedan las galernas de la historia como sobre los abismos del océano ruedan las olas de la tempestad.¹¹⁹

Furthermore, Unamuno's contact with the 'intrahistorical' life of his native Basque Country was deepened through his growing understanding of the past. Unlike Paris, where Unamuno had felt alienated from the vestiges of the past, Unamuno deliberately set out in Hendaye to record the history of the region where he found himself. So, in 'La Princesa Negra', he recounted the visit of the Black Prince to the village of Biriattou;¹²⁰ in 'En la linde fronteriza', he referred to his discovery of some of the battlefields of the Carlist Wars;¹²¹ and in Cómo se hace una novela, he took pleasure in recounting the local history from the days of Charlemagne to the days of Carlos VII, the Carlist Pretender.¹²² As he did so, he gained the impression that the past was an integral part of the present and still existed for those who had the eyes to see it. In the essay 'Las nieves de antaño', he made the age-old topos of 'les

118 See 'En el Grand Café', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 27.2.26; in O.C., viii, 654.

119 *ibid.*, p. 655.

120 Written December 1925; in O.C., viii, 701.

121 Written December 1925; in O.C., viii, 704.

122 Cómo se hace una novela, pp. 77-80.

neiges d'antan' his own and wrote:

¿Dónde están las nieves de antaño? Pero son ésas, ésas... Esas son las nieves de antaño, las mismas que vieron nuestros abuelos. Esas son las nieves que vieron las brujas que acudían a los aquelarres de Zugarramurdi; ésas son las nieves que vio Roldán desde Roncesvalles...¹²³

Through his relationship with the history and the nature of his native Basque Country, Unamuno therefore managed to perceive an eternal dimension in the past, a dimension which ultimately gave depth and meaning to the present. He found himself able to make use of the

sagrada imaginación que funde siglos y vastedades de tierra, que hace de los tiempos eternidad y de los campos infinitud.¹²⁴

However, despite Unamuno's heightened awareness of permanence, despite his strengthened cultural roots and his renewed sense of the present, his experience of Hendaye was not totally positive. A study of the writings he produced at this time makes it clear that the crisis he had passed through in Paris had left its mark on Unamuno, man and writer.

Many of Unamuno's writings about life in Hendaye, as we have seen, show him gaining a sense of spiritual fullness from his contact with the nature and culture of his native Basque Country. Despite this, Unamuno put more and more emphasis at this time on the darker side of nature, becoming obsessed with what he called in one essay 'la tragedia de la

123 'Las nieves de antaño', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 8.5.26; in O.C., viii, 659.

124 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 79.

naturaleza'.¹²⁵ Unamuno now noticed nature's cycles of life, pain and death which made existence extremely fragile and even, perhaps, ultimately worthless. He wrote poems in which all aspects of nature reflect mortality,¹²⁶ and in which his favourite symbols of peace were turned into symbols of death. The river Bidasoa was changed into the 'espejo del Bidasoa/que vas a perderte al mar',¹²⁷ and reminded Unamuno of Manrique's poem in which the sea itself had served to represent the realm of death:

Debajo de las olas de tormenta hay la calma de los abismos. "Nuestras vidas son los ríos, - que van a dar en la mar, - que es el morir".¹²⁸

Elsewhere, Unamuno focussed on the surface waves of the sea which he saw as a symbol of Man's insubstantiality and caused him to pose some basic questions concerning the very meaning of life itself:

¡Ay pobres olas breves, gemidoras...!
olas que no dejáis en la mar huellas,
¿quedan las mías en la tierra dura?,
¿queda en su polvo rastro de mi paso?
¿tiene raíz mi ensueño de tortura?¹²⁹

Above all, Unamuno was struck by nature's indifference and forgetfulness. He observed that people and animals come and go and, despite their anguished cry of "¡Acordaos de

125 'Una chirla', written December 1925; in O.C. viii, 692.

126 See especially Poem 1359 of the Cancionero; in O.C., vi, 1307-08.

127 Poem viii of Romancero del destierro; in O.C., vi, 777.

128 'El camposanto de Hendaya', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 20.2.26; in O.C., viii, 653.

129 Poem viii of Romancero del destierro; in O.C., vi, 752-53.

nosotros!",¹³⁰ are soon forgotten by man and nature. One word which frequently recurs in Unamuno's writings of this time is "olvido". Unamuno found oblivion in the mountains and the villages, in the lanes and the cemeteries. But it was the sea - that ultimate source of peace - which seemed most insistently to offer him the possibility of "olvido"; and in Hendaye, unlike Fuerteventura, Unamuno frequently allowed the sea to entice him towards the possibility of total annihilation and peace:

me pierdo en la mar....
 ...la muerte se recibe
 como la vida
 y se sueña acostado en el cimiento,
 y de la muerte así el alma se olvida....¹³¹

What these writings serve to show is that Unamuno's stay in Hendaye was marked by his growing awareness of old age and the proximity of death. This can be seen above all in the poems of Romancero del destierro and the Cancionero where he writes, sometimes desperately, sometimes with resignation, of the fact that he is mortal:

Se acerca tu hora ya, mi corazón casero,
 invierno de tu vida al amor del brasero
 sentado sentirás,
 y tierno derretirse el recuerdo rendido
 embalsamando al alma con alma de olvido
 de siempre y de jamás....¹³²

These collections are full of mature, elegiac poetry in which Unamuno deals movingly with the realities of old age

130 Unamuno read this plea - "Orhoit gutaz" in Basque - on a stone commemorating Biriatsu's First World War dead. See 'En la iglesia de Biriatsu', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 6.12.26; in O.C., viii, 647-48 (p. 647).

131 Poem viii of Romancero del destierro; in O.C., vi, 752.

132 Poem xiii of Romancero del destierro; in O.C., vi, 758.

and approaching death. On occasions, Unamuno expresses the desire to escape from the realization that he is going to die by taking refuge in memory: 'me destierro a la memoria,/voy a vivir del recuerdo'.¹³³ At other moments, his fear of death causes him to undertake a desperate search for God and for religious belief.¹³⁴ However, the most impressive poems of Romancero del destierro and, above all, the Cancionero are those in which Unamuno turns the physical reality of living on a political border into a metaphor for man's exile from eternity. Then, the Bidasoa is turned poetically into the frontier between life and death and holds all the hopes and fears that Unamuno felt as he gazed towards Spain and towards heaven:

Frente a tu frente, Dios mío,
en la frontera del cielo,
lindando con tus orillas
que me latigan de anhelo.¹³⁵

At moments such as these, Unamuno shows clearly why in Paris he had referred to his exile not as a "destierro" but rather as a "descielo",¹³⁶ and why so many of his nostalgic poems which deal with the theme of Spain take on a deeply

133 Poem 828 of the Cancionero; in O.C., vi, 1188.

134 This aspect of the Cancionero will be studied in detail later. See below, Chapter 6.

135 Poem 67 of the Cancionero; in O.C., vi, 969. It is of interest that Unamuno wrote this and many other poems in Hendaye in the "romance" form. Writing "romances" demanded a simplicity of form and expression which went well with the direct presentation of feelings. Furthermore, Unamuno wrote on one occasion that 'Aquí se podría escribir también romances fronterizos' ('El Bidasoa', Caras y caretas (Buenos Aires), 13.2.26; in O.C., viii, 650), implying that the old frontier ballad could well be used as a model as he expressed his own feelings as an exile on the border between France and Spain.

136 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 59.

religious tone:

¡Campana Fuenterrabía,
lengua de eternidad,
me traes la voz redentora
de Dios, la única bondad!¹³⁷

What is ultimately most noticeable about these poems and about Unamuno's time in Hendaye is the way in which we find an Unamuno obsessed with the idea of death as personal extinction side by side with an Unamuno who felt that he had come into contact with the eternal dimension of human existence. These two aspects of the man are bound together by the fact that Unamuno had aged and was trying to come to terms with his own mortality. The essays and poems that he produced to explore these feelings in Hendaye are filled with both confidence and resignation, pain and hope, life and death. In short, they express the fundamental contradictions of the human condition and are perhaps some of the most moving of all Unamuno's work.

¹³⁷ Romance viii of Romancero del destierro; in O.C., vi, 777.

CHAPTER 4

UNAMUNO'S POLITICS IN EXILE (1924-30) AND HIS SENSE OF MISSION (1924)

As well as the writings recording his reactions to Fuerteventura, Paris and Hendaye, Unamuno also produced many political articles during his exile in which he gave expression to his feelings concerning the Régime of Primo de Rivera. However, as we shall now see as we look at Unamuno's political activity between 1924 and 1930, he did not indulge in any significant political theorizing during this period, did not follow up his ideas on political ideologies, and in fact distanced himself from all political parties, including those which were dedicated to the overthrow of Primo de Rivera's Dictatorship. Instead, he indulged in a campaign of personal politics in which he attempted to ridicule and vilify the figures of Primo de Rivera and Alfonso XIII.

At the same time, however, Unamuno deepened his understanding of his role as an agitador de espíritus, especially during his stay on Fuerteventura and during the first months of his exile in Paris. In fact, he believed at this time that he was duty-bound to make his quixotic philosophy known to Spain and to Europe as a whole, and he carried out this mission in everything that he wrote, whether in poetry or prose. In the second part of this chapter, we shall see how this previously unstudied mission comes to a climax with the writing of La agonía del cristianismo in October and November 1924. We shall not be

dealing with Cómo se hace una novela here, because that work marked the beginning of the crisis during which Unamuno came to question the effects that playing a role as a political figure had on his sense of personal selfhood.¹

The writings that Unamuno dedicated to the objective political situation of Spain between 1924 and 1930 are found mainly in a few articles published in El Liberal (Madrid) and La Libertad (Madrid) in 1924, in the essays he produced for Le Quotidien (Paris) in July and August 1924, and in the pages of España con honra and Hojas libres, the two clandestine anti-Dictatorship magazines which were published in Paris and Hendaye, the first between December 1924 and August 1925, the second between April 1927 and January 1929. In these writings, we find that Unamuno was principally concerned with two issues whose outcome he believed would probably decide the Dictatorship's - and his own - future: on the one hand, the Moroccan War and the question of responsibilities over Spain's defeat at Annual; and, on the other, Primo's attempts to legitimize and consolidate his Régime.

The Moroccan War forms the subject of an inordinate amount of Unamuno's political essays in exile - something that he in fact almost apologized for in the article

1 Cómo se hace una novela will be studied in detail in Chapter 5.

'Insistiendo'.² This was because he believed the War had not only been the main factor behind Primo's *coup d'état* but that it could ultimately become the cause of the Dictator's downfall.

As in the essays he had written before his exile, Unamuno continued to present Primo's *coup* as an attempt to stop the civilian investigations into the Army's and the King's responsibility for the disaster at Annual. He felt it his duty to remind the Spanish people of the lies and deceit on which Primo's Régime had been built, and to point out that the Dictatorship stood for the policy of "borrón y cuenta nueva". Unamuno's obsessive references to the question of "responsabilidades" prove that it had become a profoundly moral issue for him, and at times he even gave the impression that only his own personal opposition could prevent Spain from forgiving and forgetting the wrong-doers:

¿Borrón y cuenta nueva? ¡No, no, no....! ¡Mientras yo viva, no! ¡Y viviré, viviré, sí, viviré para que no quede un borrón más sobre el pecho de España!³

Unamuno wanted above all to make sure that the involvement of the King in the Annual fiasco, the *coup* and the cover-up was never forgotten. In his second article for Le Quotidien, he wrote that 'c'est Alphonse XIII lui-même...qui a mené la croisade du Maroc...au-dessus la tête des ministres et du

² Hojas libres, (Bayonne), 1.12.27; republished in E. Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, pp. 138-41.

³ '¿Borrón y cuenta nueva?', Hojas Libres, 1.6.27; in Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, p. 113.

haut commandement'.⁴ Later, in 'De nuevo lo de las responsabilidades', he went so far as to say that 'el golpe lo dio el Rey y no el Primo'.⁵ The ultimate consequence of this in Unamuno's eyes was that the King would lose his throne: 'il devra partir, c'est certain..., il devra abdiquer'.⁶

Without doubt, the reason for Unamuno's extensive commentaries on the Moroccan War lay mainly in the belief he held, at least during his time in Paris, that the course of the War would decide the fate of the Dictatorship.⁷ From August until October 1924, Unamuno seemed especially confident that the reverses suffered by the Spanish forces in Morocco would soon cause the downfall of Primo de Rivera. He perceived that the War was deeply unpopular in Spain and noted once again that it was being carried on solely by Alfonso XIII and his generals in order to satisfy the King's imperial designs: 'le roi...voulait affermir son prestige avec cette guerre de Maroc, qui est sa guerre. Cette guerre

4 'La situation est grave en Espagne', Le Quotidien (Paris), 14.4.24; reproduced in David Robertson, 'Una guerra de palabras. Primo de Rivera y Unamuno en Le Quotidien', pp. 107-21 (p. 113).

5 Hojas Libres, 1.6.28. See also 'Contre le fascisme', Monde (Paris), 23.3.29.

6 'Une heure avec le proscrit', Le Quotidien, 28.7.24.

7 In the first version of Cómo se hace una novela, written at the end of July 1925, Unamuno still entertained the same hope: 'Devoro aquí las noticias que me llegan de mi España, sobre todo las concernientes a la campaña de Marruecos, preguntándome si el resultado de ésta me permitirá volver a mi patria' (op. cit., p. 80).

est fort impopulaire'.⁸ The result of this was that not only the Dictatorship but also the Monarchy were closely associated with the Moroccan War, and defeat in the war could well bring about the collapse of the former. In the article entitled 'La situation est grave en Espagne', Unamuno coldly noted that

quand un monarque fait son affaire personnelle d'une guerre et qu'il perd la guerre, il perd en même temps la couronne.⁹

Sensing therefore that much political advantage could be gained from drawing the Spanish and French peoples' attention to the sordid aspects of the War, Unamuno filled his Le Quotidien essays - all written in mid-1924 - with references to the violence and immorality of the participants:

En Afrique, les légionnaires, ceux qui forment ce qu'on appelle le TERCIO, font de la guerre une industrie, sans parler de ceux qui en font un sport, ce qui est pis. Et il y a le butin, des avancements, des récompenses.¹⁰

After 1924, however, it became gradually more obvious to Unamuno that Alfonso XIII and Primo could actually win the Moroccan War; and, in fact, joint campaigns between the

8 'Une heure avec le proscrit', Le Quotidien, 28.7.24. Later, Unamuno was to say that the Moroccan campaign was 'impopular, inmoral e injusta' ('El Vice-Imperio Ibero-Africano', Hojas Libres, 1.4.27).

9 Le Quotidien, 14.8.24; in David Robertson, 'Una guerra de palabras. Primo de Rivera y Unamuno en Le Quotidien', p. 113.

10 'Miguel de Unamuno répond au Dictateur', Le Quotidien, 26.8.24; in David Robertson, 'Una guerra de palabras. Primo de Rivera y Unamuno en Le Quotidien', p. 119. Unamuno's complaints about Spanish imperialism in his Le Quotidien articles were probably also aimed at playing on French insecurities in North Africa.

Spanish and the French finally led to victory for the Europeans in 1926.¹¹ Despite this, Unamuno continued writing about this theme in the essays he produced for Hojas libres between 1927 and 1929. He pointed out there that, with the defeat of the Moorish rebels, Alfonso XIII's desire to extend his power beyond Ceuta and Melilla towards Tangiers would probably grow;¹² and he also voiced his fear that the "pacification" of Morocco would be carried out with the same desire for revenge and the same crusading spirit which had characterized the War itself.¹³ As a result, Unamuno claimed that the Spanish would never be able to pacify the land and that they might well drift one day into another war: 'renacerá cualquier día la guerra de Marruecos ya que su honda causa no está curada'.¹⁴

In these writings, Unamuno expressed an unequivocal and deeply-felt longing for peace in Morocco and also called for the creation of a true "Confrérie des Peuples" which could prevent wars and keep imperialism at bay.¹⁵ And yet it is clear from his essays that Unamuno did not believe in the total abandonment of Morocco by the Spanish. Even in the

11 For a description of these campaigns, see Raymond Carr, Spain 1808-1939, pp. 573-74.

12 'El Vice-Imperio Ibero-Africano', Hojas Libres, 1.4.27.

13 In his Le Quotidien articles and more especially in his Hojas Libres essays, Unamuno repeatedly referred with disgust to the Dictatorship's attempts to turn the Moroccan War into a "crusade" against the infidel. He said that not only 'los obispos del rey' but also the King himself, in the presence of the Pope, had called the War a "cruzada" ('El papa y la cruzada', Hojas Libres, 1.6.27; in Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, p. 108).

14 'Cuatro años de dictadura', Hojas libres, 1.9.27; in Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, p. 129.

15 'Salut à Romain Rolland', Europe (Paris), 15.2.26.

articles he had written for Le Quotidien in 1924, when the Spanish were on the brink of defeat and Primo de Rivera himself was toying with the idea of withdrawal, Unamuno had not spoken out clearly for a complete end to Spanish designs in North Africa. Instead, choosing between several options - 'l'abandon total ou partiel, le repliement, le protectorat civil...et enfin...la CROISADE' -, he had come down on the side of a civil protectorate.¹⁶ In Hojas libres too, Unamuno never once called for Spanish withdrawal, but wrote that the pacification of the country

a la vez que con pactos internacionales, debía ser una operación de policía, es decir, algo esencialmente político y para implantar el protectorado civil.¹⁷

Perhaps Unamuno, despite his avowed distaste for aggressive Spanish patriotism, believed in the end that to leave North Africa would be a disaster for Spain's standing in the world and would be tantamount, in Raymond Carr's words, to confessing 'that Spain was a minor power'.¹⁸

Whatever Unamuno's beliefs on this point, it is clear that he slowly came to realize between 1927 and 1929 that the end of the Moroccan War had brought with it the

16 'Le trône chancelant d'Espagne', Le Quotidien, 17.8.24; in David Robertson, 'Una guerra de palabras. Primo de Rivera y Unamuno en Le Quotidien', p. 116. See also 'Miguel de Unamuno répond au Dictateur', Le Quotidien, 26.8.24; in David Robertson, 'Una guerra de palabras. Primo de Rivera y Unamuno en Le Quotidien', pp. 118-20.

17 'Hablemos al ejército', Hojas Libres, 1.6.27; in Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, p. 105.

18 Raymond Carr, Spain 1808-1939, p. 519.

establishment of the Dictatorship.¹⁹ As a result, Unamuno found himself fighting against a Régime which was more firmly entrenched than ever, and he felt the need to step up his attacks against those institutions which Primo had founded in order to perpetuate his Dictatorship.

Above all, Unamuno felt most threatened at this time by Primo's plans to form an Asamblea Consultiva, a parliament which would include representatives of the so-called Old and New Régimes. He realized that, if such a body were formed, it would mean that Spain might never shake off Primo's legacy and that he would never be able honourably to return to his country. Consequently, Unamuno wrote some of his most violent articles in Hojas libres against what he called the "Asamblea Consuntiva" which, he believed, would attempt to provide a political framework for the Dictator's 'componendas y arreglos y borrón y cuenta nueva',²⁰ and would paper over the question of responsibilities over the Moroccan War and the coup itself. For Unamuno, this Asamblea was

consuntiva y no consultiva porque no es de consulta, sino de consunción. De consunción de un régimen degradante que sume a los ciudadanos en servidumbre castrense.²¹

19 Raymond Carr has also written that 'it was in Morocco...that Primo de Rivera was to find the success that consolidated his régime' (op. cit., p. 573).

20 'El Antiguo Régimen y la Asamblea Consuntiva', Hojas Libres, 1.10.27; in Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, pp. 134-35.

21 *ibid.*, p. 135. For a study of Unamuno's opposition to Primo's plan for an Asamblea Consultiva, see Genoveva García Queipo de Llano, Los intelectuales y la dictadura, pp. 321-22.

In these articles, Unamuno played on the fact that the Asamblea Consultiva would be made up of 'reclutas del batallón disciplinario de la Unión Patriótica',²² and would ultimately have the same aim and effect as the movement that Primo had set up in 1924 in order to channel support for his Régime. He claimed that the Unión Patriótica had been formed as a body whose objective it was to 'renunciar a pedir cuentas a unos y a otros, a ahogar la justicia',²³ and had therefore attracted 'toda la pordiosería mental y moral de España, toda la hez de las más ruines pasiones'.²⁴ What was most sinister about the Unión Patriótica, however, was that it had created the impression that political activity still went on in Spain while in reality its members 'no aciertan a definir ideales políticos porque no los tienen'.²⁵ As a result, the Unión had helped to foment the atmosphere of 'soez grosería, de ramplonería, de chulería,...de necedad,...de cobardía y de estupidez' which existed in Spain due to the lack of political debate and the consequent "apoliticismo".²⁶

In the face of Primo de Rivera's setting up of the Unión Patriótica and of the Asamblea Consultiva, Unamuno defended the need for the reintroduction of the Constitution. He also

22 'El Antiguo Régimen y la Asamblea Consuntiva', Hojas Libres, 1.10.27; in Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, p. 135.

23 'UP=RIP', Hojas Libres, 1.6.28; in Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, p. 153.

24 'Cuatro años de Dictadura', Hojas Libres, 1.9.27; in Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, p. 130.

25 'UP=RIP', Hojas Libres, 1.6.28; in Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, p. 153.

26 The quotation is from 'Cuatro años de Dictadura', Hojas Libres, 1.9.27; in Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, p. 130.

made it clear that the old Constitution would have to be reformed, something which could only be carried out by a democratically-elected Parliament. He wrote that this reform

constitucionalmente no puede hacerse sino con Cortes de sufragio popular, con verdaderas Cortes, es decir legislativas y no consultivas.²⁷

Furthermore, as well as voting for a new Parliament, Unamuno thought that the Spanish people, tired of the corruption of Alfonso XIII, should be able directly to choose whether they wished to live in a republic or under a king:

Ce qu'il faudra résoudre plébiscitairement, ou ce qui revient au même, par une Assemblée Constituante, c'est la question de régime.²⁸

However, despite saying this, one can see from these writings that Unamuno himself was not as sure as he had seemed to be before exile that a republic was the answer to Spain's ills. If one pays attention solely to his Le Quotidien articles, of 1924, one might falsely gain the impression that Unamuno was a die-hard republican. In 'Le trône chancelant d'Espagne', he wrote that 'avec le roi doit s'écrouler la monarchie',²⁹ while in 'La situation est grave en Espagne', he added:

ce qui n'est désormais plus possible en Espagne, c'est la MONARCHIE.... Entre la République et elle, il ne se pose pas de question de droit public, de sociologie..., il se pose une question de fait, vivante et concrète,

27 '¡Vuelta a la Asamblea!', Hojas Libres, 1.11.27. See also 'La situation est grave en Espagne', Le Quotidien, 14.8.24; in David Robertson, 'Una guerra de palabras. Primo de Rivera y Unamuno en Le Quotidien', pp. 113-14.

28 'Le trône chancelant d'Espagne', Le Quotidien, 17.8.24; in David Robertson, 'Una guerra de palabras. Primo de Rivera y Unamuno en Le Quotidien', p. 116.

29 *ibid.*, p. 116.

une question de morale.³⁰

However, it must be remembered that Unamuno wrote these two articles specifically for the reading public of a passionately republican country and also that the latter essay was produced as a reply to a Belgian journalist who had thrown doubt on Unamuno's republican leanings. If we look at other articles Unamuno wrote on the question of régimes at this time, we can see that he in fact had deep reservations about the idea of a republican system. In the essay entitled 'Teoría extravagante', for example, an imaginary interlocutor raises a dilemma which was to obsess Unamuno in the 1930s, namely that the president of a republic can have as much power and use it as corruptly as any king. The interlocutor finally concludes that republicanism involves so many potential contradictions and problems that 'no sé ya lo que eso quiere decir'.³¹

Furthermore, in Hojas libres, Unamuno produced no articles wholeheartedly defending the idea of a republic for Spain, nor any totally condemning the Monarchy as an institution. Instead, he seemed much more interested by this time in ridiculing the figure and person of the King, Alfonso XIII, without extending his attacks to the form of government he stood for.

Indeed, the closest Unamuno came in Hojas libres to defining a possible political solution for Spain was when he

30 Le Quotidien, 14.8.24; in David Robertson, 'Una guerra de palabras. Primo de Rivera y Unamuno en Le Quotidien', p. 113.

31 'Teoría extravagante', La Libertad (Madrid), 20.5.24.

spoke nostalgically about the so-called Old Régime. After rejecting the corruption involved in 'aquel lamentable turno de los partidos dinásticos', Unamuno went on to praise the freedom and tolerance of the Régime which he referred to as

el régimen de libre discusión y en que se podía fiscalizar la acción gubernativa, atacar a los ministros y hasta calumniarlos impunemente.³²

When indulging in this almost uncritical longing for a return to the form of politics which had existed before the coup, Unamuno did not even consider the question of whether Spain should become a Republic or continue as a Monarchy.

In reality, Unamuno consciously refused throughout exile to theorize about possible forms of government and specific solutions to Spain's problems. He also fought shy of party politics, distancing himself even from those movements committed to opposing Primo and Alfonso XIII. The reason for this lies partly in the fact that, by the end of 1924, Unamuno believed that all the Spanish political parties were morally bankrupt, including the PSOE which had seemed at the beginning of the year to epitomize political honesty but had since entered into a tactical agreement with the Dictator. This caused Unamuno to write in Cómo se hace una novela that, by July 1925,

nadie cree en lo que dice ser lo suyo; los socialistas no creen en el socialismo, ni en la lucha de clases...; los comunistas no creen en la comunidad; los

32 'El Antiguo Régimen y la Asamblea Consuntiva', Hojas Libres, 1.10.27; in Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, p. 134.

conservadores en la conservación; ni los anarquistas en la anarquía.³³

However, the main reason for Unamuno's growing unwillingness to associate too closely with political parties or movements during his exile was that he did not feel that his duty lay in writing political tracts or doctrine:

Me dicen esos cuitados que debo hacer doctrina política, elevada doctrina política, hasta que debo definir lo que haya de ser el régimen que substituya a la francachela actual. Lejos de mí semejante tarea.³⁴

He felt that the politics found in abstract political and party programmes was no more than 'sociología o doctrinarismo político',³⁵ collections of ideas which all too often became empty commonplaces or useless clichés: 'es falta de imaginación lo que nos lleva a pedir programas..., falta de imaginación. O sea tontería'.³⁶ Against this, he passionately believed that real politics was about people, not ideas: 'En política...lo que cuenta son los hombres. Los programas apenas significan cosa alguna'.³⁷ As a result, Unamuno saw that his duty as an exile from the Dictator's Spain was to fight not against a faceless institution, but

33 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 76.

34 'No cabe elevar el tono', España con honra (Paris), 27.6.25; reproduced in Victor Ouimette, 'Unamuno, Blasco Ibáñez and España con honra', pp. 320-21 (p. 320).

35 'De nuevo lo de las responsabilidades', Hojas Libres, 1.5.28.

36 'Teoría extravagante', La Libertad, 20.5.24. One is left wondering whether Unamuno would have criticized his own speeches on liberalism and socialism from January 1924 as pure 'sociología o doctrinarismo político'.

37 'No cabe elevar el tono', España con honra, 27.6.25; in Victor Ouimette, 'Unamuno, Blasco Ibáñez and España con honra', p. 320.

rather against the people who represented that institution, to indulge in an extreme form of personality politics and to fight his political fight by engaging his opponents in a verbal struggle, by attacking and vilifying them personally and individually.

In this political fight, Unamuno's greatest personal opponent was, without doubt, Primo de Rivera. Unamuno filled his articles and poems with details about Primo's private life in an attempt to show the Spanish people the real character of the Dictator who ruled over them. In Poem ii of De Fuerteventura a París, for example, Unamuno referred to Primo's association with a prostitute and his attempt to save her from justice,³⁸ while in the first important article he wrote for Le Quotidien and which purported to be an introduction to the character and career of Primo de Rivera, Unamuno described Primo as 'un petit-mâitre,...un fêtard, coureur de casinos qui a pris, un jour, fantaisie de tenter l'aventure politique'.³⁹

This aggressive onslaught on Unamuno's part was soon to take the form of a verbal duel. In August 1924, Primo de Rivera, tired of Unamuno's highly critical articles in Le Quotidien and extremely sensitive to French opinion concerning his Régime, wrote a letter to the newspaper denying many of the writer's assertions about the King, the

38 O.C., vi, 675.

39 'Primo de Rivera', Le Quotidien, 9.8.24; in David Robertson, 'Una guerra de palabras. Primo de Rivera y Unamuno en Le Quotidien', p. 111.

Moroccan War and the Dictatorship.⁴⁰ Unamuno, who realized gleefully that Primo's concern signified that 'nous avons touché juste', took full advantage of the moment in order to compare himself with the Dictator and to underline the personal opposition that existed between the two: 'je proclame que je suis un homme de passion.... Lui, Primo,...n'est pas homme de passion, mais de petites passions'. Unamuno then went on confidently to throw down the gauntlet to the man who had prevented him from writing and living freely in his own country:

Puisqu'il prétend avoir de son côté la majorité de l'opinion publique espagnole, qu'il supprime donc la censure, qu'il réunisse les représentants de la majorité, de sa majorité à lui, et je m'engage à aller le culbuter, le faire tomber sous les huées, au moyen de quelques paroles de passion.⁴¹

As time went on, however, Unamuno became increasingly angry and frustrated with his opponent. Primo seemed to him to be too insignificant and ridiculous a figure to merit his undivided attention and fury. At times, Unamuno even appeared to wish that Primo did actually possess what he called a "grandeza trágica" which could make of him a worthy enemy; but, unlike the nineteenth century Ecuadorian exile Juan Montalvo, Unamuno was never able to admire or stand in awe of his opponent:

Y ¡envidia al gran escritor y patriota ecuatoriano Juan Montalvo el haber tenido en García Moreno un blanco

40 'Primo de Rivera écrit au Quotidien', Le Quotidien, 26.8.24; in David Robertson, 'Una guerra de palabras. Primo de Rivera y Unamuno en Le Quotidien', p. 117.

41 'Miguel de Unamuno répond au Dictateur', Le Quotidien, 26.8.24; in David Robertson, 'Una guerra de palabras. Primo de Rivera y Unamuno en Le Quotidien', pp. 118-20.

digno de sus ataques, un objeto a la grandeza de su pluma!⁴²

As a result of this frustration, Unamuno, when writing about Primo de Rivera, adopted a style of violent rhetoric and personal abuse. This can be seen in the poems of De Fuerteventura a París where he presented Primo as no more than a Don Juan figure 'harto de retozar con una zorra' and a '¡Tonto! ¡Tonto! ¡Tonto!' suffering from the very disease he was inflicting on Spain,⁴³ as well as in Cómo se hace una novela which Unamuno filled with unflattering references to Primo and the Dictator's side-kick Martínez Anido and which was consequently censored upon its publication in Spain.⁴⁴ However, it was in the pages of Hojas libres that Unamuno, taking advantage of the clandestine nature of the magazine, gave free rein to his pent-up aggression:

un día...se sorprenderán nuestros nietos de que nosotros, sus abuelos, podamos soportar...que nos esté meando a la cara...ese degenerado que esparce en su

42 'Mi pleito personal', Hojas Libres, 1.8.27; in Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, p. 121. Unamuno also referred to this idea in his Prologue to Juan Montalvo's Las Catilinarias, written in Paris on 30.5.25 (O.C., viii, 1109-10). One possible reason for Unamuno's anger was that he felt Primo never seemed to recognize his standing in the world. Unamuno wrote that 'es que son tan brutos...que era y sigue siendo posible que un español...adquiera autoridad en todo el mundo...sin que ellos se enteren' ('Mi pleito personal', loc. cit., p. 120).

43 Poem iii and Poem xxx of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 676, 691. For more information on the political poems of De Fuerteventura a París, see Victor Ouimette, 'La agonía del desterrado: De Fuerteventura a París', in Asuncion, La poesía de Miguel de Unamuno, pp. 192-94.

44 Even the text of Cómo se hace una novela which appears in the Escelicer edition of Unamuno's Obras completas of 1966 was left incomplete through censorship. For more information on the censoring of this work, see Allen Lacy, 'Censorship and Cómo se hace una novela', Hispanic Review, xxxiv (1966), 317-25.

torno vaho de retrete de casa de lenocinio.⁴⁵

At the time that he wrote such articles - and indeed ever since - Unamuno was strongly criticized for the directness and virulence of the language he employed.⁴⁶ Le Quotidien's official translator, for example, refused to render into French anything that 'resultaba original en francés',⁴⁷ a description which probably included any expressions considered too strong or risqué for publication. Some of his fellow-exiles in Paris also exhorted him to 'raise the tone' of his writings, thereby avoiding anecdote and invective. Unamuno, however, remained adamant. He believed Primo and his cohorts to be too degenerate to deserve anything better than the personal references and insults of his articles: '¿Elevar el tono? ¡Pero no se trata de nada elevado!... No, no cabe elevar el tono. Porque se trata de malhechores, de foragidos, de depravados...'.⁴⁸ The only way for Unamuno to fight against such opponents was to continue engaging them in an aggressive and personal verbal duel in which the greatest weapons in Unamuno's eyes were righteous anger and violent contempt - recourses which he claimed to have learnt from Moses, St Paul, Dante and Christ

45 Unamuno refers to contemporary criticism of his invective in 'De nuevo lo de las responsabilidades', Hojas Libres, 1.5.28.

46 Amongst those who have recently criticized Unamuno for his language in Hojas Libres is Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, p. 100.

47 Alrededor del estilo, xxii, El Imparcial (Madrid), 21.9.24; in O.C., vii, 927.

48 'No cabe elevar el tono', España con honra, 27.6.25; in Victor Ouimette, 'Unamuno, Blasco Ibáñez and España con honra', pp. 320-21

himself.⁴⁹

Indeed, Unamuno set himself up in Hojas libres as a moral judge whose duty it was to pass sentence on Primo de Rivera and Alfonso XIII. He wrote in the article 'Mi pleito personal' that

los tiranuelos...saben bien que no persigo componendas ni arreglo algunos, sino justicia, y que no he de cejar hasta que logre que se les enjuicie y ajusticie al castigo que les corresponda.⁵⁰

These words may appear to come from a writer who is suffering from delusions of grandeur, perhaps brought on by the isolation of exile. And yet Unamuno's ultimate aim in writing articles such as 'Mi pleito personal' was to awaken debate amongst the Spanish people and, in David Robertson's words, to 'presentar a los españoles y al mundo entero otra versión de la realidad política del país'.⁵¹ The fact that Unamuno was successful in this aim can be seen in the influence that he had on the Spanish students' rebellions of 1928 and 1929,⁵² during which intellectual figures such as José Ortega y Gasset finally voiced their opposition to the

49 'Mi pleito personal', Hojas libres, 1.8.27; in Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, p. 121. David Robertson defends the violent style of Unamuno's exile articles in 'Unamuno y la dictadura de Primo de Rivera'; in Gómez Molleda, Actas del Congreso Internacional Cincuentenario de Unamuno, pp. 100-01.

50 'Mi pleito personal', Hojas libres, 1.8.27; in Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, p. 120.

51 David Robertson, 'Introducción a Miguel de Unamuno', Dos artículos y dos discursos, p. 24.

52 For a description of these rebellions and of Unamuno's influence on the Spanish students of this time, see Schlomo Ben-Ami, The Origins of the Spanish Republic (Oxford, 1978), pp. 36-44; and Justina Ruiz de Conde, 'El presunto apoliticismo de Unamuno', in Bleiberg - Fox, Pensamiento y letras de la España del siglo XX, pp. 439-49.

Régime.⁵³ It was due to his stand during exile and to the articles that he published in broadsheets such as Hojas libres that Unamuno was later seen to have been a true herald of the Spanish Republic of 1931.

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Unamuno therefore carried on a long and bitter campaign against Primo de Rivera throughout his stay in exile. And yet, beyond this political and personal confrontation with the Dictator and the King, Unamuno also made it clear, especially during his stay on Fuerteventura and during his first months in Paris, that he had a wider mission to carry out.

Unamuno's awareness of this mission grew during his time on Fuerteventura. As we saw in Chapter 3, Unamuno felt that he had put down new patriotic and religious roots on Fuerteventura and also that he had come into renewed contact on the island with Don Quixote, the symbol of the religious and patriotic values of Spain. In many of his writings of this time, there is a total identification between the author and the fictional hero, as Unamuno asks Don Quixote to provide him with confidence for his political struggle, and writes: 'Y tú, mi señor Don Quijote, ingenioso hidalgo,

53 For a description of Ortega's and other intellectuals' anti-Dictatorship activities between 1928 and 1930, see Genoveva García Queipo de Llano, Los intelectuales y la dictadura de Primo de Rivera, pp. 331-422. For Azorín's reactions to Primo, see Victor Ouimette, 'From Dictatorship to Republic: Azorín and the Force of the Intellect', Hispanic Review, liv (1986), 1-25.

elévame para que sea yo más que yo'.⁵⁴

The effect of this encounter with Don Quixote was that Unamuno came to reaffirm his belief in his quixotic philosophy which, as we saw in Chapter 1, he defined in terms of a never-ending search for immortality and

una lucha entre lo que el mundo es, según la razón de la ciencia nos lo muestra, y lo que queremos que sea, según la fe de nuestra religión nos lo dice.⁵⁵

It was in the name of this philosophy that Unamuno carried out his political fight against Primo de Rivera. He saw himself as a modern-day Don Quixote, as a living representative of 'la personalidad de España',⁵⁶ whose duty it was to combat the degradation of Primo's Spain.

Unamuno believed that the greatest proof of the degradation of Spain lay in the debasement of her language. He had always seen himself as the guardian of the Spanish language which, as he had claimed in the essay 'A los 32 años', of 1923, gave expression to 'el verbo sagrado de España'.⁵⁷ He now felt that this "verbo sagrado" was being abused by Primo and his followers who had turned it into a means of spreading their stupidity and lies, their political commonplaces. Under the Dictatorship, words such as "caballero" and "honor" had been debased and were being used to refer to 'el honor de los caballeros, el honor de lance

54 'La risa quijotesca', Nuevo Mundo (Madrid), 27.6.24; in O.C., viii, 589.

55 O.C., vii, 297.

56 'A los intelectuales uruguayos', Crítica (Buenos Aires), 11.5.24; in O.C., ix, 1195.

57 'A los 32 años', El Liberal, 3.10.23; in O.C., viii, 515.

que llevan a los lances de honor'.⁵⁸ Above all, the noble Spanish idea of "querer ser", based on the power of will - that 'cosa intelectual y racional' -, had been corrupted into the Dictator's "santísima gana", which was Primo's proud and idiotic explanation of the motivation behind his actions.⁵⁹ Unamuno therefore wrote of Primo's politics that 'eso no es voluntad, es sólo gana;/no cosa de varón, sino de macho'.⁶⁰

In this struggle against the debasement of the Spanish language and of Spain herself, Unamuno often presented himself in the guise of an Old Testament prophet who, echoing Isaiah, begged God for inspiration and for strength to carry on his fight: 'Toca mis labios con tu fuego santo/toca mis labios con tu santo fuego'.⁶¹ At times, he even wrote as if he were directly receiving God's word like some latter-day Ezekiel:

"¡Ponte - me dijo - de pie, que voy a hablarte!"
Y en pie me puse y prosiguió: "Tu raza
llena de desvarío, me rechaza
la mano fiel con que le doy su parte...".⁶²

In the writings that he produced on Fuerteventura, therefore, Unamuno showed clearly that there was a religious dimension to his struggle against Primo de Rivera. He

58 Note to Poem iv of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 677.

59 Note to Poem ciii of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 737.

60 Poem ciii of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 737. Unamuno develops his thoughts on the degradation of the Spanish language in the article 'Fatal ambigüedad', La Libertad, 10.5.24; in O.C., viii, 577-78.

61 Poem cii of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 736.

62 Poem xx of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 685.

believed that it was his duty to put the Spanish people back into contact with their country's religious and quixotic philosophy. And he attempted to do this by writing articles in which he reverted to his old role as an agitador de espíritus or, as he put it in one essay of this time, a 'político de eternidad'.⁶³

So, in 'El miedo y la verdad', for example, Unamuno violently attacked a fictional interlocutor who refused to accept his vision of life and preferred to lead an untroubled, unquestioning existence. For Unamuno, people who aim for such a 'vida tranquila' do so 'por miedo a la verdad, o sea por miedo a la inteligencia...que le descubre'. They refuse to face up to the ultimate reality of life and consequently suffer a total 'degradación mental' resulting in 'la muerte del espíritu'. Unamuno considered it his responsibility to remind such people of the truths of existence and to exhort them, as he said at the end of 'El miedo y la verdad', to 'vivir' rather than simply 'durar', to take up the painful but responsible "agonic" life of the spiritual seeker.⁶⁴

Here and elsewhere, Unamuno attempted to give expression to 'toda la agonía de mi alma de español y de cristiano' in order to lead his compatriots towards the truths of the spirit.⁶⁵ He wished to fill them with a heightened sense of their own being, with a divine, quixotic madness which he

63 'El tiempo material', El Imparcial, 17.2.24.

64 'El miedo y la verdad', Nuevo Mundo, 1.8.24; in O.C., viii, 593-95.

65 From the Introduction to the Fuerteventura poems of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 674.

defined as 'una enfermedad sagrada y hasta una señal del dedo de Dios'.⁶⁶ Only in this way could they achieve a full existence and become 'personas con sentido personal, o sea propio', rather than slaves to reason and so-called 'sentido común'.⁶⁷ Unamuno's mission was therefore to save the Spanish and Spain herself by reasserting and spreading her quixotic faith, and he wrote that

...llevando tu bautismo
de burlas de pasión a gente extraña
forjaré universal el qui jotismo.⁶⁸

The sense of mission which characterized Unamuno's work in Fuerteventura took on an international dimension upon his arrival in France. The reason for this lies mainly in Unamuno's reaction to the Paris he encountered in 1924 and 1925. He was taken aback and disgusted by what he termed the post-Great War mentality of European civilization, 'el pavoroso estado de conciencia moral de la trasguerra'.⁶⁹ He believed that Europe had lost its vitality, its 'alegría franca, ingenua y sana', and that it had been replaced by a 'sed de placeres' and a superficial belief in material

66 'Psicología del Tafetán', Hojas Libres, 1.5.27; in Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, p. 94.

67 Alrededor del estilo, xxvi, El Imparcial, 19.10.24; in O.C., vii, p. 936.

68 All these quotations are from Poem xvii of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 683.

69 'Recuerdos y ensueños', Nuevo Mundo, 5.12.24; in O.C., viii, 616. See also 'Recuerdos de su última estada en París', Nosotros (Buenos Aires), 1925; in O.C., ix, 1201.

progress.⁷⁰ For Unamuno, the 'exaltación del apetito de gozar' which he found in Paris was symptomatic of a civilization dedicated solely to frivolity,⁷¹ and, in an article which directly recalls his descriptions of Spain under Primo in late 1923, he spoke of the 'trivialidad de nuestra civilización', warning that 'es de trivialidad de lo que hemos de morir'.⁷²

Unamuno had been worried about how this civilization would affect his spirit even before he left Fuerteventura. There he had written: 'la civilización es un desierto/donde la fe con la verdad se irrita'.⁷³ Now he was able to witness at first hand the effects of a civilization in which 'sabemos vivir...demasiado suavemente, demasiado cómodamente'.⁷⁴ He noted above all how the main victims of modern society were those spiritual and individual values which in his eyes were essential to the health of a nation. France, and Europe as a whole, was turning its back on spirituality, mainly because 'la agonía trágica de la gran guerra debe haberles curado a muchos de su fe en la gloria'.⁷⁵ As a result, empty materialism had become the dominant feature of people's lives, a materialism which could only provide 'progreso urbano' and would ultimately

70 'Comparsas populares en Bruselas', Caras y caretas, 1.11.24; in O.C., viii, 621. See also the article 'De Fuerteventura a París', Caras y caretas, 4.10.24; in O.C., viii, 603.

71 'Recuerdos y ensueños', Nuevo Mundo, 5.12.24; in O.C., viii, 616.

72 'En el suave tumulto', Nuevo Mundo, 22.8.24; in O.C., viii, 600.

73 Poem lxx of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vi, 711.

74 Ibid..

75 La agonía del cristianismo; in O.C., vii, 360.

give rise to a soul-destroying 'fatiga social'.⁷⁶

Furthermore, the citizens of modern society were no longer seen as individuals, but rather as part of 'la masa de la muchedumbre municipal y espesa'.⁷⁷ In Paris, Unamuno seemed to believe that it was democracy that was helping to cause this debasement of individual values. In an article which puts all of his earlier and later apologias for democracy into a critical context, he complained that each citizen of the democratic French state was treated as if he were 'el francés medio', 'el francés de término medio'.⁷⁸ This 'sujeto democrático', just like the 'homo oeconomicus' he had referred to at the start of Del sentimiento trágico de la vida,⁷⁹ was not in Unamuno's eyes a true, individual human being with an 'acento...propio', an 'acento humano', but rather purely and simply a member of 'la muchedumbre...inhumana'.⁸⁰

Unamuno's criticism of the lack of spirituality and individuality which he found in Paris in 1924 recalls much that he had written on the subject of European culture and civilization since the early 1900s. As we saw in Chapter 1, Unamuno had long believed that this culture was dominated by rationalism and a blind belief in progress and science. He

76 'El metro', Caras y caretas, February 1925; in O.C., viii, 635.

77 Ibid.. Unamuno's criticism of the "massification" of modern society recalls Ortega y Gasset's attack on 'el imperio de las masas' in España invertebrada (Colección El Arquero, Madrid, 1957), pp. 95-101 (first edition, 1921).

78 Alrededor del estilo, xxii, El Imparcial, 21.9.24; in O.C., vii, 926.

79 O.C., vii, 109.

80 Alrededor del estilo, xxii, El Imparcial, 21.9.24; in O.C., vii, 926.

had written in the article 'Sobre la europeización', of 1906, that the Spanish could help to combat the spread of rational and scientific values by asserting their native 'sabiduría', their profound understanding of the realities of life and death.⁸¹

Unamuno was to say something very similar during his exile in Paris. His writings of this time prove conclusively that he is an heir to the ideas of the Romantics and of philosophers such as Vico and Herder who, according to Isaiah Berlin, form part of the 'Counter-Enlightenment'.⁸² Like them, Unamuno had reacted in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida against the influence of 'el Renacimiento, la Reforma y la Revolución' on European thought.⁸³ Like them, and like other contemporary philosophers such as Bergson, he wished to remind his European audience during his exile in Paris that a rational approach to life could not explain away all the mysteries of existence.⁸⁴

In short, Unamuno felt at this time that he had a duty to take his Spanish philosophy to Europe, to introduce the Europeans to his quixotic understanding of human existence. Exile therefore provided Unamuno at long last with the opportunity to speak directly to a European audience and to carry out his desire to 'españolizar a Europa'.⁸⁵ To quote the title of the Conclusion to Del sentimiento trágico de la

81 O.C., iii, 928-29.

82 Isaiah Berlin, Against the Current (London, 1979), pp. 1-24.

83 O.C., vii, 284.

84 On the similarities between Unamuno's and Bergson's thought, see Marías, Miguel de Unamuno, pp. 24-28.

85 'Sobre la europeización'; in O.C., iii, 936.

vida, Unamuno would attempt to show the true role of 'Don Quijote en la tragicomedia europea contemporánea'.⁸⁶ He later claimed that

...estoy llevando lo más íntimo de nuestro pueblo, su esencia eterna, su divina sobre-razón de ser, el jugo de su cristiandad quijotesca, al conocimiento y al entendimiento de los pueblos de lenguas latinas, anglo-sajónicas, germánicas, eslavas...a la humanidad civilizada.⁸⁷

The text in which Unamuno most clearly carried out this mission was La agonía del cristianismo which, as he himself pointed out, 'reproduce en forma más concreta, y, por más improvisada, más densa y más cálida, mucho de lo que había expuesto en mi obra El sentimiento trágico de la vida'.⁸⁸ It is no coincidence that Unamuno should choose to talk directly about Christianity in this work. By exploring and defending the basic Christian view of life, Unamuno felt that he was defending European civilization itself, since he believed that the Christian religion had always been the unifying element within Western civilization. In fact, Unamuno claimed that the religion and the civilization it had brought into existence were so inescapably dependent on each other that

si muere la fe cristiana, la fe desesperada y agónica, morirá nuestra civilización; si muere nuestra civilización, morirá la fe cristiana.⁸⁹

It is for this reason that Unamuno had written in the article 'L'Avenir de l'Europe', of 1923, that only 'une

86 O.C., vii, 283.

87 'Mi pleito personal', Hojas Libres, 1.8.27; in Comín Colomer, Unamuno libelista, p. 122.

88 O.C., vii, 306.

89 O.C., vii, 338.

Renaissance religieuse, et plus exactement chrétienne, peut encore sauver, en la transformant, la civilisation européenne occidentale'.⁹⁰

Not surprisingly, the view of Christianity which emerges from La agonía del cristianismo is highly influenced by Unamuno's own idiosyncratic and quixotic understanding of religious faith. For this reason, certain critics of this work have rejected it as something of an aberration. Zubizarreta, for example, believes that it is simply a fruit of the crisis Unamuno passed through in Paris, claiming that 'el libro sólo nos sirve para ver un extremo de las dolencias que entonces lo acosaban'.⁹¹ If we view La agonía del cristianismo as a part of Unamuno's mission, however, it becomes clear that the author is deliberately underlining the contradictions which he believes lie at the heart of Christianity. As he says in the Introduction to the work, he equates agonía with lucha and sees it as a source of vitality, since 'agoniza el que vive luchando, luchando contra la vida misma. Y contra la muerte'.⁹² By emphasizing and indeed playing on the contradictions of Christianity, therefore, Unamuno felt that he could revitalize the Christian faith and, through it, the civilization which it had so profoundly influenced.⁹³

90 'L'Avenir de l'Europe', La revue de Genève (Geneva), January 1923.

91 Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela, p. 296.

92 O.C., vii, 308.

93 In an interview Unamuno had given to Le Quotidien, he had said that the major characteristic of Western civilization was 'la discorde intime, la contradiction' ('Une heure avec le proscrit', Le Quotidien, 28.7.24).

Unamuno therefore structures La agonía del cristianismo around those contradictions which he believes give vitality to the Christian faith. However, the work has a fundamental unity because, as Martin Nozick has pointed out,

the agony he refers to in the title and throughout the work is the tension between the feeling for a God who is incommunicable knowledge and the truth that is social and collective.⁹⁴

Unamuno makes this clear in the chapter of La agonía del cristianismo entitled 'Verbo y letra'. He refers here to John 2. 14 and explains that Christianity was brought into the world by way of a living human being who was the Word incarnate. However, with the death of Christ, the Word was lost and was replaced by an idea or philosophy - the "letra": 'este Verbo que se hizo carne murió después de su pasión, de su agonía, y el Verbo se hizo letra'.⁹⁵ In Unamuno's eyes, the "letra" is a debasement of the Word and is consequently lifeless: 'la letra es muerta; en la letra no se puede buscar vida'.⁹⁶ Although Christians since Christ have needed it in order to find God, they often forget that Christianity is not strictly a matter of doctrine or dogma but rather a personal experience of faith: 'el cristianismo...no fue doctrina, aunque se expresara dialécticamente...; fue vida, fue lucha, fue agonía'.⁹⁷

94 Martin Nozick, Miguel de Unamuno. The Agony of Belief, p. 61.

95 O.C., vii, 318. Unamuno had long been obsessed with the fact that the 'Word' of God was brought into the world by way of a living human being. He explored in depth his ideas on the relationship between Christ's human body and his divine essence in El Cristo de Velázquez (1920).

96 O.C., vii, 320. This idea also influences Unamuno's thoughts on literature, as we shall see when we study Cómo se hace una novela. See below, Chapter 5.

97 O.C., vii, 315.

Indeed, Unamuno puts a great deal of emphasis in La agonía del cristianismo on the fact that faith is a personal and individual matter. He claims that Christianity is a 'cosa de solitarios', a religion based on 'el individualismo radical'.⁹⁸ He goes on to say that 'el ideal de la cristiandad es un cartujo que deja padre y madre y hermanos por Cristo, y renuncia a formar familia, a ser marido y padre'.⁹⁹ However, the potential consequences of such an attitude to life are obvious, and Unamuno notes that the individual cannot live up to the Christian ideal

si ha de persistir el linaje humano, si ha de persistir la cristiandad en el sentido de comunidad social y civil de cristianos, si ha de persistir la Iglesia.¹⁰⁰

Consideration of the problems involved in the Christian ideal leads Unamuno on to what he believes to be the central contradiction within the Christian faith. Building on Christ's words 'Mi reino no es de este mundo', he claims that 'el puro cristianismo, el cristianismo evangélico, quiere buscar la vida fuera de la historia'.¹⁰¹ In Unamuno's eyes, "pure" Christianity is a profoundly anti-historical religion which actually stands for 'la negación de la historia'.¹⁰² In theory, the Christian should turn his back on history altogether and simply prepare himself for the next world.

And yet Unamuno knows that this is not possible. He claims that the individual who searches for eternal life

98 O.C., vii, 313, 340.

99 O.C., vii, 336.

100 O.C., vii, 336.

101 O.C., vii, 336.

102 O.C., vii, 336.

outside history 'se encuentra con el silencio del universo'.¹⁰³ Man cannot in fact avoid living in history and in the world. Even the monk or the nun who retreats from the world actually forms part of it and in reality 'sueña en la inmortalidad del alma, en sobrevivir en la historia'.¹⁰⁴

This is a point that Unamuno takes up in more detail in the chapter dealing with the life of Padre Jacinto, a Catholic priest who left the Church in order to start a family. The priest did so, according to Unamuno, because he longed to 'asegurar la perpetuidad de la carne para asegurar la del espíritu';¹⁰⁵ his hope was that he would live on in history through his children. And yet this hope was, in Unamuno's words, 'la esencia de su tragedia, de la agonía del cristianismo en él',¹⁰⁶ since it meant that

luchaban en él el padre y el hombre civil hambriento de resurrección de la carne y de inmortalidad del alma, y el cristiano, el solitario, el monje.¹⁰⁷

In his chapter on Padre Jacinto, Unamuno deals with a figure whose very existence was full of contradictions and who therefore 'agonizaba de su duda'.¹⁰⁸ Yet Unamuno's ultimate aim in this work is to show that doubt is an indispensable part of genuine religious faith. This is the final and most important contradiction in Unamuno's understanding of the Christian faith, and it is a contradiction which he had dealt with at length in the pages

103 O.C., vii, 336. The same idea appears, in a different form, in Cómo se hace una novela. See below, Chapter 5.

104 O.C., vii, 341.

105 O.C., vii, 354.

106 O.C., vii, 352.

107 O.C., vii, 355.

108 O.C., vii, 359.

of Del sentimiento trágico de la vida. In La agonía del cristianismo, Unamuno describes his concept of "agonic" faith by contrasting it with 'la fe femenina' which he equates with grace and believes to be a gift from God.¹⁰⁹ His own version of faith, on the other hand, is based on 'la voluntad de creer' and 'vive de dudas y no las "sobrepuja"'.¹¹⁰ It is the faith that Unamuno had found in the work of Pascal who, like Unamuno himself, lived racked by doubt and yet still 'quería creer'.¹¹¹

Unamuno's most important message in La agonía del cristianismo is therefore summed up in the words 'el modo de vivir, de luchar, de luchar por la vida y vivir de la lucha, de la fe, es dudar'.¹¹² It is by embracing doubt that the individual can give vitality back to Christianity and keep alive 'la agonía del cristianismo'. He will then be able fully to realize that

el cristianismo, la cristiandad más bien, desde que nació en San Pablo, no fue doctrina, aunque se expresara dialécticamente; fue vida, fue lucha, fue agonía.¹¹³

By writing La agonía del cristianismo and giving expression to the contradictions which he felt lay at the heart of the Christian faith, Unamuno believed that he was carrying out a profound political mission. For this reason,

109 O.C., vii, 333.

110 O.C., vii, 329, 333.

111 O.C., vii, 346. On Unamuno's reading of Pascal's work, see Juan López-Morillas, 'Unamuno and Pascal. Notes on the Concept of Agony', PMLA, lxxv (1950), 998-1010.

112 O.C., vii, 311.

113 O.C., vii, 315.

he writes in the Conclusion that 'siento a la vez la política elevada a religión y la religión elevada a política'.¹¹⁴ That mission grew out of his experience of exile which brought him into contact with European civilization and made him realize that

Europa, el mundo civilizado, está pasando por otro milenio; que se acerca al fin, el fin del mundo civilizado, de la civilización.¹¹⁵

Yet Unamuno's sense of mission also grew out of his realization that Spain was dying, and he wrote that 'la agonía de mi patria, que se muere, ha removido en mi alma la agonía del cristianismo'.¹¹⁶ Although it is not fair to say, as Zubizarreta has done, that La agonía del cristianismo is no more than the 'fruto de un desequilibrio',¹¹⁷ it does show signs that Unamuno's isolation from his homeland is starting to take its toll. A few weeks after finishing the work, Unamuno would express even more forcefully his belief that 'mi España se muere',¹¹⁸ and would enter into the profound personal and spiritual crisis to which he would give full expression in Cómo se hace una novela.

114 O.C., vii, 359-60.

115 O.C., vii, 361.

116 O.C., vii, 359.

117 Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela, p. 295.

118 Poem xci of De Fuerteventura a París; in O.C., vii, 730.

CHAPTER 5

UNAMUNO'S EXILE CRISIS: A STUDY OF COMO SE HACE UNA NOVELA.

Unamuno wrote the first 'version' of Cómo se hace una novela in Paris in December 1924 and July 1925. It was published in Le Mercure de France (Paris) on 15 May 1926, prefaced by a 'Portrait d'Unamuno' written by his French friend and translator, Jean Cassou. Between May and July 1927, Unamuno, now living in Hendaye, translated the work back into Spanish and added a 'Prólogo', a 'Comentario' on Cassou's portrait and a 'Continuación'. He also added a series of short commentaries developing some of the ideas found in the first version of Cómo se hace una novela, but he deliberately bracketed these commentaries off from the original text.¹

In Cómo se hace una novela, Unamuno deals with many different but interrelated subjects. He discusses his changing states of mind in exile and includes details of his stay in Paris and Hendaye; he provides a bitter commentary on the activities of Primo de Rivera and other prominent figures of the Dictatorship; he includes a short story based on the experiences of a fictional character, Jugo de la Raza; and he also develops his thoughts on the themes of role-playing, selfhood and writing.

Above all, Unamuno gives expression in Cómo se hace una novela to the profound crisis which affected his work at

¹ For more information on the chronology and structure of Cómo se hace una novela, see Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela, pp. 21-27.

this time. As many critics have pointed out, this crisis caused Unamuno to question the role that he was playing as a public figure and also the effects that role-playing had on his sense of personal selfhood. And yet this chapter will set out to show that Unamuno's crisis of exile was primarily a writer's crisis. During the course of this crisis, Unamuno found himself unable to write, that is, to carry out the activity which had always allowed him to play his public role and to create himself.

As we shall see, Unamuno profoundly questioned his belief in the activity of writing in the first version of Cómo se hace una novela and attempted to reaffirm it in the 'Continuación' and the other sections which he added to the work in Hendaye. As a result, Cómo se hace una novela becomes Unamuno's most detailed text on this central aspect of his philosophy and also reveals just how far Unamuno's ideas on writing influenced his vision of his role as a public figure and his understanding of the process of self-creation.

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Before going on to study Cómo se hace una novela, we shall now look briefly at the articles of Alrededor del estilo which Unamuno published in El Imparcial (Madrid) between April and November 1924. These articles have received virtually no critical attention and are of interest because they throw light on Unamuno's thoughts concerning

the relationship between writing and selfhood. They therefore help to fix many of the coordinates of Cómo se hace una novela.

In Alrededor del estilo, Unamuno deals at length with the concept of style. As we saw in Chapter 3, Unamuno believes style to be the outer expression of the essential character of a person or a place. Applying this idea to the writers of literature, he explains that

al estilo, al punzón, le lleva la mano, ya sosegada, ya febril, ya temblorosa, y a la mano la lleva el corazón, y al corazón el pensamiento, y al pensamiento el hombre.²

Unamuno therefore believes that the author who writes with 'true' style is in fact giving direct expression to his personality.³ Indeed, in Article v of Alrededor del estilo, he argues that "style" is the expression of a writer's querer ser, which, echoing the "Prólogo" to his Tres novelas ejemplares (1920), he defines as 'lo más propio, lo más íntimo, lo más profundo de uno'.⁴ Thus the author with "style" expresses his querer ser as he writes and thereby gives form to his innermost impulses and desires. So Unamuno believes that authentic "style" relates to biography, or autobiography, because it describes 'la vida de aquél que lo tiene' and, in a way that announces Cómo se hace una novela, he adds:

2 Alrededor del estilo, xxxi (El Imparcial, 30.11.24); in O.C., vii, 947.

3 Alrededor del estilo, i (El Imparcial, 20.4.24); in O.C., vii, 887.

4 Alrededor del estilo, v (El Imparcial, 18.5.24); in O.C., vii, 894.

Y de aquí que todo biógrafo con estilo, que todo hombre biográfico - llamémosle, si se quiere, novelista -, es un autobiógrafo, se describe, se expresa a sí mismo. Y lo mejor de sí, lo que quiso haber sido.⁵

Unamuno goes on to say that the writer who gives expression to his inner desires as he writes 'se crea creando'.⁶ Moreover, by expressing and thereby creating himself in the written word, the writer can also achieve permanence. He can fix the moment in which he is living and also the expression of himself at that moment, and achieve what Unamuno both here and in Cómo se hace una novela calls la 'eternización de la momentaneidad'.⁷ The writer, therefore, tries to 'vivaciarse un alma, una persona, en una frase!' so that 'en esa frase vierte, para echarlo fuera, para darle existencia perpetua, para eternizarlo, todo su contenido'.⁸ By doing this, he is giving lasting expression to himself and thereby creating the "obra" by which he will be remembered. And this "obra" will become immortal and live on in history through the memory of others. It will find repeated re-creation in the response of readers in the process of reading; for a writer's "obra" is in fact written 'en el momento en que lo leemos, porque lo escribimos nosotros mismos al leerlo, porque lo re-creamos al re-

5 Alrededor del estilo, x (El Imparcial, 22.6.24); in O.C., vii, 903-04.

6 Alrededor del estilo, ix (El Imparcial, 15.6.24); in O.C., vii, 902.

7 Alrededor del estilo, xxiv (El Imparcial, 5.10.24); in O.C., vii, 931.

8 Alrededor del estilo, xxvi (El Imparcial, 26.10.24); in O.C., vii, 936.

crearnos con ello'.⁹

Unamuno carries this belief in the fact that words allow him to create himself and achieve permanence over into the first pages of Cómo se hace una novela, which he wrote in December 1924. There, Unamuno finds himself obsessed with passing time and with the blank pages of his note-book which come to represent, in a way that reminds us of Mallarmé, the threat of artistic paralysis: 'Héteme aquí ante estas blancas páginas - blancas como el negro porvenir: ¡terrible blancura!'.¹⁰ Like the Symbolists before him and a number of Spanish poets - perhaps pre-eminently Guillén -, Unamuno longs to write in order to capture fleeting time and to create a lasting expression of himself in words.¹¹ As he puts it, he is 'buscando retener el tiempo que pasa, fijar el huidero hoy, eternizarme o inmortalizarme',¹² something that he feels he has not achieved in his other exile

9 Alrededor del estilo, xxiv (El Imparcial, 5.10.24); in O.C., vii, 932. Unamuno expressed his idea that a writer lives on through his readers on many occasions. See, for example, the following words from La agonía del cristianismo: '...y, por mi parte, me ha ocurrido muchas veces al encontrarme en un escrito con un hombre...al encontrarme con un alma, no con una doctrina, decirme: "¡Pero éste he sido yo!" Y he revivido con Kierkegaard en Copenhague, y así con otros. ¿Y no será ésta acaso la suprema prueba de la inmortalidad del alma? ¿No se sentirán ellos en mí como yo me siento en ellos?' (O.C., vii, 314).

10 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 59.

11 In Poem i of Cántico, Guillén wrote: 'Todo está concentrado/Por siglos de raíz/Dentro de este minuto,/Eterno y para mí./Y sobre los instantes/Que pasan de continuo/Voy salvando el presente,/Eternidad en vilo' (Jorge Guillén, Selección de poesías (Madrid, 1979), p. 24 (first edition, 1965)).

12 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 59.

writings.¹³

He is thus returning to his age-old desire to focus on and draw out the significance of the present moment. In this, he reminds us of Ortega y Gasset, who had written in 1921 that 'es, pues, necesario, cuando se filosofa, habituarse a detener la mirada sobre el vivir mismo'.¹⁴ However, Unamuno's interest lies not so much in the 'presente fugitivo' as such,¹⁵ as in the possibility of expressing the eternal dimension of his experience of the present and achieving what he here, as in Alrededor del estilo, calls 'la eternización de la momentaneidad'.¹⁶ Elsewhere in Cómo se hace una novela, he talks of his desire to capture 'el presente eterno',¹⁷ an idea which recalls his attempt in En torno al casticismo to define and express 'la tradición del presente' over and against 'el presente momento histórico'.¹⁸

However, at this moment in Paris, Unamuno seems to be too immersed in history and too aware of the horrors of 'este espantoso presente histórico' to be able to eternalize himself in his writings.¹⁹ He is in fact feeling the full effect of his exile from Spain and is gradually entering

13 Unamuno singles out De Fuerteventura a París as a work in which 'no estoy...con todo mi yo del destierro' (Cómo se hace una novela, p. 59). Using the terminology of Alrededor del estilo, one could perhaps say that these poems lack "style".

14 Ortega y Gasset, El tema de nuestro tiempo (Madrid, 1956), p. 77 (first edition, 1923).

15 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 59.

16 *ibid.*, p. 60.

17 *ibid.*, p. 37.

18 O.C., i, 792-93.

19 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 59.

into the literary paralysis which was to dominate his work during the first months of 1925. He therefore gave up writing Cómo se hace una novela until mid-July 1925 when he decided that, in order to continue the work, he first needed to explain his ideas on writing and the word.

He does this by making it clear from the start that he is quintessentially a man of books, and includes himself amongst 'todos los que vivimos principalmente de la lectura y en la lectura'.²⁰ For such people, for those who are "bíblicos",²¹ everything comes from, depends on and lasts in the word.

As a result of this belief that everything exists in the word, Unamuno presents human life in terms of a novela or an historia. By saying this, Unamuno is giving expression to the idea that life is "fictional" in the sense that it has to be created. As Zubizarreta has said, 'vida y novela se unen en esta metáfora para expresar la temporalidad y la auto-creación del hombre'.²² And yet it is clear that Unamuno also uses the metaphor "life as novel" in a literal sense in Cómo se hace una novela. Unamuno's own novela-vida is created in the act of writing, because writing is the process by which he records his feelings and experiences,

20 *ibid.*, p. 63.

21 *ibid.*, p. 63.

22 Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela, p. 142. Luis Fernández Cifuentes has contrasted Unamuno's belief that life is like a novela with Ortega y Gasset's vision of life and of the novel. See Fernández Cifuentes, 'Unamuno y Ortega: leer una novela, hacer una novela', in Essays on Hispanic Literature in Honour of Edmund L. King, edited by Sylvia Molloy and Luis Fernández Cifuentes (London, 1983), pp. 45-59.

puts his life into words and communicates it to others.

By writing his "novel", Unamuno is therefore creating a "fictional" reflection of himself in words. He refers to this self which is fashioned out of words, out of the written story of his life, as 'la leyenda, la novela...de...Miguel de Unamuno' and as 'el Unamuno de mi leyenda, de mi novela'.²³ And this self is actually created through the meeting of Unamuno and other people, namely his readers:

¡Mi leyenda! ¡Mi novela! Es decir, la leyenda, la novela que de mí, de Miguel de Unamuno, al que llamamos así, hemos hecho conjuntamente los otros y yo, mis amigos y mis enemigos, y mi yo amigo y mi yo enemigo.²⁴

Unamuno therefore writes in order to create and give expression to his own leyenda or historia, since 'la esencia de un individuo es su historia'.²⁵

And yet Unamuno also believes that, by writing his own historia, he is at the same time helping to create and influence history itself. This is because he believes that history exists in words, being in fact 'la reflexión que cada individuo o cada pueblo hacen de lo que les sucede'.²⁶ Indeed, Unamuno actually equates history with a book and, modifying the opening of St John's Gospel, declares that in the beginning was the Book, and that before history, which came into being only with the Book, there was nothing:

Y podemos decir que en el principio fue el Libro. O la

23 Cómo se hace una novela, pp. 65, 66.

24 *ibid.*, p. 65.

25 *ibid.*, p. 64.

26 *ibid.*, p. 64.

Historia. Porque la Historia comienza con el Libro y no con la Palabra, y antes de la Historia, del Libro, no había conciencia, no había espejo, no había nada.²⁷

Unamuno therefore believes that history is equivalent to a legend or a story created by individuals or peoples in order to explain what is happening to them; it is in fact the 'leyenda de la realidad'.²⁸ It is for this reason that he claims that those who write history can actually influence the direction of events. As Frances Wyers has said, 'if History is created in books and does not exist outside of them, the written word determines what happens'.²⁹ Unamuno himself writes that

Tal historiador, poeta por su manera de contar, de crear, de inventar un suceso que los hombres creían que se había verificado objetivamente...ha provocado otros sucesos.³⁰

He specifically refers to Karl Marx, another man of books, who "made" 'la revolución rusa tanto si es que no más que Lenin'.³¹ And Unamuno believes that he himself creates or recreates the history of Spain in his writings and that Alfonso XIII and Primo de Rivera are "creatures" who live in the history he writes:

¿Es que mi Alfonso XIII..., mi Primo de Rivera, mi Martínez Anido,...no son otras tantas creaciones mías, partes de mí, tan mías como mi Augusto Pérez, mi Pachico Zabalbide...y todas las demás criaturas de mis novelas?³²

As a result of his belief that everything exists in the

27 *ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

28 *ibid.*, p. 64.

29 Wyers, *Unamuno: The Contrary Self*, p. 53.

30 *Cómo se hace una novela*, p. 64.

31 *ibid.*, p. 64.

32 *ibid.*, p. 63.

word, therefore, Unamuno claims that, by writing, he is simultaneously making his own 'historia' and that of Spain. His duty in exile is to

vivir en la historia y vivir la historia, hacerme en la historia, en mi España, y hacer mi historia, mi España.³³

It is clear therefore that writing allows Unamuno both to realize and create himself and to play his role as a public figure and as a representative of the 'true' Spain.

And it was to continue creating his own 'historia' and to play his public role and influence the history of Spain that Unamuno decided in July 1925 to invent the character and story of Jugo de la Raza.

On the personal level, Unamuno creates Jugo in order to create and eternalize himself as an exile. He decides not to write a directly autobiographical work but rather to create Jugo as an autobiographical extension of himself, a fictional construct, what Zubizarreta refers to as the 'personaje central y autobiográfico de la novela del destierro'.³⁴ Through this character, Unamuno hopes to capture 'la más íntima experiencia de mi destierro, crearme, eternizarme bajo los rasgos de desterrado y de proscrito'.³⁵

Unamuno names Jugo de la Raza after the surnames of his maternal grandfather and paternal grandmother,³⁶ thereby allowing him to represent the essential aspects of his own

33 *ibid.*, p. 65.

34 Zubizarreta, *Unamuno en su novela*, p. 72.

35 *Cómo se hace una novela*, p. 66.

36 *ibid.*, p. 66.

character. He also shows Jugo wandering aimlessly through Paris, 'errando por las orillas del Sena',³⁷ in a way that captures perfectly Unamuno's own experience of life in the French capital. Indeed, Unamuno constantly switches between Jugo's tale and a description of the everyday events of his exile, with the result that Jugo ultimately serves to draw out and give expression to the most important and essential feelings that Unamuno experienced at this time.

And yet Unamuno also wrote Jugo's tale in order to carry out his role as a public figure. He uses the story of Jugo de la Raza to show how an individual can become aware of the value of his existence and also see life in terms of a fictional 'historia' or a 'novela' which has to be created.³⁸ At the beginning of the tale, Jugo is seen to be living 'en el pobre yo de bajo la historia, en el triste hombre que no se ha hecho novela'.³⁹ He therefore searches for literary novels in order to 'descubrirse, a fin de vivir en sí, de ser él mismo'.⁴⁰ Upon discovering a novel at a bouquiniste's stall on the banks of the Seine, Jugo identifies with the character of the novel and finds that this character's story 'le da una historia'.⁴¹ Through reading and creating this character, Jugo has awoken to the

37 *ibid.*, p. 67.

38 Inés Azar has shown how Unamuno uses the play of fictional details and autobiographical fact in Jugo's tale in order to reinforce the idea that life is a fictional 'historia'. See Azar, 'La estructura novelesca de Cómo se hace una novela', pp. 184-206. On this point, see also Paul R. Olson, 'Unamuno's Lacquered Boxes: Cómo se hace una novela', pp. 186-99.

39 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 66.

40 *ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

41 *ibid.*, p. 67.

need to see his own life in terms of a creatable 'historia' or 'novela'.

Furthermore, Jugo discovers that the character in the book he is reading will die at the end of the novel. By identifying his own 'historia' so closely with that of the character, therefore, Jugo comes to realize that he too is mortal. This fact is brought home to Jugo when the character informs him that '"cuándo el lector llegue al fin de esta dolorosa historia se morirá conmigo"'.⁴²

This aspect of Jugo's tale cannot but remind us of the plight of another of Unamuno's characters, Augusto Pérez. As David Turner has pointed out, Unamuno is interested in both Niebla and Cómo se hace una novela in certain chance experiences which produce a higher degree of self-awareness in his characters.⁴³ Augusto Pérez, the "paseante de la vida",⁴⁴ and Jugo, the chance reader, both come to a realization of the contingent character of their lives, and of the need to struggle against this. In both cases, this realization results from an encounter with the threat of mortality.

By writing Jugo's tale, therefore, Unamuno aims to create an 'exemplary' story in which he can show how an individual can awaken to the value of his life through

42 *ibid.*, p. 67. Martin Nozick has underlined the fact that Unamuno's reading of Balzac's La Peau de Chagrin in Paris influenced his conception of Jugo's tale. See Nozick, 'Unamuno and La Peau de Chagrin', Modern Language Notes, lxxv (1950), 255-56.

43 David Turner, Unamuno's webs of fatality, p. 108. Turner (*op. cit.*, pp. 107-21) provides a useful study of the symbols Unamuno employs in Jugo's tale.

44 O.C., ii, 557.

realizing that he is mortal and trying thereafter to give expression to his querer ser. He wishes to make it clear that, in the face of death, man must see his life as an historia or a novela which has to be created. As Gullón says, 'Cómo se hace una novela es la clave para entender cómo se hace un hombre'.⁴⁵ Unamuno's aim as he starts Jugo's tale is therefore to play his role as an "agitador de espíritus" and to be a true "Jugo de la Raza", that is, a representative of his Spanish philosophy of self-creation.

However, Unamuno fails to carry out this role and also finds himself unable to show Jugo de la Raza expressing his querer ser and creating the novel that is his life. Instead, Jugo reacts to the threat of death by entering into a crisis in which

sintió ardor en la nuca y frío en todo el cuerpo, le temblaron las piernas y apareciósele en el espíritu el espectro de la angina de pecho de que había estado obsesionado años antes.⁴⁶

Jugo therefore tries to escape from the novel which had revealed to him the fact that he is mortal, and on one occasion even decides to burn it.⁴⁷ However, he finds that he cannot live either with or without the novel, and falls into a state of spiritual paralysis in which he becomes convinced that he is about to die. In this, Jugo's plight directly mirrors Unamuno's own plight in Paris, where he too suffered from a profound spiritual and literary paralysis.

45 Gullón, Autobiografías de Unamuno, p. 277. On this point, see also Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela, pp. 239-44.

46 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 67.

47 ibid., p. 72.

As we saw in Chapter 3, Unamuno found himself in the French capital to be cut off from Spain and the values his country represented and consequently felt that his role as a writer and a communicator had been interrupted. As a result, he became unable to write and therefore unable to create himself and to play his public role. He sank into a state of inactivity in which, as in the crisis of 1897, he became very aware of the threat of death, and realized, just as Jugo had done, that

La historia es leyenda,...y esta leyenda, esta historia me devora y cuando ella acabe, me acabaré con ella. Lo que es una tragedia....Y no sólo mi tragedia, sino la de todos los que viven en la historia, por ella y de ella.⁴⁸

In this situation, it is not surprising that Unamuno should come to question the implications of his philosophy of self-creation. As Unamuno's own way of creating himself was through the playing of his role as a writer and a public figure, he in fact ended up by suffering profound doubts concerning the very idea of role-playing and its effects on selfhood.

Unamuno was in fact forced in Cómo se hace una novela to face up once again to the paradox which lies at the very heart of his idea of self-creation: the paradox contained in the belief that, in order for the individual to create himself and to give expression to a genuine sense of selfhood, he must play out a role for himself and for others. As in the Diario íntimo, Unamuno became all too

48 *ibid.*, p. 65.

aware here that the individual can never be sure of the authenticity of the role he plays and consequently of the self he creates by playing it.

This is the aspect of Cómo se hace una novela which has received most attention from the critics. Sánchez Barbudo and Zubizarreta were among the first to underline the fact that Unamuno is obsessed in this work with the question of sincerity.⁴⁹ Furthermore, Zubizarreta briefly pointed out that Unamuno returns in Cómo se hace una novela to a question which had haunted him since the Diario íntimo, that is, the question of 'la comedia de la vida'.⁵⁰

In reality, Unamuno's treatment of the theme of comedia in Cómo se hace una novela offers many points of contact with the earlier work. For a start, Unamuno at one moment expresses the fear that he may be acting out a comedy in front of himself. His claim that 'me represento a mí mismo, delante de mí mismo'⁵¹ directly recalls the pages of the Diario íntimo where he had written

La comedia de la vida....Y llega al punto de representar a solas, y seguir la comedia en la soledad, y ser cómico para sí mismo.⁵²

Furthermore, Unamuno's tendency to play out a role for himself also affects his confidence in his own 'historia' and the 'historia' of Spain which he believes to be creating in his writings. At one point in Cómo se hace una novela, he exclaims that '¡Vuelvo a la escena! ¡A la comedia!' because

49 Sánchez Barbudo, Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado, pp. 175-232; Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela, pp. 174-97.

50 Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela, pp. 272-76.

51 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 73.

52 Diario íntimo, p. 20.

he had presumed that Primo de Rivera's side-kick, Martínez Anido,

nada desea más que mi perdón, sobre todo si sospecha que rezo a diario: "perdónanos nuestras deudas así como nosotros perdonamos a nuestros deudores".⁵³

For this reason, Unamuno calls into question the whole idea that he is in fact creating and influencing Spanish history through his writings, and says of Primo de Rivera, Martínez Anido and Alfonso XIII:

¿Es que miento cuando les atribuyo ciertas intenciones y ciertos sentimientos? ¿Existen como les describo? ¿Es que siquiera existen? ¿Existen, sea como fuere, fuera de mí?⁵⁴

Just as seriously, Unamuno also feels that he has a tendency to act out a comedia for others. He fears that he is doing no more than to live up to the role expected of him by other people, including his family: '¿es que represento una comedia, hasta para los míos?'⁵⁵ As a result, he feels enslaved - just as he had done in the Diario íntimo - to the way in which others perceive him and is no longer sure of where his real self lies: '¿seré como me creo o como se me cree?'⁵⁶ He ultimately expresses all his anguish and self-doubt in the words '¿es que creo en mí mismo?'⁵⁷

In the face of these doubts about the effects that his playing of his role have on his sense of selfhood, Unamuno at one moment in Cómo se hace una novela expresses the

53 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 81.

54 ibid., p. 80.

55 ibid., p. 82.

56 ibid., p. 76.

57 ibid., p. 76.

longing for another, more substantial self which is untouched by role-playing and writing:

¿No estaré a punto de sacrificar mi yo íntimo, divino, el que soy en Dios, el que debo ser, al otro, al yo histórico, al que se mueve en su historia y con su historia?⁵⁸

Unamuno is reformulating here the idea that he had first expressed in the Diario íntimo - that it would be more 'sencillo' and 'sano' to live for eternity rather than to live for history.⁵⁹ By setting the 'yo divino' apart from and in opposition to the 'yo histórico' and implying that the former is the real, authentic self, Unamuno shows that he longs to find permanence in a God-given soul rather than in a "historical" self created through writing and playing a public role.⁶⁰

In the context of Cómo se hace una novela, this is a striking thing to write, especially when we realize that the only previous references here to a self beyond that of the created historia have either been ill-defined or negative. At the beginning of the work, Unamuno had made a fleeting reference to a mysterious 'yo desconocido e inconocible...para mí mismo',⁶¹ while he had referred to Jugo before he found his novel as living 'en el pobre yo de bajo la historia, en el hombre triste que no se ha hecho novela'.⁶²

58 ibid., p. 80.

59 Diario íntimo, p. 144.

60 Once again, this reminds us of what Unamuno had written in the Diario íntimo: 'He vivido soñando en dejar un nombre y viviré en adelante obsesionado en salvar mi alma'(p. 123).

61 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 66.

62 ibid., p. 66.

What is really going on in this brief and undeveloped reference to a 'yo divino' is that Unamuno is searching at a moment of crisis for a self that is both authentic and substantial. In a sense, therefore, Cómo se hace una novela works in the opposite direction to the Diario íntimo: whereas Unamuno had shown in the latter work that his rediscovery of his 'eterno yo' allowed him to criticize the activities of his 'yo social',⁶³ Unamuno here reveals how his concentration on the need for the individual to create his historia and his 'yo histórico' has led him briefly to long for the security of a God-given soul. In François Meyer's words, Unamuno has realized that

el estatuto de ficción que define a la persona la condena a un perpetuo hacerse, a una continua creación, a una "ficción" en sus modos de ser, y esto sin apoyo sustancial.⁶⁴

This is by no means, of course, the first time that Unamuno had come to such a realization. In Niebla, for example, he had shown how Augusto Pérez becomes aware of the fact that he is no more than an 'ente de ficción',⁶⁵ and how Victor Goti had claimed that all those who are fictional entities 'no tenemos dentro'.⁶⁶ However, the result of Unamuno's search for a "dentro" in the first version of Cómo se hace una novela and of the fleeting reference to a 'yo divino' is that he is forced to return in this work to his lifelong preoccupation with the duality of selfhood.

63 Diario íntimo, p. 174.

64 Meyer, La ontología de Miguel de Unamuno, p. 78.

65 O.C., ii, 670.

66 O.C., ii, 663.

Sánchez Barbudo was the first critic to point this out and also to call attention to the fact that there is a link between Unamuno's crisis of 1897 and the one he suffered in exile, and also between the Diario íntimo and Cómo se hace una novela. He claimed that Cómo se hace una novela, like the Diary, is centrally concerned with what he calls 'el misterio de la personalidad' and that Unamuno deals once again here with his preoccupation with 'un "yo" profundo y otro "yo" superficial'.⁶⁷ Moreover, Sánchez Barbudo was intent upon showing that Unamuno realizes in Cómo se hace una novela that his outer, created self is insincere and that

el Unamuno que el mundo conocía y admiraba, el de la duda y la lucha, no era sino invención del Unamuno desolado y solitario, el verdadero.⁶⁸

And yet to claim that Unamuno realizes here that his outer self is no more than an inauthentic "invención" is to overlook the fact that, immediately after his reference to a 'yo divino', Unamuno goes on to reaffirm his conviction that man cannot avoid living in history and creating his leyenda. By saying this, Unamuno is in fact attempting to reassert his belief in the individual's need to create himself and indeed his belief in his philosophy of self-creation itself.

This fact can be corroborated if we look at the way in

67 Sánchez Barbudo, Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado p. 175. On Unamuno's treatment of the duality of selfhood in Cómo se hace una novela, see also Gullón, Autobiografías de Unamuno, pp. 264-89; Blanco Aguinaga, "'Authenticity" and the Image', pp. 64-71; Wyers, Unamuno: The Contrary Self, pp. 52-59.

68 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 219.

which Unamuno deals with the tale of Jugo de la Raza. When Unamuno's doubts about the effects of role-playing and self-creation were at their height, he decided to allow Jugo, who had become obsessed with death and therefore found himself unable to read and create the novel that was his life, to undertake a trip outside Paris, 'a la rebusca del olvido de la historia'.⁶⁹ However, he also showed that Jugo would not be able to escape from the novel and that 'habría andado errante, perseguido por las cenizas del libro que había quemado'.⁷⁰ Indeed, Unamuno sets out to show on several occasions that Jugo has an inescapable need to return to the novel, even though he can never actually read it with confidence. Jugo cannot in fact live with or without the book, because

si continuaba leyéndolo, viviéndolo, corría riesgo de morirse cuando muriese el personaje novelesco, pero si no lo leía ya, si no vivía ya más el libro, ¿viviría?⁷¹

Unamuno's treatment of Jugo's tale reflects his own conviction that he too has to continue living in history and creating the leyenda that is his life: 'es que si no me hago mi leyenda, me muero del todo. Y si me la hago, también'.⁷² He therefore reaffirms his belief that he has a duty to write and play his public role and thereby create himself, even though the legend that he creates of himself by doing so may be inauthentic and insubstantial. As he puts it, 'el Unamuno de mi leyenda...me da vida y muerte, me crea y me

69 *ibid.*, p. 77.

70 *ibid.*, p. 77.

71 *ibid.*, p. 68. Unamuno repeats the same idea later (p. 85).

72 *ibid.*, p. 80.

destruye, me sostiene y me ahoga'.⁷³

For this reason, Unamuno tirelessly sets out in the remaining pages of the first version of Cómo se hace una novela to prove that he has an inescapable need to play his role as a public figure and a writer and that that role is in fact authentic. After having given expression to his fear that he is no more than an 'hipócrita' and to his desire to take refuge in a 'yo divino',⁷⁴ Unamuno therefore goes on to write that 'mi papel es mi verdad y debo vivir mi verdad, que es mi vida'.⁷⁵

This is an extremely important moment in Cómo se hace una novela which has in fact been misunderstood by many critics. Sánchez Barbudo, for example, claims that Unamuno writes these words in order to cover up his doubts about the authenticity of the role that he is playing and of the self he creates by playing it. The critic therefore categorically affirms that 'su "papel" no era su verdad'.⁷⁶ Frances Wyers, for her part, believes that Unamuno is desperately trying here to ignore the "split" in his personality by attempting 'to deny the split itself'.⁷⁷

In reality, Unamuno affirms that his "papel" is equivalent to his "verdad" because he genuinely believes that it involves him in writing in order to awaken people to the need to create themselves. Unamuno is therefore trying

73 *ibid.*, p. 66.

74 *ibid.*, pp. 82, 80.

75 *ibid.*, p. 82.

76 Sánchez Barbudo, Estudios sobre Galdós, Unamuno y Machado, p. 219.

77 Wyers, Unamuno: The Contrary Self, p. 53.

to reaffirm his belief that, by writing, he is simultaneously creating his own leyenda and carrying out his role as a public figure by inviting his readers to do the same.⁷⁸

It is for this reason that Unamuno goes on to claim that 'mis cátedras, mis estudios, mis poemas son política',⁷⁹ and to try to regain confidence in his political role and understanding of politics by contrasting it with that of other people. Unamuno especially singles out Primo de Rivera who is the head of 'la peor de las tiranías, la de la estupidez y la impotencia',⁸⁰ and certain Spanish writers and philosophers who have not stood up to Primo and whose politics is that of 'los que no quieren gritos, de los que quieren que se reciba sonriendo los escupitajos de los viles'.⁸¹

In the final pages of the first version of Cómo se hace una novela, therefore, Unamuno sets out to reaffirm his true role as a public figure. This he does in response to an imaginary reader who suggests to him that

no hago sino representar un papel, que no comprendo el patriotismo, que no ha sido seria la comedia de mi vida.⁸²

In the face of this accusation, Unamuno repeats the central message of Cómo se hace una novela and writes that his reader - like every individual - is no more than

78 Zubizarreta hints at this point but does not develop it. See Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela, pp. 174-97.

79 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 89.

80 *ibid.*, p. 89.

81 *ibid.*, p. 90.

82 *ibid.*, p. 92.

un personaje cómico, novelesco...un personaje que quiero poner en medio del sueño de su vida. Que haga del sueño, de su sueño, vida y se habrá salvado.⁸³

As a result of this claim, Unamuno goes on to contradict his previous assertion that he has within him a 'yo divino' and to produce a description of human existence which is radical and uncompromising:

Y como no hay nada más que comedia y novela, que piense [el lector] que lo que le parece realidad extra-escénica es comedia de comedia, novela de novela, que el nómeno inventado por Kant es lo de más fenomenal que puede darse y la sustancia lo que hay de más formal. El fondo de una cosa es su superficie.⁸⁴

Unamuno therefore calls upon the reader to become the 'comediante y autor' of himself,⁸⁵ implying that the person whose life is a comedia or a novela can achieve authenticity by being the author of that comedia, that is, by continually criticizing and modifying the role he plays and the novela he writes.

And yet, despite the seeming confidence of these pages and the fact that these ideas will go on to form the basis of the much more optimistic 'Continuación', the end of the first version of Cómo se hace una novela does not appear to be totally convincing. For one thing, Unamuno has still not dealt satisfactorily with the idea of the duality of selfhood. Even though he has not returned to the idea that he has within him an independent "yo divino", and has in

83 *ibid.*, p. 92.

84 *ibid.*, p. 92. Blanco Aguinaga has called attention to the radical nature of this statement. See Blanco Aguinaga, 'Interioridad y exterioridad en Unamuno', p. 700.

85 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 93.

fact categorically denied the existence of any 'realidad extra-escénica',⁸⁶ he still continues to talk in terms of a dual reality. This can be seen, above all, in his reference to the fact that the self is divided into a "comediante" who acts and an "autor" who controls that act and presumably guarantees sincerity.

This lack of consistency in his treatment of the question of selfhood and the relationship between what may be the two sides of the self reflects the fact that Unamuno is still preoccupied with the possibility of his own insincerity and with the negative implications involved in his idea that life is a comedia. This can be seen above all in Unamuno's continuing sensitivity to others' perceptions of his actions which leads him at the end of the first version of Cómo se hace una novela to be constantly justifying himself and his ideas. Unamuno reveals here a great mistrust and fear of how others judge him.

Finally, Unamuno still does not know what to do with his character, Jugo, and with his "allegory" about reading. He has shown Jugo to be totally obsessed with the novel that he is reading, and desperately trying to escape from it.⁸⁷ Unamuno has even toyed with the idea of allowing Jugo to

perder la voluntad y la memoria o en todo caso el
apetito de vivir, de suerte que olvidara el libro, la
novela, su propia vida y se olvidara de sí mismo.⁸⁸

Unamuno now refuses to tell us the end of Jugo's story, alleging that 'el lector que busque novelas acabadas no

86 *ibid.*, p. 92.

87 *ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

88 *ibid.*, p. 90.

merece ser mi lector'.⁸⁹ He then adds a very striking paragraph, in which he says:

¿Y cómo acabarás tú, lector? Si no eres más que lector, al acabar tu lectura, y si eres hombre, hombre como yo, es decir, comediante y autor de ti mismo, entonces no debes leer por miedo de olvidarte a ti mismo.⁹⁰

This advice to us to avoid the activity of reading is very revealing, especially when seen in the context of Jugo's tale which, after all, had started out as an attempt by Unamuno to make us see life in terms of a novela that has to be read, written and created. Unamuno ends the first version of Cómo se hace una novela still wondering about the sincerity of his novela and still uncertain about the comedia of life and about the activity through which he can create himself.⁹¹ It is only in the 'Continuación' and in the other sections he added to Cómo se hace una novela in 1927 that Unamuno will be able confidently to reaffirm his ideas on self-creation and fully believe once again in the activities of writing and reading.

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89 *ibid.*, p. 92.

90 *ibid.*, p. 93.

91 Unamuno's fears about comedia carry on right until the end of the first version of Cómo se hace una novela: see his paragraph on the actor who commits suicide (p. 93).

In the 'Prólogo', the 'Comentario' and the 'Continuación' that he added to Cómo se hace una novela in Hendaye in 1927, Unamuno finally managed to find an answer to his preoccupation with the authenticity of the role he plays and to his concern with the question of genuine selfhood. He also reaffirmed his belief in the activities of reading and writing, and went on to produce his most important statements ever on this theme.

Unamuno was able to do all this because he regained in Hendaye a sense of innerness which is precisely what was lacking in Paris and in the first version of Cómo se hace una novela. As we saw in Chapter 3, Unamuno's contact with the countryside and the culture of his native Basque Country provided him with a sense of spiritual well-being and also allowed him to rediscover what he referred to as his 'niñez eterna'.¹ Like Jugo de la Raza, he was therefore able to come across 'aquella edad en que aún no sabía leer, en que todavía no era hombre de libro'.² This experience led him to believe once again that he had within him what he now called an 'hombre interior' or an 'hombre de dentro'.³

This re-encounter with an inner self did not cause Unamuno to renounce the idea of turning his life into an historia or a novela. On the contrary, it allowed him to return to the idea of self-creation with renewed vigour and confidence, because he now felt that self-creation is not

1 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 98.

2 ibid., p. 98.

3 ibid., p. 98.

just a matter of creating oneself in a void, but of gradually uncovering and giving expression to one's "inner self". He explores this idea by returning to Jugo's tale. Unamuno claims that Jugo had been 'un puro contemplador,...un mero lector' who 'padecía la novela, pero no la hacía'.⁴ To be able to do the latter, he must now allow his "inner man" to become the creator of the character that he is reading about:

El hombre de dentro, el intrahombre, cuando se hace lector, contemplador, si es viviente ha de hacerse lector, contemplador del personaje a quien va a la vez que leyendo, haciendo, creando; contemplador de su propia obra. El hombre de dentro...cuando se hace lector hácese por lo mismo autor, o sea actor....⁵

It can be seen that this idea is in fact a radical development of Unamuno's original assertion that an individual should be 'comediante y autor' of himself.⁶ Now, the 'comediante' is equivalent to the 'yo histórico' and the 'autor' to the 'yo divino' and, in the process of self-creation, the inner and outer selves fuse.⁷ Unamuno thus achieves a new sense of the unity of the self which allows him to repeat, this time convincingly, that 'su entraña - intránea -, lo de dentro, es su extraña - extránea - lo de fuera; su forma es su fondo'.⁸

As a result of this new-found confidence in the process

4 *ibid.*, p. 102.

5 *ibid.*, p. 102.

6 *ibid.*, p. 93.

7 Unamuno, of course, implies here that the inner self will guarantee the sincerity of the acting self. In this, he seems to be repeating an idea from the *Diario íntimo*, where he had said that 'la sinceridad es la conformidad entre los dos hombres [el hombre exterior y el hombre interior]' (p. 176).

8 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 108.

of self-creation, Unamuno can also reaffirm an idea which had been central to his work since Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho, namely that 'cada uno es hijo de sus obras'.⁹

Furthermore, as the individual has the duty to create himself, Unamuno claims that he is in fact 'padre e hijo de sí mismo'.¹⁰ By giving expression to his inner self in the obra that he creates, the individual is therefore creating his own spirit, and Unamuno can consequently assert that

Nuestra obra es nuestro espíritu y mi obra soy yo mismo que me estoy haciendo día a día y siglo a siglo.¹¹

And yet it is important to point out that Unamuno's assertion that 'cada uno es hijo de sus obras' has a literal as well as a metaphorical meaning. Unamuno is in fact reaffirming here his old belief that he creates himself and tries to achieve permanence through the writings that he produces. This is an essential aspect of the 'Prólogo', 'Comentario' and 'Continuación', and one which Zubizarreta totally overlooks in his important study of the work.¹² What Unamuno ultimately does in these sections of Cómo se hace una novela is to reveal that his belief in the activity of writing and in the power of the word lies at the very heart

9 *ibid.*, p. 101.

10 *ibid.*, p. 101.

11 *ibid.*, p. 101. In La agonía del cristianismo, Unamuno had written that 'Y el fin de la vida es hacerse un alma, un alma inmortal. Un alma que es la propia obra' (O.C., vii, 309).

12 Zubizarreta is intent upon showing that Unamuno expresses a belief in the orthodox Christian notion of immortality in Cómo se hace una novela. (See Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela, pp. 203-14). We shall see that Unamuno's hopes for permanence actually lie in the creation of his obra as a writer.

of his philosophy of self-creation.

Unamuno in fact reviews all of his ideas on the related activities of reading and writing here. In the 'Prólogo', he returns to an idea which had obsessed him since the Diario íntimo, namely that the written word can, like nothing else, give expression to the lived experience of the self but can also vacate the self of all substance. In Carlos París' words, Unamuno is powerfully aware of 'toda la grandeza y la limitación, toda la vitalidad y herrumbre de la palabra'.¹³

In the 'Prólogo', Unamuno starts by explaining that 'eso que se llama en literatura producción es un consumo, una consunción'.¹⁴ He goes on to say that the writer, by turning his thoughts and feelings into words, is in fact destroying them and 'los va matando'.¹⁵ This is something which had also preoccupied him in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, where he had written that

mis propios pensamientos, tumultuosos y agitados en los senos de mi mente, desgajados de su raíz cordial, vertidos a este papel y fijados en él en formas inalterables, son ya cadáveres de pensamientos.¹⁶

In La agonía del cristianismo too, Unamuno had drawn

13 París, Unamuno. Estructura de su mundo intelectual, p. 13. París provides an excellent introduction to Unamuno's contradictory feelings concerning the written word (op. cit., pp. 13-43). On this point, see also Adolfo Jiménez Hernández, Unamuno y la filosofía del lenguaje (Puerto Rico, 1973), pp. 107-25; Allen Lacy, Miguel de Unamuno. The Rhetoric of Existence (The Hague, 1967), pp. 122-51; Pedro Laín Entralgo, 'Unamuno y la palabra', in Gómez Molleda, Volumen Homenaje Cincuentenario de Miguel de Unamuno, pp. 617-24; Pedro Cerezo Galán, 'Poesía y existencia', in Gómez Molleda, Volumen Homenaje Cincuentenario de Miguel de Unamuno, pp. 541-73.

14 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 37.

15 ibid., p. 37.

16 O.C., vii, 162.

attention to the difference between the living 'verbo' and the written 'letra' and had claimed that 'la letra es muerta; en la letra no se puede buscar la vida'.¹⁷ Echoing these words, Unamuno writes in the 'Prólogo' to Cómo se hace una novela that 'en cuanto un pensamiento queda fijado por la escritura, expresado, cristalizado, queda ya muerto'.¹⁸

And yet Unamuno also knows that he has to write and produce a written version of the self in order to live and to achieve permanence. He therefore claims that, although literature represents the death of the lived experience of the self, it is in fact

muerte de que otros pueden tomar vida. Porque el que lee una novela puede vivirla, revivirla - y quien dice novela dice una historia -, y el que lee un poema, una criatura - poema es criatura y poesía creación - puede re-crearlo.¹⁹

This quotation shows just how far Unamuno depends upon his readers in his search for genuine self-expression and permanence. It should not be surprising, therefore, that much of the 'Prólogo', 'Comentario' and 'Continuación' to Cómo se hace una novela deals with the question of how the reader should read and recreate a work of literature.

This is an aspect of Cómo se hace una novela which has recently received much attention from the critics. However, Fernando de Toro, Angel R. Fernández and Gonzalo Navajas seem more intent upon proving that Unamuno was a forerunner of the modern "reception theory" of literature than upon

17 O.C., vii, 320.

18 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 37.

19 ibid., p. 37.

seeing how Unamuno's ideas on reading fit into Cómo se hace una novela as a whole.²⁰ In reality, what Unamuno is interested in doing at this point in Cómo se hace una novela is to show the reader how to read a literary work in such a way that he allows it to live on within him.

He does this by borrowing a metaphor from the Book of Revelation 10. 9 and claiming that the reader must learn not simply to read but to "eat" books. If he does this, he too will take on new life, since

cuando un libro es cosa viva, hay que comérselo, y el que se lo come, si a su vez es viviente, si está de veras vivo, revive con esa comida.²¹

The reader who manages to do this makes the book that he reads part of himself. He allows the inner self of the writer not only to come alive but also to live on within him, since the writer's 'vida íntima, entrañada, novelesca, se continúa en la de sus lectores'.²² The writer will therefore achieve permanence through the reader's continuing recreation of his work in the process of reading. For this

20 Fernando de Toro, 'Personaje autónomo, lector y autor en Miguel de Unamuno', Hispania, lxiv (1981), 360-66; Angel R. Fernández, 'El género literario y el intérprete-lector en "Y va de cuento" y Cómo se hace una novela', Anales de la literatura española contemporánea, xii (1987), 327-36; Gonzalo Navajas, 'El yo, el lector-otro y la duplicidad en Unamuno', Hispania, lxxi (1988), 512-22. A good general introduction to Unamuno's ideas on reading is found in Mario J. Valdés, 'Unamuno's Hermeneutics of Reading', Journal of Spanish Studies of the Twentieth Century, iv (1976), 203-13.

21 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 48. For a study of Unamuno's treatment of the metaphor of "eating" books, see Francie Cate-Arries, 'Cómo se hace una novela: Reading, Writing and Being (Fed) by Miguel de Unamuno', Romance Notes, xxvii (1987), 199-204.

22 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 107. In La agonía del cristianismo, Unamuno had written: 'el que hace un alma, el que deja una obra, vive en ella y con ella en los demás hombres' (O.C., vii, 317).

reason, Unamuno tells his reader:

¿No es que he penetrado yo en la intimidad de tu pensamiento a la vez que penetrabas tú en la intimidad del mío...? ¿No es acaso que mi hombre de dentro, mi intra-hombre, se toca y hasta se une con tu hombre de dentro, con tu intra-hombre, de modo que yo viva en ti y tú en mí?²³

And yet Unamuno is very aware that the reader will only "eat" and recreate a work which is of use and significance to him. That work must be a true 'cosa viva',²⁴ a genuine expression of the author's life and search to create himself.²⁵ This fact goes some way to explaining the final shape and structure of Cómo se hace una novela. The book is in fact full of frames, like so many of Unamuno's other works, such as Niebla, Teresa (1924), La agonía del cristianismo and San Manuel Bueno, mártir. These frames mark off and separate the different parts of the text, whether it is the 'Prólogo', the 'Comentario' on Cassou's 'Retrato de Unamuno', the main text of Cómo se hace una novela, the 'Continuación' or the bracketed passages which Unamuno added to the first version of Cómo se hace una novela in 1927. Each of these parts acts as a commentary on the others and, in Unamuno's words, the whole works like

esas cajitas de laca japonesas que encierran otra cajita y ésta otra y luego otra más, y al último una final cajita...vacía.²⁶

23 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 103.

24 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 48.

25 On Unamuno's desire to give genuine expression to himself in his works, see Allen Lacy, Miguel de Unamuno. The Rhetoric of Existence, pp. 95-151.

26 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 58. On Unamuno's reference to the Chinese boxes, see Paul R. Olson, 'Unamuno's Lacquered Boxes: Cómo se hace una novela', pp. 186-99.

The overall effect is that Cómo se hace una novela is a work without an 'argumento'²⁷, and appears to have been written, to quote the title of an essay he wrote in 1904, 'a lo que salga'.²⁸ As such, it is the perfect expression of the life of a writer who tirelessly searches for himself in the face of the 'final cajita...vacía' that is death.

It is clear that, by writing Cómo se hace una novela, Unamuno believed himself to be carrying out his role as a public figure. He has described his own attempt to give expression to his inner self and create himself in order to encourage others to do the same. He therefore writes that Cómo se hace una novela has involved him 'planteando problemas, y lo que es más grave, problemas metapolíticos y religiosos',²⁹ and sums up his aim in the work by saying

creo asistir a mis prójimos, a mis hermanos, a mis co-hombres, a que se encuentren a sí mismos y entren para siempre en la historia y se hagan su propia novela.³⁰

At the very end of Cómo se hace una novela, he defines his role once again by contrasting it with that of Primo de Rivera. While Primo is a figure who simply 'cree lucirse', Unamuno sees himself as someone who 'no sólo luce, sino que al lucir alumbra a los otros, se luce alumbrándose a sí mismo'.³¹ Elsewhere he writes - in a thinly veiled reference to himself - that

lo propio de una individualidad viva, siempre presente,

27 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 58.

28 'A lo que salga'; in O.C., i, 1194-1204.

29 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 104.

30 ibid., p. 55.

31 ibid., p. 113.

siempre cambiante y siempre la misma, que aspira a vivir siempre,...consiste en alimentarse de las demás individualidades y darse a ellos en alimento.³²

In these words, we have the essence not only of Unamuno's understanding of politics but also of his vision of what self-creation entails. He defines a mutually challenging relationship between author and reader in which each brings the other to life and helps him to realize the need to create himself. This is a development of Unamuno's belief as expressed in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida that the individual must learn to 'darse a los demás para recogerse de ellos',³³ and allows Unamuno to overcome his suspicion of the way in which others perceive him and to draw them into the process of mutual self-creation.

However, Unamuno realizes forcefully towards the end of the 'Continuación' that his aim as a writer and public figure in exile is not simply that of creating himself and making his individual readers do the same. To think that is to see life as a 'camino de solitarios' which can only lead to a 'patria de soledad'.³⁴ The whole point about Unamuno's idea that he must 'alumbrarse' in order to 'alumbrar' others is that this allows for contact between individuals and the consequent defeat of what Unamuno calls man's 'soledad radical':

Y sólo haciéndose uno el novelador y el lector de la novela, se salvan ambos de su soledad radical.³⁵

32 *ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

33 O.C., vii, 268.

34 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 112.

35 *ibid.*, p. 112.

For Unamuno, individual self-creation is always of great importance, but at this stage he is more interested in the idea of "meeting" others and of creating and defining a true comunidad humana.³⁶

Here, he defines this community in spiritual terms, seeing it as a collection of questioning, self-creating and spiritually aware individuals who, by alumbrándose, are struggling to create God's "city" on earth. As 'el reino de Dios'³⁷ - which Unamuno elsewhere calls 'la patria, la celestial y eterna se entiende'³⁸ - is not of this world, the patria formed by this community of people is seen as a camino which leads forever closer to God.³⁹ He explains that 'ese reino es la eterna venida de él',⁴⁰ an idea which recalls Unamuno's description of spiritual life in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida as 'un eterno acrecentarnos e ir hacia Dios'.⁴¹

Without doubt, this community, this patria, is also a reflection of an ideal Spain which would be made up of individuals living according to Unamuno's Spanish philosophy and working to bring God's kingdom to earth. For this reason, such a Spain would also be a camino rather than a state, a community working towards an ideal rather than a reality. In this, Unamuno's description of the patria as a camino brings to mind the ideas of Ortega y Gasset, who had

36 *ibid.*, p. 113.

37 *ibid.*, p. 113.

38 *ibid.*, p. 112.

39 *ibid.*, p. 112.

40 *ibid.*, p. 53.

41 O.C., vii, 182.

written in 1921 that:

La "España una" nace así en la mente de Castilla, no como una intuición de algo real, ...sino como un ideal esquema de algo realizable, un proyecto incitador de voluntades.⁴²

Furthermore, this patria, this ideal Spain, would itself be a reflection of heaven on earth, a 'ciudad de Dios'.⁴³ In the light of this idea, it is not surprising that Unamuno should refer to his exile from such a place as a "des-cielo", nor that he should so often describe his country as 'la España eterna'.⁴⁴

This spiritual definition of the patria is the climax of Unamuno's attempts, which started in the 1890s, as we saw in Chapter 1, to define a religious patriotism over and against the false patriotism or casticismo of others. And, in a way that echoes the interest he had expressed in En torno al casticismo in 'la tradición eterna española, que al ser eterna es más bien humana que española',⁴⁵ he here says that

hay una humanidad por dentro de esa otra triste humanidad arrebañada, hay una humanidad que confieso y por la que clamo.⁴⁶

By writing as a prophet of this "humanidad", Unamuno not only marries politics and religion - he claims that 'la

42 Ortega y Gasset, España invertebrada (Colección El Arquero, Madrid, 1957), p. 44 (first edition, 1921). Ortega also wrote in this work that 'los grupos que integran un Estado viven juntos para algo: son una comunidad de propósitos, de anhelos, de grandes utilidades' (op. cit., p. 33).

43 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 113.

44 ibid., p. 59.

45 O.C., i, 794.

46 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 49.

religión y la política se hacen una en la novela de la vida actual'⁴⁷ - but also marries "action" and "contemplation" in the sense that he reasserts his idea that writing is a political act:

La acción es contemplativa, la contemplación es activa; la política es novelesca y la novela es política.⁴⁸

All in all, Unamuno in the 'Continuación' powerfully reaffirms his role as a public figure who writes in such a way that his inner needs and public duties do not contradict each other. This is because he writes in order simultaneously to create himself, to convince others to do the same, and to define and help to "make" his ideal Spain:

Y yo estoy aquí, en el destierro,...para alumbrar y alumbrarme, para hacer nuestra novela, historia, la de nuestra España.⁴⁹

All of this shows just how much Unamuno the philosopher of the individual is obsessed with defending and defining the community, and how his hopes for personal salvation at this stage lie as much in that community as in the idea of creating an eternal soul for himself:

¿De qué te serviría ganar el mundo si perdieras tu alma? Bien; pero y ¿de qué te serviría ganar tu alma si perdieras el mundo? Pongamos en vez de mundo la comunión humana, la comunidad humana, o sea la comunidad común.⁵⁰

The fact that Unamuno hopes to find immortality in history

47 *ibid.*, p. 113. In La agonía del cristianismo, he had also said that 'Siento a la vez la política elevada a religión y la religión elevada a política' (O.C., vii, 359-607).

48 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 102.

49 *ibid.*, p. 113.

50 *ibid.*, p. 113.

and in 'la comunidad humana' gives the lie to Zubizarreta's assertion that Unamuno in Cómo se hace una novela 'busca la inmortalidad por y en Cristo, a la manera paulina'.⁵¹

In the 'Prólogo', 'Comentario' and 'Continuación' to Cómo se hace una novela which he wrote in Hendaye, therefore, Unamuno develops his ideas on reading and writing in such a way that he manages to reaffirm his belief in the role that he is playing and also to show that he can achieve genuine selfhood and permanence through playing that role. However, the confidence that he shows at this time was not to last, and the other works he produced in Hendaye bear witness to the fact that the crisis he suffered in Paris continued to affect his writings right until the end of exile.

51 Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela, p. 208.

CHAPTER 6

THE AFTERMATH OF UNAMUNO'S EXILE CRISIS: A STUDY OF HIS OTHER HENDAYE WRITINGS

In a sense, the 'Continuación' is a rare moment of precarious balance in Unamuno's work. The confidence he felt in mid-1927 in Hendaye allowed him to bring together certain discordant elements in his thought: his awareness of man's need to act out a role in the process of self-creation and his fear of insincerity and comedia; the idea of the two selves; public and private identity; politics and the search for authentic selfhood. For a while, Unamuno can confidently be the public figure writing in order to achieve fuller humanity for himself and to play a political role.

Yet Unamuno himself knew that such moments could not last, and the other writings he produced in Hendaye show him living through cycles of doubt and affirmation, confidence and crisis. In all of these writings, Unamuno is still principally concerned with the search for his yo, the central problem which had haunted his work at least since the Diario íntimo and which had been the starting-point of Del sentimiento trágico de la vida. And yet there is a shift in emphasis between the first major works he produced in Hendaye - the plays El otro, Sombras de sueño and El hermano Juan - and the massive collection of poetry which he started to write in 1928 and later called the Cancionero.

In the plays, Unamuno is still very much preoccupied with the problem which had been central to the first version of Cómo se hace una novela and would also be at the heart of

the 'Continuación', that is, the threat to authentic selfhood posed by the individual's need to act out a role and to search for himself through his relationship with others. In the Cancionero, on the other hand, there is a surprising lack of concern with the question of play-acting and the relational problem between human beings. Instead, Unamuno there finds that the greatest threat to individual selfhood comes from his awareness of the reality of death. With the Cancionero, therefore, Unamuno slowly leaves behind his obsession with the specific themes of acting and the individual's relationship with others which had been at the heart of the work he had produced during the 1920s and of the crisis he suffered during the early years of exile, and once again faces up to the question of mortality which, in all his work up to and including Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, he had seen as the major threat to his existence and sense of selfhood.

Before going on to study this collection of poetry in the second part of this chapter, we first need to consider the three plays which Unamuno wrote before starting the Cancionero. These plays were almost certainly written in 1926 and 1927. The first two, El otro and Sombras de sueño, were completed before the end of 1926 and before Unamuno wrote the 'Continuación' to Cómo se hace una novela, while, as the critic Zubizarreta has established, the third, El hermano Juan, was probably written shortly after the

completion of the 'Continuación', in the second half of 1927.¹

In the light of Unamuno's preoccupation with the theme of selfhood in Cómo se hace una novela, it is not surprising that he should turn to the theatre to develop his ideas. Many critics have pointed out that all of Unamuno's dramatic output deals centrally with what Angel Alcalá has called 'la realidad de la personalidad'.² As José Javier Granja has put it,

Si hay un elemento que a través de todo el teatro unamuniano pueda darnos la clave del pensamiento del autor, ése es el elemento persona.³

According to Iris Zavala, Unamuno had a 'concepto teatral de la vida' because he believed that 'la persona es esencialmente representación'. She adds:

Por esta concepción teatral de la vida, insistió en escribir dramas, porque el teatro es el arte por excelencia para la revelación de la persona.⁴

Zavala's formulation commends itself when we consider what Unamuno had said about selfhood and self-creation in Cómo se hace una novela. As well as claiming that he was writing this work in order to show the reader that he, the

1 Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela, p. 312. Andrés Franco brings more evidence to support this view; see Franco, El teatro de Unamuno (Madrid, 1971), p. 227.

2 Angel Alcalá, 'Para "otro" Unamuno a través de su teatro', Papeles de Son Armadans, ccxxxii (1975), 217-43 (p. 233).

3 J.J. Granja, 'El problema de la personalidad a través del teatro de Unamuno', Letras de Deusto, xiv (julio-diciembre de 1977), 105-27 (p. 105).

4 Iris Zavala, Unamuno y su teatro de la conciencia, pp. 157-58.

reader, was no more than 'un personaje cómico',⁵ Unamuno had also called upon the reader to realise that he was responsible for the creation of his own life, being the 'padre de sus obras'.⁶ There would seem to be no better genre than the theatre to study characters playing out the comedia of their lives and creating themselves through their actions and their speeches. Zavala once again makes this point clearly:

El ser, en la ontología unamuniana, era algo en proceso: un hacerse. Se hace el ser como se escribe una novela, es decir, hacernos es escribir la novela de nuestra vida. ¿Qué mejor que el teatro para mostrar este hacerse?⁷

Furthermore, Cómo se hace una novela has shown us Unamuno's belief that his "novela", "leyenda" or self is created by 'los otros y yo, mis amigos y mis enemigos, y mi yo amigo y mi yo enemigo'.⁸ Once again, the theatre would seem to be the perfect medium to demonstrate how characters interact with other characters and with themselves as they search for their true being. It also allows Unamuno to give dramatic form to the different tendencies within him, so that these tendencies can, in one critic's words, 'coexistir en fricción constante, y en la fricción irán tomando forma diversas posibilidades del yo'.⁹

The three plays which Unamuno wrote in Hendaye all take

5 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 92.

6 ibid., p. 101.

7 Zavala, Unamuno y su teatro de la conciencia, p. 13.

8 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 65.

9 Gullón, Autobiografías de Unamuno, p. 157.

advantage of the possibilities offered by their dramatic form in order to explore the enigmas and paradoxes of selfhood.

El otro deals with the Cain and Abel theme and looks centrally at the idea of the duality of the self. As we shall see, it builds on Unamuno's understanding of the relationship between selfhood and envy as found in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida. The central character claims that he has murdered his twin brother for reasons of envy and sexual jealousy. Due to the fact that it is impossible to tell the brothers apart, the audience and the other characters in the play are unable to ascertain which of the brothers, Cosme or Damián, has actually survived. The central character himself, while he has managed to free himself of the 'other', his twin, has in the process destroyed the only other person who knew for sure the identity of each of the brothers. This has a profound effect on him, because he loses all sense of the boundaries of his own self and takes on a dual identity: his own and that of his brother. He constantly refers to himself in the play as 'El otro'. In the meantime, the wives of the twins, Laura and Damiana, ignorant of the actual identity of the remaining twin, attempt to take advantage of the confusion, each seeking, like the Furies of Classical legend, to claim him as her own. The central character ends by committing suicide.

Sombras del sueño, meanwhile, is a play whose contents seem to have come straight out of the first version of Cómo

se hace una novela. It is the story of one Julio Macedo, previously known as Tulio Montalbán, a famous revolutionary and public figure whose deeds had converted him into a legend. Julio Macedo, tired of his historical role, has decided to 'kill' Tulio Montalbán and to take refuge on an island, far away from the events in which he had been involved. There, he falls in love with Elvira, who is a reader of books and a dreamer, and turns out to be in love with the legend of her hero, Tulio Montalbán. Julio Macedo therefore finds that his legend has preceded him to the island, and that he can only escape from it by - again - committing suicide. Through the story of Julio Macedo and Elvira, Sombras de sueño looks directly at the themes of the inner and outer selves, the problems involved in one's being a person who only lives in and through books, and the possibility of escape from one's historical self.

El otro and Sombras de sueño, written between the first version of Cómo se hace una novela and the 'Continuación', develop Unamuno's ideas on the self found in the former work, and seem to prepare the way for the writing of the 'Continuación'. El hermano Juan, on the other hand, was written shortly after the 'Continuación' and reveals Unamuno's continuing obsession with the theme of selfhood. El hermano Juan starts from Unamuno's appropriation in Cómo se hace una novela of the ancient notion that the world is a theatre and that life is, in a sense, a comedia. This play gives us Unamuno's version of the Don Juan story, presenting Don Juan as a character who is forever acting out a role and

longing to achieve immortality through becoming a legend. It charts Juan's relationship with his would-be sweethearts, Inés and Elvira, although it presents Juan as a virginal figure who is incapable of having a physical relationship but who, as a legend, exerts a different kind of influence over those around him. In the final act, Juan becomes a friar and once again meets those he has most influenced, thereby reviewing his whole life and preparing for the inevitability of his own death.

These brief synopses reveal how Unamuno in these plays deals with those themes which most obsessed him in Paris and during the first part of his stay in Hendaye.

The central characters in the three plays all seem to be desperately searching for their true identities, but fail in that search. El otro and Sombras de sueño show characters who suffer from a fundamental duality of selfhood, while El hermano Juan studies a figure who is, in the most important respects, no more than a legend. All of the plays look at the importance of other people in the process of acquiring self-knowledge, but also study the fact that, for other people, we are only as we are perceived.

The overall impression that Unamuno gives in these plays is that man is divided, threatened by the other people whom he nevertheless needs in order to know himself, and that he is, perhaps, ultimately unknowable, even to himself. As we shall see, by exploring these themes, the plays also tell us

a great deal about Unamuno's state of mind during the early part of his stay in Hendaye: in them, he reveals his hopes of achieving immortality through being a legend or public figure (like Tulio and Don Juan), but he also shows his profound longing to escape the legend and live 'outside history', searching, like Julio Macedo, for another self beyond the acting self. He seems ultimately to be caught in a dilemma between the insubstantiality of life lived out in 'history' (seen through the figure of Don Juan) and the insubstantiality of life outside 'history' (seen through the impossible longings of Julio).

Above all, Sombras de sueño and El hermano Juan reveal Unamuno's sense of isolation in exile, his weariness with being a public figure, and his longing for rest. At a time when Unamuno was most involved in playing a public role, he was also forced to ask some profoundly searching questions about the validity of that role and about the nature of authentic selfhood.

The first of these plays, El otro, is striking because of its contrived and unrealistic nature. Despite providing, as Abel Sánchez (1917) had done before it, a profound insight into the effects of envy and guilt on the mind of a highly sensitive individual, it can only fully be understood in the light of the existential and psychological ideas of

Del sentimiento trágico de la vida.¹⁰ However, as we shall see, this does not mean that El otro is devoid of more general interest if seen outside the coordinates of Unamuno's earlier work. Rather, the very intensity and complexity of the play reveal to us just how profoundly Unamuno in 1926 continued to be concerned with the whole problem and mystery of selfhood.

El otro looks at the relationship between selfhood and envy, topics which he had first explored in depth in his Del sentimiento trágico de la vida. In that work, Unamuno starts from the affirmation that 'yo...he venido a realizarme, a vivir',¹¹ and goes on to say that he needs to assert his own selfhood because he wishes to 'vivir siempre, siempre, siempre, y vivir yo este pobre yo que me soy'.¹² Asserting his selfhood and his yo involves a powerful reaction against whatever is seen to threaten or deny that selfhood, and therefore gives rise to a great sense of rivalry with other yos. In Unamuno's mind, this rivalry takes the specific form of a profound envy which, in the Prologue to El hermano Juan (written in 1934), he was to refer to as a 'lucha de personalidad'.¹³ In Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, he defines envy as 'hambre espiritual',¹⁴ and adds:

10 Gullón has also pointed out the similarities in theme between El otro and Unamuno's short story 'El que se enterró', published in 1908. See Gullón, 'Imágenes de El otro', in Bleiberg - Fox, Pensamiento y letras en la España del siglo XX, pp. 257-69 (pp. 264-65).

11 O.C., vii, 116.

12 O.C., vii, 136.

13 O.C., v, 715.

14 O.C., vii, 142.

Tremenda pasión esa de que nuestra memoria sobreviva por encima del olvido de los demás si es posible. De ella arranca la envidia.¹⁵

It can be seen from this quotation that the question of envy is also wrapped up in Unamuno's mind with the individual's longing to be immortal. As we saw in Chapter 1, immortality for Unamuno involves the desire to become everything in the world as it exists for him, to absorb the lives and being of other people. As he puts it, 'quiero ser yo, y sin dejar de serlo, ser además los otros';¹⁶ and again: 'ser yo, es ser todos los demás. ¡O todo o nada!'¹⁷ Soon, however, Unamuno adds that the consciousness that has become the totality and taken over the whole of its universe is incapable of having any awareness of itself, because it is unable to perceive itself as a being distinct from other beings. A self by itself is in fact a non-self. It therefore needs the opposition of other selves in order to achieve the desired 'conciencia de la propia limitación',¹⁸ since it is only by fighting against this opposition that individuals can be in full possession of their yo and enjoy the 'constante aspiración a ser otros sin dejar de ser lo que son, a romper sus límites, limitándose'.¹⁹

Unamuno therefore defines the desirable relationship of an individual with others in terms of the constant attempt to 'dominate' them, although he holds back from endorsing total domination of the one by the other. Instead, he

15 O.C., vii, 142.

16 O.C., vii, 132.

17 O.C., vii, 132.

18 O.C., vii, 192.

19 O.C., vii, 193.

preaches a mutual domination, insisting that the individual needs to 'darse a los demás para recogerse de ellos'.²⁰

Unamuno's exhortation to his reader is therefore:

Entrégate, pues, a los demás, pero para entregarte a ellos, domínalos primero. Pues no cabe dominar sin ser dominado. Cada uno se alimenta de la carne de aquél a quien devora.²¹

The main danger in such language and such a vision of the desired human relationship is that the individual may fail to respect the idea of 'mutual domination' and end up totally dominating 'aquél a quien devora'. That would leave him with a lack of opposition against which to define and understand himself. This is the very real problem that faces the central character of El otro, and the existence of this play gives the lie to Wyers' assertion that Unamuno does not acknowledge the dilemma encapsulated in the words '"if I devour the other, there will be nothing left to eat"'.²²

El otro has, in fact, totally 'devoured' his twin - by murdering him. He has done so because of the all-powerful envy which he had felt towards his brother since childhood. This envy arose from the fact that no-one had ever been able to tell the twins apart, since they were distinguishable only 'por el nombre, por una cinta, por una prenda'.²³ As a result, the central character feels that, while his brother

20 O.C., vii, 268. As we saw in Chapter 5, Unamuno developed this notion in Cómo se hace una novela in terms of the individual's need to 'alimentarse de las demás individualidades y darse a ellos en alimento' (op. cit., p. 55).

21 O.C., vii, 273-73.

22 Wyers, Unamuno: The Contrary Self, p. 39.

23 O.C., v, 679.

was alive, he had been unable to assert his own selfhood and have his own yo recognised by other people. He himself had experienced the horror of looking at his brother and seeing his own self 'fuera de sí, verse otro',²⁴ and had ultimately realized that he had no one fixed identity but rather suffered from the 'terrible tortura...de nacer doble! ¡De no ser siempre uno y el mismo!'²⁵

And yet, when the central character seeks to assert his selfhood and to find oneness by murdering his twin, he immediately discovers the paradox which Unamuno had outlined in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida: a self by itself is in fact a non-self. He finds that to be is to be perceived, that his sense of personal identity is totally dependent upon the way in which he is perceived by other people. In El otro's particular case, it had been his brother who had done the perceiving because he had been the only other person to know for sure the true identity of both twins. El otro slowly realises, therefore, that, although he had been unable to bear the relationship of rivalry with his brother, he cannot in fact discover and assert his own selfhood without it.

As a result, when El otro loses the relationship of opposition with his brother, he also loses all sense of the boundaries between his own self and his brother's self. To use the phrase from Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, El otro no longer has a 'conciencia de la propia limitación'.²⁶

24 O.C., v, 679.

25 O.C., v, 686.

26 O.C., vii, 192.

He is therefore unable to affirm confidently if he actually is himself or his brother and consequently feels that he takes on a dual identity. He becomes 'uno y otro, Caín y Abel, verdugo y víctima!'²⁷ and cries that it is

cosa tremenda no poder ser uno, uno, siempre uno y el mismo, uno... ¡Nacer solo para morir solo! ¡Morir solo, solo, solo!...Tener que morir con otro, con el otro, con los otros...²⁸

El otro's situation is made worse by the fact that he is surrounded by two women - Laura and Damiana - who do not in fact wish to perceive El otro as an individual self, but prefer to 'devour' him for their own purposes. Laura wishes to believe that El otro is actually her husband, Cosme, while Damiana tries to win El otro by claiming on one occasion that he is Damián, her husband, and on another that he is Cosme, her lover and the father of the child she is expecting. Damiana's attempt to dominate and 'appropriate' El otro is eloquently expressed in her words:

Estoy dispuesta a matarte, a matarte de dolor, de remordimiento, si no te confieras el mío, el que yo conquisté.²⁹

Ultimately, both women are uninterested in El otro's real identity and are searching instead for their own 'El otro'. They serve to show him that he exists for others only in the way that they wish to perceive him.³⁰ El otro's confusion about his own identity is therefore made much worse: not only is he plagued by the fact that he can never

27 O.C., v, 676.

28 O.C., v, 700.

29 O.C., v, 691.

30 Julio in Sombras de sueño and Juan in El hermano Juan will also have to face up to this painful dilemma.

be 'siempre uno y el mismo', but he is faced with the same dilemma which had obsessed Unamuno in Cómo se hace una novela when he had written: '¿Seré como me creo o como se me cree?'³¹ The result of all this is that El otro is confronted with insurmountable obstacles in his search to assert his own selfhood. In the light of his agonizing failure to discover his real self, it is not surprising that the play should conclude with the thought that 'nuestra personalidad verdadera' will always be a secret and that, as one of the characters says,

Yo no sé quién soy, vosotros no sabéis quiénes sois, el historiador no sabe quién es (Donde dice: 'el historiador no sabe quién es', puede decirse: 'Unamuno no sabe quién es'), no sabe quién es ninguno de los que nos oyen.³²

El otro is ultimately a very tortured and a very complex play. As such, it has caused some commentators to force unwarranted interpretations upon it. Zubizarreta, for instance, insists on seeing the brothers as representatives of two different sides of Unamuno himself: thus the 'rational' Unamuno of adolescence kills off the 'believing' Unamuno of childhood.³³ Iris Zavala, following Zubizarreta's lead, believes that in El otro, 'el muerto es el yo creyente, el poeta, el intrahombre',³⁴ thereby continuing to defend the notion that the play is about the relationship between the inner and outer selves in Unamuno. In fact,

31 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 66.

32 O.C., v, 709.

33 Zubizarreta, Unamuno en su novela, pp. 306-09.

34 Zavala, El teatro de Unamuno, p. 82.

there is no evidence whatsoever in the text to give credence to such readings. As we have seen, rather than focusing on the idea that the duality of El otro's character reflects different tendencies in his nature, the play is more interested in studying the effects of envy on interpersonal relationships and on personal identity, as first explored in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida.

And yet the significance of El otro goes far beyond what Frances Wyers calls the 'concrete processes depicted in the play'. Wyers believes that Unamuno's attempts to make general statements about 'the mystery of the personality' in El otro by including the speeches about the ultimate unknowability of man in the 'Epílogo', are no more than a 'broad metaphysical mystification'.³⁵ In fact, a close study of the central themes of the play - an individual's search for himself and his fear of others' perception of him - reveals that El otro, like Cómo se hace una novela and Unamuno's other early exile works, is more generally concerned with the question of selfhood. And, what is more, the intensity with which he deals with these themes in El otro, as well as the desperate conclusion about man's inability ever to find oneness of being or achieve self-knowledge, bear witness to the fact that the crisis of selfhood which Unamuno wrote about in Cómo se hace una novela is not yet over and that the effects of playing a public role have seriously undermined his confidence in the search for authentic personal identity. As Martin Nozick

35 Wyers, Unamuno: The Contrary Self, p. 91.

says:

The Other...does sum up once again Unamuno's dilemma over man's inextricably triad nature: as others think he is, as he thinks he is, as he really is. Cast in exile into a part made for him and later voluntarily chosen, Unamuno could not evade the riddle of being and the contradictory forms it had taken in his own life.³⁶

Although Unamuno in El otro studies a character who suffers from a dual identity, he is not interested here - whatever Zubizarreta and Zavala may say - in the theme of inner and outer selves. In Sombras de sueño, on the other hand, Unamuno deliberately develops the theme of duality in order to look more closely at the relationship between an individual's inner and outer self.

As such, this play, which has received surprisingly little critical attention, is very close to the specific preoccupations of Cómo se hace una novela and has a strong autobiographical element. In Sombras de sueño, we have the story of a man (Tulio Montalbán) who, like Unamuno, has become a legend by making his historia as a public figure and who now, like Unamuno in Hendaye and Jugo in Cómo se hace una novela, longs to escape from his legend and the realm of history, and attempts to do so by taking up a new identity (Julio Macedo). Significantly, Julio will find that such an escape is impossible.

In this play, therefore, Unamuno will be able not only

³⁶ Martin Nozick, Miguel de Unamuno. The Agony of Belief, p. 134.

to study the relationship between the inner and outer selves but also make clear what is actually involved in the idea of escaping from history. Through Julio/Tulio, together with the figure of Elvira, the woman who can only live in and through reading, Unamuno will critically review his contradictory desires: the desire to live quixotically as a person who believes that immortality can be achieved through living in history and creating one's historia (Elvira); the desire to be a public figure and a legend (Tulio); and the desire to escape from the legend (Julio). In a sense, Unamuno is all these characters, and this explains the complexity and interest of this play in which Unamuno is dealing with ideas which will become central in the 'Continuación' to Cómo se hace una novela.

In order to understand how the play allows Unamuno to treat these themes, it is necessary to look closer at each of the central characters in turn.

Tulio Montalbán (a character whose name reminds us of Marcus Tullius Cicero, another famous public figure who decided to withdraw - though not finally - from public life) never actually appears on stage, for the reason that he is no more than the legend that Elvira reads about and from which Julio Macedo is trying to escape. However, we hear a great deal about him from the other characters. For Elvira, Tulio is the revolutionary hero who exists in the book which has been written about his exploits. She refers to him

constantly as 'el hombre de esta historia' and 'el hombre de mi libro'.³⁷

Julio Macedo, on the other hand, has come to see Tulio Montalbán simply as an insubstantial legend that exists only in words. When he finds out that Elvira is in love with this legend, he tries to show her that Tulio, being only an 'hombre de libro', is in fact no more than an 'un fantasma' and even a 'cadáver'.³⁸ Such words are very striking when one recalls that, less than two years before writing Sombras de sueño, Unamuno had spoken in contrasting terms, in the first version of Cómo se hace una novela, of the individual's need to see life in terms of a novela, a leyenda or an historia which has to be 'written', that is, created. Julio, who is as tired with his public role and with the idea of being a legend as Unamuno is, finds himself unable to believe in the reality of 'ningún tipo que anda en libros, sean de historia o novelas'.³⁹

It is in fact to escape the tiring burden of being a public figure and a legend that Julio Macedo has killed off Tulio Montalbán.⁴⁰ What he is actually seeking by doing this is very much what Jugo de la Raza had been seeking in Cómo se hace una novela, that is, to become a man 'sin historia'.⁴¹ In the first version of Cómo se hace una novela, Unamuno had stated that 'antes de la Historia,...no

37 O.C., v, 618, 601.

38 O.C., v, 628, 645.

39 O.C., v, 628.

40 When Julio recounts why he has killed Tulio, he very much recalls El otro: he has destroyed the "other self" for reasons of jealousy and has therefore become, at least in Elvira's eyes, a Cain figure (O.C., v, 630-31).

41 O.C., v, 609.

había conciencia, no había espejo, no había nada',⁴² but he had then gone on to show Jugo 'a la rebusca del olvido de la historia'.⁴³ Through Julio Macedo, Unamuno will explore more closely what a life outside history may actually entail.

In Julio's own words, the escape from history involves becoming a man 'de carne y hueso y sangre' rather than an 'hombre de libro',⁴⁴ a notion which takes us back to Unamuno's desire in the Diario íntimo to find a self which is more than just 'un nombre en la historia'.⁴⁵ Julio wishes to shake off the 'personaje y encontrar bajo de él, dentro de él, al hombre primitivo y original',⁴⁶ thereby rediscovering what he calls 'el apego animal a la vida'.⁴⁷ The vocabulary which Julio uses here to describe his desire to escape from history shows just how radical that desire is. In Aforismos y definiciones, Unamuno had also made a distinction between the individual who is a 'personaje' acting out a role in history and the one who is not, in order to complain that the latter is no more than a sub-human 'animal'.⁴⁸ Here, the shedding of the values of the actor and the rediscovery of those more closely connected with the life of an animal is seen in a much more positive light.

42 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 64.

43 ibid., p. 77.

44 O.C., v, 629.

45 Diario íntimo, p. 95.

46 O.C., v, 641. Such a formulation recalls Unamuno's desire in En torno al casticismo to escape from historia into intrahistoria, as found in the daily existence of the rural pueblo (O.C., i, 793).

47 O.C., v, 641.

48 Aforismos y definiciones, ii; in O.C., iv, 727.

But Julio does not describe his search for a life 'beyond history', his search for an inner self, solely in theoretical terms. He also expresses it in terms of the rediscovery of nature and childhood, and the finding of a mother's love. We have already seen how Carlos Blanco Aguinaga has underlined the significance of these three factors for the so-called 'contemplative' Unamuno,⁴⁹ and how Unamuno deals with them in the poetry he wrote while in exile. It is fair to say that Unamuno carried over his fascination with nature, childhood and maternal love from the poetry to the pages of Sombras de sueño.

The play is, for a start, full of descriptions of landscape which add a powerfully lyrical feeling to the work, as they do to works such as Paz en la guerra and San Manuel Bueno, mártir, which also deal with man's inner longings. Julio Macedo experiences the same 'santo aislamiento' on his island that Unamuno had found on Fuerteventura,⁵⁰ and he also discovers the importance of the sea. For Julio, the sea becomes a reflection not only of eternity but also of 'contrahistoria', a term he coins, just as Unamuno had coined the term 'intrahistoria' in En torno al casticismo, in order to describe his idea of a realm which exists beyond normal historical life and in which 'se hunde la historia'.⁵¹

And it is in this realm that he discovers once again the delights and innocence of childhood. Far from the bustle of

49 Carlos Blanco Aguinaga, El Unamuno contemplativo, pp. 125-281.

50 O.C., v, 632.

51 O.C., v, 612.

history and surrounded by the sea and by nature, he comes face to face with the secrets of his 'niñez eterna',⁵² just as Unamuno was to do in the pages of his Cancionero. This encounter revives Julio's longing to find the security of a mother's love, and he searches in Elvira for a reflection of his first wife, a woman who could recreate for him an 'hogar que hubiese de ser...como un claustro materno'.⁵³ He would take refuge in her 'seno materno',⁵⁴ just as Unamuno had often sought solace in his own wife, Concha, who had comforted him during his crisis of 1897 and had thereafter become for him 'la madre de mis ocho hijos y mi verdadera madre'.⁵⁵

The Elvira that Julio in fact finds on the island, however, is quite different. She is a figure who can understand the world only in terms of the books that she reads. In short, she is the total 'woman of books' who shares Unamuno's belief in the power of the word and of literature. And yet Elvira is seriously criticized in the play. Her father believes that she is a dreamer, while her maid claims that she has been 'encantada' by the book about Tulio Montalbán.⁵⁶ More seriously, Julio sees in Elvira all the faults which Unamuno had perceived in himself long before, when he had studied the implications of being a man of books in the Diario íntimo. Julio claims that Elvira has

52 O.C., v, 644.

53 O.C., v, 632.

54 O.C., v, 632.

55 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 83.

56 O.C., v, 620. In this, of course, she is like Don Quixote who was also seen to be "enchanted" by the books he read. Indeed, Elvira is referred to on one occasion as the 'quijotesca isleña' (O.C., v, 600).

an unhealthy need to find out information about people and to turn their lives into 'historias': 'todo tu empeño fue conocer mi pasado cuando yo venía huyendo de él'.⁵⁷ As a result, Elvira can only love people with her head and her imagination, not with her heart, and consequently suffers from an emotional dryness which recalls the 'sequedad del espíritu' that Unamuno suffered in 1897⁵⁸: '¡No, no tienes corazón! El corazón se te ha secado en el aislamiento y entre estos libros'.⁵⁹ What is more, Julio implies that Elvira would only love him if it meant that 'su nombre resonara en la historia unido al mío'.⁶⁰ She was, in many ways, just like the Argentinian woman who had pestered Unamuno in Fuerteventura because she wanted to achieve some sort of fame, 'vivir en la duradera y permanente historia, no morir'.⁶¹

But what is most important and painful for Julio Macedo is that Elvira, this woman of books, can only perceive and love the legend of Tulio Montalbán, whom she calls the 'hombre de mi libro'.⁶² As Julio says to Elvira, even if she had known that Tulio and Julio were in fact one and the same person,

te hubieras rendido a Tulio Montalbán, que venía buscando olvido, silencio, oscuridad y aislamiento y lo hubieras arrastrado otra vez a la historia...⁶³

57 O.C., v, 642.

58 Diario íntimo, p. 103.

59 O.C., v, 643.

60 O.C., v, 642.

61 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 83.

62 O.C., v, 600.

63 O.C., v, 642.

What Julio has discovered through Elvira is that he cannot in fact live isolated from the world, for wherever he goes he is a prisoner of the way in which those around him perceive him. More specifically, Elvira shows Julio that he will never be able to escape from the legend of Tulio which has taken over the whole of his life.

Julio's reaction to such a realization is bitterly to concede that, as the legendary Tulio, he has more 'reality' - however insubstantial this is - and is thus more likely to achieve immortality than he would by trying to be an 'hombre de carne y hueso':

Los que parecemos de carne y hueso no somos sino entes de ficción, sombras, fantasmas, y éstos que andan por los cuadros y los libros y los que andamos por los escenarios del teatro de la historia somos los de verdad, los duraderos.⁶⁴

However, he does not find any consolation in this thought. Instead, he continues to be obsessed with the insubstantiality of the legend, and on the other hand, with the impossible dream of leaving it behind and living 'outside history'.

In many ways, Sombras de sueño is a work that marks the transition between the first version of Cómo se hace una novela and the 'Continuación'. As in the former work, Unamuno still has profound doubts about the implications of being a public figure and a human being who creates his own

64 O.C., v, 641.

legend, and longs for an escape into an 'inner self' away from history. Thanks to his time in Hendaye, he has glimpsed what escape could mean and has realized that it involves a re-encounter with his childhood. At the same time, Unamuno is still very aware of the fact that man is inescapably faced with the need to live in history and to be responsible for the making of his own life, although he is as yet unable to show his characters doing so with confidence: Julio, just like the Jugo de la Raza of the first version of Cómo se hace una novela, seems to be 'suffering' rather than 'making' the novel or legend of his life.

In Sombras de sueño, therefore, Unamuno continues to recognise the insubstantiality of his legend and at the same time explores the possibility of there existing within him an inner self that lies beyond history (and which may ultimately be as insubstantial as that legend). What he has not as yet done is to use the new confidence afforded him by the re-encounter with his inner self in Hendaye to put forward the idea that the inner and outer selves need not forever be in conflict but that the outer self can in fact give expression to the intimate self. That Unamuno, as we saw in Chapter 5, was to do in the 'Continuación'.

While Sombras de sueño studies a character who wants to escape from his legend, El hermano Juan looks at what it means to be no more than an actor and a legend. The play arises from Unamuno's obsession in Cómo se hace una novela

with the idea that the world is a theatre and man no more than a 'personaje cómico'.⁶⁵ In El hermano Juan, Unamuno will study the literal truth of these assertions.

The reason Unamuno chose the Don Juan story as a vehicle to study this theme is of interest. Unamuno had long despised the figure of Don Juan, using him in De Fuerteventura a París as a symbol of all the worst characteristics of casticismo.⁶⁶ However, he longed to understand the significance of this literary figure, just as he had previously studied the significance of the figure of Don Quixote, and he was also aware of some of his contemporaries' theories on donjuanismo. In El tema de nuestro tiempo, Ortega y Gasset had used Don Juan as a symbol of a certain vitalism which 'se resuelve contra la moral, porque la moral se había antes sublevado contra la vida'.⁶⁷ Marañón, for his part, had developed the theory that Don Juan was possibly of indeterminate sexuality, capable of loving 'a las mujeres, pero ... incapaz de amar a la mujer'.⁶⁸ While Unamuno incorporates some of these ideas into the play, he explains in the 1934 Prologue to El hermano Juan that he was more interested in the spiritual

65 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 92.

66 Poem i of De Fuerteventura a París,; in O.C., vi, 675.

67 Ortega y Gasset, El tema de nuestro tiempo, p. 56.

Nozick contrasts Unamuno's and Ortega's views on the Don Juan myth in Nozick, 'Unamuno, Ortega, and Don Juan', Romantic Review, xl (1949), 268-74.

68 Gregorio Marañón, Don Juan (Madrid, 1958), p. 81 (first edition, 1940). Although this work dates from 1940, Marañón had been publishing similar ideas on Don Juan since the late 1910s.

than the biological aspects of Don Juan's life.⁶⁹ For, in Unamuno's eyes, Don Juan was nothing more nor less than the pure actor,

el personaje más eminentemente teatral, representativo, histórico... que está siempre representado, es decir, representándose a sí mismo.⁷⁰

Moreover, Don Juan was fully aware of the profound relationship between the need to 'representarse' and the desire to 'eternizarse',⁷¹ and his whole life perfectly illustrated what it meant to be a man who continually acts his part and makes himself into a legend.

Considered thus, El hermano Juan emerges as continuing the work of Cómo se hace una novela in that it studies the idea that man is an actor with a duty to 'make himself' and to create the legend through which he may achieve immortality. Just as Unamuno had deliberately intermingled the ideas of 'fiction' and 'reality' in Cómo se hace una novela, he here achieves a complex interpenetration of the concepts and realities of the theatre and of life. He uses this interpenetration to make us see the world as a theatre and, as Andrés Franco has said, to make us doubt our own existence.⁷² This he does by constantly reminding us that the play is a play acted out in a theatre in which we, as spectators, are in reality no more than the 'representantes del respetable público'.⁷³ As the boundaries between the theatre in which the characters play their roles and the

69 O.C., v, 714.

70 O.C., v, 714.

71 O.C., v, 715.

72 Franco, El teatro de Unamuno, p. 243.

73 O.C., v, 826.

world beyond the theatre are broken down, it becomes easier to believe with Juan that 'cada cual nace condenado a un papel, y hay que llenarlo so pena de vida'.⁷⁴ Furthermore, Unamuno points out the reason behind the need to 'apurar el papel hasta la muerte y aún más allá si cabe, so pena de olvido',⁷⁵ when he explains in the Prologue that the main desire of Don Juan, and of all mankind, is to 'asombrar, dejar fama y nombre'.⁷⁶ We can, therefore, take at face value the assertion of Antonio, one of the characters of the play, that

El teatro es la primera de las verdades..., la más verdadera..., no la que se ve, sino la que se hace....⁷⁷

And yet, to see El hermano Juan solely in these terms would be a gross misrepresentation of the play. El hermano Juan actually focusses more on the effects than on the necessity of being an actor and a legend. In this, the play is particularly complex because Unamuno sees in Don Juan not only a figure who reflects all his ideas about man being an actor, but also a literary character who is in reality no more than a legend that others read about, watch and, in so doing, create again for themselves. In a sense, Don Juan is partly an expression of how Unamuno will exist after his death (that is, how he will 'live on' through his own literary creations), and much of what will now be said about Unamuno's ideas on the insubstantial nature of the life of

74 O.C., v, 730.

75 O.C., v, 822.

76 O.C., v, 716.

77 O.C., v, 823.

the man who is no more than an actor can equally be applied to Unamuno's fears about how his own persona will be treated by others once he is dead.

The major question that haunts Unamuno when he studies Don Juan, both actor and legend, is the question of identity. He is centrally concerned with whether Don Juan 'exists' and, if he does so, who he actually is.

The central character of El hermano Juan, known simply as Juan, spends much of the play searching for himself, but without success. At one point, he says to Antonio:

Yo no sé qué es lo que sucede de verdad y qué lo que
soñamos que sucede en este teatro que es la vida...
Tenías razón, Antonio, me la he pasado rastreando en mí
al hombre y sin encontrarlo.⁷⁸

It is the fact that Juan himself is no more than a 'representante',⁷⁹ an actor without any inner substance, that makes him question the very fact of his own existence:

¿Existo yo? ¿Existes tú, Inés?...¿Existes fuera de este
teatro del mundo en que representas tu papel como yo el
mío? ¿Existís, pobres palomillos? ¿Existe Don Miguel de
Unamuno?⁸⁰

Being an actor and a legend, Juan can ultimately only define himself in terms of his effect on other people. In Cómo se hace una novela, Unamuno had claimed, as we have seen, that his own 'leyenda' or self was created jointly by 'los otros y yo, mis amigos y mis enemigos, y mi yo amigo y

78 O.C., v, 809-10.

79 O.C., v, 778.

80 O.C., v, 814.

mi yo enemigo'.⁸¹ But Juan, on the other hand, lacks any real sense of personal identity and can therefore only attempt to know himself by looking at his legend as reflected in the eyes of other people.⁸² That means, however, that his legend actually belongs to others, and that he is totally dependent upon the way in which others perceive him.

As a result, he is in reality their creation rather than his own, becoming as a consequence, in Zavala's words, a 'ser múltiple, no singular, puesto que ya ha sido creado por múltiples creadores'.⁸³ Juan himself makes this clear at one moment when he cries:

Juan, Juan, Juan, ¿te ves a ti mismo? ¿te oyes? ¿te oyes? ¿Eres el de Inés y Elvira? ¿el de Matilde?; ¿eres el de Antonio y Benito?; ¿eres el del público?⁸⁴

The fact that Juan's legend is the creation of the other characters of the play and of the audience means that he lives on within them and gains a sort of immortality through them;⁸⁵ however, it also means that he can never have any real sense of his own identity.

Juan's relationship with others is also studied in the play in terms of the existential and sexual psychology of Del sentimiento trágico de la vida. As we saw when

81 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 65.

82 This explains why we often see Juan trying to 'live up' to his legend, trying desperately to prove to Benito and then to Antonio that he is, in fact, a real "hombre" (O.C., v, 736, 781).

83 Zavala, El teatro de Unamuno, pp. 97-98.

84 O.C., v, 785.

85 Inés' last words in the play are '¡Don Juan es inmortal!' (O.C., v, 826).

discussing El otro, Unamuno believes that a man needs to give himself to others in order to rediscover or 'recover' himself - 'darse a los otros para recogerse de ellos'.⁸⁶ For Unamuno, Juan is a person who in a very real sense is incapable of 'giving himself'.

This is because, as we have seen, Juan is forever searching for his own reflection in others' eyes. As Unamuno puts it, he is 'siempre...queriéndose a sí mismo y no a sus queridas', and consequently only 'goza a sí mismo...en la representación de los demás',⁸⁷ that is, his only sexual satisfaction lies in observing how others are perceiving and desiring him. As a result of this, Juan is incapable of physical love because that, according to Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, involves a total surrender of the self and a 'sensación...de resucitar en otro'.⁸⁸ He is instead 'condenado a ser siempre él mismo...a no poder ser otro... a no darse a otro'.⁸⁹

Unamuno therefore presents his Don Juan figure as 'un solitario', 'un soltero',⁹⁰ an onanist who is only excited by the excitement that his legend causes in others, and is incapable of full sexual relations. And, according to Unamuno's psychology, the 'solitario' who is unable to love

86 O.C., vii, 268.

87 O.C., v, 714, 716.

88 O.C., vii, 188.

89 O.C., v, 794-95. Despite the similar vocabulary, what Juan means by saying that he is unable to 'ser otro' is not really connected to what El otro means when he claims the opposite, that he is unable to 'ser uno' (O.C., v, 700). Juan's idea is more specifically sexual.

90 O.C., v, 795. Unamuno allows Juan to call himself 'un solitario' even though he claimed in the Prologue that those who believed such a theory of him were 'los más groseros' (O.C., v, 715).

a woman carnally and become a father is not a 'whole man', since

el verdadero hombre, el hombre acabado, cabalmente humano, es la pareja, compuesta de padre y madre.⁹¹

In Unamuno's eyes, Don Juan shows all the signs of 'pura masculinidad' but lacks true 'hombría' and a 'verdadero sentido de la paternidad'.⁹²

Beyond all these specific ideas on Don Juan's sexual psychology, Unamuno is also using his character's sexual isolation in a metaphorical sense. It is this aspect of the play that is perhaps most revealing, because, to a great degree, Unamuno's interest in Don Juan the actor reflects his preoccupation with the theme of selfhood in relation to the public role that he is playing. Through Don Juan, Unamuno can both study and criticise the idea of being a public figure.

Juan himself becomes a true public figure when he ultimately manages to avoid being dominated by the others' perception of his legend and attempts instead to use it in order to have some influence over them. This is seen towards the end of the third act of the play when a matured Juan takes advantage of his role in the 'theatre of life' in order to bring the other characters together within the relationship that he himself is incapable of having. In his own words, this 'solitario' becomes a celestino who

91 O.C., v, 717.

92 O.C., v, 723.

influences others so that they can have children.⁹³

In many ways, Juan the public figure reflects Unamuno's world-view and understanding of his own role. He is presented as being a quixotic character,⁹⁴ and even a Christ-like figure who tells the other characters that 'metí entre vosotros la discordia, pero para traer la reconciliación'.⁹⁵ And, like Unamuno, Juan plays his role partly in order to ensure his own immortality, for he says to those whom he has recently brought together: '¡Recordadme! No me déis al olvido, sino dadme al recuerdo de perdón...'.⁹⁶

And yet Juan is also shown to have some very Unamunian faults: he is self-obsessed, longing to 'ser mirado, ser admirado, y dejar nombre';⁹⁷ he easily gives in to the demands of his role, acting in certain ways simply because 'se empeñan en hacerle a uno leyenda';⁹⁸ and, above all, he can never stop playing a role, even when he is alone, as the long soliloquies of the play show. At such moments, when Unamuno presents Juan acting out his role in private, one cannot but recall the Diario íntimo in which Unamuno had accused himself of carrying on 'la comedia en la soledad',

93 O.C., v, 813. Gullón calls Juan at this point in the play 'another Galeotto, a go-between, a master procurer' (Gullón, 'The Soul on Stage', in Rubia Barcia - Zeitlin, Unamuno. Creator and Creation, p. 148).

94 O.C., v, 814.

95 O.C., v, 808.

96 O.C., v, 808. Unamuno knows how much Juan's likelihood of immortality depends on others and makes Padre Teófilo remind the audience at the end of the play that it, the audience, 'hace y deshace leyendas y personajes y comentarios' (O.C., v, 826).

97 O.C., v, 716.

98 O.C., v, 813.

and doing so solely 'para propia complacencia'.⁹⁹ And it is perhaps no coincidence that Unamuno in that work should claim that the actor who plays his part for his own enjoyment suffers from a 'soberbia de masturbación'.¹⁰⁰ This claim may well reveal the metaphorical significance behind Unamuno's presentation of his Don Juan figure as an onanist.

More important than this, though, is the fact that Unamuno reveals through Juan all the most profound doubts that he felt as a public figure especially during the first years of his stay in Hendaye. On the one hand, Unamuno comes to a full realization, through studying the figure of Don Juan, of the insubstantiality involved in turning oneself into a legend made out of words. On the other, Juan's actual virginity, his inability to 'darse a los otros', comes to act as a metaphor for the sense of isolation and sterility that Unamuno often felt in exile. As we shall soon see when we look at the Cancionero, this sense is aggravated in Unamuno, as it was in Juan, not only by the feeling that he was becoming no more than an insubstantial legend but by the growing awareness of age and of the approach of death.

Like Juan, who is constantly referred to as the 'solitario', Unamuno in exile is 'condenado a ser uno' and to suffer from what he had called in the 'Continuación' to Cómo se hace una novela a sense of 'soledad radical'.¹⁰¹ In the 'Continuación', Unamuno had got over this sense of

99 Diario íntimo, pp. 20, 97.

100 ibid., p. 97.

101 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 112.

solitude (caused, in part, by being obsessed with his own legend) through his belief that, as a public figure, he could write in order to 'alumbrarse' and, at the same time, 'alumbrar' his readers, thereby becoming one with them. Here, in El hermano Juan, Unamuno seems unable to show the public figure Juan giving himself fully and satisfactorily to any of those around him.

It is because of this that El hermano Juan, while showing Unamuno's hopes and fears about the comedia of life and about the idea of being a 'legend', ultimately serves to reveal the profound loneliness of this public figure and legend at this stage of his time in exile.

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It is clear from a study of El otro, Sombras de sueño and El hermano Juan that Unamuno continued in 1926 and 1927 to be very concerned with the threat to authentic selfhood caused by the need to play a public role and act out a part for others.

In the light of this, the most surprising aspect of Unamuno's next major work - the Cancionero - is its almost total lack of concern with the question of acting or the individual's relationship with others. Of all the poems that Unamuno wrote for the Cancionero between 1928 and his return to Spain early in 1930, only one looks at the belief that life is in some respects a comedia or man an actor.¹ This may partly be due to the fact that the Cancionero is a collection of poetry, the genre in which Unamuno traditionally spoke of his more intimate desires, and the tone of many of the poems is indeed summed up in Unamuno's cry in Poem 36 of '¡Adéntrate!'² But, more importantly, the Cancionero shows Unamuno slowly coming out of the specific crisis of selfhood which had affected him since 1924, and also getting over the obsession with the question of selfhood seen in relation to the need to play a public role which had been at the heart of so many of his writings since at least the early 1920s.

However, one perceives another threat to personal selfhood becoming central in the Cancionero, one which had dominated his writings up until 1920 and which will from now on continue to be at the centre of Unamuno's thoughts: that

1 Poem 1344; in O.C., vi, 1304.

2 O.C., vi, 959.

is, the threat posed to selfhood by death.

The first thing one notices about the Cancionero is its size. Between 26 February 1928 and 3 February 1930, Unamuno wrote 1445 poems, an average of more than two a day. After his return to Spain, he was to add another 309 poems, the last just three days before his death in December 1936. In the part of the Cancionero which concerns us here, that is, the poems he composed while still in exile, Unamuno writes about anything and everything. He describes his walks through the countryside around Hendaye, provides commentaries on his readings, includes poems of nostalgia and regret, makes up children's songs and playful poems based purely on word-play, and records his thoughts concerning Spain, life and death, religious belief and poetry itself. The whole is of uneven quality and often appears chaotic and directionless; one critic has actually referred to it as 'a sprawling, irregular book, devoid of overall design, clogged by profusion and overabundance'.³ However, as Gullón has said, it acts as an impressive 'diario poético',⁴ and successfully captures the ups and downs of Unamuno's final years in exile.⁵

3 Nozick, Miguel de Unamuno. The Agony of Belief, p. 191.

4 Gullón, 'Unamuno y su Cancionero', in Ricardo Gullón et al, Unamuno a los cien años (Salamanca, 1967), pp. 9-25 (p. 9).

5 On the chronology and structure of the Cancionero, see Jossé de Kock, Introducción al Cancionero de Unamuno (Madrid, 1968), pp. 20-76.

Furthermore, the 'overabundance' to which Nozick referred is itself of significance, because it bears witness to the fact that Unamuno had an overwhelming need to write at this time. Indeed, he seems to believe that not to write would be equivalent to spiritual death since, as he says in Poem 99, 'callarme/me es lo mismo que morir'.⁶ In the Cancionero, therefore, Unamuno once again reaffirms his belief in language and the power of the word.⁷ This can be seen right from the Prologue (written in 1928) where he repeats his old contention that 'en el principio fue - iotra vez! - la palabra, y por ella y con ella creó Dios al mundo'.⁸

In many of the poems, Unamuno tries to put into practice his belief that 'el lenguaje nos da nombre,/el nombre da eternidad'.⁹ In the first pages of Cómo se hace una novela, as we have seen, Unamuno had attempted to achieve 'la eternización de la momentaneidad' through the word, to 'retener el tiempo que pasa, fijar el huidero hoy'.¹⁰ Here, he realizes that it is in the poem or the song that he can best attempt to express his experience of eternity:

Voy clavando los momentos
con los clavos del cantar.¹¹

Cojo el alma al rato que pasa
y la encierro en una canción.¹²

6 O.C., vi, 981.

7 On this point, see Julio García Morejón, Unamuno y el Cancionero (Sao Paulo, 1966), pp. 144-80.

8 O.C., vi, 944.

9 Poem 153; in O.C., vi, 996.

10 Cómo se hace una novela, pp. 59-60.

11 Poem 1331; in O.C., vi, 1301.

12 Poem 1363; in O.C., vi, 1308.

By doing this, by giving expression to himself and his 'alma' in words, Unamuno hopes that he will achieve permanence through literature. Although he does at one point face up to the fragility and insubstantiality of literary immortality by asking '¿seré lectura/mañana también yo?',¹³ he also writes that

los hijos de mis hijos
-si llegan- han de ver
las obras de mis obras
llevando mi alma en pie.¹⁴

Then, in one of the most moving of all the poems in the Cancionero, Unamuno writes his poetic testament, leaving his life's work to his readers with the words:

Aquí os dejo mi alma-libro,
hombre-mundo verdadero.
Cuando vibres todo entero,
soy yo, lector, que en ti vibro.¹⁵

There is also another dimension to Unamuno's interest in language in the Cancionero. Unamuno believes that, by writing in Spanish, he is putting into words 'la historia, sagrada leyenda,/de las entrañas de un pueblo inmortal'.¹⁶ In Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, Unamuno had claimed that 'nuestra lengua misma, como toda lengua culta, lleva implícita una filosofía'.¹⁷ His aim in exploring the possibilities of the Spanish language is therefore to express and defend the intimate character of the Spanish

13 Poem 1181; in O.C., vi, 1268.

14 Poem 18; in O.C., vi, 954.

15 Poem 828; in O.C., vi, 1188.

16 Poem 363; in O.C., vi, 1064. See also Poem 1393; in O.C., vi, 1315.

17 O.C., vii, 290.

people, since 'hacer lenguaje' is equivalent in Unamuno's eyes to 'hacer tienda de espíritu de pueblo permanente'.¹⁸ By doing this, Unamuno is attempting to give expression to a new type of patriotism, a patriotism based on language which he defines in the article 'Hispanidad', of 1927, as 'un sentimiento común,...una filosofía, hasta una metafísica'.¹⁹

However, despite these poems on Spain and on the power of language, most of the Cancionero gives expression to the more 'contemplative' side of Unamuno. It is, in fact, a profoundly questioning and, at times, anguished collection of poetry in which Unamuno explores his feelings and reactions in the face of death.

The theme of death had been very present in most of Unamuno's previous exile works, especially in the poems of De Fuerteventura a París and the Romancero del destierro and in La agonía del cristianismo, Cómo se hace una novela and El hermano Juan, but had been seen there in relation to other key preoccupations. Now it becomes the central theme in its own right, and indeed the starting-point of the Cancionero, just as it had been in many of the major works that Unamuno had produced before exile, from the Diario íntimo to Del sentimiento trágico de la vida. In the Cancionero, however, Unamuno's obsession with his own mortality reaches a new level of intensity, mainly because, as we saw in Chapter 3, he has a growing awareness of the passing of time and of the approach of old age. As he says

18 Prologue to the Cancionero; in O.C., vi, 939.

19 O.C., iv, 1083.

in Poem 1319, 'Vas pasando, vida mía,/mañana será otro día,/uno ayer'.²⁰

In the Cancionero, Unamuno sees death to be the greatest potential threat to selfhood. Back in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, he had explained that the major characteristic of all human beings is their desire to continue existing forever in their individual selves, since

tu esencia, lector mío, la mía,...y la de cada hombre que sea hombre, no es sino el conato, el esfuerzo que pone en seguir siendo hombre, en no morir.²¹

Unamuno addresses himself fully to this problem in the Cancionero. His major fear in the collection is that, through death, he will completely lose his yo: '¡Dios mío, ven en mi ayuda,/que me arrebatan mi yo!'²² As he says in the Prologue, he longs to be a 'persona continua' and, in the face of death, 'conservar y continuar...mi identidad personal'.²³

The major way in which Unamuno tries to find hope and permanence in the face of death is by turning his attention back to his own childhood. At times, this attempt to relive his early years is no more than the expression of a desire to escape from the threat of death. Then, Unamuno can truly claim that

Me destierro a la memoria,
voy a vivir del recuerdo.²⁴

20 O.C., vi, 1299.

21 O.C., vii, 112.

22 Poem 1299; in O.C., vi, 1294.

23 O.C., vi, 947.

24 Poem 828; in O.C., vi, 1188.

At other times, however, Unamuno gains a sense of continuity of being through re-encountering his childhood self. By discovering that 'soy lo que fui', he is in fact able to extract hope from his memories:

Siempre vieja la esperanza,
siempre joven el recuerdo.²⁵

His musings on childhood also lead Unamuno to look more closely at his belief that death may ultimately be no more than a desnacer, a return to a pre-natal form of existence. Paulino Garagorri has pointed out that this notion had featured in Unamuno's work at least since the article 'Fantasía crepuscular' of 1898.²⁶ However, it is probably fair to say that Unamuno devotes most attention to it in the writings he produced in exile. In Cómo se hace una novela, Unamuno talks of the possibility that there exists within him

un sentido oscuro de perpetuidad hacia el pasado, de preexistencia, junto al sentido de perpetuidad hacia el futuro.²⁷

This 'sentido oscuro' allows him to think of living life 'a contratiempo, o mejor a arredrotiempo', back towards the moment when he would experience death as a 'desnacer'.²⁸ Similarly, in Sombras de sueño, Julio Macedo tells Elvira that he longs to rediscover his childhood, then 'volver al seno materno' and '"desnacer", no morir',²⁹ while el hermano

25 Poem 840; in O.C., vi, 1181.

26 Paulino Garagorri, Introducción a Miguel de Unamuno (Madrid, 1986), p. 56.

27 Cómo se hace una novela, p. 100.

28 ibid., p. 100.

29 O.C., v, 611-12.

Juan comes to see his 'porvenir de tras-tumba' reflected in his 'pasado de ante-cuna'.³⁰

Garagorri has explained the attractions to Unamuno of the thought that death is a 'desnacer' by saying that such a vision of death

no nos lleva hacia una playa desconocida, donde la posible aniquilación es temible, sino al regazo oscuro del que incuestionablemente manamos, al origen.³¹

In the Cancionero, Unamuno is certainly attracted to the idea of living 'a arredrotiempo' towards his childhood, and claims in Poem 28 that 'vuelvo a los días rosados/en que era hijo no más'.³² He also puts forward the notion that death may simply be the mirror-image of birth because it provides him with a comforting sense of the possible circularity of life. As he says in Poem 17:

Vuelvo a cantar de nuevo
mi primera canción
la que al brotar mi alma
con el alma brotó.³³

And yet Unamuno's main interest in rediscovering his 'primera canción' lies in the fact that, by becoming child-like again, he will come into renewed contact with the Christian faith and will, above all, find himself closer to God the Father. In a poem which recalls Christ's reaction to the children in the New Testament, he writes:

Agranda la puerta, padre,
porque no puedo pasar;
la hiciste para los niños,

30 O.C., v, 805.

31 Paulino Garagorri, Introducción a Miguel de Unamuno, p. 77.

32 O.C., vi, 957.

33 O.C., vi, 954.

yo he crecido a mi pesar.

Si no me agrandas la puerta,
achícame, por piedad;
vuélveme a la edad bendita
en que vivir es soñar.³⁴

This poem is one of many in the Cancionero which take the form of an intimate colloquy with God. In fact, the whole collection is dedicated to the 'Dios desconocido'³⁵ and becomes, as Del sentimiento trágico de la vida had been, an exploration of Unamuno's understanding of and relationship with 'God'. The reason for this is clear: in the face of the threat of death, Unamuno comes to feel that only God can guarantee the continuity of his yo. Unamuno's search for permanence through God comes now to eclipse even his hope of achieving immortality through fame.

In the Cancionero, Unamuno struggles with the mystery of God's existence. At intensely contemplative moments, he perceives God as an independent being that exists within him, beyond his own yo:

Soñaba, me derretía,
volvía a la plenitud
de mi yo, bajo las ruinas
me encontré con que era tú.³⁶

At such moments as this, when Unamuno is 'de Dios lleno',³⁷ he seems to experience again the desire that he had

34 Poem 28; in O.C., vi, 957. The way in which Unamuno identifies the return to childhood with the rediscovery of religious faith has been studied by Blanco Aguinaga. See Blanco Aguinaga, El Unamuno contemplativo, pp. 125-28.

35 This dedication is now the title of Poem 16; in O.C., vi, 953.

36 Poem 137; in O.C., vi, 992.

37 Poem 926; in O.C., vi, 1210.

expressed in the Diario íntimo to shed the 'yo que el mundo me ha dado' and to live in the 'yo mío, el que Tú sacaste de la nada', the yo which ultimately 'vivirá en Ti'.³⁸ As a result, he is occasionally attracted to the idea of losing himself altogether by submerging himself in God. This is in fact the characteristic note of a number of the poems of the Cancionero in which Unamuno acknowledges that 'quien en Dios se sumerge en Dios se olvida'.³⁹ Unamuno is led on such occasions to cry: 'Libértame de mí, Palabra Santa'⁴⁰ and 'Deslándame la conciencia,/hazme tuyo, todo entero'.⁴¹

However, this desire to lose himself in God is not the only or even the main note to be found in those poems in the Cancionero which deal with the theme of God. More often, Unamuno is drawn to develop the thoughts on the relationship between man and God which he had first expounded in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida. There, Unamuno had put forward the notion that man had created God in order to give meaning to the Universe:

Es el furioso anhelo de dar finalidad al Universo, de hacerle consciente y personal, lo que nos ha llevado a creer en Dios, a querer que haya Dios, a crear a Dios.⁴²

This man-made God is therefore, in Julián Marías' words, the

38 Diario íntimo, pp. 97-98.

39 Poem 157; in O.C., vi, 997.

40 Poem 1043; in O.C., vi, 1238.

41 Poem 67; in O.C., vi, 969.

42 O.C., vii, 201. On Unamuno's ideas on the nature of God, see Serrano Poncela, El pensamiento de Unamuno, pp. 145-68; Malvido Miguel, Unamuno a la busca de la inmortalidad (Salamanca, 1977), pp. 126-237; Rivera y Ventosa, Unamuno y Dios (Madrid, 1985).

'Dios personal y eternizador',⁴³ and the relationship between man and God can be seen as a mutual one, because man creates God in his search for permanence and God, in turn, gives meaning to man's life by guaranteeing 'la eternidad de la conciencia'⁴⁴:

Dios y el hombre se hacen mutuamente, en efecto; Dios se hace o se revela en el hombre, y el hombre se hace en Dios.⁴⁵

It is clear, therefore, that man has not created God in order to lose himself in Him after death. Rather, God is seen to be an extension of man's and Unamuno's desire to exist eternally as himself:

No, no es anegarme en el gran Todo...o en Dios lo que anhelo; no es ser poseído por Dios, sino poseerle, hacerme yo Dios sin dejar de ser yo que ahora os digo esto.⁴⁶

All of these notions find echo in Unamuno's Cancionero, where he explores the relationship of mutual need and creation which he believes exists between himself and God. At one point, he claims that 'Tú te conoces en mí,/me conozco en Ti, Señor',⁴⁷ going on to explain that he and God are 'dos espejos que se enfrentan/.../alumbrándonos luz pura'.⁴⁸ Elsewhere he underlines the importance of his poetic dialogue with God, a dialogue which allows him to overcome his doubts about life and death:

43 Marías, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 207. On this point, see also Ferrater Mora, Unamuno. Bosquejo de una filosofía, p. 51.

44 O.C., vii, 219.

45 O.C., vii, 209.

46 O.C., vii, 137.

47 Poem 493; in O.C., vi, 1104.

48 Poem 418; in O.C., vi, 1083.

Padre, con este tuteo
de intimidad entrañable
en Ti me endioso, me creo,
se hace mañana mi tarde.⁴⁹

In other poems, Unamuno shows how his notion of mutual creation with God is bound up with his belief in the power of the word, which at this stage takes on quasi-religious overtones. He develops the biblical claim that 'en el principio fue...la palabra'⁵⁰ in order to see God as the ultimate and absolute word, what he calls the 'divina palabra'.⁵¹ He comes to feel that if he can express this word - the word which 'no acabará'⁵² - in his poems, he will actually create God and achieve permanence through Him:

¿Pretendes desentrañar
las cosas? Pues desentraña
las palabras, que el nombrar
es del existir la entraña.
(...)
Si aciertas a Dios a darle
su nombre propio, le harás
Dios de veras, y al crearle
tú mismo te crearás.⁵³

In the light of this poem, it is clear therefore that Unamuno has to continue writing in order to attempt to express and create God who will in turn create Unamuno and thereby guarantee his permanence. Such is Unamuno's ultimate responsibility in the Cancionero in which, as he says in the Prologue, he brings together two of his most fundamental passions, 'la del sentimiento de la vida humana deseándose divina y la del lenguaje en que ese sentimiento se

49 Poem 19; in O.C., vi, 954.

50 O.C., vi, 944.

51 Poem 367; in O.C., vi, 1066.

52 Poem 117; in O.C., vi, 986.

53 Poem 394; in O.C., vi, 1074. Unamuno develops the same idea in Poem 1043; in O.C., vi, 1238.

expresa'.⁵⁴ Underlying these two passions, it must not be forgotten, is the omnipresent threat of death which acts both as the fundamental motivation for writing and as the cause of Unamuno's occasional longings for silence and peace.

The Cancionero is therefore very much the collection of a man who is aware of his age and feels very weary after spending so many years away from his country. In it, Unamuno often shows great resilience and is always questioning and searching for new certainties, but he is also increasingly aware of the inescapable fact of his own mortality. In all of this, the Cancionero introduces the major characteristics of the writings Unamuno was to produce after his return to Spain in the 1930s: alongside his occasional political articles and poems, Unamuno would continue to converse with God and to explore the power of the word in an attempt to find a final answer to the threat of death.

54 O.C., vi, 945.

CONCLUSION

This first systematic study of all the major aspects of Unamuno's exile has served to shed light on Unamuno's understanding of his political role, on the way in which exile affected his literary and philosophical ideas, and on the central importance of the activity of writing in Unamuno's philosophy of self-creation.

By studying the reasons for Unamuno's exile, we have seen that Unamuno opposed Primo de Rivera because he believed the Dictator shared the political outlook of the casticistas, the false patriots whose narrow vision of Spain he had been attacking since En torno al casticismo. Unamuno first reacted to Primo's *coup d'état* by providing an explicit definition of his political views and an exposition of his thoughts concerning the major political ideologies, especially liberalism and socialism. A study of the political articles which Unamuno produced between September 1923 and February 1924 - many of which had previously been uncollected - has revealed how Unamuno reaffirmed at this time his faith in liberalism, which he believed to be an ideology dedicated to the defence of free speech and of certain fundamental spiritual and individual values. It has also revealed how Unamuno got closer than at any time since the 1890s to the Socialist Party and how he believed that genuine socialists and liberals should share the same basic ideals and political outlook.

And yet Unamuno refused at this time - and, indeed, throughout his exile - to rejoin the Socialist Party or even to join forces with any of the political parties opposed to the Régime of Primo de Rivera. He believed that his duty as a public figure was to remain above party politics and to engage Primo de Rivera and Alfonso XIII in a bitter and often aggressive verbal duel. The political writings he produced in exile reveal that Unamuno believed politics to be more a matter of personalities than of ideology.

Throughout his exile, Unamuno wrote as a representative of what he saw to be the specifically Spanish philosophy of life which he had been defending since En torno al casticismo and to which he had given full expression in Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho and Del sentimiento trágico de la vida. In En torno al casticismo, Unamuno had studied the 'intrahistorical' values of Spain and claimed that the Spanish had retained an awareness of the importance of the spiritual dimension of human life. Then, in Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho and Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, Unamuno had used Don Quixote as his guide as he defined the Spanish view of existence in terms of man's need to affirm his will-to-be and his individual worth in the face of death. Unamuno believed that his duty as a public figure in exile was to continue defending this vision of life and playing his role as an agitador de espíritus, thereby reminding his compatriots of the truths of the spirit and of

the genuine values of their country which were being debased by the Régime of Primo de Rivera.

Furthermore, Unamuno came to believe in Paris that he had a duty to make these specifically Spanish values known to his new international audience. He was appalled by the growing materialism and devotion to rationalism and science which he found to be dominating French and, more generally, European culture. He therefore took advantage of his stay in the French capital in order to carry on his lifelong mission to remind Europe of her spiritual heritage. This previously unstudied mission came to a climax with La agonía del cristianismo in which Unamuno set out to underline the contradictions which, in his view, lie at the heart of, and consequently give vitality to, the Christian faith and the civilization it had brought into existence.

And yet Unamuno's confidence in his role as an agitador de espíritus and as a representative of the Spanish philosophy of life was not to last. Towards the end of 1924, he started to feel the full effects of his exile from Spain. Cut off from his homeland, his family, his readers and his language, he felt unable to write during the first months of 1925 and consequently entered into a state of literary paralysis. As a result, he suffered from a profound personal crisis to which he attempted to give expression in Cómo se hace una novela.

Those critics who have already dealt with this crisis have focused on the fact that Unamuno came to doubt the

authenticity of the role that he was playing at this time and ultimately questioned the very idea of role-playing itself. This thesis has set out to show that the crisis Unamuno suffered in exile was in fact principally a writer's crisis.

To be able to show this, it has been necessary to study that crisis in the context of Unamuno's lifelong thoughts on selfhood, self-creation and writing. In Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, Unamuno had put forward the belief that the individual can give expression to his sense of selfhood and to his desire for immortality through activity; the individual must, in fact, learn to see his life in terms of an obra which has to be created. Unamuno had also made it clear that his own way of acting and creating himself was through playing his role as a public figure and a writer. By writing works in which he explored and defended his philosophy of self-creation, he felt that he was creating the written obra by which he would be remembered after his death.

However, Unamuno had long had profound doubts not only concerning the effects of role-playing on his sense of selfhood but also concerning the self which is created through writing. He first gave expression to such doubts in the Diario íntimo of 1897. There, he questioned the authenticity of the self created through playing a public role and also the substantiality of the self that he was creating in words. He revealed his belief that words can, as

nothing else, give expression to the lived experience of the self but can also empty the self of all substance.

In Cómo se hace una novela, the major work he produced in exile, Unamuno attempted to reaffirm his belief that life is like a novela or an historia which each individual has the duty to create. He also made it clear once again that he created his own novela-vida by writing. And yet the isolation of exile and the literary paralysis which he was suffering at this time made it impossible for Unamuno to feel confidence in the process of self-creation and in his own novela or written self. As a result, all the doubts about the authenticity of the self created by playing a public role and about the substantiality of the self created in words resurfaced in this work. Unamuno was therefore forced once again to face up to all the implications of his philosophy of self-creation and writing.

In the 'Continuación' and the other sections which he added to Cómo se hace una novela in 1927, Unamuno was at last able to affirm his confidence in the activity of writing. Indeed, he showed here how he needed to write both in order to play his public role and to create a lasting version of himself in words. However, he also realized that he would only live on through his 'written self' if he had readers who were able to bring him to life within them. As a consequence, much of the 'Continuación' is concerned with the matter of how the writer should write in order to create an authentic and substantial expression of himself in words,

and also with how the reader should read in order to ensure the continuing existence of the writer's 'written self'. The 'Continuación' serves to show, therefore, how Unamuno's ideas on writing and reading lie at the very heart of his philosophy of self-creation.

In Cómo se hace una novela and the plays which he wrote in Hendaye, Unamuno gave expression to the profound crisis of selfhood which had been brought on by his experience of exile. By the time that he started the Cancionero in 1928, however, Unamuno was more obsessed with advancing age and with the possibility that he might die outside his homeland. This collection of poetry serves to show that the ultimate effect of exile was to make Unamuno more aware of the greatest threat to personal identity, that is, the threat of death.

In conclusion, therefore, it could be said that exile was a testing and in some ways a quietly heroic moment in Unamuno's life, when he valiantly defended his vision of Spain and also endeavoured to take his Spanish philosophy to a wider European audience. It was also, however, the moment when he came to question that philosophy more profoundly than ever before and to pass definitively into old age.

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