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SPANISH NONFICTION

ORIGIN: THE MIDDLE AGES

The appearance of prose in Spain lagged about a century behind that of poetry. In its earliest manifestations, Spanish prose was erudite and international in spirit. It recorded the learning of scholars and bore a marked didactic tendency.

A. Early Chronicles

Spaniards recorded important events as far back as the fifth century in Latin chronicles (pejoratively labeled *cronicones*) which were largely inexact, arid and tasteless. Spanish was not used for recording history until the early thirteenth century.

B. Lucas de Tuy and Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada

Lucas de Tuy (d. 1249?), known also as el Tudense, was born in the second half of the twelfth century and wrote several works, the most important of which is *Chronicon mundi*, produced in 1236 and translated into Spanish near the end of the thirteenth century with the title *Coronica de Spana por Lucas de Tui*. Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada (1170? – 1247), Archbishop of Toledo wrote several histories in Latin the best of which was *Historia gothica o De Rebus hispaniae* produced in the first half of the thirteenth century and translated into Spanish under the title *Estoria de los godos*. These two authors advanced the writing of history and pointed the way to the great historical works of Alfonso *el Sabio*.

C. The Toledan School of Translators

During the reign of Alfonso VII, the fame of a school of translators in Toledo spread over the civilized world. When the Arabs conquered Spain in the early eighth century, they brought with them the Oriental apologue, plus knowledge about science mathematics, astronomy, and medicine, and had incorporated into their own culture much of what they had learned through contacts with Hellenic centers that they had captured particularly Alexandria. Little of this knowledge was available elsewhere in Europe. The Arabs translated their manuscripts from Arabic to Latin, and scholars from all over Europe flooded Toledo in quest of learning. Oriental-Greek knowledge and scholarship were thus transmitted to Europe and Toledo became a renowned center of culture and learning.

D. Earliest Nonfiction Prose Works: First Half of the Thirteenth Century

This period produced a number of non-fiction works. Among the most notable are *Diez mandamientos*, a dry guide for confessors; *Anales toledanos*, an arid collection of historical facts covering twelve centuries; the *Fuero Juzgo*, a legal code; *El libro de los doze sabios* an early treatise on the education of princess; *Dialogo o disputa del cristiano y el judio*, a discussion of religious faiths; *Flores de Filosofia*, an anthology of philosophical maxims; *Poriodat de poridades*, a collection of wise sayings; and *bocados de oro*, a discourse on men of letters and arms, and philosophical maxims from the Orient, Greece and Rome.

THE SECOND HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

A. Alfonso X, *el Sabio* (1221 – 1284)

Alfonso's leadership ignited a veritable renaissance of learning. Under his guidance and example, Spanish prose came of age, and Spanish replaced Latin for writing history. He was a learned man himself and directed the translation of literary, scientific, and technical works from the Arabic. He might be called the first of the encyclopedists. He gathered scholars from all corners of Spain and set them to work on the most important non-fiction works of the Middle Ages. He played the role of editor in chief but often took an active part in the preparation of his monumental books.

Among these works is *La primera cronica general*, begun about 1270 as significant as any history written in Europe in the Middle Ages. Although it covers the history of mankind from the population of the world by Noah's sons, it concentrates chiefly on Spain and brings the country's history down to the reign of Fernando III. Its authors relied on a variety of sources, but of special interest to students of Spanish literature are the prose renderings of epic poems embedded in its pages. The language of this venerable history is varied, rich, picturesque, reasonably artistic, and *castizo*. Alfonso established Spanish as an independent, literary tongue in this and other works; he himself corrected the manuscripts of his scholars. No greater service was rendered to the language until Cervantes wrote his *Quijote*. Alfonso completed the first two parts, and the third and fourth parts were finished in 1289 during the reign of Sancho IV, Alfonso's son (r. 1284 – 1295). Alfonso also started a history of even vaster proportions, the *General estoria*, a history of the world, but it remained uncompleted.

A second major work compiled by Alfonso's scholars is the *Siete partidas* (1256 – 1265), a codification of all the laws of Castile, which remains today one of the world's great legislative documents. The legal aspects of this monumental work are of slight interest to literary students, but the nearly complete documentation of the life, manners, customs, dress, and entertainments of thirteenth-century Spain that the book contains are most valuable. The book is a guide to good manners and good conduct and stipulates the responsibilities, obligations, and rights of each of the social classes from the king to the peasant, thus providing a picturesque panorama of medieval life. It also is a gold mine of philological and semantic information, for it refers to hundreds of things by name and explains and defines various terms.

Alfonso's scientific and technical works include *Lapidario* (1279), about the curative and magical properties ascribed to precious stones; *Libros del saber de astronomia*, a study of astronomy based on the Ptolemaic system; *Tablas astronomicas Alfonsies* (1271) another work on astronomy concerned with the measurement of time and the occurrence of eclipses; *Septenario*, a treatise on the seven arts; and *Libros de ajedrez, dados, y tablas* (1280), the most important medieval work on these games.

Alfonso's genius lay in organization and synthesis. He inspired his collaborators with the enthusiasms to conclude the grand cultural projects he conceived. Through his leadership, Greek, Roman, Islamic, Jewish, German, and Spanish cultures spread from his workshop to the rest of the world. He was renowned for his tolerance and his interest in both politics and religion, and he gathered scholars to his court regardless of their racial or religious identity. By continuing the important work of the Toledan school of translators, by elevating the legal and historical work of his predecessors to heights not attained elsewhere in the Middle Ages, and by guiding his important works from conception to completion, this cultural giant of the Middle Ages rendered all of Europe significant services.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

A. General Considerations

Two great figures stand out in the field of didactic prose in the fourteenth century Juan Manuel and Pero Lopez de Ayala, famed also for their work in other literary genres.

B. Juan Manuel (1282 – 1347)

Juan Manuel, of noble descent, was one of the most tempestuous and dangerous barons of his time. He loved power and became embroiled in wars, rebellions, intrigues, betrayals,

and assassinations and fought against his own king, Alfonso XI. After a turbulent career he became reconciled with the king and joined him in campaigns against the Moors.

The life of this medieval firebrand does not correspond to his writings, for in them he was preoccupied with the improvement and education of his fellow man and the salvation of men's souls. His writings are serious and sober, full of stern advice, severe judgments, and reminders of moral obligations. The serenity of his writings does not reflect the passions and violence of his life.

Juan Manuel's three most important books are *El Conde Lucanor* (1323 – 1335); *El libro del caballero y del Escudero* (1326), a didactic work containing moral disquisitions and instructions on the most varied subjects; and *El libro de los estados* (1330) an encyclopedic work based on the Buddha legend in which the Buddha is converted to Christianity, plus treatises on a variety of other topics. Of lesser significance are *El libro de la caza*, *Libro de los Castigos*, *Cronica abreviada*, *Libro de las armas*, and *Tractado de la Asuncion de la Virgen Maria*. His lost works are *De las reglas como se debe trobar*, *Libro de los cantares*, and *Los ingenos* a treatise on the machines of war. Juan Manuel sought the truth and has gone down in history as one of Spain's most remarkable figures of the Middle Ages.

C. Pero Lopez de Ayala (1332 – 1407)

Histories of the reigns of kings continued to appear in the first half of the fourteenth century, but none compared with those of *Alfonso el Sabio*. It was not until the latter part of the century that a historian of first magnitude appeared, Pero Lopez de Ayala, one of the great spirits of the time and perhaps the outstanding Spaniard of his age. As a soldier, diplomat, writer, and adviser to kings, he lived in a time of turmoil and treachery and judged his world harshly. He lived through the troubled reigns of five kings. No one was better qualified to record their history.

Lopez de Ayala was a medieval man standing on the threshold of the Renaissance. The relaxation of morals, civil strife, fratricidal wars, changes in politics and society, the crumbling of the old castes, the emergence of a middle class, growing guidelines underfoot and many other changes taking place troubled him deeply. He adopted the role of judge and censor and expressed himself with severity and bitterness. Yet despite his pessimism, he believed in the great virtues of justice and charity and in the possibility of peace and good government. He saw a basic equality in all men and believed that even the humblest human life was important.

As a historian Lopez de Ayala relied only on accurate sources, tried to be fair and impartial, was more interested in men's motives than their actions and remained impassive before the sometimes-violent acts he recorded. His histories which he entitled *Cronicas*, embrace the reigns of Pedro I *el Cruel*; Enrique II de Trastamara; and Juan I; and part of the reign of Enrique III covering the years 1350 to 1396. His objectivity, impartiality, factual accuracy, critical approach, and psychological insight taught lessons to future historians.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

A. General Considerations

Life changed radically in late fifteenth-century Spain as Ferdinand and Isabel tamed the rebellious barons and established their absolute monarchy. Noblemen drifted to the court and took to writing poetry, polishing their manners, and studying Latin. Swarms of historians recorded all events of consequence. Humanists produced their grammars and dictionaries, and moral philosophers tried to ennoble the spirit of the time. The introduction of printing in 1474 marked a new era. Verbal portraits were attempted for the first time. The Renaissance had dawned.

B. Historiography of the Fifteenth Century

Kings continued the custom of appointing an official chronicler of their reigns, but their ambition was much narrower than that of their predecessors, as they had recorded only the history of the reign of a single monarch, or even just a few years of a given reign. Also, lives of important personages other than kings and queens were recorded, and history became so specialized that some chronicles recorded single events. Two new types of writing appeared: the character sketch and descriptions of travel to exotic places. The histories are interesting not for their excellence but for the tumultuous events they record. No first-rank historian appeared, but those who chronicle the events of the time do preserve the record of the nation's approach to national unity and empire. Special mention should be made of several histories and historians.

1. *La cronica de don Juan II*, the first part ascribed to Alvar Garcia de Santa Maria (1390 – 1460), covers the politically troubled but artistically active reign of Juan II. Its most interesting portion concerns the execution of don Alvaro Luna and the king's reaction after his death.
2. *Pedro del Corral* produced around 1443 the *Cronica sarracina o Cronica del rey don Rodrigo con la destruccion de Espana*, a curious book that is a mixture of fact and fantasy. Some call it Spain's first historical novel, since the author freely substituted his own inventions for historical facts. It was very popular when it was published in 1511 because it recalled a national tradition and reflected the glamor of chivalry. Perez de Guzman labeled the book "lies and manifest untruths," but it prospered, nonetheless. Later, ballad writers used it as a source.
3. *Mosen Diego de Valera* (1412 – 1487) wrote one of the more ambitious chronicles of his day at the request, he claimed, of Queen Isabel. A prolific writer, he produced in addition to his *Cronica abreviada* a number of epistles and other histories.
4. *Alfonso Fernandez de Palencia* (1432 – 1492), one of the ablest nonfiction prose writers of the fifteenth century, was a leading Humanist of the time and produced a variety of works ranging from histories to translations of Plutarch, a dictionary of the language, and social and political satire. His greatest contribution, however, was his history of the reign of Enrique IV, first written in Latin and translated under the title *Decadas or Cronicas de Enrique IV*. Here he painted an appalling picture of the depravity and corruption of this sad era.
5. *Diego Enriquez del Castillo* (1433 – 1504) also wrote a history of the reign of Enrique IV, which in contrast with that of Fernandez de Palencia represents the king as benevolent and just, his kingdom as well administered, and the people as satisfied with the government. He was in the service of the king, and his work has largely been discredited as a reliable record.
6. *Andres Bernaldez* (d. 1513) is remembered for his *Historia de los Reyes Catolicos, don Fernando y dona Isabel*. This account is prized especially for the information it contains on Columbus' voyages; Bernaldez gathered reports from the admiral's diary and from personal interviews with him.

C. Character Sketches of the Fifteenth Century

1. *Fernan Perez de Guzman* (1376 – 1460) was the first to join together a series of moral and physical verbal portraits of eminent persons. The third part of his *Mar de historias* is entitled *Generaciones y semblanzas*, and it here that he portrays verbally thirty-five men and one woman from the reigns of Enrique III and Juan II, leaving us a splendid record of the notables of his day.
2. *Hernando del Pulgar* (1436 – 1493) was a happy imitator of Perez de Guzman and wrote the *Libro de los claros varones de Castilla*, a book of short biographies in which he traced in precise strokes the verbal portraits of twenty-four of his contemporaries.

D. Private Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century

Historians did not confine themselves to kings but wrote entire chronicles on lives of prominent men. Two worthies of mention are *the Cronica de don Alvaro de Luna*, a favorable account of this famous man's life and execution possibly written by Gonzalo de Chacon; and the *Cronica*

de don Pedro Nino, conde de Buelna, by Gutierrez Diez Games (1379 – 1450), a history that reads almost like a novel of chivalry.

E. Chronicles of Single Events

A few historians devoted a book to a single historical event. The best known of these is the *Libro del paso honroso de Suero de Quinones* by Pedro Rodriguez de Lena. Its lasting appeal is manifested by the fact that the Duque de Rivas used it in writing *El paso honroso* in 1812.

F. Descriptions of Travels

Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo (D. 1412) wrote the best of these, *Vida del gran Tamerlan*. Enrique III sent expeditions to the Middle East in search of emperors and kings. One of them found Tamerlane, the Tartar king who sent rich gifts back to Enrique. Out of gratitude, Enrique sent a mission to Tamerlane's court, a member of which was the author of this travelogue.

G. Humanists of the Fifteenth Century

The Renaissance gained a strong foothold in Spain in the waning years of the fifteenth century as medieval Scholasticism crumbled before the onslaught of the modern spirit emanating from new centers of thought, chiefly Italy. The study of Latin and Greek became fashionable, and philology replaced theology as the most important of studies. The philologists' interests were encyclopedic and embraced all fields of inquiry known at the time. New universities were founded, and the introduction of printing brought books within the reach of many. Though the new freedoms led some into the occult, Humanists solidly advanced their cause and opened the gates of the Renaissance.

1. *The Marques de Villena* (1384 -1434), a puzzling man, was accused of being a dealer in black magic, a wizard, and a romancer and of making a pact with the devil. The works he left are of ordinary merit. His library was burned, however, after his death, and perhaps his better efforts were thus destroyed. His *Arte cisoria* is Spain's first cookbook. His *Libro del aojamiento o fascinologia* discusses the ways of removing the spell of the "evil eye." He also left a treatise on the plague. His most important work is his *Arte de trovar*, Spain's earliest work on poetic criticism, but unfortunately only a portion of it has been saved.
2. *Elio Antonio de Nebrija* (1441 – 1522) studied at Salamanca but went to Italy at the age of nineteen and studied there for ten years. Upon returning to Spain he taught at the University of Salamanca, to which he hoped to bring the light of the new learning. Later he was called to the University of Alcala to help produce the Complutensian Bible. He was a typical Humanist, a walking encyclopedia, and he enjoyed the protection of highly placed persons, including Queen Isabel. His work embraced all fields of knowledge and he waged a singlehanded war against ignorance.
His works were written mostly in Latin. Among the is his Latin grammar, *Introductiones latinae* (1481). Two particularly important works by Nebrija appeared in 1492, *Gramatica sobre la lengua castellana*, commissioned by the queen, the first grammar of a modern language, and the Latin-Spanish portion of Nebrija's dictionary. He finished the Latin – Spanish portion of Nebrija's dictionary. He finished the Spanish-Latin part in 1495. His *Reglas de ortografia castellana* (1517) speaks for itself. Named official historian by Fernando, Nebrija translated Pulgar's chronicles of Fernando's reign into Latin hoping thus to achieve greater universality.
3. *Minor figures* of the fifteenth century include Cardinal Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros (1437 -1517), who founded the University of Alcala and published the first critical edition of the Bible anywhere, the Complutensian Bible; Don Alvaro de Luna (d. 1453), who, though not a Humanist, was a central figure of the age and made his contribution to letters in the book *Libro de las claras y virtuosas mujeres*, a study of outstanding women from Biblical days to his own; Alfonso de la Torre (1421 – 1461), who left an encyclopedic work entitled *Vision deleitable de la Filosofia y artes liberals* (ca. 1440); and Juan de Lucena (d. 1506),

whose fictional *Libro de vida beata* (1463) reports on discussions between the Marques de Santillana, Alonso de Cartagena, Juan de Mena, and the author.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Politically, this was the glorious age for Spaniards as the empire, begun by the Catholic Sovereigns, reached its peak under Carlos V. To this day it remains the largest domain ever organized under one scepter. Though Carlos tried honestly and valiantly for reconciliation with the Protestants, ultimately, he decided to make Spain the champion and principal defender of Roman Catholicism in Europe in order to preserve Church unity in the face of the religious wars that he could not win. This was more than the empire could bear, coupled with all its other troubles at home and in America, where colonization was proceeding rapidly. Carlos abdicated in favor of his son, Felipe II, who despaired of controlling the strong Protestant movements and closed Spain's doors to the world.

Culturally, Spaniards enjoyed free inquiry for a time, and a liberal spirit in the realm of ideas and philosophy prevailed as Spain seemed to be headed down the rationalistic road the rest of Europe was taking. Erasmus was known and admired, but after the Council of Trent, Carlos V and later Felipe II stilled the paganistic spirit of the renaissance and any deviation from approved dogma. Though Spain prospered for a number of years, Felipe's isolationist policies spelled eventual weakness in all areas, political, cultural, and economic.

Didactic prose reflected the political, cultural, and religious conditions outlined above. Erasmists, such as the Valdes brothers, wrote in the early years, as did philosophers. After the controls were invoked, the great Mystic literature of Spain flourished. Historians continued to produce volumes, and eyewitness history from the New World became fashionable. Prose style took two directions, namely toward the rhetorical, artificial style that pointed to Gongorism on the one hand, and toward the simple, direct style that pointed to Góngora on the other. This diverse and unsettled era heralded the Golden Age.

A. Moralists, Humanists, Philosophers

1. *Antonio de Guevara* (1480 – 1545) wrote three books. His *Reloj de Principe's* (1529), also known by the title *Libro d'oreo del emperador Marco Aurelio*, is a largely apocryphal didactic novel, a politicomoralistic treatise designed to give the emperor a model of the perfect ruler. It was very popular, probably for the great diversity of themes that Guevara treated, including war, religion, marriage, the family, misogynist propaganda, death, humor, anecdotes, and fables. Guevara is acknowledged as one of the leading prose stylists before Cervantes, and though his style smacks of Gongorism, he is eloquent and reveals a quick mind, a ready wit, and clever ingenuity.

Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea (1539) treats the traditional theme of the perils, corruptions, and sins of city life and the simplicity and purity of rural life. Guevara testified that it was his most carefully and painstakingly written work, in which he polished his language, strove for elegance, and exercised his judgment to the utmost. Like Fray Luis de Leon some years later, the harassed courtier longs for the peace of the country and laments the virtues he lost in the city. Between 1539 and 1545 Guevara wrote eighty-three *Epistolas familiares* to many different people on the widest range of subjects, and his *Decadas de los Cesares* is his rendering of the lives of ten Roman emperors. Though he took many liberties with facts, tampering with them or inventing them carelessly at times, he was undoubtedly in tune with his times, was an important man in his day, and had a strong influence on the development of prose writing in Europe.

2. *Juan Luis Vives* (1492 – 1540) personified the Renaissance in Spain and is considered by some as Spain's greatest philosopher. His chief claim to originality rests upon his use of the inductive method for philosophical and psychological discovery. He reacted away from Scholasticism toward the new Humanism, along with Erasmus and others. He eventually went to England at the invitation of Henry VIII. There he became the friend of Thomas More and served as royal tutor and lecturer at Oxford.

Preceding modern philosophers in the use of the empirical method, he insisted upon the importance of observation, introspection, and the removal of *a priori* judgments in reasoning. He will always be known as one of the stalwarts of Christian Humanism. His

seventy – three works, all in Latin, are models of purity and style. Unfortunately, his contributions are not widely known, and he has yet to be acknowledged as one of the great thinkers of his time.

3. *Alfonso de Valdes* (1490? – 1532) was converted to Erasmism and corresponded with Erasmus until his death. In his *Dialogo de Lactancio y un arcediano* he defended Carlos V against criticism following the sacking of Rome in 1527 and laid blame on the pope. His *Dialogo de Mercurio y Caron*, whose real intent was to defend the emperor again, mercilessly flayed various social classes, especially the clergy, scoffed at certain practices of the Church, such as bulls and indulgences, and poked fun at high Church officials for their costumes and jewelry. Along with other Erasmists, Valdes was forced to flee Spain by the Inquisition's campaign against them. He died in Vienna, having escaped the Inquisition's *procesos* instituted against him and his brother.
4. *Juan de Valdes* (1501? – 1541), brother of Alfonso, absorbed the Humanistic spirit and was an enthusiastic disciple of Erasmus'. He too had to flee Spain because of his heterodoxy. His *Ciento die consideraciones divinas* (1550) outlines his theological system, which was somewhat at variance with orthodoxy. His *Dialogo de la lengua* (ca. 1535), styled as the first important linguistic treatise on the Spanish language, is of much greater interest today. In it he suggested many innovations, but since it was not published until 1737, it had little effect on the development of the language. It is, nevertheless, an important statement on sixteenth-century Spanish.
5. *Pedro Mexia* (1449? -1551) compiled an interesting home, *Silva de varia lecion* (1542), a grand mixture of information and misinformation of all kinds that embodies much from Greek and Roman antiquity and from the sciences. This catchall was very popular in its day and was translated into various languages.
6. *Cristobal de Villalon* (1510? – 1562?), whose identity has never been clarified to everyone's satisfaction, was formerly credited with an interesting work, *El viaje de Turquia*, an account of his trip to Constantinople. Bataillon credits a Doctor Andres Laguna with the authorship of this book. Villalon's *El Crotalon* is a satire on contemporary life that points up the corruption and depravities of the human race that he had observed.
7. *Fernan Perez de Oliva* (1494? – 1533), a highly educated man, wrote treatises, dialogues, and discourses of a didactic nature. His best-known work is *Dialogo de la dignidad del hombre* (1546), in which he perceives the greatness of man and sees in hi the image of God.

B. Historians of the Sixteenth Century

Sixteenth-century history can be divided into two groups: that which deals with Spain and that which describes the marvels, hardships, and heroism of the conquest of the New World. A new trend toward scientific documentation of facts indicated that the age of modern historical writing had begun. Two writers of real merit stand out in this period, namely Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and Juan Mariana.

1. *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* (1503 – 1575) was an important political figure and virtual viceroy of Italy under Carlos V. His *Guerra de Granada* chronicles Felipe II's war with the *moriscos* of *Guerra de Granada* and is rigorously accurate eyewitness history. Like Lopez de Ayala, he felt it his right to make moral judgments and to analyze motives and actions. His unusual gift of narrative, plastic imagination, and dramatic visions, with which he visualized a scene as a stage setting, made history come alive. His style was not impeccable, but his honesty, integrity, fairness, strength and lucidity have earned him a rank among his contemporaries second only to Juan de Mariana.
2. *Juan de Mariana* (1536 – 1624) wrote a thirty-volume *Historia General de Espana* that fixed his reputation as the best historian of his day. He began with the arrival of Japheth's fifth son in Spain and continued to the year 1516, the date of the death of Fernando, *el catolico*. His purpose was to eulogize Spain, and for the sake of universality he wrote it first in Latin with the title *Historia de rebus Hispaniae*. The first twenty volumes appeared in 1592, five more in 1595, and the final five in 1605. He himself translated his history into Spanish in 1601 and then published a definitive version in 1606. In doing so, he enlarged it considerably. An ardent patriot he wanted Spain's greatness known to the world and to the Spaniards themselves.

Though he used legendary material, he also used something of the scientific historian's procedure. He too believed it his duty to praise right and condemn evil, and he told the truth even if it hurt. His fearlessness got him penalties on occasion but nothing of a serious nature. His history is still regarded as one of the high marks of Spanish historiography.

3. *Lesser historians of the sixteenth century.* Jeronino de Zurita (1512 – 1580) approached his task in a scientific manner and ushered in the modern age of history in Spain. Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo (1478 – 1557), who spent his life in the New World, lumped a heterogeneous mass of information about the new lands into a fifty-volume work, *Historia natural y general de las Indias*, a vast repository of facts about the colonies. Hernan Cortes (1485 – 1547), the great *conquistador*, reported his adventures in *Cartas de relacion*, written between 1519 and 1526. Francisco Lopez de Gomara (1512 – 1557?), Cortes' secretary and fervent admirer, wrote his *Historia general de las Indias*, which exhibits a strong bias in his captain's favor. Bernal Diaz del Castillo (ca. 1495 – 1584), a soldier in Cortes' army, corrected Lopez de Gomara's account to tell what he called the "true story of the conquest" in his *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva Espana*, not published until 1632. Bartolome de las Casas (1474 – 1566), a Dominican, wrote *Brevisima relacion de la destruccion de las Indias* (1552), in which he harshly criticized Spanish colonial policy, thus fueling the propaganda of Spain's colonial competitors and igniting the fire that led to the Black Legend. Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca (1490? – 1564?) wrote *Naufragios*, which narrates his incredible adventures along the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of California.

C. Ascetics and Mystics of the Sixteenth Century

From the beginnings up to the sixteenth century, Spanish literature was in one way or another related to religion. Renaissance Humanism began to change that, but Felipe II's Counter Reformation brought religion back to a position of prominence, paving the way for the vast ascetic and Mystic writings of the second half of the sixteenth century.

1. *Juan de Avila* (1500 – 1569) was a leading figure in the initial phases of the luxuriant flowering of religious writings of his era. His *Audi, filia et vide* (1560) was an important contribution to the genre. More important, however, is his *Epistolario spiritual para todos los estados* (1578), consisting of 150 letters to men and women of all states and conditions, in which he offers advice, consolation, comfort, and warnings as well as speculations on the religious life in general.
2. *Fray Luis de Granada* (1504 – 1588) devoted himself to sacred oratory and became the preacher of greatest authority in his day. *Guia de pecadores* (1567) is his best-known prose work. It exhorts man to follow the road to salvation and includes a detailed discussion of sins and the ways of combatting vices. His *Introduccion al simbolo de la fe* (1582) is an encyclopedia of the Christian religion, and his *Libro de la oracion y meditacion* (1554) deals with the circumstances that favor or hinder true prayer.
3. *Santa Teresa de Jesus* (1515 – 1582) was the outstanding woman of her day and still holds the respect and admiration of the Christian world. She joined the Carmelite Order at the age of seventeen and later formed the *descalzas* branch, which expanded greatly under her custody. Teresa had no literary ambitions and wrote her books only at the request of her superiors or her nuns. Her most important work is entitled *El Castillo interior of las moradas* (1577). It is a treatise on the relationship of the soul with God and the prayer stages through which one must pass to reach that Mystic state where the soul is one with Him. Her intent was to teach one how to reach this stage of perfection. Other works of Santa Teresa are *El libro de su vida* (1562 – 1565), *El libro de las Fundación's* (1573), and *Camino de perfeccion* (1565); and in a definitive edition in 1570). Fray Luis de Leon published these works with a prologue in 1588.
4. *San Juan de la Cruz* (1542 – 1591), essentially a poet, was intimately associated with Santa Teresa and joined the male branch of the Carmelites. He was the most metaphysical of the Mystics, was fond of abstractions, and acknowledged the difficulties of expressing the ineffable. Some of his prose consists of extensions of and commentaries on his poetry and explains it in great detail. Both his poetry and prose are subtle, complicated, and difficult to understand, and though he is recognized as one of the great Mystics of all time, he does not have the popular

- appeal of Santa Teresa or Fray Luis de Leon. His prose works are *Cantico spiritual*, *Avisos y sentencias*, and *Cartas*. His writings represent the fullest development of Mysticism in Spain. The intensity of his being and the fervor of his devotion made him unique and brought Mysticism to the heights of its expression.
5. *Fray Luis de Leon* (1527 – 1591), better known as a poet, wrote good prose works that have been underrated because of the excellence of his poetry. Stylistically he ranks among the great prosists of all time. Believing in the power and beauty of the Spanish language, with his careful craftsmanship and unerring feel for his native tongue he elevated prose style works; *De los nombres de Cristo*, *La perfecta casada*, and *Exposicion del libro de Job* all republished over the years in many editions, women in the twentieth century. Fray Luis and San Juan died in the same year, and with them the blossom of Mystic literature withered and died. No great Mystic writers appeared after their time.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

A. General Considerations

The Golden Age was in full bloom when the seventeenth century dawned, but sensitive writers were beginning to foresee the unmistakable signs of degeneration that would continue its inexorable course to and beyond the end of the century. The most striking development of the period was the emphasis on the Baroque style that had long been ripening in Spain. The two authors in the field of nonfiction prose who best represent the Baroque period and who most clearly saw Spain's true condition are Francisco de Quevedo and Baltasar Gracian. Both are conceptistas, both are critical of their fellow man, and both are pessimistic. Diego de Saavedra Fajardo holds third place behind these two. Historians continued to write, but none of first category appeared. Religious writing had passed its peak and now entered a period of degeneracy.

B. Francisco Gomez de Quevedo y Villegas (1580 – 1645)

Francisco de Quevedo was one of the few men of his time to recognize and admit the truth of Spain's creeping political, moral, and economic degeneration. Consequently, at an early age he lashed out against the corruption, weakness, and sagging morality that were leading his country downward. His onerous warnings and unsparing criticisms earned him enmities that eventually led to his imprisonment and death; but he left a superior legacy that is extraordinarily rich and diversified and has earned him the reputation as Spain's foremost satirist and wit. He wrote poetry, political treatises, novels, ascetic works, lives of saints, literary criticism, dramas, philosophy, moral and theological treatises, history satirical works, and fantasies. He stands as a giant in Spanish letters, and his work has left an indelible impression on succeeding generations. The one great unifying thread that runs through his work is satire, for he fearlessly attacked faults and pleaded for reform.

Quevedo's work can be classified into several categories. Those known as the humorous or festive type number twenty-two and include *Prematicas y aranceles generales* (1600), *Origen y definiciones de la necedad* (1598), *El caballero de Tenaz* (1606), and *Libro de todas las cosas y otras muchas mas* (1627). His satire is not benevolent, and although it amuses, it often changes to mockery and caricature. Life was grotesque to Quevedo, and the smile on his face often changed to a grimace. A note of bitterness and even loathing invades his satire for finding little to admire in society, he became deeply pessimistic and disillusioned. Yet he had many admirers and some friends, and foreigners felt their visit to Spain was not complete until they had seen and talked to the great man.

Outstanding among his political writings is *Politica de Dios, gobierno de Cristo* (1617 – 1626), which sets forth his convictions concerning government, based on the Bible. A second part, published in 1634 – 1635, adds *y tirania de Satanas* to the title. Again, he strikes out against the decay of morals and the indifference of kings to their responsibilities. Justice, virtue, and the rights of the people were the basis of good government, and the good king was vigilant, solicitous of the people's good, tolerant, generous, and not too

severe. Other political works are *Vida de Marco Bruto* (1631 – 1644) and *Espana defendida y los tiempos de ahora de las calumnias de noveleros y sediciosos* (1609). Quevedo clearly saw his own bitter, satiric spirit and said of himself in a poem: “soy/un scorpion maldiciente, / hijo al fin de las arenas, / engendradoras de sierpes.”

Quevedo's philosophical doctrines are disclosed chiefly in three works: *De los remedios de Cualquier fortuna* (1633), *Nombre y origen, intentom recomendacion y decencia de la doctrina estoica* (1633 – 1634), and *Sentencias*. The stoicism of Seneca dominated Quevedo's philosophical thinking, guided him in doubts, consoled him in trouble, and defended him against persecutions. It is seen in his *La cuna y la sepulture* (1612, 1630, 1633), an ascetic work, in which the author guides man through the sorrows and misfortunes of life from the cradle to the grave, pointing out the futility of placing one's hope in worldly things and proclaiming the true values.

The prose works that brought Quevedo the greatest renown, however, are the satiricomoral pieces entitled *Suenos y discursos de verdades descubridoras de abusos, vicios, y enganos en todos los oficios y estados*. There are five (some critics add a sixth) of these *Suenos* written at different periods of the author's life, dating from 1606 to 1622. Here Quevedo directs devastating attacks at all the professions, and nearly every human type is the target of his satire and contempt, except the soldier and the poor. He sees corruption, dishonesty, deceit, injustice, and vice of every sort around him, and before he is through, he paints humanity in a pitiful state. He saw little in man that could redeem him, and his *Suenos* predicted the ruin awaiting Spain. Stylistically the *Suenos* were a triumph. The language in which Quevedo expressed his tortured visions is forceful and vivid, and the uniqueness of his imagination is unsurpassed. His sardonic laughter is frightening. His interpretation of life is depressing to read, but we must admire his honesty, his courage, and his patriotism in composing this scathing indictment of his times. Quevedo clearly saw what was wrong with Spain, but he had no solutions to offer. Yet he cures seem to be implicit in his incisive criticisms of existing evils. He only hoped that by demonstrating the ugliness of evil and corruption, man might correct himself.

C. Baltasar Gracian y Morales (1601 – 1658)

Baltasar Gracian was a kindred spirit to Quevedo. Pessimistic, he viewed life as a constant struggle in which there was little hope for progress and happiness for mankind, but he did believe that two or three in every generation could rise to greatness. Gracian, too, hated fools, who in his view far outnumbered the wise. With Quevedo, Gracian represents the culmination of prose. All his works except two are moralistic, and his moral philosophy has earned *conceptistas* him the reputation of being the successor of Luis Vives.

Gracian wrote six important works. The first three provide a composite portrait of the ideal figure. *El heroe* (1637) reveals Gracian's concept of the hero of the seventeenth century. The hero is first of all a man of great intellect and understanding, of good judgement and great individuality, who wins eternal fame, through his writings, his virtue, his actions, or his politics. He shows interest only those who can absorb his teachings, and he loathes the masses. If he makes a mistake, he must know how to cover it up. Ability is no assurance of success, for luck plays an important part. Gracian's cynicism is also evident in his beliefs that one should not keep company with the poor or unfortunate lest he make a bad impression on the people and that he should exhibit some weakness, even if feigned, in order to counteract envy.

El politico don Fernando el Catolico (1640) deals with good government and proposes Fernando, who had founded an empire and brought order out of chaos, as the perfect ruler. The prince must be courageous and prudent, must choose his ministers wisely, and must not reveal his plans or motives, especially when he is preparing for war.

El discreto (1646) completes the portrait of the ideal figure. Gracian lists twenty-five excellent qualities of the *discreto* and devotes a chapter to the discussion of each attribute.

The only non - moralistic works Gracian left were *El comulgatario* (1655), a guidebook to prayer; and *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* (1648), a revision of *El arte de ingenio*, *Tratado de agudeza* (1642). The *Agudeza* is the handbook and anthology of the literary craze of

the day, *conceptismo*. Gracian, both *culterano* and *conceptistas*, desired to set down in writing the doctrine of *conceptismo* and provide rules and examples for future writers. He believed that obscurity was necessary and that a writer should attempt to conceal part of his meaning in order to dazzle and impress the reader. The conceit he believed, is to the intellect what beauty is to the eyes and harmony to the ears. He avoided the obvious words, made puns, used antitheses and inversions, obscure metaphors, and all the other tricks of Gongorism. He also developed a highly condensed style, a kind of literary shorthand, for he strove ceaselessly for concision. His contempt for clarity was probably related to his contempt for the ignorant masses, and he believed the essence of good art was obscurity.

The *Oraculo manual y arte de prudencia* (1647) is a collection of three hundred maxims in which Gracian gives pungent, satiric advice on the problems of this life and seems little concerned with life after death. He has been accused of cold cynicism, hypocrisy, and anti-Christian sentiments. This is borne out to some extent in his maxims. After stating the kernel of his thought, he explains it in a short paragraph. The *Oraculo* probably influenced La Rochefoucauld and La Bruyere and certainly affected Schopenhauer, who translated it and stated that Gracian was his favorite author.

El Criticon (1651 – 1657), Gracian's last and most ambitious work, is the product of a lifetime of reading and reflection and is his judgment of the folly and stupidity of man. It is a philosophical novel in which mankind's faults are mercilessly and bitterly condemned; but Gracian does not abandon man to hopelessness. He must struggle against the adversities and wickedness of the world and perfect himself for immortality through virtue. *El Criticon* deeply influenced nineteenth-century philosophy. Schopenhauer considered it one of the best books ever written. Stylistically it represents the culmination of the Baroque manner, and ideologically, the pessimism of the age.

Gracian ranks as one of Spain's greatest writers and savants, one of few who looked beneath the surface and boldly exposed the decadence of his era. Cejador y Frauca, along with many others, saw in him an intelligent and distinguished author, philosopher, political critic, and censor of human conduct, one of Spain's deepest thinkers of all time, the equal of Quevedo and Seneca. Like the former, he offered no solutions but apparently hoped that his indictment of society would produce reforms.

D. Diego de Saavedra Fajardo (1584 – 1648)

Saavedra stood in the middle of European politics for thirty years. He was saddened by what he saw happening to Spain, for he was in a position, as a diplomat engaged in international negotiations, to witness her decline and falling prestige. His experience equipped him to produce the best political treatise of the seventeenth century, *Idea de un principe politico-cristiano representada en cien empresas* (1640). Here he gives much prudent advice to the king expressing Spain's weaknesses and decadent state. Saavedra reveals his deep political feeling, his immense sympathy for the people, and his uncompromising qualifications for the perfect prince. How different Spain's history would be had it found a prince who had followed Saavedra's advice!

Saavedra's second most important work, the *Republica literaria*, begun about 1612 and published in 1655, is one of the most significant works of literary criticism of the seventeenth century. He reviews poets, historians, philosophers, and other Spanish and foreign writers. His literary judgments are well grounded, and many are still valid today.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

A. General Considerations

The Bourbons replaced the Hapsburgs on the Spanish throne, but no immediate artistic renewal occurred. The cultural level rose, however, as ideas came in from abroad and Spaniards worked from within. It was the age of the founding of academies, including the Academia de la Lengua Espanola, which was organized in

1714. Resistance to the Baroque period focused attention on language, and serious scientific studies tried to simplify it. The Academia de Historia was founded in 1738, the Academia de Bellas Artes in 1744 the Academia de Medicina y Cirugia in 1732, and the Academia de Derecho Espanol in 1763.

The academic and Neoclassic mood of the century produced countless artistic, political, literary, and religious *tertulias*, out of which came sustained literary polemics that sometimes degenerated into personal attacks. In the long run, though, serious literary discussions of the era helped to clarify uncertainties concerning the worth of both writers and works of past ages.

B. Didactic-Erudite Writers

1. *Benito Jeronimo Feijoo y Montenegro* (1676 – 1764), one of the most important writers of the century, was the first to introduce modern European culture to his country. He wrote eight volumes of essays between 1726 and 1739 under the general title *teatro critico universal*. His *Cartas eruditos y curiosas* (1742 – 1760) is a kind of supplement. He comments on an outstanding number of topics, but in general his works can be divided into three categories: articles on science, those on superstition and those on philosophy. He fearlessly attacked cherished institutions and superstitions, felt that literature needed rules, believed firmly in education, and directed his most consistent attacks against medical doctors. Though he was guilty of inconsistencies and out right errors, Fejoo was a man who strove to separate truth from error and to combat ignorance. He also saw the intellectual decay of his country and cared enough to do something about it.
2. *Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos y Ramirez* (1744 – 1811) studied for the priesthood but gave this up for a legal career, and in his lifetime, he became an economist, historian, educator, poet, philologist, philosopher, politician, dramatist, and statesman. His experiences with the penal system led him to write his lachrymose drama, *El delincuente honrado*, a plea for prison reform. He frequented many academies, held exalted posts in the government, and was a member of the Royal Academy. He also was imprisoned, possibly for his indignation at the queen's relationship with Godoy, and, as a vehement defender of nationalism, refused a position offered to him by Joseph Bonaparte.

His prose masterpiece is *Informe en el expediente de ley agrarian* (1795), which showed a broad knowledge of the practical problems of each province and promoted local autonomy; but his *Memoria en defense de la Junta Central* (1810), in which he pleads for understanding of himself and others, is more moving. His *Memoria para el arreglo de la policia de los espectaculos y diversions puinlicas uy sobre su origen en Espana* (1790) is a treatise on the theater in which he proclaims that "la reforma de nuestro teatro debe empezar por el destierro de czsi todos los dramas que estan sobre la escent." He liked Luzan, was ambivalent about Calderon, but was uncharitable toward Lope. He was a reformer inspired by the French Enlightenment, but he was fervently nationalistic. He was Neoclassic by conviction but showed traces of Romanticism.

In his many letters and historical studies, Jovellanos exemplifies the dichotomy between the old and the new. Del Rio sees in him a Romantic or at least a pre-Romantic. He was a man of the *justo medio* who tried to unite old traditions to the new spirit sweeping Europe. His character and ardent patriotism led Menendez y Pelayo to characterize him as "el mas glorioso" of all eighteenth-century writers.

3. *Jose Cadalso y Vazquez de Andrade* (1741 – 1782), a poet and dramatist, is better known for his prose works. Following the death of an actress whom he loved, he refused to leave the church where she was buried. In a state of shock, he was forcibly dissuaded from attempting to disinter her corpse. Exiled from Madrid following this macabre incident, he went to Salamanca, where he produced his own account of his strange activities in a prose piece entitled *Noches lugubres* (1789 – 1790), which he desired to have printed on black paper with yellow ink. In

this work he also complained that mankind is wicked, selfish, evil, and hypocritical and that life is a grim jest.

Eruditos a la violeta (1772), his didactic masterpiece published under the pseudonym Jose Vazquez, is a prose satire directed against poetasters and others. Here Cadalso set himself the following task: “reducer a un Sistema de siete dias toda la erudiocion moderna.” He takes up science, poetry, philosophy, natural law, theology, mathematics, and, on the seventh day, many things. He pokes fun at false wisdom and defends Spanish literature from its detractors, often with a pleasant irony.

His *Cartas marruecas* (1789), supposedly inspired by Montesquieu’s *Lettres persanes*, are composed of a correspondence between three persons, two Moors, and a Spaniard. The ninety letters disclose the deterioration of Spain but contain many comments on various other matters, such as the variety in the character of the Spanish provinces, bullfighting, lack of peace, building and scientific progress, and the dress language, and social conventions of the day. Cadalso characterizes Spain as a land of underpaid teachers, false nobility, vanity, laziness, and ignorance, preceding in a sense the social satire of Larra. And like the latter, he lived Romanticism but wrote in Classical style. Though he harshly criticized Spain and what he called the “in feliz y cuitado animal llamado hombre,” his criticism was born out of disappointed love of country and ardent patriotism.

4. *Other didactic-erudite writers* of the eighteenth century include Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1735 – 1809), Fray Martín Sarmiento (1694 – 1771), Padre Esteban Arteaga (1747 – 1799), Juan de Iriarte (1702 – 1771), and Padre Juan Andrés (1740 – 1817).

C. Critics and Literary Solons

1. *Ignacio de Luzán* (1702 – 1754) was the focal point about whom revolved the struggle between the nationalistic and Neoclassic schools of his time. His *Poética* (1737), which espoused chiefly Neoclassicism, consists of four main books. The first deals with the origins and essence of poetry, the second with the delight and utility of poetry, the third with the drama, and the fourth with epic poetry.

Luzán abhorred the excesses of Gongora but praised his simpler poetry. He defined poetry as that beauty of light and truth that lights up our soul and frees it from ignorance. Nevertheless, it should serve a useful purpose. He divided writing into three categories: intellectual, a combination of understanding and fantasy, and fantasy. The *Poética* had a tremendously favorable impact on a small group of people and aroused the ire of others. For the majority of critics, it is the most important literary document of the eighteenth century, though works of Feijoo and Mayans run a close second. Luzán’s objective of subordinating Spanish poetry to the rules that “cultured nations follow” was partially achieved; but the great debate over his *Poética* may have given it undue importance in the total picture of the eighteenth century.

2. *Gregorio Mayans y Siscar* (1699 – 1781) was one of the most erudite men of his time, respected both at home and abroad. In addition to criticizing literary works, he edited many classics, including the works of Fray Luis de León, Juan de Valdes, Cervantes, and Saavedra Fajardo.

In *Oración sobre la elocuencia española* (1727), he lamented the low opinion Europeans had of Spanish writers. His *Orígenes de la lengua española* (1737) treated the origins of the Spanish language and a reprint of *Diálogo de la lengua*, which he attributed to Juan de Valdes. His *Vida de Cervantes* (1737) was the first biography of that writer. Like Jovellanos, he tried to reform the Spanish educational system but lacked the former’s sincerity, patriotism, and warmth. He wrote on many subjects, and though he made errors, his judgments were usually sound, and he must be remembered as one who resurrected many Spanish classics.

3. *Other critics* of the eighteenth century are Blas Antonio Nasarre y Ferriz (1689 – 1751), an extremist disciple of Luzan's; Agustin Gabriel de Montiano y Luyando (1697 – 1764), a Neoclassic dramatist and drama critic; Tomas Antonio Sanchez (1725 – 1802), the first to publish the *Cantar de Mio Cid* and the earliest editor of Nerceo's complete works; and Nicolas Fernandez de Moratin (1737 – 1780), a failure as a Neoclassic dramatist, but a passable poet and a leading proponent of Neoclassicism who wrote devastating remarks about Calderon and Lope. Leandro Fernande de Moratin (1760 – 1828), a better critic than his father, is best known for his *Origenes del teatro espanol* (1830) and *Discurso preliminar*, also entitled *Resena historica sobre el teatro espanol y la literature dramatic en el siglo XVIII*. Juan Jose Lopez de Sedano (1729 – 1801), Antonio de Capmany y Suris de Montpalau (1742 – 1813), Padre Francisco Javier Lampillas (1731 – 1800), Juan Pablo Forner (1756 – 1797), Manuel Jose Quintana (1772 – 1857), and Alberto Lista y Aragon (1775 – 1848) round out the list of important literary critics of the eighteenth century.

D. Historians

1. *Padre Enrique Florez de Setien y Huidobro* (1702 – 1773) is probably the best ecclesiastical historian Spain has ever produced. His one major work was *Espana sagrada* in fifty-one volumes; he composed twenty-nine and helped in varying degrees on the others. If one wishes to know anything about churches, convents, bishops, or saints, he will find the answers here.
2. *Padre Juan Francisco Masdeu* (1744 -1817) wrote several works, among them *Historia critica de Espana y de la cultiura espanola* (1783 – 1805), in twenty volumes. He was the first historian to treat the Cid and others like him with a scholarly approach. Although many of his findings have been refuted, his work on Roman influence in Spain is still considered a classic standard.

COSTUMBRISMO

A. General Considerations

Costumbrismo, a kind of fiction that stresses realistic description of characters, manners and customs, consists mostly of sketches or essays that concentrate on social background rather than plot. Many, however, have a short story framework or a dialogue involving a cousin, a nephew, or a friend of the authors who reveals society's weaknesses. Of the two basic types, the *cuadro* adopts a picturesque outlook and stresses local color for its own sake, while the *articulos* is concerned more with reality from a satiric and critical point of view. It can be argued that *costumbrismo* in the nineteenth century was simply a restoration of elements found in works of sixteenth-century Spanish writers or in eighteenth-century journals. Others view it as an imitation of Addison and Steele's *Spectator Papers* or of Victor Joseph Etienne Jouy, who signed himself de Jouy. In the nineteenth century Santos Lopez Pellegrin (1801 – 1846) and Sebastian de Minano (1779 – 1845) wrote in the *costumbrista* manner. Whatever its origin, it was fantastically successful, and almost every writer of the day produced an *articulos or cuadro*. *Los Espanoles pintados por si mismos* (1843 – 1844) contains forty-nine articles that portray Spanish life at its picturesque best and represents the zenith of the movement. Novelists such as Fernan Caballero and Alarcon used the *cuadro de costumbres* effectively. Some critical opinion feels that *costumbrismo* was necessary for the development of the Realistic novel, while other opinion finds that the lack of fiction in the early nineteenth century in Spain was caused by the Journals and the *articulos*, which took up the load, satisfied the readers, and thus delayed the novel's development.

B. Mariano Jose de Larra y Sanchez de Castro (1809 – 1837)

Larra represented the conflict between the Romantic and the Neoclassic and summed up in his life the ferment of his time. Indeed, few men have been so faithful a product and a portrait of their era.

Larra grew up amid the liberal-conservative quarrels and the hectic political turmoil of the first third of the century. He studied both law and medicine, but in 1826 he was forced to give up his studies and a government position because of the absolutist terror. In 1828 he started the journal *El Duende Satirico del Dia*, and in 1832, *El Pobrecito Hablador*, neither of which lasted long. In the latter he described the Parnasillo, the Café Principe *tertulia* that he joined.

Though Larra married Josefa Wetoret y Velasco in 1829, he fell in love with Dolores Armijo in the early 1830s. If his *article Casarse pronto y mal* is autobiographical, then his passion for another married woman is easily understood. In 1837 Dolores broke off the affair and Larra committed suicide a few minutes after she left his house. Some feel he would have killed himself in any event because of his unhappiness over their political situation and his growing neuroses.

Larra, a Romantic and yet anti-Romantic, exemplified the clash between. Eighteenth-century rationalism and nineteenth-century individualism. His enduring work is represented by his *articulos de costumbres*, which can be divided into three different groups: general sketches on Madrid society and current events, such as *Casarse pronto y mal*; anti-Carlist ones, such as *Nadie pase sin hablar al portero*; and those dealing with national foibles, such as *Vuelva Vd. Manana*. Another division is: *articulos de costumbres*, theatrical criticism, and political articles. One might term these sketches appearing in newspapers "novelistic essays," Larra used a variety of styles, the rhetorical-logical, mock-pompous, satiric rhetorical, and dramatic; and he criticized nearly every aspect of Spanish life: actors, jails, lazy people, bureaucracy, censorship, mail service, coaches, inns, and so on.

In 1835 his collected articles were published under a very long title that we shall abbreviate to *Coleccion de articulos dramaticos, literarias, politicos y de costumbres*.

These articles had appeared in a variety of journals under the pseudonyms Andres Niporesas, El Duende Satirifo, El Ponrefito Hablador, and Figaro. His best work, however, appears in *El Pobrecito Hablador*; it was published at irregular intervals under the pseudonym Bachiller don Juan Perez de Munguia with the object "de reinos de ridiculeces – esta es nuestro divisa; ser leidos – este es nuestro objeto; decir la verdad – este nuestro medio." Among his many famous articles are *Casarse pronto y mal*; *El castellano viejo*, an attack on exaggerated belief in Spanish tradition and a defense of good breeding; *Vuelva Vd. manana*, a depiction of Spanish laziness, chauvinism, and economic decay; and *Empenos y desempenos*, an examination of the false and exaggerated concept of honor, superficial education, and spendthrift habits of Spanish gentlemen. In January 1833 Larra started writing for the *Revista Espanola* and adopted his famous pseudonym, Figaro. He wrote for this review until August 1835, when government censorship closed it down. Later he joined several other journals in Madrid, among them *El Correo de las Damas*, *El Espanol*, and *Redactor General*.

Among Larra's typical political articles we find *Dia de difuntos de 1836, o Figaro en el cementerio* a bitter attack on the corruption overwhelming Spain, a country without justice, integrity, or hope; *La noche buena de 1836*, lacking the hilarity of some earlier articles, a symbolic discussion between master and servant over Larra's inability to promote Spanish progress; and *Los viajeros en Vitoria* a denunciation of Church support of the Carlists and their inordinate greed.

Among his best theatrical articles is one on Hartzzenbusch's *Los amantes de Teruel*, in which Larra praises the dramatist's work and takes issue with those who said that the ending was artificial in its insistence on death because of frustrated love.

Larra was a man of contradictions. He believed that literature is the expression of the progress of a people and that it has truths to contribute. In this he was Neoclassic like his model, Moratin. He wanted Spain to progress and copy France, but at the same time he wanted his country to maintain its worthwhile old traditions. He represents a special kind of Eclecticism. Some claim that his work belongs neither to the eighteenth nor the nineteenth century, yet most feel that in him the paradoxical spirit of his era and its literature found perfect fusion. Some insist that his disillusion and pessimism were not a Romantic pose but innately his own. Certain students of his writings charge that he lacks sentiment; others charge him with too much. Some feel that his criticism is unjust in its extravagance; others say his articles offer the truest picture possible of the Spain of his day.

Almost every critic has had something to say about Larra. The analysis of Lomba y Pedraja's seems representative: "De la pluma de nuestro escritor salio la prosa espanola de mas quilates...en la primera mitad del siglo XIX." The Generation of 1898 treated him well, and on

February 13, 1901, a group of young men marched in solemn procession to pay their respects at Larra's grave. They saw in him, according to Baroja, a "maestro de la presente juventud" who believed in freedom, tolerance, and a new Spain.

C. Ramon de Mesonero Romanos (1803 – 1882)

Mesonero Romanos was a product of Madrid, where he was born and died. In his earliest work, *Mis ratos perdidos, o ligero bosquejo de Madrid en 1820 y 1821* (1822), he deals with *tertulias*, dances, and bullfighting and uses a different Madrid custom to set off each month of the year. He became interested in the restoration of Golden Age drama and helped produce some between 1826 and 1830. He worked on studies of the dramatists contemporary to Lope de Vega in several volumes of the BAE. His *Manual de Madrid* (1831) went through several editions, and in an appendix, he discussed almost every aspect of city planning.

In 1832 he began publishing his *Escenas matritenses in Cartas Espanolas*. His first article was *El retrato*, signed with his pseudonym, El Curioso Parlante. All these articles were later published in several volumes under the title *Panorama matritense*. His *Recuerdos de viaje por Francia y Belgica en 1840 y 1841* record his travels in Europe, and in 1836 he founded the first illustrated newspaper, *Semanario pintoresco espanol*, in which he published a second series of *Escenas matritenses* between 1836 and 1842. He also published *Tipos y caracteres* (1862), *El antiguo Madrid* (1861), and *Memorias de un setenton* (1880). Mesonero merited the title "Cronista de Madrid." He founded the Ateneo de Madrid, of which he was the first secretary, and became a member of the Royal Academy.

Mesonero's *Escenas* trace the social history of Spain in the 1830s and early 1840s. His earlier articles, such as *La Calle de Toledo*, *La romeria de San Isidro*, and others, are quite merry and full of local color. His later articles contain less story but are more skillfully done. He starts some with a historical background. For others he uses a dialogue form. Occasionally he uses archaic language for flavor, but he seldom exaggerates. Critics have divided his articles into groups: historical, satiric and philosophical. Mesonero, an unemotional man of the middle class, was a benevolent observer of society. He painted the best pictures we have today of Madrid life of his time, and as the city's historian, he described it with great warmth. Sometimes a nostalgic note rings through his work, for although he accepts the new, one senses that he is a traditionalist who would like to keep the "good old days."

His clarity of style is attractive, and his little short stories are gems. Pineyro said that some of his articles "recall the comedies of Aristophanes in the vigor and energy with which they penetrate to the very heart of the pretensions they set out to ridicule, destroying appearances and tearing into shreds false pretenses of legitimacy and piety invented to cover sordid passions." Mesonero, however, allows his smug self-satisfaction to shine in his memoirs, where he speaks disparagingly of Larra's temperament that led him to suicide, while he, "Dios sea loadado," had been permitted to write the memoirs of a septuagenarian. Larra was kinder, for he said that Mesonero had come to know Spain perfectly and that he was an "imitador felicisimo de Jouy hasta en su mesura, si menos erudito, mas pensador y menos superficial." Unlike Larra, Mesonero was never eager to engage in political wrangles, although he treated a few political problems in articles such as *Grandeza y miseria*. Larra was excitable, impulsive, generous, and Romantic. Mesonero was methodical and practical.

Although Mesonero wrote several critical articles on Romantic dramas and accepted Romanticism, he satirized it delightfully in *El romanticism y los romanticos*, in which he pokes fun at the exaggerations of the Romanticists.

D. Serafin Estebanez Calderon (1799 – 1867)

Estebanez Calderon was born in Malaga. He wrote for many newspapers and carried on a polemic with Gallardo over the authenticity of *El Buscapie...* Among his works are *Poesias* (1831), *Manual del oficial de Marruecos* (1844). *De la conquista y perdida de Portugal* (1835), several short stories such, as *Los tesoros de la Alhambra*, and a historical novel, *Cristianos y moriscos* (1838). His most famous work is *Escenas andaluzas* (1847).

Estebanez Calderon began publishing his *Escenas* in 1831 in *Cartas Espanolas* under the pseudonym El Solitario. These *Escenas* are to Andalusia what those of Mesonero are to Madrid. El Solitario, however, deliberately seeks local color and archaic effect. He is more traditional than the others, and his works contain much folklore. Indeed, his language is too full of the local idiom, and the very abundance of dialect detracts from the Andalusian flavor he is trying to promote, making some of his articles seem scholarly productions, a feeling emphasized by erudite footnotes. He uses many themes, Andalusian, Moorish, and historical.

Nevertheless, he was what he professed to be, a painter of scenes, and he portrayed popular types, authentic characters, and background, often with vitality and charm. His articles contain many remarks to his readers, not with the light touch of Larra or Mesonero, but in the somewhat ponderous vein of *benevolos lectores*. His article *Un baile de Triana* discourses on various dances and Andalusian songs, as he describes the fire, pleasure, color joy and madness involved. *Pulpete y Balbeja* contains a bit more action, as two men fight over a young lady who turns them both down. But as Estebanez himself says here, "No hay mas que decir sino que Andaluca es el mapa de los hombres regulares y Sevilla el ojito negro de tierra de donde salen al mundo los buenos mozos, los bien plantados, los lindos cantadores."

ROMANTIC THEORISTS

A. General Considerations

It may be, as I.L. McLelland says, that national instinct in the 1750s and 1760s reawoke Spain's passive Romanticism and that "the battle against Neoclassicism was fought and won without any help from outside." E.A. Peers and others feel that the development occurred along two lines, the continuing one from the eighteenth century about the Golden Age drama, medieval themes, and the like, and the other that attempted to acclimatize foreign genres to Spain. Foreign influences were felt in Spain, thanks to Herder, the Schlegel brothers, Victor Hugo Scott, Manzoni, and others. The real Romantic quarrel developed in Spain in poetry and drama, and the nation had its manifestos to equal Hugo's *Preface de Cromwell* and those of Manzoni and Schlegel.

Some knowledge of important theorists is imperative to understand the background against which Romanticism developed. Neoclassic writers like Feijoo questioned the overemphasis of rules. Jovellanos, Cadalso, Garcia de la Huerta, and even Nicolas Fernandez de Moratin showed Romantic urges. Juan Jose Lopez de Sedano stressed the importance of ancient Spanish poetry. Much nineteenth-century theorizing, therefore, was simply a continuation of the Revival, as Peers terms it. But whether out of a conviction of the need for new literary forms or because of a patriotic defense of Spanish spirit, a series of polemics, soul searching's, and self-examination dominated the scene.

Martinez de la Rosa, in his *Aputes sobre el drama historico*, appended to his *La conjuracion de Venecia*, defended his Romantic work in subdued fashion and apologized for breaking the rules. In an Eclectic spirit, Larra and others attempted to make Scribe popular in Spain as a kind of compromise between popular and Neoclassic taste, although Larra endorsed Duran's view for the most part. According to Peers, the Duque de Rivas was the culminating figure, both in the Revival with *El moro exposito* and the Revolt with *Don Alvaro*. Alcalá Galiano's "anonymous" prologue to *El moro exposito* reversed his earlier criticism of Bohl von Faber, who though not a native Spaniard, played a vital role in the developing quarrel among Romantic theorists.

B. Johann Nicholas Bohl von Faber (1770 – 1863)

Bohl von Faber was born in Hamburg, Germany. As a folklorist he was astonished at the lack of knowledge in Spain of ancient Spanish works and felt that Spaniards should seek inspiration in their seventeenth-century drama and medieval poetry. His opening shot in the battle was his 1814 translation of Schlegel's series of lectures delivered in 1808 and later published under the title *Uber dramatische Kunst und Literature* (1809 – 1811), in which he praised Spanish literature highly, stressing that Shakespeare and Calderon were the greatest of poets. This

precipitated a debate between Bohl von Faber and Jose Joaquin de Mora and Alcala Galiano on the relative merits of the Golden Age drama.

Bohl von Faber held *tertulias* in Cadiz at which Calderon's plays were performed. In addition to his newspaper polemics and the Schlegel translation, he published several other works, including the important *Teatro espanol anterior a Lope de Vega* (1832), which includes works by Encina, Gil Vicente, Torres Naharro, and Lope de Rueda. His literary views must have directly influenced his daughter, Fernan Caballero, and, indirectly, future Spanish literature.

C. Agustin Duran (1793 – 1862)

Agustin Duran, best remembered as a theorist of the Romantic movement, supported Bohl von Faber's view on the Spanish theater. He wrote extensively on the Spanish ballads and in 1821 produced *Coleccion de romances antiguos*. Between 1828 and 1832 he published various volumes of ballads divided according to types, *moriscos*, *doctrinales*, *amatorios*, *jocosos*, *satiricos*, *burlescos*, *festivos*, *historios caballerescas*, etc. These now form Volumes X and XVI of the BAE and are known as the *Romancero de Duran*. His *Discurso sobre el influjo que ha tenido la critica moderna en la decadencia del teatro antiguo espanol* (1828) is one of the most important critical documents of the Spanish Romantic movement. He produced other works on the Golden Age drama, Ramon de la Cruz, Tirso de Molina, and Lope de Vega, and he wrote some original *leyendas*. He was the first really to reveal fully the quality and spirit of Spanish epic poetry, although some of his theories have been disputed by later critics. He felt the *romance* was more indigenous than the *cancion*, was of broader origin, displayed Spanish character better, and in essence was the true and original Castilian poetry.

Duran loved literature that was genuinely Spanish and was not the only one to object to the eighteenth-century scorn of Spanish literature or who tried to restore Golden Age drama and arouse an interest in medievalism. Martinez de la Rosa, Bartolome Gallardo y Blanco, and Eugenio de Ochoa did their share; but Duran was the most effective defender of Golden Age drama. Whereas most quarreling centered around Lope and Calderon, Duran also studied Tirso, whose work he praised highly.

Undoubtedly his discourse of 1828 was his most important work. Pineyro claims that when it appeared it had a great influence but was quickly forgotten until its reprinting by the Spanish Academy in its *Memorias* in 1870. Duran, however, was the critic who labeled Calderon's drama romantic and made it stick, and his attacks on the unities and praise of Golden Age drama appear to have been the most influential of all. In the 1828 discourse Duran strongly defends his country as having once been the center of world learning and literature. He maintained that one could find the "sublime and beautiful creations of the Romantics" in the medieval age. The theater should reflect the needs and aspirations of the Spanish people and not something imposed from abroad, and the Golden Age drama exemplified these qualities. He called the native drama Romantic and felt that medieval literature served as a prelude to the works of Lope and Calderon.

He agreed that Classicism and Romanticism had a justified existence but that Golden Age drama should not be measured according to rules that were intended for Classical drama. Classical drama lacks individuality, he said, while Romantic drama concentrates on the individual. The Classicist stresses form and rules. The Romanticist chooses freedom from them and uses plot, style, and character as he wishes. Classical plays inspire order and symmetry; Romantic ones are untrammelled and unconfined. Duran also emphasized the place of Christianity in Romantic literature as part of the background of romantic writing.

D. Antonio Alcala Galiano (1789 – 1865)

In 1814 Alcala Galiano criticized the theories of bohl von Faber in the *Cronica Cientifica y Literaria de Madrid*. He lectured at the Ateneo, wrote on history and law, and, in *Recuerdos de un anciano* (1878), commented on the contemporaries he had known. Although he wrote extensively on literary matters and was known as a violent and impassioned orator, he merits attention primarily for his "anonymous" prologue to *El moro exposito*, a somewhat lukewarm apology for Romanticism.

He admitted that a definition of the schools of Classicism and Romanticism is difficult, for many works that are Classical can be classified as Romantic. There are 4 times and nations in which Romanticism rather than Classicism should hold sway. Nevertheless, he praises the Classical theater and maintains that French Classical literature is not really classic in the Greek sense of the word, as it copies the exterior form of a composition and alters it as circumstances dictate. Eighteenth – century Spanish poets shared the same defects, and though Melendez made some progress, the Classical school, a French copy disguised in the style of ancient Spanish writers, held sway. Spanish poets have not freely expressed their spirit because it was fettered by the shackles of French Classicism and by limits imposed by eighteenth-century foreign critics. Luzan, says Alcalá, helped in establishing good taste, but in so doing he imprisoned Spanish literature.

Alcalá traces Romanticism in various countries, but he insists that Rivas is neither Classical nor Romantic. He analyzes the mixture of the real and the ideal in *El moro expósito* and cites the “rules” that Rivas followed. The latter tried to arouse the curiosity of his readers, to suit the style to the argument, to give real settings, to versify well, and to obey his spontaneous inspirations.

E. Jose Joaquin de Mora (1783 – 1864)

Jose Joaquin de Mora, enthusiastic about the cause of the Latin American colonies, went to Chile in 1828, where he founded the *Mercurio Chileno* and engaged in a series of polemics with Andres Bello about educational, philological, political, and literary matters. In 1843 he returned to Spain and succeeded Lista and Alcalá Galiano as the director of the Colegio de San Felipe.

Much of Mora’s work consisted of critical writings in various periodicals. In 1814 and again between 1817 and 1820 he championed Neoclassicism against Bohl von Faber and others and termed Romanticism detestable because of its irregularity and its lack of good taste. He commented on its over use of horror and felt it was overloaded with bandits, witches, and magicians. Undoubtedly his best work is *Leyendas españolas* (1840), though he wrote a number of collections of poetry. Despite his defense of Neoclassicism, he was essentially an Eclectic, but it has been argued that he later became a Romantic convert.

F. Francisco de Paula Martinez de la Rosa (1787 – 1862)

Martinez de la Rosa was an active participant in most of the political events of his day. Though he sympathized with liberal principles, he scorned the *pueblo*. Rejected by both conservatives and liberals, he was unjustly termed “Rosita la Pastelera” for his refusal to adopt extremist views.

In his *Arte poetica*, published as part of his *Obras literarias* (1827 – 1830), he reveals his Neoclassicism, finds inspiration in Boileau, and attacks the Golden Age drama. Elsewhere he is less severe, for though he speaks of the “gravísimos defectos de ese poeta (Calderon),” he adds: “queda que admirar en ellas la urbanidad amena, la diccion Purisima y la versificacion agradable.”

He blames Calderonian defects on the “age of contagion” in which he lives. He claims that Tirso is not “tan ingenioso o urbano como Calderon,” but that he is superior to everyone in “malicia y sal comica, aquella gracia inimitable que no solo encubre los defectos, sino que seduce y cautiva.” He disliked the *Poema del Cid* but favored *El libro de buen amor*, though he objected to its exuberance.

His *Apuntes sobre el drama historico* stresses the need for the *justo medio* but allows the breaking of unities of time and place. He states that he wrote the work because of the decadent state of the Spanish theater in the hope of stimulating young writers. Since historical drama unites the essential characteristics of utility and pleasure, Martinez thought it acceptable within the rules of good taste. Spanish Classical authors who had “mas genio que cordura, y mas talent que instruction.” Were easily capable of painting a current scene but lacked ability to disinter Classical plots or treat of foreign people and cultures.

Good taste, then, was the watchword of this critic and faithful public servant. Despite his natural leanings toward Neoclassicism and away from Romanticism, the two opposing forces fused in him into a surprising moderation. He was, indeed, a man of the *justo medio*.

G. Other Didactic Writers

1. *Ramon Lopez Soler* (1806 – 1836), a young Barcelonian critic who might have become one of the great names of the nineteenth century had he lived to fulfill his early promise, wrote for *El Constitucional* and *El Europeo* in the 1820s and edited *El Vapor* and the *Revista Espanola* in the 1830s. He also wrote several historical novels, among which the most famous is *Los bandos de Castilla: o, El caballero del cisne* (1830), an imitation of Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* that Mesonero Romanos called "Ivanhoe in disguise." Lopez Soler admitted that he translated part of Scott's novel and imitated it in other parts, though he added a Mediterranean vehemence absent in the northerner's work. He published several novels under the pseudonym Gregorio Perez de Miranda.

In *El Europeo* he discussed such matters as philosophical history of Spanish poetry and the pre-Romantic symptoms in the work of Melendez and others. Romanticism, he thought, originated in Christianity as represented by the Crusades and in the ideas of knighthood, symbols of medieval virtue, but neither his admiration of the picturesque in the Middle Ages nor the sentimental in religion contains originality.

His greatest critical fame stems from his short prologue to *Los bandos de Castilla*, which several critics considered an important Romantic manifesto. More important is his definition of Romanticism: "libre, impetuosa, salvaje, la literatura romantica es el interprete de aquellas pasiones vagas e indefinibles... En medio de horrosos huracanes, de noches en las que apenas se trasluce una luna amarillenta, reclinada al pie de los sepulcros...suele elevar su amarillenta, reclinada al pie de los sepulcros...suele elevar su peregrino canto." Lopez Soler saw excellent qualities in both Classicism and Romanticism and felt they could exist side by side.

2. *Eugenio de Ochoa* (1815 – 1872), one of the younger members of the Parnasillo Café, wrote a historical novel, two dramas, lyric poetry, translations of Hugo and Scott, and a series of important critical works on Spanish writers and literature. His many titles include *Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritores Espanoles contemporaneos en prosa y verso* (1840) and a series of "Treasures," including *Tesoro del teatro espanol* (1835 – 1838), on the origins of Spanish theater, Lope, Calderon, and eighteenth and nineteenth-century drama; and *Tesoro de escritores misticos Espanoles* (1847).

Ochoa is important also as the founder of the most Romantic journal, *El Artista* (1835 – 1836). Although he later regretted somewhat his ardent defense of Romanticism, he conceived of the movement as a revolution to sweep away Neoclassic debris. He saw Calderon as the true apostle of Romanticism and the Romanticist as a youth with a soul full of brilliant illusions, as a reflection of the age of knighthood, and as a patriot more interested in the virtues of the Middle Ages than in Greek heroism.

3. *Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto* (1815 – 1901), the Marques de Valmar, was Rivas' brother-in-law and his most fervent admirer. Cueto wrote poetry and drama but was primarily a critic. He contributed to countless periodicals and wrote many excellent studies, including works on Zorrilla, Quintana, and the *Cantigas of Alfonso el Sabio*. He delivered a famous eulogy in memory of Rivas at a session of the Spanish Academy. His most famous work is *Historia critica de la Poesia castellana en el siglo XVIII* (1893), an elaboration of an earlier work. *Bosquejo historico-critico de la Poesia castellana en el siglo XVIII*, begun in 1869.

Cueto uttered penetrating comments on all the eighteenth-century writers. He discussed Feijoo's moral conviction, Jovellanos' clarity, Gallardo's lack of good taste, Cienfuegos' sentiment and feeling and Quintana's energetic and manly sentiments. Although he denies Melendez Valdes emotion and energy of expression, he praises his flexibility, grace, and delicacy and considers him to have been the best poet of his time.

4. *Jaime Luciano Balmes Urpia* (1810 – 1848), a Catalan priest, represents with Donoso Cortes the conservative Catholic aspect of critical writing during the first half of the

nineteenth century. He directed various review, such as *La Civilizacion*, *La Sociedad*, and *El Pensamiento de la Nacion*. He was the leading writer of the latter. He wrote constantly on social, political, philosophical, and religious matters, and for many is the greatest Spanish philosopher of the nineteenth century.

His complete works fill thirty-three volumes. Of these the important ones are *El protestantismo comparado con el catolicismo en sus Relaciones con la civilizacion europea* (1844), *El critero* (1845), *Filosofia fundamental* (1846), *Filosofia elemental* (1847), and *Escritos politicos* (1847).

5. *Juan Donoso Cortes* (1809 – 1853), aside from his masterpiece, *Ensayo sobre el catolicismo, el liberalism y el socialism* (1851), wrote a variety of articles and discourses. In 1829 at the opening of the course in the Division of Humanities at Caceres, he delivered a Romantic eulogy on Byron, Walter Scott, Madame de Stael, and Schiller. He stresses his belief that the moderns instead of the ancients should be followed in the development of new literary pathways. After his early Romantic enthusiasms, he became more of an Eclectic, as can be seen in *El clasicismo y el romanticismo* (1838). One of the most brilliant orators of his time, he was, according to Pineyro, next to Larra “the most original and brilliant prose writer among all those who were born or flourished in the so-called Romantic period.”

6. *Manuel Mila y Fontanals* (1818 -1884) acquired a solid Classical culture, although Romanticism was his early passion. He was influenced by Chateaubriand, Schiller, Schlegel, and especially Manzoni and Scott. As a young man he contributed to *El Vapor*, and Peers felt he “stood for a historical form of Romanticism.” Although he was a romance philologist, folklorist, and historian, his principal fame lies in the realm of literary criticism. He was one of the first in Spain to study comparative literature on a scientific basis. Menendez y Pelayo, his best student, published his complete works and insisted that Mila y Fontanals was essentially a poetic man and without doubt the foremost Spanish critic of his time.

Among Mila y Fontanals’ many literary studies are *Arte poetica* (1844); *Observaciones sobre la Poesia popular; De los trovadores de Espana* (1861), a study of the influence of Provençal poetry in Spain and Portugal; *De la Poesia heroic-popular* (1874); *Principios de literatura general y espanola* (1874); and *Romancero catalan* (1884), a study of the relationship between popular Catalan poetry and the Castilian epic. He belonged to a group that was trying to renovate Catalonian literature, and he fought for it throughout his life.

7. *Jose Amador de los Rios* (1818 – 1878) is known primarily as a medievalist and historian. He taught literature at the University of Madrid and produced many works on a variety of subjects, such as *El Marques de Santillana* (1853), *El arte Mudejar* (1859), and *El arte latino – bizantino en Espana* (1861). His two most famous works are *Historia critica de la literatura espanola* (seven volumes, 1861 – 1865), which stops with the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel; and *Historia social, politica y religiosa de los judios en Espana y Portugal* (three volumes, 1875 – 1876).

Countless names could be added to the list of scholars, critics, and essayists of this period of the nineteenth century. Pedro Felipe Monlau y Roa (1808 – 1871) produced *Diccionario etimologico de la lengua castellana*. Pascual Gayangos (1809 – 1897) taught Oriental languages, translated Ticknor’s *History of Spanish Literature*, and contributed studies to the BAE. Cayetano Rosell (1817 – 1883) wrote history and criticism, edited works of many famous authors, and contributed to the BAE. Pablo Piferrer (1818 – 1848) helped Mila y Fontanals in his bid for Catalonian literary renovation, edited a collection of Spanish classics, and wrote on art and archeology. Jose M. Quadrado (1819 – 1896), Francisco Pi y Margall (1824 – 1901), and Manuel Canete (1822 – 1891) produced well-known works in history, archeology and literary criticism.

CRITICS, SCHOLARS, AND HISTORIANS OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

- A. *Juan Valera y Alcala Galiano* (1824 – 1905)

Although Valera won greater fame as a novelist, he is just as important as a critic. His critical prose contains the same classic serenity found in his novels, a serenity and calm that lead him into the error of exaggerating his praise and saying something good about everybody whenever possible. He wrote countless newspaper and magazine articles on an amazing variety of philosophical, religious, aesthetic, and literary subjects. He signed many of these with pseudonyms such as Eleuterio Filogyno and Currita Albornoz, after the heroine of Coloma's *Pequeneces*. He introduced Leopardi's works to Spain; translated parts of Heine, Goethe, and several North American poets; and wrote on Espronceda, the character of the novel, Spanish lyric and epic poetry, Donoso Cortes, Spanish philosophy, religious freedom, and the Portugal of his day. Among his more important works are *Estudios criticos sobre la literature, politica y costumbres de nuestros dias* (1864), *Disertaciones y juicios literarias* (1878), *Apuntes sobre el nuevo arte de escribir novelas* (1887), *Cartas americanas* (1889), *Nuevas cartas americanas* (1890), *La metafisica y la Poesia* (1891), and *Florilegio de Poesias Castellanas del siglo dieinueve* (five volumes, 1902 – 1903).

Valera had many polemics with several famous writers. His famous clash with Pardo Bazan was one of the principal literary fights of the time. Valera felt that a novel should not be prosaic and vulgar reflection of human life. A good novel, he said, was poetry, not history, and things should be painted not even as they are, but more beautiful than they are. He opposed trends toward French Realism and resented especially the sociological implications. He was repelled by the Naturalistic emphasis on the base as an affectation and accused French authors of confusing life with literature, which for him were two different things. The most important aspect of any work was that it not be ugly. In answer to Pardo Bazan's *La cuestion palpitante*, he charged that a Naturalistic novel was not a novel. He took the Naturalists to task for their mania in supposing they were preparing the way for a great social change by their work and for their emphasis on the depraved, not as the ancients had done with humorous intent, but in deadly seriousness. Valera wondered how Pardo Bazan could be a true Naturalist and yet be a good Catholic. Since Valera was a Humanist and interested in the entire man and since he felt that man helped direct his own destiny, he was especially upset by the deterministic factors inherent in Naturalism.

Cartas americanas shows that he knew both Latin American and North American literature. It was he who supported Longfellow as a corresponding member of the Spanish Academy, and he liked Poe, Emerson, and especially Whittier. His best-known article on American subjects is his letter to Ruben Dario about *Azul*. Although at first, he felt it might be an imitation of Hugo, he soon came to realize that Dario had "gran fondo de originalidad muy extrana." He was surprised at how well Dario was able to assimilate French elements while maintaining his Spanish form. The "afrancesamiento" of *Azul*, he said, was only a "galicismo de la mente," and he was struck by the strong personality of the poet and the "rara quintaesencia" of the work.

Valera's letters from Saint Petersburg to Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto and others in 1856 and 1857 reveal not only the society of the time but also certain characteristics of the Russian people that exist to this day. He treats of the museums, churches, funerals, trains, soldiers, the luxury of the rich, the many banquets, and the difficulty of finding one's way around in Russia without a knowledge of Russian. He discusses the curiosity of the Russians, their potential for great power, their self-love, their nationalism, and their love of exaggeration. He feels that the Russian is more sensual than abstruse and is vain, presumptuous at times, and scornful of most European nations. Yet he found the society of Saint Petersburg "tan amable y tan aristocratida y estas mujeres tan elegantes y tan hermosas."

Valera wrote about almost all the writers of Spain at one time or another in his articles. He denied that his friend Estebanez Calderon used an archaic language and an artificial style. He considered the poetry of Campoamor the most delicate poetry of the age and praised Espronceda, Rivas, and especially Quintana.

B. Emilia Pardo Bazan (1852 – 1921)

Pardo Bazan wrote studies on a great many authors that are still quoted today. Her first work was *Examen critico de las obras del Padre Feijoo* (1877). She wrote also on Pereda, Galdos, Alarcon, and many other Spanish authors. She wrote on Darwinism and the Christian epic. She produced travel books, plays, verses, biographies, and, of course, novels and short stories. Among her many titles are *Literatura y otras hierbas* (1887); *La revolucion y la novela en Rusia* (1887); *Nuevo teatro Critico*, a monthly periodical that began in 1891 and lasted until December 1893, in which she discussed books, theater, history, psychology, Campoamor, Pereda, Alarcon, and culture in general; *Polemicas y estudios literarias* (1892); *Lecciones de literatura* (1906); *Por Francia y por Alemania* (1890); *Por La Espana pintoresco* (1895); and *Por la Europa catolica* (1902). She also started *Biblioteca de la mujer* in 1892 and published many works on and by women authors.

Pardo Bazan gave her criticism honestly. She said Pereda's writing was like a "huerto hermoso, bien regado bien cultivado, pero de limitados horizontes." Criticisms of this nature and certain lectures she gave aroused the enmities of many conservatives, especially since she seemed convinced that the emptiness, corruption, and decadence of Spain had led to its political downfall. She also aroused a great furor with her most famous critical work, *La cuestion palpitante*, attacked by Alarcon, Valera, and Pereda.

This work began to appear in 1883 in *La Epoca* as a series of articles, later published in book form. She saw two aspects of Naturalism, the repulsive dealing with the miserable and disgusting instincts of man, which she consciously rejected, and the idea that all things belong to nature. She wanted to adopt certain ideas of the new movement but give them a Spanish meaning. The French novel was good in its realistic orientation, but it was, nonetheless, "errada y torcida en bastantes respectos." She condemned the deterministic aspects of Zola as the leading "explainer" of the new theory, but she pointed out that he failed to prove Darwinism scientifically and she would not accept it.

She also rejected his "bestia humana" and insisted on a realism that offered a "teoria mas ancha, completa y perfecta que el naturalism." In her prologues she accepted more of Zola, even "algo de su pesimiso...de la miseria humana." She condemned the overabundance of pathological cases in the Naturalistic work and found that the experimental novel might not be experimental since the experiment often existed only in the mind of the author.

Her other well - known critical work is on Russia. She comments on the sudden revelation of Russia's national literature and geography, the Jewish problem, the Oriental aspects of the national culture, Russian history, Russian autocracy, the agrarian communes, and the various social classes. She traces the development of Russian literature from its origins through the Realistic period. Turgenev, she says, "stood in the gulf that separated the two halves of Russia yet maintained a contemplative and thoughtful attitude." He was a true thinker and poet, a classic writer and a visionary with an unsullied heart. She felt that Dostoyevski's heroes were incomprehensible. He was an apostle, a philosopher, and a fanatic, full of mystical Realism. Tolstoy, a nihilist and mystic unfortunately became a "heretic and rationalist." In comparing French and Russian Realism, she explains that Russia is still an enigma, and she offers no conclusive judgments. Indeed, in summing up her criticism, it would not be unfair to say that she rarely offered it, except in an occasional defense of her own inconsistent positions with regard to Naturalism.

C. Leopoldo Alas (Clarín) (1852 – 1901)

Clarín, for many years the most popular critic in Spain, was often considered the most penetrating and intellectual one. He lived in a decaying age, a period of conflict between the traditional and Catholic, and the Europeanized liberals. In this quarrel, in spite of his reputation as the most feared critic of his day and as an aggressive,

passionate, and wild revolutionary, he was essentially a conservative and religious man. If he was cutting in his remarks, if he took sides and fought valiantly for what he thought was right, if he was on occasion blind to the merits of those who disagreed with him, then he proved, simply, that he was human. But the critic who inspired actual terror in his victims was not the critic of the five volumes of *Solos de Clarin* who was kindly and resembled Valera, his literary opponent. He showed *Krausista* affinities in his tolerance and comprehension and opposed the purely mechanical and materialistic approach.

Among his many works are *El derecho y moralidad* (1878), *Solos de Clarin* (1881), *Sermon perdido* (1885), *Benito Perez Galdos, studio critico – biografico* (1889), *Ensayos y revistas* (1892), and *Palique* (1893). Between 1879 and 1898 he wrote numerous critical articles in various periodicals, some of which he signed with the pseudonym Zoilito.

Clarin anticipated the religious tension of Unamuno and the technique of Azorin and other members of the Generation of 1898. He opposed the Modernists, with the notable exception of Azorin. HE accused Dario of "galicismo interior" to which he objected. He played a large part in the discussion of Naturalism in Spain. He was considered a follower of Zola's and possibly was the real leader of the movement instead of Pardo Bazan. Although at one point in his career he saw Naturalism everywhere, even in lyric poetry, he had grave reservations about the movement. Clarin accepted *Krausista* influence, which he later abandoned for an Eclectic position, but he never accepted Positivism or science. He felt that science might destroy the intangible values of society, and he accused Zola of indulging in superficial Positivism and writing "muchas vulgaridades de adocenado experimentalista." In his introduction to *La cuestion palpitante*, he refused to accept the experimental techniques of the French Naturalists. HE believed that Spanish Naturalism might imitate the French in subject matter and certain techniques but that it should always have a moral goal. He even felt that free will could overcome the defect imposed by heredity, an obvious contradiction to the tenets of Naturalism. He stated, however, that Naturalism was not a description of the ugly seamy side of life that Pardo Bazan was not an imitator of things repugnant to the senses, and also that she was not one of those women writers who tried to substitute tenderness and sentimentality for lack of talent. As did most Spanish Realists, including Pardo Bazan and Galdos, Clarin encouraged the writing of novels on transcendental problems. He was, in fact, one of the first representatives of the neospiritual or neoidealistic school.

Clarin's pupil, Perez de Ayala, saw that "por ser Clarin tan gran maestro fue tan gran escritor...es que todas sus obras contienen una ensenanza permanente." This is probably the true picture of Clarin, not eh narrow defender of a specialized doctrine, not the feared critic, but the man who offered teaching of permanent value.

D. Francisco Giner de los Rios (1839 – 1915)

In 1876 this philosopher and educator founded the all-important Institucion Libre de Ensenanza. The idea of the Institucion's founder was to create a school with an environment based on mutual love, respect, and tolerance and remove it from any partisan political or religious influence. Among the first teachers were Nicolas Salmeron and Joaquin Costa. A student came there not to learn from books exclusively but to observe nature and learn truth based on personal investigation. Giner concentrated a great deal on the study of the history of fine arts, for he believed that beauty should be a guiding principle in life. Physical education, too, was part of the program, as were industrial arts, job training, and field trips of various kinds.

Giner's works are not confined to philosophy and education. He wrote on literature, art, law, religion, sociology, and especially the philosophy of law, but he became more and more convinced that Spain's primary problem was one of education. His collected works run to some twenty-two volumes, including *Estudios literarias* (1866), *Estudios juridicos y politicos* (1875), *Estudios filosoficos y religiosas* (1876), *Institucion Libre de*

Ensenanza (1882), and *Estudios sobre educacion* (1886). Giner also wrote articles and essays for various journals and made many translations.

He accepted the philosophical standard of his teacher, Sanz del Rio, that one must through means available arrive at harmony with the world. The Way this was to be done was not predetermined but education contained a key. Since he was Sanz del Rio's outstanding student, Giner, with prophetic zeal, sought to create new men at his Institucion Libre de Ensenanza. He had a profound effect upon his students, and a whole generation of intellectual leaders depended on him for their early guidance. He was an idealist, but a pragmatic one who believed in testing theories and in applying idealism to practical problems of life. He agreed, in the *Krausista* tradition, that as society becomes more closely equated with the image of God, man approaches the heights. He sought to reform Spanish education, worked for penal reform, and became intensely interested in and concerned about the problem of juvenile delinquency. He sought to impart a kind of religious idealism to many who later lived by it in their social struggles. He was the most important precursor of the Generation of 1898. Among his pupils and friends were Cossio, Unamuno, Altamira, Juan Ramon Jimenez, and the Machado brothers. Antonio Machado dedicated a loving poem to Giner's memory, and Unamuno called him the Spanish Socrates, the great "agitador de espíritus." Giner engendered this kind of feeling and spirit in all his students, many of whom looked upon him as a father or even with almost religious devotion.

Undoubtedly Giner deserved that love and respect. He was distressed by the misunderstandings of the world, and he worked for tolerance, peace, and harmony among men. He based his life on love, humility in the sight of God, and the cultivation of the religious ideal of God as the model by which to live.

E. Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo (1856 – 1912)

This Spanish critic and philosopher occupy in Spanish literature a place greater than that which Sainte-Beuve holds in French letters. From 1875 on he produced an astounding amount of literary and cultural material. Indeed, one admirer said that if some worldwide catastrophe were to destroy the whole planet, a good part of the world's culture could be resurrected if only the works of Menendez y Pelayo were saved. Menendez y Pelayo knew all the major European languages and literatures. An insight into his background can be obtained by examining his polemic against Azcarate and Manuel de la Revilla, begun in 1876 and continuing for many years thereafter, about whether Spanish science and philosophy existed. Menendez wrote a violent defense of Spanish philosophy, attacking *Krausistas* and liberals. For the conservatives this was an ardent defense of patriotism and orthodoxy. For the liberals it was an example of fanaticism and intransigence. The twenty-year-old Menendez had not yet matured, of course, as a critic, but he never changed his basic position.

He major works of Menendez y Pelayo are *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (1880), *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España* (1883 – 1891), *Obras de Lope de Vega* (1890 – 1902), *Historia de la Poesía hispanoamericana* (1911 – 1912), *Orígenes de la novela* (1905 – 1910), *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos* (1890 – 1908), and *Calderon y su teatro* (1811). Among his lesser works, if anything Menendez did can be called lesser, are *Antología de poetas hispanoamericanos* (1893 – 1895), *Ensayos de crítica filosófica* (1892), *La ciencia española* (1880), *Horacio en España* (1877), *Historia de la Poesía castellana en la edad media* (1911), *Estudio de crítica literaria* (1884 – 1908), and *Las cien mejores poesías líricas castellanas* (1908).

His *Historia de los heterodoxos* was less objective than later works. He himself later admitted his "excesiva acrimonia o intemperancia de expresión con que califican ciertas tendencias o se juzga de algunos hombres." This acrimony that led the "rightists" to consider him their champion aroused the antipathy of others who never forgave him, even when they admired his scholarship. He tried to prove, among other things, that at heart every Spanish writer whatever his professed beliefs, was unable to escape his religious heritage. In his *Historia de las ideas estéticas* he considered a

field almost untouched in Spain up to that time. He studied not only Spanish ideas but the cultural and literary history of all Europe, including Christianity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance as world movements. In *Calderon y su teatro* he admits that Calderon is inferior to Lope in variety and spontaneity and to Tirso in character creation and comic grace, but he insists that nobody excels in in grandeur of concept as a great Catholic and symbolic poet. Menendez y Pelayo ranked Calderon, in spite of his defects, after Sophocles and Shakespeare as the greatest dramatist of all time.

Every critic of note has had something to say about Menendez y Pelayo, Valera, who did not think much of him when he entered the Royal Academy, later admitted that he was “el mayor y mas celebrado” of all Spanish authors who wrote works other than those of mere entertainment. Americo Castro did not think highly of his individual works, but he felt that Menendez led the way for those who wished to see with modern eyes and judge with a modern viewpoint the artistic creation of the past.

F. Rafael Altamira y Creva (18656 – 1951)

Altamira, a disciple of Giner de los Rios', taught at the Institucion Libre de Ensenanza. He wrote on a variety of subjects and even tried fiction, but his best work lies in the fields of history, education, and law. He was active in teaching reform, to be expected from an Institucion man. His *La ensenanza de la historia* (1891) became the guide for a generation of history teachers.

Of some sixty volumes, many of them amplified rewritings of earlier works on history, politics, teaching, and international law, his *Historia de Espana y la civilizacion espanola* (1900 – 1911) is the most famous. He traces here the development of institutions customs, and laws from their remote origins to modern times. He describes the causes active in Spanish cultural history, how they work, and what effect they had. He analyzes controversial subjects with a logical and impassive objectivity. For his scrupulous adherence to historical facts and historical concepts, he has been considered the outstanding interpreter of the history of Spain. Altamira presents an organic picture of Spanish life, its meaning, psychological backgrounds, and individual and collective historical events. Even though he has strong feelings on certain subjects such as war and Spanish cultural values. He tries to tell the whole truth. He presents not only Spanish history but also a kind of universal history, not to justify Spanish actions but to “indicate the universality of certain human acts or ideas to show how difficult it is to avoid them and how imperative is the duty incumbent on us to help correct them, instead of confining ourselves to disclosing the errors or cruelties of others.”

Beneath Altamira's objectivity and cold spirit, however one senses a controlled passion as he focuses attention on Iberian and Hispanic considerations, the people and their psychology, as he seeks to promulgate a new international spirit of approximation.

G. Joaquin Costa (1844 – 1911)

Another immediate forerunner of the Generation of 1898 and an honorary member thereof, along with men like Cossio and Ramon y Cajal, was Joaquin Costa. He was a brilliant student, but although he taught at various institutions, including the Institucion Libre de Ensenanza, he did not obtain in his lifetime the professional rewards his talent merited.

Costa was especially interested in the philosophy of history and historical investigation. He was a jurist, historian, Republican politician sociologist, and agrarian reformer. His many works include *La vida del derecho* (1876), on political economy and jurisprudence; *Poesia popular espanola* (1881); *Reconstitucion y europeizacion de Espana* (1900); *Oligarquia y caciquismo* (1901 – 1902), his most famous work, based on the series of lecture she gave at the Ateneo; *Tutela de pueblos en la historia* (1917); and *La religion de los celtiberos* (1917).

Costa was not interested in the spiritual and aesthetic values of the times but rather in political and agricultural reform. He was the leader of the school that fought for Europeanization of Spain, and one critic called him the "Apostle of Europeanization." He was, indeed, a vehement defender of *regeneracionismo*. He wished to regenerate the spirit of Spain, affected as it was by the loss of its colonies and its ruined agriculture and economy, and he insisted that Spain had to jump several centuries to catch up with Europe and the rest of the world. His most famous dictum in this regard was "echar doble llave al sepulcro del Cid." Some of his enemies felt he was negating rather than extolling the value of the Spanish spirit. He supported the truly popular in Spain, rather than outworn tradition or the artificial overgrowths of nineteenth-century society, and he hoped to cure part of what ailed Spain through refreshing breezes of modern Europe.

His *Krausista* background manifested itself in most of his works. He felt Spain's destiny was tied in with that of Africa and sought a colonial policy of peace and education. He was opposed to what he termed the "centralismo de Espana," and in some of his essays he anticipated Ortega y Gasset's ideas on government.

H. Other Didactic Writers

Of necessity we have omitted many worthy authors such as Antonio Canovas del Castillo (1828 – 1897) and Emilio Castelar (1832 – 1899), the greatest political orator of the century. Important as precursors of the Generation of 1898 are authors such as Ricardo Macias Picavea (1847 – 1899), a *revisonista* professor at the Instituto de Vallasolid. He wrote on educational reform, but his most famous work is *El problema nacional: Hechos, causas y remedios* (1891), in which he studies Spanish life and seeks remedies for its decadence. Even more important are Santiago ramon y Cajal (1852 – 1934) and Manuel Bartolome Cossio (1858 – 1935). The former, a physician and histologist who won the Nobel Prize, belonged in spirit to the Generation of 1898. He wrote scientific and literary essays about Spain's problems, its need for psychological and moral regeneration its lack of scientific progress, and its intellectual segregation, but he refrained from the pessimism of many of the younger writers of the day. His most influential work was *Reglas y consejos sobre investigacion biologica: Los tonicos de la voluntad* (1897), which went through many editions. He examined in detail the causes often given for the decadence of Spain, such as climate, lack of rainfall, provincialism, and religious fanaticism. He emphasized the Spain was backward but not decadent, uneducated but not degenerate. Manuel Bartolome Cossio, the most intimate colleague of Giner de los Rios in the Institucion Libre Ensenanza, had great influence on the following generations, especially in his chosen field of art. His most important work is *El Greco*, a biographical and artistic study that offered a new interpretation of the sixteenth-century artist. The Generation of 1898 and the Modernists were fascinated by El Greco, and Cossio's book, while not published until 1908, helped focus their spiritual commitments, for Cossio interpreted El Greco as the maximum spiritual symbol of the Spanish Renaissance.

THE GENERATION OF 1898

A. General Considerations

Angel del Rio has pointed out the great debt owed by the Generation of 1898 to the eighteenth century, to many nineteenth-century writers, and to the Institucion Libre de Ensenanza, especially in the field of aesthetic and objective scientific education. Almost all the members of the Generation of 1898 felt the direct influence of the *Krausistas*, from who derived part of their anguish, religious restlessness, and pessimism. From Giner they inherited love of countryside and moral perspective, and through Costa they realized the need for Europeanization. Other nineteenth-century writers such as Galdos and Clarin, through their liberal

ideas and tolerance, and Menendez y Pelayo, through his historical sense, helped create the intellectual framework within which the Generation of 1898 worked.

These young writers, drawing upon native sources, upon the new European cultural emphasis and upon their new concepts of history, sought some historical constant in Spain's heritage. A new nationalism, individualism, and introspection filled the air. Some writers emphasized more the Spanish tradition; others sought salvation in Europeanization and more pragmatic approaches. In many, a dichotomy appeared as they sought both. A strong measure of European influence was omnipresent, and the new generation concentrated on the work of Schopenhauer, Carlyle, and Nietzsche. Most critics agree on this European influence but on little else about the Generation of 1898.

Writers on the Generation of 1898 cannot agree on its composition, its tenets or its right to the label "Generation." Jeschke sees a unity in the Generation of 1898's skepticism and pessimism. Melchor Fernande Almagro views its concern as the "problem de Espana," as differentiated from the Modernists who were interested in aesthetics. Latin Entralgo seeks to divide them into two groups, one whose work "esta muy directamente afectada por la situacion historica de Espana de que el desastre es simbolo," and another that he calls "litteratos puros y mas influidos por el modernism." Some critics have made much of the well-known anagram of Corpus Barga VABUMB, composed of the first letters of the names of Valle-Inclan, Azorin, Benavente, Unamuno, Maeztu, and Baroja. In 1910 Azorin included Benavente, Valle-Inclan, Baroja, Unamuno, and Maeztu in what he called the Generation of 1896. In 1913 he changed the name to Generation of 1898, not because of the effect of the war between Spain and the United States but because of the symbolic significance of that date as a turning point in Spanish life. In his 1913 article Azorin listed the characteristics of the Generation of 1898 as consisting of love of old towns and the countryside, a revival of primitive poets, and a love of El Greco, Gongora, and Larra. Guillermo Diaz Plaja refused to admit the Modernists as members of the Generation of 1898 and viewed them as antithetical to it in concept, subject matter, interpretation, and emphasis. Baroja denied the existence of any generation. He called the Generation of 1898 a "ghost generation" because it had no spiritual solidarity and lacked common aspirations or even common age groups. Maeztu recognized his group as a generation, with some reservations, and compared it with the German "Sturm und Drang" movement.

Nevertheless, most of the writers, despite their disparate backgrounds and viewpoints, seemed united in a protest against the immediate past and in a demand for the need of a new interpretation of history and tradition for the future. Although most of them were from the provinces, they sought inspiration in Castile and in the spiritual qualities of the Cid and don Quijote. Some sought a fusion of the Spanish tradition with the modern European one, while others wanted a completely new deal. In a sense the atmosphere was very much like that of the early days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal, with its excitement, experimentation, and insistence on economic and social reforms. In their artistic, literary, political, and economic rejuvenation, the Generation of 1898 sought to create not only a new vision of Spain but also a new Spain.

Certain writers, who placed emphasis on aesthetics, offered erudition and philosophical and idealistic preoccupations as well. Others who appeared to have a cultural, intellectual, and critical orientation, or a historical and political one, also wrote on aesthetic considerations. If one says that Maeztu is more interested in politics than art, Menendez Pidal in scholarship and history than in aesthetics, and Azorin more in aesthetics than. In history, the difference is simply one of degree. Whether the essays were erudite treatises on science, history, literature or art, interpretative essays of a poetic nature on the countryside and the people, or philosophical essays seeking the meaning of Spain and its cultural heritage, all the authors, in one way or another, out of their doubts and negativism evolved an interpretation of the Spanish soul. They sought to resolve the problem of man in

the modern world, to create a new style, and thus, as Latin Entralgo points out, left a threefold impact on future generations, that of language, aesthetic sensibility, and patriotic aspirations. Whether they were a generation may never be fully determined, but they all worried about progress and a new future. These writers, demonstrating great literary ability, outlined, at times through a somewhat instinctive philosophy, most of the central issues of twentieth-century Spanish thought.

B. Angel Ganivet (18675 -1898)

Ganivet, also a novelist, wrote works that, according to Fernandez Almagro, one of his biographers, fall into three groups: those of an aesthetic nature, those of a political preoccupation for Spain, and those about moral considerations of man.

A variety of judgments exists about Ganivet, but his ideas do not differ from those of other member of the Generation of 1898. Insisting on the importance of being a man, he believed in engaging in life rather than contemplating it. He reflected on the tragedy of life, the value of Spanish culture to itself as a unique one, and yet at the same time on European and cosmopolitan factors. A complete individualist Ganivet dreamed of the possibility of a new Spain, and amalgam of Greek culture and Christianity.

In *Granada la bella* (1896), Ganivet examines the aesthetic impact of the city as he contrasts the old and the new light and shadows. In *Cartas finlandesas* (1898), he contrasts Finland with Spain through the description of customs, domestic life, and holidays. *Hombres del norte* (1905) deals with Scandinavian and northern culture, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Ibsen. *El porvenir de Espana* (1905) is a collection of his correspondence with Unamuno, whom he met in 1891.

Ganivet's most important and best-known work is *Idearium espanol* (1897), which is divided into three parts. In the first part Ganivet seeks to define Spanish spirit in the *pueblo* and the Spaniard. In the second part he discusses Spanish politics after the Renaissance. In the third part he attempts to determine the future of Spain in view of the defeats of the past and present. For Ganivet the chief Spanish defect consists of *abulia*, a paralysis of the will, which can be counteracted only by a strong exertion of the *voluntad*. Through its contacts with the Arabs in the Middle Ages, Spain had a culture superior to all others in the Western world, but it lost that superiority at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as it lost the synthesis of the East and West. Spaniards lacked organizational ability because of their individualism; yet they were the first to create a real organized army. Spain was a warrior nation, dispersing its energies in action instead of concentrating on spirit, and this led to decadence. Yet Spain's expression should be sought in action and not in ideas. Spain needs Segismundo, not Hamlet, and salvation will come from action. Spain must reorganize its spiritual forces to create a new Spain and renounce the use of force that its tradition created for it. Spain can cultivate a spirit that other countries cannot have because they have not won and lost an empire. Furthermore, Spain does not need science, for its spiritual qualities are the most important. In this work, Ganivet attempts, in an allegorical representation of the dogma, to define Spain as the country of the Immaculate Conception. He makes other statements about virginity, art, religion, and other topics in this evocative yet inconclusive work.

Ganivet was a literary writer who entered the world of ideas and was at the same time an artist and a thinker. Like others of his generation he worried about Spain, was disturbed about the national destiny, and sought in himself, through introspective and subjective analysis to determine the peculiarly Spanish in the Spanish spirit.

C. Miguel de Unamuno y Jugo (1864 – 1936)

Unamuno, an essayist, social critic, philologist, philosopher, poet, playwright, and novelist, wrote approximately sixty volumes, excluding his letters. Although he had many disciples and friends, Barea said, "He was the founder of no school, the center of no movement... And yet the trace of his work and personality exists in the writing and in the minds of almost all younger Spaniards concerned with the problems of their country."

Although Julian Marias found Unamuno's work somewhat irrational and although Unamuno's works seem unsystematic, contradictory, and even inconsistent, language for him, keenly aware as he was of power of words, meant communication in a practical and utilitarian way and also as a poetic and aesthetic action. He felt prepared to accept innovations. Although he knew that language had psychological revelations to offer, he insisted on the necessity of a true scientific study of the language. Essentially, Unamuno believed that reason and rationalism tend to disturb true communication, which is a poetic act. A poet in an act of personal creation may destroy the logic inherent in words in order to convey the true reality, which is an intimate and irrational thing. Life cannot be shut in by words, and the writer, to maintain communication and his individuality, must avoid the danger of becoming enclosed within any system.

As many critics have noticed, it is very difficult to try to define the ideas of Unamuno exactly, for his method of writing and his dynamic and constant battle with life led to many contradictions. Jose Ferrater Mora in commenting on these contradictions, says the Unamuno insisted as much on reason as on the irrational and that his conflict – and his originality – consisted precisely "en el incesante vaiven que caracteriza en este respect – y en otros muchos – su pensamiento." Unamuno himself said he had but one aim, to seek the truth in life, a truth that he hoped to find in his constant spiritual struggle to affirm his faith and to survive. Thus, one can say that basically Unamuno was an idealist and humanitarian, that he fought against materialism, and that his many essays on education, politics, religion, and literature while often apparently paradoxical, form a consistent pattern.

Unamuno's culture was probably the greatest of his generation. Among his titles, the more important ones are a seven-volume collection, *Ensayos* (1917 – 1918); *Mi religion y otros ensayos* (1910); *Soliloquios y conversaciones* (1911); *Por tierras de Portugal y Espana* (1911); *Contra esto y aquella* (1912); and *La agonía del cristianismo*, first published in French in 1925. His three masterworks, however, are usually considered to be *En torno al casticismo*, written in 1895 and published in 1902; *Vida de don Quijote y Sanxho*, segun Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1905); and *Del sentimiento tragico de la vida en los hombres uy en los pueblos* (1913).

En torno al casticismo first appeared in *La Espana Moderna*. These five essays, which should be considered as a whole although they have individual titles such as *La tradicion eterna*, *La casta historica de Castilla*, and *El espiritu castellano*, seek to interpret Spanish history and the meaning of culture. Unamuno is concerned about live ideas and not the scientific method. Science is universal, but culture is national. As with most of his generation, Castile was for him the great symbol of Spanish spirit. In determining this essence of Spain, language is important, and wherever one speaks Spanish, there one can find a part of Spain. The concept *castizo* is a false one of superficial nationalism, for underneath lies the true character of people and individuals. The worth of others can be recognized without giving up one's own national characteristics. In this connection Unamuno discusses a new and as yet unborn Spain, one of an eternal tradition that can be vitalized by foreign ideas. This tradition, however, must be sought in the present and not in the past, although the present too is depressed by the old reactionary Inquisitions in attenuated form. Unamuno resolves his apparent paradox by describing what he terms "intrahistory," a search for the eternal in the temporal. The present consists of two strata, one of the immediate historical

moment and the other the intrahistorical present, a sedimentation and eternalization of the successive historical presents already met. Thus, passing history occurs always on what Unamuno calls a permanent intrahistorical base, and consequently in "el alma de Espana viven y obran, ademas de nuestros almas, las almas de todos nuestros antepasados." Unamuno sees a revitalization of these traditions through a new current from Europe, something he rejected later for a greater concentration on the spiritual and religious struggle.

Vida de don Quijote y Sancho, a running commentary on Cervantes' work, interprets Quijote and Sancho as a spiritual - symbols of hope and redemption for the Spanish soul. Unamuno urges the acceptance of the concept of *hacer bien* - glory, action, and longing for immortality. Action conquers faith. Faith is born from fear of the unknown. A crusade is necessary to rescue don Quijote as a symbol of life and to reassert his great moral value. In keeping with Unamuno's central philosophical tenet about personal immortality, he sees quixotic madness as the fear of death and an attempt to continue to exist in another spatial-temporal context. Don Quijote must be saved both from the rationalists and from those who pretend to be faithful to his ideals while they reduce their dimensions by selfish actions. Sancho is perhaps even more admirable than his master, for his faith is more beset by doubts.

Del sentimiento tragico de la vida, which as Orringer has shown owes much to Albrecht Ritsch, concerns the omnipresent anguish of Unamuno in the confrontation between faith and reason faced by the man of flesh and blood. Man wishes to know whence he came and where he is going because he does not want to die. This man of flesh and blood is a real man, not a philosopher's construct. He wants to live and be immortal, a problem whose real heart theologians and philosophers cannot reach. Knowledge prepares for spiritual life, but man has need of faith to sustain him in his greatest problem, that of existence. There is a conflict in men between faith and knowledge, eternity and time, the spiritual and the secular, and this conflict is impossible of rational solution. The attempt to rationalize faith has landed man in the abyss of despair. Only faith will help sustain man in his essential tragedy of knowing his destiny. Thus man - and Unamuno - exhibit an anguished longing for an irrational faith that will bring self-perpetuation. The knowledge that this faith is apparently irrational helps cause the tragic sense of life. Man is a product of love and hunger and his concern is to save both his soul and his flesh. Man's self-love broadens to include all mankind, and from this love comes God, not a God of reason, but human God who can be reached only through faith and love.

In *La agonía del cristianismo*, Unamuno seeks to define Christianity "agonicamente," for it is a constant struggle and agony that is yet necessary for its survival.

In his works Unamuno analyzed the psychological and social aspects of the Spaniards and their character, but personally he accepted the quixotic world of faith over reason and science. Obviously Existential, Unamuno's work reveals his struggle between Christian faith and rational thought, his anguish, and the themes of immortality, life through action, life as a drama to be lived, and life in which each person creates himself through deeds and works. In his negation, doubt, desperation, and agony Unamuno concerns himself with the deepest level of conscience and consciousness. He believes that life must make itself and that man must live from within himself. Man is an end and not a means. Unamuno appears in all his essays as he seeks to establish his own authenticity and his relationship to God and man. Often, he finds meaning in the search itself. Some of these metaphysical relationships are not easy to follow, as he discusses the immortality of the soul, the agony of the final boundary of death, and the central desire for a personal immortality. Unamuno, perhaps Spain's first contemporary writer together with Ortega y Gasset, looms as one of the intellectual giants of twentieth-century Spain.

D. Jose Martinez Ruiz (Azorin) (1873 – 1967)

Jose Martinez Ruiz, also a novelist and dramatist, known to Spanish literature as Azorin, traveled incessantly around Spain, which in part accounts for his intimate knowledge of types, villages, and countryside. His descriptions of Spanish landscapes reflect melancholy, resignation, and stoicism. Azorin felt that the excellence of a writer depended on his treatment of nature and the countryside.

Azorin first used the pseudonym Candido and then Ahriman. In his first years as an author he wrote many articles on social and literary themes. In these he resembled Larra in his satiric and iconoclastic outbursts of life and literature. In 1900 he published his first complete work on a subject that was to be dear to his heart thenceforth, *El alma castellana*. In 1902 he used his pseudonym, Azorin, for the first time with the publication of *La voluntad*, whose title was related to the abulia postulated by Ganivet.

Among Azorin's many works are *La ruta de don Quijote* (1905), *Los pueblos* (1905), *Espana* (1909), *Leturas espanolas* (1912), *Castilla* (1912), *Clasicos y modernos* (1913), *Al margen de los clasicos* (1915), *Rivas y Larra* (1916), and *El paisaje de Espana visto por los espanoles* (1917). Later essays include *Una hora de Espana* (1924), *Tiempos y cosas* (1944), *Ante Baroja* (1946), *Memorias inmemorables* (1946), and *El oasis de los clasicos* (1952).

In most of his essays or short sketches, Azorin is interested in the small, humble, daily happenings of life. He was, as he said, "un pequeno filosofo." Nothing much happens in these essays or vignettes, as life goes on day after day in the same way. In *Los pueblos* and *La ruta de don Quijote*, for example, he offers us dramatic pictures of what Madariaga called "little albums of Spanish life." His poetic vision of Spain concentrated on the details, the small and the unchanging, which for him had an almost universal and eternal significance. He sought the essence of Spain in its books and in the daily lives of its citizens, which he built up in layers by constant repetition of small things. For him the great events of life and history pass by, and the vulgarities and the commonplaces of life are unending. Ortega called him "un sensitive de la historia," not a philosopher. In the Spain of today is the Spain of yesterday. Azorin reacted against technology in favor of the ordinary people of a real and traditional Spain, though he viewed reality and interpreted Spanish life in an original and new way.

His intimate and Impressionistic re-creation concentrate in large measure on the countryside. Even though Alicante gave him birth, Castile became for him the symbol of Spanish spirit as it did for Antonio Machado and Unamuno. His lyrical and pictorial descriptions build enduring images out of the hour, lights, shadows, a glance and countless other fugitive details.

Castile with its ruins of past greatness conveys and eternal and positive spirit. Its beauty evokes a profound tenderness without the anguish of Unamuno or the rebellion and ugliness of Baroja. Azorin's vision is calm, almost impassive, full of nostalgia and melancholy. He builds from the ruins of Castile – the old cities, the wonderful cathedrals, the homes, and the people. His humble and almost monotonous, though picturesque, portrayals convey at times a greater sense of tragedy than that of flamboyant writers. He tells us about Spanish books and paintings, but in a deeper sense he depicts an eternal Castile that will never die because it exists in a time zone that was yesterday, is today, and will be tomorrow.

The domination of time, therefore, becomes of great concern to Azorin, as does Spanish sensibility involved in its passage. He seeks continuity in Spanish history and seems to say that everything changes but everything returns, too, in a kind of reincarnation, even though it may not be physically identical. This preoccupation with the past dwells not only on the landscape and history of Spain but on its authors and literature. Azorin practices a special kind of creative literary criticism as he tries to relive an author's work and life. He often creates a feeling of immediacy as though the author were with us and had just left the room for a moment. Azorin

gives new life to Classical Spanish authors in his spiritual re-creations. He demonstrates the eternal qualities of the changing and yet unchanging literary works and in the process reveals the same conflict between time and eternity that exists in Unamuno's work.

E. Ramiro de Maeztu (1875 – 1936)

Maeztu, a journalist and conservative political theorist interested also in economics, sociology, and literature, wrote his first important work, *Hacia otra Espana* (1899), during a youthful Socialist phase. In this work, influenced by Nietzsche and Joaquin Costa, he stressed the need for material progress and lamented the hypocrisy of those in power. Later, however, he rejected what he had written in his first work. His experiences as a correspondent during World War I and the influence of the religious and ultra-patriotic T.E. Hulme changed him completely, and he became an ultraconservative. *La crisis del humanismo* (1919), which had appeared first in English as *Authority Liberty and Function in the Light of War* (1916) stressed the idea that God is stability, goodness and truth. He recognized the role of original sin and that the authoritarian state over the individual.

In 1926 Maeztu published *Don Quijote, Don Juan y la Celestina*. Although don Quijote was a parody of the spirit of chivalry and had destroyed the *pueblo*. Don Juan, on the other hand the symbol of power, was correct in imposing his will, for love without force has no value. Celestina represents wisdom, and man should strive for a synthesis of the three entities. *Defensa de la Hispanidad* (1934), which Maeztu called "libro de amor y combate," concerns his search for a new Spanish empire built on Catholic ideals and the ideas of the state in the sixteenth century. He prefers the word *Hispanidad* as a replacement for race and uses it to signify brotherhood of all Hispanic countries. A post-humous collection of his articles, *El nuevo tradicionalismo y la revolucion social*, appeared in 1959.

Maeztu organized Accion Espanola in 1931 and edited the group's periodical of the same name. Through it he exercised a profound influence on the youth of the day. Aside from his major works, Maeztu wrote countless articles in which Spain continued to be his obsession. An essentially religious man, he wanted to awaken his country to a consciousness of its sleeping spiritual soul.

F. Ramon del Valle-Inclan (1866 – 1936)

Valle-Inclan, novelist, dramatist, and poet, was interested mainly in the world of the imagination and the words necessary to describe that world. An extraordinary prose artist whose works are filled with musicality and beauty, he shows always, whether he is writing about Galdos, Baroja, Modernism, or painting an aesthetic and intellectual appreciation of literature. Aside from *La media noche* (1917), about the work his major effort at the essay was his collection *La lampara maravillosa* (1916), an exotic discourse on his personal aesthetics, the contemplation of pure beauty, old cities, religious and erotic love, and a preoccupation with eternity. He subtitled this collection "spiritual exercises," and in it seeks knowledge. More important than his philosophy is his discourse on the power of words and the need for a new literary language. Although he has a pagan orientation at times, he stresses here the magical element on which primitive Christian miracles are based. He evokes the past through cities like Toledo and immortalizes Santiago de Compostela as a dream of granite, unchanging and eternal. Although Juan Ramon Jimenez said of this collection that Valle-Inclan's lamp had no oil but only smoke, it reveals his poetic and artistic creativity as well as an aesthetic appreciation of literature.

G. Pio Baroja y Nessi (1872 – 1956)

Baroja, primarily a novelist, shows in his essays the same opposition one finds in his fiction to established institutions and a disillusionment with Western countries and culture, although Nietzsche and other ideological interests tempted him for brief periods. In his essays on almost every conceivable subject, he usually includes autobiographical details and recalls friends and enemies. He wrote hundreds of articles on literary criticism and one political and social topics. His memoirs and travel books overflow with his comments on life and culture. Among his many collections of essays are *El tablado de Arlequin* (1903), *Juventud, egolatria* (1917), *Nuevo tablado de Arlequin* (1917), *Momentum catastrophicum* (1919), *La caverna del humorismo* (1919), *Divagaciones apasionadas* (1924), *Ayer y hoy* (1939), *Pequenos ensayos* (1943), and *Desde la ultima vuelta del camino: Memorias* (seven volumes, 1944 – 1947).

His literary, artistic, political, and social relationships with his country differ little from volume to volume. In *Juventud, egolatria* he discusses war, writing, history, biography, politics, and religion. The ongoing skepticism in this collection, perhaps his best known, represents the leitmotiv of Baroja's works. His *Memorias* reflect the essential Baroja and include his comments on style and language. Anti-Semitic and xenophobic, Baroja nevertheless prided himself on sincerity in his denunciations of the evil of Spanish life. Although he stressed constantly the need for action as a possible solution for problems, he was essentially pessimistic about human progress. Yet, though he found little good in humanity, he claimed that he hoped for truth, justice, and goodness in this world.

H. Ramon Menendez Pidal (1869 – 1968)

Menendez Pidal, the greatest Spanish scholar of the twentieth century, wrote on the most varied aspects of Spanish language, literature, and history. His first important work, *La leyenda de los Infantes de Lara* (1896), won a Royal Academy of History prize. Founder of the Centro de Estudios Historicos, where he trained an entire generation of philologists and teachers from 1910 on, he also began the *Revista de Filologia Espanola* in 1914.

In addition to hundreds of articles in various fields, the more important of his works are *Manual elemental de gramatica historica espanola* (1914) – in later editions he omitted elemental – perhaps the best morphological and phonetic treatment in Spanish; *Cantar de Mio Cid* (1911), a masterpiece of paleographic and linguistic analysis that made him the acknowledged expert on matters pertaining to the Middle Ages (he changed and augmented it several times); *Poesia juglares y juglares* (1924), which went through many editions; *Oriogenes del espanol* (1926), an exhaustive treatment of factors influencing the development of the Spanish language up to the eleventh century; *Flor nueva de romances viejos* (1928); *La Espana del Cid* (1929), containing information on the entire framework of the European Middle Ages as well as on the Cid; *Romancero hispanico* (1953); and continuous studies on the Spanish language, the epic and the *romancero*. Her also edited the monumental *Historia de Espana* (1952 – 1962).

In his many studies on the Spanish epic, the ballad, and poetry in general, he maintained that the *cantares* and primitive poetry enclosed the heart and soul of the Spanish people. He tried to determine the relationship between that poetry and the chronicles and history. He continually stressed the value of popular poetry, and in addition to introducing the scientific method into linguistic philological and historical research in Spain, he sought to create a new vision of Spanish culture. Although in works like *El Padre Las Casas: Su doble personalidad* (1963) he shows his conservative and nationalistic bias, it may be said that in his publications he interpreted the Spanish soul and spirit as well as any member of the Generation of 1898.

I. Other Literary Critics and Scholars

Lack of space has forced the exclusion of many writers of high caliber from previous generations, among them Emilio Cotarelo y Mori (1857 – 1936), literary historian and authority on the history of the Spanish drama; Francisco Rodriguez Marin (1855 – 1943), a Cervantine scholar; and Julian Ribera (1858 – 1934) a well-known Arabist. In the Generation of 1898, other writers include Adolfo Bonilla y San Martin (1875 -1926), literary scholar and philosopher who wrote primarily on Cervantes; Eduardo Gomez de Baquero (1866 – 1929), better known by his pseudonym, Andrenio; Miguel Asin Palacios (1871 -1944), philologist and expert on Islamic philosophy and religions and interpreter of Arabic culture and Arabic Spanish literature; Victor Said Armesto (1874 – 1914); and Jose Maria Salaverria (1873 – 1940), a representative of the ultrapatriotic and reactionary in his native country.

The Generation of 1914

A. General Considerations

Some critics believe that the generation following the Generation of 1898 should bear the name *novecentismo*, a term first used by the Italian Massimo Bontempelli and popularized in Spain by Eugenio d'Ors. For some this term implies the urge toward aesthetic and intellectual renewal in the post- 1898 generation. Others use *novecentismo* to describe the entire literary output of the twentieth century through the 1930s. Still others prefer the designation Generation of 1914. Ortega y Gasset, the intellectual leader of this generation, unlike Unamuno, who gave “pedazos de su corazon,” was more coldly critical and cosmopolitan. To Unamuno’s man of flesh and blood with his desire for immortality, Ortega opposed the thinker who views life as a problem. The passion and emotion, good or bad, of the Generation of 1898 gave way to unemotional, historical analysis, not only of Spain but of culture in general. The present became more important than the past, and though these writers were interested in aesthetics, they did not consider landscape, art, or literature as a reflection of the Spanish soul. More scientific in their philosophy, the Generation of 1914 sought to put Spanish problems into a universal and theoretical format and through discipline and clarity to understand a country in transition.

B. Jose Ortega y Gasset (1883 – 1955)

Ortega, philosopher, literary critic, and essayist wrote brilliantly and originally also on other subjects such as sociology and history. Although he went through various contradictory stages, he liked German culture but was also torn by the need to affirm his own country’s values. He admonished Spaniards to reorganize their thought along German scientific and objective lines, but he also wanted Spain to form a civilization that while continuing to be Spanish would at the same time be European. He may have underestimated the value of the culture of his own country, but his intimate knowledge of the general cultural currents in Europe qualified him better than most of his contemporaries to make such comparisons. In 1923 Ortega founded the *Revista de Occidente*, one of the most important journals of modern Spain, in which he introduced Spain, in a systematic way, to foreign cultures.

Jose Ferrater Mora divides Ortega’s work into three periods: Objectivism, stressing ideas over the human; Perspectivism, about absolute relationships; and *racio-vitalismo* or *razon vital*, his Existential viewpoint. Nonetheless, Ortega usually insisted throughout his work that living preceded theorizing and saw life as a continual risk-filled adventure.

Ortega’s first great work was *Meditaciones del Quijote* (1914), a synthesis of reality and fantasy. The maximum creation of Spain was *Don Quijote*, and no other book has the same power of symbolic allusions to universal feelings about life. Ortega investigates the *quijotismo* of the novel and of the man, but he stresses that the quixotic elements are those, not so much of don Quijote, but of Cervantes himself, even though Quijote is an essential circumstance of

Spain and part of Spanish destiny. Julian Marias sees the somewhat unconnected essays of *Meditaciones del Quijote* as a complete unit and as perhaps the first approximation to a metaphysical theory of human life as well as to a Spanish reality.

The Existential implications of Ortega's theories are quite apparent both in the *Meditaciones* and in later works. He himself claims: "Apenas hay uno o dos conceptos importantes de Heidegger que no preexistian a veces con anterioridad de trece años, en sus libros. Por ejemplos: la idea de la vida como inquietud, preocupación por la seguridad, se halla literalmente en mi primera obra, *Meditaciones del Quijote*," Ortega says that man cannot avoid his present or past circumstances or escape the future, but the essence of human life is to determine the future, and even a decision not to act affects it. As man lives and acts in a hostile universe, the central reality involves consciousness of self, for only man can exercise a unique freedom of choice. In his essay *En torno a Galileo* (1933), he expresses the idea that man, unlike objects, through present action to construct a future, creates a future that permits understanding and changing the present, and things teach him that he is in the world anything but a thing. The difference between a man and a stone is not that man has understanding but that the essence of the stone once fixed is immutable. Man, on the contrary, has to decide at each moment what he is going to do and what he is going to be.

Ortega wrote eight volumes of *El espectador* (1916 – 1934), but his next important work was *España invertebrada* (1921). Ortega disdains the popular element and says that a select minority will act as a nerve ganglion for the body or public. He seeks to analyze the decadence of Spain, maintaining that there was never a lyze the decadence of Spain, maintaining that there was never a glorious period in Spain and that the present decadence is simply a prolongation of original defects from the Middle Ages on. Part of Spain's illness may be attributed to the absence of a select minority, and since there are things that only a select minority is capable of doing, the masses should be willing to obey the directives of these superior men.

El tema de nuestro tiempo (1923) emphasizes his theory of vitalism, that life is more important than thought and that it embodies a tension between the spiritual and the biological. Ortega repeats that he himself plus his circumstances. Reason is important, but it must be a vital or historical reason and not a pure or mathematical one. Life is not a being but rather a coming to be, something to be achieved, a value to be realized, and vital reason is a function of that life and is at its service. Thought is a biological function, and emotion also belongs in this category. The cultural imperative assumes several forms. For thought it is truth. For will it is kindness. For the emotions it is beauty.

La deshumanización del arte (1925) concerns the new art that tries to avoid life forms, to be a game and nothing more. Art is ironic, and art is truth, but the human qualities must be eliminated, and reality deformed, for to stylize is to deform and depersonalize reality. Artistic creation is artistic only to the degree that it is not real, and it must not have any social function whatsoever. The same year Ortega wrote his notes on the novel in which he describes the impossibility of finding new themes. Even though he is utterly pessimistic about the future of the novel, he feels that in its decline it may yield some of the greatest products, for the works of highest rank are likely to be products of the last hour, when accumulated experience has completely refined the artistic sensitivity.

In 1930 Ortega wrote one of his best-known works, *La rebelión de las masas*. His theme here is that "mass man" has triumphed, that protagonists no longer exist, and that we are left only with the chorus. Vulgarity runs rampant, and "mass man" crushes everything different or outstanding and seeks to bring it down to a level of mediocrity. Seeking to be like everyone else, he does not recognize that he has any superiors. Indeed, to be different is almost indecent. The masses have been given instruments of modern living, but because of lack of education "mass man" lives in civilization like a primitive, showing no gratitude for any of the wonderful inventions or progress of the modern world that he accepts as his right. The process started in the eighteenth century with the affirmation of the rights of man, accelerating with the economic well-being of the nineteenth century and the scientific progress of the twentieth. The solution is to return to a system of power for the select minority, Europe is becoming decadent, likely to fall into the extreme of either Communism or Fascism. A kind of United States of

Europe is necessary to form a continental country that will be able to compete in a modern world.

Among Ortega's other works are *Goethe desde dentro* (1932), *Estudios sobre el amor* (1939), *Ensimismamiento y alteracion* (1939), *Historia como Sistema* (1941), and *El hombre y la gente* (1957). Many important posthumous publications, among them *La idea de principio en Leibniz* (1958), appear in Ortega's *Obras completas* (twelve volumes, 1962 – 1983). Goethe intrigued Ortega because of his concept of reality, his *Faust*, his Naturalistic concepts, his Existential feelings, his ideas on real and effective fate and ideal or superior fate. In *Estudios sobre el amor*, Ortega explores women's duality and the difference in human terms between the sexes. Although sexuality is an important part of love, love is not sexuality. In *Ensimismamiento y alteracion*, Ortega stresses the need for meditation and withdrawing into oneself as a project for future action, just as any action is a result of previous contemplation. Without drawing into himself and alert thought, man would not be capable of living. In his work on Leibniz, Ortega reexamines via his own philosophy the work of that philosopher whom he views as a crucial figure in the discovery of ultimate principles. In *El hombre ya la gente*, Ortega explores society and its relationship to the individual. He sees the former as a threat to individual authenticity and sees the individual rather than society as the irreducible reality.

Ortega was interested in all branches of criticism, music, painting, sculpture, poetry and drama. For him culture was constantly evolving, and he sought a new way of looking at the interrelationships of Spanish culture with that of other nations, among them the countries of Latin America. He had to use the circumstances of life to reason, and only in living could there be meaning and understanding. Thus, it is important to contemplate and learn about life, which is biographical as well as biological, and every life needs to justify itself in its own eyes. Life, however, is not determined either by one's thought or by one's environment but by the interplay of the two and between man and his culture. In human life while we cannot think outside time, we know that it represents a task to be done and that reason is but one function of that task. In any event, each individual has the potential for achieving his own authenticity. Ortega's view of history as a matter of unique but interrelated generations also proved to be provocative and influential on younger writers.

C. Eugenio d'Ors y Rovira (1882 – 1954)

Until about 1916 Eugenio d'Ors wrote in Catalan under the pen name Xenius, but after that date he wrote largely in Spanish. The author of almost one hundred works, including fiction and drama, d'Ors was interested in politics (after the Civil War he became a devotee of *hispanidad* and Franco supporter), literature, philosophy, science, and especially art. It was he who popularized the word *novecentismo* for his generation, and he shared the vitalistic philosophy of Ortega. He was a perfectionist in all he attempted. His prose reflects his artistic aspirations in its cold artificial, and symmetrical balance. Some critics see in him a return to a kind of *conceptismo* or Baroque style. He advocated a Classical sense of life, harmonious, ordered, and within limits.

D'Ors wrote a series of *glosas* over a period of almost fifty years to reflect his thoughts on philosophy and culture. Various collections appeared, *Glosas* (1906 – 1917), *Nuevo glosario* (1921), and *Novísimo glosario* (1946). He tried to establish principles and to look beyond the anecdotal to reach the transcendental. He evinced a personal concern for the unity of Europe. The *glosa* is a kind of expanded epigram, sometimes contained in a larger work. Many of d'Ors's glosses are casual, and he included some of them in his novels, especially in his best-known one, *La ben plantada* (1911). D'Ors's other major works are *El secreto de la Filosofía* (1947) and the posthumous *La ciencia de la cultura* (1964). In his work on philosophy he discusses reason, intelligence (as an instrument of philosophical knowledge), and life as transcending the limits of individual existence. He also attempts to work on culture and science he tries to systematize history in accordance with unchanging cultural values and to formulate immutable principles of culture through the ages. Among his other essays are *Grandeza y servidumbre de la inteligencia* (1919), *Tres horas en el Museo del Prado* (1992), *El arte de Goya* (1924), and *El estilo de pensar* (1945).

D'Ors thought of man as comprising a body, soul, and what he termed "angel" or; and osuperconscious aspects of mental life. He always preferred the rational and the intelligent over the poetic, as he tried to find permanent values in the welter of modern artistic and intellectual movements, but with an ever-increasing defense of authority and an ardent Catholicism.

D. Salvador de Madariaga (1886 – 1978)

Madariaga, a citizen of the world, was a politician, poet, essayist, historian, novelist, and dramatist, as well as a diplomat and professor. He also wrote travel literature. His first book of essays was *Shelley and Calderon* (1920). Others are *Ensayos angloespanoles* (1922); *The Genius of Spain* (1923); *Guia del lector del Quijote* (1926); *Ingleses, franceses espanoles* (1929), written in English the year before; *Espana, Ensayo de historia conteporanea* (1931), a coherent account of Spain, its problems, spirit and history; *Hernan Cortes* (1940); and *Bolivar* (1951). Important among his later works are *Presente y porvenir de Hispanoamericana* (1974); *Espanoles de mi tiempo* (1974); *Dios y los espanoles* (1975); and *Cosas y gentes* (1979), a collection of essays on a variety of topics and figures like Baroja, Bolivar, and Las Casas.

Madariaga's passion and idealism differentiate him from his contemporaries in their cold intellectualism. He believed with Unamuno in humanity, but he was not tortured as was Unamuno. He is undoubtedly a clearer and more logical writer. Madariaga resembles the writers of the Generation of 1898 in his passion for the exposure to European culture. He also devoted much of his research to the field of Spanish-American history, but he believed that Cervantine themes would give one the key to an understanding of Spanish history. He also followed Unamuno in his ideas on the interrelationship between Quijote and Sancho and the process of *quijotizacion*.

E. Ramon Perez de Ayala (1880 – 1962)

Perez de Ayala, a philosopher and essayist as well as a poet and novelist, wrote most of his essays for newspapers. Some of his best-known ones are to be found in his novels, for all his work shows a critical attitude of a kind better suited to essay than to fiction. Aside from his newspaper articles and a description of a visit to the Italian front during World War I, his early important collections consist of two works, *Politica y toros* (1918) and *Las mascararas* (two volumes, 1917 and 1919). The former collection concerns bullfighting as the fanatical preoccupation of the Spanish people. For action the Spaniard substitutes words, not only in bullfighting but in all areas of national life. Essentially, Perez de Ayala viewed the bullfight as a sensual, aesthetic and tragic experience. *Las mascararas*, although it reveals an intellectual author, is more passionate than usual. Pere de ayala offers us essays on a variety of literary figures, Lope de Vega, Ibsen, Shakespeare, and Benavente, among others. He was especially critical of Benavente for excessive wordiness, a sterile imagination, and a lack of originality. Later works include *Divagaciones literarias* (1958); *Mas Divagaciones literarias* (1960); *Principios y finales de la novela* (1958); *Amistades y recuerdos* (1961); *Tabla rasa* (1963); *Tributo a Inglaterra* (1963); *Pequenos ensayos* (1963); newspaper articles on a variety of subjects from war to literary criticism; *Nuestro Seneca* (19665); and *Escritos politicos* (1967).

F. Americo Castro (1885 – 1972)

Castro, a philologist, historian, and critic, contributed major interpretations involving Spanish language, literature, and culture in addition to editing a number of texts. In *El pensamiento de Cervantes* (1925), he views *Don Quijote* as a complete reflection of all the themes and preoccupations of the Renaissance. Castro studies Cervantes' intellectual background, the ideological influences on his world, his sources, and especially the Humanist and Erasmian aspects of his work. In this work and in others Castro tried to analyze the great figures of the Golden Age, not only as Spaniards but also in their relationship to other European movements of the time and as founders of the modern world. In 1948 he wrote *Espana en su historia: Cristianos, moros y judios*, later republished as *La realidad historica de Espana* (1954), a major

work of Spanish historiography and one that evoked a continuing series of polemics. He explains in this work the universal significance of Spanish history, examines cultural structures he termed “*morades vitals*,” and states that to know the past one has to live intensely and meaningfully in the present. For him, in historical terms, Spain began around A.D. 1000 as an amalgam of Christians, Arabs, and Jews who lived together in a kind of productive tension. Spain’s tragedy was the destruction of this unity in 1492 with the expulsion of the Jews. Some critics accused Castro of denigrating Spain, but he succeeded in destroying the myth of Spanish exclusivity in the Iberian Peninsula, stressing over and over the importance of the Jews and Moors. Other works include *De la edad conflictiva* (1961); *Apuntes de vivir hispanico* (1979); *de la Espana que aun no conocida* (1972); *Sobre el nombre y el quien de los espanoles* (1973); and *Espanoles al margen* (1973), a collection of articles from different periods.

G. Gregoria Maranon (1887 – 1960)

Maranon, a scientist, historian, sociologist, cultural theorist, and literary critic, was primarily known for his biological studies, though he wrote on women, love, painting, and a host of other topics. He stated often that Galdos had exerted a great influence on his life. Maranon specialized in endocrinology but revealed an extraordinarily broad medical knowledge. He wrote psychological interpretations of historical figures, and his individual analyses also involve an examination of the entire period. Among his many works are *Tres ensayos sobre la vida sexual* (1926), *Ensayo biologico sobre Enrique IV de Castilla y su tiempo* (1930), *Raiz decoro de Espana* (1933), *Las ideas biologicas del Padre Feijoo* (1934), *El Conde-Duque de Olivares* (1936), and *El Greco y Toledo* (1956). Although he was a scientist, religion for him was an integral ingredient of life and he was interested in the human aspects of man. He sought, he said, man in illness rather than illness in man.

H. Others

1. *Manuel Azana* (1880 – 1940), president of the Spanish Republic for a time, published an important autobiographical novel, *El jardin de los frailes* (1927). He believed in the modernization of Spain and wrote extensively on what he called “*la materia espanola*,” which involved critical essays on Ganivet, Valera, and others. Among his works is *La invencion del Quijote* (1934).
 2. *Federico de Onis* (1885 – 1966), essayist and literary critic, wrote on a variety of subjects. Among his many works are *Disciplina ya rebeldia* (1915) and the well-known *Antologia de la Poesia espanola e hispanoamericana* (1934).
 3. *Tomas Navarro Tomas* (1884 – 1979) was a world authority on phonetics, dialects, and meter. His many works include *Manual de pronunciacion espanola* (1918), *Metrica espanola* (1956), and *Capitulos de Geografia linguistica de la peninsula iberico* (1975).
 4. *Manuel Garcia Morente* (1886 – 1942) wrote on philosophy and history and promoted the introduction of European philosophical thought to Spain. His works include *Idea de la Hispanidad* (1938) and *Ideas para una Filosofia de la historia de Espana* (1943).
- Enrique Diez-Canedo (1879 – 1944), especially known as a theatrical critic: Julio Camba (1882 – 1962), humorist and caricaturist of Spanish foibles: Juan Zaragueta (1883 – 1974); Fernando de los Rios (1879 – 1949); Eugenio Noel (1885 – 1936), whose real name was Eugenio Munoz; Luis Araquistain (1886 – 1959); and Angel Sanchez Rivero (1888 – 1930) are also worthy of note.

THE GENERATION OF 1927

A. General Considerations

Some call this generation that of “*la Dictadura*.” Others prefer to label it the generation of the *Revista de Occidente*. In this post-World War, I group we find experimentation with a host of new “isms,” not only Cubism, Ultraism, and Creationism but also Communism and Socialism. Among other things these authors reevaluated the

Baroque writers. Two of the well-known reviews of the time were the *Revista de Occidente*, founded by Ortega y Gasset, and *La Gaceta Literaria*, directed by Gimenez Calabbero.

B. Jose Bergamin (1895 – 1983)

Bergamin, a staunch defender of the Spanish Republic, founded the influential review *Cruz y Raya*. When he emigrated to Mexico in 1939, he started Editorial Seneca, which published a number of important Spanish works including Lorca's first edition of *Poeta en Nueva York*.

An essayist (with twenty-nine volumes of prose), literary critic, journalist, poet, and dramatist, he was one of the most attractive and unappreciated writers of twentieth-century Spain. His style was, for the most part, hermetic and Neobaroque, and he made good use of paradox and irony. He wrote perceptively about Cervantes, Lope, Quevedo, and Unamuno as well as on the bullfight, the theory of poetry, painting, and music. In 1923 he wrote what was to generate other collections of aphorisms, *El cohete y la estrella*. His last volume was *Aforismos de la cabeza parlante* (1983). He wrote many collections of poetry, a number of which appeared the year he died. One of his most interesting volumes of essays, *El pozo de la angustia* (1941), reprinted in 1985, deals with theological problems. He attempts to combine Marx, an anguished Christianity, and the idea of personal salvation. As with much of his work, it also expresses a continuing Existentialism. He had a passion for bullfighting, about which he wrote many works, including *El arte de birlibirloque* (1930), *La musica callasa del toreo* (1981), and *La Caridad del toreo* (1985). Among his other titles are *Terrorismo y persecucion religiosa en Espana* (1941), reprinted in 1977 as *El pensamiento perdido*; *La voz apagada* (1943), republished in 1964; *Fronteras infernales de la Poesia* (1958), reprinted in 1980; *Lazaro, don Juan y Segismundo* (1959); *Al volver* (1962), reissued in 1974 as *Antes de ayer y pasado manana*; and *La importancia del demonio y otras cosas sin importancia* (1974).

Bergamin greatly resembled Unamuno in his contradictions, anguished struggles, and spiritual agony. He was at different times intellectual, passionate, lyrical, and yet ascetic. Liberal in politics and a devout Catholic, he was first of all a Spaniard who never forgot the past and potential greatness of his native land.

C. Xavier Zubiri (1898 – 1983)

A student of Ortega y Gasset's Zubiri studied also with Heidegger, whose Existentialist views he did not entirely share, Zubiri championed a rigorous philosophy, employing precision and scientific objectivity; yet he affirmed religion and God as the indispensable ingredients in man's life.

Zubiri's masterpiece is *Naturaleza, historia, Dios* (1944), which went through many editions, including one in 1977. He reveals here his own inner conflicts and deals with different kinds of knowledge, intellectual intuition, and religious passion. The central problem of philosophy involved the process of its own maturation. Another important work, *Sobre la esencia* (1962), a treatise on general metaphysics, served as a foundation for his anthropological work. He discusses here the problem of the radical structure of reality. *Inteligencia sentiente* (1980), *Inteligencia y logica* (1982), and *Inteligencia y razon* (1983) expand Kant's transcendental aesthetics, logic, and dialectic. These texts complement Zubiri's *Sobre la esencia* as a metaphysical expression of experience and its relationship to reality, the role of being, feeling, thinking, and human intelligence. In the final months of his life Zubiri worked on *El hombre y Dios*, about humanity and God, the formal projection of divine reality, and God as a finite reproduction. Another of his important works is *siete ensayos de antropologia filosofica* (1982), about man, his personal reality, and theological problems.

Zubiri was the most important philosopher of his generation and his philosophy could not be separated from his religious faith and devotion to truth. Called the last of

the pure metaphysicians, he treated every conceivable subject, but especially the relationship of physical reality, essence, and existence. Man's task is the search for truth of things, and man is the radical reality open to things that culminates in what Zubiri called "religacion," or a fundamental relationship with God, the final reality. He stated that Spaniards had to face reality just as man in general, as part of philosophical truth, had to awaken to the facts of his existence.

D. Juan Rof Carballo (b. 1905)

Rof Carballo, best known for his medical studies, has written also on anthropology, social psychology, psychobiology, and myth. He was greatly influenced by both Heidegger and Zubiri but rejected orthodox Freudian theory about sexuality. In his psychoanalytic texts he promotes the role of tenderness and love in achieving full human authenticity and in man's quest for his own identity. He has written extensively on the reciprocal influences between parents and children, affective relationships, lifestyles, and the stages involved in the growth process.

After the Spanish Civil War, he sided with those who sought more liberty and against the neotraditionalists, though he himself lamented the loss of traditional values. Rof Carballo rejects Humanism and pure reason as answers to life's problems in favor of faith and the basic findings of the Judeo-Christian tradition. His works include *Patologia psicosomatica* (1949), *El hombre a prueba* (1951), *Entre el silencio y la palabra* (1960), *Urdimbre afectiva y enfermedad* (1964), *El hombre como encuentro* (1968), *Biología y psicoanálisis* (1972), and *Historia universal de la medicina* (1975).

E. Francisco Ayala (b. 1906)

Ayala, better known as a short story writer and novelist, is an excellent sociologist and has also written extensively on a variety of subjects including culture and literary criticism. He has studied Spanish Classical literary figures like Cervantes and Quevedo, more modern writers like Galdos and Unamuno, and, from his own generation, Aub, and Chacel. His essays and fiction are strongly related and fuse in some of his works. Among his many publications are *Los derechos individuales como garantía de la libertad* (1935), *El problema de liberalism* (1941), about freedom, independence and humanity; *Razon del mundo* (1944), generally about Spanish history and culture and more specifically about the intellectual's responsibility for Spain's retreat from the Western world in the sixteenth century (an enlarged version appeared in 1962); *Tratado de sociología* (1947), an important sociological work that, though conceived as a textbook, deals with free will in society, man's evolving state, and the futility of attempting to apply traditional scientific methods to the social sciences; *El escritor en la sociedad de las masas* (1956), about the isolation of men of letters and their ability to arouse the readers' social conscience; *La crisis actual de la enseñanza* (1958), about deteriorating academic standards in the United States and Argentina; *Reflexiones sobre la estructura narrativa* (1960), dealing with the relationship of an author to his work and the essential ambiguity and impurity of a literary work because of the inexact nature of words; *Realidad ensuño* (1963); *De este mundo y el otro* (1963); *Los ensayos; Teoría y crítica literaria* (1972), concerning, among other subjects, man's victimization by the chaos of a modern, impersonal world; *El escritor y su imagen* (1975), on Ortega y Gasset, Azorin, and other writers; *Palabras y Letras* (1983); *La estructura narrativa y otras experiencias literarias* (1984), containing previously published as well as new essays; *La imagen de España* (1986); and *Las plumas del Fenix* (1989), which deals with a number of authors and various aspects of literature. In general, Ayala's essays reveal a continuing ambivalence between spirituality and pragmatism, the individual and society, existence and death.

F. Other Writers

1. *Ramon Gomez de la Serna* (1888 – 1963), whose special intergenerational position we have already explored, was a writer of sensation and fragmentary impressions. In his collection of essays *Lo cursi y otros ensayos* (1943), he viewed what he termed “post-Romantic sentimentalism” as in bad taste. He wrote extensively on art and twentieth-century literature, and he also wrote biographies: *Goya* (1928), *Azarin* (1930), *El Greco* (1935), and *Valle-Inclan* (1944).
2. *Claudio Sanchez Albornoz* (1893 – 1984), historian, archeologist, and the head of the Spanish Republican government in exile, returned to Spain in 1976. One of the best scholars on the Middle Ages, he wrote also on politics, economics, religion, and history. He thought of Spain as a historical enigma, as his work *Espana, un enigma historico* (1956) testifies. He worked with Menendez Pidal on the monumental *Historia de Espana*. Among his many other works are *Estampas de la vida en Leon durante el siglo X* (1926); *La edad media y la empresa de America* (1933); *Espana y el Islam* (1943); *La Espana musulmana* (1947); *Espanoles ante la historia* (1958), an attack on Americo Castro’s theories; *Estudios criticos sobre la historia del reino de Austrias* (1972); and *Aun del pasado y del presente* (1984).
3. *Ernesto Gimenez Caballero* (b. 1899), who wrote fiction, worked as a journalist, and was a prolific essayist, together with Guillermo de Torre in 1927 founded the important journal *La Gaceta Literaria*, which promoted a series of “isms.” Gimenez Caballero first came to the public’s attention with *Notas marruecas de un soldado* (1923). His early leftist politics ceded to an ardent belief in the Falangist cause, and he became the political, religious, and elitist spokesman for the Falangist regime. His many works include *Genio de Espana* (1932), about Unamuno and the “nietos del ‘98”; *Arte y estado* (1935), about architecture at the service of state; *Espana nuestra* (1943); *Norteamerica sonrie a Espana* (1952); *Don Quijote ante el mundo (y ante mi)* (1975); *Memorias de un dictador* (1979); and *Retratos espanoles* (1985), *el mundo (y ante mi)* containing studies on *Don Quijote* and Quevedo, Ganivet, and many other writers.
4. *Guillermo de Torre* (b. 1900), who has edited numerous texts and literary anthologies, started as a very important *ultraista critic*. His *Literaturas europeas de vanguardia* (1925), a panoramic synthesis of the new tendencies, included an amazing documentation of all the “isms” between 1910 and 1925. Through the ears he continued to study avant-garde movements and to publish authoritative commentaries on modern literature. He became a citizen of Argentina and has lived there for many years. His works include *La aventura y el orden* (1943), *Menendez y Pelayo y las dos Espanas* (1943), *Ortega, teorico de la literatura* (1957), *Del 98 a barroco* (1963), *La dificil universalidad espanola* (1965), and *El Espejo y el camino* (1968).

Among the many other prolific and important writers of this generation, one should include Samuel Gili Gaya (1892 – 1976), Cesar Barja (1892 – 1952), Antonio Solalinde (1892 – 1937), Juan Larrea (1895 – 1980); Melchor Fernandez Almagro (1895 – 1966); Joaquin Xirau (1895 – 1946), Amado Alonso (1896 – 1952), Jose Fernande Montesinos (1897 – 1972), Eugenio Montes (1897 – 1982), Angel del Rio (1900 – 1962), Juan Chabas (1900 – 1954), Jose Gaos (1900 – 1969), David Garcia Bacca (b. 1901), Luis Recasens Siches (b. 1903), Joaquin Casaldueiro (1903 – 1990), and Joaquin Entrambasguas (b. 1904).

THE GENERATION OF 1936

A. General Considerations

The Generation of 1936 suffered through the traumatic events of the Spanish Civil War, over which its writers constantly agonized. Many of the famous poets, Luis Rosales, Dionisio Ridruejo, Gabriel Celaya, and others, also contributed to the essay as did the playwright Antonio Buero Vallejo and the

novelists Camilo Jose Cela and Gonzalo Torrente Ballester. These writers, because of the Civil War, have been described as belonging to a destroyed, burnt, or shattered generation. The essayists, after the previous generation's fling with aesthetics, returned once more to the daily and historical problems of Spain but also to man and society in general. According to Lain Entralgo, his generation had to strive for the universal in order to understand its own country. Marias, Aranguern, and others debated the role of Spain in Europe, Europe in Spain, and that of the exiled Spanish intellectuals. During the 1940s there were many polemics between conservative Catholics and the more liberal (but still Falangist) intellectuals. Ortega and Zubiri still dominated philosophical life, though Marias, Ferrater Mora, and others were contributing important works. In the 1950s censorship had been relaxed sufficiently so that writers could admit the influence of *Krausismo* and the Institucion Libre de Ensenanza and examine the intellectual inheritance they left to twentieth-century Spain. No general agreement exists about who belongs to the generation. Marias, for example, declared that those born before 1910 did not belong.

B. Pedro Lain Entralgo (b. 1908)

Lain Entralgo, one of the leading Catholic intellectuals of twentieth-century Spain, shows the influence of Zubiri in his writing, though he once declared that his was a "generacion sin maestros." He helped found the influential *Escorial* review. Lain is well known for his many medical works, and he has also written extensively on psychosomatic medicine in its relationship to man's role as a healthy or sick member of society. In many of his writings he combines metaphysical, philosophical, scientific, and theological knowledge. He views medicine and its practice as both technical and social and as reflective of the cultural and historical situation. One of his favorite themes involves the need for the anthropological synthesis and implementation of important discoveries made by Freud, Adler, and Jung. Lain has also written very important Humanistic and cultural works and works on Spanish political, social, and historical problems. Throughout his life the problems of Spain have been at the center of his works. Lain believes firmly in *Hispanidad*, that America is an extension of Europe, and that Spain has a special task in fulfilling its European mission and saving a threatened European culture, in error for many centuries, by opposing Christianity to Communism. After Franco's death Lain wrote *Descargo de conciencia, 1930 – 1960* (1976), apologizing for some of his positions, though he also contends that nobody was completely innocent or guilty because of social or political judgments during the Franco years. In spite of his Catholic beliefs (he invented the word *prereligioso* to convey the lack of a meaningful religious experience) and his condemnation of atheism, he accepts the Existential function of belief as part of an authentic mode of being and a theory of human reality philosophically and scientifically intelligible. Nonetheless, he prefers the religious to the secular, which has the capability of deforming the spiritual possibilities of man.

His works include *Medicina e historia* (1941); *Las Generaciones en la historia* (1945); *La generacion del noventa y ocho* (1945), in which he proposes the need for an integration of Catholic belief with social, political, and spiritual contemporary knowledge; *Espana como problema* (1948), about modern Spain's inability to create a satisfactory political and social structure, based on Lain's synthesis of nineteenth-century Spanish thought and attempt to define the essence of Spain and its Catholic existence; *Palabras menores* (1952), which discusses the role of the Catholic intellectual in the modern world; *Sobre la universidad hispanica* (1953), a discussion of the university system, its role and mission, which should be the transmission of knowledge, teaching research, and incitement and formation of men; *Las cuerdas de la*

lira (1955), concerning Spain's diversity and regionalism; *La aventura de leer* (1956); *La espera y la esperanza* (1957), involving a theory of hope based on a concept of human expectation and the Existential precondition to action; *La empresa de ser hombre* (1958), about belief, intellectual life, and the search for ultimate reality; *A que llamamos Espana* (1971); *Anthropologia medica para clinic* (1984); *En este pais* (1986); and *Ciencia, tecnica y medicina* (1986).

C. Jose Luis Aranguren (b. 1909)

Aranguren, a leader among liberal Catholic thinkers and a proponent of advanced European thought, has written extensively on ethics, philosophy, morals, and theology. Thoroughly grounded in Classical ethics from Aristotle to Zubiri, he is independent and original in his writings on ethics and morals. Though he has written about the relationship of religion and Existentialism, he conceived of his own task as a wakening, through his work, of the social conscience of others in opposing injustice. He was greatly influenced by British Empiricism and by Neopositivistic thought. In the 1960s social and political problems preoccupied him more than religious ones. He had a great influence on the thought and activity of university students.

Aranguren's works include *La Filosofia de Eugenio d'Ors* (1945); *Catolicismo y protestantismo como formas de existencia* (1952), reprinted in its latest form in 1980, a comparison of the two religions, their elements in Unamuno's works, and commentary on the teachings of religion and Zubiri and other writers; *El protestantismo y la moral* (1954); *Critica y meditacion* (1955), which views the poet as a prophet who seeks to reconcile daily life with the idealistic world of God and discusses other aspects of politics, literature, and religion; *Catolicismo dia tras dia* (1955), which rejects the intellectual sterility of a rigid Spanish Catholicism; *Etica* (1958), in which Aranguren shows that man is moral because he needs to interact with others and outlines the duty of the intellectuals to aid in forming a better society; *La etica de Ortega* (1958); *La juventud europea y otros ensayos* (1961), an accusation against the Church for living in fear rather than with hope and for its lack of social action, as well as a plea for honesty in human communications; *La comunicacion humana* (1967); *El marxismo como moral* (1968); *La cultura espanola y la cultura establecida* (1975); *Estudios literarias* (1976); *Propuestas morales* (1983); and *La guerra civil espanola: una reflexion moral 50 anos despues* (1986).

D. Jose Antonio Maravall (1911 – 1986)

Maravall, the author of more than thirty books on the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the Baroque period, the Enlightenment, and contemporary culture, was a liberal historian who wished to interpret Spanish history in a new way. He saw history as an antidote for tradition and he believed his country to be an integral part of European history. He wrote also on sociology, political science, economics, and literature. He covered the entire history of Spain from the hegemonic aspirations of Castile, through the interrelationship of the Baroque and the politics of an absolute monarchy, to the modern state and what he called "social mentality." His works include *La teoria espanola del estado en el siglo XVII* (1944); *El humanismo de las armas en "Don Quijote"* (1948); *El concepto de Espana en la edad media* (1954); *Velazquez y el espiritu de la modernidad* (1960); *El mundo social de la "Celestina"* (1964); *Antiguos y modernos* (1966), about social progress; *Estudios de historia del pensamiento espanol* (1967); *Estado moderno y mentalidad social* (1972); *Teatro y literatura en la sociedad barraca* (1972); *La cultura del barroco* (1975), about Spanish drama and a culture undergoing a social crisis of major proportions; *Utopia y contrautopia en el Quijote* (1976), a global interpretation

from a sociohistorical point of view; *Utopía y reformismo en la España de las Austrias* (1982); and *La literatura picaresca desde la historia social, siglos XVI y XVII* (1986), again about the Baroque crisis.

E. Julian Marias (b. 1914)

Marias, a pupil and disciple of Ortega y Gasset's, has written mostly on philosophical themes but also on the theory of language, the disjunctive reciprocity of the sexes, history, politics, travel, a theory of generations, anthropology, literary criticism, and many other topics. He has written essays on Plato, Aristotle, and Scholastic philosophy. He sees the primary task of the Christian today to absorb the philosophical past for perspective, since the past, an integral part of us, determines our lives. In expanding his mentor's *razon vital*, Marias looks on life as a task. In the process of creating a personal metaphysics, man finds the radical reality of individual life. Marias stresses truth as a component of human life. He sees philosophy as something in the process of becoming but later escribes it as a responsible vision in an attempt to find truth. He views philosophy in biographical terms as a necessity for an understanding of the empirical structures of human life. Although, he believes in certainty, Marias sees philosophy as a dramatic action rooted in uncertainty. In his literary criticism he has combined intuition with a systematic analysis, seeing literature in its relationship to the meaning and happiness in human life.

Among Marias' many publications are *Historia de la filosofía* (1941); *El tema del hombre* (1943), a philosophical anthology; *Miguel de Unamuno* (1943); *Introducción a la filosofía* (1947), describing the real situation of Western man, the philosophical activities necessary for our circumstances, the vital function of truth, the relationship of being and things, and the problem of God; *El método histórico de las generaciones* (1949); *Ortega y tres antipodas* (1950); *La filosofía en sus textos* (1950), one of the most authoritative philosophical anthologies; *El existencialismo en España* (1953), about the long-term existence of Existentialist thinking in Spain; *Los Estados Unidos en escorzo* (1956); *Ortega I: Circunstancia y vocación* (1960); *Los españoles* (1962); *Antropología metafísica la estructura empírica de la vida humana* (1970), stressing one of his most important contributions to the field of philosophy; *La España real* (1976), the first volume of what was to be a trilogy but later expanded; *La devolución de España* (1977), the second part about the return of Spain to the Spaniards with the death of Franco; *España en nuestros manos* (1978), the third part; and *Cinco años de España* (1981), the fourth part about a new democracy in Spain; *La mujer en el siglo XX* (1980), which Marias described as promoting the mutual equality of the sexes but that some find to be sexist; *Ortega: Las trayectorias* (1983 – 1984); *La Felicidad humana* (1987); *La mujer y su sombra* (1987); and *Una vida presente: Memorias* (1988).

F. Enrique Tierno Galvan (1918 – 1986)

Tierno Galvan, a proponent of Neopositivism, the rational, and realism, rejected the seductive role of literature together with Existentialism and metaphysics as promoting an understanding of the real world. Interested in the immediate and concrete, he preferred practice over theory, utility to beauty, and insisted on the need for Spain to appreciate and adapt to the material world, to abandon its mythical view of itself, and to enter the modern world. Tierno Galvan recognized in Marx the origins of modern sociology. He engaged in a moral criticism of Spanish society, but though he promoted technology, science, and efficiency, he separated bureaucracy from Spanish vitality. Tierno Galvan did not believe in a philosophy to enhance the individual

and, rejecting traditional Humanism, believed rather in man's importance as a social being.

Among his many works are *La realidad como resultado* (1957), aphorisms on social epistemology and scientific development; *Desde el espectáculo a la trivialización* (1961), concerning a host of topics from bullfighting to the movies and the social adaptability of intelligence as the *sine qua non* of understanding ones period; *tradición y modernismo* (1962); *Acotaciones a la historia de la cultura occidental en la edad moderna desde el fin de la Edad Media hasta la actualidad* (1964); *Diderot como pretexto* (1965); *Conocimiento y ciencias sociales* (1966); *razón mecánica y razón dialéctica* (1969), claiming that beyond an empirical applied sociology one needs what Tierno Galvan called "dialectical intelligence"; *La humanidad reducida* (1970); *Sobre la novela picaresca y otros escritos* (1974); and *Cabos sueltos* (1981), about the cultural and political life of Spain.

- G. Members of this generation are extremely important in the intellectual development of modern Spain through their writings on literary criticism, philosophy, history, culture, and almost all fields of endeavor. Others include Maria Zambrano (b. 1907); Ricardo Gullon (b. 1908); Guillermo Diaz Plaja (b. 1909); Rafael Lapesa (b. 1909); Carlos Claveria (b. 1909); Antonio Rodriguez Monino (1910 – 1970); Jaime Vicens Vives (1910 – 1940); Luis Die del Corral (b. 1911); Antonio Tovar (1911 – 1985); Jose Ferrater Mora (b. 1912); Dionisio Ridruejo (1912 – 1975), better known as a poet; Jose Manuel Blecua (B. 1913); Martin de Riquer (B. 1914); Rafael Calvo Serer (b. 1916); and Paulino Garagorri (b. 1916).

THE GENERATION ON 1956

A. General Considerations

In the 1950s a series of works on the essence of Spain generated a continuing debate between liberal Catholics and traditionalists. A rebirth of Marxist theory (unpublished until the 1960s) and an effort to reintegrate Spanish philosophy into the world currents and to stop viewing it as theology's handmaiden occurred. Manuel Sacristan, a Marxist and an expert on logic and mathematics, engaged in a polemic with Gustavo Bueno about the role of philosophy, and writers like Aranguren and Tierno Galvan sought to demythify Spanish life, all of which spurred interest in newly awakening social sciences. The increasing importance given to Anglo-Saxon philosophy by liberal Falangists, the February 1956 student revolt against the Franco regime, and the publication, the face of government censorship, of manifestos by Dionisio Ridruejo and others, helped promote Humanistic, liberal, and scientific philosophy. In addition to analytic thinking, Zubiri, Marias, and Aranguren inspired the younger generation with a new kind of Christian spirituality. The recognition of Spain by the United Nations in 1950 had helped to accelerate the liberalizing influence especially in Spanish universities between 1951 and 1956. With the admission of Spain into the United Nations in 1955m the incompatibility between Falangist thought and liberalism became more marked. The death of Ortega y Gasset in 1955 was also symbolically important. The Generation of 1956, then, was more rational, critical, and scientific than its predecessor. It was receptive to Structuralism, semiology, and Marxism, rejecting official ideology and contrasting European freedom with Spanish intransigence.

B. Carlos Castilla del Pino (b. 1922)

A psychiatrist, philosopher, and anthropologist, Castilla, like Tierno, views man as a social being prone to act in the real world and subject to analysis rather than ethical and moral considerations. Differing from Ortega, he believes that a personal project depends on circumstances as much as on personal performance, for the personal is only a small part of the radical reality called life. Nonetheless, he accepts the idea of the uniqueness of man as an individual and the importance of ethics and morality under certain circumstances. In many of his works he studies the interrelationship between anthropology and psychiatry. His works include *Un estudio sobre la depresión: Fundamentos de antropología dialéctica* (1966), in which he attempts to transcend a personal concept of medicine by emphasizing the social relationship of neurotic behavior; *La culpa* (1968), which supports the concept of dialectical materialism; *Dialéctica de la persona, dialéctica de la situación* (1968); *Psicoanálisis y marxismo* (1969); *La incomunicación* (1970); *Cuatro ensayos sobre la mujer* (1971); *Introducción a la hermenéutica del lenguaje* (1972); *Sexualidad, represión y lenguaje* (1975); *La cultura bajo el franquismo* (1977); *Teoría de la alucinación* (1984); and *Cincuenta años de psiquiatría* (1987).

C. Fernando Lazaro Carreter (b. 1923)

The author of a number of linguistic and philological studies, has also edited a number of texts, composed dramatic works, and written many literary studies. Among his editions is his revised version of the Rennert-Castro study on Lope de Vega (1968). In 1953 he wrote *Diccionario de terminus filosoficos*, an unusual work that went through several editions. He has written on the medieval theater, Lazarillo de Tormes, Lope de Vega, Gongora, and Cívete Alixandre, among others. His works include *Las ideas lingüísticas en España durante el siglo XVIII* (1949), *Menéndez Pelayo: Su época y su obra literaria* (1962), *Estilo barroco y personalidad creadora* (1966), *Lengua española: Historia, teoría y práctica* (1971), *Estudios de poética: La obra en sí* (1976), and *Estudios de lingüística* (1980).

D. Manuel Sacristan (1925 – 1985)

A Marxist who wrote extensively on Lenin, Marxism, science, philosophy, and Neopositivism, Sacristan was especially interested in relating the philosophy of science to Marxism as a legitimate philosophy in its dialectical understanding of what Sacristan called "totalidades concretas." A specialist in contemporary logic, he attempted to provide a cultural philosophical basis for the political tradition of Marxism. Although he accepted morality as part of the dialogue between Christianity and Marxism, he refuted Heidegger's antirationalism. He sought always a scientific basis for philosophy and viewed criticism as a rational process. He thought of his role as a Socratic one and influenced university students and the next generation of writers. His works include *Las ideas gnoseológicas de Heidegger* (1959), *Introducción a la lógica y el análisis formal* (1964), *Sobre el lugar de la filosofía en los estudios superiores* (1968), *Teoría sociológica contemporánea* (1978), and *Panfletos y materiales* (1983), an anthology. His *Obras completas* includes *Marx y el marxismo* (1983) and *Papeles de filosofía* (1984).

Sacristan, Tierno Galvan, and Cztilla del Pino thought of themselves as *dialecticos* as opposed to *analiticos*. They attempted to demythify the traditional image of Spain and its philosophy, but often the dichotomy was more imagined than real.

- E. Other members of this generation include Gustavo Bueno (b. 1924), who wrote on political economy and metaphysics and engaged Sacristan in a polemic on philosophy's role in the world; Francisco Candel (b. 1925); Agustin Garcia Calvo (b. 1926), a student of anarchism, politics, and linguistics; Jose Maria Castellet (b. 1926), who wrote on culture and published well-known literary anthologies; Manuel Ballesteros (b. 1927), who wrote on didactic philosophy and its relationship to Existentialism; Emilio Lledo (b. 1929), a philosopher, linguist, and historian; Luis Jimenez Moreno (b. 1929), an expert on Nietzsche's philosophy; Jose Luis Abellan (b. 1933), whose works include studies on Unamuno and Ortega and a monumental *Historia critica del pensamiento espanol* (three volumes, 1979; Volume IV, 1984); Pedro Cerezo Galan (b. 1935), who wrote on Machado, Seneca and critical reason; and Elias Diaz (b. 1935), a philosopher, an expert on the sociology of law, and the author of one of the best intellectual histories of twentieth-century Spain, *Notas para una historia del pensamiento espanol actual, 1939 – 1972* (1974), an updated version of which was published in 1978.

THE GENERATION OF 1968

A. General Considerations

In the early 1960s a relative cultural and economic liberalization occurred as Spain received more and more exposure to publications from the outside world. Vatican II also had a liberalizing influence. The 1968 French uprising and the concomitant Spanish student unrest also served as a rallying point. Some of the writers practiced a kind of neo-Nietschean philosophy. Neoscholastic philosophy was sound criticized, and more and more Marxist studies were published. Scientific development of sociology continued, as did a kind of democratization, but some of the writers' individualism took on a hedonistic note. As in the role of the erotic in human life. In general, the writers incorporated into their works Marxism, psychoanalysis, Existentialism, and Structuralism. After Franco's death essayist showed an even greater independence in discussing power and the state, and there was an acceleration of the return to forbidden ideas. The writers had a new freedom to follow their own logic rather than Catholic or Fascist dogmas.

B. Xavier Rubert de Ventos (b. 1939)

Theoretically an anarchist, Rubert de Ventos rejects both the political right and left. As do most members of his generation, he stresses the role of the individual in a bureaucratic society. He has written on philosophy, culture, history, ethics, and morality but is probably best known for his work on aesthetics. His works include *El arte ensimismada* (1963); *Teoria de la sensibilidad* (1969); *Moral y nueva cultura* (1971), about history, ethics, moral criteria and inconsistencies, and the burden of surplus possessions; *Utopias de la sensualidad y metidos del sentido* (1973); *La esteticas y sus herejias* (1974), which combines philosophy and literary and artistic analysis with social criticism, discusses systems theory and Wittgenstein's philosophy, and underlines the artist's duties to tell the truth about the reality he represents and to refuse to act as society's conscience; *Ensayo sobre el desorden* (1976), about power and imperialism and the city as a consumer-oriented entity that destroys individual initiative; *De la modernidad; Ensayo de filosofia critica* (1980); and *El laberinto de la Hispanidad* (1987), a historical analysis of Spanish policy toward Latin America, the unique in Spanish culture, and Spain's Catholic Baroque inheritance as contrasted with the Protestant materialistic legacy of the United States.

C. Eugenio Trias (b. 1942)

A philosopher and essayist, Trias has written on Structuralism, psychology, and metaphysics as well as on Plato, Goethe, Nietzsche, Thomas Mann, and Hegel. Nelson Orringer has divided his work into two periods, 1969 – 1971 and 1974 – 1981. In the first he discussed the issues of the 1960s and Structuralist methodology. In the second he concentrates on European culture and advocates a return to European roots to save Western culture, which he analyzes in relationship to others. He also analyzes philosophy from an ethnological and, especially, anthropological point of view and views man's status as an "unconditional condition."

Trias' work include *La filosofía y su sombra* (1969, reprinted in 1983), concerning metaphysics and its role in reality; *Teoría de las ideologías* (1970); *Filosofía y carnaval* (1970); *Metodología del pensamiento mágico* (1970); *La dispersión* (1971), a collection of aphorisms that vies society as a theater and human personality as a mask; *Drama e identidad* (1974); *El artista y la ciudad* (1976), which discusses a variety of topics such as the meaning of love and desire and their connection with the objective world, the unfortunate dichotomy between art and productivity, the liberation of human creativity, the artist's alienation from European culture, and a hoped-for revitalization of Europe's Classical philosophy; *Meditación sobre el poder* (1977); *Conocer Thomas Mann y su obra* (1978); *La memoria perdida de las cosas* (1978); *Tratado de la pasión* (1980); *Filosofía del futuro* (1981), concerning the interplay between being and nothingness, the role of power, and true power as creation; *Lo bello y lo siniestro* (1982), on aesthetics as well as the individual's ability to progress; and *Los límites del mundo* (1985).

D. Eduardo Subirats (b. 1947)

Subirats writes about deficiency of critical reason in Spain, the perversion of rational thought through the years, the effect of avant-garde dehumanization on man's interior dimension, and a concomitant petrification and empty and totalitarian forms. He sees architecture as a metaphor for the creation of cultural values. His works include *Utopía y subversión* (1975); *Figuras de la conciencia desdichada* (1979); *La ilustración insuficiente* (1979); *Contra la razón destructiva* (1979); *El alma y la muerte* (1983), which treats the relationship between Mysticism and the rational tradition, the soul purified by an ecstatic vision of God as opposed to the soul purified by the discourse of reason; *La crisis de las vanguardias y la cultura moderna* (1985); *La flor y el cristal: Ensayos sobre arte y arquitectura* (1986); and *La cultura como espectáculos* (1988).

E. Fernando Fernandez Savater (b. 1947)

A novelist, short story writer, and dramatist as well as a leading philosopher of his generation, Savater attempts to deal with scientific truth in an age of crisis. He has attempted to identify the religious through the rational, but he rejects abstract reason as the only instrument of thought, recognizing as he does the influence of literature and myth. A skeptic whom some find nihilistic, he writes with suave irony about ethics and human love, particularly their rejection of cruelty and violence and sees them in spite of his skepticism, as an affirmation of the possible in the face of the irremediable. Among his many other themes are the opposition of society and the state, the meaning of the will, liberty the interrelationship of reason and the imagination, drugs, horse racing movies, and history as a nonneutral art.

His works include *Nihilismo y acción* (1970); *La filosofía tachada* (1972), a demythification of society's standard values; *Apología del sofista, y otros sofismos* (1973); *Ensayo sobre Cioran* (1974); *Escritos politeístas* (1975); *La infancia recuperada* (1976); *Para la anarquía* (1977); *La piedad apasionadas* (1977); *Panfleto contra el Todo* (1978), one of his most important works, with reproaches the leftists for their support of power in disregard of the individual, for the state tends to level and decrease human rights and suppress liberty; *El estado y sus criaturas* (1979); *La tarea del héroe* (1982), which won the National Prize for Essay, discussing independence, magnanimity, obility, ethics, moral pretensions, tragedy, political repression, and democracy; *Las razones del antimilitarismo* (1984); *Instrucciones para olvidar al "Quijote" y otros ensayos generales* (1985); *El contenido de la felicidad* (1986), concerning the universal desire for happiness, its translation as "what we want," religious imagination and other themes; and *Filosofía y sexualidad* (1988).

F. Others

Many other writers of this generation would deserve study in a more comprehensive work on the essay. Typical are Javier Ciordia Muguerza (b. 1939), who writes on ethics, sociology, and rationalism; Helio Carpintero (b. 1939), the author of a well-known study on twentieth-century philosophers, who has also written on Freud in Spain and contemporary psychology; Andres Amoros (b. 1941), who has written extensively on Spanish literature especially the novel; Carlos Garcia Gual (b. 1943), who has explored Arthurian legends, Greek poetry, and the European novel; Alfredo Deano (b. 1944), a logician; Miguel Angel Quintanilla (b. 1945), who writes on the philosophy of science and contemporary Spanish philosophy; and Jose E. Rodriguez Ibanez (b. 1948), a sociologist of note. Still other names are Jacobo Munoz, Fernando Sanchez Drago, Jesus Mosterin, and, among younger writers Helena Bejar (b. 1956).

Chandler, Richard E.; Schwartz, Kessell, *A New History of Spanish Literature* (1961;1991).
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