

MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO, THE MODERN DON QUIXOTE

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PREFACE

An attempt has been made in this study to examine the evidences of quixotism in the life and in the writings of Miguel de Unamuno y Jugo and to draw some conclusions concerning the importance of and the probable reasons for these quixotic qualities.

Because of the disturbance in Spain for the last two years, it has been impossible to secure all of the many works of the author studied. Quotations from and discussions of the unavailable works, however, present them as having much the same subject-matter and style as the available works. Unavailable writings are the following: two books of poetry, Poesías (Bilbao: Imprenta de Rojas, 1907) and Rosario de sonetos líricos (Madrid: Imprenta Española, 1911); one drama, Ensayo dramático: Fedra (Madrid: Publisher not given, 1924); and five collections of essays, Dos artículos y dos discursos (Madrid: Sección ed. de Historia Nueva, 1930), De la enseñanza superior en España (Madrid: Revista Nueva, 1899), Paisajes (Salamanca: Colección Colón, 1902), Mi religión y otros ensayos breves (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1910), and Soliloquios y conversaciones (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1911). A translation by J. E. Crawford Flitch of the last named work was used in the study.

The writer of the thesis wishes to express her thanks to the Library of the University of Texas for the use of certain books not at present in the Library of the Texas State College for Women, and to Dr. Rebecca Switzer for her continued interest and assistance.

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CLI

A don¹ Miguel de Unamuno
por su libro Vida de don Quijote² y Sancho

Este donquijotesco
don Miguel de Unamuno, fuerte vasco,
lleva el arnés grotesco
y el irrisorio casco
del buen manchego. Don Miguel camina,
jinete de quimérica montura,
metiendo espuela de oro a su locura,
sin miedo de la lengua que malsina.

A un pueblo de arrieros,
lechuzos y tahures y logreros
dicta lecciones de Caballería.

Y el alma desalmada de su raza,
que bajo el golpe de su férrea maza
aun duerme, puede que despierte un día.

Quiere enseñar el ceño de la duda
antes de que cabalgue, al caballero;
cual nuevo Hamlet, a mirar desnuda
cerca del corazón la hoja de acero.

Tiene el aliento de una estirpe fuerte
que soñó más allá de sus hogares,
y que el oro buscó tras de los mares.
El señala la gloria tras la muerte.
Quiere ser fundador y dice: Creo,
Dios, y adelante el ánima española. . .
Y es tan bueno y mejor que fué Loyola:
sabe a Jesús y escupe al fariseo.³

¹In Spanish quotations in this thesis, the title don has been consistently spelled without a capital unless it occurs at the beginning of a sentence or of a title from literature.

²In this thesis, this name is spelled with an "x" in English and with a "j" in Spanish quotations and in the title of the novel.

³Antonio Machado, Poesías completas (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 1917), pp. 266-267.

CHAPTER I

DON QUIXOTE AS INTERPRETED BY UNAMUNO

Miguel de Unamuno y Jugo de la Raza (1864-1936), "one of the greatest figures of contemporary Spanish literature,"¹ has frequently been called the modern Don Quixote,² partly because of his crusade for the better understanding of this great character of fiction³ but chiefly because of the striking similarity between the spirit and ideals of Don Quixote and those of Unamuno himself. This similarity becomes apparent in the study of the life, the speeches, and the writings of the scholar, philosopher, and man of letters⁴ whose services in the cause of republicanism in Spain will long be remembered in spite of his brief espousals of opposing systems.⁵

Like the authors of the generación de 1898 with whom he is sometimes grouped, Unamuno felt a passionate desire to find the true Spain, and his search was direct--through the people themselves and their thoughts as expressed in their best

¹"Don Miguel de Unamuno," The Publishers' Weekly, January 30, 1937, p. 537; cf. also, Alvaro Alcalá-Galiano, "Unamuno o el ansia de inmortalidad," Figuras excepcionales (Madrid: Renacimiento, n. d.), pp. 256-257; G. T. Northup, "Miguel de Unamuno," An Introduction to Spanish Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 439.

²Infra, chap. ii.

³Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha (Madrid: Editorial Saturnino Calleja, S. A. 1876).

⁴New York Times, January 4, 1937, p. 28, col. 4.

⁵Ibid., January 3, 1937, p. 33, col. 1.

literature. An Unamuno, devoting himself to the search, found in the Quijote the ideario del pueblo español and set about interpreting and commenting upon the life of Don Quixote, revealing in his comments his own quixotism.¹

This fictitious character whom Unamuno considered the embodiment of the eternal spirit of the Spanish people² was created by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra as the protagonist in his novel, El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha (published in two parts, the first in 1605 and the second ten years later), for the expressed purpose of satirizing and ending the libros de caballerías which were at the time extremely numerous and increasingly absurd.³

Don Quixote, the symbol of Spanish chivalry,⁴ was without memorable ancestors;⁵ yet he made for himself a lineage and

¹Juan Hurtado y J. de la Serna and Ángel González Palencia, Historia de la literatura española (3a ed.; Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1932), p. 1010. However, Unamuno was not alone in his interpretation of Spain's spirit as quixotic, as Francisco A. de Icaza shows in his study of the development of quixotic thought during the three hundred years since the time of Cervantes (El "Quijote" durante tres siglos (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1918). Cf. also, Rubén Darío, "Letanía de nuestro señor don Quijote," Cantos de vida y esperanza (Madrid: Editorial Mundo Latino, n. d.), pp. 211-215; José Ortega y Gasset, Meditaciones del Quijote (Madrid, Calpe, 1922).

²Miguel de Unamuno y Jugo, Ensayos (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 1916-1918), Vol. V, p. 223; Del sentimiento trágico de la vida en los hombres y en los pueblos (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1913), p. 288.

³Cervantes, op. cit., p. xviii.

⁴W. F. Starkie, "Personalities of Modern Spain," Rice Institute Pamphlet, XVI (1929), p. 56.

⁵Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote y Sancho según Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (2a ed.; Madrid: Renacimiento, 1914). p. 12; Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

a name.¹ He was Alonso Quijano el Bueno, but he became so inspired by the marvelous adventures of the legendary knights of the books of chivalry and by his great love for an imaginary sweetheart (actually for love itself),² that at the mature age of fifty years³ he left his modest estate and idle dreams⁴ to make himself a caballero andante (knight-errant), Don Quixote of the Mancha, whose purpose was to protect the weak, to relieve the oppressed, and to punish the evil.⁵ in order to achieve glory and immortality.⁶ His adventures comprised three salidas or journeys: the first, a short trip both in point of time and of distance, taken without company and without any encouraging occurrence;⁷ the second, more extensive and taken in the company of his escudero, Sancho Panza, a rustic who did not understand many of the ideas of his master;⁸ and the third and most extensive salida, attended with pleasurable success at times, and rendered more

¹Unamuno, op. cit., pp. 13, 19; Cervantes, op. cit., p. 5.

²Unamuno, op. cit., p. 17; Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 23-25.

³Unamuno, op. cit., p. 14; Cervantes, op. cit., p. 21.

⁴Unamuno, op. cit., p. 16; Cervantes, op. cit., p. 26.

⁵Ibid.; Unamuno, op. cit., p. 18; J. A. Balseiro, "The Quixote of Modern Spain," PMIA, June, 1934, p. 645.

⁶Unamuno, op. cit., p. 17; Del sentimiento trágico, p. 316; Ensayos, Vol. V, p. 229; Cervantes, op. cit., p. 23.

⁷Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, pp. 21-41; Cervantes, op. cit., Pt. I, chaps. ii-v.

⁸Ibid., Pt. I, chaps. vii-lII (excluding the interpolated material); Unamuno, op. cit., pp. 43-151.

pleasant by the increasing faith of Sancho to strengthen him.¹ From each of his exploits, Don Quixote returned defeated, but he did not lose his dream until the last adventure had come to an ignoble close.² He had many and strange experiences (the best known being that of the battle with the windmills which he conceived to be giants),³ and became known throughout the country as an idealist in the days when realism was the vogue. Because he was an anachronism, he was ludicrous. So great became his fame that the world took advantage of his impressionability and began to ridicule him and to dissuade him from his cause.⁴ Finally, disillusioned and completely sane,⁵ he returned to his home to die, having no longer any reason for life.⁶

Cervantes told, of course, much more about Don Quixote: items of his daily life,⁷ long discourses of his philosophy,⁸

¹Cervantes, op. cit., Pt. II, chaps. viii-lxii (excluding the interpolated material); Unamuno, op. cit., pp. 170-307.

²Cervantes, op. cit., Pt. II, chaps. lxx-lxxii; Unamuno, op. cit., pp. 300-307.

³Cervantes, op. cit., Pt. I, chap. viii; Unamuno, op. cit., pp. 47-51.

⁴Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 45-47, 356-361, passim; Unamuno, op. cit., pp. 142, 309, passim.

⁵Ibid., pp. 308-318; Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, p. 316; Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 800-807.

⁶Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, p. 229; Vida de don Quijote, p. 311; Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 813-814.

⁷Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 165-169, 226-227, 587.

⁸Ibid., pp. 299-303, 544-545, 563, 637-641.

examples of his literary knowledge,¹ his beautiful resignation to death.² He made of Don Quixote a living person with emotions and ambitions like our own.

It was this Don Quixote that Miguel de Unamuno interpreted as the ideario del pueblo español.³ In his first important work (En torno al casticismo, 1895),⁴ he showed his interest in the caballero andante by frequent references such as the following:

A ese arte eterno pertenece nuestro Cervantes, que en el sublime final de su Don Quijote señala a nuestra España, a la de hoy, el camino de su regeneración en Alonso Quijano el Bueno; a ése pertenece porque de puro español llegó a una como renuncia de su españolismo, llegó al espíritu universal, al hombre que duerme dentro de todos nosotros.⁵

In the above quotation, Unamuno compared the development of Alonso Quijano, the impoverished gentleman, into our Don Quixote, a knight-errant, with the regeneration of a country, especially the regeneration of the spirit and the ideals of Spain. In later works, he continued to point this way to new life for a dreaming people.⁶

¹Ibid., pp. 151, 3, 188, 407, 409, 504, 590.

²Ibid., pp. 811-815.

³Ante., p. 2.

⁴Published in the collection of Ensayos as Vol. I (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 1916-1918).

⁵Ibid., p. 37; cf. also pp. 33, 52, 73, 75-76, 85, 95, 103, 109, III, 122, 138, 162, 182-183, 190, 196.

⁶Cf. especially, Del sentimiento trágico, Contra esto y aquello (2a ed.; Madrid: Renacimiento, 1927), De Fuerteventura a París (Paris: Editorial Excelsior, 1925) and San Manuel Bueno, mártir, y tres historias más (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1933).

It is not surprising, then, in view of this early quixotic comment, that the interest of Unamuno in this greatest of Spanish heroes¹ should grow to such an extent that few, if any, of his later books lack some revelation of the quixotic influence upon the spirit of the author and upon the spirit of Spain.² By 1905, exactly three hundred years after the publication of the first part of Don Quijote, the influence of the knight was so predominant in the interests and in the studies of Unamuno that he published his own Vida de don Quijote y Sancho según Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra,³ in which he related and explained the adventures and the philosophy of the ingenious knight. In this commentary, in essays devoted solely to Don Quixote,⁴ and in innumerable citations from other works,⁵ Unamuno gave us his

¹Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, p. 203.

²Because not all of the works of Unamuno were available, the investigator could not make a complete check. However, all the works examined either contained references to Don Quijote or showed strong quixotism in style and material. From quotations and discussions occurring in various critical studies, the writer of this thesis found the unavailable books also to be quixotic in varying degrees.

³1a ed.; Madrid: Renacimiento, 1905; 2a ed. with an additional essay, "El sepulcro de don Quijote"; Madrid: Renacimiento, 1914.

⁴"El sepulcro de don Quijote," Vida de don Quijote (2a ed.; Madrid: Renacimiento, 1914), pp. 1-12; "Don Quijote en la tragedia europea contemporánea," Del sentimiento trágico, pp. 290-320; "El caballero de la triste figura," Ensayos, Vol. II, pp. 99-130; "Sobre la lectura e interpretación del Quijote," Ensayos, Vol. V, pp. 201-230.

⁵E. G., Contre esto y aquello, pp. 229-231; La agonía del cristianismo (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1931), pp. 52, 205; and one of his letters to Ángel Ganivet in their joint work, El porvenir de España (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1912), pp. 29-43.

conception of Don Quixote, the Don Quixote he understood and followed.

For Miguel de Unamuno, the character of Don Quixote was more inspiring than his deeds, the reason for his adventures more interesting than the outcomes of them, and the spirit he possessed more important than the ridicule he caused.¹ "Perdió Alonso Quijano el juicio, para ganarlo en don Quijote un juicio glorificado"²--thus began Unamuno his defense of Don Quixote, and thus he laid the foundation for his religion of quixotism and his politics for quixotism.³

....¿De qué me serviría predicar a los cuatro vientos el evangelio de don Quijote, si llegada la ocasión, no me metiese en quijoterías por los mismos pasos por que él se metió? Encontrarse él con algo que le pareciese desman o entuerto y arremeter, era todo uno.

....Habrán de comprender que quien predica el quijotismo quijotice.

....Don Quijote salía por los caminos a busca de las aventuras que la ventura del azar le deparase, y jamás dejó una con el fin de reservarse para más altas empresas. Lo importante era la que de momento se le presentase. Hacía como Cristo, que yendo a levantar de su mortal desmayo a la hija de Jairo, se detenía con la hemorroidesa. No seleccionó el caballero sus empresas. Y no gusto yo de seleccionarlás.⁴

This caballero with his juicio glorificado stood alone because of his realization of the great mission stated by Una-

¹M. Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno (Madrid: Sociedad General Española de Librería, 1928), p. 183.

²Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 19.

³Ibid., p. 4; Del sentimiento trágico, pp. 288, 301.

⁴Unamuno, Contra esto y aquello, pp. 15-16.

muno above, and Unamuno would imitate him, differing from ordinary men in thought and in deed and, therefore, considered insane.¹ "Está loco él que está solo,"² because the world considers only its own views practical, and the belief of the mob is accepted as the truth and as sane logic.³ So the name of Don Quixote (and the words, "quixotic," "quixotism," and "quixotically," derived from the name) came to mean idealism exaggerated to insanity, faith in the obviously impossible, and sincere warfare against great odds.⁴ Echegaray's quixotic character, Don Lorenzo, explains quixotic insanity in the following manner:

¡Locura, luchar sin tregua ni reposo por la justicia en esta revuelta batalla de la vida, como luchaba en el mundo de sus imaginaciones el héroe inmortal del inmortal Cervantes! ¡Locura, amar con amor infinito, y sin alcanzarla jamás, la divina belleza, como él amaba a la Dulcinea de sus apasionados deseos! ¡Locura, ir con el alma tras lo ideal por el áspero y prosaico camino de las realidades humanas, que es tanto como correr tras una estrella del cielo por entre penascos y abrojos! Locura es, según afirman los doctores; mas tan inofensiva y, por lo visto, tan poco contagiosa, que para atajarla no hemos menester otro Quijote.⁵

As one critic observes, a Don Quixote has "some notions

¹Cervantes, op cit., pp. 238, 502-503, 584, 735, 746; Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 251.

²Ibid., p. 5; San Manuel, p. 166.

³"Are We Don Quixotes or Sancho Panzas"? Literary Digest, December 15, 1923, p. 38.

⁴Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, p. 315; Ensayos, Vol. V, p. 220; Ivan Tourgueneff, Hamlet y don Quijote, traducción de Torcuato Tasso Serra (Barcelona: Librería Española, n.d.), p. 17.

⁵José Echegaray, O locura o santidad, ed. James Geddes and Joseph Palamountain (New edition; New York: D. C. Heath & Company, 1923), p. 4.

which are not in accordance with the facts and acts accordingly,"¹ a normal failing especially with highly imaginative persons.² It was this imagination, fired by the reading of the books of chivalry, which caused Don Quixote to see the windmills as giants,³ the sheep as an army,⁴ and the barber's bacia as a golden crown.⁵ He interpreted these new experiences in the terms of his former experience, and since he lived in the absurd chivalric adventures of his reading, he transferred his ideas of chivalry to real life, and saw realistic, humdrum existence as the marvelous environment necessary for a true knight-errant.

In the popular idea of quixotic insanity, the creative imagination is accompanied by great faith. The quixotic Unamuno called quixotism the "hija de la locura de la Cruz"⁶ and Don Quixote himself the Cristo castellano⁷ and the Caballero de la

¹S. M. Crothers, "Quixotism," Atlantic Monthly, October, 1903, p. 443.

²Ortega y Gasset, op. cit., p. 165; Andrés González- Ruano, Vida, pensamiento y aventura de Miguel de Unamuno (Madrid: M. Aguilar, 1930), p. 183; César Barja, Libros y autores contemporáneos (New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1935), p. 59; Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 40.

³Cervantes, op. cit., Pt. I, chap. viii; Unamuno, op. cit., pp. 47-51.

⁴Cervantes, op. cit., Pt. I, chap. xviii; Unamuno, op. cit., pp. 81-85.

⁵Cervantes, op. cit., Pt. I, chap. xxi; Unamuno, op. cit., pp. 86-88.

⁶Unamuno. Del sentimiento trágico, p. 306.

⁷Ibid.; Ensayos, Vol. II, 118; cf., Ortega y Gasset, op. cit., p. 44; C. E. Ayres, "Quixotic Saint," New Republic, LIII (1928), p. 219.

Fe¹ whose mission it was to cry in the wilderness to a dreaming Spain.² He lost his balance in the actual world to become an example in the realm of imagination and mysticism:

"Vino a perder el juicio." Por nuestro bien lo perdió para dejarnos eterno ejemplo de generosidad espiritual. Con juicio ¿hubiera sido tan heroico? Hizo en aras de su pueblo el más grande sacrificio: el de su juicio. Llenósele la fantasía de hermosos desatinos, y creyó ser verdad lo que es sólo hermosura. Y lo creyó con fe tan viva, con fe engendradora de obras, que acordó poner en hecho lo que su desatino le mostraba, y en puro creerlo hízolo verdad.³

This Christ-like faith, this belief accompanied by works which prove the strength of one's faith, was not kindly received by the contemporaries of Don Quixote. Like Christ, Don Quixote was least understood in his own country and among his own people,⁴ and was considered insane that he might become the embodiment of the eternal spirit of his people.⁵ Like Christ, Don Quixote brought immortality to his people through his suffering and his death.

Y hay una figura, una figura cómicamente trágica, una figura en que se ve todo lo profundamente trágico de la comedia humana, la figura de Nuestro Señor don Quijote, el Cristo español, en que se cifra y encierra el alma inmortal de este mi pueblo. Acaso la pasión y muerte del Caballero de la Triste Figura es la pasión y muerte del pueblo español. Su muerte y su resurrección. Y hay una filosofía y hasta

¹Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 12.

²Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, p. 320.

³Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 18.

⁴Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, p. 227.

⁵Ibid., p. 223; Del sentimiento trágico, p. 288.

una metafísica quijotesca, y una lógica y una ética quijotescas también, y una religiosidad--religiosidad católica española--quijotesca. Es la filosofía, es la lógica, es la ética, es la religiosidad que he tratado de esbozar y más de sugerir que de desarrollar en esta obra. Desarrollarlas racionalmente no: la locura quijotesca no consiente la lógica científica.¹

Más donde acaso hemos de ir a buscar el héroe de nuestro pensamiento, no es a ningún filósofo que viviera en carne y hueso, sino a un ente de ficción y de acción, más real que los filósofos todos; es a don Quijote. Porque hay un quijotismo filosófico, sin duda, pero también una filosofía quijotesca. ¿Es acaso otro en el fondo la de los conquistadores, la de los contrareformadores, la de Loyola, y, sobre todo, ya en el orden del pensamiento abstracto, pero sentido, la de nuestros místicos? ¿Qué era la mística de San Juan de la Cruz sino una caballería andante del sentimiento a lo divino?

Y el don Quijote no puede decirse que fuera en rigor idealismo; no peleaba por ideas. Era espiritualismo; peleaba por espíritu.²

This Spanish Christ, el loco sublime,³ became ridiculous in order to become immortal,⁴ and set the example for all those who would withstand ridicule,⁵ for he made the whole world laugh, not by his inanities, but by his seriousness.

Es el valor que más falta nos hace: el de afrontar el ridículo. El ridículo es el arma que manejan todos los miserables bachilleres, barberos, curas, canónigos y duques que guardan escondido el sepulcro del Caballero de la Locura, Caballero que hizo reír a todo el mundo, pero que nunca soltó un chiste. Tenía el alma demasiado grande para parir chistes. Hizo reír con su seriedad.⁶

¹Ibid., pp. 288-289.

²Ibid., pp. 305-306.

³Ibid., p. 298.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p. 295.

⁶Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 4.

....Pues fué poniéndose en ridículo como alcanzó su inmortalidad don Quijote.¹

One must understand ridicule, then, to understand Unamuno's quixotic religion and to appreciate the profoundly tragic figure which Don Quixote became in the human comedy.²

Cervantes admitted the tragedy of Don Quixote when the knight was about to die,³ and Unamuno consistently interpreted the character as tragic, except for one notable reference:

¿Y hay, a propósito, nada más cómico que don Quijote? ¿No luchó desesperadamente contra la lógica de la realidad que nos manda que sean los molinos de viento lo que en el mundo de la realidad son y no lo que en el mundo de nuestra fantasía se nos antoja que sean?⁴

W. F. Starkie criticizes Unamuno's usual interpretation of Don Quixote as tragic, saying that Don Quixote should be the embodiment of both humor and tragedy; else he loses some of his greatness.⁵

It does not seem disrespectful to suggest that Don Quixote (as well as Unamuno) dramatized the tragic sense of life and the ridicule he received. Like other disciples of Christ, he counted himself blessed that he was considered worthy of the persecution, and rejoiced to find that he could instruct the

¹Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, p. 298.

²Ibid., p. 288.

³Cervantes, op. cit., chaps. lxiii-lxiv; Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, chap. lxiv.

⁴Unamuno, Amor y pedagogía (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1914), p. 238.

⁵"Modern Don Quixote," Rice Institute Pamphlet, XVI (1929), p. 97.

people in his mission. In certain episodes he admitted that his imagination was at fault; he desired so much to return to medieval times that he pretended to himself and to his follower, Sancho, that the days of chivalry had not passed. The episode of the sheep which he conceived to be an army¹ and the counsel to Sancho about the Cueva de Montesinos² showed that he enjoyed making himself believe, even when his resulting actions caused people to laugh at him.

His erroneous viewpoint was not entirely self-deception, however, for he was a person varying in opinions just as any other mortal being.³ Consistency is not to be bought at the sacrifice of advancement. Having as his doctrine, "¡Yo sé quien soy!"⁴ he had to change his ideas to fit his changing nature and his nature to fit his changing ideas. His personality became mixed with that of Sancho and Sancho's personality became interwoven with his, at times approaching a perfect fusion of spirits.

Don Quijote y su escudero Sancho son en el dualismo armónico que manteniéndolos distintos los unía, símbolo eterno de la humanidad en general y de nuestro pueblo español muy especial. Por lo común, desconociendo el idealismo sancho-pancesco, el alto idealismo del hombre sencillez que quedando cuerdo sigue al loco, y a quien la fe en el loco le da esperanza de ínsula, solemos

¹Cervantes, op. cit., p. 123.

²Ibid., p. 635.

³Tourgueneff, op. cit., p. 10; Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, pp. 316-317.

⁴Cervantes, op. cit., chap. v, p. 45; Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, pp. 38-41; San Manuel Bueno, p. 28.

figurnos en don Quijote y rendir culto al qui jotismo, sin perjuicio de escarnecerlo cuando por culpa de él nos vemos quebrantados y molidos.¹

Unamuno said that a perfect fusion of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza would result in a god rather than a man:

Don Quijote y Sancho marcharon juntos y mezclados; pero si fundieran en uno, ¡qué portentoso espíritu no surgiría de tan sublime fusión! No sería ya un hombre, sino un dios.²

It was this perfect fusion which Spain needed to awaken her from her dreams to the realities of life. And Don Quixote, "el gran soñador de la vida y gran vividor de la sobrevida,"³ showed the Spain of the seventeenth century and, through Unamuno and his contemporaries, the Spain of the twentieth century the road to regeneration.⁴ Don Quixote, the type of chivalrous Spain, and Unamuno, the product of his century, worked together, and Unamuno used Don Quixote to strengthen his own ideas.

¿Qué me importa lo que Cervantes quiso o no quiso poner allí y lo que realmente puso? Lo vivo es lo que allí descubro, pusieralo o no Cervantes, lo que yo allí pongo y sobrepongo y sotopongo, y lo que ponemos allí todos. Quise allí rastrear nuestra filosofía.⁵

¹Unamuno in a letter to Angel Ganivet in their joint work, El porvenir de España, pp. 31-32.

²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VI, pp. 57-58.

³Ibid., Vol. V, p. 56.

⁴Ibid., Vol. I, p. 37; Cf., Unamuno and Ganivet, El porvenir de España, pp. 31-46, 83-90.

⁵Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, p. 301.

In his "Biblia quijotesca,"¹ Vida de don Quijote y Sancho, Unamuno does reveal his philosophy and that of Spain, taking occasion to declare his own spirit² through the Don Quixote he found in his own soul.³

The Don Quixote of Unamuno was not a new knight-errant; he was much the same idealistic dreamer that every reader finds and eventually learns to love.⁴ But Unamuno wanted to be different, "to fly in the face of accepted beliefs,"⁵ and he desired his interpretations to be startling.⁶ Therefore, he defended his idea of Don Quixote tenaciously--as if it were a new and revolutionary idea. He said:

"Para mí solo nació don Quijote y yo para él; él supo obrar y yo escribir," hace decir el historiador a su pluma. Y yo digo que para que Cervantes contara su vida y yo la explicara y comentara nacieron don Quijote y Sancho, Cervantes nació para contarla y explicarla, y para comentarla nací yo.....No puede contar tu vida, ni puede explicarla ni comentarla, señor mío don Quijote, sino quien esté tocado de tu misma locura de no morir.⁷

¹Alcalá-Galiano, op. cit., p. 255.

²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VI, p. 90.

³Ibid., Vol. II, p. 111; Vol. VI, p. 87.

⁴Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, pp. 181, 183; Américo Castro, El pensamiento de Cervantes (Madrid: Impr. de la Librería y Casa Editorial Hernando, 1925), p. 15; Icaza, op. cit., p. 214-215.

⁵G. T. Northup, op. cit., p. 438.

⁶M. Romera-Navarro, "Los ensayistas," Historia de la literatura española (New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1928), p. 672.

⁷Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 324.

Because of this belief, as expressed above, that he lived chiefly for the purpose of commenting upon the life of Don Quixote, it is small wonder that Unamuno became militant concerning the reception of his interpretation.¹

A nadie se le ocurrirá sostener en serio, no siendo acaso a mí, que don Quijote existió real y verdaderamente e hizo todo lo que de él nos cuenta Cervantes....pero puede y debe sostenerse que don Quijote existió y sigue existiendo, vivió y sigue viviendo con una existencia y una vida acaso más intensas y más eficaces que si hubiera existido y vivido al modo vulgar y corriente....²

Y si algún lector de este ensayo dijera que todo esto no son sino ingeniosidades y paradojas, le diré que no entiende jota en achaques de quijotismo, y le repetiré lo que en cierta ocasión dijo don Quijote a su escudero: Como te conozco, Sancho, no hago caso de lo que dices.³

This defiant tone by Unamuno was perhaps unnecessary since people in general accepted the greater part of his comments without contradiction.⁴ However, many readers of Don Quijote have a new understanding and a more intense emotional reaction because of this author's studies. Unamuno cleared away the difficulties of seventeenth century Spanish, explained the peculiar style adopted by Cervantes in certain parts, and painted clearly and poetically the passionate character and the great faith of the Spanish Christ,⁵ the character which had grown out

¹Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, pp. 181-205.

²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, pp. 211-212.

³Ibid., p. 230.

⁴Romera-Navarro, op. cit., pp. 181-184.

⁵Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, p. 288; Ensayos, Vol. II, p. 118.

of the Don Quixote of Cervantes by the transforming and enlarging of the conception by each generation of readers.¹

According to Unamuno, Don Quixote was not the work of Cervantes in the first place so much as the product of the Spanish people who gave to the book its vitality and power.²

Quijote no es de Cervantes sino de todos lo que lo lean y lo sientan. Cervantes sacó a don Quijote del alma de su pueblo y del alma de la humanidad toda, y en su inmortal libro se lo devolvió a su pueblo y a toda la humanidad.³

¹Romera-Navarro, op. cit., p. 181; Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, p. 212.

²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, pp. 214, 219.

³Ibid., p. 210.

CHAPTER II

UNAMUNO AS A QUIXOTIC PERSONALITY

The critic who wrote, "Nadie aspira a que lo califiquen de don Quijote,"¹ was not familiar with the history of Miguel de Unamuno, for Unamuno not only aspired to the name, but also worked to attain it. Certainly ignorance of the significance was not the reason for his desiring the title, because Unamuno was an ardent student of the Cervantine hero. In fact, he wanted to call the story of his exile in Fuerteventura² Don Quijote en Fuerteventura,³ calling himself by the name of the character he considered his "señor."⁴ Therefore, he must have felt no insult when Jean Cassou in the Mercure de France, May, 1926, proclaimed him a modern Don Quixote crying out in the wilderness,⁵ nor when Balseiro characterized him as more quixotic than Cervantes.⁶ He admittedly

¹Tourgueneff, op. cit., p. 14.

²After repeated assaults in speeches and in writings against the monarchy and the dictatorship, Unamuno was banished by Primo de Rivera in 1924 to Fuerteventura from which he escaped with the assistance of M. Dumay, on July 9, 1924, to France where he remained until the end of the dictatorship in 1930. (Balseiro, loc. cit., pp. 648-656; E. R. Curtius, "Unamuno at Seventy," Living Age, December, 1934, p. 325; "Why Spain Deports Unamuno," Literary Digest, June 21, 1924, pp. 28-29; T. R. Ybarra, "Unamuno Is Back!" Outlook, February 26, 1930, p. 341; Ernest Montenegro, "Miguel de Unamuno's Banishment From Spain," Current History Magazine, June, 1924, pp. 428-429).

³Unamuno, De Fuerteventura, p. 8.

⁴Ibid., p. 40; Romancero del destierro (Buenos Aires: C. P. Perlado, n. d.), p. 140; Vida de don Quijote, p. 324; passim throughout works.

⁵Starkie, "Modern Don Quixote," loc. cit., p. 91.

⁶Balseiro, loc. cit., p. 645.

enjoyed being described as quixotic, for he felt "más qui jotista que cervantista,"¹ more attracted by the character than by the author.

Both Unamuno and the critics had sufficient basis for the appellation, "the modern Don Quixote,"² for the philosopher and the caballero andante had much in common. Many of these quixotic qualities belonged to the personality of Unamuno and developed gradually as his ideas became crystallized. Some of this development was probably due, however, to conscious cultivation of the similarity, because Unamuno took advantage of his native quixotic traits, making assets of them by securing publicity for his works and for his ideas.

Perhaps the best-known quality of quixotism is idealism, a quality possessed in varying degrees by all people of all nations and in almost unbelievable quantities by the original Don Quixote³ and by that typical Quixote, Miguel de Unamuno. This idealism caused Unamuno to defend the sanity, and even the sanctity, of a figure whose name has come to be synonymous with insanity.⁴ This idealism made him sacrifice his love of home and country in order to awaken his countrymen to the evils in Spain.

¹Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, prologo.

²Cf. Palseiro, loc. cit.; Starkie, "Modern Don Quixote," loc. cit.; Antonio Machado, "A don Miguel de Unamuno," Poesías completas (Madrid: Residencia de Estudiantes, 1917), pp. 266-267.

³Ante, p. 8.

⁴Ante, p. 7.

This idealism inspired him to match his voice and pen against the power of the king and of the dictator. He called to other idealists for support, for only by idealism does the world advance.¹

Unamuno, like Don Quixote, was never in any doubt as to his mission in the world: he was an idealist stirring the reading public or the listening audience "to divine dissatisfaction"² with "los males y abusos que sufría la nación."³ Like his leader, he would fight against thieves, and liars, and fools,⁴ although his attempts might have no more effect than those of Don Quixote "por Dulcinea, por la gloria, por vivir, por sobrevivir!"⁵ Unamuno wanted to awaken the spirit of his hearers to a productive response, not to preach the acceptance of his own ideas;⁶ he was interested in the striving for the victory rather in the attainment of the victory.⁷ Quixotically, he was not restricted in

¹Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, p. 114.

²Unamuno, Recuerdos de niñez y de mocedad, selected and edited by William Atkinson (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929), p. iii.

³Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 9.

⁴Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 7.

⁵Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, p. 316; cf. Salvador de Madariaga, "Miguel de Unamuno," The Genius of Spain (London: Oxford University Press, 1923), p. 109.

⁶Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 79; Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. I, p. 218; Vol. VI, pp. 34-35.

⁷Unamuno, Recuerdos, p. ifi.

his defense to the treatment of realities, for he fought without regard to what was reality.¹ In his sonnet inspired by the reading of Dante, he spoke of his struggles:

Y dno estaré luchando, sombra adusta,
contra pálida sombra de molino,
no de gigante, que al vil peregrino
de la pordiosería sola asusta?

Like Don Quixote, Unamuno took his mission and himself seriously, just as he took all of life seriously. For this reason he saw no humor in the manner in which he fulfilled his mission, but thought of it as the fight for the salvation of his people. He preferred to play the tragic role, the role of martyr; he could not, therefore, see the many incongruities of his position. If he had realized the presence of incongruity, he would not have considered himself ridiculous but rather a prophet to a misunderstanding people. He would have enjoyed the ridicule of the populace, believing that such ridicule placed him with Don Quixote among the immortal.³ He would have considered the ridicule seriously and would have replied to it as passionately and as dramatically as the occasion would permit, becoming more of a martyr and more of a tragic figure because of the ridicule.

Perhaps this seriousness, this great thought on small matters, was partly a pose. To realize and to recognize publicly the lack of logic in his arguments would weaken the force of his

¹Unamuno, De Fuerteventura, pp. 72-73.

²Ibid., p. 54.

³Ante., pp. 11-12.

scene, and neither he nor Don Quixote was so poor an actor as to remove any measure of the drama from his life. Unamuno frequently exhorted his readers and his students to take a serious attitude toward life,¹ and his best instruction in this instance as in his preaching of quixotism was by his own example.

The quixotic mission of Unamuno and his serious and complete acceptance of it were accompanied by still a third evidence of his quixotic idealism: his mystic faith.² His attitude toward religion, and he was as intensely religious as his Don Quixote, is shown in his concept of God: "Dios, en nuestros espíritus, es Espíritu y no Idea, amor, y no dogma, vida y no lógica."³ This concept he developed more fully in the books La agonía del cristianismo, El Cristo de Velázquez,⁴ and San Manuel Bueno, mártir, in various essays,⁵ and in miscellaneous discussions.⁶

His religion was, like that of Don Quixote,⁷ genuinely popular, not Catholic in the sectarian sense of the word, but universal, humanly Christian, consisting, by his own definition of faith, of sincerity, tolerance, and mercy.⁸ His conception

¹Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, p. 195; passim.

²Ante,, pp. 9-11.

³Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, p. 229.

⁴Madrid: Calpe--Los Poetas, 1920.

⁵Unamuno, Ensayos, Vols. I-VII, passim.

⁶Unamuno, Works, passim.

⁷Castro, op. cit., p. 307.

⁸Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, p. 240; Vol. III, p. 154.

of the church was as a congregation of the faithful, of all those who believe in truth. Hence the most absolute church is humanity itself, and the truest Christianity is the faith of those whose belief surmounts all obstacles as did that of Don Quixote.¹ According to Starkie, Unamuno was essentially catholic;² but the author himself wrote that belief in the Catholic church as such is suicide to the believer and a weakening of the faith,³ and that Christianity is not any doctrine, but it is life, battle, agonía.⁴

Therefore he believed in the separation and distinction of the ideas of religion and of patriotism in the thoughts of the people as well as in the practice of the government;⁵ for the two are separate and distinct: the one the belief of a man in his God, the other his loyalty to his country; the one deals with inner life and immortality, the other with social life and politics.⁶

Following again his ideal,⁷ Unamuno frequently quoted or paraphrased selections from the Bible.⁸ Part of this practice

¹Ibid., Vol. II, p. 230.

²Starkie, "Personalities," loc. cit., p. 54.

³Unamuno, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 229-230.

⁴Unamuno, La agonía del cristianismo, p. 41.

⁵Unamuno and Ganivet, El provenir de España, pp. 132-133; Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, pp. 127-130.

⁶Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 137.

⁷Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 72, 93, 123, 299, 411, 421, 428, 735, 812.

⁸Unamuno, Recuerdos, p. 4; Andanzas y visiones españolas (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1929), p. 271; La tía Tula (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1921), p. 70; El hermano Juan o El mundo es teatro (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1934), p. 73; El otro, misterio en tres jornadas y un epílogo (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1932, p. 41.)

was doubtless due to his admiration of the Bible as a literary work,¹ much to his recognition and appreciation of the profound philosophy,² and still more to his dependence upon the truths of the Bible for the support and illustration of his own ideas.³ As an evidence of his appreciation of the various artifices used by Christ in teaching the people, he imitated these devices, frequently using paradoxes, hyperboles, and parables in his teaching.⁴ Don Quixote used these same means of instructing Sancho and the other doubters concerning his mission.⁵

More commonly, however, Unamuno pointed to the Christ, "el Cristo agonizante,"⁶ the perfection and the embodiment of truth and faith, as in the following selection:

"¡Verdad! Y ¿qué es verdad"?--preguntó Pilatos a Cristo, volviéndole las espaldas a la verdad. Porque Cristo dijo de sí: "Yo soy la verdad," díjolo de sí, y no de su doctrina. ¿Qué no lo dijo? Pues nos lo dice a todas horas.⁷

This truth permeated all things, as God is present in all life. In the poem of his greatest religious emotion, Unamuno portrayed the presence of God, of truth, in nature.

¹Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VI, pl. 50; Romancero, p. 23.

²Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 184-185.

³Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 127-129.

⁴Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 77.

⁵Ibid., Vol. V, p. 220; Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 58, 72, 743-744.

⁶Unamuno, La agonía del cristianismo, p. 29.

⁷Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, p. 240; cf. Vol. VI, p. 219.

Tú sobrenaturalizaste, el Hombre,
lo que era natural, humanizándolo.
Selvas, montañas, mares y desiertos,
confluyen a tu pecho, y en Ti abarcas
rocas y plantas, bestias, peces y aves.
Es como un arca de Noé tu cuerpo
donde se salvan del diluvio lóbrego
cuantos hijos parió la Madre Tierra
para darlos al hombre en mayorazgo.
La santa Tierra, que de carne viva,
Verbo de Dios desnudo, te vistiera,
fué por la sangre de esa misma carne
sacramentada; no hay en ella mota
de polvo que por Dios no haya pasado.

Dios el misterio de la vida humana,
trazó con las estrellas en el manto
de ébano de la noche, y descifraste
su secreto con gotas de tu sangre
sobre la Tierra, en testamento fiel!¹

Since he was a "fiel discípulo de Cristo"² as was Don Quixote before him, Unamuno appealed to God in whom he had the faith of the mystics, living faith which asked questions,³ quixotic faith working toward immortality of the soul,⁴--faith that would cleanse religious disorder and lower the powerful to the common level.⁵

Dios de mi España contrita
oye mi chorro de voz,
escucha el recio lamento
de un hijo de tu pasión,
de un hijo de tu hija España
de un agónico español.⁶

¹Unamuno, El Cristo, p. 145.

²Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 237.

³Unamuno, La agonía del cristianismo, p. 28.

⁴Ibid., p. 21.

⁵A further discussion of Unamuno's ideas concerning faith and religion will be given in Chap. III.

⁶Unamuno, Romancero, p. 119.

Like a true follower of Christ, who sacrificed himself for the salvation of the people, and of Don Quixote, who was the "emblem de la fe, de la fe en algo eterno, inmutable, de la fe en la verdad superior al individuo,"¹ Unamuno sacrificed himself for the good of the people. He endangered his position in the University of Salamanca to fight against the evils of the government. Although he had spent many years in preparation for the rectorship, he did not hesitate to express views contrary and uncomplimentary to the political powers. For this reason, he was three times deprived of the position.² Unamuno sacrificed several years in his beloved Spain rather than give up his convictions.³ When he felt that his former viewpoint had been wrong, he did not hesitate to **change sides** openly, even though this policy was damaging to his reputation.⁴

¹Tourgueneff, op. cit., p. 7.

²In 1920, for outspoken opposition to King Alfonso XIII and to Primo de Rivera, Unamuno was deprived of his position in Salamanca and in 1924 exiled to the island of Fuerteventura ("Spanish Struggle for a Republic," Literary Digest, May 17, 1930, pp. 16-17); after having been reinstated on the advent of the republic, he was again removed by the Madrid government for support of the Fascist cause in 1936 ("San Miguel de Unamuno," loc. cit., p. 537); and finally, after he had been rector for some months under the Fascist auspices, he was removed by General Franco for defending the Catalonians and the Basques against the accusations of General Millan Astray, guest speaker for a Fascist dinner in Salamanca on Columbus Day. (Carleton Beals, "Señor Unamuno Loses His Job," Nation, December 19, 1936, pp. 743-744.)

³From 1924 to 1930. Cf. p. 18, note 2.

⁴Unamuno, as has been **shown before**, was one of the leaders of the 1930 revolution and was prominent in the formation of the Republic, for which he acted as a member of the Constitutional Parliament until he resigned, disgusted with the methods of the group ("Don Miguel de Unamuno," loc. cit., p. 537). In 1924 he was exiled by the Alfonist system, but "less than a dozen years

Don Quixote had no thought of caring for himself nor of living for himself; he was engrossed in his mission.¹ Unamuno's similarity in this respect may have been a result, partially at least, of self-dramatization; but if he received publicity for his exile and his repeated removals from the Salamanca faculty, it was of secondary importance to his aim of teaching and awakening the people. In a paraphrase of a selection from the Bible, Unamuno offered himself in one of his many mystically religious poems:

"¡Miguel! ¡Miguel!" Aquí, Señor, desnudo
me tienes a tu pie, santa montaña, .
roca desnuda, corazón de España.²

This sacrifice of himself for his people was but the sacrifice of earthly comforts and of the opinions of men hardly fit to judge, and to Unamuno such a sacrifice was well repaid by

later he was siding with General Franco against the Madrid regime [which he had helped to establish], which he denounced as an enemy to civilization." (New York Times, January 4, 1937, p. 28, col. 4.) After a brief espousal of the Insurgents' cause, Unamuno turned again to the Government side and spoke quite bitterly of the Insurgents: "I soon realized this struggle, inspired at first by high motives, had rapidly developed into a class war, full of horrors, without pity or generosity of any kind. No less regretfully to be mentioned is the decrease in the mental capacity of the youth of Spain and their increasing disregard for human intelligence in favor of a love of violence and brutality." (New York Times, January 3, 1937, p. 33, cols. 1,2.)

¹Tourgueneff, op. cit., p. 8.

²Unamuno, De Fuerteventura, p. 121; cf. pp. 53, 55-56, 71-72; Romancero, pp. 23, 69, 117-119; El Cristo, passim; according to Romera-Navarro (Miguel de Unamuno, p. 123), passim in the two unavailable books of poetry, Poesías (Bilbao: Imprenta de Rojas, 1907) and Rosario de sonetos líricos (Madrid: Imprenta Española, 1911).

the promise of fama imperecedora, the opportunity for immortality. Here Unamuno was like all philosophers of all times, deeply concerned with the problems of life: el misterio de la vida (the eternal and unanswered questions of life), el sueño de la vida (the Calderonian confusion of real life and of dream life), la congoja de la vida (the sense of tragedy in our existence). His interest in these problems was as much a part of his personality as an evidence of his philosophical ideas, for Unamuno's personality was an expression of his ideas, and his ideas a product of his personality. Life to him, as to Don Quixote, was no smooth path from the cradle to the grave; it was, instead, disturbed frequently by consideration for the difficulties of life. In the prologue to San Manuel Bueno, mártir, Unamuno spoke of the congoja de la vida as the stimulation toward fame in this world and immortality in the next world:

Y ¿no es, en el fondo, este congojoso y glorioso problema de la personalidad el que guía en su empresa a don Quijote, el que dijo lo de '¡yo sé quién soy!' y quiso salvarla en alas de la fama imperecedora?¹

Both Unamuno and Don Quixote were very interested in this fama imperecedora, in the hope for the immortality of their names, of their fame, and of their souls.² Unamuno said he could not live without faith in the immortality of his soul;³ and this pre-

¹Unamuno, San Manuel Bueno, mártir, prologo, p. 28.

²In chap. iii, the ideas of both Unamuno and Don Quixote concerning immortality are more fully discussed.

³Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VII, p. 182.

occupation with the hope of immortality was the basis for much of his belief in God and in the afterlife. Religion gives one the feeling of the perpetuation of himself, and God is the desire of each person to perpetuate himself in the universe and to manifest himself in it.¹

La pobre alma hambrienta y sedienta de inmortalidad y de resurrección de su carne, hambrienta y sedienta de Dios, de Dios-Hombre a lo cristiano, o de Hombre-Dios a lo pagano, consume su virginidad maternal en besos y abrazos al agonizante eterno.²

This obsession with death and with the necessity to immortalize oneself gave Unamuno the theme for his best work, making him "el inquieto filósofo, el hondo pensador cuya prosa ardiente refleja el dolor de su alma, la tortura de sus dudas, y su ansia inagotable de Dios y la eternidad."³

The mysticism which resulted from his preoccupation with immortality was the very substance of Unamuno's spiritual life and one of the chief characteristics of his quixotism. His book, Del sentimiento trágico de la vida en los hombres y en los pueblos, concerns itself in a large measure with the discussion of immortality, and many of his other works are filled with shorter discussions.⁴ Unamuno said, "Cuando no se cree más que en la

¹ Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 86-87.

² Unamuno, La agonía del cristianismo, p. 76.

³ Alcala-Galiano, op. cit., pp. 256-257.

⁴ Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, pp. 204-205.

vida de la carne, se camina a la muerte."¹

At times, however, it seems almost that Unamuno must have doubted his often expressed beliefs and have lost, for the time, his faith, for occasionally he wrote in a very disillusioned and pessimistic vein. Usually, however, this feeling was the result of his thinking of the state of Spain,² rather than the result of thought of his future life. Unamuno said that Don Quixote was not a pessimist because he was not vain, nor modern.³ In this, though, the personality of Unamuno did not agree with his interpretation of the personality of Don Quixote, for Unamuno was vain, as will be shown later. And Don Quixote was not always inclined to hide his accomplishments, nor was he always an optimist. He sometimes became discouraged because the evil forces changed appearances in order to rob him of his glory.⁴ He grieved that people had so little belief in his mission,⁵ and he died disillusioned and so pessimistic in regard to the future of knight-errantry that he counseled Sancho Panza against the further pursuit of chivalric adventures.⁶ Thus the personalities of Don Quixote and of Unamuno

¹Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. I, p. 32; Cf. pp. 45, 51; Vol. V, p. 52; Amor y pedagogía (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1934), pp. 181-182, 184-185, 203-204; Paz en la guerra (3a ed.; Madrid: Renacimiento, 1931), pp. 290, 313; Recuerdos, pp. 22-24.

²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, pp. 144, 203-205; Romancero, pp. 5-6, 20, 26, 33, 105-106; De Fuerteventura, pp. 8-9, 23, 24, 27, 46, 54.

³Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, pp. 316-317.

⁴Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 60, 127; Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, pp. 81-82.

⁵Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 31-35; Unamuno, op. cit., pp. 27-30.

⁶Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 813-4; Unamuno, op. cit., pp. 311.

were similar in their sensitivity to discouragement.

In his poetry, Unamuno was frequently pessimistic, portraying life as composed of tears, signs, and shadows and permeated with tragedy;¹ for since man discovered death and has no peace for fear of death,

es para siempre su maldita suerte
pagar su deuda por haber nacido.²

Unamuno in this was again typical of his country, for Spain has sad literature, a sad youth, and sad thoughts of death.³ Even the religion of Spain is sad, worshiping the Christ in his most tragic role: "El Cristo español....está siempre en su papel trágico: jamás baja de la cruz donde, cadavérico, extiende sus brazos y alarga sus piernas cubiertas de sangre."⁴ All the people seek for happiness and, failing to find it, become pessimistic.

No dejaba de buscarse la felicidad; sin encontrarla ni en la riqueza, ni el saber, ni en el poderío, ni en el goce; ni en la resignación, ni en la buena conciencia moral, ni en la cultura. Y vino el pesimismo.⁵

Nor are pessimism and optimism the only opposing char-

¹Unamuno, Romancero, p. 81; Cf. pp. 37, 139.

²Unamuno, De Fuerteventura, p. 74.

³Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VIII, pp. 170-172.

⁴Unamuno, Por tierras de Portugal y de España (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1930), p. 61.

⁵Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, p. 292.

acteristics of quixotism which tend to add to the sense of tragedy and agony of life. Both Unamuno and Don Quixote were frequently inconsistent in other matters, finding peace in the interminable battle for fame and disquietude in the peace of retirement.

En el seno de la paz verdadera y honda es donde sólo se comprende y justifica la guerra; es donde se hace sagrados votos de guerrear por la verdad, único consuelo eterno; es donde se propone reducir a santo trabajo la guerra. No fuera de ésta, sino dentro de ella, en su seno mismo, hay que buscar la paz; paz en la guerra misma.¹

Both Unamuno and Don Quixote enjoyed such rhetorical devices as the play upon words above illustrated, the balancing of meaning in a sentence, the use of contradictions to attract the attention of their hearers or readers.

These contradictions were not merely rhetorical devices, however, but the result of doubt and questioning in the minds of the knight and of the philosopher. All of life is filled with contradictions, at least apparent contradictions.² These help to make the mystery of life.

For this reason, Unamuno did not change his works when he republished them, although his ideas had developed in the meantime, and although he had found flagrant errors. "Los dejo, pues, tales y como salieron de mi pluma en distintos períodos

¹Unamuno, Paz en la guerra, p. 329.

²Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, p. 290; Niebla (nivola) (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1935), p. 282; Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 45.

de mi vida mental y con las íntimas contradicciones a ello inherentes. No va él que hoy soy yo a corregir al que fuí."¹ He let his thoughts lead him as Don Quixote allowed Rocinante to decide his path.² One critic points out that Don Quixote himself,

No es libre de variar de opiniones, y la firmeza de su ser mortal da fuerza y grandeza notables a sus ideas, a sus palabras y a toda su persona, a despecho de las humillantes y grotescas situaciones en que cae constantemente.³

The opinions of Don Quixote and of Unamuno had to vary according to the amount and type of experiences each had had. In lives of action such as these two led, there had to be certain paradoxes: reason opposed to faith, life to death, solitude to multitude, country to city, battle to peace, universality to singularity. And Unamuno lived them all "plena y trágicamente, como muy pocos."⁴ Many of these paradoxes were no more than new points of view--perhaps more nearly exact than the currently accepted ones.⁵

This paradoxical professor⁶ was no simple man with simple

¹Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. I (written from 1894 to 1911, and published in 1916), p. 11; Vol. V, pp. 137, 183, 197; Vol. VI, p. 171; De Fuerteventura, pp. 9, 83-84, 128.

²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, p. 127; Contra esto y aquello, p. 16.

³Tourgouneff, op. cit., p. 10.

⁴M. C. Bernardete, "Personalidad e individualidad en Unamuno," Revista Hispánica Moderna, October, 1934, p. 34; cf. p. 28.

⁵Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 45; Andrés González-Blanco, Los dramaturgos españoles contemporáneos (Valencia: Editorial Cervantes, 1918?), p. 243.

⁶Alcalá-Galiano, op. cit., p. 253; Unamuno, El hermano Juan, p. 150.

thoughts. He was a learned man who did not want the title of sage,¹ an egotist who wanted to be portrayed as a social thinker,² a furious libelist³ who was regarded as the saviour of his people,⁴ an author who made himself the chief character in his own works.⁵ He was a loquacious person, fond of talking with his friends,⁶ but loving solitude also.⁷ He was a passionate person, responding intensely to every situation, dramatizing himself as the chief actor.⁸

Like his predecessor, Don Quixote, Unamuno dramatized his misfortunes. Just as Don Quixote was angered because the lion would not come out of the cage and fight with him and thus robbed him of his deserved glory,⁹ so Unamuno, instead of being glad when his sentence to imprisonment was not carried out¹⁰ and his

¹Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. I, p. 19; Vol. VI, p. 18; Vol. VII, p. 203.

²Starkie, "Modern Don Quixote," loc. cit., p. 91.

³Alcalá-Galiano, op. cit., pp. 256-257.

⁴Ibid., p. 249.

⁵José F. Montesinos, "Muerte y vida de Unamuno," Hora de España, April, 1937, p. 11; J. Padín, "El concepto de lo real en las últimas novelas de Unamuno," Hispania, XI (1928), p. 421.

⁶Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 16.

⁷Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VI, pp. 69-70.

⁸Montesinos, loc. cit., p. 11.

⁹Cervantes, op. cit., Pt. II, chap. xvii; Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, pp. 188-190.

¹⁰Balseiro, loc. cit., p. 648.

semi-exile was lifted by the king,¹ felt deprived of his martyrdom.² The pardon removed the idea of conflict, the feeling of drama, the assurance of a public. The entire history of his exile is one of self-dramatization. The experience gave him a wealth of material for sonorous and mournful poetry concerning his trials, exaggerating the insult to his honor and the danger to his life.³

Whether this self-dramatization was entirely conscious or not, the effects of it are constantly seen in Unamuno's life. It was the drama of politics, as much as the desire to free his oppressed people, which led him into the field of governmental harangues. It was partially a result of his imagination--his conceiving himself the hero of a dangerous adventure which was really the day dream of his true experience. It was partly due also to his seriousness, his interpretation of minor details as of vast importance.

Even his imitation of Don Quixote had something of the dramatic for a background, for this Don Quixote was the best known of Spanish heroes,⁴ and Unamuno would have none but the best

¹Ibid., p. 653; "Don Miguel de Unamuno," loc. cit., p. 537; Curtius, loc. cit., p. 325.

²Starkie, "Personalities," loc. cit., p. 61.

³A. del Río, "Miguel de Unamuno: Vida y obra," Revista Hispanica Moderna, October, 1934, p. 13; Unamuno, De Fuerteventura, pp. 8, 9, 70, 103.

⁴Ruth Teel, "The Influence of Don Quixote on the Eighteenth Century Novel," (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Graduate Division, Department of English, Texas State College for Women, 1931), p. 1.

for his model. For him it was better to be thought crazy than to be ignored, and his imagination gave to the idea of insanity a halo not usually seen there. He faced ridicule serenely,¹ perhaps because of his stated belief that the one ridiculing showed himself less sane and progressive than the one ridiculed.² He appreciated the titles of loco and solitario, because he believed that all great things are accomplished by those whom the world classes in this manner.³ He did not wait for the world to recognize him as quixotic, but said himself that he who defends Quixote is quixotic.⁴ His defense of Quixote was really self-dramatization in that he defended and exalted himself at the same time.

His poetry also is dramatic,⁵ and the intensified element of imagination here intensifies the effect. His great sensitiveness and his rich imagination make him an outstanding poet.⁶

In his prose, Unamuno dramatically used many exclamations and rhetorical questions. He once said that many Spanish writers are orators in writing,⁷ and in so saying he gave a good description of his own style. In this also he is like Don Quixote, for

¹Balseiro, loc. cit., p. 646; Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 15.

²Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, pp. 273-275.

³Ibid., pp. 18-19.

⁴Starkie, "Modern Don Quixote," loc. cit., p. 98.

⁵Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 146.

⁶Ibid., pp. 165-166.

⁷Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. III, p. 93.

the knight-errant imitated the most dramatic passages of the books of chivalry in his discourses on chivalry and in his monologues.

In the prologues to his various novels, Unamuno showed his fondness for talk. These prologues (sometimes called epilogues¹) demonstrate also how seriously Unamuno took himself and his ideas. His works were perpetual soliloquies,² and his life was an interminable auto-dialogue.³

Unamuno was an egotist, an individualist who was never in doubt as to his mission or himself.⁴ He built his world of fantasy around his own individuality.⁵ He wrote many of his works in the first person and defended the practice upon the basis of the greater intimacy between the author and the reader;⁶ and he entered into other works with parenthetical comments or philosophical discussions of the characters or of the ideas. When Angela Carballino said no one would understand her brother's state of faith, Unamuno commented:

Ni les habría creído, añado yo. Habrían creído a sus obras y no a sus palabras, porque las palabras no sirven para apoyar las obras, sino que las obras se bastan..... No hay más confesión que la conducta. Ni sabe el pueblo qué cosa es fe, ni acaso le importa mucho.⁷

¹Unamuno, El hermano Juan, p. 9.

²Montesinos, loc. cit., p. 12.

³Balseiro, loc. cit., p. 654.

⁴Unamuno, Recuerdos, p. iii; cf. the discussion of individuality in Ensayos, Vol. IV, pp. 65-86.

⁵Starkie, "Modern Don Quixote," loc. cit., p. 91.

⁶Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. III, pp. 65-66; Vol. V, p. 129.

⁷Unamuno, San Manuel Bueno, mártir, epílogo.

As Don Quixote thought and talked about the manner in which future authors would speak of him as great,¹ so Unamuno spoke of his own works as brilliant and profound.²

¡....Qué artista pierde España
cuando llegue yo a faltar!³

This egotism and conceit may have been the result of his desire to shock the people, for, as Romera-Navarro said: "Se ha hecho hombre, y aun grande hombre, sin dejar de ser niño; a veces, algo travieso."⁴ In a moment of modesty, Unamuno stated his own abilities: "Pues no presumo ni de erudito, ni de investigador, ni de sabio, ni de pensador siquiera, yo que presumo de bastantes cosas, y entre ellas de ser un buen catedrático de lengua griega."⁵

One can forgive Unamuno his conceit when he remembers that Unamuno sacrificed the good opinion of his contemporaries to be able to shock them from their abulia.⁶ To awaken his fellow-

¹Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 26-27 ; Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, pp. 16-17.

²Unamuno, El espejo de la muerte (Madrid: Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, 1930), p. 157; Tres novelas ejemplares y un prólogo (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1931), pp. 9, 14; De Fuerte-ventura, pp. 104-105; Del sentimiento trágico, p. 292.

³Unamuno, Romancero, p. 108.

⁴Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 13.

⁵Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VII, p. 195.

⁶Cf. discussion of all literary activities in this direction by D. K. Arjona, "La voluntad and abulia in Contemporary Spanish Ideology," Revue Hispanique, LXXIV (1928), pp. 373-672.

countrymen, he stated his ideas passionately, intensely, without admitting that he might be mistaken.¹ He gave his ideas emphasis by the use of paradoxes, hyperbole, and parables.² He was an ardent republican³ always working for a dramatic effect.

These effects were helped by the constant use of medievalism, for Unamuno felt that his soul and that of his country were medieval.⁴ He was opposed to the spirit called the modern European spirit,⁵ although he would destroy all traditions which are not consistent with present beliefs.⁶ He enjoyed the life at Hendays⁷ because it was a sort of feudal existence,⁸ he wrote of old castles and traditions,⁹ and he read the diaries of the medieval monks.¹⁰ "Vuelvo mi pensamiento atrás, a tiempos que fueron, y evoco el recuerdo de nuestros grandes místicos que florecieron a la vez que nuestros grandes hombres de acción,"¹¹

¹José María Salaverría, Nuevos Retratos (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1930), p. 70; Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 10; Ensayos, Vol. VII, pp. 160, 181, 183.

²Ibid., p. 76.

³New York Times, May 2, 1930, p. 20, col. 6.

⁴Starkie, "Personalities," loc. cit., p. 51; Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 1.

⁵Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VII, p. 162.

⁶Ibid., pp. 33-34.

⁷In France, not far from the Spanish border. Unamuno spent most of his semi-exile there.

⁸Starkie, "Modern Don Quixote," loc. cit., p. 92.

⁹Unamuno, Tres novelas ejemplares, pp. 105-106; De Fuerteventura, pp. 75-76; Recuerdos, pp. 5, 32.

¹⁰Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, p. 138.

¹¹Ibid., p. 142.

said Unamuno, expressing also the desire of Don Quixote, who felt that the days of chivalry were the best and the most glorious in Spanish history.¹

It was as much the romance of the medieval ages as the state of society at that time which appealed to Unamuno, just as it was the romance of chivalry as much as the accomplishments of the knights which appealed to Don Quixote. Both of these men were impressionable, responding to nature, to books, and to people. Like Don Quixote, who spent some time in the mountains communing with himself,² Unamuno interpreted nature as reflecting his own moods. Especially is this true of his pictures of the sea which showed him a new face of God and a new face of Spain, giving him new roots of Christianity and patriotism.³ In his various descriptive writings, especially his books Andanzas y visiones españolas, De Fuerteventura a París, De mi país,⁴ Por tierras de Portugal y de España, and Romancero del destierro,⁵ he showed that the study of nature could teach him more than the study of books⁶--that to understand the psychology of a people one must know the land which produces it.⁷ He summarized

¹Cervantes, op. cit., p. 27; Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 19.

²Cervantes, op. cit., chaps. xxiii-xxix.

³Unamuno, De Fuerteventura, pp. 117-118; Por tierras, pp. 285-296; passim.

⁴Madrid: Librería de Fernando fe, 1903.

⁵There are also many essays devoted to nature and many brief descriptions included in other works.

⁶Unamuno, Por tierras, p. 289.

⁷Ibid., p. 97.

the influence of nature in the following selection:

Olvidase del curso fatal de las horas, y, en un instante que no pasa, eterno, inmóvil, siente en la contemplación del inmenso panorama la hondura del mundo, la continuidad, la unidad, la resignación de sus miembros, y oye la canción silenciosa del alma de las cosas desarrollarse en el armónico espacio y el melódico tiempo.¹

Unamuno admitted several times in the history of his exile (De Fuerteventura a París) that he did not fully appreciate the beauty and majesty of Spain until he was absent from the familiar scenes. It was then that his patriotism reached a peak equivalent to that of Don Quixote.² His farewell to Spain was a prayer, for he associated Spain always with the Deity.

Adiós, mi Dios, él de mi España,³
Adiós, mi España, la de mi Dios.³

This patriotism, both sentimental and intellectual,⁴ was intense because it sprang from an intense soul. Neither Unamuno nor Don Quixote could respond quietly and calmly--the emotion of each was a driving force not to be ignored by contemporaries. Because of his patriotism, Don Quixote became the symbol of chivalry and the embodiment of the nobleza in Spain.⁵ Because of his

¹Unamuno, Paz en la guerra, p. 326.

²Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 434-437, passim; Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, pp. 18-19, passim.

³Unamuno, Romancero, p. 25; cf, pp. 29, 30; De Fuerteventura, pp. 9, 53, 71-72.

⁴Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VI, p. 135.

⁵Starkie, "Personalities," loc. cit., p. 56.

patriotism, Unamuno became the living symbol of españolidad,¹ traditional Spain.² Such staunch devotion to one's country would necessarily have its effect upon the history and development of the people, and it was the chief desire of Unamuno, as much as of Don Quixote, to influence, even to command, the people.³ He preached "a todos los vientos la necesidad de una vigorización ética y religiosa que levantase y regenerase el alma de los españoles."⁴

It was perhaps this struggle to awaken his fellow Spaniards which caused Unamuno to be attracted to Don Quixote, the similar warrior of another age. Both men had the same mission: "Por amor hacia mi prójimo trato de hacerlo a mi imagen y semejanza; por amor a mí, trata mi prójimo de hacerme a su imagen y semejanza."⁵ Not only should the individual, according to Unamuno, impose his spirit on his neighbor, but each section of the country should attempt to bring the other sections to a better understanding, even to an adoption, of its manner of thinking. Only by this will Spain progress and become known for its Spanish characteristics⁶ rather than for those Castillian peculiarities which are now regarded by the world in general as Span-

¹del Río, op. cit., p. 12.

²Starkie, "Modern Don Quixote," loc. cit., p. 88.

³Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VI, p. 19.

⁴Salaverría, op. cit., p. 81.

⁵Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VI, p. 156.

⁶Ibid., p. 143.

ish.¹

Don Quixote had much the same idea, for did he not try to persuade Sancho Panza to take up the manner of the days of chivalry,² and did he not attempt to convince others whom he met of the justness of his mission?³

In his attempt to mould his neighbors in his own image, and his country in his own ideals, Unamuno encountered some opposition. In favor as he was of the changes upon which progress depends,⁴ he actively combatted by speeches and in writing the power of the king who, being Austrian rather than Spanish, offended the patriotic sense of fitness of Unamuno.⁵

He was an ardent republican in the days of a monarchy,⁶ just as Don Quixote was a republican and a caballero andante in the days of feudal government and of sordid realism. Unamuno wished to destroy in order to build anew, for death is necessary for progress, and social reorganization must precede new ideas.⁷ He preached civil war in 1905,⁸ in 1930,⁹ and in 1936,¹⁰ nor was

¹Ibid., p. 139.

²Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 56-58.

³Ibid., pp. 77-82.

⁴Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VI, pp. 171-172.

⁵New York Times, May 24, 1930, Pt. V, p. 4; July 13, 1930,
p. 7.

⁶Ibid., May 2, 1930, p. 20, col. 6.

⁷Unamuno, op. cit., p. 174.

⁸Ibid., p. 131.

⁹New York Times, 1929-1930.

¹⁰Ibid., 1935-1937.

he entirely silent in the time intervening.¹ At other times he was depressed by the state of Spain and tried more peaceably to effect a change. His poetry was inspired by the sadness of Spain and by the shadows on her development. He was pessimistic in these poems because he felt that all his attempts to regenerate Spain had failed.²

Unamuno identified his love of Spain with his admiration of Don Quixote, who died sane with disappointment:

Tu evangelio, mi señor don Quijote,
al pecho de tu pueblo cual venablo
lancé, y el muy bellaco en el establo
sigue lamiendo el mango de su azote.

Y pues que en él no hay de tu seso un brote,
me vuelvo a los gentiles y les hablo
tus hazañas, haciendo de San Pablo
de tu fe, ya que así me toca en lote.

He de salvar el alma de mi España,
empeñada en hundirse en el abismo
con su barca, pues toma por cucaña

lo que es maste, y llevando tu bautismo
de burlas de pasión a gente extraña
forjaré universal el quijotismo.³

There was for him no happiness except in that of his country, for all his hopes were interlaced with his hopes for her development.

This singleness of thought and of purpose which is the basic characteristic of the idealism of quixotism evidently was

¹Balseiro, loc. cit., pp. 650-653.

²Unamuno, Romancero, pp. 5-6, 11-13, 26, 99-100, 101-103, 105-106, etc.; De Fuerteventura, pp. 29, 80, 141-142, etc.; Del sentimiento trágico, p. 310.

³Unamuno, De Fuerteventura, pp. 40-41.

typical of Unamuno from a very early age, for the formation of his civil conscience is said to date from the bombardment of Bilbao by the Carlists in 1874 when he was but ten years of age.¹

This philosopher wrote of his birth as follows: "Aunque no me acuerdo de haber nacido, sé, sin embargo, por tradición y documentos fehacientes que nací en Bilbao, el 29 de Setiembre de 1864."² Like Don Quixote, he had a very brief childhood,³ during which there were many influences which showed in his works: the death of his father in 1870⁴ leaving him from early childhood to the sole care of his mother, which may be the reason for the predominance of maternal importance in the novels; the over-hearing of a conversation in "un idioma para mí misterioso" (French) which awakened his first knowledge of and interest in the mystery of language;⁵ the attendance of school during his early years in "un antiguo caserón,"⁶ which may have first imbued the medieval spirit in his intelligence; early fights with his companions which were prophetic of his later political career;⁷ the bombardment of Bilbao by the Carlists, during which he and his companions picked up bombs, still smoking, to throw at abandoned stores,⁸

¹del Rio, op. cit., p. 12.

²Unamuno, Recuerdos, p. 1.

³Gonzalez-Ruano, op. cit., p. 37.

⁴Unamuno, Recuerdos, p. 1.

⁵Ibid., p. 2.

⁶Ibid., p. 5.

⁷Unamuno, Recuerdos, p. 10.

⁸Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 7.

which may have led to his later disrespect for law; the early instruction of priests and other church people,¹ which probably caused the development of his attitude toward religion; the abnormal amount of reading during his academic years² which gave him his appreciation of the literature of his and other countries and gave him also his first acquaintance with Don Quixote; the brilliance of his school career³ which inspired him to become a professor; and his vacations in the country where he learned to appreciate nature.⁴

Mention has already been made of his political career and of its effect upon his profession as a member of the faculty of Salamanca.⁵ In 1891, he gained the chair of Greek Language and Literature in the University,⁶ and in 1901 he was made rector,⁷ a position he held intermittently (when he was in favor of the government in power) until just before his death in 1936.⁸ He did not devote himself solely to teaching Greek in the University, for his political propaganda was most enthusiastically received

¹Unamuno, op. cit., pp. 21, 31, 46.

²González-Ruano, op. cit., p. 24.

³Unamuno, op. cit., pp. 33, 46.

⁴Ibid., pp. 38-39.

⁵Ante., p. 26, note 2.

⁶del Río, loc. cit., p. 12.

⁷"Don Miguel de Unamuno," loc. cit., p. 537.

⁸Ante., p. 26, note 2.

by the students.¹

Unamuno's personal publicity as a republican socialist eclipses his books,² and most Spaniards know him best for his political activities.³ All his political career was quixotic, fighting for ideals against great opposition; and his private life was quixotic, in his devotion and faithfulness to Concha, his wife,⁴ and in his attempts to assure himself of immortality through his influence, his books, and his children.⁵

However, he will be remembered by future students most for his literary work. In his writings, quixotism develops from the mere reference to Don Quixote in De mi país (written at the age of twenty-one, but not published until 1903) to the rich quixotism of Vida de don Quijote y Sancho según Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1905) and of Del sentimiento trágico de la vida en los hombres y en los pueblos (1913). In Abel Sánchez (1917),⁶ in La tía Tula (1921), and La agonía del cristianismo (first published in French in 1925, and in Spanish in 1931), Unamuno reached the peak of exaggerated quixotism, possibly because of his politi-

¹Alcalá-Galiano, op. cit., p. 250; "Spanish Struggle for a Republic," loc. cit., p. 16; Balseiro, loc. cit., p. 656.

²Alcalá-Galiano, op. cit., p. 251.

³Ibid., p. 248.

⁴González-Ruano, op. cit., p. 57.

⁵Alcalá-Galiano, op. cit., p. 252.

⁶Abel Sánchez: Una historia de pasión (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1917).

cal disquietude of that period. In his last novel, so far as the investigator knows, San Manuel Bueno, mártir, y tres historias más, his quixotism had been tempered with peace and his last works showed that he, like Don Quixote, was becoming sane. This does not mean that the novel is not quixotic--it is one of the finest examples of quixotism, revealing the growth of faith of the author:

Hay un tono de seriedad que hace pensar que el alma de Unamuno va llegando, sin perder ninguna de las cualidades de su gran temperamento, a adquirir el reposo, la paz, la claridad de saber absoluto que late como anhelo siempre vivo en el fondo de toda su obra hecha esencialmente de combate.¹

Don Quixote found peace, though through disillusion, in his last days and set the example for quixotism in his calm acceptance of death. Unamuno, however, took new strength from Sancho's quixotic fervor, and fought until his death on December 31, 1936, from a blood clot on the brain.² Even in his last months, there were contradictions, changing of support in the Revolution, fighting for what he thought was the good of his people. He died a Don Quixote, not an Alonso Quijano.

"Siempre que hacía falta poner ejemplo de varón sabio y ejemplar, de puridad y aislamiento, de quijotesca independencia, en suma, yo citaba a don Miguel de Unamuno."³ Such is the viewpoint of a student of Spanish literature and culture. But even

¹del Río, loc. cit., pp. 17-18.

²"Dec. 31," Wilson Bulletin, XI (1937), p. 358.

³González-Ruano, op. cit., p. 17.

the vulgo, the common people, considered Unamuno as a "sabio-desequilibrado como su modelo, don Quijote, por exceso de lecturas."¹

¹Alcalá-Galiano, op. cit., p. 250.

CHAPTER III

QUIXOTIC IDEAS SHOWN IN UNAMUNO'S LIFE AND WORKS

Like Don Quixote, Miguel de Unamuno was more interested in the spirit of a man than in his ideas,¹ for he believed progress is of men rather than of ideas or sentiments.² He believed man is consistent, with some small variations; but ideas change according to the man using and possessing them,³ and an idea becomes the property of the man who develops it. "El que calienta las ideas en el foco de su corazón es quien de veras se las hace propias; allí, en ese sagrado fogón, las quema y consume, como combustible!"⁴ Therefore, he fought not for the ideas, but for the spirit;⁵ and being a Spaniard,⁶ he followed the person of Don Quixote rather than his ideas.

However, many of the ideas of the caballero andante of the seventeenth century and those of "nuestro caballero andante"⁷ coincide in material as well as in vehemence of belief and expression. Unamuno too would fight against thieves and liars and fools,⁸ fearing nothing that man could give, not even ridicule.⁹

¹Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, pp. 208, 218; Vol. IV, pp. 109-112; Vol. VI, pp. 34-35; Vol. VII, pp. 57, 91.

²Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 99.

³Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 99-100.

⁴Ibid., Vol. II, p. 204.

⁵Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 79.

⁶Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. IV, p. 89.

⁷Romera-Navarro, op. cit., p. 15.

⁸Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 7.

⁹Romera-Navarro, op. cit., p. 15; Unamuno, op. cit., pp. 4, 12, 224.

He became, in his life as well as in his works, a quixotic soul inspired by the love of truth and sincerity, by the desire for immortality, and by the mystery of our personal destiny.¹ Those who find these ideas different from the accepted ones must remember that the ideas fit themselves to the mind in which they come to live. Those who consider either Don Quixote or Unamuno as insane should think of Sancho's judgment of Don Quixote as not "loco, sino atrevido."²

The consideration which his neighbor has for him should be of interest to every person, and neither Unamuno nor Don Quixote ignored the opinion of his fellow-men. Certainly the two were not particularly influenced by what the world thought, but they attempted to convince the world of their manner of thinking.³ The relation of man to his neighbor was an interesting and an important study for both Unamuno and Don Quixote. Unamuno's periodical writings⁴ (as well as others of his works) were free from any party politics for many years, designed rather to point out the evils and abuses under which individuals and the nation were suffering⁵ even as Don Quixote's mission was to relieve the oppressed,

¹Romera-Navarro, op. cit., pp. 204-205.

²Cervantes, op. cit., p. 496; cf. Benardete, loc. cit., p. 34.

³Ante., pp. 42-43.

⁴Many of these works are not available. Certain unedited works, many articles published at various times during Unamuno's long career, and his letters have not been collected and given to the public. (Montesinos, loc. cit., p. 12.)

⁵Romera-Navarro, op. cit., p. 9.

punish the evil, and bring fame to himself for his great deeds.

En efeto [efecto], rematado ya su juicio, vino a dar en el más extraño pensamiento que jamás dio [dio] loco en el mundo, y fue [fue] que le pareció conveniente y necesario, así para el aumento de su honra como para el servicio de su república, hacerse caballero andante, y irse por todo el mundo con sus armas y caballo a buscar las aventuras y a ejercitarse en todo aquello que él había leído que los caballeros andantes se ejercitaban, deshaciendo todo género de agravio, y poniéndose en ocasiones y peligros donde, acabándolos, cobrase eterno nombre y fama.¹

In his later works, however, Unamuno took sides and wrote for the cause which he at the moment thought to be the true one.²

Unamuno frequently talked and wrote of his country. Sometimes he showed his love for the physical beauty and enchantment of its scenes,³ while at other times he was primarily interested in the spiritual, social, and political condition of his nation.⁴

Like other Spaniards, he often depreciated Spain,⁵ but he showed a great faith in the virtues of his race and an intelligent love for his native land.⁶ Speaking of the spirit of despondency in the literature, youth, and thought of Spain,⁷ he

¹Cervantes, op. cit., p. 23.

²New York Times, January 3, 1937, p. 33, col. 1.

³Ante., pp. 40-41.

⁴Ante., pp. 41-44.

⁵Romera-Navarro, op. cit., p. 292; cf. Unamuno, Andanzas, p. 93; De Fuerteventura, p. 143.

⁶Unamuno, Niebla, p. 286; Andanzas, p. 93; Ensayos, Vol. VII, p. 21; Por tierras, p. 193; De Fuerteventura, pp. 80, 112, 143; Romancero, pp. 5, 26, 33, 139.

⁷Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VII, pp. 170-172.

would inspire the Spaniards to have more confidence in themselves and to progress.¹ Thus, he, like Don Quixote, was interested in regeneration.²

"¡Verdaderamente se muere y verdaderamente está cuerdo Alonso Quijano el Bueno!" salió exclamando el cura cuando don Quijote hizo su última confesión de culpas y de locuras. Es lo que debemos aspirar a que de nosotros se diga. Es que tiene acaso que morir España, para volver en su juicio?, exclamará alguien. Tiene, sí, que morir don Quijote para renacer a nueva vida en el sosegado hidalgo que cuide de su lugar, de su propia hacienda. Y si se me arguye que el mismo hidalgo Alonso murió en cuanto volvió a su juicio, diré que creo firmemente que el fin de las naciones en cuanto tales está más próximo de lo que pudiera creerse--que no en vano el socialismo trabaja--y que conviene se prepare cada cual de ellas a aportar al común acervo de los pueblos lo más puro, es decir, lo más cristiano de cada una. De la perfecta cristianización de nuestro pueblo es de lo que se trata.³

Using throughout his writings the characters of Segismundo⁴ and Don Quixote, Unamuno attempted to awaken Spain from its unproductive dream of life by the inspiration of his own and

¹Romera-Navarro, op. cit., pp. 301, 306.

²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, pp. 76-77.

³Unamuno in a letter to Ganivet in their joint work, El porvenir de España, pp. 38-39. These letters, first published in El defensor de Granada in 1897, and published as a collection in 1912, discussed war, the conquest of Africa, socialism, political parties, education, religion, and economic problems, and were designed to stir up the Spanish people to the evils under which they were suffering and to some possible remedies. Unamuno's ideas doubtless changed during the time; but the letters are still pertinent to the situation, according to the prologue by the editors.

⁴The protagonist of La vida es sueño, by Pedro Calderón de la Barca. Segismundo was kept away from the ordinary world for such a long time that he came to believe his isolated existence to be real life and his experiences in his father's court to be mere dreams.

his heroe's quixotic fervor. Spain, like Segismundo, had lived so long in unreality that it did not know what was reality and what was the dream. In his letters to Ganivet concerning the latter's book Idearium, Unamuno said:

Sí, como usted dice muy bien, España, como Segismundo, fué arrancada de su caverna y lanzada al foco de la vida europea, y "después de muchos y extraordinarios sucesos, que parecen más fantásticos que reales, volvemos a la razón en nuestra antigua caverna en la que nos hallamos al presente encadenados por nuestra miseria y nuestra pobreza, y preguntamos si toda esa historia fué realidad o fué sueño" [italics not in the original]. Sueño, sueño y nada más que sueño ha sido mucho de eso....

No está mal que soñemos, pero acordándonos, como Segismundo, de que hemos de despertar de este gusto al mejor tiempo, atengámonos a obrar bien.

"pues no se pierde
el hacer bien ni aun en sueños."

Hay otro hermoso símbolo de nuestra España, moribunda según Salisbury, y es aquel honrado hidalgo manchego Alonso Quijano, que mereció el sobrenombre de Bueno, y que al morir se preparo a nueva vida renunciando a sus locuras y a la vanidad de sus hazañosas empresas, volviendo así su muerte en su provecho lo que había sido en su daño.¹

Thus Unamuno, like Don Quixote, set out to fight for the regeneration of his people, using symbols which they understood to make them realize the situation of Spain at the moment. He fought for the liberation of Spain from "esa historia de la muerte."² Don Quixote had armed himself as a caballero andante and fought with his sword or with his oratory on any occasion offered in the path Rocinante chose;³ Unamuno was a professor of

¹Unamuno and Ganivet, El porvenir de España, pp. 28-30.

²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, p. 178.

³Cervantes, op. cit., p. 37.

Greek who fought with his pen or his oratory on any occasion offered by his vast acquaintance and contacts.¹ Both appealed to history to awaken interest in the future, and to former greatness to satirize the dying present.

Don Quixote wanted to return to the age of chivalry, and he began the retrogression himself. Unamuno wanted a regeneration and he began by preaching the social reorganization which must come, even though it be a return to a former level.² In this he disagreed with Ganivet: the latter said that a change of ideas must precede social reorganization; but Unamuno wrote:

....ya no conformo con usted en este su idealismo. No creo en esa fuerza de las ideas, que antes me parecen resultantes que causas. Siempre he creído que el suponer que una idea sea causa de una transformación social, es como

¹He was sentenced to sixteen years of imprisonment for lèse-majesté because of two articles against Alfonso XIII and was later pardoned but not pacified. He made open speeches against the king using "piercing satire and spirited tenderness," and went from city to city "sowing restlessness" before his exile in 1924. In his exile he continued to pour forth invectives against the Spanish royalty and to plead with the people for revolt. The entire second part of his Romancero del destierro is composed of his anguish for the state of Spain or of his attacks upon those whom he considered responsible. After his enthusiastic reception on February 9, 1930, when he returned to Spain, he made lectures at the Ateneo de Madrid on May 2 and at the Teatro Europa on May 4, both lectures being preceded by street fighting between the people and the police. These and his other many addresses were documents against Alfonso and his family--"inspiring, agonizing, quixotizing." (Palseiro, loc. cit., pp. 648-656.) Nor were his activities confined to scheduled addresses for he was a regular attendant at the tertulia in the cafés and at the Casino in Salamanca where he talked and answered questions about politics and other questions of interest. (González-Ruano, op. cit., p. 28).

²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VI, p. 174.

suponer que las indicaciones del barómetro modifican la presión atmosférica....

Lo que cambia las ideas, que no son más que la flor de los estados del espíritu, es la organización social, y ésta cambia por virtud propia, obedeciendo a leyes económicas que la rigen, por un dinamismo riguroso.¹

His belief that social reorganization must come before the growth of new ideas probably was the basis for his enthusiasm for the various revolutions--he wanted a change.

Spain needed new life, new men, and new ideas² to overcome the Spain of today toward which Unamuno took a rather pessimistic viewpoint.³ He said Spain did not read Don Quijote enough, nor did it understand what it read.⁴ He said it did not take the proper aggressive attitude:⁵ Spanish culture was too crystallized,⁶ too superficial and impersonal,⁷ too traditional.⁸

Y lo que eleva, enoblece, fortifica y espiritualiza a los pueblos no es conservar supersticiosamente las viejas tradiciones, sino el forjárselas nuevas, con los materiales de las antiguas o con otros cualquiera.⁹

¹Unamuno, and Ganiwet, op. cit., pp. 111-112.

²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. III, p. 75; Vol. IV, pp. 61-62.

³Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 144, 203; Vol. VII, p. 22.

⁴Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, p. 204; "Sobre la lectura e interpretación del Quijote," Ensayos, Vol. V, pp. 201-230.

⁵Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 12; Del sentimiento trágico, p. 298.

⁶Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. III, p. 51.

⁷Ibid., Vol. III, p. 53.

⁸Ibid., Vol. III, p. 56.

⁹Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 33-34.

Spain needed the will to change, for progress cannot be made without change, and change cannot be made without will.¹ Unamuno preached revolt against the established order just as Don Quixote fought against accepted customs.

Unamuno agreed with others that Spain was born too late in political ideas, and that she abandoned them even later.² Therefore Spain has never adjusted herself to the political condition of Europe.³ Unamuno asked himself if his own spirit was European or modern, and his conscience answered that it was neither. According to the popular conception of European and modern times, he could not be so-called, because he was Spanish, and typically Spanish, by nature, as he showed in the following selection:

Vuelvo a mí mismo al cabo de los años, después de haber peregrinado por diversos campos de la moderna cultura europea, y me pregunto a solas con mi conciencia, ¿soy europeo? ¿Soy moderno? y mi conciencia me responde: No, no eres moderno, eso que se llama ser moderno. Y vuelvo a preguntarme: y eso de no sentirte ni europeo ni moderno, ¿arranca acaso de ser tú español?....

Ante todo, y por lo que a mí hace, debo confesar que cuanto más en ello medito más descubro la íntima repugnancia que mi espíritu siente hacia todo lo que pasa por principios directores del espíritu europeo moderno, hacia la ortodoxia científica de hoy, hacia sus métodos, hacia sus tendencias.⁴

He felt opposed to the spirit called the Modern European⁵ because

¹Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 171-172.

²Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 54.

³Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VII, p. 167.

⁴Ibid., p. 161-162.

⁵Ibid., p. 162.

he was more interested in Spanish culture. He felt the spirit of Goya, El Greco, Velazquez, and Cervantes,¹ and it seemed as logical to him that Europe should become Spanish in spirit as that Spain should take on those characteristics typical of the other countries of modern Europe.² Like Don Quixote, he felt a great loyalty to Spain and to Spanish culture.³ As Don Quixote lived twelve years for his Dulcinea, so Unamuno was "constantly alert in behalf of Spain for over thirty years."⁴ From the age of thirty or thirty-five⁵ until his death at the age of seventy-two, Unamuno preached for Spanish culture.⁶

Like Don Quixote, he was interested in the youth of his country, those who were to carry on the standards and the culture of his Spain.⁷ Since upon them depended the growth and the development of their surroundings and culture,⁸ he believed in intellectual regeneration for them.⁹ Like Don Quixote, also, he be-

¹ Ibid., p. 170.

² Ibid., pp. 186-187.

³ Cf. Discussion of patriotism in Chap. II.

⁴ Falseiro, loc. cit., p. 648.

⁵ Benardete, loc. cit., p. 28.

⁶ One of the strong objections that Unamuno had to Alfonso XIII was that he was under the control of his Austrian mother and that Spain had no native dynasty. (New York Times, July 13, 1930, Pt. V, p. 7.) It was reported that his change from the support of the insurgents to that of the government was due to his dislike of the German troupes in Spain. He said they acted as if they owned the country. (New York Times, Jan. 3, 1937, p. 33, col. 2.)

⁷ Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, pp. 11-14.

⁸ Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 33, 66.

⁹ Ibid., p. 48.

lieved in education,¹ which he thought should be the "cultura del espíritu."² He fought for freedom of discussion for the young people so that they might have the spiritual regeneration resulting from the interchange of ideas.³ It grieved him that many of the provincial people lacked interest in the political and social problems of their country, and he tried to stir up an interest through his many writings on the subject of education.

Unamuno wrote one book devoted to the subject, De la enseñanza superior en España,⁴ and there are several essays included in the seven volumes of his Ensayos published by the Residencia de Estudiantes: e. g., "La enseñanza del latín en España,"⁵ "La juventud intelectual española,"⁶ and "La educación."⁷ One essay, "National and Clerical Education in Spain,"⁸ has been published in English. In various of his other works, he illustrated some theories of education: the novel, Amor y pedagogía, attacks "las ridiculeces a que lleva la ciencia mal entendida y la manía pedagógica sacada de su justo punto";⁹ the descriptive works,

¹Cervantes, op. cit., p. 642.

²Unamuno, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 11.

³Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 201.

⁴Madrid: Revista Nueva, 1899. Unavailable.

⁵Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II,

⁶Ibid., Vol. III.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Independent, August 25, 1904, pp. 427-430.

⁹Unamuno, Amor y pedagogía, p. 10.

Andanzas y visiones españolas, De mi país, and Por tierras de Portugal y de España, discuss the state of education in the various parts of Spain; and his autobiographical work, Recuerdos de niñez y mocedad, tells of his own education and of his early interest in teaching.

His career as an educator began with private lessons in his native city of Bilbao. After four unsuccessful attempts to gain a chair at a university, he gained a chair of Greek in the University of Salamanca where he spent all his teaching life after 1891.¹ His career as rector or president of the University of Salamanca has already been summarized.² He set the example for his students and for those whom he would interest in education, not being satisfied with his learning, even after he received his doctorate. His learning was many-sided: philology, philosophy, poetry, drama, fiction, essay, politics, nature, history.³ He summarized the product of his work for a bachelor's degree:

En resolución ¿qué fruto saqué de los años de mi bachillerato?

Junto a algunas desilusiones, aprendí que había un mundo nuevo apenas vislumbrado por mí; que tras de aquellas áridas enseñanzas, despojos de ciencia, había la ciencia viva que las produjera; que la hermosura de reflejo que, como la luna su lumbre, derramaban aún aquellas disciplinas y lecciones sobre mi mente, aunque lumbre pálida y fría,

¹Unamuno, Ensayos y sentencias, W. A. Beardsley (ed.), (New York: MacMillan Co., 1932), Introduction, p. 3.

²Ante., p. 26, note, 2.

³Balseiro, loc. cit., p. 650.

era reflejo de un sol vivo, de un sol vivificante, del sol de la ciencia. Salí enamorado del saber.¹

He tried to make his students and his readers interested also in living science and in the living history that is being made every day. Since the students of today will be the rulers of tomorrow in an ever changing world, Unamuno wished to prepare them for the fulfillment of their duties. But in this also Spain was backward, having little belief in public instruction (and even less in hygiene). The chief type of education at the time of Unamuno's essay was religious education which he characterized as "detestable," teaching only the outward forms.² Because of the lack of education, the majority of the people did not think for themselves, but accepted with little question the instruction given them by the priests. Unamuno believed that the maintenance of the national culture could be effected only through an effective system of education.³

This system of education would extend to all classes of people, for Unamuno, like Don Quixote,⁴ was very democratic. While others feared a revolution tearing down the aristocracy, Unamuno thought the change would give Spain more audacious, more astute, and more alive leaders.⁵ Both Don Quixote and Unamuno

¹Unamuno, Recuerdos, p. 50.

²Unamuno, "National and Clerical Education in Spain," loc. cit., p. 428.

³Ibid., p. 430.

⁴Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 78, 92, 153, 436, 590, 638.

⁵Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VI, pp. 9, 162.

believed that a man is the son of his works, and that "no es un hombre más que otro si no hace más que otro."¹ Don Quixote treated Sancho as a friend of equal class² since his ideas of family and lineage were very liberal as he explained:

....Porque te hago saber, Sancho, que hay dos maneras de linajes en el mundo: unos que traen y derivan su decendencia de príncipes y monarcas, a quien poco a poco el tiempo ha deshecho, y han acabado en punta, como pirámides puesta al revés; otros tuvieron principio de gente baja, y van subiendo de grado en grado, hasta llegar a ser grandes señores; de manera, que esta la diferencia en que unos fueron, que ya no son, y otros son, que ya no fueron.....³

And, again,

....Mirad, amigas: a cuatro suertes de linajes (y estadme atentas) se pueden reducir todos los que hay en el mundo, que son éstas: unos que tuvieron principios humildes, y se fueron extendiendo y dilatando hasta llegar a una suma grandeza; otros que tuvieron principios grandes, los fueron conservando, y los conservan y mantienen en el ser que comenzaron; otros que, aunque tuvieron principios grandes, acabaron en punta, como pirámide, habiendo disminuido y aniquilado su principio hasta parar en nonada, como lo es la punta de la pirámide, que respeto [respecto] de su base o esiente no es nada; otros hay (y éstos son los más) que ni tuvieron principio bueno, ni razonable medio, y así tendrán el fin, sin nombre, como el linaje de la gente plebeya y ordinaria.⁴

Unamuno was no less liberal in his comments:

Y así es; que mi humanidad empieza en mí y debe cada

¹Cervantes, op. cit., p. 128; cf. Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 87.

²Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

³Ibid., p. 153.

⁴Ibid., p. 436; cf. also, pp. 92, 590, 596, 638.

uno de nosotros más que pensar en que es descendiente de sus abuelos y estanque a que han venido acaso a juntarse tantas y tan diversas aguas, en que es ascendiente de sus nietos y fuente de los arroyos y ríos que de él han de brotar al porvenir. Miremos más que somos padres de nuestro porvenir que no hijos de nuestro pasado, y en todo caso nodos en que se recogen las fuerzas todas de lo que fué para irradiar a lo que será y en cuanto al linaje todos nietos de reyes destronados.¹

Unamuno would not protest if someone declared himself superior, but would wait until the challenger proved his superiority, for he believed the world to be benefitted by each person's trying either to prove his superiority or to disprove his inferiority.² He said that the person who commands pities the one who obeys for having to obey and the one who obeys pities the one who commands for having to command.³ In this manner, he would show us that perhaps a king is a king because he cannot help himself; perhaps he would prefer some other profession.⁴ It is never the title that is important; a man is judged according to his works.

A man may make himself immortal through his works if his works deserve being remembered by posterity, and all men have the desire to be immortal in one way or another. Miguel de Unamuno and Don Quixote of the Mancha desired immortality in every manner possible. Therefore, they frequently made themselves seem ridi-

¹Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, pp. 87-88.

²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VII, p. 25.

³Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 187.

⁴Unamuno, Por tierras, p. 43.

culous to the multitude that the universality and permanence of their experiences might make them immortal. Only those who cannot reach their height on the mountain tops consider either of these quixotic characters ridiculous.¹ A person must separate himself from the mass to search for the sepulchre of Don Quixote or for the reason for life, for these searches are quixotic and, to the mass, ridiculous.² Therefore, Unamuno said he is to "ponerse en ridículo, no sólo ante los demás, sino ante nosotros mismos,"³ in order to immortalize ourselves and become eternal. Miguel de Unamuno strove to perpetuate himself upon the earth by his many children,⁴ by his writings, by his teachings, and by his friendships. He had a great fear of death, not for the experience itself but for the oblivion it precedes. Therefore, he believed in a God which was to him the desire to perpetuate oneself in the universe and to manifest oneself in it. He studied the views of other writers concerning the life after death and used many of his pages and much of his time in the discussion and contemplation of this "vivir y sobrevivir."⁵ It was his constant, passionate plea: "¡qué no acabe este ensayo, qué no acabe ninguna de mis obras, qué mi vida no acabe, Dios mío!"⁶

¹Starkie, "Modern Don Quixote," loc. cit., p. 94.

²Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, pp. 7,8.

³Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, p. 298.

⁴Ibid., p. 49; Alcalá-Galiano, op. cit., p. 252.

⁵Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, p. 52.

⁶Ibid., p. 144.

The theme of immortality is current throughout all of his works, appearing even in his descriptive works as the presence of God in nature.¹ In his novels, the characters possess his own "ansia de inmortalidad,"² striving through children to perpetuate themselves.³ He interpreted the suffering of the monks and of the nuns as their realization that their life ends with their death so far as the continuation of their line is concerned.⁴ Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, El Cristo de Velázquez, La agonía del cristianismo, El espejo de la muerte, El hermano Juan, El otro, and Vida de don Quijote y Sancho are especially concerned with the thought of death and of immortality.

Don Quixote knew that he would be immortalized in the works of the future authors, for he said at the beginning of his first salida:

"¿Quién duda sino que en los venideros tiempos, cuando salga a luz la verdadera historia de mis famosos hechos, que el sabio que los escribiere no ponga, cuando llegue a contar esta mi primera salida tan de mañana, desta manera?: "Apenas había el rubicundo Apolo tendido por la faz de la ancha y espaciosa tierra las doradas hebras de sus hermosos cabellos, y apenas los pequeños y pintados pajarillos con sus harpadas las lenguas habían saludado con dulce y melifua armonía la venida de la rosada aurora, que, dejando la blanda cama del celoso marido, por las puertas y balcones del manchego horizonte a los mortales se mostraba, cuando el famoso caballero don Quijote de la Mancha, dejando las ociosas plumas, subió

¹Unamuno, De Fuerteventura, pp. 117-118.

²Alcalá-Galiano, op. cit.

³Unamuno, Amor y pedagogía, pp. 184-185; Paz en la guerra, p. 313; cf. Chap. IV.

⁴Unamuno, Agonía del cristianismo, p. 32.

sobre su famoso caballo Rocinante, y comenzo [comenzó] a caminar por el antiguo y conocido campo de Montiel."¹

But Unamuno did not consider him immortal because of his deeds, but because of his spirit and of his death:

Cosas muy peregrinas conoceremos allí respecto a la vida y a la muerte, y allí se verá cuán profundo sentido tiene la primera parte del epitafio que en la sepultura de don Quijote puso Sansón Carrasco y que dice

"Yace aquí al hidalgo fuerte
que a tanto extremo llegó
de valiente, que se advierte,
que la muerte no triunfó
de la su vida con la muerte.

Y así es, pues don Quijote es, merced a su muerte, inmortal, la muerte es nuestra inmortalizadora.²

....Intercede, pues, en favor mío, oh mi señor y patrón, para que tu Dulcinea del Toboso, ya desencantada merced a los azotes de tu Sancho, me lleve de su mano a la inmortalidad del nombre y de la fama. Y si es la vida sueño, déjame soñarla inacabable.³

Unamuno was not speaking of the immortality of the flesh, for flesh is mortal, nor of the resurrection of the body, for he said:

La inmortalidad del alma es algo espiritual, algo social. El que se hace un alma, el que deja una obra, vive en ella y con ella en los demás hombres, en la humanidad, tanto cuanto está viva. Es vivir en la historia.⁴

¹Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

²Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 323.

³Ibid., p. 324.

⁴Unamuno, La agonía del cristianismo, pp. 47-48.

In his essay, "El hambre de inmortalidad,"¹ he gave his best discussion. The following quotations summarize his thoughts:

.....Intenta, lector, imaginarte en plena vela cual sea el estado de tu alma en el profundo sueño; trata de llenar tu conciencia con la representación de la no conciencia, y lo verás. Causa congojosísimo vértigo el empeñarse en comprenderlo. No podemos concebirnos como no existiendo.²

¡Ser, ser siempre, ser sin término! ¡Sed de ser, sed de ser más! ¡Hambre de Dios! ¡Sed de amor eternizante y eterno! ¡Ser siempre! ¡Ser Dios!³

.....Sólo los débiles se resignan a la muerte final, y sustituyen con otro el anhelo de inmortalidad personal. En los fuertes, el ansia de perpetuidad sobrepuja a la duda de lograrla, y su rebose de vida se vierte al más allá de la muerte.

Ante este terrible misterio de la mortalidad, cara a cara de la esfinge, el hombre adopta distintas actitudes y busca por varios modos consolarse de haber nacido. Y ya se le ocurre tomarlo a juego, y se dice con Renán, que este universo es un espectáculo que Dios se da a sí mismo, y que debemos servir las intenciones del gran Corega, contribuyendo a hacer el espectáculo lo más brillante y lo más variado posible. Y han hecho del arte una religión y un remedio para el mal metafísico, y han inventado la monserga del arte por el arte.⁴

Y no les basta.....

Cuando las dudas nos invaden y nublan la fe en la inmortalidad del alma, cobra brío y doloroso empuje el ansia de perpetuar el nombre y la fama, de alcanzar una sombra de inmortalidad siquiera. Y de aquí esa tremenda lucha por singularizarse, por sobrevivir de algún modo en la memoria de los otros y los venideros, esa lucha mil veces más terrible que la lucha por la vida, y que da tono, color y carácter a esta muestra sociedad, en que la fe medieval en el alma inmortal se desvanece.⁵

¹Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, pp. 41-59.

²Ibid., pp. 41-42.

³Ibid., p. 43.

⁴Ibid., p. 54.

⁵Ibid., p. 55.

Esa sed de vida eterna apáganla muchos, los sencillos sobre todo, en la fuente de la fe religiosa; pero no a todos es dado beber de ella. La institución cuyo fin primordial es proteger esa fe en la inmortalidad personal del alma es el catolicismo; pero el catolicismo ha querido racionalizar esa fe haciendo de la religion teología, queriendo dar por base a la creencia vital una filosofía y una filosofía de siglo xiii.....¹

Sometimes his preoccupation with the theme of the after-life led Unamuno to make death seem a gate to a more enriched life than that experienced on the earth. "Suela decirme a mi mismo que el morir es un desnacer, y el nacer un desmorir."² With Calderón, he believed that "La vida es sueño,"³ and that death is the awakening from the dream of life into the fulfillment of the dream.

"Cada vez que considero
que me tengo de morir,
tiendo la capa en el suelo
y no me harto de dormir."

Pero no dormir, no, sino soñar; soñar la vida, ya que la vida es sueño.⁴

We are a dream of God and our life is that which God dreams for us.⁵ Unamuno spoke to Christ about life:

¹Ibid., p. 59.

²Unamuno, De mi país, p. ix.

³Unamuno, De Fuerteventura, pp. 133, 159; Tres novelas ejemplares, p. 20; Del sentimiento trágico, p. 296; San Manuel Bueno, mártir, pp. 18, 96; Ensayos, Vol. II, pp. 163 ff.

⁴Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, p. 296.

⁵Samuel Putman, "Unamuno y el problema de la sociedad," Revista Hispanica Moderna, January, 1935, p. 150; Unamuno, Como se hace una novela (Buenos Aires: G. P. Perlado, 1927), p. 74; San Manuel Bueno, mártir, p. 18.

¿Tu vida acaso fué, como la nuestra, sueño? ¿De tu alma fué en el alma quieta fiel trasunto del sueño de la vida de nuestro Padre? Dí, ¿de que vivimos sino del sueño de tu vida, Hermano?

No es la sustancia de lo que esperamos, nuestra fe, nada más que de tu obras el sueño, Cristo!¹

And our life will be done when the dream is done. We shall have completed our "cruz de nacimiento" when the dream forgets to dream.²

Perhaps for some of us, the dream of life is our mystery, for everyone has a mystery in his soul,³ which is both an aid and an impediment to him in adapting himself to life. This secret is deeper in the man according to the amount of personality he has, and according to the manner in which he hides it.⁴ If it is deeply planted, it will produce fruits worthy of the soul,⁵ and draw the soul to God.⁶ It is this secret which makes the dream of life worth dreaming and the war of the Quixotes worth fighting. It is this secret which gives meaning to our existence.

As has been shown, it was the search for the meaning of life and the desire for an afterlife in time and space which caused Unamuno to believe in the existence of a Supreme Being or

¹Unamuno, El Cristo, p. 30.

²Unamuno, Romancero, p. 20; San Manuel Bueno, mártir, p. 96

³Unamuno, Ensayos. Vol. VII, p. 42.

⁴Ibid., pp. 43, 45.

⁵Ibid., p. 44.

⁶Ibid., p. 59.

a Divine Conscience.¹ The belief in the existence of God and of the earth explain and help the understanding of our own existence,² although neither the existence of God nor the understanding of the earth can be really explained or defined.³ Unamuno said that people no longer believe in believing in God,⁴ and to combat this lack of faith he illustrated the idea that beauty is only the reflection of divinity,⁵ and that God is a part of each of us,⁶ making us, in part, divine.

Like Don Quixote,⁷ his religious feeling did not cause him to be an orthodox Catholic. Religious orthodoxy was intolerable to Unamuno⁸ because it led to ossification and death of the true spirit.⁹ In his analysis of Christianity, La agonía del cristianismo, he discussed many phases of the Christian faith: "Lo que voy a exponer aquí, lector, es mi agonía, mi lucha por el

¹Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, pp. 40, 279; Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, pp. 231, 235-240.

²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, p. 78.

³Romera-Navarro, op. cit., p. 236.

⁴Unamuno, "Anarchy in Spain," translated from the Berliner Tageblatt, Living Age, March, 1934, p. 23.

⁵Unamuno, Andanzas, p. 204; Del sentimiento trágico, pp. 199-200; Vida de don Quijote, p. 104.

⁶Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. IV, p. 96.

⁷Castro, op. cit., pp. 207 ff; Cervantes, op. cit., Pt. I, chap. xii; Pt. II, chap. lviii.

⁸Unamuno, op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 40, 45.

⁹Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 18.

cristianismo, la agonía del cristianismo en mí, su muerte y su resurrección en cada momento de mi vida íntima."¹ He felt no conviction that, being Spanish, he must necessarily be Catholic,² for he believed in a faith without dogmas,³ and without the pomp and ritual which make much religion purely a conventional life.⁴ Don Quixote said that everyone could not be a priest, "y muchos son los caminos por donde lleva Dios a los suyos al cielo: religión es la caballería; caballeros santos hay en la gloria."⁵

Unamuno criticized the priests on several occasions,⁶ such as the following: "....Porque la cosa es clara; diría: el Purgatorio es una invención de los curas para lucrarse con ella; es el principal capítulo de ingresos para la Iglesia y el clero; es su viña, su mina."⁷ He was opposed to the entrance of the religious orders into political affairs.⁸ He discussed the church itself,⁹ and the theology back of it,¹⁰ believing that people were insufficiently educated in the religion they professed

¹p. 20.

²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VII, p. 17.

³Ibid., Vol. V, p. 192.

⁴Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 19, 140; Vida de don Quijote, p. 29.

⁵Cervantes, op. cit., p. 447; cf. pp. 133, 585-587.

⁶Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, pp. 160 ff, 204.

⁷Unamuno, Por tierras, p. 62.

⁸Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. IV, p. 125.

⁹Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 235 ff.

¹⁰Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 158 ff.

to believe.¹

Unamuno would have people educated in religion and believing in it so that they would be happier. Through his quixotic character, Don Manuel Bueno, he said: "Sí, ya sé que uno de esas cuadrillas de la que llaman la revolución social ha dicho que la religión es el opio del pueblo. Opio....opio....opio, sí. Démosle opio, y que duerma y que sueñe."² Religion is necessary for the explanation of life:

No necesito a Dios para concebir lógicamente el Universo, porque lo que no me explico sin Él, tampoco con Él me lo explico. Hace ya años, cuando, por culpa de esa condenada filosofía, chapoteaba yo en el ateísmo teórico, cayó en mis manos cierto libro de Carlos Vogt, en que leí un pasaje que decía, sobre poco mas o menos: --Dios es una equis sobre una gran barrera situada en los últimos límites del conocimiento humano a medida que la ciencia avanza, la barrera se retira--. Y recuerdo que escribí al margen estas palabras: --De la barrera acá, todo se explica sin Él; de la barrera allá, ni con Él ni sin Él; Dios, por lo tanto, sobra--.

--Y hoy?

--Hoy me parece eso que escribí una completa barbaridad.³

The faith of his later years is best shown in his poetry, poems of spiritual meditations and religious spirit.⁴ In these he presented the Christ who lived within him in various aspects and by means of various symbols.

¹Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. III, pp. 129 ff.; Vol. IV, p. 105; Vol. V, p. 182; cf. Ensayos y sentencias, ed. W. A. Beardsley (New York: MacMillan Co., 1932), pp. 26-27.

²Unamuno, San Manuel Bueno, mártir, p. 91.

³Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, pp. 47-48.

⁴Ante., chap. ii.

....De nobilísima y sostenida inspiración es El Cristo de Velázquez. En él ha vertido Unamuno toda la fuerte pasión religiosa que le embarga ánimo y corazón, su trágico sentido de la vida y de los hombres; y tan fuerte como la pasión y el fervor, es el pensamiento que lo informa y las ideas y emociones que sugiere. Hay verdadero fuego poético en el corazón de este hombre, pero son también muchas las líneas en que la llama espiritual ha quemado los acentos indispensables para la cadencia.¹

In these poems, Unamuno sought to impart to the people something of his own religious fervor, even as one of his characters. Don Manuel Bueno, taught his people. Unamuno said that he who teaches a truth without believing it lies,² but he portrayed Don Manuel as an unbeliever teaching as the truth that which he admittedly disbelieved.³ However, Don Manuel's salvation lay in the fact that he believed without realizing the fact and that his works spoke more loudly for his truth than did his words.⁴ His must have been a truly great faith to create for the people a belief which he himself did not consciously possess. Nothing is impossible for the believer,⁵ for faith creates that which we do not see.⁶ "Y yo no sé lo que es verdad y lo que es mentira, ni lo que ví y lo que sólo soñé--o mejor lo que soñé y lo que sólo ví--, ni lo que supe ni lo que creí."⁷

¹Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 126.

²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, p. 239.

³Unamuno, San Manuel Bueno, mártir, p. 110.

⁴Ibid., epílogo.

⁵Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 26.

⁶Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. IV, p. 221; Vol. V, p. 24.

⁷Unamuno, San Manuel Bueno, mártir, p. 112.

Man must be his own judge of his life and of his dreams, for only he can know his true spirit. He must learn to be the judge and the critic of himself. He becomes, according to Don Quixote and Unamuno, the son of his name because people believe what he says of himself to a certain extent,¹ for they believe he knows what manner of man he is.²

Man is also, however, the product of what others think about him. We learn to know ourselves through comparison with others,³ and we hate and love in others only those characteristics which we ourselves possess and recognize as our own.⁴ It is better than to be tolerant of the faults of others since the attitude of the onlooker may change the character of the culprit. The purity of Don Quixote's eyes made the women of the inn pure.⁵

Unamuno appealed to each person individually⁶ to walk alone⁷ and to distinguish himself from the mass.⁸ He must be individualistic, believing himself to be especially and personally

¹Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. IV, p. 147.

²Ibid., pp. 65-66, 175; Vol. V, p. 166; Vol. VI, p. 61; Vol. VII, p. 159.

³Unamuno, Abel Sánchez, p. 9.

⁴Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, p. 147.

⁵Cervantes, op. cit., Pt. I, chaps. ii-iii; Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, pp. 24-29.

⁶Unamuno, San Manuel Bueno, mártir, p. 313.

⁷Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, p. 194.

⁸Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 17-18, 20.

chosen by God.¹ His individuality is his outside limitation while his personality is the expanse of his inner being.² Unamuno's intense individualism explains his violent desire for individual immortality.³

Unamuno was very interested both in the individuality and in the personality of a man. The former is his "sufrimiento por pecados," and the latter, "el dolor como vía de redención."⁴ The former is "lo que se tiene en común con los demás," and the latter, "lo que es de uno en peculiar."⁵

Since both Unamuno and Don Quixote were more interested in the man than in his ideas, they preferred sincerity to consistency.⁶ Not that either of them enjoyed the opinion of a person who continually changed his viewpoint without apparent reason,⁷ for such a person must not have been sincere at first. A person can be consistent in being and in spirit and yet keep his opinions growing to meet the times.⁸ Continuity is true consistency of spirit.⁹

¹Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 75.

²Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 186-188; Vol. IV, pp. 69-71; Vol. VI, pp. 70-71; cf. Benardete, loc. cit.

³Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. IV, p. 77.

⁴Benardete, loc. cit., p. 34.

⁵Ibid., p. 30.

⁶Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, pp. 195, 188, 213; Vol. VII, pp. 68, 71, 73.

⁷Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 67, 78.

⁸Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 68, 70, 73, 82, 84.

⁹Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 86.

De lo que hay que huir es de la insinceridad y de la mentira....y si alguien te atribuyere a pose, o creyere que no eres dueño de ti mismo, ten piedad de él, porque tienen [tiene]ojos y no ven [ve].¹

....La conducta de todo hombre que de veras vive y no es esclavo de una embrutecedora y tiránica consecuencia, es una continuación, ratificación y rectificación de su pasado.²

El hombre de hoy no es el de ayer ni el de mañana, y así como cambias, deja que cambie el ideal que de tu propio to forjes. Sé sincero siempre.³

Only by changing his ideas can one advance, and both Unamuno and Don Quixote spoke favorably of ambition.⁴ Only by attempting the impossible as did Don Quixote can people accomplish deeds worthy of their talents.⁵ It is better to die with Icarus than never to attempt to fly,⁶ for he who has no desire to improve himself will end by being nothing.⁷ "¡Y Dios no te dé paz y sí gloria!"⁸ since peace would lead to complacency and death of the spirit, and glory would lead to the tomb of Don Quixote and to the secret of life.

The search of Don Quixote was a search for the truth, an

¹Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 34.

²Unamuno, introduction to El porvenir de España, p. 16.

³Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II. p. 188.

⁴Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, pp. 183, 197; Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 435, 447, 458.

⁵Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, p. 184.

⁶Ibid., p. 189.

⁷Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 178.

⁸Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, p. 320.

ever-changing and ever-advancing idea. In the love of and the search for truth are Don Quixote and Unamuno most similar. Don Quixote fought against windmills and sheep, believing them to be his enemies, making them his enemies. He called himself a caballero and did the deeds worthy of one. If a man is judged by his works, then was Don Quixote a caballero and a warrior for the truth. Unamuno explained truth, thus: "¿Qué es verdad? Verdad es lo que se cree de todo corazón y con toda el alma. Y ¿qué es creer algo de todo corazón y con toda el alma? Obrar conforme a ello.¹"

Each person then makes his own truth and acts accordingly, and the world considers that man crazy who has a different truth from the majority.² The courage and the will necessary to distinguish truth from the accepted idea characterized both Don Quixote and Unamuno. Both used actual life as a test for their viewpoints,³ for living men are more important than changing ideas.⁴ Unamuno would have us look into ourselves and find truth within our own hearts and consciences⁵ and depend upon that truth and work according to our conception of it.

¹Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VI, p. 243.

²Ibid., p. 86.

³Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 118; Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 254.

⁴Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. I, pp. 19, 105; Vol. II, p. 201; Vol. VI, p. 168; Vol. VII, p. 85; Vida de don Quijote, p. 91.

⁵Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, p. 18; Ensayos, Vol. II, p. 204; III, p. 182; IV, 98; VII, 93-94.

As Benardete says in his excellent study, Unamuno was a person who lived in contrasts: reason opposed to faith, life to death, solitude to multitude, country to city, war to peace, universality to singularity.¹ Even as his master, Don Quixote, Unamuno had difficulty in adjusting himself to the truth as the world sees it, and therefore, he lived in the midst of changing ideas with a great constancy of spirit.² Like Don Quixote then, Unamuno was a "man angel who realizes the good and defends justice without thinking of his own convenience, without fear of the prejudices that he may arouse by shattering established conventions."³

Unamuno shattered conventions in his theory of poetry⁴ as well as in his life, for he established his own forms of poetic expression. Poetry can be expressed in many ways: "Con literatura no se hace ferrocarriles, ni puertos, ni fábricas, ni agricultura, y sin poesía es casi imposible hacerlos."⁵ Poetry is the spirit which creates and advances in the world.

Like Don Quixote, with his long harangues on the subject of literature and letters,⁶ Unamuno was a literary critic. Unamuno was not favorably impressed with the literary discussions of

¹Benardete, loc. cit., p. 34.

²Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, pp. 254-259. For a summary of Unamuno's political inconsistencies, see chap. ii.

³Quoted from Plasco Ibáñez in "Are We Don Quixotes or Sancho Panzas"? loc. cit., p. 38.

⁴Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 158.

⁵Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VII, p. 154.

⁶Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 151-153, 188, 407, 409, 504, 590.

the Quijote, but his was probably due to his desire to give Cervantes as little credit as possible.¹ Both Unamuno and Don Quixote spoke very favorably of their own literary efforts, and of the manner in which future critics would regard them.²

Unamuno was a prodigious reader and, therefore, he had a wide experience in literature. Almost all of his works contain some reference to the classics or to some outstanding work of modern times.³ In Por tierras de Portugal y de España, he gave his opinions concerning the Portuguese literature of contemporary writers,⁴ saying that the Spanish lack of understanding was due to arrogance.⁵ In Contra esto y aquello, he discussed the work of Flaubert,⁶ and Silva,⁷ Rousseau, Voltaire, Nietzsche,⁸ Carducci,⁹ and various others. As to the state of contemporary

¹Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. V, pp. 222-223; Romera-Navarro, op. cit., p. 189.

²Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 27, 37; Unamuno, Niebla, p. 143; La agonía del cristianismo, p. 9; De Fuerteventura, p. 10.

³Unamuno, El hermano Juan, pp. 10-34; El espejo de la muerte, pp. 117-118; Andanzas, pp. 26-32; Tres novelas ejemplares, pp. 10-11, 13-15, 23, 24; Recuerdos, pp. 12, 43; De Fuerteventura, pp. 54, 69-70, 107; Ensayos, Vol. II, pp. 19, 208; Vol. VII, pp. 99-156, 191-219.

⁴Ibid., pp. 5-13, 15-23, 25-36, 57.

⁵Ibid., p. 17.

⁶Ibid., pp. 21-31.

⁷Ibid., pp. 41-49.

⁸Ibid., pp. 123-133.

⁹Ibid., pp. 177-189.

literature, he wrote:

En el fondo de todo esto que nos está pasando no hay sino una completa carencia de ideales, no ya éticos, sino estéticos y aún puramente literarios. Los mas están haciendo literatura de literatura, novelas sacadas de otras novelas, dramas extraídos de dramas, lírica que no es sino eco de otras líricas. Y lo que hacen falta son bárbaros.

El ser bárbaro no implica el ser ignorante ni indocto, no. Un bárbaro puede ser doctísimo y hasta sapientísimo. El bárbaro es el que irrumpe en un campo desde otro campo, con otras preocupaciones, con otros prejuicios--¿pues quién no los tiene?--, con otra visión y otro sentimiento de la vida, que aquellos que privan en el campo por el irrumpido....

La literatura ha caído entre nosotros casi por completo en manos de profesionales de ella, y las profesiones se hacen en manos de los profesionales terriblemente conservadoras....

....Dios os libre, lectores, de chocar con un literato, con un genuino y estricto literato, con un profesional de las letras, con un ebanista de prosa barnizada. Será una de las mayores desgracias que pueda sobrevenirnos.¹

Vida de don Quijote y Sancho is really a parasitical work,² and a number of his Ensayos are literary discussions: e.g., "La regeneración del teatro español,"³ "Sobre la erudición y la crítica,"⁴ "Algunas consideraciones sobre la literatura hispano-americana,"⁵ and "Sobre la tumba de Costa."⁶

Part of Unamuno's enthusiasm for literature was probably due to his love of language. He reveled in words,⁷ convinced of

¹Unamuno, Contra esto y aquello, pp. 249-250.

²Icaza, op. cit., p. 214. For a discussion of other writings of Unamuno concerning Don Quijote, see chap. ii.

³Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II.

⁴Ibid., Vol. VI.

⁵Ibid., Vol. VII.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Madariaga, op. cit., p. 96.

the value of "el juego verbal."¹ He frequently has discussions of words, of their origin, or their relation one to another, of the images they call up.² Don Quixote also was interested in language, in the use of the correct form of the word,³ in the style of the books of chivalry,⁴ and in language for language's sake.⁵ Don Quixote had some knowledge of languages other than Castillian,⁶ and Unamuno was well-versed in many languages.⁷

Unamuno believed with Goethe that "No conoce ni su propia lengua quien sólo ella conoce,"⁸ for the knowledge and comparison of the several languages leads to a better understanding to the significance of each. In this viewpoint concerning language, he brings together many of his quixotic ideas: the need for progress, the value of free discussion, the awakening of thought. His love for the Spanish language, a phase of his great patriotism,

¹Putman, loc. cit., p. 106.

²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, pp. 183, 224 ff; Vol. III, pp. 79-93, 95-113, 191-237; Vol. IV, pp. 39, 45; Vol. VII, pp. 20-21, 123, 209; Recuerdos, pp. 2, 36; De Fuerteventura, pp. 29, 47, 93 ff, 158; Del sentimiento tragico, p. 302; San Manuel Bueno, martir, pp. 15, 25, 247, 254; Andanzas, pp. 227-232; Por tierras, pp. 15, 27; El hermano Juan, p. 17; Amor y pedagogia, pp. 247-252.

³Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 85, 154, 420, 439, 511, 569.

⁴Ibid., pp. 25, 27, 37.

⁵Ibid., pp. 23, 756.

⁶Ibid., pp. 56, 756.

⁷"Don Miguel de Unamuno," loc. cit., p. 537.

⁸Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, p. 14; and Ganivet, El porvenir, p. 122.

is shown in the following quotation:

Lengua que fué: Cervantes--la sonrisa
de la desilusión; fue viva llama
--Teresa; fue: Quevedo--adusta risa

y Góngora la pompa que recama
los ocasos; si el arte no la sisa
en aguaducho de oro se derrama.¹

In their interest in language and literature as the tools of man, in their preoccupation with the question of man's immortality, in their sincere warfare for the advancement of their country, and in their attitude toward God, the knight of the Mancha and the professor of Salamanca are alike.

¹Unamuno, De Fuerteventura, pp. 50-51.

CHAPTER IV

QUIXOTIC CHARACTERS IN UNAMUNO'S WORKS

Since he has been characterized as more quixotic than Cervantes, the creator of Don Quixote,¹ Unamuno could hardly fail to realize that he was himself a quixotic character. Since he was an egotist interested in dramatizing his unusual qualities,² he would not allow the public to forget his quixotism. He wanted to be apasionado,³ to feel deeply, to be torn apart by the mysteries and realities of life.⁴ He knew that "no faltará quien diga que quijoteo metiéndome con molinos de viento, y que soy muy dueño de escribir como se me antoje,"⁵ but he was proud of his daring⁶ and of his lessons to a world which did not understand his meaning.⁷ He spoke of himself as his own character: "¿Quién es él que se firma Miguel de Unamuno? Pues....uno de mis personajes, una de mis criaturas, uno de mis agonistas."⁸ He was more an actor than an author of his books, "dicho sea sin la menos intención irónica,"⁹ and he was a quixotic actor,

¹Palseiro, loc. cit., p. 645.

²Ante., chap. ii.

³Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 10.

⁴Salaverría, op. cit., p. 73.

⁵Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. III, p. 111.

⁶Benardete, loc. cit., p. 34.

⁷del Río, loc. cit., p. 19.

⁸Unamuno, Tres novelas ejemplares, p. 23.

⁹Montesinos, loc. cit., p. 11.

playing a tragic role in the tragedy of Spain. He became, therefore, his greatest work, his best copy of Don Quixote. He was, like Don Quixote, a son of his works--a supreme character, conceived, created, and developed by his own hand. The most quixotic work of Unamuno, then, was Unamuno himself.¹

The characterization in the novels of Unamuno is "raro," (different) because his characters are like Unamuno, who was a distinct personality.² The novels are more or less autobiographical, not of the physical life of the author, but a "fiel retrato de su propia vida espiritual."³ He showed his inmost thoughts in baring the souls of his "agonistas,"⁴ which fact explains the great similarity which is readily observed between the author and his characters.⁵ And since Unamuno was quixotic, his characters are excellent examples of quixotism.

In almost all of his novels there is one or more of these quixotic characters, patterned after his master Don Quixote in temperament. patterned after Unamuno himself in the great "congoja de la vida." Personality is always an enigma in his novels for Unamuno believed that the world is for "los solitarios, los Quijotes, los Robinsons, etc."⁶ Therefore, he portrayed his char-

¹Cf. chap. ii.

²Padín, loc. cit., p. 422.

³Ibid., p. 421.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Putman, loc. cit., p. 110.

acters as dreamers of life, some passionately desiring to live and some to be free from life. The characters find reality through faith, becoming what they want to be.

La realidad unamunesca, es decir, la realidad que se dan a sí mismos los personajes de las últimas novelas de Unamuno "en puro querer ser, en puro querer no ser," no es ese algo ambiguo e incoloro que pasa por realismo en el arte literario.¹

It is not, then, that the characters in the novels of Unamuno are fantastic, as some people would surmise when the adjective "quixotic" is used. They are, as Don Quixote was, intimately real, true to themselves, passionately believing. It is not what they are, but what they desire to be that condemns or saves them. It was Don Quixote's aim in life, rather than his attempts to accomplish it, which made him immortal.

Comparad a Segismundo con don Quijote, dos soñadores de la vida. La realidad en la vida de don Quijote no fueron los molinos de viento, sino los gigantes. Los molinos eran fenoménicos, aparenticiales; los gigantes eran numénicos, substanciales. El sueño es el de la vida, realidad, creación. La fe misma no es, según San Pablo, sino la substancia de las cosas que se esperan, y lo que se espera es sueño. Y la fe es la fuente de la realidad, porque es la vida. Creer es crear.²

Because the real man is that which he would desire to be,³ Unamuno was more interested in the novela, or dreams, of a man than in his historia, or life. "No me interesa su historia, me

¹ Padín, loc. cit., p. 418.

² Unamuno, Tres novelas ejemplares, p. 20.

³ Ibid., pp. 13, 14, 15-16.

basta con su novela. Y en cuanto a ésta, la cuestión es soñarla."¹ For this reason, Unamuno wrote of the dreams and of the intimate thoughts of his characters, showing the confusion of their beings, exposing the agony and mystery of their souls.

To be a good, strong character, the man of the novel must possess either voluntad or noluntad.² Voluntad is the strong desire to live, to perpetuate oneself, to become immortal; noluntad is the strong desire to cease existence, to seek oblivion, to end the agony of life. The two are really very closely akin and are characteristic of quixotic characters. Don Quixote possessed voluntad in such quantities that he made himself ridiculous in order to attain immortality; when his mission was fulfilled, he was glad to end the earthly existence and to pass into his reward among the faithful. A quixotic character possessing voluntad must live with all his body, with all his mind, with all his spirit. He must have an all-enveloping desire to live long on this earth and to be perpetuated in the life after life. Thus Unamuno and Don Quixote, having ever with them the knowledge of the imminence of death, prayed that their deeds might continue long and their fame live after them.

The other extreme of the novel character, of the quixotic individual, of the despondent moods of Unamuno and of Don Quixote is the intense hatred of life, the desire for oblivion and the dream of death, the suicidal impulse which intensifies life--

¹Unamuno, San Manuel Bueno, mártir, p. 184; cf. pp. 148, 185-186.

²Unamuno, Tres novelas ejemplares, p. 16.

noluntad.

Hay, en efecto, cuatro posiciones, que son dos positivas: a) querer ser; b) querer no ser; y dos negativas: c) no querer ser; d) no querer no ser.....De uno que no quiere ser difícilmente se saca una criatura poética, de novela; pero de uno que quiere no ser, sí. Y él que quiere no ser, no es, ¡claro!, un suicida.¹

El que quiere no ser lo quiere siendo.¹

In his characters of voluntad as well as in those of noluntad, Unamuno frequently had means of expressing his views of insanity either through his discussion of the characters or through the ideas voiced by the characters. His appreciation of Don Quixote can be more easily understood after the study of his views toward insanity, both real and reputed. One of Unamuno's most quixotic characters, a doctor with the disturbing habit of writing fantastic stories, says of insanity:

La mayor diferencia entre los locos y los cuerdos.... es que éstos, aunque piensan locuras, a no ser que sean tontos de remate, porque entonces no las piensan; aunque las piensan, digo, ni las dicen ni menos las hacen; mientras que aquéllos, los que llamamos locos, carecen del poder de inhibición, no son capaces de contenerse. ¿A quién, como no llegue su falta de imaginación a punto de imbecilidad, no se le ha ocurrido alguna vez alguna locura? Ha sabido contenerse. Y si no lo sabe, o da en loco o en genio, mayor o menor, según la locura sea. Es muy cómodo hablar de ilusiones; pero créame usted que una ilusión que resulte práctica, que nos lleve a un acto que tienda a conservar o acrecentar o intensificar la vida, es una impresión tan verdadera como la que puedan comprobar más escrupulosamente todos los aparatos científicos que se inventen. Ese necesario repuesto de locura, llamémosla así, indispensable para que haya progreso; ese desequilibrio sin el cual llegaría pronto el mundo espiritual a absoluto

¹Unamuno, Tres novelas ejemplares, pp. 16-17; cf. also, pp. 19, 21.

reposo, es decir, a muerte, eso hay que emplearlo de un modo o de otro.¹

Perhaps the ones called insane could restrain themselves, but they feel no desire to do so since they have no fear of the public nor of its ridicule. A loco does not mind the ridicule, because he has his dreams to console him for the weakness of public opinion. For this reason the locos, of whom Don Quixote is the very spirit, deserve the veneration and respect with which they are often regarded.² It is they who give the poetry to the world, it is they who are farsighted enough to make discoveries based at first upon mere dreams, it is they who make the advancement of civilization. A loco is therefore much more to be respected than the tonto³ who would be intolerant of the new and apparently insane ideas and of real and deep emotions and experiences.

Many of the so-called insane are people born out of their age. Thus a medieval spirit in the nineteenth or twentieth century seemed as ridiculous as the medieval knight in the sixteenth century. Only those customs and ideas current among the masses are regarded as sane by contemporaries. The twentieth century ideas of Don Quixote concerning certain topics were out-of-season and hence insane. The radical republican precepts of Unamuno were too advanced for the generation of 1898 and therefore quixotic.

¹Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. IV, p. 185.

²Ibid., p. 189.

³Ibid., p. 190.

Y si sale del realismo sancho-pancesco es para dar en quijotesco idealismo, posiciones ambas que se dan en unidad y fuera las dos del idealismo realista o realismo idealista y a la vez dinámico, que da vigor y savia al pensamiento europeo contemporáneo.¹

These characteristics make up the carácter quijotesco y unamunesco, which is very common in actual life, and which is typical of the works of Unamuno. Not all of the characters in the novels, in the dramas, and in the short stories of Unamuno possess these qualities in the same degree. Some of the characters are no more than shadows, not clearly drawn by the author, designed to act as background for the chief characters. Some characters possess some of the characteristics but not all of them. And some characters exemplify the quixotic personality in all things.

The Dr. Monterco² whose opinion of insanity was quoted above was himself a typically quixotic and unamunesco character. He was a very sane physician with a large practice which he served well. He was, however, a disciple of Don Quixote whose adventures he frequently read.³ Therefore, when he felt his desire for creative writing fighting against his scientific knowledge and accuracy, he gave expression to those fantastic stories which were as much a part of his personality as was his medical interest. Because the world could not accept the inconsistency of his writ-

¹Ibid., p. 25.

²Unamuno, "La locura del Doctor Monterco," Ensayos, Vol. IV, pp. 169-191.

³Ibid., p. 181.

ings and his profession, he was regarded first as unusual, then as queer, finally as insane.¹ In like manner, the nobles regarded Don Quixote, seeing the inconsistency of his ideas with the world in which they lived, overlooking his expression of his ideas in his own life.² Because of the attitude of the people toward him, Dr. Montarco became insane, but very quixotically so. His desire for immortality, to express his inner feelings, is parallel to that of Unamuno himself.

This hunger for the immortal drove Dr. Montarco insane, and finally killed him, while in Unamuno it has served to increase his strength and spirit. Dr. Montarco achieved his immortality through death, Unamuno through more and more life.³

Julia de Gómez⁴ also became insane, at first from her own doubts⁵ and later through the attitude of her husband.⁶ The all-enveloping thought of her mind was whether or not her husband loved her.⁷ This one thought as the main interest in life made her typically quixotic, for Don Quixote spent the best years of his life, the only years we know much about, following one ideal.

¹Ibid., p. 172.

²Cervantes, op. cit., Pt. II, chaps. xxxii-xxxiii.

³Unamuno, Ensayos y sentencias, ed. Beardsley, p. 94, note on l. 1, p. 43.

⁴"Nada menos que todo un hombre," Tres novelas ejemplares, pp. 133-213.

⁵Ibid., pp. 191-192.

⁶Ibid., p. 194.

⁷Ibid., p. 164.

Like Don Quixote's search for Dulcinea, Julia's attempts to answer the question brought her no assurance but did unbalance her mind.¹ Quixotically, she was absorbed with this problem until all other considerations were excluded. Quixotically, also, her mania was brought on by too much reading of romantic novels,² and by the failure of her husband, Alejandro, to understand properly her desire.

Alejandro himself became quixotically insane at the last and sacrificed his life in search of his dead wife.³ He was an "alma terrible y hermética"⁴ who although he loved his wife "ciegamente, locamente"⁵ would not confess any feeling for her nor allow himself to admit any emotion even within his own conscience.⁶ Like all Quixotes he had the secret of his soul hidden deeply away from misunderstanding eyes.

Joaquín was another solitary soul,⁷ dreaming of glory and of Helena.⁸ His particular locura was his great envy and hatred for his friend, Abel Sánchez. His preoccupation with this hatred, its causes, its effects, its remedies, drove him to

¹Unamuno, Tres novelas ejemplares, pp. 191-192.

²Ibid., p. 193.

³Ibid., p. 213.

⁴Ibid., p. 197.

⁵Ibid., p. 198.

⁶Ibid., p. 212.

⁷Unamuno, Abel Sánchez, p. 11.

⁸Ibid., pp. 13, 166.

greater and greater trials of spirit. He was a distinct type of Quixote in that the world knew nothing of his problem but considered him sane and reasonable while his soul was writhing in doubts and inconsistencies. The intensity of his feeling and the manner in which this feeling colored his attitude toward all of life were typically quixotic and unamunesco.

Many of the feminine characters of Unamuno's works have "un monstruoso apetito de maternidad,"¹ which causes them to sacrifice others for the realization of their desire. This is but a phase of the thirst for immortality, the desire to perpetuate oneself in one's children. Perhaps the presence of this theme in such great prominence is due to the great love Unamuno had for his mother and to his lasting devotion to Concha, his wife. His portrayal of women is generally a sympathetic one.

Raquel² is a good example of this thirst for maternity,³ for which she sacrificed both Berta and Juan. Raquel herself had few quixotic characteristics. She had the great will power and the singleness of purpose which let nothing interfere with her attainment of her goal; but she did not have the spirit of Don Quixote which led him to serve others, to sacrifice himself. It was Juan that she sacrificed, that she drove to insanity and suicide because of the confusion she made of his life.

Gertrudis⁴ had the responsibility of the upbringing of

¹Padín, loc. cit., p. 419.

²Unamuno, "Dos madres," Tres novelas ejemplares, pp. 33-103.

³Ibid., p. 94.

⁴Unamuno, La tía Tula.

the five children of her brother-in-law, and she felt toward them as though they were her own children. She was

....el tipo de la mujer fuerte, firme en el sacrificio, constante en la abnegación, de superior voluntad e inteligencia, de un amor desenfrenado a la verdad. En su alma supone el autor que hay una raíz teresiana o guijotesca que la lleva al más austero ideal de deber y justicia.¹

She sacrificed her love of Ramiro first because of her sister, then to observe the proper time of mourning, then to keep from being the step-mother of the children whom she had always regarded as her own, and finally because of her stern adherence to that which she considered just.

The masculine characters also have a great desire for immortality, frequently through children. For example, Don Avito Carrascal,² a student of sociological pedagogy,³ desired to have a son and to make of him a genius by educating him according to a system.⁴ This was no more than his desire to make a name for himself through his child. Apolodoro, the son, conscious of being unusual,⁵ killed himself because he could not adjust himself to life.⁶ However, he too had felt the need to defeat death by leaving some remembrance of him,⁷ and his son became the new subject

¹Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 101.

²Unamuno, Amor y pedagogía.

³Ibid., p. 39.

⁴Ibid., pp. 26, 88.

⁵Ibid., p. 180.

⁶Ibid., pp. 205-207.

⁷Ibid., p. 191.

for experiment by Don Avito, who was not discouraged at having failed once, but, like Don Quixote, began again with new fervor.¹

Bonifacio "vivió buscándose y murió sin haberse hallado,"² trying to find in new experiences the answer to the old problems of life. He did not do the conventional things; the mere sight of other people observing a custom would turn him to another way.³ Like Don Avito, he sought immortality in his children; and unlike Don Avito, he found the original self for which he had been searching.⁴ He sought to be different--a true characteristic of both Don Quixote and Unamuno.

Each character of any importance in the works of Unamuno has a problem which takes on the aspects of the congoja de la vida typical of Don Quixote and of Unamuno. As has been shown, some of the characters become so engrossed in this agony that it causes insanity.⁵ With many of them it is, as Unamuno said, the desire to exist or the desire not to exist.⁶

This agony caused gloom and pessimism and torture to the spirits of these characters just as it did to Don Quixote. The Marqués⁷ wanted an heir, but he wanted also to preserve his honor,

¹Ibid., p. 225.

²Unamuno, "Bonifacio," El espejo de la muerte, pp. 45, 47.

³Ibid., p. 45.

⁴Ibid., p. 48.

⁵Ante., pp. 89-92.

⁶Ante., pp. 86-87.

⁷Unamuno, "El marqués de Lumbría," Tres novelas ejemplares, pp. 103-133.

and the two desires confused and embittered his last days. Tristán¹ and Don Juan² were each in continual mental disturbance because of the influence of two women on his life. Both lacked the will to combat such emotions and committed suicide. Their lives, and the lives of similar characters, were composed of "miseria y podredumbre."³

Suicide is frequently the conclusion of the congojosa life, as has already been illustrated. Death is frequently the theme of the short stories which make up the collection, El espejo de la muerte, "The Mirror of Death." In "El amor que asalta,"⁴ Atanasio and Eleuteria both died of love, according to the doctor's verdict.⁵ Neither was strong enough to endure the emotion for which he or she had been seeking with all the perseverance of a Quixote;⁶ therefore, it was really suicide. "Juan Manso: Cuento de muertos"⁷ tells of the desperate, insane searching of the protagonist for a place to spend eternity since he was denied the privilege of entering either heaven or hell.⁸ Ramón

¹Ibid.

²Unamuno, "Dos madres," Tres novelas ejemplares, pp. 33-103

³Ibid., p. 63.

⁴Unamuno, El espejo de la muerte, pp. 29-35.

⁵Ibid., p. 33.

⁶Ibid., p. 29.

⁷Ibid., pp. 107-113.

⁸Ibid., p. 110.

Nonnato was born "con el suicido en el alma,"¹ and is found dead at the beginning of the story.²

El otro is an excellent drama of mystery and of confusion in life leading to locura and finally to suicide. Twins, Cosme and Damián, were so nearly alike that it was impossible to distinguish them. One twin killed the other,³ and confused his identity with the dead brother to such an extent that he, as well as others, did not know which twin was the assassin and which the assassinated.

¿Yo? ¿Asesino yo? ¿Pero quién soy yo? ¿Quién es el asesino? ¿Quién el asesinado? ¿Quién el verdugo? ¿Quién la víctima? ¿Quién Caín? ¿Quién Abel? ¿Quién soy yo, Cosme o Damián? Sí, estalló el misterio, se ha puesto a razón la locura, se ha dado a luz la sombra.... Odia a tu hermano como te odias a ti mismos, dispuestos a suicidarse mutuamente, por una mujer.... por otra mujer.... pelearon.... Y el uno sintió que en sus manos, heladas por el terror, se le helaba el cuello del otro.... Y miró a los ojos muertos del hermano por si se veía muerto en ellos.... Las sombras de la noche que llegaba envolvieron el dolor del otro.... Y Dios se callaba.... ¡Y sigue callándose todavía! ¿Quién es el muerto? ¿Quién es el más muerto? ¿Quién es el asesino?⁴

Eventually, not being able to endure any longer the strain of the mystery and of the knowledge of death, the other one, Cosme or Damián, Cosme and Damián, killed himself⁵ or was killed by the

¹"Ramón Nonnato, suicida," ibid., p. 20.

²Unamuno, El espejo de la muerte, p. 17.

³Unamuno, El otro, p. 41.

⁴Ibid., pp. 39-40.

⁵Ibid., p. 77.

other one.¹ "El otro," "The other one," was either of the twins, or both of the twins. That was the mystery in the soul of "el otro" which caused him to take his own life after having killed "el otro," the one first killed. This mystery caused the wives of the twins to become crazy, each with a great insane love for "el otro."²

¡El misterio! Yo no sé quién soy, vosotros no sabéis quiénes sois, el historiador no sabe quién es (Donde dice: "el historiador no sabe quién es," puede decirse: "Unamuno no sabe quién es."), no sabe quién es ninguno de los que nos oyen. Todo hombre se muere, cuando el Destino le traza la muerte, sin haberse conocido, y toda muerte es un suicidio, el de Caín. ¡Perdonémonos los unos a los otros para que Dios nos perdone a todos!³

The story of Don Manuel Bueno has also the theme of the mystery of life, but it is a much happier story, filled with faith. Don Manuel Bueno was involved in the thought of "el negro velo cósmico del misterio, en lo que tras él se esconde, en lo que ocurriría si alguien osase levantarlo, siguiera un ápice."⁴ He was a self-sacrificing man, however, and refused to inconvenience others by his personal struggles. In his daily life an imperturbable happiness hid from the eyes of his parish the infinite and eternal sadness of his spirit.⁵ Without believing, he made others believe and saved himself and them. He said, "¡Mi vida,

¹Unamuno, El otro, p. 74.

²Ibid., pp. 84-85.

³Ibid., p. 90.

⁴Putman, loc. cit., p. 106.

⁵Unamuno, San Manuel Bueno, mártir, p. 58.

Lázaro, es una especie de suicidio continuo, un combate contra el suicidio, que es igual; pero que vivan ellos, que vivan los nuestros!"¹ This was his congoja, typical, according to the discussion by Unamuno in the prologue, of the everyday anxiety which torments the physical spirit of spiritual men and women.²

The agony of San Manuel was for the people he taught, but other characters from Unamuno's novels suffer this grief because of their great love for one person. Like Don Quixote and his devotion to Dulcinea,³ they have no other thought. Emeterio and Rosita,⁴ Ricardo and Liduvina,⁵ Joaquín and Helena,⁶ Julia and Alejandro,⁷ Juan and Raquel,⁸ Augusto and Eugenia,⁹ and Avito and Marina¹⁰ were all intensely interested in love at some part of their story. Ricardo would have Liduvina as his ideal (as Don Quixote had Dulcinea) even when they were no longer associated with each other.¹¹ Raquel loved Juan with an "amor furioso, con

¹Ibid., p. 86.

²Ibid., pp. 12-13.

³Cervantes, op. cit., pp. 25, 27, 33, 40, 60.

⁴Unamuno, "Un pobre hombre rico o El sentimiento cómico de la vida," San Manuel Bueno, mártir, pp. 195-261.

⁵Unamuno, "Una historia de amor," ibid., pp. 261 ff.

⁶Unamuno, Abel Sánchez.

⁷Unamuno, "Nada menos que todo un hombre," Tres novelas ejemplares, pp. 133-213.

⁸Unamuno, "Dos madres," ibid., pp. 33-103.

⁹Unamuno, Niebla.

¹⁰Unamuno, Amor y pedagogía.

¹¹Unamuno, San Manuel Bueno, mártir, p. 296.

sabo a muerte."¹ Juan belonged to her; all his possessions and even his will were hers.² Augusto loved Eugenia,³ and then Rosario because of Eugenia,⁴ with an "amarío innato."⁵ Avito Carrascal fell in love with Marina and sacrificed his well-laid plans for a scientific marriage in order to marry for love.⁶

The element of sacrifice, a quixotic characteristic, is frequently found in Unamuno's works. Each person felt the need for a redeemer or the desire to be a redeemer, both involving sacrifice. Thus Julia thought of Alejandro,⁷ Antonio of Joaquín,⁸ Berta of Juan⁹--each woman feeling that she would be "el ángel redentor"¹⁰ of her particular agonista. Luisa sacrificed herself for the Marqués,¹¹ the son of Don Agustín sacrificed his health and finally his life in order to study and work to provide for his parents,¹² and the entire life of Gertrudis¹³ was one of self-

¹Unamuno, Tres novelas ejemplares, p. 36.

²Ibid., p. 68.

³Unamuno, Niebla, p. 36.

⁴Ibid., p. 103.

⁵Ibid., p. 46.

⁶Unamuno, Amor y pedagogía, p. 47.

⁷Unamuno, Tres novelas ejemplares, p. 149.

⁸Unamuno, Abel Sánchez, p. 51.

⁹Unamuno, Tres novelas ejemplares, pp. 42, 47, 55.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 47.

¹¹Unamuno, "El Marqués de Lumbría," ibid., pp. 103-133.

¹²Unamuno, "La beca," El espejo de la muerte, pp. 85-93.

¹³Unamuno, La tía Tula.

sacrifice.

The characters of the historia, San Manuel Bueno, mártir, are especially self-sacrificing. They become with Don Quixote, "martirios quijotescos"¹ for the good of their people. Iázaro and Ángela Carballino sacrificed themselves in teaching the people. They believed as did Don Manuel: "Yo no puedo perder a mi pueblo para ganarme el alma. Así me ha hecho Dios. Yo no podría soportar las tentaciones del desierto. Yo no podría llevar sólo la cruz del nacimiento."²

These people were passionately religious, believing in God without realizing that they believed. Most of Unamuno's characters are religious as he himself was religious in spirit and as Don Quixote was religious. There is always the presence of a great faith. In "Cruce de caminos,"³ for example, an old man left alone in the world and a young orphan became as grandfather and granddaughter through their faith and through their dreams.⁴ They believed they lived as four people: the grandfather and the granddaughter in heaven, and the grandfather and the granddaughter on earth.⁵ Don Roque, a "bendito de Dios,"⁶ was a very religious person in habit and loved to pray, especially in chorus.⁷ Pedro

¹Unamuno, San Manuel Bueno, mártir, p. 30.

²Ibid., p. 60.

³Unamuno, El espejo de la muerte, pp. 23-29.

⁴Ibid., p. 25.

⁵Ibid., p. 26.

⁶Unamuno, "Solitana," ibid., p. 39.

⁷Ibid., p. 37.

Antonio wanted to educate the child in "la sencilla rigidez católica,"¹ showing his religion; but Don Avito wanted no religion for his son,² showing his lack of religion because of the idea that faith is opposed to science.³

Don Quixote's special type of lineage is reflected in that of Alejandro who said--"Mi familia empieza en mí,"⁴ and who prided himself on his democratic spirit.⁵ He had great confidence in himself,⁶ ambition,⁷ and much will power or voluntad.⁸ All of these qualities are characteristic of Don Quixote.

The Calderonian idea that "La vida es sueño" is found in some of the characters. Ignacio of Paz en la guerra was an "espíritu despierto y soñador;"⁹ Matilde of "El espejo de la muerte"¹⁰ dreamed a new life at the age of twenty-three;¹¹ Soledad of the story by that name was a solitary dreamer making for herself a cult in the worship of the Virgin.¹² Don Pérez of "¡Cosas de

¹Unamuno, Paz en la guerra, p. 16.

²Unamuno, Amor y pedagogía, pp. 70-71.

iii. ³For a discussion of religion in Unamuno's works, see chap.

⁴Unamuno, Tres novelas ejemplares, p. 160; cf. 159, 178.

⁵Ibid., pp. 147, 158, 167.

⁶Ibid., pp. 148, 154, 174.

⁷Ibid., p. 147.

⁸Ibid., pp. 147, 154.

⁹Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 54.

¹⁰A short story in the collection by the same name.

¹¹Unamuno, El espejo de la muerte, p. 7.

¹²Ibid., p. 75.

franceses!" would not ruin his investigations with the impurity of reality because he remembered the treatment of Don Quixote by the galley-slaves.¹

But Augusto Pérez of Niebla is perhaps the best example. He almost doubted his own existence,² seeing all of life as "una nebulosa," a haze.³ Real life, he believed, is nothing more than a dream which we all dream, a common dream of the world.⁴ "Solo está de veras despierto el que tiene conciencia de estar soñando, como solo está de veras cuerdo el que tiene conciencia de su locura."⁵

Portraying as he did these quixotic characters, Unamuno exaggerated his own quixotic qualities and looked upon the world as containing many Quixotes. Since he has within his personality the roots of the seven cardinal sins and of the seven cardinal virtues,⁶ every man has within himself all men, and envies other men to the extent only that he desires to be all men.⁷ Thus each person has a problem which, in a person of voluntad or noluntad, may become a quixotic agony or finally a quixotic insanity. The primary characteristic of the Quixote is that he is alone, above

¹ Ibid., p. 56.

² Unamuno, Niebla, p. 5.

³ Ibid., p. 39.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., p. 26.

⁶ Unamuno, Tres novelas ejemplares, pp. 25-26.

⁷ Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VII, p. 60.

the men about him. Unamuno, then, found his quixotic people among the scientists, the adventurers, the philosophers--all those who sought the mystery and poetry of existence and who, with their idéalism and their quixotic insanity, found reality not known nor understood by the unimagivative public.

The discoveries of science are all fruits of the attempts to explain mysteries,¹ all products of a distinct world created within the scientist's own soul. The most durable products of the spirit grow and develop within the spirit without the exposure to light.² For the world is not always kind to spiritual products, especially to those which are imperfect in form and seemingly not adapted to real life.

The "caballería andante del sentimiento a lo divino,"³ those Christian saints of Spanish history and legend,--those also were quixotic in Unamuno's interpretation, self-sacrificing, idealistic, searching for the reason and the secret of existence. Even Christ himself was quixotic⁴--or it might be better to remember that Don Quixote was a faithful disciple of Christ and modeled his quixotic character upon the Christian life of his master. Then the Spanish saints were both Christian Quixotes and quixotic

¹Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VII, p. 50.

²Ibid., p. 52.

³Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, p. 305.

⁴Ibid., p. 306; Vida de don Quijote, p. 25.

Christians: San Pablo,¹ San Juan de la Cruz,² Loyola,³ San Jorge, San Martín, San Diego Matamoras,⁴ and many others.

This quixotic interpretation of biblical, historical, and legendary characters as Quixotes is especially apparent in Unamuno's treatment of the Don Juan theme. In the drama, El hermano Juan, Don Juan abandoned the pursuit of worldly pleasure to become a religious recluse, a solitario, turning his great energy and enthusiasm into prayers for the salvation of his soul and into meditations on the betterment of the people.

The blind energy and adventurous spirit of the explorers and conquerors of the new world made them Quixotes,⁵ and certain quixotic characteristics were pointed out as belonging to Costa,⁶ Boehme,⁷ Savonarola,⁸ Giordano Bruno,⁹ Robinson Crusoe,¹⁰ Gustavo Flaubert,¹¹ and Hegel, "Quijote de la filosofía."¹² Woodrow

¹Unamuno, La agonía del cristianismo, p. 36.

²Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, p. 305.

³Ibid.; Vida de don Quijote, pp. 15, 22.

⁴Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. II, p. 175.

⁵Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 16.

⁶Ibid., p. 210.

⁷Unamuno, Del sentimiento trágico, pp. 290-291.

⁸Ibid., p. 317.

⁹Ibid., p. 319.

¹⁰Unamuno, San Manuel Bueno, mártir, p. 165.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. I, p. 33.

Wilson, a Christian politician, was "contradicción hecha carne y hecha espíritu," a mystic in thoughts of peace.¹

All of these people belonged, according to Unamuno, to the cult of Don Quixote, which can be and is a fountain of poetry.² Unamuno would have others know and take advantage of this source of poetry and thus enrich their lives: "Los que así vivimos, tenemos el deber de luchar por nuestra emancipación; y a la vez, el de despertar en los esclavos inconcientes la dormida conciencia de la esclavitud en que vegetan."³ Thus it is the duty of each Quixote to awaken his neighbor to the cult of Don Quixote, just as Unamuno wanted to awaken in his reader the quixotic qualities lying dormant. His object in writing was:

....entrometerle y entremeterle al lector en él, hacer que se dé cuenta de que no se goza de un personaje novelesco sino cuando se le hace propio, cuando se consiente que el mundo de la ficción forme parte del mundo de la permanente realidad íntima.⁴

Thus Unamuno would make a Quixote of his reader so that the reader would better understand and appreciate the quixotic characteristics of his creations and of his own personality.

¹Unamuno, La agonía del cristianismo, p. 199.

²Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VII, p. 156.

³Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 14.

⁴Unamuno, San Manuel Bueno, mártir, p. 17.

CHAPTER V

REASONS FOR THE QUIXOTISM OF UNAMUNO

This study has attempted to point out characteristics of quixotism in certain phases of the life and work of Unamuno: in his interpretation of the original Don Quixote, in his own personality, in his ideas, and in the characters of his novels. It has been shown that these quixotic qualities came from the innate quixotism of the Spanish philosopher aggravated by his study and conscious following of the Cervantine knight.

While Unamuno undoubtedly possessed some of the idealism¹ of Don Quixote from early youth, much of his devotion to this character was the result of his later experiences. His native aptitude for the "culto de don Quijote" became more pronounced. Not only in his works but also in his life, especially in his political life, were the quixotic characteristics gaining importance.

This development was due in part to the development of his personality, to the maturing of those qualities already discussed.² When he began to see similarities, in his study of himself and of his reactions to life, to Don Quixote, the strangeness and the drama of such a character appealed to him. Seeing in Don Quixote such explanations of his own feelings, such precedents for his own inconsistencies with himself and with accepted ideas, such idealism to give him courage in his warfare for the

¹See chap. ii for early influences.

²Ante., chap. ii.

invigoration of his people, Unamuno accepted the caballero andante as his example and set himself to follow. Being by nature dramatic and "apasionado,"¹ he found in Don Quixote the same spirit and took advantage of the inspiration.

There can be no doubt that Unamuno studied Don Quixote from an early age, for even his first works show an appreciation of the character.² He was a "lector formidable"³ in many languages⁴ as is shown by the many literary discussions in his works.⁵ In these readings he frequently included books about Don Quixote so that he might compare the ideas of other authors. He read and reread the Quijote itself, sometimes in the original and sometimes in translations to see what new ideas were gained in the change of languages. His complete knowledge of the episodes as well as the philosophy of the book is attested by his Vida de don Quijote y Sancho, and by his frequent discussions of and quotations from the original.⁶

Thus he was well versed in the character whose spirit he sought. He was saturated with understanding of the character, so that it is not surprising that his life and works reflected Don

¹Alcalá-Galiano, op. cit., p. 245.

²Ante., chap. i.

³Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 31.

⁴Starkie, "Modern Don Quixote," loc. cit., p. 89.

⁵Ante., pp. 78-80.

⁶Ante., p. 6.

Quixote.¹ His works are the evidences of his mental reactions to the books he read and the people with whom he talked. True, there were many influences outside of the Quijote, some of these influences themselves contributing to his quixotic character. Nietzsche, Carlyle, Ruskin, and others helped him to discover his real self and the spirit of his people.² They helped him, therefore, to recognize his quixotic characteristics and to see the value of Don Quixote to his people.

This vision of Don Quixote as the saviour of the Spanish people, and of all people, led Unamuno to present even more the character of the Spanish saint as he himself understood him.³ He became more and more impressed with the poetry of the quixotic philosophy, becoming in like manner more and more quixotic; for "Quién predica el quijotismo, quijotece."⁴

In defending the knight he awakened in himself an intense spiritual quality, and it was by these means that he was able to fly in the face of that oppressive rationalism of the last thirty years.⁵

In his explanation and interpretation of the loco sublime he became aware of some of the sublime insanity of his own spirit, and began to strive consciously for quixotism. In one of his essays, he wrote of the development of personality:

¹Hurtado y Palencia, op. cit., (la ed.), p. 1070.

²Benardete, loc. cit., p. 29.

³Unamuno, Tres novelas ejemplares, p. 26.

⁴Balseiro, loc. cit., p. 645.

⁵Starkie, "Modern Don Quixote," loc. cit., p. 98.

Hay cosas que, siendo en nosotros naturales y espontáneas, tanto nos las celebran, que acabamos por hacerlas de estudio y afectación; mientras hay otras que, empezando a adquirirlas con esfuerzo y contra nuestra naturaleza, tal vez, acaban por sernos naturalísimas y muy propias.¹

It would be unfair to infer that all the quixotism of his later life was a pose growing out of his earlier spontaneous spirit, but it is worth considering that, even as he suggested, some of the rather exaggerated quixotism of his political tirades and of the almost too-intense inner struggles of his characters was self-dramatization in the desire to uphold and enhance his fame as the Modern Don Quixote of Spain. However, the sincere idealism and peace of such works as San Manuel Bueno, mártir cannot be ignored.² This idealism may have developed with difficulty at first, and reached its culmination in this work. Whether or not the exaggerated quixotism was also sincere cannot be told, for the death of Unamuno has been too recent and the affairs in which he was involved have been too complicated for an unbiased study of his sincerity to have yet been made. Any reader will recognize, however, the melodramatic touch as well as the intense idealistic element in his quixotism.

Both the melodrama and the idealism were needed to awaken the people to new life. Unamuno wanted to disturb the reader:

Mira, lector, aunque no te conozco te quiero tanto que si pudiese tenerte en mis manos te abriría el pecho y en el cogollo del corazón te rasgaría una llaga y te pondría

¹Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. IV, p. 169.

²del Río, loc. cit., pp. 17-18.

allí vinagre y sal para que no pudieses descansar nunca y vivieras en perpetua zozobra y en anhelo inacabable. Si no he logrado desasossegarte con mi Quijote es, créemelo bien, por mi torpeza y por que este muerto papel en que escribio ni grita, ni chilla, ni suspira, ni llora, porque no se hizo el lenguaje para que tú y yo nos entendieramos.¹

He saw himself as a "despertador de almas durmientes,"² presenting new ideas to make the reader think;³ presenting questions without answers.⁴ He said, "La refutación honrada es un nobilísimo tributo,"⁵ giving his reader permission to refute the arguments of the book. Therefore, he presented his Don Quixote to make a new sally into the world of abulia, a Quixote differing from that of Cervantes perhaps, but here also the reader must do his own thinking.

Since this character was well-known, he used him frequently in talking to Spain. The people understood his references and entered better into his thinking when he used Don Quixote. His Vida de don Quijote y Sancho is replete with applications of the moral of the lives of the two to the lives of the modern Spaniards.⁶ In one poem he connected his desire for Spain's liberty with Don Quixote's liberation of the galley-slaves:

¹Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, p. 307; Cf. Andanzas, p. 19.

²Romera-Navarro, Miguel de Unamuno, p. 20.

³Ibid., p. 23.

⁴Ibid., p. 20; Cf. Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. IV, p. 4; Vol. VII, pp. 161-2; Andanzas, pp. 17, 20.

⁵Unamuno, Ensayos, Vol. VII, p. 195.

⁶Unamuno, Vida de don Quijote, pp. 2, 22, 23, 28, passim.

Es justicia libertad;
 Solo, hidalgo, solo tú,
 sin Sancho, en manos de Dios,
 rebelde a la rebeldía
 del poder de sinrazón.
 Libertad a los galeotes!
 Manos, cara y pecho al sol!
 que la grandeza de España
 sea grandeza de Dios!¹

This "abierta rebelión contra la razón, la lógica y los valores burgueses" showed his quixotism, but showed him also as a product of the intellectual atmosphere of Europe during the last years of the nineteenth century.² He was, whether he desired to be or not, typical of his epoch in the problems he treated.³ Hence his quixotism was as much a result of the general intellectual trend of his time as of anything else. It was his intensity, his passion, his complete disregard of powers that gave him the name of "Modern Don Quixote" as a distinction.

At the last he was regarded as a wise man, "desequilibrado como su modelo, don Quijote, por exceso de lecturas."⁴ And he died fighting for his country, agonizing even to the last.⁵ In the future he will be remembered as:

....the greatest religious poet of contemporary Spanish literature, the genial fictionist of Niebla and Abel Sánchez,

¹Unamuno, Romancero, pp. 140-141.

²Benardete, loc. cit., p. 28.

³Putman, loc. cit., p. 104.

⁴Alcalá-Galiano, op. cit., p. 250.

⁵Montesinos, loc. cit., p. 10.

the spiritualist of Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, the landscape painter of Por tierras de Portugal y de España, the most original and audacious commentator of don Quijote, the profound and original essayist.¹

¹Balseiro, loc. cit., p. 649.

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