

U N A M U N O A N D T H E Q U I J O T E

by

FLORENCE MAY WEINBERG

B. A., Park College, 1954

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of
The Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
In the Department
of
Romance Studies

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September, 1963

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Romance Studies

The University of British Columbia,
Vancouver 8, Canada.

Date September 25, 1963

ABSTRACT

This essay constitutes an attempt to trace the development of the Quijote theme in the writings of Unamuno from 1896 to 1905. In these nine years which were crucial in the evolution of Unamuno's philosophical and religious thought, the theme of the Quijote constantly recurs in his essays. Unamuno's articles on the Quijote theme represent only a fraction of his total production during this period but they give vivid evidence of the rapidly changing concepts of their author.

Moreover, this essay seeks to establish that La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho, completed by Unamuno as early as 1905, already contains the full gamut of his major existential ideas as they repeat themselves in almost endless variations throughout his later work. These ideas are here examined along with their rapport with the problems they raise or imply.

Finally, the allegorical meaning which each major character of Cervantes' Quijote gradually assumes in Unamuno's interpretation is given detailed consideration in this essay.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PART I	PAGE
I.	UNAMUNO'S WRITINGS TO 1905, A COMMENTARY	1
II.	UNAMUNO AND THE PROBLEM OF SINCERITY	7
III.	EVOLUTION OF UNAMUNO'S VIEWS ON THE CHARACTER OF DON QUIJOTE.	11
IV.	UNAMUNO AND IMMORTALITY.	19
V.	CENTRAL PROBLEMS IN UNAMUNO'S INTERPRETATION OF THE <u>QUIJOTE</u>	25
	A. Don Quijote: symbol of Spain.	25
	B. Logic vs. Faith.	26
	C. Unamuno's lack of humor.	31
	D. Unamuno's envy of Cervantes.	33
	E. The poet-creator	37
	Importance of the will	40
	Unamuno as poet.	41
	F. Action as a means of salvation	43
VI.	DIONYSUS AND UNAMUNO	45
	A. Christianity and Dionysus.	45
	B. Nietzsche and Unamuno.	48
	C. Christian sources of the Dionysian element in Unamuno's writings.	50
VII.	UNAMUNO VIS-A-VIS OTHER SELVES	52
	A. Unamuno, romantic visionary.	53

PART II

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. MAIN THEMES OF <u>LA VIDA DE DON QUIJOTE Y SANCHO</u> .	56
II. FORM OF <u>LA VIDA</u>	59
III. UNAMUNO'S VIEW OF CHRIST	60
IV. CHRISTHOOD OF DON QUIJOTE.	61
V. INFLUENCE OF HEGEL ON UNAMUNO.	68
VI. SANCHO	71
VII. DULCINEA	78
CONCLUSION	85
NOTES.	95
BIBLIOGRAPHY	100

PART I

CHAPTER I

UNAMUNO'S WRITINGS TO 1905, A COMMENTARY

In La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho (1905), Miguel de Unamuno first expresses fully the philosophical preoccupations which remain central in his writings for the rest of his life. The books and essays which he had published earlier were either too fragmentary to present a clear statement of the author's thought, or at best they showed it in an interim stage of development between his youthful positivism and the philosophy of struggle which was to become a way of life for Unamuno. His major works published before 1905 are En torno al casticismo (1895) which like the Idearium español (1896) of Ángel Ganivet, was published before the crisis of 1898, Paz en la guerra (1897), and Amor y pedagogía (1902). In addition, he published hundreds of essays in journals all over Spain. The first two important publications, though their form and purpose are entirely different, have basic similarities. In both, Unamuno treats his subjects objectively -- by contrast to his later writings -- and does not make the reader aware of his inner struggle.

En torno al casticismo consists of a collection of five essays in which Unamuno seeks to make clear the reasons for the decadence of Spain, and tries to offer suggestions for a national resurgence. His thoughts on this subject were undoubtedly deepened and refined by his association with

Ángel Ganivet, and no doubt reflect the preoccupations of many young scholars in the University of Madrid during the 1890's. The two young men had first met in Madrid while they were both competing for chairs in Greek; Unamuno for the chair in Salamanca, Ganivet for a professorship in Granada.¹

Paz en la guerra is a long realistic novel in which Unamuno sets down his childhood memories of life in Bilbao and of the second Carlist War (1870-76). The novel expresses in every way the literary climate of the time; it contains minute descriptions of the lives of the members of a middle class family in Bilbao, their homes, places of business and daily tasks, and includes imitations of typical conversations and modes of speech. In short, it makes another contribution to the 19th century Spanish school of "regionalismo". In addition to its being a roman à thèse, the long descriptions of the city, its inhabitants and surrounding country place it into the realist tradition, although it also shows romantic aspects. These become evident when Unamuno writes of the countryside and shows us the calming and curative power of nature, which convinces Pachico, the sickly, city-bred intellectual, of the unity of man and the universe, of man and God.² The attempts at psychological realism bring to mind the novels of Emilia Pardo Bazán, not to mention her French models. The passage in which Unamuno's characters become philosophical leave us with a vague feeling of dissatisfaction. As human beings they are somehow incomplete, confused

and unconvincing in their search for peace. Obviously, Unamuno himself felt highly dissatisfied with their facile solutions for the basic problems of human existence, for only five years later he publishes Amor y pedagogía, in which he presents briefly all the conflicts which were then to become central for his thought. His hesitance and uncertainty are still apparent, for he has D. Fulgencio Entrambosmares pronounce the words which later become the nucleus of Del sentimiento trágico de la vida en los hombres y en los pueblos. Until this character utters them, he seems to be both a charlatan and a fool.³

Seen from a literary viewpoint, Amor y pedagogía breaks completely with the realist tradition, and reminds the reader of the rejection of the classical rules of unity and form which took place in the Romantic drama. Amor y pedagogía defies classification: it is a piece of comic prose with serious undertones and a tragic ending -- in this, the polar opposite of tragicomedia -- a satire against superficial pseudo-science, and a revelation of human nature as an overwhelming and inexorable force, unchangeable by any puny effort on the part of reason. Unamuno makes no serious effort to analyse character, however. He presents universal types, simplifying characterization to an extent which reduces his personae dramatis to mere caricatures. Here, as in Paz en la Guerra, he seems to imitate, very much against his own will, the Dickensian technique of characterization. As a

result, Unamuno's irony seems to misfire because his characters, rather than living, incarnate his thought, and thus resemble allegories. They fail to be believable human types, those hombres de carne y hueso, of whom Unamuno often speaks. They are hombres de cartón, and the world in which they move is as flimsy as they are, for descriptions of their surroundings are almost totally absent. Clearly, Amor y pedagogía is a worthy predecessor to Niebla, and like the later novel, also deserves the title "nivola", the associative nonsense-name with which Unamuno jestingly christens Niebla, for he is well aware that he has not written a "novela."

La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho is, in our opinion, the first genuinely successful work by Unamuno. (We do not intend to discuss here his minor essays, some of which are superb.) Like all of the author's books, its purpose and structure remain highly ambiguous: unified only by its topic, the Quijote, and by the unity and force of Unamuno's personality, the stamp of which is omnipresent in this work. The title, and the fact that the author takes up and considers the Quijote chapter by chapter, would lead the reader to believe that La Vida is a commentary on and criticism of Cervantes' masterpiece. Actually, the book is only to a minor degree a work of criticism. Despite Unamuno's explicit rejection of literary criticism as a legitimate concern, he makes value judgments about Cervantes' treatment of his heroes which fall into the category of literary criticism. Unamuno

uses explication of each chapter of Cervantes' novel as a pretext permitting him to read into the characters and events of the Quijote his own ideas on the nature of the ideal Spaniard, as well as of man in general, and to indicate covertly what path one must follow in order to reach greatness and immortality. For Unamuno believes that Alonso el Bueno achieved greatness through his courageous metamorphosis into Don Quijote.

To use the Quijote in this way takes a good deal of daring on the part of any writer, and especially so on the part of a Spaniard. Unamuno actually follows in La Vida what he had hinted at doing ten years earlier in En torno al casticismo, and in all the essays which mention Don Quijote: a breaking away from the traditional views on Cervantes' hero. It is clear from the beginning that Unamuno projects into the Quijote a symbolism all of his own and which entirely ignores the intentions of Cervantes, the novelist.⁴ For from the very beginning of La Vida it is obvious that Unamuno has no desire whatever to study the novel in its own right. He flagrantly misuses it as a convenient vehicle for the expression of his own growing preoccupation with a personal immortality to which he fears all roads are blocked. He develops his ideas -- not precisely on, but against the background of -- the Quijote in order to combat the petrifying influence of lo castizo, that dry expression of the Castilian soul which he believes to be present in most golden age literature,

notably that of Calderón.⁵ In La Vida, Unamuno wishes to present a classic in an entirely new perspective, and to use it as the potential beginning for a spiritual renewal of Spain. Unamuno also uses other themes from the classical literature of Spain as starting points for his own speculation. Thus Calderón's La Vida es sueño appears in several essays as well as in the conclusion of Niebla. His late work, Don Juan, is, as the title tells us, a variation on the theme of Don Juan Tenorio. The boldness of Unamuno's seizure of the Quijote as his own property, and the ruthlessness with which he casts Cervantes aside as not understanding his own hero, demonstrate both his strength and his enormous egotism. Fearlessly, he defies the age-old taboos which protect the classics against new interpretations. Unamuno's evaluation of the intellectual and spiritual climate of Spain proved patently correct, for despite his bold efforts to liberate Spain from what he considered to be outlived tradition, his work effected no true change. Ironically, his essays, novels, poetry and theater, now available in beautiful leather-bound tomes, have found, together with equally magnificent Cervantes editions -- a resting place on Spanish bookshelves where both authors remain unread by the majority of those whom Unamuno was anxious to reach.

CHAPTER II

UNAMUNO AND THE PROBLEM OF SINCERITY

In all of his work, Unamuno wears the mask of sincerity. It is possible, and almost tempting at times, to dismiss his entire agonía as one more trick by which the author tries to gain the sympathy of the reader. Since Unamuno's stated purpose in life was to gain personal immortality, no matter how, it appears that he attempts to create an ideal image of himself and his suffering in the minds of his audience, and thus vicariously to live on within them. Unamuno himself intrudes upon La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho in order to protest his absolute sincerity, and to tell us that what he is setting down comes from the bottom of his soul.⁶ He explains more fully his ideas on sincerity in an essay written in 1906.⁷ There are two types of sincerity: a temporary and a permanent one. Temporary sincerity is superficial and is, perhaps, a function of language, for a sincere judgment can change into its opposite (as in Unamuno's reversal of his position from that expressed in "¡Muera Don Quijote!" to that presented in La Vida), while the underlying principles remain the same. In the same way, two persons live together in every man's skin: the outer man, shaped by society and forced to communicate by means of logic and language, and the inner man. For the inner man, the soul and its ideas are not separate and distinct, but fuse into a supra-logical whole. Unamuno

confesses that this is a defense of his own associative method of writing. Nothing, he tells us, has any value or efficacy "sino lo que arranca de la propia vida concreta" -- except that which has its source in the inner life. Unamuno protests that he himself at times cannot interpret what he writes.

Muchas de estas ocurrencias de mi espíritu
que te confío, ni yo sé lo que quieren decir,
o por lo menos, soy yo quien no lo sé.
Hay alguien dentro de mí que me las dicta,
que me las dice.⁸

By presenting to the reader his Proustian moi profond -- paradoxically on the level of the moi social, and in print, at that -- Unamuno claims to be truly sincere. His sincerity is indeed multivalent, for not only is he consciously "sincere", he uses his sincerity. In becoming conscious of one's own sincerity, the necessary innocence needed to be sincere is destroyed. This may be one aspect of Unamuno's anger against logic and the intellect which here demonstrates its "killing power". He uses his sincerity in order to convert and save all of his followers from deadly orthodoxy and self contentment. Only the man who suffers is truly alive, and thus Unamuno's mission, through the use of "sincerity" is to awaken us to our precarious situation, and to cause us to suffer. His sincerity is thus an evangelistic "gimmick" used pragmatically to further his Unamunian religion. He expresses this in La Vida, saying "El afecto práctico es el único criterio valadero de la verdad de una visión cualquiera."⁹

Unamuno is clearly a prophet and an evangelist (hence his habit of dressing as a Protestant minister). There is obviously therefore more than a bid for sympathy in Unamuno's outcries, although the reader's sympathy is a necessary prerequisite for his conversion to the new faith. We become convinced that Unamuno was genuinely persuaded of his mission as a prophet when we see the unity of his thought despite the divergent aspects of his works. Essays, poems, plays, novels all repeat the same problems, that of the desire for personal immortality and the paradoxical salvation of man through this desire, over and over again, from varying points of view. Esthetically, Unamuno's works may be flawed, and his outcries may be embarrassing to Anglo-Saxon modesty, or they might even become exasperating, but the work grips us because we see in this reflection of the author's naked soul, stripped of the cloak of propriety and false modesty, an expression of our own fears. It could easily be argued that this is not literature, for in Unamuno's terms, "literature" is by definition insincere -- it is arte. Unamuno hopes to be the voice crying in the wilderness, warning of the dangers of becoming mere abstract cogs in an ideological machine. We must awaken, become conscious of ourselves as hombres de carne y hueso; awaken to our agony by analogy with the agony displayed before us in Unamuno's writings.

An examination of Unamuno's essays on the Quijote up to 1905 will show how his preoccupation with personal immor-

talities -- the key to the awakening of every man to his true essence -- which was to torture him for the rest of his life, gradually grew to take on the dimensions of an omnipresent obsession. The perusal of these essays will also show how Unamuno's ideas on Don Quijote, and his desire to use the hidalgo as an allegory, grew steadily and developed until they reach their climax in La Vida.

CHAPTER III

EVOLUTION OF UNAMUNO'S VIEWS ON THE CHARACTER OF DON QUIJOTE

From his earliest to his last essays, Don Quijote appears incessantly in Unamuno's writings. Already before 1905, he had written six essays about Cervantes' hero; he mentions him scores of times in the remainder of his work. Along with La Vida es sueño, the Quijote is the work most discussed in En torno al casticismo. Obviously, Unamuno considered the hidalgo manchego of utmost importance for the understanding of the Spanish character, although his interpretations of just what Don Quijote symbolizes undergo a radical change between 1895 and 1905. One basic purpose, however, remains the same throughout: to shed light on Spain and the Spanish character (and hence on the plight of Spain) by using Don Quijote as both analogy and symbol. In En torno al casticismo, which, along with the essay "Quijotismo", is the earliest of the longer Quijote passages, Unamuno speaks of the split in the Spanish character between "idealism" (Don Quijote) and "realism" or "common sense" (Sancho) and the need to unify the two in one person. There is a fatal dualism in Spanish thought and life which precludes progress, since the two extremes cancel each other out.¹⁰ Unamuno here uses Don Quijote and Sancho in a highly conventional sense; he is not primarily interested in interpreting the two heroes, but

rather in diagnosing the sickness of his country. By means of this interpretation of the immortal pair, he attacks the split between the Spanish intellectual and the "man in the street". In "Quijotismo", an article also written in 1895, Unamuno discovers the theme of Paz en la guerra in the Quijote.¹¹ He explicates the passage which occurs in Part II, Chapter 58 of the Quijote, where Don Quijote and Sancho, free at last from the Duques, meet a dozen laborers who are carrying carved wooden images of four saints: St. George, St. Martin, St. Paul and St. James -- all Christian knights who, as Don Quijote remarks, conquered heaven by force of arms. He wonders what he is conquering through his labors. "...si mi Dulcinea del Toboso saliese de los (trabajos) que padece, mejorándose mi ventura y adobándoseme el juicio, podría ser que encaminase mis pasos por mejor camino del que llevo." Unamuno considers this passage to be the saddest one of the whole sad epic.¹² He interprets it as discouragement on Don Quijote's part, a sudden lapse of his madness and a return to the "eternal goodness" and wisdom of Alonso el Bueno. It is the melancholy of one who suddenly realizes that he is alone, and that all his efforts have led him nowhere. Don Quijote is tempted here, according to Unamuno, to turn his attention inward, and by purifying himself -- his own vision and intentions -- to purify the world. His self-doubt does not last long, however, for he soon plunges into another adventure with more energy than ever. The

"descent into sanity" has served Don Quijote as the earth did Antaeus: he has gained vigor and self confidence again in his madness. In the midst of his struggles he has found peace: paz en la guerra. This article, although illogical in that it departs almost altogether from the meaning of the episode on which it is based, demonstrates Unamuno's ability to find in his readings, by way of rationalization, echoes of his immediate, very personal concerns.

In 1896, in the essay "El caballero de la triste figura", Unamuno amuses himself by piecing together the passages describing Don Quijote physically.¹³ "Retratar a Don Quijote sin maltratarle es vestir su alma con cuerpo individual trasparente, es hacer simbolismo pictórico en el grado de mayor concentración y fuerza, en un hombre símbolo."¹⁴ This "symbolic man" or "man-symbol" lives outside the pages of "Cide Hamete's biography" -- he is a real, a live being. "...existir es vivir, y quien obra existe."¹⁵ There can be no doubt that throughout the centuries, Don Quijote has gripped the imaginations of his readers, and thus has worked in them to a greater extent than most of their living contemporaries. He is real -- larger than life -- because he incarnates the concentrated soul of a people. Echoing Herder and anticipating C. G. Jung, Unamuno proclaims that, in any literature, the hero is the "collective soul" of the people (el pueblo) made individual. This sort of hero is not born of woman but rather of masculine imagination.¹⁶ Don Quijote

surges out of the Castilian soul, as alive as it is.¹⁷ Here Unamuno presents an idea which he used as the central theme of Niebla in 1914: that of the independent existence (or life) which a fictitious character assumes once he has been created.

So far, Unamuno has been favorably inclined towards Don Quijote, and has spoken of him, among other things, as of a national hero. In the 1898 essays, he completely reverses his attitude. Here, Don Quijote symbolizes objectionable tendencies in the Spanish character, but Unamuno's hostility does not last; by 1905 he has returned to his original benevolence toward Cervantes' hero.

It is of no trivial significance that in the crucial year of 1898, Unamuno wrote no less than three Quijote essays: "¡Muera Don Quijote!", "¡Viva Alonso el Bueno!", and "Más sobre Don Quijote."¹⁸ His sudden change to an anti-Don Quijote position might be interpreted as "shock tactics" intended to anger his readers and to set them thinking about the real causes of the defeat of Spain. All the essays center around a single theme: Don Quijote is an un-Christian, war-like perversion of Alonso el Bueno, or, in other words, the ideal of chivalry is a pagan one. Several equations are made: between Rocinante who leaves Don Quijote stretched on the ground when he least expects it and the government which does the same with the Spanish people, between Don Quijote as the nation (the historical Spain), and Alonso el Bueno as the

people (the eternal, the eternally Spanish, element). Don Quijote's madness is an explosion of hubris in which the hidalgo believes himself to be God's minister on earth and His temporal arm of justice. (What more obvious parallel could be established with Spain's historical role?) The novels of chivalry are equated with history itself which enslaves the people, paralysing them by forcing them forever to look backwards at past glories. Unamuno condemns the anxiety to survive in history since it loses out of sight survival in eternity. "...es sacrificar el hombre al hombre, el pueblo a la nación."¹⁹ He is consistent in continuing to see mirrored in his readings whatever may be of major concern for him at the moment. These are the preoccupations that he projects into what he pretends to be interpretations of major works of literature. Of great importance for the understanding of Unamuno's later writings is Don Quijote's desire -- as it is formulated in these essays -- to survive his earthly existence in history, a wish which the essayist shares with him. It is evident that at this point, in 1898, all the implications of this concept of immortality have not yet occurred to Unamuno, but the seed of an idea has been sown, which will grow to torture him for the rest of his life.

"El fondo del qui jotismo" (1902), published in the same year as Amor y Pedagogía, shows a considerable development of the author's thought on the Quijote since 1898. After 1902, Unamuno devotes an ever greater portion of his writings

to the subject of personal immortality, both in history (i.e. in the minds of men), and in an "after-life". By 1905, this preoccupation reaches the proportion of an obsession. Unamuno is able to control or sublimate his life-wish, however, by using it as the basis of a philosophy which he first develops at length in La Vida. In "El fondo del quijotismo", the source of the Quixotic madness is shown to be the same "erostratismo" explained by D. Fulgencio Entrambos-mares in Amor y pedagogía: "...se ve bien claro que el fondo de su locura (de Don Quijote) es ... el ansia loca de inmortalidad."²⁰ For the first time, Unamuno equates Dulcinea with "la Gloria mundana". (In his preface to En torno al casticismo, also dated 1902, Unamuno states that he has always seen only a symbol of La Gloria in Dulcinea,²¹ despite the fact that in 1898, he had equated her with el Honor.²²) Don Quijote dies repenting of his madness as though it were a sin, writes Unamuno, and it was a sin, since it had its source in "erostratismo", the vainglorious, tormented thirst for eternal fame.²³ Although Sancho enjoys the pleasures of life to the fullest, in Don Quijote the thirst for immortality has, paradoxically, smothered his enjoyment of life.²⁴ Like envy, it dries up any pleasure taken in the present moment. Instead of accepting life as it comes, the victim of "erostratismo" must forever torture himself over a goal he fears he can never attain. "Erostratismo" is not altogether bad, however, for the greatest heroes and benefactors of their

nations and fellow men are people who dream of eternal fame and glory.²⁵ The evolution of Unamuno's ideas on the quest for historical "immortality" becomes clear. From a total rejection in 1898 of such a thirst, the author has gone halfway to accepting it, four years later, as beneficial. He still halfheartedly condemns "erostratismo" as a sin, but he also condones it, by claiming it to be a powerful source of heroism and philanthropy.

The following year, 1903, Unamuno writes "La causa del quijotismo", his last major article on Don Quijote before the publication of La Vida. Cervantes, too, thirsted for immortality, and it is therefore natural that he should have discovered Don Quijote in the recesses of his own soul. The observation that Don Quijote is Cervantes himself is well taken, writes Unamuno; he is the Spanish soul incarnated in and by Cervantes.²⁶ Unamuno, who believes truth to be nearer the surface in paradoxical than in logical thought, presents an apparent contradiction: Spaniards love life with enormous fervor, since it is so difficult and empty for them. Satiation kills both thirst for immortality and love of life, as is evident in the "vanity of vanities, all is vanity" of King Solomon, who had everything in life he could wish for. Unamuno continues to explain how a man's situation influences his attitude toward life. An idle poor man, like Don Quijote, conceives a powerful love of life and a thirst for immortality. (This love of life is an abstract one, and is to be dis-

tinguished from the joie de vivre which characterizes Sancho). A busy poor man loves life moment by moment as Sancho does, without a thought for the hereafter. A busy rich man becomes a philistine, while an idle rich man becomes melancholy, sceptical, and shows signs of "intimate desperation". If a man in Don Quijote's position is impoverished still more, he becomes a pícaro like Guzmán de Alfarache, who lives only from one minute to the next, (or rather, from one mouthful to the next).²⁷

These last two essays are dress rehearsals for the more important production, La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho, and therefore they contain in rudimentary form, many of the same themes as the larger work. Unamuno's ideas on Don Quijote have developed steadily and logically from his first writings to La Vida. The most striking development is his constantly changing attitude towards Don Quijote's quest for fame and renown. Before examining other aspects of La Vida, it would be well to see how "erostratismo", which Unamuno entirely rejects in the beginning, becomes the basis of the philosophy of his mature years.

CHAPTER IV

UNAMUNO AND IMMORTALITY

By 1905, Unamuno has dropped the term "erostratismo" in favor of other means of expressing this thought. There are several reasons why he discards such a convenient term. Since it was invented by D. Fulgencio Entrambosmares in Amor y pedagogía, it has pejorative connotations of foolishness and useless pedantry. Unamuno prides himself on his "living vocabulary", on using, if possible, only words which he hears spoken by the peasants in Castille. Obviously, "erostratismo", with its aura of classical scholarship, would be quite unintelligible to them, and thus its continued use is out of the question.

As we have seen, Unamuno becomes very anti-Don Quijote in 1898, for he seems to realize for the first time the importance of the hidalgo's quest for fame. For the first time, he interprets it as he would continue to do thenceforth: as the center, the essence of the Quijote. Above all else, the thirst for fame, which he equates with the thirst for immortality, determines Don Quijote's actions. Although Unamuno had benevolent feelings toward Don Quijote up to that time, once he has this new insight, he rejects him utterly. His attitude changes gradually from total rejection to partial acceptance in 1902; he recognizes that Don Quijote's quest is

a terrible sin, for it is selfish and vainglorious, but he also admits that most heroes and even saints have sought glory first, and then have sought the kingdom of God. By 1905 in La Vida, his convictions have come full circle: he sees in the thirst for fame, a prerequisite for consciousness of self, and the only sincere motive power for heroic action. It would seem that as Unamuno grows older, he is increasingly aware of his mortality, and hence is overtaken and overwhelmed by a thirst for immortality in any sense. Consequently, he becomes less harsh in his judgement of the efforts of others to survive. In La Vida, Don Quijote becomes San Quijote and nuestro señor Don Quijote: a Christ figure. Far from blaming him for his vainglorious desire for fame before all else, he canonizes him for it. It is right and proper, Unamuno tells us, that Don Quijote should first seek renown for himself, and then worry about service to the nation. Perhaps this might seem egotistical, and it would seem better to serve the nation first, in order to seek the kingdom of God and its justice, and for the pure love of the Good, but

...ni los cuerpos pueden menos de caer a la tierra, pues tal es su ley, ni las almas menos de obrar por ley de gravitación espiritual, por ley de amor propio y deseo de honra.²⁸

Bodies fall to earth because of gravitation, the mutual attraction between two objects in space. Likewise there is a mutual attraction between man and God. For man, God above all

else is the eternal producer of immortality. It is ironic that Unamuno should choose to phrase the desire for self preservation in terms of a natural law. He could best have given "scientific" support to his argument by claiming that the desire for immortality is an extension of the Darwinian hypothesis that every living creature struggles to continue alive and to dominate all others. Yet, Unamuno rejects the theory of survival of the fittest as mere verbal hocus-pocus: a tautology. (What are the fittest best fit for? To survive.) Nevertheless, he still wishes to lend the essentially egotistical phenomenon of the desire to live forever a cloak of respectability by using the very type of pseudo-scientific hocus-pocus which he condemned and satirized three years earlier in Amor y pedagogía.

Unamuno thus establishes that the desire for immortality is the first law of man's actions. If man is conscious of this, he will behave in such a way as to win fame and glory; Unamuno believes most people prefer to be famous than infamous, though criminals seek immortality through their crimes, too. Our everyday tasks become lighter if we consciously perform them for our own greater glory. It is all very well to convert one's work into a prayer for the greater glory of God, but it isn't very human, and does not bring half the joy that working for fame does.²⁹

Unamuno contradicts these shocking ideas in various places by introducing concepts which he maintained in his

earlier Quijote essays. For instance, he maintains (after setting up his natural law that man by nature must seek immortality) that man's quest is in essence a sinful one, but, he adds quickly, all heroic and saintly lives have been lived in pursuit of glory.³⁰ Unamuno repeats a theme which appears in the essay "¡Muera Don Quijote!" where he condemns Don Quijote for considering himself to be the minister of God on earth. The hidalgo's original sin (and the sin of the Spanish people) is to believe himself the executor of divine justice. Don Quijote paid dearly for his pride, and the people of Spain continue to pay. Unamuno cancels out this idea carried over from 1898 in his commentary on the episode of the freeing of the galley slaves. Don Quijote's justice is like divine justice, for it strikes its victim immediately. Judgement and punishment are simultaneous. "Dios, la naturaleza y Don Quijote castigan para perdonar."³¹ There is no hint of censure for Don Quijote's role as executor of divine justice here. His contradictory presentation is partly premeditated and partly, no doubt, due to the way in which Unamuno gathered his material together for La Vida. He undoubtedly used explications of episodes and notes which he had made over a period of years. As we have seen, his ideas on immortality developed very rapidly, thus within La Vida itself we see reflections of various stages in the author's thought.

Unamuno again contradicts his own "natural law" by

reducing the desire for immortality to a sublimated wish to engender children. Since Alonso el Bueno was unlucky in his love for Aldonza Lorenzo (as one of his central themes, Unamuno proposes that Alonso el Bueno went mad because of frustrated love for Aldonza), he turned elsewhere to find a means of perpetuating himself.

Mira, Caballero, que el ansia de inmortalidad no es sino la flor del ansia de linaje. ...Sólo los amores desgraciados son fecundos en frutos del espíritu; sólo cuando se le cierra al amor su curso natural y corriente es cuando salta en surtidor al cielo; sólo la esterilidad temporal da fecundidad eterna.³²

These passages demonstrate the confusion still present in Unamuno's mind about the nature of the desire for immortality; we will examine elsewhere the complexities of his theories on love, women and their influence on Don Quijote (infra pp. 78 - 84). Unamuno drops, or at least modifies, this theory by the time he writes Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, for how can he, father of a large family, explain his own unslaked thirst for eternal life? In Del sentimiento, his theory of the desire to survive is broader and less exclusive than in La Vida. He no longer tries to reduce its origin to any one human desire, but includes these desires, ansia de linaje and the wish to immortalize oneself through works, as two effects of the primal desire -- the desire for eternal life.

Despite surface contradictions, however, Unamuno has thought out the essence of his philosophy by 1905, for he

now explains the episode he had written about in 1895, where Don Quijote meets a group of workers who are carrying carved wooden altar figures representing various saints, in a startlingly new way. Don Quijote doubts himself because of a sudden attack of anguish: "esa suprema congoja del ahogo espiritual." This anguish is caused by the fear of annihilation.

Aunque tu cabeza diga que se te ha de
derretir la conciencia un día, tu corazón,
despertado y alumbrado por la congoja in-
finita, te enseñará que hay un mundo en
que la razón no es guía. La verdad es lo
que hace vivir, no lo que hace pensar.³³

The anguish which we feel when we suspect that we are not immortal is the motive force of our striving for immortality and for truth. Here is the essence and foundation of Unamuno's thought.

CHAPTER V

CENTRAL PROBLEMS IN UNAMUNO'S INTERPRETATION OF THE QUIJOTE

A. DON QUIJOTE: SYMBOL OF SPAIN

Why did Don Quijote rather than Segismund or Don Juan become Unamuno's favorite hombre-símbolo? An examination of Don Quijote's essential qualities -- according to Unamuno -- will answer this question and throw further light on Unamuno's work.

Don Quijote and Sancho have always been considered by both the Spaniards themselves and by outsiders as expressions of the essence of the Spanish character. Perhaps it was this fact which first centered Unamuno's attention on them. As we have seen already, Unamuno believes that Don Quijote is an expression of the collective Castilian soul, and he calls the Quijote "la Biblia española."³⁴ He saw in the hidalgo the ideal figure to use -- in his own way -- as an allegory to make clearer his ideas on Spain and through whom to present his plan for the salvation of Spaniards, as well as for the salvation of mankind as a whole. Since Don Quijote is universally known, he has had universal influence. Insofar as the non-Spanish world understands him, it has been "hispanized". Unamuno's self-imposed task is to explicate entirely the meaning of the life of the hidalgo, and thus to "hispanize" the world still further. In doing so, he hopes

to save it from complacency and the nada. By using a character as universally known and loved as Don Quijote, the author gives added lustre to his own ideas. They become more memorable, more acceptable, and seem more brilliant in the reflected light of the borrowed hero's glory.

B. LOGIC VS. FAITH

Other reasons for Unamuno's choice of Don Quijote only become apparent upon closer analysis of La Vida. From the beginning of his career, Unamuno feels himself trapped by logic and reason. He revolts against logic, and continues to do so until the end of his life, although he knows that he is bound inescapably by it, for with every word he writes, he must use it. He expresses his disgust for philosophy, and recounts how as a mere boy he had worked out a complete and complex system of his own, only to discard it when he put aside childish things. Unamuno presents the contradiction of a philosophe malgré lui; a man who wishes to save the world, and to do so must use the very tools he rejects and despises. His style itself reflects this revolt against reason. Unamuno is truly a romanticist, as may be gathered from his admiration for such authors as Sénancour and Byron. Unamuno prefers open form in both subject matter and in composition. Nothing must be planned or fixed ahead of time. Hence his sentences may become heavy, rough, repetitious, even monotonous. As reflections of the self of the passing moment -- the sincere self (which Unamuno admits is ambiguous, and might contradict itself in the next moment) -- these sentences

cannot be subjected to the scrutiny of reason, for that would kill their originality and spontaneity. They remain therefore in a rough, unfinished form. Unamuno scorns those passages of the Quijote (e.g. where Don Quijote visits a print shop in Barcelona) in which Cervantes makes allusion to what Unamuno calls "tiquismiquis y minucias del oficio". It is excusable for an author to rewrite, to polish his prose, he adds, but he must never bring such technicalities to the reader's attention. Unamuno confesses that he sometimes polishes his own discourse, but he insists that it is mainly in order to introduce terms currently spoken by the people. He hopes to unearth words "que chorrean vida según corren frescas y rozagantes de boca en boca y de oído en boca de los buenos lugareños de tierras de Castilla y de León."³⁵ Unamuno makes this concession to "minucias del oficio" not in the service of reason, but to fight it; to combat those who wish to make Spanish into a fixed and precise language.

Pero ¿es que vamos a escribir algún Discurso del método con ella? ¡Al demonio la lógica y la claridad esas! Quédense los tales recortes y podas y redondeos para lenguas en que haya de encarnar la lógica del raciocinio raciocinante, pero la nuestra, ¿no sabe ser acaso, ante todo y sobre todo, instrumento de pasión y envoltura de quijotescos anhelos conquistadores?"³⁶

Unamuno's preference for open form is obvious in many of his essays, which were begun "a lo que salga" with no idea of what would come out of them. The larger essays like Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, have no real structure, When

we examine the "nivolas", Amor y pedagogía and Niebla, we see that it is almost a point of honor with Unamuno to break with the form of the novel, in as jarring a way as possible. The very name "nivola" expresses his triumphant victory over form. Niebla cannot be classified under any known literary term, so Unamuno invents one -- which is meaningless! His struggle against reason and form is also against depersonalization. He must show his reader himself, the man of "flesh and bone", and thus he retreats into his own very personal world in order to resist, in every way, the reduction of Unamuno the man to an abstraction. That his attempt to be unique implies as well an ever renewed effort to immortalize himself cannot be ignored or denied. It is because of his desire always to show himself in his work that his fictional characters never come alive, and can never cut the umbilical cord binding them to their creator.

The essays "La ideocracia", "La fe", "Los naturales y los espirituales", and "Sobre la filosofía española", among many others, explore the subject of the killing power of logic. Logic and faith, the author tells us, are irreconcilable opposites, constantly at war with one another. A man, in order to live, must have faith in a God. (In Unamuno's case, belief in God is necessary to bolster up his hope for personal immortality). But faith, which constantly seeks the support of its enemy, reason, is quickly killed if it is not strong enough. In La Vida, where Unamuno also

condemns reason, he shows how great Don Quijote really was, for he succeeded in freeing himself of the greatest enemy of faith. In the introduction to La Vida, "El sepulcro de Don Quijote" (written after the publication of the first edition of La Vida, but attached to it as an introduction in all subsequent editions), Unamuno urges his crusaders to rescue the tomb of their hero from the Carrascos, priests, barbers, dukes and canons who have occupied it. They are the enemy, for they are "hidalgos de la Razón". To their studied and reasoned discourse we must reply with insults and shrieks of passion, for if we try to answer them rationally, we are lost.³⁷ A shriek of passion is, without doubt, sincere. In advocating passion as a substitute for reasoned hypocrisy, Unamuno -- perhaps unwittingly -- follows in the Romantic tradition, and shows how well he has absorbed the message of Sénancour's Obermann. For the French Classicists, the personae, the masks of kings and heroes, represented the essence of kings and heroes. Through their histrionics, the Romantics demonstrated again and again their conviction that any mask, including the mask of social grace, is hypocritical. Unamuno likewise tears away the polite mask of style and academic tradition to reveal his agony by shrieks of passion. He only regrets that the paper itself cannot cry aloud -- not just to convey his own torment, but to awaken others to their plight -- to the human condition.

Si no he logrado desasosegarte con mi Quijote, es, créemelo bien, por mi torpeza y porque este muerto papel en que escribo ni grita, ni chilla, ni suspira, ni llora, porque no se hizo el lenguaje para que tú y yo nos entiendiéramos.³⁸

To indicate how deep was Unamuno's identification with the mad hidalgo, we shall proceed to an examination of Don Quijote's victory over reason through his creative faith.

When Sancho returns to his master in the Sierra Morena and recounts his fictitious meeting with Dulcinea, Don Quijote hears only his own truth in Sancho's words. The two men live on such different levels that communication does not take place. Sancho's account, based on his everyday experience of life, is automatically transmuted by Don Quijote into a truth in harmony with his inner life. Sancho's logic is purely verbal, like the scholastics', but Don Quijote's is deeper, "...cae toda lógica que no se basa en la fe y no busca en la voluntad su último sustento."³⁹ Unamuno again demonstrates the necessity of rebelling against reason and overthrowing it, that Don Quijote has done this, and that his thoughts -- his logic -- are based on a deep faith within himself. Don Quijote has become a perfect Unamunian hero. His logic is based on faith and will; he incarnates a contradiction, and thus becomes for Unamuno an allegory of the struggle which is the heart of his philosophy. The author expresses the problem clearly in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida:

Razón y fe son dos enemigos que no pueden sostenerse el uno sin el otro.⁴⁰

La paz entre estas dos potencias se hace imposible, y hay que vivir de la guerra. Y hacer de ésta, de la guerra mismo, condición de nuestra vida espiritual.⁴¹

Don Quijote has found an equilibrium between faith and reason, but in doing so, he has become mad.

C. UNAMUNO'S LACK OF HUMOR

In his anxiety to show that Don Quijote willingly overthrew reason in favor of madness, Unamuno sometimes overstates his argument, very often twists the meaning of the text, and ignores its subtleties. Such is the case in his discussion of Don Quijote's "penitence" in the Sierra Morena. Sancho asks his master why he must go mad ("desatinar"), if Dulcinea has not yet deceived him with another knight. Sancho is confused: he knows his master to be mad already, yet Don Quijote here confronts him with the spectacle of a madman pretending to be even madder than he is. Don Quijote tells him that to go mad with a reason is nothing: "...el toque está en desatinar sin ocasión y dar a entender a mi dama que si en seco hago esto, qué hiciera en mojado." Unamuno interprets this as a rebellion against logic, that "harsh tyrant of the spirit." True madness is what we need, he insists.⁴² Unamuno, in his haste to drive home to us that madness is our salvation, ignores the complex play of Cervantes' humor, and the fact that, in this instance, the hidalgo's madness is not "la verdadera locura", but a manoeuver to win Dulcinea's

favor. It is an out and out imitation by Don Quijote of Ariosto's Orlando furioso, but the hero makes it clear that he has no intention of committing any of the destructive acts that Orlando did, since he is not really "mojado"; Dulcinea has not deceived him yet. With the utmost gravity, Unamuno also passes over the passage where Don Quijote, in order to supply Sancho with a lively impression of his "madness" to relate to Dulcinea, takes off his clothes.

Quedó en carnes y en pañales, y luego, sin más ni más, dió dos zapatetas en el aire y dos tumbos de cabeza abajo y los pies en alto, descubriendo cosas que por no verlas otra vez volvió Sancho la rienda a Rocinante y se dió por satisfecho de que podía jurar que su amo quedaba loco.

"¡Admirable aventura!" exclaims Unamuno solemnly, "Sólo el que el que las dió o es capaz de darlas (zapatetas) puede dar cima a grandes empresas."⁴³ Unamuno is perfectly justified here in saying that no man can reach greatness unless he is willing to appear absurd. The gravity of his tone may also be explained in part, for to laugh at Don Quijote without second thoughts implies joining forces with the crudest of his persecutors. Unamuno's error lies in oversimplifying the novel; for Unamuno it is a "sad epic". Actually, the Quijote causes us to laugh and at the same time to feel deep compassion. Of course we cannot help laughing, but we laugh gently, for we identify with Don Quijote, whose labors inevitably turn out wrong -- like our own. Precisely this awakening of compassion is, according to Dostoievski, the

deepest secret of humor, but Unamuno criticises any such compassion.⁴⁴ The sparkling and joyful sweep of Cervantes' writing escapes Unamuno entirely. On the contrary, he considers Cervantes' style to be artificial, affected, and highly detrimental to those who attempt to imitate it.⁴⁵

D. UNAMUNO'S ENVY OF CERVANTES

His enmity to Cervantes is not limited to style, however. Since 1903, when Unamuno wrote "La causa del quijotismo", his benevolence towards Cervantes has changed to suspicion and scorn. From identifying Cervantes with his hero in the 1903 article, Unamuno has reached the opposite extreme of considering Cervantes as a mere midwife who had no real part in the creation of Don Quijote, and who did not begin to understand him. This hostility may be better understood in the light of a passage from Del sentimiento trágico de la vida:

Sentimos celos de los genios que fueron, y cuyos nombres, como hitos de la historia, salvan las edades. El cielo de la fama no es muy grande, y cuantos más en él entren, a menos toca cada uno de ellos. Los grandes nombres del pasado nos roban lugar en él.⁴⁶

Cervantes has achieved greatness. Unamuno, in his article "Sobre la lectura e interpretación del Quijote" (1905), tries hard to rob Cervantes of his place in the "heaven of fame" by asserting that Cervantes is only the father of the Quijote, its mother is the people which produced Cervantes.⁴⁷ Thus Cervantes, Unamuno tells us, really had only an incidental

role to play in the production of the Quijote: "Cervantes no fué más que un mero instrumento para que la España del siglo XVI pariese a Don Quijote."⁴⁸ As a supporting argument against Cervantes, Unamuno resurrects an idea which he first develops in "El caballero de la triste figura" (1896), and which he repeats in Niebla: that a created character assumes a life of its own, independent of the creator.⁴⁹ Hence, Don Quijote, who is actually a product of the nation, rather than of Cervantes, was independent of his "father" from the start. Unamuno continues by attempting to persuade his readers that Cervantes was a mediocre writer and critic, and that he, alone, could never have written the Quijote. The Novelas ejemplares are insipid and dull, the Viaje al Parnaso is "insupportable".⁵⁰ The critical passages in the Quijote are frighteningly vulgar and unimaginative. Obviously, Cervantes was a writer who, except for the Quijote, would be forgotten by literary scholars today. To clinch his argument, Unamuno attempts to demonstrate that Cervantes did not understand his hero.

...llego a sospechar que Cervantes murió sin haber calado todo en alcance de su Quijote, y acaso sin haberlo entendido a derechas. ...cada vez que el bueno de Cervantes se introduce en el relato y se mete a hacer consideraciones por su parte, es para decir alguna impertinencia o juzgar malévolamente y maliciosamente a su héroe.⁵¹

Unamuno cites the case of Don Quijote's discourse on the Golden Age to a group of goatherds, which Cervantes calls an "inútil razonamiento". Obviously it was not useless, Una-

munos protests, since it left the geatherds amazed and speechless!

These arguments against Cervantes seem largely fallacious. They are based on envidia, which Unamuno himself believes to be one of the greatest evils of the Spanish character, and about which he writes Abel Sanchez, his Cain and Abel novel. It is true that the Novelas ejemplares do not compare with the Quijote in content, but they do compare in their sparkling and lighthearted presentation. Unamuno commits the error of judging Cervantes from his own, twentieth-century moral and esthetic standpoint. He makes no attempt to understand Cervantes' purpose, or the taste of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century artist and reader. Cervantes no doubt hoped to entertain his reader, not to teach him, and in limiting himself largely to the role of entertainer rather than moralist, Cervantes reflects the cynicism of his age. He wrote what he knew would be amusing, and in Don Quijote, he found exactly the theme for which he had been searching during a lifetime. There is no doubt that Cervantes knew the worth of his hero. His profound love for his creation is expressed in the sentence at the end of the Quijote: "Para mí solo nació don Quijote, y yo para él; él supo obrar y yo escribir..." His critical attitude towards his hero reflects a deeper understanding for him than Unamuno could possibly show. Maeztu, among others, has criticized Unamuno for being incapable of realizing that Cervantes loved his creation all

the more deeply and understood it the more profoundly, precisely because he could laugh at Don Quijote and sympathize with him simultaneously. Cervantes' irony is too great, too subtle for the rough-hewn intellect of Unamuno to grasp.⁵² Don Quijote is Cervantes' creation, despite Unamuno's elaborate attempts to dispose of the original author. Cervantes' Quijote is more complicated, more human -- an hombre de carne y hueso, with a good and a bad side, while Unamuno's Quijote is a cardboard figure, a saint, an allegory, a mere tool and vehicle of his thought. Because Unamuno does not understand Cervantes' hero, but rather recreates him, we see in his interpretation an accurate reflection of Unamuno's artistic capabilities. He demonstrates the difference between a novelist of genius and an essayist, whose personae dramatis, when he writes fiction, remain in the prenatal state of ideas arbitrarily clothed in flesh. (Ironically, in his essay "En torno al casticismo", Unamuno is quick to criticize exactly this tendency in Calderón's work.) Certain of Unamuno's insights are extremely penetrating, though they generally have little to do with Cervantes' Quijote, but rather are ideas sparked by the effort to interpret every passage in the book according to Unamuno's own "philosophy".

Unamuno shows a healthy disgust for the majority of Quijote criticism, and he has ample reason for this attitude. Most Spanish critics have been so overawed by their national hero, Cervantes, that they have been unable to reach the

essence of his greatest work. Unamuno rightly sees that English and other foreign critics have shown a greater understanding for the Quijote, since they are not bound like the Spaniards by a patriotic reverence for Cervantes which borders on idolatry. Unamuno tentatively attributes the Spanish lack of daring in intellectual matters to the particular dogmatic, orthodox expression of Catholicism in Spain. There are no great Spanish theologians, says Unamuno, but only slavish expositors, comentators, vulgarizers, and scholars of the great thoughts of other Christian writers.⁵³ Unamuno attempts to break through the barriers of dogmatism in relation to Quijote criticism, but he becomes dogmatic and blind himself in his condemnation of Cervantes. He has become emotionally involved with a character with whom he identifies himself. Naturally, therefore, he wishes to possess Don Quijote as a creator possesses his creature. His anger against Cervantes is the fury of a man who has been robbed by another author of his greatest idea; one which expresses the essence of his thought. He therefore does his best to tear Don Quijote away from his creator.

E. THE POET-CREATOR

From the beginning, there is a restlessness in Alonso el Bueno, who sells his land in order to buy novels of chivalry with the proceeds. He is both choleric and contemplative; he desires notoriety and immortality. If he remains within the

prison walls of sanity -- of logic -- he can never achieve his goal. His only way out of the eternal monotony of salpicón, duelos y quebrantos is to go mad -- and so he does. A factor contributing to his madness, according to don Miguel, is his love for Aldonza Lorenzo, whom he converts into Dulcinea del Toboso. He combines this sentiment with his thirst for eternal fame, and thus surrenders himself entirely to his heart, the eternally good heart of Alonso el Bueno. His madness is a great one, for like Christ and the faithful, Don Quijote creates what he wishes by believing it.⁵⁴ The windmills are giants, and the herds of sheep are armies, since Don Quijote believes them to be giants and armies. Those who know Alonso el Bueno best call him "mad", for they, miserable earthbound creatures, cannot share his flights of fancy, in which his deepest desires become reality. They envy him; they wish to drag him down out of the heights of his imaginary world; they wish to destroy his innermost being. They rationalize their desire to destroy him by disguising their evil plans in cloaks of benevolence. Poor Alonso must come to his senses. He must return to his village, take care of his property, and live a dignified life as a God-fearing gentlemen should, they say. What they do not understand is -- and Unamuno recognizes that the bachilleres and curas can never understand -- that Don Quijote approaches Truth as closely as is humanly possible. The greatness of art and myth alike lies in their distortion of reality. They

are lies like truth -- much nearer the truth than any photograph. Paradoxically, reality is the raw material of art, but it has been filtered and refined through the senses and the mind of the artist and mythmaker. Alonso el Bueno is a symbol of the greatest of human creators -- the greatest of artists, for he creates himself anew; in his life as Don Quijote he is himself both myth and work of art. Don Quijote is true than Alonso el Bueno. He has become a universal man, who touches every one of us, for in each of us there lives a Don Quijote. The immortal hidalgo has the courage to believe that the world inside him is truer than the world outside. No man can be an artist unless he, too, believes in himself. To believe only in the interior world implies utter loneliness, as Don Quijote was lonely.

Estás solo, mucho más solo de lo que te
figuras, y aun así no estás sino en camino
de la absoluta, de la completa, de la ver-
dadera soledad. La absoluta, la completa,
la verdadera soledad consiste en no estar
ni aun consigo mismo.⁵⁵

Out of this loneliness must come to work of art, not what the world calls art, for we must mistrust that as a petty imitation of the real thing. "Que te baste tu fe", Unamuno tells us. "Tu fe será tu arte, tu fe será tu ciencia."⁵⁶

Unamuno feels deeply the validity of Alonso el Bueno's attempt to transform himself into myth. In a conversation recorded by Manuel García Blanco, Unamuno reveals the extent to which he, too, belongs to the society of great creators -- creators of self:

-- ¿De modo que Ud. es un mito?
-- ¡Pues claro, hombre, pues claro! Soy un mito que me voy haciendo día a día, según voy llegando al mañana, al abismo, de espalda al porvenir. Y mi obra es hacer mi mito, es hacerme a mí mismo en cuanto mito.⁵⁷

Since la vida es sueño, something which Unamuno repeats in both La Vida and Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, a created life is as good or better -- better because it is a true work of art; a myth closer to truth than life. Unamuno creates himself as an archetype, and, like Alonso el Bueno, stands as a guidepost to those who would know themselves. To know oneself, one must be willing to risk ridicule by trying to approach an ideal -- the ideal, which is itself myth. It is the attempt which counts, not the final result. In speaking of one of Don Quijote's failures, Unamuno remarks: "...mas no te importe, pues tu triunfo fué siempre en el osar y no de cobrar suceso."⁵⁸

Importance of the will. Will is almost as important to Unamuno as faith. He makes it clear in Del sentimiento, that God's existence depends upon our creation of Him, by our willing that He exist in order that we, too, may exist eternally. This supreme effort of will is prior to, or simultaneous with faith, and is necessary if we are to save ourselves from the depths of desperation and cynicism of one who has lost all hope. Don Quijote demonstrates the power of will, not only in recreating himself and his world through his will, but also by forcing others, cynical nonbelievers, to

acknowledge the truth of his assertions. In the dispute over the barber's basin in the inn yard, the scoffers quarrel with each other, almost in spite of themselves, over whether or not the basin is in fact Mambrino's golden helmet in enchanted form, as Don Quijote maintains. Unamuno calls this one of the greatest adventures of Don Quijote, because by pure affirmation, he has imposed his faith on those who scoffed at it, and has caused them to defend the faith with blows and kicks -- to suffer for it.⁵⁹ Affirmation, explains Unamuno, creates all truths. "Las cosas son tanto más verdaderas cuanto más creídas, y no es la inteligencia, sino la voluntad, la que las impone."⁶⁰ We might wonder what the truth of a proposition has to do with the power of the person who supports and strengthens it by force of arms, as does Don Quijote on many occasions. "...Es ... la acción la que hace la verdad" repeats Unamuno, "...son los mártires los que hacen la fe más bien que ser la fe la que hace los mártires. Y la fe hace la verdad."⁶¹ The fearful dangers of the doctrine that affirmation creates truth were not so apparent before World War I as they are to us, daily victims of all sorts of propaganda "truths".

Unamuno as poet. In one of his last adventures, after he has been trampled by a herd of swine, Don Quijote composes a madrigal, in which, among other things, he says:

Así el vivir me mata
que la muerte me torna a dar la vida.
¡Oh condición no oída
la que conmigo muerte y vida trata!

At last, writes Unamuno, the hidalgo has expressed the innermost meaning of his madness, and he has done it in verse.⁶²

The essence of his madness must be expressed in verse form, for it is the natural language of the deepest recess of the spirit. "En verso compendiarón San Juan de la Cruz y Santa Teresa lo más íntimo de sus sentires," Unamuno reminds us, "Y así Don Quijote fué en verso como llegó a descubrir los abismos de su locura..."⁶³ For Unamuno, poetry is the highest form of expression, and he considers himself a poet above all. He has left several volumes of poetry in proof of his assertion, but he also calls everything else he has written "poetry" as well. In fact, he ends by discarding the distinctions between poetry, drama, prose, philosophy and essay, not only in his own work, but also in the work of such philosophers as Kant and Hegel. The reason for this may lie in the fact that Unamuno knew he was not a poet in the conventional sense of the term, for he could not think in images.

His best work is contained in the essays, and in particular in La Vida and Del sentimiento trágico de la vida. His fiction is far too cerebral -- something he loudly condemns (as in the case of the theater of Calderón). His characters are never hombres de carne y hueso, the real man, whom he declares to be the only valid subject of discussion. Unamuno's creations are ghosts, cardboard figures, and are entirely two-dimensional. They are flat because they are incarnations of ideas, and hence cannot have a human personality. The best example of their two-dimensionality is in Joaquín Monegro,

the hero of Abel Sanchez, an incarnation of envy. The plays, short stories and novels all suffer from the same lack of "living" characters. The one exception is Manuel Bueno, the hero of San Manuel Bueno, mártir, who is a spiritual portrait of the author. Even in poetry, Unamuno remains an essayist. Hence it becomes necessary for him, in order to justify in himself a tendency he disapproves of, to call everything he writes, poetry. His redefinition of poetry may be deduced from the distinction he makes between literature and poetry in the Quijote. "Literature" is "lo que tiene (el Quijote) de temporal y de particular."⁶⁴ "Poetry", on the other hand, remains in the Quijote even after it has been translated. Obviously, "poetry" is that which is eternal and universal in the Quijote, and thus any work which Unamuno considers to have lasting and universal value becomes "poetry".

F. ACTION AS A MEANS OF SALVATION

Alonso el Bueno, once he has placed his faith and ideals above reason, becomes, through an effort of will, Don Quijote: a whirlwind of action. To achieve his goal and win the favor of his fair lady, he must accomplish many deeds of chivalry, so that his fame may reach her ears. His recognition that he must "padecer trabajos" undoubtedly pleases Unamuno, who abhors idleness and resignation. Unamuno violently condemns defeatism, quoting again and again the popular refrain:

Cada vez que considero
que me tengo que morir,
tiendo la capa en el suelo
y no me harto de dormir.⁶⁵

which to him expresses the very antithesis of his deep conviction that by action we may be saved; not by thought, but by constant action. "De nuestros actos, y no de nuestras contemplaciones, sacaremos sabiduría."⁶⁶ Don Quijote has thus been reshaped by Unamuno to fit all the specifications for his ideal hero: he is a victim of "erostratismo", he has revolted against reason, he relies altogether on faith as the center of his life, he recreates himself by faith and thus becomes the greatest of human creators: an artist, a poet; and finally, he is in constant action, striving to reach an unattainable goal. This striving, which is quixotic by definition, is recommended to us in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, as the only proper way of life, and indeed the only possible one for any person who is aware of life's tragedy: one's inevitable death.

...Obra de modo que merezcas a tu propio juicio y a juicio de los demás la eternidad, que te hagas insustituible, que no merezcas morir. O tal vez así: obra como si hubieses de morirte mañana, pero para sobrevivir y eternizarte. El fin de la moral es dar finalidad humana, personal, al Universo; descubrir la que tenga -- si es que la tiene -- y descubrirla obrando.⁶⁷

CHAPTER VI

DIONYSUS AND UNAMUNO

A. CHRISTIANITY AND DIONYSUS

As we have seen, Unamuno believes that Don Quijote reaches the highest point of his career when he expresses in verse his innermost thoughts, and reveals his desire to become a pastoral poet. Up to this point Don Quijote has been mad, to be sure, but now he can be identified with the divine madman whom Plato describes in the Phaedrus and Ion, the man possessed by the muses.

For all good poets epic as well as lyric, compose their poems not by art, but because they are inspired and possessed. And as the Corybantian revellers when they dance are not in their right mind, so the lyric poets are not in their right mind when they are composing their beautiful strains; but when falling under the power of music and metre they are inspired and possessed; like Bacchic maidens who draw milk and honey from the rivers when they are under the influence of Dionysus but not when they are in their right mind.⁶⁸

Don Quijote has fallen under the spell of novelas de caballerías and novelas pastoriles, which of course are music and metre in their own right. There is no god, no Dionysus behind Don Quijote's attraction to these novelas; the real source of his madness is their siren-like promise of a way to fame and renown. Don Quijote's muse is Dulcinea, who for Unamuno is the allegory of worldly glory. Through contemplating her, the hidalgo goes mad; he is possessed by her.

According to Plato, good poets compose their poems not by art; art is irrelevant to the creation of real poetry. Art in Plato's sense must no doubt be understood as a product of the mind, what the "world" calls art: artifice, the artificial. Art in this sense is therefore a logical construct, which Plato condemns as not being true poetry since it is not the product of madness. Art is likewise condemned by Unamuno, who speaks against false poets in a very Platonic sense, urging his crusaders to the tomb of Don Quijote to revolt against those who, in the guise of poets, try to join the pilgrimage. When we compare the following two passages, we see the similarity of message:

Esos que tratarían de convertirte el escuadrón de marcha en cuadrilla de baile se llaman a sí mismos, y los unos a los otros entre sí, poetas. No lo son. Son cualquier otra cosa. Estos no van al sepulcro sino por curiosidad ... ¡Fuera con ellos!⁶⁹

But he who, having no touch of the muses' madness in his soul, comes to the door and thinks that he will get into the temple by the help of art -- he, I say, and his poetry are not admitted; the same man disappears and is nowhere when he enters into rivalry with the madman.⁷⁰

Only those who are possessed, or inspired by the siren song of the muses (for after all, to be inspired is to be possessed by the divine breath) are poets. Every utterance of these poets, and indeed their very lives, become poetry, for they are touched by divinity. As we have seen in the passage quoted from the Ion, Plato draws an analogy between the poetic and the Bacchic frenzy. Unamuno, too, although he does not point this out, describes clearly a Bacchanalian

frenzy as the means by which the crusaders of Don Quijote must overthrow reason. No system or method may be admitted to the crusade, for reason is system. The Carrascos, priests, barbers, dukes and canons will defend the tomb with reasoned discourse, but:

A estas razones hay que contestar con insultos, con pedradas, con gritos de pasión, con botes de lanza. No hay que razonar con ellos. Si tratas de razonar frente a sus razones, estás perdido.⁷¹

In a very un-Christian fashion, we are urged to attack the hidalgos de la Razón like bacchantes; to tear them to shreds with stones and lances. The likeness to a bacchanal is remarkable, but if Unamuno intended this resemblance, he certainly hid carefully any reference to his model. There is, to our knowledge, no important passage in Unamuno's works about Dionysus; he never mentions the standard parallel between the idea of Christ and the Dionysian idea of a god who is ritually sacrificed, and who resurrects again every spring. In his essay, "El Cristo español", Unamuno draws an analogy between the corrida and the Spanish Christ:

'Cuando usted vea una corrida de toros ... comprenderá usted estos Cristos. El pobre toro es también una especie de Cristo irracional, una víctima propiciatoria cuya sangre nos lava de no pocos pecados de barbarie.'⁷²

The unity of symbolism between the corrida and a Bacchic rite is just as striking as its possible Christian significance. Some branches of the cult of Dionysus practiced ritual sacri-

fice of a bullock who represented Bacchus. The animal was torn to pieces alive and eaten raw by the worshippers in commemoration of a similar fate suffered by the boy Bacchus at the hands of the jealous gods. The parallel here between Christianity and the Dionysian mystery cult is obvious. The worshippers of both religions are required to devour the flesh and blood of their respective gods, although Christians shield themselves from the gory implications of Holy Communion by hiding behind abstract symbolism. That the bullfight is a vestige of Dionysian ceremonies which took place among the prehistoric Iberians is not a new theory, and has been amply discussed by students of the corrida. Unamuno seems to ignore this possibility, and in this essay he is as close a rapprochement of Christ and Dionysus as he will ever be.

B. NIETZSCHE AND UNAMUNO

It is also clear that Unamuno is not a disciple of Nietzsche, for his admonition that his followers behave like bacchantes has an entirely different meaning. In his articles on Nietzsche, Unamuno condescendingly calls him "el pobre Nietzsche", and explains the German author's iconoclasm by dismissing it as the bravado of a weak person who tries to appear strong:

Y toma las doctrinas darwinianas, o mejor dicho sus hipótesis y sus anticipaciones aquel pobre loco de debilidad que os decía ... de Nietzsche, que ~~al~~ no poder ser Cristo blasfemaba de Cristo y que para

encubrir su hambre de inmortalidad inventó la trágica bufonada de la "vuelta eterna" ...⁷³

Unamuno unwittingly reveals here his amazing ignorance of Nietzsche, for he seems to believe that Nietzsche was a follower of Darwin, when actually he was hostile to the implications of Darwin's thesis. Unamuno mentions the "eternal return" here, but does not attempt to discover its true meaning for Nietzsche. Instead, he attributes to Nietzsche (as he does to Spinoza, Kierkegaard and Kant) his own sickness -- la hambre de inmortalidad. He dismisses both Nietzsche's writings and his own responsibility for reading them: he confesses blithely that he has read only snatches of Zarathustra and other Nietzschean works in French translation, and considers even this much effort badly spent.

Tampoco yo he podido leerlo por entero (Zarathustra) ni mucho menos ... Conocía sus doctrinas (de Nietzsche) por múltiples referencias, por numerosas y largas citas de sus obras, por análisis de ella y por un cierto librito francés, de Lichtenberger, en que están expuestas. Y francamente, no le encontraba verdadera originalidad de pensamiento ... En el fondo de ello célese una receta de muy fácil aplicación. Tratábase para Nietzsche de dar la vuelta el Evangelio y decir negro donde éste dice blanco y viceversa.⁷⁴

This passage is sufficient to demonstrate what an amazingly garbled idea of Nietzsche Unamuno passes on to his readers. It is obvious, therefore, that the Dionysian element in his own works must have quite a different source.

C. CHRISTIAN SOURCES OF THE DIONYSIAN ELEMENT
IN UNAMUNO'S WRITINGS

As a professor of Greek at the University of Salamanca, Unamuno could not have been totally ignorant of the Bacchic myth, but it is indeed possible to reach the position expressed in La Vida, from an entirely Christian point of departure, and such, no doubt, is the case. Unamuno's source for his theory of the divine madman (who, as we shall see later, is also equated with Christ) need not have anything to do with a conscious identification with Dionysian myths, but could well be on the level of the "collective unconscious". The very fact that there exists mystery in our world which the rational mind cannot reach or understand, tends to give rise to the idea -- which is universal -- that perhaps a madman may come closer to the truth than a sane one. It is the feeling of awe and reverence before the inexplicable which prompted the Greek mythmakers to explain the world in fanciful terms in the first place -- terms which in many cases come closer to the truth than scientific treatises. There are, of course, epistemological considerations implied here: that of the relative value of philosophical or artistic truth which is subjective, and scientific truth, which purports to be objective. The obvious objection (which Unamuno already raises in Amor y pedagogía) to such a classification of truth into subjective and objective is the undeniable fact that no man can crawl outside his own mind to get to the Ding an sich,

and therefore everything is subjective. Again, the connection of art with myth and madness comes to mind. If art is a manifestation of the madness which comes closer to truth than logic, then and only then it is true art. It is increasingly obvious how Unamuno reaches his Dionysian position, although his point of departure is a Christian one. Because he so desperately wants to avoid death, he cannot allow himself to be convinced of its inevitability by logic, for that would kill his spirit and transform him into a living corpse. Only madness is life-giving, life-preserving -- and hence only in madness can Unamuno approach near the truth. Once he has embellished his theory of madness, Unamuno has almost outlined a Bacchic religion, though his chain of reasoning (if we dare think of his mental processes in these terms) has been entirely Christian -- if not entirely orthodox.

CHAPTER VII

UNAMUNO VIS-À-VIS OTHER SELVES

Unamuno's treatment of Nietzsche is very typical of his attitude toward any other thinker, who is not able to defend the integrity of his thought against Unamuno's distortions, as Ortega y Gasset and Maeztu vigorously did. Don Miguel makes no real effort to reach outside himself to an understanding of another person's nature and, indeed, no doubt finds it difficult to conceive of a nature other than his own. He seems to believe that he can understand other minds by intuition, as he demonstrates in his treatment of Nietzsche. He does not consider it necessary to read Nietzsche in order to interpret him. All he needs to do is to read parts of Zarathustra in French translation, and a superficial vulgarization of Nietzsche's thought by Lichtenberger. With this equipment, he is prepared to pontificate about Nietzsche's inner nature, calling him "mad with weakness", and, since he can conceive of no other motive for writing, philosophizing, or even being, he attributes Nietzsche's doctrines to his hunger for immortality. He reduces Kant and Spinoza to the same formula in Del sentimiento trágico de la vida: Kant proves the existence of God only because he needs Him to guarantee his personal immortality; Spinoza's basic tenet that all things tend to persist in their present form is a transparent disguise for his own desire to persist in his

present form forever. These ruthless oversimplifications serve Unamuno's purpose admirably, hence he does not need to understand the thinkers he is using; in fact, it would detract from his argument if he understood them properly. In a sense, Unamuno is cheating, for he is not willing (and perhaps is not able) to "play the scholarly game" of finding exact quotations in another author to bear out his thesis. Such a procedure would be dangerous to him, for if he should quote the authors he writes about, he might refute his own intuitive ideas on them. When he does quote directly, as in La Vida (otherwise an exceedingly rare occurrence), he is never willing to let the quotations "speak for themselves", but insists on molding them to his purposes by rationalizing, and sometimes completely falsifying their meanings. He justifies his arbitrary and seemingly unfair approach by the very basis of his philosophy, however, which rests on the overthrow of reason and logic. Along with reason and logic, the hidalgos de la razón are also discarded, as we have shown in other contexts. Nietzsche, Kant, and Spinoza must, to an extent, represent these hidalgos, and thus everything in them which does not serve Unamuno's purpose is discarded.

A. UNAMUNO, ROMANTIC VISIONARY

Unamuno also shows, to a heightened degree, what all artists and writers since the beginning of Romanticism have felt: the need to create their own universe, or rather to

re-create the existing world in their own image -- in the image which they wish to project. It is therefore not surprising that Unamuno appropriates Don Quijote and rejects Cervantes completely: Don Quijote, as well as Nietzsche, Kant, Spinoza, Hegel and Kierkegaard are all part of the world as seen by don Miguel, and can be used and molded as he wishes. The total production of the artist is his world, and if it is worth while, if it holds a grain of truth, it will survive. In a different context, don Miguel expresses his desire to include the universe within himself without losing personal consciousness. Every living being, he tells us, not only tries to perpetuate itself forever, but also wishes to invade all other living beings, to be the others without ceasing to be itself, to extend its limits to infinity without breaking them.

Y este vasto yo, dentro del cual quiere
cada yo meter al Universo, ¿qué es sino Dios?
Y por aspirar a El le amo, y esa mi aspiración
a Dios es mi amor a El, y como yo sufro
por ser El, también El sufre por ser yo
y cada uno de nosotros.⁷⁵

In the same way in which don Miguel becomes God in order to understand Him, he becomes each one of the persons he writes about. Since he includes Nietzsche, for instance, within his "limits", he need make no further effort to understand him; identification is in one sense the strongest possible effort at understanding -- and at the same time it is the easiest way to a totally blind misunderstanding. To include the

universe within oneself naturally implies the inclusion of fictional characters, too, for they exist more vividly to their readers than many of their acquaintances de carne y hueso. Unamuno identifies and includes Don Quijote within himself, and since he feels such a deep identification, he cannot bear it that the immortal hidalgo does not belong exclusively to him. Indeed, Unamuno's Don Quijote does belong to him, for he has very little in common with Cervantes' original, and thus, in a truly artistic sense, Unamuno has been successful in swallowing up and recreating part of the universe in his own image.

PART II

CHAPTER I

MAIN THEMES OF LA VIDA DE DON QUIJOTE Y SANCHO

The kaleidoscopic variety of surface form in Unamuno's work is deceptive, for the basic ideas remain almost unchanged from 1897 to 1936. The reader, understandably, might become confused: Unamuno seems deliberately to thwart his critics by his ever-changing attitude toward his own thought. Once the basic principles have been recognized, however, a discussion of any portion of his work must touch upon ideas which are present in every other part. Hence, in Part I of this essay, we have already mentioned most of the themes present in La Vida. For greater clarity, however, we shall restate them here before studying the unique aspects of La Vida.

All men and peoples start with a tragic sense of life. This is part of the human condition, and is the penalty man must pay for being conscious of himself instead of living in blessed oblivion like the animals (and, Unamuno seems to add, like the unquestioning believers of the orthodox faith). An agonized consciousness of mortality and a compelling desire for eternal life become prerequisites for being human. Reason tells us that we are mortal in body and soul; that there exists no hope for our survival -- not even in hell, which, after all, would mean a continuation of consciousness, however painful. Hope crushes itself against the inflexible barrier

of its enemy, reason. If hope dies, despair inevitably follows, along with total destruction of the personality. The only way to salvation lies through a sort of insanity, through the overthrow of reason. When we overturn reason, faith and hope may survive; we can believe in what we want to believe, and through the power of the will can recreate the divine hierarchies which our own reason has destroyed. Even though we know it to be absurd, we must believe in the world which our will has made.

Don Quijote saves us by the example of the sacrifice of his reason. He is the Spanish Christ, for he springs from the collective soul of the Castilian people, not from the imagination of one man alone. He is a myth just as profound as the myth of Jesus of Nazareth -- both figures answer a deed-seated human need for assurance of immortality. Unamuno urges that Spaniards awaken to their plight and to the Christhood of Don Quijote. If they follow the gospel according to Cide Hamete Benegali, revised and enlarged by Miguel de Unamuno, they become priests of the new faith, fit to go forth to all the nations and Hispanize the world. Unamuno is convinced that his own view of the Spanish psyche or collective soul represents reality. It does not occur to him that his own view of Spain cannot fail to be distorted, just as every mirror distorts to a degree the world it reflects. In reality, Unamuno asks the Spaniards to Unamunize the world; it is only natural that he should share the vanity of most

great thinkers in believing that he has reached Truth in a perfect reflection.

In Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, Unamuno states that only the agonized life is a worthwhile one, and that he can only fulfill his mission by awakening as many souls as possible to the vertiginous nada which yawns around them. But Unamuno's missionary spirit greatly softens by the time he writes San Manuel Bueno, mártir, in 1931. San Manuel, the village priest, does his best to preserve the innocent faith of his parishioners; their artificial happiness in the illusion of immortality to come. He realizes that nothing would be achieved by plunging them into despair. Here the martyr sustains hope in others, but for himself there remains only suffering and death in the agony of doubt and disbelief. Unamuno unquestionably identifies himself with San Manuel: the name alone hints at such an identification. We also know that Unamuno considers his true mission to be a religious one, for he shows his conviction in his writings -- largely consisting of sermonizing -- and even in his manner of dress. In San Manuel Bueno, the basic problems have remained the same as those of Del sentimiento trágico, but Unamuno, like San Manuel, has come to doubt, at the end of his life, the usefulness of destroying faith and happiness in others.

CHAPTER II

FORM OF LA VIDA

La Vida is not the sustained and continuous creation one might expect from its title. It most resembles a collection of parables (again underscoring the essentially religious character of Unamuno's thought), which without Cervantes and his Quijote, would be related to each other only in their metaphysical foundations. They would be like a collection of Unamuno's poetry, for they would show an equally fragmentary nature. Each "parable" takes as its source a chapter or episode of the Quijote; each one is unrelated to the Quijote except as the diver is related to the springboard. The Quijote affords an excellent starting point for Unamuno's own sermonizing. We can almost picture him in a pulpit, saying, "Our text for this morning is from Quijote II:20" He uses each episode in turn to illustrate a different metaphysical, religious or moral point, and each point remains separate from all the others except that, when one sums them up in their confusing variety, they amount to a statement of a philosophy which seems clear enough, even though its foundations cannot withstand the scrutiny of reason. (They should not withstand such a scrutiny, the author maintains, for reason is irrelevant to his system.)

CHAPTER III

UNAMUNO'S VIEW OF CHRIST

Don Quijote presents a great contrast to the traditional Spanish Christ as Unamuno interprets Him. The Christ he believes to be truly Spanish "nació en Tánger", eternally suffers and dies on the cross, or is represented by the bloody and torn Cristos yacentes like the one in the Convento de Santa Clara, which is so lifelike (or should one say "deathlike"?) that it appears to be a mummy. In his poem "El Cristo yacente de Santa Clara", Unamuno reduces this Christ to "tierra", in a frenzied and violent portrayal of Christ as nothing more than the inanimate substance from which Adam was made, rather than as a symbol of joyous hope.

Don Quijote, by contrast, is very much alive. He acts, wills, creates constantly -- creates himself and his universe. Our only grounds for hope lie in following his example, and though the expectations may be absurd ones, greatness may be found in the man who is willing to appear absurd in order to gain his ends. Creating one's own grounds for hope might seem a ridiculous measure, but it is our only way to call a truce in the conflict between our desires and our reason.

CHAPTER IV

CHRISTHOOD OF DON QUIJOTE

In order to enable his potential converts to visualize Don Quijote as Christ, Unamuno forces Cervantes' original to fit his mold by falsification of meaning, oversimplification, and even by grossly changing the text. The following examples will illustrate his Procrustean method of recreating Don Quijote in the image of Christ. He further dignifies Don Quijote by likening him to Ignacio de Loyola, thus associating him with a great Christian military leader as well as with Christ himself.

Unamuno has made it quite clear that Don Quijote's quest for personal glory and renown is selfish, but that he is perfectly justified, for self-love and an attempt to immortalize oneself are basic to the human personality. At the same time, Unamuno interprets Don Quijote's madness, which would seem merely a means toward a selfish end, as a Christ-like gesture of a man who purposely sets out to save his people through sacrifice.

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.⁷⁶

Unamuno's identification of Don Quijote with Christ begins with a contradiction, and thus gets off to a start truly worthy of its anti-rational author. Don Quijote's first

salida is likened to that of Ignacio de Loyola, who, like Don Quijote, was inspired by his readings (of saints' lives as well as of the lives of knights errant) to sally forth to imitate his heroes. Don Quijote sets an example of Christ-like humility, for he takes his momentous decision and leaves home without letting anyone know. The other parallel which Unamuno does not make here, but which he sees and comments upon later, for he does speak of Don Quijote's career as of a ministry, is that of Christ's departure from Nazareth, the beginnings of His ministry, His transformation from carpenter's son into Savior. Don Quijote likewise transforms himself from poor land owner into savior, and, as Unamuno amply demonstrates, his adventures amount to a ministry by word and by example.

As Don Quijote rides along, he realizes that he has not yet been dubbed a knight and resolves that the first person he meets shall dub him. This, we are told, is very Christ-like. Don Quijote takes no thought for the future in just the same way in which Jesus believed that "the Lord would provide". Jesus, too, believed that the "here and now" is the most important: "... En el momento que pasa y en el reducido lugar que ocupamos están nuestra eternidad y nuestra infinitud."⁷⁷ In the light of other passages on the problem of immortality, this one would seem to be mere sophistry, since Unamuno hopes to be immortal in infinite time and space. However, it fits well with his commandment in Del sentimiento

trágico, that we should behave as though we were going to die tomorrow and live each moment in such a way that it would be a crime to consign us to the nada. Hence our eternity and infinity is in the present moment -- or at least our hope for it and our opportunity to merit it.

One of Don Quijote's first Christ-like acts is the "redemption" of the two "mozas del partido" at the inn. His innocent eye sees only its own reflected purity wherever Don Quijote looks. Women are sacred to him, for they remind him of the beautiful Dulcinea. Her chastity is "contagious" -- it cleanses the mozas for our hidalgo; before his gaze they are transformed into lovely virgins. At first they laugh at him. (Here Unamuno condemns laughter as being "matadora de todo generoso anhelo". He repeats the charge several times throughout the book, especially where Cervantes chuckles at the expense of his characters. Again and again, Unamuno reveals his essentially humorless nature, his inability to comprehend that laughter may be on various levels, and is not necessarily the laughter of scorn.) After the innkeeper has made peace between the women and their guest, the mozas begin helping Don Quijote to disarm. He continues to speak to them in his high-flown way, and they are silent except to ask him if he wants anything to eat. This, Unamuno explains, shows that Don Quijote has truly redeemed them, for they sense his childlike spirit, his innocent heroism, and they are moved to the depths of their "thwarted motherhood". Women do

all acts of kindness and charity only because they feel motherly, Unamuno adds, and paradoxically, "toda mujer, cuando se siente madre, se adoncella."⁷⁸ Thus Don Quijote is dubbed by a rascally old innkeeper, who, nevertheless, does not exact payment from his mad guest, and by two "adoncelladas" prostitutes -- two Mary Magdalenes. Like all the wrongs which our hidalgo has undone, the plight of the prostitutes remains the same. That is, in time and space it is the same, but in eternity the wrong is righted, for as in the case of the servant of Juan Haldudo el rico, "tienen las aventuras todas de nuestro caballero su flor en el tiempo y en la tierra, pero sus raíces en la eternidad, y en la eternidad de los profundos, el entuerto de Juan Haldudo el rico quedó muy bien y para siempre enderezado."⁷⁹ Its roots are in the eternity of good intentions which Unamuno believes to be more important than good results. "... Tu triunfo fué siempre el de osar y no de cobrar suceso."⁸⁰ The essence of Quijotismo, the moral justification of his actions, is his desire to right wrongs. This desire is based in the "eternal goodness of Alonso el Bueno" which, since it feels itself to be part of God, strives to immortalize itself. Christ and Don Quijote are both sons of God in a sense, for both are part of Him.

As Don Quijote returns to his village to provide himself with the necessary money and changes of linen, he meets a group of merchants. Although the hidalgo tries to force

them to confess that Dulcinea, the "emperatriz de la Mancha", has no peer in beauty, the merchants refuse to acknowledge her. Like doubting Thomas, they must see to believe, even if it be a portrait no larger than a grain of wheat. Don Quijote replies, furiously, that they must acknowledge Dulcinea without proof, for with proof, what would be the virtue of confessing such an obvious truth? This episode closely parallels the one in which Christ tells his disciples that though they have seen and believed, how much more blessed are those who believe without seeing.

Like Christ, Don Quijote takes a disciple, Sancho, and gradually convinces him, by example, to scorn the riches of this world. In the end, Sancho is completely converted to the faith, which becomes more important to him than the promised island, for which he first followed Don Quijote.

Many times Don Quijote preaches to those who cannot understand him, as in his speech to the shepherds. His words do not fall altogether on stony ground, for his hearers are astonished, and reward the speaker with rustic hospitality and with stories of their own. Christ, too, preached mainly to those who were too simple to understand His words, in the faith that somewhere among the masses He would reach a few who would be capable of understanding and believing Him.

When the priest and the barber come to lure Don Quijote back to his village, Unamuno likens them to Jesus' family whom He refuses to recognize when they come to take Him home.

There is no greater madman than the saint or hero to his own family and brothers, Unamuno tells us, echoing a similar New Testament passage.

Don Quijote suffers several periods of torment, each of which is likened by Unamuno to the Passion of Christ. By disguising themselves and using the lovely Dorotea as a decoy, the priest and the barber deceive Don Quijote. "Empieza tu pasión, y la más amarga: la pasión por la burla."⁸¹ Unamuno compares Pilate's "He aquí el hombre" with "'He aquí el loco', dirán de ti, mi señor Don Quijote, y serás el loco, el único, el Loco."⁸² Unamuno thus emphasizes his belief that madness is our salvation; the Spanish Christ is not just a man, he is a madman, the Madman, our savior. Don Quijote's "passion" continues as he is brought home in a cage, and begins again in the dukes' palace. His entry into Barcelona is compared to Christ's entry into Jerusalem. He is paraded through the streets with an ecce homo pinned to his back: the sign reading, "This is Don Quijote de la Mancha".

Unamuno compares Don Quijote's sympathy for Roque Guinart to Christ's sympathy for the thief on the cross. The hidalgo's death is even more heroic than his life, because he renounces his glory and his work. This, Unamuno is certain, is the greatest possible sacrifice -- and one which he himself could never make. "Y la gloria te acoge para siempre,"⁸³ Unamuno adds fervently.

In the end, Unamuno promises us that Don Quijote, like Christ, will come again. "Hay quien cree que se sucitó al tercer día, y que volverá a la tierra en carne mortal y a hacer de las suyas."⁸⁴ His second coming will be through his faithful servant Sancho, in whom Don Quijote will be incarnate.

CHAPTER V

INFLUENCE OF HEGEL ON UNAMUNO

It must be evident from the foregoing passages on the "Christhood" of Don Quijote, that Unamuno's ideas on Christ are by no means orthodox. One of the principle philosophical influences on don Miguel, equally as important as that of Kierkegaard -- and perhaps even more important -- was that of Hegel.

Pero es un error ver el pensamiento de Unamuno bajo el prisma único de Kierkegaard. El mismo confesó, según hemos visto, en su carta a Federico Urales: "Hoy mismo creo que el fondo de mi pensamiento es hegeliano." En su obra De Fuerteventura a París recala: "He dicho y repetido que la historia es el pensamiento de Dios en la Tierra de los hombres."⁸⁵

Unamuno undoubtedly knew Hegel's work well, since he learned German by translating the Prussian author's Logik. Marrero maintains that Unamuno's thought is still closer to that of the post-Hegelian, David Friedrich Strauss. Strauss' philosophy was a transition between Hegel and positivism, between Christianity and humanism. According to Strauss, the idea of a Christ who is wholly human and wholly divine contains impossible contradictions. Such an incarnation is only possible in the species as a whole; it is Humanity which represents the reunion of both the natures of God and of man. Thus Humanity -- an abstraction -- is the Son of God. The life of Jesus as it is presented in the New Testament is a mere accumulation of myths; these are necessary and unconscious products

of the collective fantasy and are of slow formation.⁸⁶ Although Hegelian philosophy does not form the basis of Unamuno's doctrine of the struggle for immortality nor for the "hombre de carne y hueso", it does seem to have been decisive in Unamuno's loss of orthodox faith. Hegel's philosophy was the highest point of the German Aufklärung, a Protestant and a humanist movement. It was therefore the very antithesis of Unamuno's orthodox faith, and proved highly dangerous to it. Unamuno's essay "El Cristo español" and most of his poetry about Christ exalt the bloody, dying, crucified Christ. This is the true Spanish Christ, the product of the Spanish soul. It is this Christ figure which, through catharsis, saves the Spaniards from their "sins of barbarism" -- just as does the bullfight, that bloody re-enactment of the mass. Unamuno fails to see that gentler, more lighthearted portraits of Jesus are truly Spanish as well. He has closed his eyes to them and chooses to see only the Christ which reflects the "España negra", also a distortion of the real Spain. His Cristo de Velazquez is not a portrait of the bloody, suffering Christ, but fails to be vivid or sympathetic. This Christ is far too abstract, he is a secular Christ, a product of Unamuno's readings in Strauss. He, like Unamuno's earlier Christ figures, is based on the presupposition that Jesus is a myth -- a product of the Spanish fantasy.⁸⁷ After making such a giant step away from orthodox Catholicism, Unamuno sees no difficulty in trading one myth for another. He equates

Don Quijote with Christ, for like most 19th and 20th-century writers, he is literal-minded in that he has lost the feel for symbolism; he confuses resemblance with identity. The same disability may be found in such writers as Bertrand Russell, whose early system of symbolic logic had to be thoroughly revised, because he had forgotten that his symbols represented reality, but were not identical with the things they symbolized.

Don Quijote, like Christ, is a product of the "collective soul" of the Castilian people; he, too, is an expression of the will to survive eternally. Don Quijote is more sympathetic to Unamuno in many ways than his vision of a dying Christ: he is active in a militant way like Ignacio de Loyola, he is not afraid to make himself ridiculous in order to win fame and glory, and the motive of his action is his desire to survive somehow -- even if it be only in the minds of men. Like Christ, he has sacrificed himself for his people to show them the way to salvation. Unamuno therefore substitutes him for Christ; he would much rather follow the pastor Quijotiz than the suffering, dying Jesus.

CHAPTER VI

SANCHO

In La Vida, Sancho often rivals Don Quijote in importance. He is at once a Christ and a disciple figure. If Don Quijote and Sancho together may be considered as an allegory of the divine-human aspects of Christ's nature, then Sancho would represent the human aspect of Christ. Unamuno recognizes Sancho's constant development from crass materialist to quixotic idealist, and uses this transformation as an example of the path every Spaniard and indeed every human being, must follow. In his interpretation, Sancho ultimately unites with Don Quijote (Christ), for it is through Sancho that the hidalgo's second coming will be accomplished.

Sancho's most obvious role is that of Don Quijote's disciple. Unamuno therefore exploits the implications of his discipleship first, before moving on to less evident roles. Don Quijote needs his companion in order to think aloud and to gauge the effect of his words on the world. "Sancho fué su coro, la humanidad toda para él."⁸⁸ Man is incapable of loving an abstraction: "la humanidad", thus he must love instead his neighbor -- as himself. Don Quijote "aprendió a amar a todos sus prójimos amándolos en Sancho ..."⁸⁹ Sancho, like Christ's disciples, left everything behind him in order to follow Don Quijote: "dejando mujer e hijos, como pedía Cristo a los que quisieron seguirle."⁹⁰ Unamuno has already

begun identifying Sancho and Don Quijote, for he points out that Sancho "completes Don Quijote" and that his greed is actually, beneath the surface, sed de gloria.

Se dirá que a Sancho le sacó de su casa la codicia, así como la ambición de gloria a Don Quijote, y que así tenemos en amo y escudero, por separado, los dos resortes que juntos en uno han sacado de sus casas a los españoles. Pero aquí lo maravilloso es que en Don Quijote no hubo ni sombra de codicia que le moviese a salir, y que la de Sancho no dejaba de tener, aun sin él saberlo, su fondo de ambición, ambición que creciendo en el escudero a costa de la codicia, hizo que la sed de oro se le transformase al cabo en sed de fama. Tal es el poder milagroso del ansia pura de renombre y fama.⁹¹

The tragic sense of life, which gives rise to the desire for immortality, is a basic law of human nature which even Sancho cannot escape. For that reason, Unamuno emphasizes Sancho's desire for fame. Unamuno again chooses to ignore the essential light-heartedness of Cervantes' character, Sancho, in order to attribute to him a nature similar to Unamuno's own, a nature constantly in conflict within itself. For Unamuno, Sancho is closer to Christian, the hero of Pilgrim's progress than to the warm and comic peasant most readers of the Quijote know and love. Sancho's wanderings with Don Quijote are like a Purgatory for him:

Pocos ven cuán de combate fué tu carrera
escuderial; pocos ven el purgatorio en que
viviste; pocos ven cómo fuiste subiendo
hasta aquel grado de sublime y sencilla
fe que llegarás a mostrar cuando tu amo
muera.⁹²

Unamuno carries his analogy of Sancho the disciple further to identify Don Quijote's squire with Simon Peter, who, Unamuno believes, represents carnality.

Y viene Sancho, el carnal Sancho, el Simón
Pedro de nuestro Caballero ...⁹³

Como Simón Pedro, que aun deseando plantar
tiendas en lo alto del Tabor para pasarlo allí
bien y sin penalidades, y aun negando al Maes-
tro, fué quien con más ardor le creyó y le
quiso, así Sancho a Don Quijote.⁹⁴

Since Sancho is an archetype of the Disciple, Unamuno also uses Saint Paul's words to describe him: "... El ánimo de Don Quijote es ya tu ánimo, y ya no vives tú en ti mismo, sino que es él, tu amo, quien en ti vive."⁹⁵ This is obviously a paraphrase of Galatians 2:20, "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me."

Both Unamuno and Cervantes remark that it requires more quijotismo (Cervantes says locura) for a sane man to follow a madman than for a madman to follow his own aberrations. Unamuno attributes heroic faith to Sancho, who believes his master despite what he sees. When Don Quijote directs Sancho to help search out and catch Cardenio, the madman of the Sierra Morena, Sancho replies poetically: "No podré hacer eso porque en apartándome de vuestra merced, luego es conmigo el miedo, que me asalta con mil géneros de sobresaltos y visiones."⁹⁶ Unamuno explains, that this fear represents loss of faith resulting from separation.

Y tú, Sancho fiel, crees en un loco y en su
locura, y si te quedas a solas con tu cor-
dura de antes, ¿quién te librará del miedo
que te ha de acometer al verte solo con ella...?⁹⁷

Here again, Unamuno points out the "killing power of logic". Once his sanity is restored and his faith destroyed, Sancho is assailed by agonizing fears and visions. Only by following his master and believing in him can he be saved. His faith shows a gradual increase throughout the Quijote. It has travelled half-way to perfection when Sancho (in the inn-yard during the dispute over the barber's basin) calls the basin a "baciuelmo". This is not good enough, however, it must be all basin or all helmet: all or nothing. Sancho still has a long way to go before he reaches perfect faith and becomes completely identified with his master. Even though Sancho wavers at times, still Don Quijote needs his faith in order to bolster his self-confidence. "...La fe del héroe se alimenta de la que alcanza a infundir en sus seguidores."⁹⁸ Unamuno adds:

Solemos necesitar de que nos crean para creernos, y si no fuera monstruosa herejía y hasta impiedad manifiesta, sostendría que Dios se alimenta de la fe que en El tenemos los hombres.⁹⁹

This "monstrous heresy" and "manifest impiety" is stated quite clearly and without apology in Del Sentimiento trágico:

Mas, aunque decimos que la fe es cosa de la voluntad, mejor sería acaso decir que es la voluntad misma, la voluntad de no morir, o más bien otra potencia anímica distinta de la inteligencia, de la voluntad y del sentimiento. La fe, es, pues, si no potencia creativa, flor de la voluntad, y su oficio crear. La fe crea, en cierto modo, su objeto. Y la fe en Dios consiste en crear a Dios; y como es Dios el que nos da la fe en El, es Dios el que se está creando a sí mismo de continuo en nosotros.¹⁰⁰

Not only does Unamuno suggest that God sustains Himself by our faith, but that we create God by believing in Him. Unamuno does not attempt to prove God's objective existence by logical argument, for he scorns such methods. His assertion that God gives us our faith is dubious, since Unamuno himself makes it clear that our faith is only maintained by an act of will. In the end, the whole system collapses into a voluntaristic humanism. Man, the poet, creates his universe, his Christ and his God by an act of will in order to keep alive his hope for immortality. Unamuno personifies his ideal Poet -- the universal creator -- in both Don Quijote and in Sancho. Don Quijote creates himself and his world according to his own will, and Sancho believes in Don Quijote's recreated world -- a belief which is also an act of will. Sancho's position seems at times loftier than Don Quijote's, for his faith is much greater. He believes in Don Quijote's world despite all he sees to the contrary. This aspect of Sancho reflects Unamuno himself, whose faith has been destroyed, or at least sorely tried, by the evidence of mortality he sees around him, and who yet "believes" by an act of will. The spectacle of towering heavenly hierarchies, Mary, the Holy Spirit, Christ and God, all supported by Unamuno's will is absurd, quixotic, and, of course, heroic. Again we must recall his remark that one must be willing to appear absurd in order to reach greatness. Just as Sancho's act of faith is greater than Don Quijote's, so man's faith is greater than

Christ's, for man must believe what he cannot see.

Sancho's is an ideal Unamunian faith, for it feeds on doubts. Untried faith is not true faith, Unamuno believes, just as a life of spiritual agony is the only noble life to lead, not the happy life of the unconscious believer, asleep in his complacency. La Vida as well as Del sentimiento trágico are missionary efforts aimed at awakening the Spanish people to the tragedy of life. Beneath Unamuno's noble attempts to save his people from complacent oblivion, may be seen more selfish motives. The gnawings of his intellect, feeding upon the works of Kant, Hegel, Strauss, and Kierkegaard -- all Protestant authors -- have undermined the foundations of his faith. He needs companionship in his misery. Again, he generalizes his own struggle into a universal law: if his own agonized existence is noble and good, then all lives in order to be noble and good, must be lived in agony. Sancho, too, becomes a reflection of this struggle -- and thus becomes someone very different from the Sancho Cervantes knew.

La fe de Sancho en Don Quijote no fué una fe muerta, es decir, engañosa, de esas que descansan en ignorancia ... Era, por el contrario, fe verdadera y viva, fe que se alimenta de dudas. Porque sólo los que dudan creen de verdad, y los que no dudan, ni sienten tentaciones contra su fe, ni creen en verdad ... Una vida sin muerte alguna en ella, sin deshacimiento en su nacimiento incesante, no sería más que perpetua muerte, reposo de piedra. Los que no mueren, no viven.¹⁰¹

In the end, Sancho's faith becomes perfect. On his deathbed, Don Quijote resumes the personality of Alonso el Bueno, and drops the mask of quijotismo, but Sancho snatches it up, and will wear it forever. "Don Quijote perdió su fe y murióse; tú la cobraste y vives; era preciso que él muriera en desengaño para que en engaño vivificante vivas tú."¹⁰²

Don Quijote, like Christ, will come again, but next time he will be incarnate in Sancho, in whom Unamuno has seen disciple, saint, pilgrim and Sisyphus, and in whom he now sees the Spanish people. Don Quijote's spirit will become flesh in the people of Spain, in all the Sanchos, to liberate them all from the death-in-life of their complacency.

CHAPTER VII

DULCINEA

Despite the fact that Dulcinea never really appears in the Quijote, she is one of the most influential characters in the novel. In Unamuno's La Vida, her importance is even greater, for she represents man's basic striving for immortality. Unamuno states clearly from the outset what he sees in Dulcinea: "Y después de esto buscó (Don Quijote) dama de quien enamorarse. Y en la imagen de Aldonza Lorenzo ... encarnó la Gloria y la llamó Dulcinea del Toboso."¹⁰³ This is not a simple allegory, for Unamuno mixes love of woman with love of glory; carnal and "divine" love. The desire for immortality is prior to love of woman, and, in a way causes love:

Ved aquí cómo del amor a mujer brota todo heroísmo. Del amor a mujer han brotado los más fecundos y nobles ideales, del amor a mujer las más soberbias fábricas filosóficas. En el amor a mujer arraiga el ansia de inmortalidad, pues es en él donde el instinto de perpetuación vence y soyuga al de conservación, sobreponiéndose así lo sustancial a lo meramente aparential. Ansia de inmortalidad nos lleva a amar a la mujer, y así fue como Don Quijote juntó en Dulcinea a la mujer y a la Gloria.¹⁰⁴

It is clear that Unamuno equates love and the mating instinct, but at the same time raises the mating instinct to a high-flown and acceptable level by calling it "ansia de inmortalidad". This ansia, then, is at the root of all human actions, including love. On the surface, it would seem that

Unamuno is proposing that a man calculatingly approaches a woman and "loves" her only in order to produce children and perpetuate himself in some sense through them. Actually he probably means that man's desire for immortality is so deeply rooted that it does not need to reach a conscious level in order to send him off looking for a mate.

Unamuno betrays his essential puritanism as well, for he insists again and again that Don Quijote's love "fué ... de los castos y continentes." Of course, had it been otherwise, Unamuno could scarcely have set the hidalgo up as a Christ figure. Don Quijote's love is completely unselfish, for he pledges himself to Dulcinea without expecting her to love him in return. Nevertheless, Unamuno assures us that La Gloria loved Don Quijote very well, for "(ella) lleva de comarca en comarca y de siglo en siglo la gloria de (su) amor."¹⁰⁵ Don Quijote's love for Dulcinea is both profane and divine, for he loves Aldonza Lorenzo with the hopeless love of one who had always been too shy to declare himself. At the same time he does all his deeds of chivalry in order to win glory; i.e. to win the favor of La Gloria, which is incarnate in Dulcinea. Unamuno writes a long and surprisingly sentimental explanation of Alonso el Bueno's love for Aldonza Lorenzo. For twelve long years Alonso pined in silence for Aldonza, but always too shy to declare his love, he at last went mad. This love-madness seems quite another matter than the madness of one who has sought and found in

insanity a compromise, a resting place between faith and reason, or who has gone mad because it became obvious to him that he could not achieve immortality if he continued the humdrum pattern of life in his aldea. Unamuno implies that it was Alonso's unsatisfied passion which drove him mad, and yet insists upon the chastity and purity of Don Quijote's love for Dulcinea. Unamuno's sentimental rendering of Alonso's hopeless love for Aldonza reaches its climax when he comments on Don Quijote's meeting with "Dulcinea" in the form of a poor farm girl.

¡Oh momento supremo tanto tiempo suspirado!
... ¡Ahora, ahora va a redimirse su locura,
ahora va a lavársela en el torrente de las
lágrimas de la dicha; ahora va a cobrar el
premio de su esperanza en lo imposible! ¡Oh,
y cuántas tinieblas de locura se disiparían
bajo una mirada de amor! 106

Though he makes a supreme effort, poor Don Quijote does not see the face of his beautiful Dulcinea, nor does Alonso see his sighed-for Aldonza. He addresses the woman before him, begging her not to turn from him, although the evil magician has transformed her beauty into the outward appearance of a homely farm girl.

¿No os entran ganas de llorar oyendo este
plañidero ruego? ¿No oís cómo suena en
sus entrañas, bajo la retórica caballe-
resca de Don Quijote, el lamento infinito
de Alonso el Bueno, el más desgarrador
quejido que haya jamás brotado del cora-
zón del hombre? ¿No oís la voz agorera
y eterna del eterno desengaño humano? 107

Could this be an echo of Unamuno's own disenchantment, his

loss of faith which he nevertheless struggles to retain? Don Quijote has seen that his goddess Dulcinea is really a poor laborer; has Unamuno seen that his Christ is only tierra, that man's religion is only a myth created gradually and unconsciously by successive generations of mortals?

In a later adventure, Don Quijote opens the lion's cage and challenges the occupant to battle. The king of beasts turns his back on him, not out of disdain, Unamuno maintains, but out of compassion and sympathy:

O ¿no sería acaso que el león, soñando entonces en la leona recostada, allá en las arenas del desierto, bajo una palmera, vió a Aldonza Lorenzo en el corazón del Caballero? ¿No fué su amor lo que le hizo a la bestia comprender el amor del hombre y respetarle y avergonzarse ante él?¹⁰⁸

Through love all creatures are united: love conquers all. Unamuno seems willing to forget all previous discussions of Don Quijote's madness, all talk about faith, reason and immortality, for with one mirada de amor, Aldonza-Dulcinea could dissipate the mists of madness. The world of love and sex (the Feminine) and that of the spirit (the Masculine) are two separate planets at war with one another. As in Amor y pedagogía, the former generally wins the battle. ("...El instinto de perpetuación (sex) vence y soyuga al de conservación (spirit)."¹⁰⁹) Thus it is with Don Quijote, who would be willing to give up all his striving for immortality in exchange for one look of love from his lady. "Sólo los amores desgraciados son fecundos en frutos del espíritu ... sólo la

esterilidad temporal da fecundidad eterna."¹¹⁰ The desire for immortality in the sense of "conservacion", is merely a sublimation of the frustrated desire to mate. This does not explain Unamuno's own continued desire for immortality which remains unchecked despite the large family he fathered.

Not only are divine and profane love united in Don Quijote's feelings for Dulcinea, but also in Dulcinea, the goddess, mistress and mother are combined:

Don Quijote dudó por un momento de la Gloria, pero ésta, su amada, le amaba a su vez ya y era, por tanto, su madre, como lo es del amado toda su amante verdadera. Hay quien no descubre la hondura toda del cariño que su mujer le guarda sino al oírlo, en momento de congoja, un desgarrador ¡hijo mío!, yendo a estrecharle maternalmente en sus brazos. Todo amor de mujer es, si verdadero y entrañable, amor de madre; la mujer pro-hija a quien ama. Y así Dulcinea es ya madre espiritual, no tan solo señora de los pensamientos, de Don Quijote...¹¹¹

No doubt there can be found in Unamuno's works ample material for a clinical study of his Oedipal feelings for his mother. He seems to have turned the tables on woman, and has transferred his own feelings to her. Since all his fictional lovers (shadows of their creator) love their wives as sons love their mothers, then the wife must love her husband as a mother does her child. Wherever a woman appears in Unamuno's work, this pattern repeats itself. In Amor y pedagogía, the wife, Marina, incarnates the earth-mother. She is an unconscious machine which produces milk and irrational love, and whose needs are entirely elemental. Unamuno dubs her

"Materia", to contrast with "Forma", the male element, don Avito -- who ironically fails entirely to "inform" Matter. Their son, Apolodoro, falls in love -- because the girl resembles his mother. At last, don Avito is defeated, and falls into the arms of his wife with a cry of total submission: ¡Madre!

Unamuno's short story "Dos madres" repeats with variations the same theme. In the end, the spiritual male element is devoured by the female, who is oblivion, earth, perhaps death as well, since she represents the flesh only. Perhaps her cult always presupposed death of the spirit as a sacrifice to perpetuation in the flesh of her children.

Through his multivalent concept of Dulcinea, the mistress-mother-goddess, Unamuno comes to speak of the cult of the Virgin. Mary has been exalted to the position of co-redeemer with Christ. Most Catholic believers pray to Mary rather than to Jesus himself; she has become at least equally as important. She takes her place in the trinity to swell it to a "cuadernity". The reason for her ever-increasing importance becomes obvious: to compensate for the harsh masculinity of the Judge, the punishing Father, mankind needs the Female, she who always forgives, who opens her arms to the erring child seeking the tepid warmth of prenatal unconsciousness at her breast. But in the end Unamuno reduces her, too, to a mere creation of collective humanity:

Es la Madre de Dios, es la pobre Humanidad dolorida. Porque, aunque compuesta de hombres y mujeres, la Humanidad es mujer, es madre. Lo es cada sociedad, lo es cada pueblo. Las muchedumbres son femeninas. Juntad a los hombres y tened por cierto que es lo femenino de ellos, lo que tienen de sus madres, lo que los junta. La pobre Humanidad dolorida es la Madre de Dios, pues en ella, en su seno, es donde se manifiesta, donde encarna la eterna e infinita Conciencia del Universo. Y la Humanidad es pura, purísima, limpia de toda mancha, aunque nazcamos manchados cada uno de los hombres y mujeres. ¡Dios te salve, Humanidad; llena eres de gracia!¹¹²

Indeed, for Unamuno, Humanity is the Creator; mankind creates all myths: the myth of God, of Jesus, of Mary, of Don Quijote, Sancho and Dulcinea. The conflict in Unamuno's mind rages between what his reason tells him and what his heart desires. His world is fatally dualistic: reason wars with faith, flesh with spirit. A jagged rent has been torn in the comfortable world of Unamuno's childhood faith by the working of his reason. Through the hole, he can see the terrifying emptiness of the positivist's world -- the world without faith. His wound can never heal, for his reason will not let it. Instead, Unamuno must try to fill the gap with some substitute for a faith, a new religion which he will preach to the masses. First he will try to disenchant them as he has been disenchanted, then he will feed them his substitute faith, this credo quia absurdum which is an act of sheer will, a re-creation of the universe as it should be, as it must be if mankind is to preserve itself from total despair.

CONCLUSION

A number of biographers report that Unamuno underwent a severe spiritual or religious crisis in 1897. This becomes evident from a mere glance at his writings. The change is startling in both style and preoccupations between Paz en la Guerra and Amor y pedagogía. If we study the evolution which Unamuno's attitude toward Don Quijote undergoes, we can follow -- by examining this mere fraction of his total writings during that period -- his philosophical and religious development from 1895 to 1905. These ten years were perhaps the most decisive ones in his life, for by 1905 -- as we have seen -- the basic principles which were to remain the same throughout his career were already formulated and had "crystallized".

Unamuno's religious crisis was undoubtedly brought on by readings in Comte, Hegel, and David Friedrich Strauss, as well as by discussions on the works of these authors. Hegelian dialectics, the contact with positivism and Strauss's secular interpretation of the life of Jesus must have gradually undermined the simple faith which he had been taught in his earliest childhood. No ordinary man would have suffered so much from the loss of the faith of his childhood; but Unamuno's will and need to believe was profoundly ingrained by years of piety, and by a sense of mission so predominant that he had even considered entering the priesthood. The three articles on Don Quijote published in 1898, and in

particular "¡Muera Don Quijote!", mark a complete about-face from Unamuno's position in 1896, when he composed "El caballero de la triste figura." Now he suddenly condemns Don Quijote without reservations and in the most uncompromising fashion. His condemnation rests on three points: (1) since all warlike behaviour is pagan, Don Quijote represents paganism; (2) Don Quijote commits the mortal sin of pride in his belief that he is God's minister on earth; and (3) Don Quijote neglects "survival in eternity" by his incessant attempts to gain fame and glory in this life. The first two points reflect Unamuno's preoccupation with Spain's political crisis of 1898, although even this great crisis did not preoccupy him for long. Unamuno's condemnation of Don Quijote for believing that he is God's minister might also have some connection with Unamuno's belief that he had been called to the priesthood. To rationalize his failure to become a priest, Unamuno may have pretended that such a step would show hubris, since it would imply belief that he had been directly called by God. The last point in Unamuno's rejection of Don Quijote is more significant when considered in the light of later developments. Unamuno has begun to doubt the Christian system and to fear that man's only possibility of survival exists -- if at all -- in becoming part of historical record. The thought that this might be true revolts him, and he condemns it unconditionally both in himself and in Don Quijote. His mind continually worries at the problem. By 1905, his oppo-

sition to historical "immortality" has given way to an equally vehement justification of the desire for fame by calling it a basic law of human nature.

Unamuno had been a victim of the cat-and-mouse struggle between his faith and his reason. The result of the battle was exactly what he could not accept: the victory of reason and the death of faith. Unamuno's conviction that reason, the "killing power" is a terrible enemy of mankind may well have arisen from his own experience. The victory of reason may also account in part for Unamuno's violent opposition to almost everything and everyone he writes about. V. Marrero points out that Unamuno is a "resentido", and that he rationalizes his position by pretending that resentment is a source of high spiritual consciousness. "El resentimiento es manantial inagotable de rebeldía, y la rebeldía, manantial inagotable de la más alta conciencia espiritual."¹¹³ Unamuno is at his best when he attacks something; we feel the power of his anger, barely restrained. Baroja writes that he gains the impression upon reading Unamuno's books, that they are like a vengeance against someone or something unknown.¹¹⁴ Unamuno's enemy, his reason, had not allowed him to follow his chosen path as priest of the faith it had destroyed. His anger boils over, he revolts against himself and against everyone and everything near him. Despite his loss of faith, he becomes a lay-priest in manner, speech, dress, and literary style, but a priest of his own religion, the only one

his reason will allow him. It is probable, then, that his opinions on Spain after 1898 (as well as on every other subject of his writings) are not merely a consequence of the Desastre, but in a large measure a result of his personal desastre of 1897. Unamuno's work is far too personal to have any great political significance or influence.¹¹⁵ Resentment causes his ambiguous attitude toward his contemporaries. He writes that he hopes to save them from their complacency, but he probably resents his believing colleagues, secure and unshaken in their faith, and wants to make them suffer as he has had to suffer. Whatever its motive may have been, his desire to undermine the faith of his fellows slowly dies. By the end of his life Unamuno has mellowed; he concludes at last that simple folk should not be disturbed in their belief. In La Vida and in Del sentimiento trágico, however, we see Unamuno in his prime, wielding the weapons of his rhetoric and his "sincerity" (which has so many levels) to convince his readers that though there is actually no hope of immortal life, they must create their own hope by willing a God into existence, who will be a necessary guarantor of their eternal survival. Unamuno's sincerity is genuine in part, for he seems to be truly convinced of his mission as a prophet of a new "faith". The mere fact that his basic ideas remain the same for thirty-six years should convince us of his sincerity -- on one level, at least. His writings may be exasperating esthetically because of their repetition

and passionate presentation, but they are gripping because they reflect fears which have become increasingly prominent in our century -- fears of annihilation.

Unamuno's rough style and his apparent lack of organization are consistent with his rejection of reason and his attempts to appear sincere. No author seems sincere who calculates his sentences and who smooths and polishes them. When Unamuno revises his work, it is undoubtedly to create an effect as unsophisticated and anti-literary as possible. Unamuno revolts against accepted form wherever possible, in the essays, and in particular in his novels (nivolas) and his plays. The word nivola itself is a flag of victory, proudly marking the success of Unamuno's venture in writing an anti-novel. The dualism of the struggle between faith and reason is also reflected in Unamuno's preference for the "man of flesh and bone" over any abstraction. He tries therefore to be as personal as possible in his writing: to speak man to man. In many ways his works are confessions -- but always calculated confessions, for in spite of himself, the Unamuno he pictures in his works is an idealized figure, un mito, as he himself admits. His works are not autobiographical in the usual sense, and yet all fit together to give a complete portrait of the Unamuno-myth. He has left us travellogs, impressions of landscapes, novels, essays, plays, and his poetry, which he considers to be the most significant portion of his creation. It cannot be doubted that Unamuno

hopes to immortalize himself in history through his works, and that his numerous family is also, to some extent, an effort at self-perpetuation. Unamuno tries to win immortality through his works and his children despite his awareness that these are merely illusory paths to eternal life. Such attempts assure him only that he will not be at once forgotten after his death.

Unamuno's antirationalism may also explain his preference for poetry as a means of expression. The poet discards reason and searches for truth in the word. Through the creation of myth he often plumbs hidden depths in man and nature. Paradoxically, (Unamuno often uses paradox as a favorite weapon against reason), Unamuno includes Kant, Spinoza and other highly rational thinkers in his chosen circle of poets. Form matters less than content to Unamuno. He may blur the formal distinctions between poet and philosopher because he is aware that he is not himself a poet in the strict sense, for he cannot think in images. The philosophical world of Kant and that of Spinoza are mythical worlds, and therefore poetic, according to Unamuno. Any writer who has a deep insight into human nature or the universe becomes a "poet" by Unamuno's definition. One of the poet's greatest powers is that of creation. Unamuno makes Don Quijote the symbol of the poet par excellence. He is the savior of mankind because he recreates himself as well as the world about him. Unamuno does his best to imitate him.

Such a re-creation implies an overwhelming effort of will. In Unamuno's system, will plays the key role of creating a God who will guarantee personal immortality. Unamuno maintains his balance on the brink of disbelief through will-power. He wants to believe, therefore he has faith -- of a sort. The effort is naturally exhausting to him, and he often expresses in poetry his desire to give up the struggle and retire to some secluded monastery to live out his days. At times he even longs for death, for eternal peace and cessation of struggle. His will to continue never really breaks; he admires and imitates those men who live an active, militant life, for in action there lies an antidote to thought. Undoubtedly his admiration for Ignacio de Loyola -- that soldier of the faith whom he compares with Don Quijote -- stems from his own readiness to do battle wherever possible. His violent opposition to the "hidalgos de la Razón" takes on Dionysian dimensions in its savagery, but it arises from his inner struggle rather than from an acceptance of Plato's ideas. He resents both the sheeplike believer and the arrogant positivist represented in La Vida by Sansón Carrasco: neither are truly "alive", for theirs is a calm, not an agonized existence. Unamuno's writings on the mad poet remind us both of Dionysian mysteries and of passages in Plato's Phaedrus and Ion. The true poet, he who is mad, may enter the temple of truth with ease, while the poet who uses mere "art" is forever shut out. Don Quijote becomes a Platonic

poet in Unamuno's interpretation. We cannot doubt that Unamuno, as a classicist, was aware of Plato's ideas, but we shall never know whether or not he consciously modeled Don Quijote after a Platonic ideal.

Unamuno betrays his 19th century origins both in his philosophy and in his sensibility: he is essentially a romanticist. Like his romantic models, Byron and Sénancour, Unamuno is a visionary who creates a literary universe. The incredible egotism he shows in appropriating the Quijote as his own property and in using (or misusing) Spinoza, Nietzsche and Kant by twisting the meanings of passages in their works to serve his purposes, may be justified since they all are incorporated into his visionary world. For Unamuno, they are pawns to be disposed as the game demands. Why, then, should he concern himself with accurate interpretation?

Unamuno believes he has made the Quijote his own through his discovery of the "true meaning" which Cervantes never understood. Nevertheless, Cervantes keeps returning to plague him. Not only has he achieved immortality, but Cervantes also repeatedly interrupts the narrative of his Quijote to poke fun at Don Quijote and Sancho. He often interrupts thus at a point where Unamuno wishes to be entirely serious, and it forces him to break the continuity of his sermon in order to exorcise the ghost of his rival. Such a hiatus in Unamuno's stream of thought naturally distracts the reader from the points he is trying to make. He

therefore tries to rid himself of Cervantes by writing him off as a mere instrument of the collective Castilian soul -- which actually created the Quijote. He bolsters his argument by pointing out how awkward Cervantes' style really is (in his estimation), and how impoverished was his imagination. Unamuno's antagonism is the greater since he cannot understand Cervantes' humor. The conflict within Unamuno's nature is too deadly, too serious; he sees little cause for laughter in his world. Amor y pedagogía and its appendix, Apuntes para un tratado de cocotología, contain some irony and humor, but it seems somehow inept and forced. It is subordinate to the true purpose of the books: to satirize science as a fragile and futile outpost of the mind which is quickly overwhelmed by man's animal nature. Science is the more absurd since it must necessarily base itself upon the very animality which is enimical to it.

Just as Unamuno used the Quijote, we have used La Vida as a springboard for a study of its author, his purpose and his ideas. This study only scratches the surface of the problems raised in it, but perhaps has brought to light a few new aspects of Unamuno's purpose and personality.

Because of his anti-rationalism, his love of paradox and his mental torment which we believe to have been genuine, Unamuno is truly our contemporary. He is tragi-comic like don Fulgencio Entrambosmares, for he, too, took himself too seriously. Unamuno stands fiercely alone; he is intensely

individual, and yet he represents a transition between Kierkegaard and Sartre. His existential anguish was not that of the absurd leap of faith but of a loss of faith and its dogged reconstruction by willpower.

NOTES

¹Unamuno, Miguel de, Obras completas (second edition; Madrid, A. Aguado, 1958) Vol. IV, pp. 953-954.

²Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 411-417.

³Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 542-546.

⁴Ibid., Vol. III, p. 161.

⁵Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 223-234. Unamuno severely criticizes the "castizo" theater of Calderón for its superficiality and dryness. Everything is seen from the outside, and not felt from within. Thus Calderón's characters are merely incarnations of his ideas (!). The castizo spirit is also a dualistic one. Don Quijote and Sancho are always divided; they can never unite themselves, no matter how much affection they bear for one another.

⁶Unamuno, Miguel de, La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho (eleventh edition; Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1958) pp. 85, 215.

⁷Unamuno, Miguel de, Obras completas; Vol. III, pp. 1043-1064.

⁸Unamuno, Miguel de, La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho; p. 13.

⁹Ibid., p. 138.

¹⁰Unamuno, Miguel de, Obras completas; Vol. III, p. 287.

¹¹Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 707-711.

¹²Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 707-708.

¹³Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 364-385.

¹⁴Ibid., Vol. III, p. 372.

¹⁵Ibid., Vol. III, p. 372.

¹⁶Ibid., Vol. III, p. 373.

¹⁷Ibid., Vol. III, p. 375.

¹⁸Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 712-724.

¹⁹Ibid., Vol. V, p. 715.

- ²⁰Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 725-726.
- ²¹Ibid., Vol. III, p. 161.
- ²²Ibid., Vol. V, p. 720.
- ²³Ibid., Vol. V, p. 728.
- ²⁴Ibid.
- ²⁵Ibid.
- ²⁶Ibid., Vol. V, p. 731.
- ²⁷Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 733-735.
- ²⁸Unamuno, Miguel de, La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho;
p. 24.
- ²⁹Ibid., p. 153.
- ³⁰Ibid., p. 27.
- ³¹Ibid., p. 75.
- ³²Ibid., p. 60.
- ³³Ibid., p. 180.
- ³⁴Unamuno, Miguel de, Obras completas; Vol. V, p. 736.
- ³⁵Unamuno, Miguel de, La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho;
pp. 193-194.
- ³⁶Ibid., p. 194.
- ³⁷Ibid., p. 13.
- ³⁸Ibid., p. 215.
- ³⁹Ibid., p. 80.
- ⁴⁰Unamuno, Miguel de, Del sentimiento trágico de la vida
(Madrid, Renacimiento, n. d.) p. 113.
- ⁴¹Ibid., p. 109.
- ⁴²Unamuno, Miguel de, La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho;
p. 81.
- ⁴³Ibid., p. 83.

⁴⁴For a fuller comparison of Dostoievski and Unamuno on this point, see Marrero, Vicente, El Cristo de Unamuno (Madrid, Rialp, 1960), p. 167 ff.

⁴⁵Unamuno, Miguel de, Obras completas, Vol. III, p. 850.

⁴⁶Unamuno, Miguel de, Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, p. 56.

⁴⁷Unamuno, Miguel de, Obras completas, Vol. III, p. 853.

⁴⁸Ibid., Vol. III, p. 853.

⁴⁹Ibid., Vol. III, p. 848.

⁵⁰Ibid., Vol. III, p. 852.

⁵¹Ibid., Vol. III, p. 853.

⁵²Marrero, op. cit., p. 165.

⁵³Unamuno, Miguel de, Obras completas, Vol. III, p. 845.

⁵⁴Unamuno, Miguel de, La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho; p. 23.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 19.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 17.

⁵⁷García Blanco, Manuel, Don Miguel de Unamuno y sus poesías, (Salamanca, 1954), p. 178.

⁵⁸Unamuno, Miguel de, La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho; p. 36.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 103.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 101.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 182.

⁶²Ibid., p. 209.

⁶³Ibid., p. 210.

⁶⁴Unamuno, Miguel de, Obras completas, Vol. III, p. 850.

⁶⁵Unamuno, Miguel de, Ensayos, (Madrid, Aguilar, 1942), p. 693; Unamuno, Miguel de, Obras completas, Vol. V, p. 85, etc.

⁶⁶Unamuno, Miguel de, La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho; p. 225.

⁶⁷Unamuno, Miguel de, Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, p. 258.

⁶⁸Plato, Ion, 533C.

⁶⁹Unamuno, Miguel de, La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho; pp. 15-16.

⁷⁰Plato, Phaedrus, 245A.

⁷¹Unamuno, Miguel de, op. cit., p. 13.

⁷²Unamuno, Miguel de, Obras completas, Vol. IV, p. 403.

⁷³Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 1097.

⁷⁴Ibid., Vol. VIII, pp. 1100-1101.

⁷⁵Unamuno, Miguel de, Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, pp. 206-207.

⁷⁶Unamuno, Miguel de, La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho; p. 23.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 36.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 29.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 34.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 36.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 88.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid., p. 218.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 225.

⁸⁵Marrero, op. cit., p. 104.

⁸⁶Ibid., pp. 104-107.

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 94-121.

⁸⁸Unamuno, Miguel de, La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho; p. 41.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Ibid.

- ⁹²Ibid., p. 98.
- ⁹³Ibid., p. 49.
- ⁹⁴Ibid., p. 62.
- ⁹⁵Ibid., p. 79.
- ⁹⁶Ibid.
- ⁹⁷Ibid.
- ⁹⁸Ibid., p. 114.
- ⁹⁹Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁰Unamuno, Miguel de, Del sentimiento trágico de la vida, pp. 190-191.
- ¹⁰¹Unamuno, Miguel de, La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho, p. 124.
- ¹⁰²Ibid., p. 219.
- ¹⁰³Ibid., p. 25.
- ¹⁰⁴Ibid., pp. 56-57.
- ¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 58.
- ¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 126.
- ¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 127.
- ¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 133.
- ¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 56-57.
- ¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 60.
- ¹¹¹Ibid., p. 181.
- ¹¹²Ibid., p. 206.
- ¹¹³Unamuno, Miguel de, Obras completas, Vol. V, p. 174.
- ¹¹⁴Marrero, op. cit., p. 49.
- ¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 52.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Balseiro, José Agustín. Blasco Ibañez, Unamuno, Valle Inclán, Baroja, cuatro individualistas de España. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1949.
- Balseiro, José Agustín. El Quijote de la España contemporánea: Miguel de Unamuno. Madrid, 1935.
- Basave, Agustín. Miguel de Unamuno y José Ortega y Gasset: un bosquejo valorativo. México, Jus, 1950.
- Benítez, Hernán. El drama religioso de Unamuno. Buenos Aires, La Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1949.
- Brennes, Edin. The tragic sense of life in Miguel de Unamuno. Toulouse, Figarola Maurin, 1931.
- Carrión, Benjamín. San Miguel de Unamuno; ensayos. Quito, Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, 1954.
- Clavería, Carlos. Temas de Unamuno. Madrid, Gredos, 1953.
- Curtius, Ernst Robert. Kritische Essays zur europäischen Literatur. Bern, A. Francke, 1950.
- Esclasans y Folch, Agustín. Miguel de Unamuno. Buenos Aires, Juventud de Argentina, 1947.
- Fernández Almagro, Melchor. En torno al 98: política y literatura. Madrid, 1948.
- Ferrater Mora, José. Unamuno: bosquejo de una filosofía. Buenos Aires, Losada, 1944.
- Gomez de la Serna, Ramón. Retratos contemporáneos. Buenos Aires, 1944.
- González-Ruano, César. Vida, pensamiento y aventura de Miguel de Unamuno. Madrid, Aguilar, 1930.
- Granjel, Luis S. Retrato de Unamuno. Madrid, Guadarrama, 1957.
- Grau, Jacinto. Unamuno, su tiempo y su España. Buenos Aires, Alda, 1946.
- Madariaga, Salvador de. Semblanzas literarias contemporáneas. Barcelona, 1924.
- Marías Aguilera, Julián. Miguel de Unamuno. Paris, Editions Universitaires, 1957.

- Mata, Ramiro W. La generación del 98. Montevideo, Liceo, 1947.
- Meyer, François. L'ontologie de Miguel de Unamuno. Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1955.
- Nevasqués, Luis J. De Unamuno a Ortega y Gasset. New York, 1951.
- Oromí, Miguel. El pensamiento filosófico de Miguel de Unamuno, filosofía existencial de la inmortalidad. Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1943.
- Ortega y Gasset, José. Obras completas. Madrid, 1946.
- Perez, Quintín. El pensamiento religioso de Unamuno frente al de la Iglesia. Valladolid, Casa Martín, 1946.
- Ramis Alonso, Miguel. Don Miguel de Unamuno, crisis y crítica. Murcia, Aula, 1953.
- Marrero, Vicente. El Cristo de Unamuno. Madrid, Rialp, 1960.
- Romera-Navarro, Miguel. Miguel de Unamuno: novelista-poeta-ensayista. Madrid, Sociedad general española de librería, 1928.
- Romero Flores, Hipólito R. Unamuno: notas sobre la vida y la obra de un máximo Español. Madrid, Hesperia, 1941.
- Sanchez Barbudo, Antonio. La formación del pensamiento de Unamuno. Sobre la concepción de "Paz en la guerra". Madrid, Insula, 1949.
- Sender, Ramón José, Unamuno, Valle Inclán, Baroja y Santayana; ensayos críticos. México, Librería Studium, 1955.
- Serrano Poncela, Segundo. El pensamiento de Unamuno. Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1953.
- Torre, Guillermo de. Tríptico del sacrificio: Unamuno, García Lorca, Machado. Buenos Aires, Losada, 1948.
- Unamuno, Miguel de. Obras completas. Second edition. Madrid, Aguado, 1958.
- Unamuno, Miguel de. Del sentimiento trágico de la vida. Madrid, Renacimiento, n. d.
- Unamuno, Miguel de. La Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho. Eleventh edition. Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1958.

García Blanco, Manuel. Don Miguel de Unamuno y sus poesías.
Salamanca, 1954.

Plato. The dialogues. Translated by Benjamin Jowett. Third
edition. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924.