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AZORÍN AND THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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AZORÍN AND THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The inquiry into Azorín's relationship to the eighteenth century requires a specific approach to two fundamental problems that constitute the basic framework of this investigation. The two problems are inextricably entwined and exert a reciprocal influence on each other and consequently must be examined jointly. The basic problems referred to are Azorín's approach to the literature of his country and the question of literary influence.

Since there can be as many approaches to these two questions as writers in the field, an attempt must be made to impose workable limits endemic to the point of view to be followed throughout this study. The investigation of the topic will be restricted to Azorín's view of the eighteenth century as manifested directly, in particular books and articles whose subject is the literature, writers, attitudes and conditions of that century, and as manifested indirectly in other portions of his works. Consequently, the approach to the problem of Azorín's view of Spanish literature and to the question of

literary influence, will be limited to an examination of the answers proposed by Azorín himself in his own works.

The earliest indication of Azorín's approach to literature is found in a folleto published in 1893 entitled Moratin, esbozo. Discussing this work and his plans for future ones, he writes:

Escrito este folleto a ratos perdidos, sale sin pretensiones de ningún género. . . .

Es el primero de algunos más que, sobre asuntos de nuestras letras o de las ajenas, nos proponemos ir publicando. Libres como estamos de toda sugestión de escuela, en todos ellos, como en éste, procuraremos ajustarnos a la verdad, hablando de los hombres y las cosas, no como debieron y deben ser, sino como son y fueron.¹

This simple, objective approach, however, was eventually abandoned and replaced by the personal view now known to be typical of Azorín. In 1912 he published Lecturas Españolas. In 1920, a new edition of this work was issued for which Azorín wrote a new preface, supressing the original. (II, 533) It is in this new preface that he gives the first clear indication that a subjective element has been introduced in his approach to literature. He writes, for example:

¿Qué es un autor clásico? Un autor clásico es un reflejo de nuestra sensibilidad moderna. La paradoja tiene su explicación: un autor clásico no será nada, es decir, no será clásico, si no refleja nuestra sensibilidad. Nos vemos en los clásicos a nosotros mismos. Por eso, los clásicos evolucionan; evolucionan según cambia y evoluciona la sensibilidad de las generaciones. Complemento de la ante-

¹Azorín, Obras Completas, Introducción, notas preliminares, bibliografía, y ordenación por Angel Cruz Rueda. (9 Tomos; Madrid: Aguilar, 1947-54) I, 29. (All subsequent references to the Obras Completas will be given in the text of the paper in parentheses - the Roman numeral indicating the volume and the Arabic numeral the page.)

rior definición; un autor clásico es un autor que siempre se está formando. No han escrito las obras clásicas sus autores,; las va escribiendo la posteridad. . . .

No estimemos, queridos compatriotas, los valores literarios como algo inmóvil, incambiable. Todo lo que no cambia está muerto. Queramos que nuestro pasado clásico sea una cosa viva, palpitante, vibrante. Veamos en los grandes autores el reflejo de nuestra sensibilidad actual. Otras generaciones vendrán luego que vean otra cosa. (II, 534-35)

These two paragraphs are a clear and explicit reference to the subjective element in his literary studies. This is not to infer, however, that this attitude did not enter into his works before the new preface of 1920. The above paragraphs are implicitly contained in an introductory paragraph to Al Margen de los Clásicos, published five years earlier in 1915. One sentence sums up the entire thought. "La impresión producida en una sensibilidad por un gran poeta o un gran prosista: eso es todo." (III, 175)

Azorín maintained this approach to Spain's literary past throughout his entire life. In the later period of his career he attempted some form of conciliation between the objective and subjective view of literature. However, the attempt failed, since it consisted in a laudable desire put into words, but never fully practiced, and overwhelmed by the habit of a lifetime. This is particularly clear in the Prólogo to his Con permiso de los Cervantistas published in 1948.

En este punto de partida se dividen dos caminos: uno es el de la erudición; otro el de la vida. El cervantista puede seguir uno u otro, a su talento, con su responsabilidad, sin que le ataje nadie. El camino de la erudición es áspero; el de la vida, acerbo. El erudito se consagra al papel; el imaginativo se dedica a la sensación. . . .

¿Y qué pasa en el otro camino? Por el otro camino va el artista; el artista que puede enamorarse de Cervantes; que puede aspirar a sentir, a comprender, a compenetrarse con Cervantes. Sentir a Cervantes es, ante todo, actualizar a Cervantes. Para sentir a Cervantes es preciso, antes que nada, despojarle de toda arqueología. No tiene miedo el artista al error histórico; con error, como sin error, se llega a la sensación: la sensación de vida - en un determinado momento - que ha experimentado Cervantes y que nosotros tratamos de que experimente el lector. . . (IX, 187-88)

After this powerful exposition of the meaning of his particular attitude, Azorín tries to establish a balanced position. "Y por qué, sin acrimonia, para evitar la acrimonia, no llegar a la conciliación? Conciliación entre el cervantista psicólogo y el cervantista erudito?"(IX, 188) He goes on to say that conciliation would be the ideal state of literary studies and approaches - but makes no attempt to achieve it himself. He terminates his short discussion by indicating that until conciliation is achieved, each writer is free to go his own way.

It can safely be stated, then, that when Azorín approaches the Spanish eighteenth century, he may very well perceive what is actually there. Nevertheless, the important consideration is that, whether correct or incorrect, Azorín sees as most important in the eighteenth century that which he wishes to see, that which has meaning for him, that which touches his private sensibility. It is within this basic framework, therefore, that Azorín's interest in the eighteenth century must be considered.

Intimately linked to Azorín's approach to literature

and the past and, consequently, a further basis for its investigation, is Azorín's attitude toward literary influence. He wrote chapters, in certain works of the 30's and 40's, specifically entitled "Las influencias" or "Las influencias literarias". Some of these articles were re-issued, with his approval, in new collections in the 50's and 60's, indicating no change in his basic thoughts on the matter. The principal ideas contained in these chapters are that an author may be influenced positively or negatively, that he is more influenced by the ambiente than the letra, and that, in any case, it is almost impossible to prove influence.

Most of these ideas were first expressed in an article entitled Las Influencias Literarias originally published in 1936 and re-issued as part of a new collection called Ultramarinos, published in 1966.² He writes, for example:

Ni el mismo autor influido puede decir con exactitud de qué modo y en qué medida y por qué autores ha sido influido. Vivimos en un ambiente espiritual - sea el que sea - que nos es imposible definir con precisión. Un poeta, un novelista, un comediógrafo hacen lecturas múltiples y diversas. Leen autores conspicuos y autores anodinos. ¿Cuáles de ellos serán los que hayan influido definitivamente y por modo laudable en la obra realizada? Se habla tan solo de la influencia literaria en la gestación de la obra. Pero, ¿y lo iliterario? ¿No influirá también? ¿Cómo separar lo ficticio de lo real?³

In Chapter IX, also entitled "Las Influencias Literarias", of the book, Madrid, published in 1941, Azorín repeats

²Azorín, Ultramarinos, Recopilación de José García Mercadal (Barcelona: E. D. H. A. S. A., 1966), pp. 99-104.

³Ibid., p. 99.

these ideas when he writes, "Cuando hablemos de las influencias literarias, pongamos cuidado en lo que decimos. Las influencias pueden ser de dos clases: por adhesión y por hostilidad."(VI, 207) Further on, he continues, "... escritores han dicho en sus confidencias que tales o cuales autores han influido en ellos. Debemos acoger con reservas sus palabras." (VI, 207) Chapters in Estética y Política(IX, 1146-49) and Memorias Inmemoriales(VI, 566-69), both entitled "Influencias", dating from 1945 and 1946 respectively, develop these same ideas but at greater length.

The chapters already cited from Madrid and Memorias Inmemoriales further serve to show the link between Azorín's approach to literature and the question of influences under discussion. In the chapter from Memorias Inmemoriales, for example, Azorín is discussing translations of classical works. In the course of his discussion he sweeps aside any objections concerning objectivity in good or bad translations and reverts openly to his position on sensibilidad when he writes:

Se dirá que lo que se pide es que las obras traducidas sean buenas, ¿y qué importa que sean buenas o malas? ... ¿Qué más da que lo traducido sea óptimo o mediocre? No sabemos cuál resonancia tiene una lectura en determinado lector; conocemos el efecto que una obra produce en nosotros; no podemos asegurar lo que sucederá en el fondo de otra sensibilidad.(VIII, 566)

In the chapter from Madrid the idea is even more explicit, although seen from a different point of view. Here he is speaking from the position of a writer seeking good influences, and trying to avoid evil ones. A hopeless task, according to

Azorín, and nor worth the effort, since the important factor is always the creative impulse released by someone or something affecting the sensibility of the author.

La influencia debemos aceptarla, principalmente, como un estimulante para la creación. Sea o no sea exacta la idea que tenemos de nuestro autor, el autor que nos interesa, que nos entusiasma, ese autor influirá en nuestro trabajo. Y acaso influya más si la idea es falsa. Porque entonces somos nosotros los que creamos ese autor, le creamos para nuestro caso, y escribimos la obra con arreglo a lo que deseamos. (VI, 208)

Azorín's views on literary influence, then, are that such influence, both positive and negative, exists, that it is difficult to determine, impossible to prove, and does not constitute the ultimate in the scale of literary values. Considering these views as part of the framework of the investigation of Azorín's relationship to the eighteenth century, necessarily limits the study to Azorín's personal view of the eighteenth century. Consequently, no attempt is made to determine the objectivity of Azorín's appraisal, nor a pseudo-scientific basis laid for the reflection of this appraisal in some portions of his extensive literary production.

The nature of Azorín's approach, therefore, confines the investigation to Azorín's views on the eighteenth century in general, the relationship which he sees between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, his appraisal of the major figures of the century: Moratín; Feijóo; Isla; Cadalso; Jovellanos; and others that he treats more or less in passing. His evaluation of these writers and their writings demonstrates his subjective approach since he sees in them his own or simi-

lar problems and concerns. These preoccupations lead Azorín to a selective study of the eighteenth century which constantly reflect twentieth century conditions. There is a continual striking parallelism between Azorín's writings dealing with these two centuries.

CHAPTER II

AZORÍN'S VIEW OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN GENERAL

A casual perusal of the titles and chapter headings of Azorín's works, from the so-called obra juvenilia, to the latest collections published with his approval, clearly demonstrates his life-long delving into the literature, culture, and conditions of the eighteenth century. His excursions into the period, although continual, were motivated by an interest in mutual problems and solutions and not by an orderly plan of exposition of genres or ideas. It is necessary, therefore, to explore Azorín's views on the century's characteristics as a whole, as well as his personal evaluation of the century's general manifestations in literature and the arts, religion and education, and the sciences. His selectivity is nearly always prompted by his own preoccupations.

Taken as a whole Azorín's various comments throughout his lifetime on the eighteenth century reveal a fundamentally balanced view. He saw both the positive and negative aspects of the century. A perfect example of this is found in El Alma Castellana (1600-1800), published in 1900. First he discusses the positive values that he perceives.

... Influye Descartes poderosamente en la filosofía francesa; influye en la española. Viva ansia de conocer se apodera de los espíritus.
 ... Propugnan las nuevas ideas aristócratas y literatos.
 ... La polémica propaga las ideas.
 ... Se habla y se discute de todo; se investigan pacientemente las leyes naturales; se examinan los más extraños casos para descubrir otras nuevas y desconocidas.
 ... El espíritu de observación y realidad propágase de las ciencias a la política.
 ... La tolerancia religiosa se abre paso. (I, 658-60)

Finally, he makes a smooth transition from the positive to the negative when he writes, "Aumenta la libertad en las ideas y en las costumbres; aumenta al propio tiempo en los gobernantes la opresión. Todo se reglamenta, se inspecciona, se prohíbe." (I, 660-61)

This evaluation of the century's two-fold qualities proceeds from a similar view of his own times which caused him to comment both on the liberalism of the Generation of '98, in Clásicos y modernos, (II, 909-910), and on the tendency of Spaniards to issue prohibitions in Fantasías y Devaneos, (IV, 40-41).

Although Azorín can be called objective and balanced in that he perceives the contradictory characteristics of both centuries, he is also subjective in his determination of which manifestations are positive and which are negative. His preferences are always quite clear to the reader. Azorín always perceives both aspects - but at the same time determines for himself what is positive and what is negative. His leanings are also evident in that the bulk of his comments are on the liberal characteristics of the century - the spirit - of cons-

tructive criticism, the intellectual curiosity and openness. Furthermore, in dealing with the negative, he criticizes it either directly, or by satire and irony, which can range from the subtle to the overwhelming.

The bulk of Azorín's comments on the eighteenth century in general are on what he considers the positive characteristics of the age. His basic attitude on this aspect did not change from 1893 to the 1960's. His 1893 folleto on Moratín is replete with remarks on the subject. In Ni Sí, Ni No, a 1965 collection of Azorín's articles, the same idea is present when he refers to the eighteenth century as "... el comienzo de nuevas actividades intelectuales, la iniciación de nuevas formas literarias."¹

Comments made in Anarquistas literarios, in 1895, succinctly summarize his preferred view of the eighteenth century.

El siglo XVIII se caracteriza por el espíritu de crítica. Principiase a dudar de lo que parecía incuestionable; inténtase el perfeccionamiento de lo que era tenido por absoluto ...

Es ésta la época en que se elaboran las ideas que más tarde, en nuestro siglo, producen la completa independencia intelectual. (I, 157-58)

Azorín further reveals his attitude in those early years by associating the eighteenth century with anarchy as he understood it then. In the same work he writes:

¿Qué es un anarquista?

Un hombre dotado del espíritu de independencia bajo

¹Azorín, Ni Sí, Ni No, (Barcelona: Destino, 1965), p. 27. Article quoted was originally published in 1917.

una o muchas de sus formas ... animado de un gran amor a la libertad y poseedor de una gran curiosidad, de un vivo deseo de conocer ... lo son Jovellanos y Macanaz....(I, 155-56)

Later on he repeats the positive aspects of the eighteenth century just as four years later in La Evolución de La Crítica he will repeat, at times word for word, what he said about the eighteenth century in Moratin, esbozo.

The eighteenth century is still in Azorín's thoughts in the later years. Though the direct style of exposition is now mixed with subjective impressions, the basic ideas expressed are still the same. In Valencia, published in 1941, he writes:

Siglo XVIII, y siglo XVIII en Valencia. Tengo la preocupación de creer que es Valencia la ciudad más adecuada al siglo XVIII. Donde mejor ha podido manifestarse el siglo XVIII. Y yo veo ese siglo en la ancha, clara y limpia sala de una casa ... y no sé por qué asocio esa casa, esa estancia, al siglo XVIII. Porque ese siglo es para mí claridad y espíritu limpio de prejuicios. Y ¿qué más claridad y limpieza que las de esta sala y esta casa? (VI, 149)

He devotes the rest of the chapter to Andrés Piquer and his ideas. He sees Piquer as, " ... un hombre representativo del siglo XVIII, y del siglo XVIII valenciano. Su crítica es fina, sagaz, independiente ..."(VI, 150). His comment on this physician involved in the political and social struggles of his day, indicate that this is the kind of man that Azorín prefers even for his own era.

This spirit of criticism that Azorín so admires in the eighteenth century is intimately linked with the feverish ac-

tivity and intellectual curiosity of the period. This constitutes for Azorín a concomitant positive value to that of criticism and openness. There is a very clear paragraph on this point in one of the chapters of Leyendo a los poetas, originally published as an article in 1926, and re-issued in 1945 as part of this work. Even the style of the paragraph conveys Azorín's excitement at the turbulent intellectual activity of the century, reminiscent of a similar passage describing the twentieth century protagonist, Antonio Azorín in La Voluntad. (I, 832)

¿Qué influencia va a tener el nuevo espíritu en la literatura? En España esos dos nombres citados, Descartes y Newton, ocupan la atención de los pensadores; grandes polémicas, enconadas discusiones se traban en torno de esos dos nombres. Y la fisiología, la física, la astronomía, la matemática, la medicina, son estudiadas. Una ciencia nueva, madre de la Historia, índice el más fecundo de la psicología humana - la filología - nace en ese período; Hervás y Panduro inicia brillantemente en España los estudios filológicos. (VII, 734-35)

There are two final points in Azorín's general views on the eighteenth century. One concerns a unique geographical interpretation of the period. The other deals with the century's two halves, each represented by a particular author.

The geographical interpretation of the century is unique in that it is not a common approach and also in that Azorín mentions it only once. It occurs in the chapter "El Siglo XVIII" of Clásicos Cernidos published in 1946. He calls attention to the fact that the eighteenth century is coming into greater prominence in the twentieth century and

that it is being studied more than previously had been done. Then he makes his own contribution to the study of the period.

Hay siglos que parecen propios de Madrid y los hay que semejan siglos provincianos. No sólo hemos de atender, por esta consideración, a la política, sino con mayor cuidado a las letras y a las disciplinas filosóficas. Si el siglo XVII ha sido todavía un siglo marcadamente centralista, en cuanto a la literatura, el siglo XVIII podríamos razonar esta tesis pensando en las corrientes literarias que se inician, con cierta independencia de Madrid, en Barcelona, en Sevilla, en Valencia. (VI, 1051)

Finally, in his general view of the century, Azorín sees the period particularly represented by two people, Villarroel and Ramón de la Cruz. Villarroel corresponds to the spirit of criticism that initiated the vitality of the eighteenth century, while Ramón de la Cruz represents the national spirit that tried to revive itself and which made contributions to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Even in this very particular aspect of his study Azorín reveals his basic motivations. Vitality and a renewed national spirit are qualities sought by Azorín and his generation.

A paragraph or two from the 1913 work Clásicos y Modernos, clearly summarize Azorín's vision of the critical spirit of the eighteenth century, represented by Don Diego de Torres Villarroel.

... todo nuestro siglo XVIII - por lo menos en su primera mitad - está representado en el catedrático de Salamanca. Siglo en que a una muchedumbre de prejuicios, de absurdos, de errores groseros, se va mezclando una luz nueva, naciente, de fina, segura y limpiadora crítica. (II, 832)

... don Diego de Torres Villarroel representa, por sus libros y por sus campañas universitarias, un avance del espíritu crítico, del espíritu de examen, que se inicia a

mediados del siglo XVIII y va creciendo hasta el final de dicha centuria. (II, 834)

It is in an article originally published in 1917, and re-issued in the collection Ni Sí, Ni No in 1965, that Azorín offers to his readers Ramón de la Cruz as the incarnation of the latter portion of the eighteenth century. He writes:

Para nosotros, en la variedad de ingenios del siglo XVIII (Moratín, Cadalso, Fray Diego González, etc.), Cruz, ya en las postrimerías del siglo, es quien mejor representa a su tiempo y quien por modo más profundo encarna el espíritu español. Antes que D. Ramón de la Cruz, el P. Isla nos ofrece también la nota de castizo y genuino españolismo. Mas el ilustre sainetero representa mejor que nadie la transformación que el espíritu literario español sufre al pasar de una a otra centuria. ¡Qué maravilla de finura, de gracia y de elegancia sencilla la obra de D. Ramón de la Cruz!²

From all the foregoing, then, it can be stated that Azorín saw the contradictory elements of the century and judged them as positive or negative. The bulk of his general comments were on the constructive elements of criticism, intellectual curiosity, and openness and can be found interspersed throughout his entire literary production. However, this does not represent the total of his general view of the century. At times, again throughout his work, he focused on particular manifestations of the period - principally literature and the arts, religion and education, and the sciences, always, as before, emphasizing those aspects which paralleled his twentieth century concerns.

²Azorín, Ni Sí, Ni No, (Barcelona: Destino, 1965), p. 27.

In discussing the literature and arts of the eighteenth century as a whole Azorín both views their status within the period, and also sees their transitional, dynamic, formative and evolutionary qualities. This latter aspect is particularly obvious in Azorín's insistence that Romanticism begins in the eighteenth century, despite its being an epoch of realism and of the growth of science. He writes, for example, in Ante las Candilejas, published in 1947 from an article written thirty years earlier:

El siglo XVIII es una época de realismo y de ciencia. Se produce en esos años un intenso movimiento de estudio y de investigación ... El romanticismo no se anuncia - como se dice corrientemente - ni con La conspiración de Venecia, de Martínez de la Rosa, ni con el Don Álvaro, del duque de Rivas. Venía ya de atrás la revolución romántica. Venía de El delincuente honrado, de Jovellanos; de Noches lúgubres, de Cadalso; de las Odas filosóficas de Meléndez, y, sobre todo, de las composiciones de un admirable renovador poeta: de Alvarez Cienfuegos. (IX, 45)

Azorín stated exactly the same idea a year earlier in 1916 in his work Rivas y Larra, Razón social del Romanticismo en España - only much more succinctly - when he wrote, "Cadalso, Meléndez, Jovellanos: románticos, descabellados románticos, desapoderados románticos; románticos antes, mucho antes, del estreno de Hernani en París." (III, 339)

In a further development of this same idea, Azorín sees Ramón de la Cruz in a unique position in the eighteenth century. Looking back to the Golden Age he sees Ramón de la Cruz's theatre as the transformation of the Spanish comedia. Looking forward he sees a relationship between the eighteenth

century sainetero and Larra and the twentieth century. He expounds on this insight in Ni Sí, Ni No:

Don Ramón de la Cruz es el heredero, el continuador, no de un Quiñones de Benavente (sainetero del siglo XVII), sino de Lope, de Tirso, de Calderón y de Moreto. Sus sainetes, esas obras breves y ligeras, son la transformación de la antigua comedia española. Pero de la antigua comedia clásica española, en que, sin perder la gracia, la rapidez y la elegancia, la crítica social y el trascendentalismo que ya se anuncia en la obra de arte han puesto más limpieza, más claridad, y al propio tiempo una intención y un fin de sátira de costumbres que antes no existía, o, por lo menos, no existía de una manera filosófica.³

A little later on he explains his view forward and summarizes the entire process:

En el sainete de Cruz vemos, además, el antecedente de un género que va a iniciarse en el siglo XVIII, y que llegará a su esplendor en la decimonona centuria; nos referimos al artículo literario de periódico. Un artículo de Larra es la continuación, la prolongación de un sainete de Cruz. Más tarde, casi toda la literatura ha de resolverse en periodismo, el trabajo periodístico ha de ser la forma esencial literaria. Y así podemos trazar una línea que, a través del tiempo, va de Lope de Vega, pasando por D. Ramón de la Cruz, a Larra y a todos los modernos grandes periodistas.⁴

Azorín also sees other evolutionary aspects of eighteenth century literature. He makes particular reference to the progress in literary criticism and to the changed emphasis in eighteenth century letters in general. His views on the progress made by literary criticism are particularly evident in the 1900 work El Alma Castellana. At one point he tries to correct the impression that Luzán bases his criticism solely on the rules of classical antiquity. He contrasts Luzán's remarks with those of an arch-classicist and thereby

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 28.

indicates the progress made in literary criticism in that century.

Grandes historiadores, grandes críticos, no los hay en el siglo XVIII. No importa tampoco que haya o no grandes críticos; lo que importa es observar la evolución de la crítica. De Luzán se ha dicho - y lo ha dicho el autor de estas páginas - que era un nuevo aderezador de la estética de Aristóteles. Nada más injusto. Propugna López Pinciano, por ejemplo, las reglas porque así lo profesó el 'grande y divino maestro' Aristóteles; las propugna Luzán - y véase el progreso - no porque las recomiende Aristóteles, sino en tanto que las cree ajustadas a la 'verosimilitud' y a la 'razón.' Apenas escribe una página López Pinciano sin invocar la doctrina del Filósofo; se rebela Luzán contra él en estas notables palabras: 'Por lo que toca a la autoridad de Aristóteles, que yo venero mucho en punto de poética, diré, con paz de tan gran maestro y de los que se apoyan en su autoridad, que ésta sola no me hace fuerza cuando hay una razón clara en contrario.' (I, 680)

As for the changed emphasis in eighteenth-century letters in general, he characterizes it as a shift from the individual to the social. He says, for example, in Clásicos Cernidos, published in 1946, "La literatura en el siglo XVII - y en los anteriores - es un hecho individual: en el siglo XVIII comienza a tener un carácter social." (VI, 1052) A little further on he continues in the same vein. "El vocablo misión, con referencia a la literatura ... manifiesta la índole especial de las letras en el siglo XVIII ..." (VI, 1052) He expands this basic thought in the same chapter by discussing el padre Isla's Fray Gerundio, the comedies of Moratín, and novels of the eighteenth century. Azorín insists that Fray Gerundio and the comedies of Moratín have social theses. As for the eighteenth-century novels, he claims that their heroes are not motivated merely by the notion of individual justice,

but, rather are struggling with the doctrines of Voltaire and Rousseau uppermost in their minds. (VI, 1053)

Nevertheless, once again, Azorín sees both aspects of the century - as could already be inferred from his comments on López Pinciano. A number of passages from his folleto Moratín, (I, 41-43), serve to summarize his view of the negative aspects of the century. He sees the majority of the writers reflecting the politico-social degeneration of Spain in their lack of inspiration and in their dependence on the letter of the law of classical antiquity. He sums it up in the striking phrase, "Los genios no viven entre ruinas." (I, 42) But, Azorín's preferences lie with the positive and he terminates a rather pessimistic discussion of the decadent state of politics and art on a note of hope.

La filosofía de los enciclopedistas era acogida en España con marcadísima fruición por cuantos seguían los progresos científicos del siglo; el mismo príncipe de la Paz protegía este movimiento de la filosofía liberal, la cual, infiltrándose poco a poco en la conciencia de todos, determina algún tiempo después el derrumbamiento de la monarquía tradicional.
El arte se hace libre. (I, 43)

A discussion of literature and the arts leads inevitably to a discussion on religion and education. Religion has been in Spain both patron and critical suppressor of the arts; and education, principally in Church hands for centuries has been a basic means in the Church's attempt to reach its various goals. Azorín saw the important role, both positive and negative, that the Church and its clerics played in the total life of Spain and consequently treats this subject, again,

through the entire span of his literary career. However, the satirical and almost violent attacks on the negative occur principally in the earlier writings, whereas the praise of the positive occupies the later productions.

Azorín begins his treatment of the subject of religion in his very first folleto, Moratín. He gives an overall description of the negative aspects of the eighteenth century state of religion, attacks the theocratic attitudes of the authorities, discusses the number of religions in Spain, the Inquisition and censorship. He launches an ironic disquisition on the afrancesamiento of pious practices during the eighteenth century and the decadent state of pulpit oratory. He reveals further his own position in his high praise for el padre Isla. "¡Qué bien hizo el padre Isla, el famoso padre que llamara Cornelio a Corneille, en traer al orden a toda esta turba gárrula de sacros charlatanes!" (I, 35)

Azorín moves quickly from one aspect to another, overwhelming the reader with a series of details, pointing out the decadent state of religion in that period. From pious practices and pulpit oratory he jumps to a description of the repressive narrow-mindedness of the Inquisition and the clergy's attitude toward liberals like Godoy:

... Aquel ministro "inmoral, irreligioso - palabras del dulce padre Vélez -; débil por naturaleza; por principios, vil; en su palacio, un cínico o un sibarita; en su ministerio, un déspota, un sultán". ¡Que así habla la teocracia de quien no le ayuda en sus planes ambiciosos! (I, 39)

Then follows a sudden turn to the problem of the disproportion-

tionate number of religions in Spain as he quotes, at great length, a report on the subject from don Melchor Rafael de Macanaz to Felipe V. (I, 39-40)

In the following year, 1894, Azorín published Buscapiés, Sátiras y críticas. The subtitle indicates what type of work and what approach can be expected. In the chapter entitled "Los Ideales de Antaño" he sends forth a satirical broadside against eighteenth century religion by quoting the extreme and somewhat ludicrous opinions of the moral theologians of that epoch on matters such as prayer, marriage, nuns, mothers, young girls, comedies, and the bull-fights. (I, 123-30)

Azorín returns to the attack in 1900 in El Alma Castellana. He again discusses eighteenth-century moral principles as applied to marriage, love, theatre, mothers, daughters, entertainment, and dress, sometimes repeating word for word what he wrote in Buscapiés in the chapter "Los Ideales de Antaño". (I, 662-73) This time, however, he relents slightly, attempting some understanding of the reason for such a state of affairs.

... Cuanto mayor es el desenfreno de las costumbres, es mayor la rigidez de la moral. Moral rígida, meticulosa, nimia, detallista es la de este siglo. No hay más que hojear los preceptistas y escritores ascéticos. (I, 662)

Nonetheless, Azorín is not simply an anti-Catholic propagandist. In this same work, El Alma Castellana, just a few pages after the last attack quoted, he presents a very congenial cleric, el padre Sarmiento. This serves to mollify the harshness of his observations, even in these early years,

as also does the presentation of refined and genial clerics in his early novelas, such as el padre Lasalde in La Voluntad and the bishop of Orihuela in Antonio Azorín. These latter also indicate that Azorín writes on religious topics in both centuries, operating from a basic philosophical position, motivated principally by his own interests.

In the 1916 work, Rivas y Larra, Azorín attempted to explain the anticlericalism of the nineteenth century, and of his own time, in which he also participated. In order to explain the phenomenon, an act which in itself is indicative of some balance and rationale in himself, he reverts to foundations laid in the eighteenth century.

Puede haber influencia extranjera en el anticlericalismo de Rivas; la ha habido seguramente. Pero aquí en España se había ido formando ya un ambiente en este sentido. Factores: la crítica de Feijóo y los innumerables papeles de apología y de impugnación que suscita. Factores: el Fray Gerundio, del padre Isla, y sus folletos satíricos, alguno de ellos verdaderamente peregrino. El siglo XVIII español es un siglo de lucha, de polémica, de discusión apasionada, de trifulca, de escándalo. (III, 418-19)

It is, of course, in his later period that Azorín principally emphasizes the positive aspects of eighteenth-century religious affairs. Consequently, in the 1952 edition of El Oasis de los Clásicos he includes an entire chapter entitled "La Carta Singular" which is an eloquent testimonial to an eighteenth century archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Valero y Losa, emphasizing his kindness, understanding, perception, and common sense.

The most telling document, however, with reference to

Azorín's shift of emphasis on religious matters is the "Advertencia" to the first volume of the Obras Completas. It constitutes a form of recantation.

Mi catolicismo, firme, limpio, tranquilo, ha compensado ya, creo yo, con muchos, con muchísimos libros de ideas justas y serenas, ortodoxas y españolísimas, esos otros diez, doce, catorce librillos juveniles ... en los que fue mucho más el ruido que las nueces.(I, viii)

This is not, however, a simple definitive recantation for he withdraws nothing. Furthermore, it is too general to be considered a repudiation of specific items. This is even more clear when in the "Delcaración Jurada" of the first volume of the Obras Completas, dated 1947, he writes:

Hay, con todo, una cosa indudable: escribo al presente con la misma sinceridad que en lo pretérito. Y si existe ese mismo sentimiento, ¿por qué he de sentirme contrariado por tales intentos lejanos? ¿Cómo el escritor que ha consagrado su vida a las letras abominará de sus comienzos? ¿Es que sin el comienzo, sea el que sea, podrá haber continuación? ¿Y podrá existir fin?(I, 3)

Intimately connected with the topic of religion is the topic of education, since it has been principally in the hands of the Church in Spain for centuries. Azorín's familiarity with eighteenth-century authors' ideas on education is seen especially in his discussions on the subject in Moratín and Clásicos y Modernos.

In Moratín he discusses the French influence on education, the state of science, the teaching of Law and Medicine, and mentions Feijóo, Hervás y Panduro, Jovellanos, and especially, Villarroel.(I, 33039) He says in his discussion, "Sin embargo, España no se distinguió por sus adelantos cien-

tíficos. ¿Y cómo había de distinguirse, si las universidades eran asilo de ignorancia y pedantería?"(I, 36)

This represents the negative view. In Clásicos y Modernos Azorín, while still presenting the deplorable state of education, also shows that attempts were being made to improve the situation, principally by men like Cabarrús. He expounds at length on Cabarrús's theories of education, and concludes, "Separemos la enseñanza civil y la religiosa."(II, 822) Then he quotes Cabarrús:

'La enseñanza de la religión corresponde a la Iglesia, al cura, y cuando más a los padres; pero la educación nacional es puramente humana y seglar, y seglares han de administrarla.'(II, 822)

He continues with a list of the types of education that the government should provide. "Multiplíquense las escuelas 'de economía rústica, las de geografía, de derecho de gentes, de matemáticas, de náutica, de dibujo, de escultura, de química'". (II, 823) He follows this with what might be called a general plan for national education. The modernity of the passage is particularly striking.

Haya en cada lugar una escuela en que se enseñen lectura, escritura, aritmética y elementos de geometría; hágaseles aprender a los niños un "catecismo político" de los derechos y deberes del ciudadano y nociones relativas a los tributos, monedas, caminos, industria y comercio, de su patria. Destínese para los niños "una huerta o jardín dentro de cada barrio". "Llevemos a esos jardines a la niñez. Todo el arte está en instruirla, jugando."(II, 823)

These basic educational ideas appealed to Azorín even earlier and he saw other representatives of this wise approach to education in the eighteenth century. The one that seems to

have appealed to him the most is el padre Martín Sarmiento, "la figura más vigorosa de su tiempo -(I, 674) In El Alma Castellana Azorín writes about one of Sarmiento's educational treatises.

Su Discurso sobre el método que debía guardarse en la educación de la primera juventud es una de las más geniales obras de nuestra literatura. Proclama en él las lecciones de cosas; abomina del imperio del libro y de los métodos nemotécnicos; expone, en fin, con frase viva y diserta mil observaciones originales ... Sarmiento, Feijóo, Antonio José Rodríguez, Andrés Piquer, Martín Martínez, trabajan en la observación de la realidad, en la exactitud de la experiencia, en la comprobación de las leyes naturales. (I, 675)

Azorín's attraction to this type of writing is not surprising. Problems and their solutions are dealt with here with which Azorín and his contemporaries were also faced. These passages are strikingly similar to portions of La Voluntad (I, 868, 869, 966, 985) and Antonio Azorín (I, 1053) which deal with the question of education in the Spain of Azorín's time.

Intimately linked with education is, naturally, the state of science. Azorín alluded to this in the previous discussion when he said, " ... España no se distinguió por sus adelantos científicos. ¿Y cómo había de distinguirse, si las universidades eran asilo de ignorancia y pedantería?" (I, 36)

Although Azorín saw the negative aspect of the state of science in the eighteenth century, he preferred to emphasize the more encouraging aspects, both in his early work Moratin and half a century later in Clásicos Cernidos. In Moratin, for example, he begins with an allusion to the nega-

tive state of affairs. After criticizing the Spaniards of the eighteenth century for various aspects of the period, he says, "Por desgracia, no estaba mejor las ciencias. El estudio de las físicas andaba tan descuidado, que eran muy pocos los que a ellas se dedicaban."(I, 35) But then he continues on the positive note.

Feijóo y el abate Hervás y Panduro son quizá los que más se distinguen en el siglo XVIII por su ferviente amor a la ciencia: el uno, divulgando multitud de conocimientos, asombrosos entonces, en su inmenso Teatro crítico; el otro, trabajando constantemente en valiosos estudios filológicos y escribiendo obras históricas y biológicas con tal cúmulo de erudición, que asombra en un hombre solo. Al lado de estos aparecen ... don Benito Bails ... Jovellanos, Jorge Juan, Mayans, Pérez Bayer, Cabanilles y otros que es inútil nombrar.(I, 35-36)

It is at this point that he makes the statement, returning briefly to the negative, "Sin embargo, España no se distinguió por sus adelantos científicos."(I, 36)

It is, however, in the 1946 work, Clásicos Cernidos, that his emphasis on the positive aspect of eighteenth century scientific affairs is obvious.

¿Y es que en el siglo XVIII no se inicia un cierto hecho, altamente significativo, ... el hecho de considerar, no las ciencias en sí, independientemente en su desarrollo, sino formando un todo orgánico, abstracto, y dando pábulo al concepto social de Ciencia, Ciencia con mayúscula. ... Todas las ciencias ... van teniendo en el siglo XVIII español un cuerpo y una expansión que no tenían antes.(VI, 1052)

In summary, then, Azorín's interest in eighteenth-century literature, culture, and conditions was life-long and manifested throughout his entire literary production. He examined the century from a general point of view which inclu-

ded, especially, the period's manifestations in literature and the arts, religion, education, and the sciences. In his study Azorín assigned positive and negative values to the events of the century, discussed both aspects, but showed preference for the positive. Other portions of his work indicate that he emphasized those elements which paralleled similar conditions in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER III

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EIGHTEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

That Azorín has explored the many-faceted aspects of the eighteenth century is now an obvious fact. The reasons for his study may also be obvious. He decided at some point of his life to undertake a personal study of and write about the Spanish heritage, in the course of which, he was bound to treat the eighteenth century. The introductory remarks to Lecturas Españolas clearly indicate his motivation and the universality of his scope.

Un lazo espiritual une, como verá el lector, todos los trabajos de este volumen. La coherencia estriba en una curiosidad por lo que constituye el ambiente español - paisajes, letras, arte, hombres, ciudades, interiores - y en una preocupación por un porvenir de bienestar y de justicia para España.(II, 531)

However, there is more to Azorín's interest in this period than that it constitutes part of a historical review. One indication of this is the insight into Azorín's concerns embodied in the last line just quoted, "una preocupación por un porvenir de bienestar y de justicia para España." Azorín is socially concerned. He may be characterized as a political

and social liberal. Even his so-called conservative later period does not alter this fact, for at the very least, he never completely repudiated his earlier stances. It may also be that in his post-Civil War writings he was more prudent in the expression of his liberalism. Though he is not as bombastic and outspoken as in the obra juvenilia, it would be difficult to prove that his love for Spain did not include a desire for universal justice and progress, even in the later years.

It is Azorín's genuine concern for the Spain of the twentieth century, his political and social liberalism, that gave him a special interest in the Spanish eighteenth century. He views the two centuries as uniquely parallel. The problems and efforts of one are similar to the problems of the other and the same efforts must be exerted. This perspective is further influenced by the notion of continuity, the search for the link between past and present values, common to the generation of '98. The preoccupation with continuity in the present case is expanded to the point that Azorín actually sees a cause-effect relationship between the two centuries. All these elements concur in giving Azorín, the twentieth-century author intimately concerned with contemporary problems, a special interest in the eighteenth century.

To prove Azorín's social concern is no difficult task. A casual perusal of the titles and chapter headings of his immense literary output is sufficient proof of both its exis-

tence and its constancy. The actual readings confirm the fact, and also evidence what has been noted previously, namely, that the concern expresses itself almost violently in the early years and constantly grows calmer as the time progresses.

Good examples of the early years are found in Notas Sociales, vulgarización, published in 1895, and Charivari, crítica discordante, published in 1897. Even the titles and sub-titles are indicative of the mood of those years. The following passage from Notas Sociales demonstrates the type of negative rage to which Azorín's concern could drive him.

¿Y en España? ¿Qué hace la juventud española? ¿Qué papel desempeña en esta conmoción de las ideas? ¡Oh! Esa juventud que en Alemania encarna tan levantados ideales, en España no existe. Nuestra juventud está enferma; no tiene fe, no espera, le falta voluntad. El arte literario, y el arte del derecho, y el arte de la política, no son para ella más que medios de medrar, de alcanzar una vida confortable, libre de las fatigas del trabajo, exenta de preocupaciones altrufistas. (I, 196)

He continues with an urgent plea for change through education in the home and in the schools.

Charivari, written in the same spirit, also reveals Azorín's ideals of socialism and their union in his mind with the ideals of literature and journalism. After random criticism of many aspects of Spanish life, but particularly of the state of contemporary (1897) literature and journalism, he holds up the positive example of Agustín Hamon, "Hamon pertenece a la falange de publicistas independientes cuyo ideal supremo es la verdad, la verdad ante todo, cueste lo que cueste, haga el daño que haga, si es que la verdad puede hacer daño;

(I, 284-85)

In 1910 and 1914, still preoccupied with social reform, Azorín wrote two works on the eminent Spanish statesman Don Juan de la Cierva. The first one, La Obra de Un Ministro, is a collection of articles dealing with Cierva's accomplishments. Just the chapter headings indicate both the tenor of Cierva, and the inclinations of Azorín. There are chapters on "Reforma de las costumbres" (especially police reforms); "Higiene y sanidad"; "Acción social y leyes obreras"; "Beneficencia"; "Comunicaciones"; and "Edificios y publicaciones". (III, 33-56)

The 1914 work, Un Discurso de la Cierva, is another example of Azorín's leaning toward the positive, showing how closely humanity can come to an ideal if it wishes. The epílogo is a good summary of the contents, and of Azorín's sentiments, particularly their balance in denouncing evil and praising the good.

¡Pobre España! Estos campos pelados y secos, estos pueblecitos pobres y solitarios, permanecerán así todavía durante mucho tiempo. Durante mucho todavía - ¿hasta cuándo? - la verborrea grandilocuente, la frivolidad, el trámite, la dilación, el despilfarro. ¡Pobre España! Ni Instrucción pública, ni Justicia, ni Hacienda, ni Ejército ... Hemos comentado en estas páginas el pensamiento de un político español, excepcional entre los políticos españoles, maravilloso cerebro de organizador y de cohesionador, hombre de extraordinaria energía, dotado de un don de mando rápido y decisivo. Organización, cohesión, continuidad en el esfuerzo es lo que nos falta en España. (III, 168)

The years immediately following were the years of the First World War in Europe. In France as a journalist Azorín met the Americans. His attitudes toward them reveal his own

hopes and ideals. At that moment, the United States represented the incarnation and actualization of his hopes. This is abundantly clear in a passage from Los Norteamericanos, published in 1918.

Toda América, guiada por los Estados Unidos, vendrá a Europa y nos traerá sus orientaciones políticas. El espíritu de democracia es el de los Estados Unidos. La obra de los Estados Unidos habrá sido hacer dar a la Humanidad uno de los más grandes, más trascendentales pasos, en su avance hacia la Justicia. (III, 1113)

The same World War was the motivation for the thoughts contained in the "Epílogo" of Entre España y Francia, 1917. It is a paean of Azorín's faith in the possibility of progress. It shows his optimism at its highest point, and is worth reproducing in its entirety in order to capture fully the depth and breadth of his social idealism.

Sonreíd de quienes os digan que, con la presente formidable guerra vuestros ideales han fracasado. Sonreíd de quienes a la vista de tantos horrores dan por muertos, para mucho tiempo, aquellos anhelos de confraternidad y de cordialidad que en el mundo propagaban, principalmente, las clases obreras. Sonreíd de quienes - un poco sarcásticamente - os hablan de que lo eterno entre los hombres es la fuerza y que lo fugaz y transitorio son vuestras generosas ilusiones. Sonreíd, finalmente, de todos aquellos - son legión - que, con aires científicos, moviendo paternalmente la cabeza, os vuelven a recordar que la lucha por la vida es perdurable y que las sociedades humanas lucharán eternamente entre sí ... Sonreíd, reíd de todo eso. Tened fe, siempre más fe. La lucha entre los hombres no es ley de vida ni de progreso. Decidlo muy alto y con firmísima convicción: la ley de vida, la ley de progreso, no es la guerra, ni la lucha devastadora del hombre con el hombre, sino la lucha contra la Naturaleza, la lucha contra la materia, para descifrar sus secretos, para adueñarnos de sus arcanas propiedades, para que nosotros, hombres, podamos, lentamente, con trabajo, ir extendiendo más nuestra fuerza gracias a las energías misteriosas que la madre-la Tierra - guarda celosamente.

La guerra no es la trama y nervio del progreso. La

actual y terrible guerra no hará detenerse en su marcha ascendente a la Humanidad. En vez de marcar un retroceso, o un estacionamiento en la vida del nuevo derecho, de la moderna sensibilidad, de la moderna moral, esta guerra ha puesto de manifiesto cuán hondo y copioso era el tesoro de esa sensibilidad nueva. Contando con la relatividad de las proporciones, comparad la manera como ha visto y sentido ahora la Humanidad la guerra, a como ha visto y sentido otras guerras anteriores. ¡Qué emoción tan intensa ahora, y qué modo de pensar y repensar sobre la lucha y todos sus aspectos! La vida espiritual del planeta gira toda alrededor de la guerra; no hay más que la guerra en la conciencia universal; el dolor de la guerra, la preocupación por la guerra, ha entrado en todos los corazones y ocupa todos los cerebros. Pensadores, artistas, poetas alimentan sus obras de los sentimientos de la guerra. ¿Cuándo ha ocurrido esto en el mundo? ¿Y qué triunfo mayor puede darse de la sensibilidad moderna? La Humanidad entera, de uno a otro polo, sintiendo el dolor, pensando en el dolor, ¿creéis que es espectáculo que se ha visto alguna vez en la Historia, desde que los hombres han surgido sobre la Tierra? ¿Y creéis que este pensar y repensar universales en el dolor no ha de producir lógicamente, fatalmente, un nuevo avance en las vías de la justicia, del progreso?

No en vano, la Humanidad se habrá revelado a sí misma este tesoro de sensibilidad. Una nueva era comenzará para Europa y para el mundo. Tengamos fe, más fe. (III, 1027-28)

Twelve years after this, in 1929, Azorín published Andando y Pensando. His liberal and social concerns fill the work. In the third chapter, for example, he discusses the idea of a liberal school system. The next chapter discusses the concept of political power for the proletariat as a solution to their problems. In this he sees a relationship with the problems of the burguesía solved by the French Revolution in the same manner. The following chapter is a disquisition on the ethics of power which ultimately leads to the treatise against censorship in the seventh chapter. Chapters Eight, Nine, and Ten discuss pro-feminism and the need for change in

social structures. Chapter Eleven deals with the ideals of communism as found in Thomas More's Utopia, and leads to the next Chapter's diatribe against political and religious orthodoxy. Chapter Twenty - two sympathizes with the plight of the rural laborer. It is clear that the passage of time did not dull his interest or concern for social reform. Nor will the decades to follow destroy his inclinations or ideals.

However, the important point here is that Azorín's basic twentieth-century humanitarianism (to sum it up in one word) is intimately bound to his interest in the eighteenth century. He sees the centuries as parallel, even in the social sphere under discussion. When discussing this aspect of eighteenth-century thought, it is similar to what he said about his own century. That Azorín was aware of eighteenth-century socio-economic thought is principally evident from his chapter on Cadalso in Lecturas Españolas. This chapter is basically a five page summary of the principal thoughts of Cadalso. Cadalso, and Azorín with him(II, 572ff), indicates that the socio-economic decadence of Spain in the eighteenth century is due, among other things, to the poor state of education, the sciences, and the arts. The result of this is an ignorant populace governed by ignorant, selfish men. He proposes the following as a solution:

Sólo en trabajo y en la ciencia está nuestra redención. Amemos la inteligencia y el trabajo. "Trabajemos en las ciencias positivas para que no nos llamen bárbaros los extranjeros." "Haga nuestra juventud los progresos que pueda. Procure dar obras al público sobre materias útiles. Deje morir a los viejos como han vivido." "Para

igualar a nuestra patria con otras naciones es preciso cortar muchas ramas podridas de este venerable tronco." (II, 575-76)

These same concerns are found in Azorín's two early novelas, La Voluntad and Antonio Azorín, which are really novelized essays on the state of Spain at the turn of this century. In La Voluntad Yuste speaks of the campo and the emigration to the urban centers, and predicts:

Así, dentro de treinta, cuarenta, cien años, si se quiere, no quedará en el campo más que una masa de hombres ininteligentes, automáticos, incapaces de un trabajo reflexivo, incapaces de aplicar a la tierra nuevos y hábiles cultivos que la hagan producir doblemente, que hagan de la agricultura una industria. (I, 893)

In the same vein, Antonio Azorín, thinking of people says:

... todos (hablan), de lo que hacen, de lo que dicen, de lo que piensan los políticos. Ellos no comen, ellos van vestidos con harapos, ellos pasan mil estrecheces; pero ellos admiran profundamente a todos los elocuentísimos oradores que los han traído a la miseria. (I, 961)

In Antonio Azorín, the author uses the wanderings of the protagonist, especially in Part III, to comment on the backward methods of agriculture and the abandonment of the campo over and over again as he passes from one town to another. A typical example of his comments is:

Torrijos es el prototipo de los pueblos castellanos muertos. Entre estos hombres del centro, inteligentes y tardos, y los del litoral, vivos y comprensores, hay una distancia enorme ... La agricultura se divide entre el cultivo de los cereales y el del olivo. No hay población rural; nadie vive en el campo. No existen manantiales ni arroyos. (I, 1124-25)

A little further on Azorín captures and communicates the almost hopeless state that the ignorance of the people has reached, with the sentence, "Cuando se les reprocha discretamente su

incuria a estos labriegos, se encogen de hombros y contestan 'que así se ha hecho toda la vida'."(I, 1130)

The foregoing were examples of the parallelism with which Azorín viewed the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. However, there is more than just parallelism involved in Azorín's approach. One of the characteristics of the generation of '98, to which he belonged, was the search for the sense of the continuity in things Spanish, linked to the re-evaluation of the past, and the desire to find lo castizo y lo eterno, which underlie the changing events in Spain's cultural and political history. This aspect of Azorín's interest in social reform and its link with the past is clearly defined in his 1941 work, Madrid. In discussing the generation of '98, he writes:

La generación del 98 es una generación histórica, y, por tanto, tradicional. Su empresa es la continuidad. Y viniendo a continuar, se produce la pugna entre lo anterior y lo que se trata de imponer. El hecho es lógico. No hay verdadera y fecunda continuación sin que algo sea renovado. En este renovarse de las cosas, cobran las cosas mayor vitalidad. A lo largo de la Historia - en este caso la Historia de España - han existido diversos y múltiples momentos de renovación, es decir, de cambio. Han cambiado las costumbres y ha cambiado la manera literaria. Lo que interesa, en cada caso, es ver en qué se funda la pugna entre lo que venía viviendo y lo posterior. (VI, 231)

Somewhat earlier in the same work, in Chapter XVII, entitled "Intervención Social", he explicitly links his social concerns to the past and to the eighteenth century in particular. In recalling and discussing the small group of literati to which he belonged in the early years of the century in Madrid, he

says of them, "No podía el grupo permanecer inerte ante la dolorosa realidad española. Había que intervenir ... Venía el noble anhelo desde antiguo. Jovellanos, por ejemplo, fue uno de los precursores."(VI, 224)

Another example of social criticism and reform linked to the past occurs much earlier in the 1914 work Los Valores Literarios. In it there occurs a discussion of Eugenio Noel and his battle against bull-fighting. Azorín terminates the article, calling upon the example of the eighteenth century, and the sense of continuity:

Sigamos con interés, en lo que tiene de laudables, las propagandas de Eugenio Noel. Combatamos el flamenquismo; continuemos la obra de Jovellanos y Cadalso. Si invocamos la tradición, he aquí una bella tradición. Pongamos nuestros ojos, no en el héroe de un deporte inhumano, sino en el héroe por la ciencia, en el héroe por el progreso.(II, 1108)

Again in Lecturas Españolas there occurs the mention of Cadalso's name as a call to arms for reform. Indicating that his work is motivated by an interest in Spain for what it is and by the desire for her future prosperity in justice, Azorín ends by writing, "'Trabajemos en las ciencias positivas para que no nos llamen bárbaros los extranjeros', escribía en 1768, Cadalso.'"(II, 531)

The notions of parallelism and continuity are developed even further by Azorín than hitherto indicated. The sense of continuity in particular has two further ramifications. To Azorín it means that some aspects of the past have greater meaning for the contemporary period than some of the

actual components of the modern period. He affirms this very clearly in Clásicos y Modernos, when he writes: "... en lo antiguo, entre lo que vivió en determinado momento histórico, hay cosas que continúan viviendo, que son actuales siempre - por lo menos hasta ahora - y que están más cerca de nosotros que muchas cosas de ahora."(II, 897) The same idea is expressed in Lecturas Españolas when, speaking of Cadalso, he asserts, "Al lector seguramente le habrá sorprendido la extraordinaria modernidad de la crítica social del ilustre escritor."(II, 576)

The second ramification that the notion of continuity has, consists in Azorín's idea that the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, taken as historical entities, are united by a cause-effect relationship. He writes, for example, in Moratín, "Entramos en el XVIII, época de transición, en la cual es sembrada la semilla salvadora que fructifica en nuestro siglo."(I, 33) Again in Lecturas Españolas, after characterizing the eighteenth century as the period of the renaissance of the critical spirit in which numerous studies are made on the topics of Medicine, Botany, Philology, History, Literary Criticism, and Numismatics, he concludes with, "Comienza a brotar durante ese período histórico el espíritu moderno."(II, 573)

It can be stated, therefore, that Azorín, principally motivated by his intense interest in Spain and the Spanish heritage and by his political and social liberalism, not only investigated the eighteenth century, but also saw a unique

relationship between that century and this one. Azorín viewed the two centuries as parallel in their problems and in the solutions to those problems. He even used the eighteenth century as a source of inspiration, and a call to arms. The notion of continuity, a chief preoccupation of the generation of '98, caused Azorín to perceive certain aspects of the eighteenth century as closer to modern sensibility than to its own time, and finally brought him to the idea that there was a cause-effect relationship between the two centuries, the seeds of ideas planted in the eighteenth century only coming to full flower in the twentieth.

CHAPTER IV

MORATÍN

In treating the major figures of the eighteenth century to whom Azorín devoted special attention, Moratín's name immediately presents itself for consideration. Moratín and his theatre occupy a unique place in Azorín's interest in the eighteenth century. It is both curious and indicative that Azorín should begin his career of literary commentary with the folleto, Moratín, in 1893. "Es el primero de algunos más que, sobre asuntos de nuestras letras o de las ajenas, nos proponemos ir publicando."(I, 29)

Azorín treats the playwright throughout his vast literary career, beginning in 1893 and ending with an article published in 1963. Most of what Azorín says and thinks about Moratín is essentially contained in the folleto. What appears after 1893 is either repetition or amplification, with only an occasional lapse into emphasis on the negative. The folleto itself, is rather short and is subtitled Esbozo, which describes it perfectly. It is an attempt to present in capsule form the ambiente, the life, and works of Moratín in an objec-

tive manner, based on the determinism and methods of Sainte-Beuve and Taine.¹ Dr. James Abbott gives an excellent summary of the work.

The first chapter of the study is, as the author says, a brief history of Spain in the eighteenth century. He discusses the political situation and mentions Felipe V, Fernando VI, and Carlos III as three kings who made efforts to set Spain on the road to progress; he discusses the literature of the period, the Inquisition and censorship, and then points out that after the liberal philosophy of the French Encyclopedists was welcomed into Spain, "el arte se hace libre" (I, 43). Martínez Ruiz also discusses customs and manners of the eighteenth century, the status of education, and the lack of scientific progress. With this picture of the medio, the author is then ready to present a biographical account of Moratín. The biography includes the date of birth, grandparents' names and parents' names. There is a discussion of Moratín's childhood, his education, and a personal anecdote, in the manner of Sainte-Beuve, describing an award which the young Moratín received for a poetic composition. There is a mention of don Nicolas's death and the fact that Moratín then had to support his mother. The biographical section closes with a summary of Moratín's position as private secretary to the Count of Carrabus, his travels in France, his life as an afrancesado in Spain, and his death in Paris in 1828. With this summary of Moratín's life completed, Martínez Ruiz then moves into a discussion of his works. There is here, another expression of Martínez Ruiz's scientific method.

Por herencia y por medio ambiente, esencialísimas circunstancias productoras del carácter, había de ser el más firme adalid de la estética clasicista; por herencia, porque don Nicolás, su padre, ingenio mediocre, fue en su tiempo uno de los más decididos partidarios de esta doctrina; por medio ambiente, porque en aquella época no se respiraba más que clasicismo (I, 53).

As a conclusion to his discussion of Moratín's works, Martínez Ruiz feels that he must classify his subject as to the position which he occupies in Spanish literature.²

¹James H. Abbott, Azorín and France: Some Early Contacts of the Artist and Critic. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, U.C.L.A., 1958, p. 38.

²Ibid., pp. 36-38.

Azorín's interest in, and admiration for, Moratín is based on three principal characteristics which he perceives in the playwright - the quality of his classicism, his inclinations to realism and lo castizo, or españolismo, and the grandeur of his figure despite the limiting effects of his time in history. The only point on which Azorín can reproach Moratín, is the latter's inability to appreciate Shakespeare - a fact which Azorín nevertheless tries to understand. Neither does he see Moratín as meaningful in the contemporary period - he is of interest, of vital interest, only in his own context. This latter aspect does not appear directly in Azorín's treatment of Moratín, except in his final article on him in the 1963 collection, Los Recuadros. It is indirectly present in the previous articles by the conspicuous absence of remarks concerning the modernity of the author, or his place in the continuity of things - so obviously present when Azorín writes about other figures or aspects of the eighteenth century. A final point necessary to the understanding of Azorín's approach to Moratín is that all the previously mentioned characteristics of Azorín's study are mutually dependent, one flowing from the other.

One of the principal characteristics which Azorín saw in Moratín, as mentioned above, was the quality of his classicism. This is pointed out immediately in the folleto, Moratín, in discussing "Su Obra". "Por herencia y por medio ambiente ... había de ser el más firme adalid de la estética

clasicista."(I, 53) Azorín then pursues with:

Tan decisiva es en él esta influencia (clasicismo), que poseyendo, como poseía, una gran facilidad de concepción, tanto, que en la intimidad de sus amigos improvisaba comedias y hacía recitar largos parlamentos a los supuestos personajes, no escribió más que una cuantas comedias en su larga vida literaria, y eso tras largo y maduro examen. Es de creer que, de haber vivido en el siglo XVI, y principios del XVII, entre aquellos poetas que él, en sus ratos de preceptista bilioso, tan acremente censuraba, hubiera sido uno de nuestros más fecundos dramaturgos. (I, 53)

Azorín discusses this same aspect six years later in his work La Evolución de la Crítica. In many instances this is a repetition, almost word for word, of what was written in Moratín, about the eighteenth century in general(I, 407-14) and about Moratín in particular (I, 415-16). Azorín describes him and his contributions to the classical theatre as:

Hombre metódico, ordenado, clásico por educación, por naturaleza, por aficiones, lleva al teatro su estética, y demuestra andando las excelencias de su doctrina. Toda la paciencia, el cuidado meticuloso, la escrupulosidad nimia de su profesión de joyero, se refleja en su obra. Sus comedias son verdaderas joyas finamente labradas.(I, 415)

The "profesión de joyero" to which Azorín refers here, is taken from the biographical section of Moratín.

Tenía horror su padre y con razón, a los colegios y universidades de entonces: así es que, en lugar de entregar a su hijo a cualquier dómene Lucas para que le llenase la cabeza de revesados latines y desabrida filosofía escolástica, lo dedicó con muy buen acierto a los trabajos de joyería.(I, 44-45)

This quality of classicism which expresses itself in dramas of such precise craftsmanship that they can be likened to jewels is part of the grandeur of figure that Azorín sees in Moratín. This is very clearly stated in the earliest folle-

to.

Dentro del siglo XVIII, su figura literaria es la primera, porque, aunque no tuviese otro mérito que el de haber hecho tolerables los cánones retóricos, bastaría éste para elevarle sobre sus coetáneos. Intuición o certeza, es el caso que supo hallar lo poco que la doctrina clasicista tenía de bueno; decimos poco, porque así era, entendiéndola como la entendían los preceptistas de aquel tiempo.

Given Azorín's selectivity and his subjective motivation in dealing with the eighteenth century, it is perhaps this quality of refined simplicity, neo-classicism at its best, that attracted Azorín's attention to Moratín. Faced with a similar problem of renovating the language after the popularity of the bombastic Echegaray, Azorín could easily identify with Moratín's contribution to the post-baroque era replete with slavish imitations of French classicism. His interest in the renovation of the twentieth century theatre is clear from his laudatory remarks on Unamuno's theatre in Los Clásicos Redivivos - Los Clásicos Futuros (VIII, 78-79), and from his own attempts at being a playwright (IV, 851-1134).

Another reason for Azorín's high esteem for Moratín is that Azorín sees certain traits in him very close to his own inclinations. Moratín's love for Spain and its paisaje both internal and external, automatically endear him to a member of the generation of '98. This love, linked with a desire for a better Spain, is what draws Azorín's attention in Lecturas Españolas.

¿Habría nadie, en su tiempo, que conociera España mejor que él? Reputada por afrancesada su obra, pocas habrá tan españolas, tan castizas. Ha observado minuciosamente Moratín las costumbres, los hombres, y ha ido recogiendo,

de labios populares, todos los más pintorescos giros y dichos. Pero Moratín ha querido una España mejor; no ha sido un elogiador incondicional y anodino de España; él no podía admirar la violencia, la tosquedad y la incultura. (II, 651)

This passage could easily be included in his essay on the generation of '98 in Clásicos y Modernos (II, 896-914).

These characteristics of love and knowledge of Spain lead naturally to realism, another reason for Azorín's praise of this eminent figure. He dedicates an entire chapter of Leyendo a los poetas to him. Moratín, he claims, is a realist despite his classical leanings. Like Montaigne, despite his highly refined nature, he loved to go into the marketplace to observe and listen.

Moratín es un realista. La precisión, el orden, la lógica, entran por primera vez con él en la literatura española moderna. Ha habido en España una tradición literaria de superficialidad e incongruencia. Superficial e incongruente era el teatro, y superficial e incongruente era la novela. Ni en uno ni en otro género vemos observación justa y real de la vida y de los hombres. Moratín es el primero que lleva al arte literario la observancia lógica coherente y exacta. Acaso le falte al poeta un poco de emoción, de ternura, de idealidad. Pero ¡qué finura, qué elegancia y qué irreproachable buen gusto! La elegancia de Moratín se halla lejos de la abstracción y de la rigidez de ciertos imitadores de la antigüedad clásica. Moratín cree que el arte ha de encontrar su inspiración en la realidad cotidiana, y que sobre esa realidad de la calle, de la casa y del camino, el artista ha de poner - escogiendo, eliminando - su buen gusto y su sentido del equilibrio y de la medida. (VII, 739)

Azorín goes on to say that Moratín truly renovated the Spanish theatre. However, he renewed the theatre subtly. His innovations are not blatant. He could not operate openly, given the conditions of Spanish society at that time. However, all his transitions and innovations are there for the trained

eye to see, and they are well calculated and artistically executed.

Calladamente, con suavidad, con discreción, Moratín va sembrando su espíritu de innovación ... Moratín no podía expresarse abiertamente; escritor enamorado de la ordenanza clásica y espíritu libre qué escribe en una sociedad timorata, todo arte había de consistir en evolucionar libremente, con perfecto desembarazo, dentro del círculo de restricciones. Para un escritor que domine la técnica, tal ejercicio - peligroso en los inexpertos - constituye un supremo placer. Es preciso leer detenidamente a Moratín. (II, 741)

As late as 1945 Azorín is still commenting on Moratín and his realism and españolismo. He dedicates an entire chapter of Los Clásicos Redivivos - Los Clásicos Futuros to the dramatist. The chapter is a biographical fantasy, or a mixture of impressionistic criticism and biography, with numerous comments on the man and his characteristics, drawn from the earlier writings on Moratín. One of the comments made is that Moratín, despite what is said to the contrary, knows Madrid and its spirit. He further characterizes Moratín as the greatest of intellectuals, despite Moratín's disdain for intellectuals, or better, pseudo-intellectuals.

Siente un desvío íntimo por Madrid, y nadie como él ha penetrado el espíritu de Madrid; es tachado de afrancesado, y ningún escritor de su tiempo ha llegado tan dentro al alma de España; desdeña a los intelectuales - a los que él llama "los omnicios de la Puerta del Sol"--, y es el propio Moratín el más intelectual de todos ellos; ... (VIII, 83)

Two years later in 1947, a chapter, "A Propósito de Moratín", is included in Ante Las Candilejas. It is occasioned by the publication of a new edition, with commentary, of two of Moratín's dramas. The comments in this volume, in essence,

agree with Azorín's previous writings on the subject, and he is obviously pleased.

Dos comedias, las más famosas, de don Leandro Fernández de Moratín, constituyen el volumen más reciente publicado por La Lectura. Las dos comedias son: El sí de las niñas y El café. De la edición ha cuidado don Federico Ruiz Morcuende. El colector ha puesto al frente de la edición un largo estudio y ha enriquecido con notas discretas y pertinentes el texto de las comedias. (IX, 51)

However, Azorín takes some exception to the editor's appraisal of Moratín's personality. "Estudia el señor Ruiz Morcuende la personalidad de Moratín, y ésta es la ocasión a propósito para que el periodista - sin asomos de magisterio - exponga algunas indicaciones respecto a Moratín y atañederas también a los juicios del colector. (IX, 51) Azorín then repeats most of what he has said previously concerning the personality of Moratín and the formative influences which shaped it. It is at this point that the discussion gives the impression that perhaps what Azorín sees in Moratín, is himself - at least to some degree. If this is true, it provides a further motive for Azorín's long lasting interest in the eighteenth-century playwright.

Un hombre ha nacido en cuna humilde; ha trabajado en oficio manual durante años; ha procurado ir puliendo y afinando su espíritu; goza observando el campo y contemplando los paisajes; viaja por Europa; realiza investigaciones en las más famosas bibliotecas; reúne libros clásicos, ediciones antiguas, preciosas, se afana, estudiando los orígenes de un género literario famoso en su Patria; es meticoloso, observador, limpio, preciso; siente el respeto por manifestaciones estéticas que están muy lejos de sus gustos; traduce alguna obra capital en que esas tendencias están ilustremente representadas; su curiosidad intelectual está siempre viva, despierta; ya viejo y cansado, parece un niño por sus agudezas y por su amor a todo lo que se relaciona con su profesión; por encima de todo,

como rasgo supremo de su carácter, procura siempre conservar el equilibrio, la serenidad, el sosiego mental indispensable en el goce de los más variados panoramas intelectuales. (IX, 53)

La pasión por la Naturaleza ha sido otro de los rasgos fundamentales de Moratín. Ama el idioma y se extasía ante los paisajes de España. (IX, 52)

The following year in 1948, Azorín is still preoccupied with thoughts of Moratín, and dedicates two chapters, "En Alcalá de Henares" and "Momentos", of Clásicos Cernidos to him. In "En Alcalá de Henares" he gives a short description of the characters and the story line of El sí de las niñas. He then gives the first indication that Moratín is not to be dealt with from the points of view of continuity and modernity. "No se representa hoy a Moratín; las comedias de Moratín son difíciles de representar; son comedias de carácter, y no de enredo; comedias sin efectismos, en que hay que matizar, como se dice en el lenguaje del teatro; comedias, en fin, de prueba para un actor. (VI, 1057)

The chapter "Momentos" is a short character study of the feminine figures in El sí de las niñas, Consuelo, and Realidad, namely Paquita, Consuelo, and Augusta. Azorín tries to "establecer la relación - histórica, social, psicológica - entre el ambiente, el de España, en distintas épocas, y el carácter de estas tres mujeres: Paquita, Consuelo, Augusta." (VI, 1059) He never quite accomplishes the task he set for himself. The importance of both these chapters lies, rather, in the fact that they demonstrate a continued interest in the personality and theatre of Moratín.

Another indication of Azorín's continued interest is the inclusion of two articles, originally written in 1914, in later collections. One is now part of the 1945 work, Leyendo a los poetas (VII, 740-41), while the other is included in the 1952 publication of El oasis de los clásicos (IX, 1061-72). Both articles are defenses against the harsh criticisms that Alcalá Galiano and Gabino Tejado brought to bear upon Moratín's personality and dramas. The irony, the sarcasm, and biting humor evident in both articles indicate that Galiano and Tejado had attacked someone cherished by Azorín. The articles also serve to illustrate the fact that Azorín did not change in his original opinions on Moratín's character and literary production.

In an entirely different vein, but serving the same purpose of showing Azorín's continued interest in Moratín, is the inclusion in the 1958 collection of Azorín's articles, Sin Perder Los Estribos, a chapter entitled "Feijóo y Moratín" originally an article published in the Madrid newspaper ABC, on March 5, 1916. This chapter appears as part of a section of the book called "Diálogo de los muertos". It is of interest because the dialogue between Feijóo and Moratín, in the Elysian Fields, is on social criticism. This is not an aspect usually associated with Moratín, at least not as strongly as with Feijóo, yet, obviously, in Azorín's mind there is this side to Moratín's personality and production. It is true that in this imaginary conversation Feijóo does most of the talking.

But, Moratín is always in agreement and gives the final summary. They have been talking about criticism of one's country as a universal phenomenon and not necessarily as a typically Spanish characteristic. Azorín then puts these final words in Moratín's mouth: "--Amigo Feijóo, tienes razón. Pero hay otra causa suprema para la crítica, y es el descontento en el corazón humano, descontento que es tan antiguo como el hombre mismo y no desaparecerá sino con el hombre."¹

The last reference made to Moratín appeared in ABC on August 27, 1961. This article forms part of the collection of articles, dating from 1960 through 1962, compiled in Los Recuadros in 1963. It is, in two ways, Azorín's farewell to the eighteenth-century dramatist. It is a farewell in the sense that it is Azorín's last article dealing with Moratín, after a relationship dating back seventy years. It is also a farewell in the sense that Azorín treats the playwright from a different point of view. It is no longer a question of praising an eminent figure in a decadent period whose works are of vital importance to his contemporaries and to later literary historians. Rather, the emphasis is on the dated quality of Moratín's work. Azorín bids farewell to something that is no longer relevant. He calls Moratín "autor de 'La comedia nueva'."² He says further, "... el teatro en España está en

¹Azorín, Sin Perder Los Estribos, Recopilación hecha por J. García Mercadal, (Madrid: Taurus, 1958), p. 37.

²Azorín, Los Recuadros, Edición recogida, ordenada y prologada por Santiago Ríopérez y Milá, (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1963), p. 123.

crisis. Está en crisis porque Moratín ... quiere que esté en crisis."³ Then he makes his important point, "'La comedia nueva' es de fines del siglo XVIII o principios del XIX. Ese es su ambiente."⁴ He indicates the type of society which is reflected in the comedia nueva. "Ese tiempo, en España, es el tiempo de los cafés y de las tertulias. La sociedad española se da cuenta de que ella existe. Y se da cuenta conversando."⁵

After setting the tone of the article with these remarks, he writes the paragraph that seems to be an open break with Moratín. It is not a total separation, however, in that he never recants what he had said previously, nor deny it in any way. It is a break in that he does not mention what he had said so many times in past decades.

¿La crisis del teatro en el siglo XVIII? ¿La crisis del teatro en nuestros días? Moratín llegó a detestar el teatro clásico; intervino el Estado; se dictaron providencias; se prohibieron los autos sacramentales. ¿Era un elemento de regeneración el teatro de Moratín? ¿Podían obras como las de Moratín dar un ejemplo de humanidad, de sociabilidad, de progreso social? Moratín ha estado a punto de hacer desgraciada a una pobre muchacha, buena, inocente, en "El sí de las niñas." Ha estado en tris que esa muchacha no viera fracasadas sus ilusiones; todo ha dependido de que un caballo corriera con bastante velocidad para llegar a tiempo. Moratín pone en ridículo, en absurdo ridículo, a una señora de Illescas, que no tiene más defecto que ser vanidosa; esto ocurre en "El barón." Moratín se ríe de otra jovencita que no es, ni por asomo, mojigata. Moratín, en Cádiz, condena a otra joven, casada, casada bárbaramente, a soledad perpetua, en un retiro. Esto pasa en "El viejo y la niña". ¿Y qué culpa de que su viejo marido sea un mentecato?⁶

Finally, Azorín plants himself squarely in the twentieth century. The last paragraph seems an explanation for his

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., pp. 123-24.

position with regard to his present stand, with regard to his relationship with Moratín and any aspect of the eighteenth century that does not participate in modernity through continuity and transcendental relevance.

El mundo anda revuelto; el mundo está en crisis. Las sociedades se transforman. La antigua literatura estaba basada en la existencia de los "géneros". Ya, afortunadamente, no hay "géneros"; unos géneros se entrometen en otros. Se ha reprochado a un novelista el que sus novelas no sean novelas. ¿Y qué tenemos con eso? La cuestión es que sean lo que se pretende que sean. El mismo idioma en que se escribe - elemento esencial en la literatura - está en crisis. Está, ahora más que nunca, en un devenir intenso, perpetuo.⁷

Azorín's interest and treatment of Moratín, then, is constant throughout his vast literary commentary. His interest is based on his perception of Moratín as an eminent neo-classical playwright, an exception in his age, whose interest in Spain and Spanish society roughly paralleled his own. Azorín, however, saw Moratín as relevant to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, without the qualities of modernity that he attaches to the other figures he treats. His last article clearly establishes this, without breaking with the past, and constitutes a double, even somewhat sad, farewell to an old literary friend.

⁷Ibid., p. 124.

CHAPTER V

TWO PRIESTS - ISLA AND FEIJÓO

Two figures more congenial to the inclinations of Azorín, taken as a whole, than was Moratín, are Isla and Feijóo. Azorín sees them as possessing certain parallel characteristics and he perceives a line of continuity from Isla's work to Feijóo's. Among the more important traits held in common are the magnitude of their literary personalities in an age of general mediocrity and the passionate, personal quality of their work which prefigures the Romantic movement. Once again, Azorín's interest is durable, spanning the earlier decades to the later ones. He mentions both writers innumerable times, in passing, and dedicates larger portions of his commentaries to them in the course of his career. He writes much more on Feijóo than he does on Isla, principally because Feijóo's production and effect were so much more extensive than Isla's. Azorín's main interest in Isla is centered on his one well-known novel, Fray Gerundio, and this, to some degree, therefore, limits the amount of material that can be written on him.

The earliest mention of el padre Isla is found in the folleto, Moratín. Azorín is describing the general state of

decadence in the eighteenth century, in the course of which, he comes upon the subject of the state of pulpit oratory. He seems well-acquainted with the topic under discussion and quotes from properly footnoted sources. He criticizes vehemently the oratory of the epoch then in vogue, as well as the afrancesamiento of pious practices.

Nunca como entonces ha descendido tanto la oratoria del púlpito. Desaparecieron la sencillez, la claridad y la parquedad en las citas de textos sagrados, y en lugar de estas indispensables cualidades, vinieron las frases y períodos floreados, las metáforas extravagantes, las anécdotas y cuentecillos picarescos, las citas traídas a redropelo, y, sobre todo, las entradillas (palabra técnica) ridículas y paradójicas. Se revolvía a la Virgen con Venus y a Jesús con Apolo; se citaban versos procaces de Ovidio al lado de sentencias del Eclesiastés; ... (I, 35)

He continues in this vein giving further concrete examples of the verbal pomposity urged upon eighteenth century preachers by self-styled experts. It is this awareness of the absurdity of the actual situation which made the reading of Fray Gerundio such a pleasure for Azorín, and which caused him to comment on its many excellent features. It is also this knowledge that prompted Azorín to close the discussion on pulpit oratory, just mentioned, with the exclamation, "¡Qué bien hizo el padre Isla, el famoso padre que llamara Cornelio a Corneille, en traer al orden a toda esta turba gárrula de sacros charlatanes!" (I, 35) This exclamation not only presents the name of padre Isla for the first time, but also enclosed an aspect of Isla that Azorín further admires - his españolismo - "el famoso padre que llamara Cornelio a Corneille".

More perhaps than in españolismo, however, Azorín may be expressing his interest in sencillez and claridad. His own style certainly reflects these qualities as well as the rejection of metáforas extravagantes and the other undesirable stylistic devices mentioned. What Azorín seems to be doing again is drawing Isla into his own realm of literary concepts - having been drawn to him by pre-existent sympathies.

Azorín demonstrates both his interest in Isla's Fray Gerundio, and in Isla's life in an article entitled "Las Cartas de Isla". There is no date available for the original publication. It is included in A voleo, a collection, thematically, not chronologically, arranged, of some of Azorín's articles from 1905 to 1953, published in 1954 as part of the ninth volume of the Obras Completas. The article consists of an introductory remark and three divisions of his life. The first portion deals with the events surrounding the publication of Fray Gerundio; the second with Isla's infirmities, and the third with his poverty in exile.

Azorín's introductory remark indicates the value he places on Isla, using his letters as the reason for his esteem and also using them as the source for the rest of the discussion. Here Azorín is interested like Unamuno, in the man behind the writing as he is revealed in his letters.

El padre Isla no ocupa todavía el lugar que le corresponde en la historia literaria; todavía no ha sido valorizado su epistolario. En su carácter de intimidad - sin ser trivial, sin ser indecoroso-, el epistolario es excepcional. Perfectamente coherente, se pueden seguir a lo largo

de él tres procesos: desenvolvimiento de una ilusión, la ilusión literaria; desenvolvimiento de una salud o una enfermedad; desenvolvimiento de una pobreza.(IX, 1332)

Azorín then discusses each of the processes in turn. "Comencemos por la ilusión."(IX, 1333) He describes the impatience of the printer in publishing Fray Gerundio before it was convenient for Isla to have it published. He continues with a crescendo of events that caused Isla to hope for a tremendous success - the immediate sale of copies, the circulation of manuscript copies, the debate it caused, the congratulations from bishops, archbishops, the Papal Nuncio, and the Pope himself.

Suddenly the bubble bursts with the intervention of the Holy Office in 1758, and Azorín describes Isla's oscillation between hope and despair over the outcome of the Inquisition's investigation. "'No se me ha dado - escribe - un blado por ella, ni se me dará.'"(IX, 1333) But Azorín adds "(No lo creemos; el autor tiene su ilusión y su esperanza.) En otra carta, el mismo año, dice: 'Los más me dan buenas esperanzas;'"(IX, 1333) Finally, the Inquisition makes its decision known, and Azorín seizes upon its ambivalent and ambiguous character as the perfect ending for his remarks on Isla's previous wavering between hope and despair.

Al fin, la Inquisición sentencia: se condena el libro; pero - curioso pero - se concederá licencia para leerlo a todo el que la pida. Para la sentencia, en el Tribunal, se empataron los votos, y los desempató, precisamente, quien - como ha dicho el padre Isla - "más aplaudió la obra, dentro y fuera de Madrid, diciendo que el autor era por ella benemérito de la Iglesia y digno de que le levantase una estatua la nación".(IX, 1333)

The second portion of the article deals with notes taken from Isla's letters describing various illnesses and his attempts at self-cure. He seems to have been unimpressed by contrary opinions of Feijóo on the value of certain medications. Azorín uses this portion of the article principally to point out Isla's inclination to hypochondria, and as an occasion for a few derogatory remarks on the uncertainties of medicine.

The final section deals with Isla's expulsion from Spain with the rest of the Jesuit Order and his extreme poverty and hardship. The paragraph is purely expository, and again, taken from portions of Isla's letters. Azorín ends the chapter with: "Ha necesitado Isla hacerse alguna ropa blanca; su hermana le había anunciado el envío de un socorro; no llega, y se ve Isla, deudor, avergonzado, abochornado; jamás había pasado por este trance." (IX, 1334)

A less personal, and more literary, approach to Isla is found in a passage from Leyendo a los poetas. It attempts to place Isla's figure in its proper place in the literary scheme of things, with reference to the Golden Age before him and the Romanticism yet to burst upon the scene. It is a fine summary, not only of Azorín's opinion of Isla, but also of his major characteristics.

Un período existe en nuestra historia literaria del siglo XVIII que parece estéril, infecundo. No llega sin embargo, a decaer por completo el espíritu literario. Siempre, la tradición de las bellas letras se mantiene en España con cierto brillo. No es, por ejemplo, el padre Isla un

ingenio de primer orden; pero la obra de Isla - su novela el Fray Gerundio, sus opúsculos satíricos - no merecen el desdén con que generalmente se los trata. Isla representa un paso adelante sobre la literatura del siglo anterior. Si leemos atentamente el Fray Gerundio, nos percataremos de que existen en esta obra dos elementos originales nuevos: uno el factor personal, de sátira, de gustos y preferencias del autor; otro, la observación de la realidad; observación, no de una realidad genérica, como acontecía antes - salvo casos contados - sino de una realidad concreta, definida. En la obra del padre Isla comenzamos a ver un resplandor lejano de la gran iluminación romántica que ha de llegar después. (VII, 735)

Nonetheless, the subjective element is still present. The two qualities of Fray Gerundio which Azorín prefers are the factor personal and la observación de la realidad. Both of these aspects are important constituents of a part of Azorín's works. Despite the apparently historical approach, the basic motivation is the fact that Azorín sees principally that which reflects himself and his century.

It is further on in this same passage that Azorín demonstrates the link, in his own mind, between the work of the two priests under discussion. "Y el otro fraile, Feijóo, completa el trabajo de Isla." (VII, 735) He shows Feijóo's completion of Isla's work by comparing and contrasting their approaches. "Feijóo es el espíritu agudo, penetrante, investigador." (VII, 735) He states that if Isla goes directly to concrete reality, "(la realidad de tierra de capas), Feijóo no se satisface con la sutileza, en lo abstracto." (VII, 735) Azorín then continues with a summary of the principal characteristics of Feijóo's personality and production.

La escolástica, el jinete en el vacío, no es de su gusto. Feijóo necesita, como del aire para respirar, de los he-

chos para razonar. Y sobre el hecho concreto despliega el crítico, explaya el observador su personalidad; personalidad poderosa, intensa, de una nerviosidad invencible. Y ésa es toda la obra de Feijóo: una obra romántica, la obra de un temperamento, de un carácter, de una personalidad. El mundo externo, la realidad ambiente. Feijóo los reduce a su juicio, a su inteligencia, a su personalidad. (VII, 735)

This quality of inhaling facts from wherever they may be found, as if they were the air necessary for respiration, is described elsewhere in Azorín's treatment as universality and relativism in Feijóo's work. It is also the source of the extraordinary vitality of the inspiration which Feijóo's work still produces. An excellent summary of this aspect is found in Los Clásicos Redivivos - Los Clásicos Futuros.

Pero el fraile, con sus ojitos avizores, va exprimiendo el jugo de todas estas noticias que llegan hasta él de las más remotas regiones del planeta, de Europa, de América, de Asia, de Oceanía, de África. Y con el jugo que extrae de todas estas noticias, bien compresas, bien exprimidas, forma un licor que se llama universalidad y relativismo. Ese licor es el licor que debe beber todo buen periodista. De ese licor ha salido - en España - todo el espíritu moderno. Universalidad, que es humanidad, comprensión, tolerancia; relativismo, que es la diversidad en la belleza, la multiplicidad de las fórmulas estéticas, la condenación de un camino literario inflexible, único, según una raza. (VIII, 74)

Azorín's admiration is easily sensed in the previous quotation, as is Feijóo's impact on him. Again, however, it is el hecho concreto which appeals to Azorín when he writes about Feijóo. The reason is that the basic elements of his own style are minute, concrete details and, consequently, he writes about those aspects of Feijóo which were already a part of his own literary style. He is similarly motivated in discussing Feijóo's humanidad, comprensión, tolerancia, relati-

vismo, for these qualities support his own ideas. Therefore, Azorín's awe before the stupendous character and production of this priest never ceases. However, at times it takes on a certain hue of restraint, a sense of, perhaps, overestimation, on both Azorín's part and that of literary historians. This is particularly clear in a 1934 article published as part of the collection In hoc signo.

El siglo XVIII está dominado en España por Feijóo. No hay sitio en esa centuria más que para Feijóo. Los demás tienen que vivir apretujados, encogidos, sin poder mover brazo ni pierna. Tan apretujados han de vivir, que uno de los más grandes escritores españoles, Lorenzo Hervás, es apenas conocido. No hay lugar, ni luz para él. Todo el sitio lo ocupa Feijóo y toda la luz Feijóo la necesita. (VIII, 1133)

Then Azorín adds a truly startling statement to the previous paragraph. "Y Hervás es mayor que Feijóo." (VIII, 1133) He continues with a few criticisms of Feijóo such as, "Feijóo escribe un castellano provisional. La cuestión, para él, es llegar al fin." (VIII, 1134) A little further on Azorín inserts another paragraph of criticism. However, with statements such as, "Feijóo lo es todo - y es escritor verdaderamente admirable -..." (VIII, 1134), he manages to convey the impression that he is not trying to take any merit from Feijóo, just attempting to place him in a more proper perspective.

Feijóo tiene la preocupación de lo nuevo. Su obsesión es la de parecer nuevo en todo. No decir lo que otros han dicho; no aceptar lo que otros han aceptado; tal es su divisa. Se comprende que con tal prejuicio el equilibrio mental no pueda existir. Feijóo lo es todo - y es escritor verdaderamente admirable - menos un escritor equilibrado, sereno, ecuaníme. Muchas veces este desequilibrio le lleva a impugnar a España. En su afán de ser nuevo, no retrocede ante la injusticia, ante la parcialidad. (VIII, 1134)

The foregoing, however, seems a momentary lapse, or a momentary attempt at restraint, in the appraisal of Feijóo's character and contributions. It does not occur again. The more normal attitude that Azorín assumes toward Feijóo is the one found in the chapter, "Dos Aptitudes", of A voleo. Both here and in other works Azorín seems to be writing about qualities he shared with the priest. The chapter derives its title from the comparison made between Sarmiento, also a Benedictine, and Feijóo. "En Madrid, en su celda benedictina, está Sarmiento; en Oviedo, en su celda benedictina, está Feijóo." (IX, 1330) The two things they possess in common are their respective celdas benedictinas and a voracious intellectual curiosity. Beyond these two possessions, their activities and approaches are different. Nevertheless, they do cooperate. "Feijóo envía sus originales a Sarmiento: Sarmiento los lleva a la imprenta y corrige las pruebas." (IX, 1330) With regard to Feijóo's Teatro Crítico Universal, Azorín writes, "Feijóo escribe su Teatro y Sarmiento defiende ese Teatro." (IX, 1330)

After this series of short contrasts, there follows a description of Sarmiento as an ivory tower scholar. Azorín mentions the four to six thousand volumes in Sarmiento's possession, his nine trunks and one bin full of papers, which constitute his archives. "Hay también en la celda un peso para oro, una balanza, un astrolabio, un telescopio, un microscopio." (IX, 1330) There are further statements on his

avid reading and copious writing. However, he does not publish what he has written. Azorín quotes Sarmiento's reasons, "'Por la fortísima razón de que acá yo me entiendo'; 'porque no nací para trabajar para el público'." (IX, 1330-31) Azorín terminates with a description of Sarmiento's self-imposed solitude. (IX, 1331)

It is at this point that the difference between the two men becomes most obvious. Azorín devotes the rest of the article to Feijóo, and his admiration is clear. "Sarmiento está en su celda y Feijóo en la batalla," (IX, 1331) sums up Azorín's basic appraisal of the two monks, and there is no doubt as to Azorín's partiality. He continues:

En una España lánguida, desértica, sin densidad social, España con seis millones de habitantes por 50.703.600 hectáreas, Feijóo suscita la gritería más ensordecedora, más violenta, más clamorosa que se ha dado nunca: gritan, gesticulan, anotean, aristotélicos, tomistas, newtonianos, cartesianos, malebranchistas, gassendistas, vivistas. (IX, 1331)

Flowing from this, the point is made that Feijóo is as important for the passions he aroused as for the ideas he put into circulation.

Hasta las señoras tienen en su tocador folletos de la polémica y discuten sobre "átomos" y sobre "torbellinos". La obra de Feijóo tiene dos eficiencias: la intelectual y la pasional. Tanto vale la obra de Feijóo por la doctrina como por las repercusiones pasionales. De época en época, de generación en generación, irán prolongándose, con motivo de Feijóo, en torno a Feijóo, la simpatía y el despego. (IX, 1331)

Azorín completes the article with concrete examples of the alternating rhythm of praise and condemnation, pro and con, that surround Feijóo's ideas from his own time to the time of

the writing of the article.

The same ideas occur in an article published in ABC in March, 1913. The article now appears in the collection Los Valores Literarios dating from 1914. In the Obras Completas, the collection appears with a "Nota Adjunta" first written in 1947, with approximately the same appraisal of Feijóo, indicating no basic change in Azorín's attitude over the years. The original article ends with the words of the author of the Diccionario feijoniano, repeating and confirming the notion that Feijóo's importance lies as much in the controversy he aroused as in his intellectual contributions. "La obra de Feijóo ha producido una fermentación útil; ha hecho empezar a dudar; ha dado a conocer libros distintos de los que aquí se leían; ha despertado la curiosidad.(II, 1016)

The article, with its "Nota Adjunta" just mentioned, is useful for other purposes as well. It is an excellent summary of Azorín's view of Feijóo as a man, an intellectual, a catalyst, and a stylist. It is interesting to note which characteristic is uppermost in Azorín's mind when he entitles the article "La inteligencia de Feijóo". The article was occasioned by the publication of a book by Miguel Morayta, entitled, El padre Feijóo y sus obras, and which Azorín found praiseworthy. Azorín uses Morayta's books and other sources as well to give the reader as good a view of Feijóo as is possible within the confines of a newspaper article.

The first topic discussed is the general state of Fei-

jóo's health. He is described as "un hombre alto, gallardo, recio; había dulzura, inteligencia, y apacibilidad en su semblante; ... sus movimientos hacíanse notar por su presteza y desenvoltura; gozaba de sanidad perfecta."(II, 1012) Because of his health, he was able to work with astonishing perseverance. "... en su celda de Oviedo escribió infatigablemente hasta los ochenta años; milagros de erudición hizo con los no muchos libros que allí tenía."(II, 1013)

Feijóo's perfect health was matched by his spiritual vigor, manifested in equanimity of soul during troubled periods, and by a most delicate sensitivity.

Serenamente, desde su rincón, soportó la estruendosa barahunda promovida en España en torno de sus libros; no se amilanó por la hostilidad, en algunos momentos verdaderamente terribles, que hacía sus publicaciones mostraron elementos sociales poderosos; aun ante la amenaza de la Inquisición se mantuvo ecuaníme, confiado en sí mismo. No hay ejemplo en España de más intensa agitación espiritual que la producida por Feijóo. Pensemos en la actitud espiritual del escritor en medio de esta ardiente tolvanera de pasiones, envidias, rencores, insidias; formidable era el aluvión de folletos, papeles, críticas suscitadas por la labor de Feijóo. Hoy, difícilmente podemos formarnos idea de la situación del escritor en este ambiente; era en el siglo XVIII menos en cantidad y en cantidad que actualmente la tolerancia y la comprensión. Hoy sólo podemos imaginarnos la situación de Feijóo pensando, por ejemplo, en Emilio Zola durante el período culminante del asunto Dreyfus.(II, 1013)

Feijóo's sensitivity caused him to have a tender compassion for animals, a characteristic which Azorín considers pretolstoyana. This same sensitivity made him charitable to the poor even in periods of personal indigence. The description of Feijóo's sensitivity brings Azorín to the theme encapsulated in the title of the chapter. "Una sensibilidad deli-

cada supone una inteligencia viva; lo que en Feijóo domina es la inteligencia." (II, 1014) Azorín then distinguishes between intelligence and memory. A good memory does not necessarily imply intelligence. Intelligence, rather, means originality. Here Azorín makes reply to his own criticism, quoted earlier, that Feijóo was driven by a desire to say only what had not been said before.

La inteligencia implica originalidad; y la originalidad es rebeldía. Cuanto más inteligente sea un hombre, más rebelde será, es decir, menos conformista, menos aceptador de lo ya hecho, de lo ya pensado, de lo ya sentido. Feijóo - comprensivo, humano, piadoso - se nos aparece, en suma, como un rebelde, como una inteligencia en lucha contra preocupaciones, prejuicios, supersticiones, corruptions, convencionalismos de su tiempo y de su pueblo. Una sensación de hostilidad hacia un determinado ambiente: Así, en síntesis, podemos definir la obra de Feijóo. (II, 1014)

Next Azorín turns to Feijóo's contributions to style. " ... por la modernidad en el lenguaje se declara terminantemente." (II, 1015) He discusses Feijóo's aversion for, and opposition to, irrational hyperboles, pompous words, and affected circumlocutions. He quotes Feijóo's own words, "La propiedad y la naturalidad, calidades esenciales sin las cuales ni la poesía ni la prosa jamás pueden ser buenas ..." (II, 1015) Azorín, then, quickly terminates the article with the summary taken from the Diccionario feijoniano of Marqués y Espejo, quoted earlier.

The "Nota Adjunta" to the chapter, written thirty-four years after the publication of the original article, presents the same ideas, but from a slightly different point of

view. Azorín points out that Feijóo's Teatro crítico universal is a continuation of the classical Spanish theatre. He sees in both the quality of universality. " ... con universalidad de espacio, geografía y de tiempo, asuntos del presente y asuntos de la Historia."(II, 1016) He explains that Spain had contributed a movement to Europe with the reign of Carlos V and continued it in the seventeenth century with its classical theatre. The continuation of this movement in the eighteenth century is represented by the figure of Feijóo. However, in his efforts to continue this movement, Feijóo, claims Azorín, is hemmed in by three limiting factors-"... linde de la Inquisición, linde de la Orden a que Feijóo pertenece, linde de cierto público que se impone al escritor." (II, 1016) Azorín uses the rest of the nota to show how Feijóo overcame his limiting factors by the cunning of his mind and the extraordinary vitality and simplicity of his language. "Feijóo, limitado por tres limitaciones, se desquita desenvolviéndose libremente, sin trabas, en el lenguaje."(II, 1018) From this, Azorín terminates the article, concluding that Feijóo is the creator of modern prose. "Feijóo, en el escribir rápido, desembarazado, con todo el cuerpo, podríamos decir, es el generador de la prosa moderna."(II, 1018)

One of Feijóo's salient features as seen by Azorín in all the previous commentaries is the subjective and personal quality of his writings, the reduction of all things to the force of his personality. This leads naturally to an aspect

of the eighteenth century, in general, and of Feijóo, in particular, alluded to previously in the second and third chapters of this paper; namely the Romanticism, or pre-Romanticism which Azorín perceives in the century and in its major figures.

With regard to Feijóo's contribution to Romanticism, Azorín sees it as two-fold, or, from a negative and positive point of view. The negative contribution consists in the fact that Feijóo made impossible the establishment of classicism. The positive contribution, according to Azorín, was made when Feijóo established the theoretical foundations necessary for the full flowering of the Romantic movement.

The negative aspect, the impossibility of the establishment of classicism, is treated in the 1916 essay, Rivas y Larra, Razón social del Romanticismo en España. Azorín writes in the prologue:

Feijóo, con su crítica, había hecho por adelantado imposible la instauración del clasicismo. Clasicismo es, aparte de otras cosas, certeza en un dogma. Clasicismo es propugnación de un método. Y la crítica de Feijóo, de que quedó empapada toda la segunda mitad de nuestro siglo XVIII, era la negación de todo sistema, la duda, la certidumbre sobre lo sancionado, la apología - inversamente, frente a lo sancionado - del propio arbitrio y del personal gusto. ¿Sobre qué base, sobre qué tradición íbamos en España a edificar una estética clasicista?(III, 340)

Azorín devotes the rest of the prologue to the positive aspect of Feijóo's contribution, laying the ground work for a Romantic theory. He quotes Feijóo's own words and comments on them succinctly.

En los oídos de los doctos podían estar resonando las siguientes palabras de Feijóo en su discurso sobre la

Introducción de voces nuevas, palabras que son la más cumplida teoría del Romanticismo. "Los hombres de corto genio son como los niños de la escuela, que si se arrojan a escribir sin pauta, en borrones y garabatos desperdician toda la tinta. Al contrario, los de espíritu sublime logran los más felices rasgos cuando generosamente se desprenden de los comunes documentos. Así, es bien que cada uno se estreche o se alargue hasta aquel término que le señalé el autor de la Naturaleza, sin constituir la facultad propia por norma de las ajenas. Quédese en la falda quien no tiene fuerza para arribar a la cumbre; mas no pretenda hacer magisterio lo que es torpeza, ni acuse como ignorancia del arte lo que es valentía del numen."

Y eso es - dicho admirablemente - lo que los románticos han querido que fuera el Romanticismo: valentía del numen. (III, 340)

The same ideas are expressed, in less lyrical fashion, in a newspaper article, ten years later. The 1926 article was re-issued as part of the 1952 collection, El Oasis de los Clásicos. Azorín states very clearly, "Pero había que expresar la fórmula moderna del romanticismo. El romanticismo moderno, teóricamente, lo prepara Feijóo." (IX, 1074) Azorín goes on to explain that Feijóo, with his formidable criticism of everything, especially with his social criticism, taught the Spaniards that what is true in one country is not necessarily true in another; that what is admirable for one people, may very well be repudiated by another. "En suma, Feijóo es lo absoluto, es lo idéntico en todos los países y en todos los tiempos, sustituye lo contingente y relativo." (IX, 1074) Azorín continues with the notion that if everything is relative, the concept of beauty will be relative also, which leads to the establishment of personal sentiment as the norm.

Y si todo es relativo, lo será la belleza también. Y

si ser relativa la belleza equivale a la no existencia de normas estéticas invariables, absolutas, tendremos que apelar al propio sentimiento, al sentimiento del artista, para encontrar la norma estética en que basar la obra de arte.(IX, 1074)

Azorín then returns to the point of the discussion, the contribution of Feijóo to Romanticism, with a rhetorical question which he answers himself. "¿Qué falta para llegar al romanticismo? Faltan las aplicaciones - conscientes, inconscientes - de la doctrina."(IX, 1074)

For Azorín, part of the immense attraction that Feijóo holds for him, is his modernity, the fact that his spirit is as meaningful today as in his own epoch. This is implied in a fantasy about Feijóo included in Los Clásicos Redivivos - Los Clásicos Futuros. Azorín describes the fantastic communications networks of the contemporary world which have made the reporting of the remotest events to the rest of the world an almost instantaneous matter - especially through radio and television. He depicts Feijóo completely at ease, in his element, in this situation, as the editor of a great, modern newspaper. "Feijóo ha llegado a su ideal supremo: todo el planeta unido, concertado, en el mutuo conocimiento de las naciones y de los pueblos más diversos."(VIII, 76) He concludes the fantasy using the two words which comprise Feijóo's gift to the modern world, universality and relativism. " ... el resumen del día ... El planeta entero en unas pocas, rápidas palabras. Universalidad, relativismo."(VIII, 76)

Azorín's perception of Feijóo's modernity is also

seen by the use that Azorín makes of both his figure and his writings in articles dealing with nineteenth and twentieth century problems and personalities. A good example of this is the dialogue, between Feijóo and Moratín, on social criticism of one's native land in Sin perder los estribos. The purpose of the dialogue is to propose Azorín's own ideas on the subject, but he uses Feijóo as the perfectly natural mouthpiece, or literary device, for doing so.

Another example can be found in the "Nuevo Apéndice" to El Paisaje de España Visto por Los Españoles. Azorín discusses Africa and its relationship to Spain, as well as his intense interest in the subject. In the course of the discussion, he writes, "El Africa se ha dicho que principia en los Pirineos; esta frase ... enoja a mucha gente; no vemos el motivo para la desazón." (III, 1230) Azorín continues with what amounts to an essay on Africa, considering its past influence on Spain and the rest of Europe, and its probable future influence. He quotes Feijóo's Mapa intelectual y cotejo de naciones, and the Piarist priest, Ignacio Rodríguez, in his Discernimiento de ingenios, to dispel any prejudice against Africa and Africans. He makes the point, with Feijóo and Rodríguez at his side, that all men possess the same fund for intelligence and that, consequently, the Africans cannot be considered an inferior race. (III, 1233-35)

Another occurrence of Azorín's concept of Feijóo's modernity is found in El Político. Azorín devotes a number

of chapters of El Político to the question of Machiavellian theories of government. He calls Machiavelli; la vulpeja florentina, and his critics, los canes. It is obvious from the course of the discussions and from Azorín's political and social liberalism, especially of the early years, that he in no way agrees with the deceit and power philosophy of Machiavelli. Neither, however, does he wish to disagree for the wrong reasons. The tenor of the criticism from los canes, as discussed in these chapters, is that all contemporary political ills derive their inspiration from a unique political system that was originated by Machiavelli. Azorín thoroughly disagrees. "¿Por qué ladran y acosan estos buenos canes a la vulpeja florentina? Diríase, al oír sus desaforados ladridos, que en el mundo no ha habido más que una vulpeja, y que ella es la que nos ha traído todo el daño. No, nada más falso."(II, 392)

Feijóo faced the same problem in the eighteenth century and Azorín uses his words and thoughts as totally applicable in the twentieth century. He says, "Feijóo se ríe de los canes."(II, 392) Then drawing upon a chapter, "El Maquiavelismo de los antiguos", from the Teatro Crítico Universal, Azorín avers that Machiavelli is not the author of his ideas since there is ample evidence that they pre-date him, reaching back at least to Plato. The truth is, rather, that Machiavellian concepts are rooted in human nature. The assertion is made by Azorín and Feijóo jointly. "El maquiavelismo debe su

primera existencia a los más antiguos príncipes del mundo, y a Maquiavelo sólo el nombre. Su raíz está en nuestra naturaleza y no ha menester siglos."(II, 393)

Another example in which Feijóo comes to Azorín's mind as if he were a contemporary author occurs in Al Margen de los Clásicos in the essay on José Somoza, the nineteenth century statesman and writer. Azorín prefers figures like Somoza, an anti-militarist, a pacifist, a liberal, "Somoza es un ferviente enamorado del progreso y del humanitarismo." (III, 256) Somoza is also an optimist. He believes that humanity is progressing, that there are less cannibals, less fallow territories, less infected reservoirs, less deserted woods, and less uncharted seas. "Ha aprendido que los hombres 'en ciencias y en artes útiles han dado un vuelo asombroso sobre todos los siglos conocidos.'"(III, 256) But the quality that endears him most to Azorín is his pacifism; and it is this which also, almost automatically, brings Feijóo to his mind.

Indudablemente, para Somoza el más profundo mal humano es la guerra; en su entusiasmo por la paz insiste con viva complacencia. En las páginas en que define el heroísmo, parece atisbarse la huella de Feijóo. Feijóo ya había dicho algo parecido en su discurso La ambición en el solio.(III, 257)

In summary, then, Azorín's interest in, and admiration for, Isla and Feijóo is clearly present in the general course of his career. He finds their figures congenial because of the magnitude of their impact on what is generally considered to be a rather sterile period in the history of Spain, Spanish

literature, and Spanish culture. He finds both priests in some ways superior to the Golden Age preceding them, and laying the foundation for the movements to follow them, particularly Romanticism. The most attractive aspect for Azorín, however, is the modernity of the thoughts and styles of both writers, but especially of Feijóo. This notion of continuity which revivifies the past and makes it meaningful to the contemporary period is the determining factor in Azorín's interest in the figures of the eighteenth century for whom he shows a special predilection. It can be also stated that what Azorín admires about Isla and Feijóo is what Azorín himself is. He studies them and sees himself. If they expressed the same ideas that he believed were valid, he gave preferential and almost exclusive treatment to those ideas. Isla and Feijóo supported and bolstered his ego, his beliefs, and gave him the confidence to pursue his own ends.

CHAPTER VI

JOVELLANOS AND CADALSO

Jovellanos and Cadalso are the last two major figures of the eighteenth century to whom Azorín devotes any large portion of his time, interest, and energy in the total output of his literary career. Other figures may be considered important for one reason or another, but he treats them in passing. Jovellanos and Cadalso interest Azorín for the expected and obvious reasons. He finds them congenial in their attitudes, their contributions, their approaches to problems which he can understand, or which he himself also faces. All three, Jovellanos, Cadalso, and Azorín, agree in their humanitarian idealism, their hope for progress, their openness to non-Spanish influences, and their critical love for Spain.

Humanitarian idealism, concern for the human for its own sake, is the most transcendental quality possessed in common by these writers, and which therefore, unites them in a special way, despite differences in time, place, and activities. Azorín notices this quality in Jovellanos rather early in his writings about him. The first mention of it occurs in

1913, in Clásicos y Modernos, in a chapter entitled "Un poeta." The poeta, of course, is Jovellanos. Azorín discusses the extremely delicate sensitivity that Jovellanos possessed and which is reflected in his poetry. It is this same finely tuned sensitivity, according to Azorín, that creates in Jovellanos the sincere desire for the well-being and justice of the human race. " ... le lleva a desear para la Humanidad días de bienestar y de justicia." (II, 751) This desire, further, is the source of his critical commentaries and the inspiration for his political activity. "Ardientemente se levanta contra los vicios y podredumbres de la sociedad de su tiempo." (II, 751) He severely condemns the established and degenerate aristocracy of the era, and appeals to the lowly for a violent revolution which will give new life to a dead society. His humanitarian concerns also cause him to denounce a system of justice which harshly penalizes the poor, moved to their crimes by ignorance or necessity, and pardons the rich who can hide their criminality behind their wealth.

Humanitarian idealism and hope for social progress go hand in hand. Azorín explains that, "Su visión de un futuro va tan lejos como pueda soñarlo el más paradisíaco visionario." (II, 751) There then follows a series of rhetorical questions which encompass the scope of Jovellanos's idealism. He asks when the day will arrive that the human race, tired of grief and sorrows, will live peacefully in fraternal unity; when peace and justice will reign universally. "¿No llegará

el día en que los hombres tengan odio a la guerra? ¿En que apelliden bárbaro, y lo tengan por comun enemigo, al que hable de la guerra?"(II, 751) That day will arrive, according to Jovellanos, when the formidable obstacle of private property is removed from human society. When it disappears "todos los hombres serán hermanos; un solo pueblo llenará la tierra; una gran familia será la Humanidad."(II, 752)

Azorín finds similar ideas in Cadalso, particularly in the Cartas marruecas, but in a more pragmatic, less lyrical, fashion. Azorín treats these ideas in his "Prólogo a Las Cartas Marruecas de Cadalso" from his own edition of the work. This prologue is now included in the collection A voleo. Azorín approaches the topic from a comparative point of view. He states that in the seventeenth century there was universal agreement on the superiority of war-like qualities over other human characteristics. Even "Gracián, espíritu tan libre, al guerrero concede la primacia entre todos los varones eminentes."(IX, 1209) With Cadalso, however, a different evaluation enters the Spanish literary world. For Cadalso, the judgment concerning the superiority of one century over another should be based on the century's moral or civic contributions to humanity. Azorín quotes Cadalso's "Carta XXVIII", "Ninguna fama póstuma es apreciable sino la que deja un hombre de bien."(IX, 1209) Cadalso attacks the notion of the superiority of the warrior. The warrior cannot do anything for mankind but leave behind him a heritage of besieged cities,

burned ships, devastated fields, deserted provinces, and their concomitant miseries. He sees no advantages to a fame based on these acts. "Los siglos venideros sabrán que hubo un hombre que destruyó medio millón de hermanos suyos. Nada más." (IX, 1209) The good and just man, on the other hand, has a greater and better effect on the human heart and can produce a lasting, as well as uplifting experience for mankind.

As in the case of Jovellanos, the humanitarian ideal is intimately bound to the hope for social progress. In keeping with his pragmatic bent, Cadalso places his hope for the future in Science as the remedy for the social decrepitude he sees surrounding him. From this basic idea flow his positive and negative criticism. Constructively, he urges the expansion of public instruction, particularly in the positive sciences. But instruction is not enough. The youth of Spain must work and know the dignity of labor. On the negative side, he uses his pen to excoriate every manner of prejudice, superstition, ignorance, and absurdity in any form. If these negative aspects were lessened, or even totally abolished, and Spain dedicated herself to the positive sciences, Cadalso with Jovellanos and Azorín, would predict the imminent achievement of the humanitarian ideal.

The humanitarian ideal and the hope for social progress lead both Jovellanos and Cadalso, as well as Azorín, to writing. Beyond this, however, there are some distinctions in the practical applications of these transcendent qualities.

Jovellanos, for example, became much more active politically than did Cadalso. But in both cases, Azorín emphasized those interests and activities which paralleled his own. The fact that he did this further indicates that he sees in these two authors that quality of continuity and modernity that so pre-occupied - or even obsessed him.

In Jovellanos's case, then, Azorín writes of his political activities for two reasons. First, because they are an important factor in his life and writings, and secondly, because Azorín, at various times, took a deep interest in the political activities of his own times. This is clear in Fantasías y Devaneos, which he subtitled, Política, Literatura, Naturaleza, and which was published in 1920, but written in 1904.

In a chapter of Fantasías y Devaneos, satirically entitled "Lo Castizo", Azorín makes the following remarks:

En España, el vocablo mandar ha sido siempre sinónimo de prohibir: nuestra política secular puede resumirse en las prohibiciones y en las expulsiones. ... Un español que no prohiba algo, bien en su casa, bien en un concejo o bien en esferas más altas de la burocracia, no es un español castizo. La tradición está bien clara. (IV, 40)

After this more or less sarcastic opening, Azorín gives examples of prohibitive ordinances promulgated by Felipe IV and Carlos IV. His examples are deliberately chosen and include only the most absurd cases, concerning hats, hair length, smoking, reading newspapers, dancing, and swearing. In the midst of all this, the immediate motive behind his essay is revealed.

... a lo largo del tiempo, las épocas de la Historia se repiten, y no parece sino que ahora, con la novísima ansia de prohibiciones, estamos los españoles volviendo a vivir aquellos días lejanos.(IV, 41)

Azorín then returns to his series of absurd examples and recounts an astonishing number of prohibitions issued by Carlos IV, during whose reign Jovellanos lived. At the end of the series, he makes another sarcastic remark, addressing the politicians of his day. "Aquí tenéis, señores gobernantes de hogaño, un régimen ideal, supremo."(IV, 45)

At this point, Azorín introduces Jovellanos. He pictures him as serious, extremely prudent, with a certain impassive quality about him. He says of him that "Hablando de toda esta complicada urdimbre de prchibiciones, ... - don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos - llegó a perder su impasibilidad acostumbrada."(IV, 45) Then Azorín quotes the famous passage from Jovellanos's Memoria sobre los espectáculos públicos.

Se han vedado las danzas de hombres. ... se han hecho cesar a media tarde las de mujeres, y, finalmente, se obliga a disolver antes de la oración las romerías, que son la única diversión de estos laboriosos e inocentes pueblos. ¿Cómo es posible que estén bien hallados y contentos con tan molesta policía? Se dirá que todo se sufre, y es verdad: todo se sufre, pero se sufre de mala gana. Todo se sufre; pero ¿quién no temerá las consecuencias de tan largo y forzado sufrimiento?(IV, 45)

Azorín ends the article with a single statement after this quotation, as a warning to the politicians of his own time. "Pocos años después de ser formulada esta interrogación pasaba a la Historia la monarquía absoluta ..."(IV, 45)

This interest in Jovellanos's political activities and thoughts is further manifested in two articles, one written in

1943, the other in 1945, now included in the collection A voleo. Azorín feels that, despite his intense convictions on political, social, and economic matters, Jovellanos did not accomplish much in his own time. He affirms this for two reasons - Jovellanos's character and the ambiente of the epoch, the latter having a decided effect on the former. He says of him that " ... oscila entre dos realidades históricas: el mundo que desaparece y el que se inicia; el que acaba en el siglo XVIII y el que comienza en el XIX." (IX, 1434) Caught between the two worlds, he is attracted by both of them, and this is manifested principally in his political activity. Azorín points out, for example, that he seems torn between the French invaders and Spanish tradition. This dualism disquieted him to such a degree that at times he seemed fearful of concretizing his particular political or philosophical leanings. "No podía hacer nada Jovellanos en el Ministerio, dado su carácter y dado el ambiente de la época." (IX, 1433)

Nevertheless, Azorín is still attracted by this eminent figure of the eighteenth century. His basic interests, despite any lack of practical accomplishment, and his enlightened patriotic sense are enough to sustain Azorín's interest. One line from Jovellanos's pedagogical writings would be sufficient for Azorín to place him next to the other figures of the century which he finds so congenial. It occurs in an essay to mothers on the raising of children. "Hacedlos sencillos,

esforzados, compasivos, generosos ... pero, sobre todo, haced-los amantes de la verdad, de la libertad y de la Patria."(IX, 1437)

It is these same qualities which Azorín finds in Cadalso, with the added advantage of not having failed at any practical attempt, since his pragmatism limited him to learning, traveling, and writing. Cadalso is one of the eminent few that can be found in Azorín's earliest thoughts expressed on paper. Cadalso's name appears briefly in the early folleto, Moratín, in a passage in which the francophile, Azorín, is castigating a false afrancesamiento, and is implying the values of españolismo. The passage is the following: "El que podía hablaba francés en vez de castellano, o al menos una mezcla ridícula de ambos idiomas. (Cadalso pone en una de sus Cartas marruecas un modelo gracioso del estilo bilingüe que entonces estaba en moda."(I, 34)

Even in this early example, it is obvious that the attractive force of Cadalso for Azorín is in his sense of patriotism, properly understood. Azorín claims familiarity with most of the works of Cadalso and lists some of them in Lecturas Españolas. He calls Cadalso a poet and a costumbrista and lists his Letrillas pueriles, Eruditos a la violeta, Cartas marruecas, and Anales de cinco días.(II, 573) However, he considers the most important one to be the Cartas marruecas, and the first aspect that he notices is the proper concept of patriotism. .

In summary, Cadalso's idea on the subject is that even if one loves and esteems his native land because he considers it worthy of such affection, the fundamental fact that must always be kept in mind is that it is a purely accidental quality to have been born in one spot on the planet and not in another. With this serving as a basis on which to found one's objectivity, it is not difficult to see that it is not unpatriotic to see one's country's faults as clearly as its virtues. "El patriotismo mal entendido, en lugar de ser virtud, viene a ser defecto ridículo."(II, 573)

With this in mind, Azorín continues with a lengthy resumé of Cadalso's criticism of Spain. The choices he makes not only represent the principal thoughts of Cadalso, but also those of Azorín. As the list progresses, it is not difficult to understand why Azorín said of him earlier, "Es Cadalso uno de los más simpáticos ingenios del siglo XVIII; resúmese en su obra - acaso mejor que en otra alguna - todo el espíritu de aquella centuria."(II, 572) Azorín begins the list with the exhortation, "Seamos sinceros con nuestro país", and then launches into an attack on the apathetic youth of Spain. Cadalso and Azorín seem to be speaking simultaneously:

En España existe una juventud extraviada; se compone de señoritos aficionados a toros, garrochistas, chulapos, amigos de tahures; señoritos que se solazan en zambras y jolgorios con cantadoras, danzaderas, gitanos; grey abigarrada y zafia, en que acaso figura un tío Gregorio, de "voz ronca, patilla larga, vientre redondo".(II, 573)

There follows a discussion on the state of the sciences, replete with sarcastic remarks against ancient and medieval

philosophical systems apparently dominating the studies of the day. "Dominan ergotistas, sutilizadores, disputadores eternos sobre fantasmagorías y entelequias".(II, 573) He suggests that the root of this state of affairs is in the fundamental defect of the Spaniard - pride and vanity. He describes the further effects of this fault by delineating a typical, daily schedule of many Spaniards, in which the principal item seems to be wasting time. Azorín states, "Tal es el retrato del habitante medio de España."(II, 574)

The preoccupation immediately consequent upon this is the reason that can be adduced for the inertia, the intellectual mediocrity, the general state of decadence in which Spain finds herself. Azorín, still quoting from Cadalso's Cartas marruecas, blames the wars of conquest in both the Old and New Worlds. "La Casa de Austria 'gastó los tesoros, talentos y sangre de los españoles en cosas ajenas de España'." (II, 574-75) This naturally leads to an attack on the governmental powers in Spain through the ages. Politicians are characterized as unconcerned about the land and its people, interested only in the accumulation of personal wealth by whatever means.(II, 575) All this causes a vicious circle, difficult to interrupt. Decadence produces misery, which inhibits creativity, which causes decadence. But the difficulty is not an impossibility. There is a means of escape. Azorín and Cadalso preach jointly:

Solo en el trabajo y en la ciencia está nuestra redención.

Amemos la inteligencia y el trabajo. "Trabajemos en las ciencias positivas para que no nos llamen bárbaros los extranjeros." "Haga nuestra juventud los progresos que pueda. Procure dar al público sobre materias útiles. Deje morir a los viejos como han vivido." "Para igualar a nuestra Patria con otras naciones es preciso cortar muchas ramas podridas de este venerable tronco." "Cuéntese, pues, por nada lo pasado y pongamos la fecha desde hoy, suponiendo que la Península se hundió a mediados del siglo XVII y ha vuelto a salir de la mar a mediados del siglo XVIII."(II, 575-76)

Azorín terminates the discussion on the criticism of Spain with the words, "Tal es, fielmente reflejada, la España que nos pinta Cadalso."(II, 575), indicating his approval and agreement. A further indication that Cadalso's picture could serve as a reflection of Azorín's own time is his affirmation that Cadalso's social criticism possesses an extraordinary modernity. He then quickly concludes the chapter with the statement that Cadalso's work was completed by the personal criticism in depth of the nineteenth century Romantic, Mariano José de Larra.

Another aspect of these two writers, paralleling the inclinations which Azorín himself possessed, is their internationalism, their love for the foreign, the European, as well as their españolismo. In Jovellanos's case, this was intimated earlier in discussing his ambivalence between the attractions of the French invader and things Spanish, which also caused some kind of interior conflict expressed in ambiguous notions. Nevertheless, the attraction was there. Azorín claims that although Jovellanos never left Spain or traveled in foreign lands, a friend of his had. This friend never failed to bring

back numerous books, especially from France and England, which Jovellanos read avidly. (IX, 1435-36)

Cadalso, on the other hand, never suffered from Jovellanos's ambiguity or ambivalence. He merely incorporated, thoroughly in keeping with his pragmatic nature, his love for the foreign with his love for things Spanish into his enlightened notion of patriotism. Azorín says of him simply, "Cadalso viajó por Francia, Alemania, Inglaterra; conocía las lenguas de esos países; admiraba sus literaturas." (II, 573)

These ideas are present in an even more balanced form in the chapter on Cadalso in A voleo.

Cadalso inaugura lo que podemos llamar patriotismo reflexivo. Ni todo lo nacional, ni todo lo extranjero: ésta es la fórmula ... que Cadalso adopta en su crítica y que infiltra, digámoslo así, en toda su obra. "La predilección - dice - con que se suele hablar de las cosas antiguas, sin distinción de crítica, es menos efecto de amor hacia ellas, que de odio a nuestros contemporáneos." (Carta XLIV) (IX, 1207-08)

Azorín and Cadalso go on to say that it is important to read foreign authors, especially when they write about Spain. If the foreign authors lean to one extreme, it helps to compensate for the imbalance in the opposite direction caused by national authors. "De este modo se sacará 'una razón media' entre lo que digan unos y otros." (IX, 1208)

That Azorín should emphasize and agree with this aspect of Cadalso's attitudes and approaches, comes as no surprise, for he takes at times exactly the same position. This is particularly evident in a passage on the philosophy of Krause included in El paisaje de España visto por los españo-

les. In considering the impact of krausismo on Spanish thought, he insists that it could only have occurred because of this amalgam of the foreign and the Spanish discussed previously. He affirms, furthermore, that krausismo would have taken no root at all if there were not something Spanish about it in the first place. With this statement he roots himself firmly in his españolismo, while still admitting to a foreign influence and remaining open to it. Azorín also infers that this is not a solitary example.

Lo que parece extranjero y ha sido mil veces reprochado de extranjero, era profundo, íntimamente nacional. Cuando nosotros consideramos esta filosofía - que no es sólo una filosofía -, se nos antoja estar viendo, prolongadas en ella, viviendo nuevamente en ella, muchas cosas españolas tradicionales. Vemos, por ejemplo, ... las Cartas marruecas, de Cadalso (crítica de los valores recibidos) ... (III, 1213)

Azorín, like Jovellanos and Cadalso, was a humanitarian, a social critic, and a patriot open to both national and international values. But, he was also a stylist, a student of the language, a man of letters, and so were they. Consequently, Azorín also discusses aspects of their works, other than social. One of the characteristics of the eighteenth century, which he also sees in the literary productions of these two personalities, is its incipient Romanticism. This is very clearly summarized in the exclamation taken from Rivas y Larra, Razón social del Romanticismo en España, "Cadalso, Meléndez, Jovellanos: románticos, descabellados románticos, desapoderados románticos; románticos antes, mucho antes, del estreno de Hernani en París." (III, 339)

An example of Azorín's view of Jovellanos's Romanticism is found in El Oasis de los Clásicos. "¿Y qué es sino un poema romántico ... la espístola en que Jovellanos describe una estada suya en El Paular?"(IX, 1076) He continues with a description of the Romantic characteristics to be found in the work, which is better given in his own words:

En esos claustros solitarios, silenciosos, que el poeta describe de noche; en esa lucecita que columbra a lo lejos, conforme va andando por ellos; en ese resonar misterioso de sus pasos bajo las bóvedas; en ese palpitar de su corazón; en esa indefinible congoja que, finalmente, le embarga y le hace pasar - sin saber por qué - una noche inquieto, febril, ensoñador; en todo eso que cuenta Jovellanos, ya están apuntando los síntomas más caracterizados del romanticismo, el morbo de la melancolía y del ensueño.(IX, 1076)

To the melancholy and dream-like quality that Azorín singles out as Romantic characteristics, can also be added the sense of solitude and silence, the night, the religious and the fearful in "claustros" and "palpitar", "congoja" and "febril." These are among the characteristics that Azorín wants to see in Jovellanos. In a 1943 article, now part of A voleo, Azorín categorically states that he wishes to preserve the impression he has of Jovellanos. He refuses to corroborate his feeling with facts. "Hemos transitado mucho sus libros; no queremos abrir ahora ninguno."(IX, 1430) Later on he says even more clearly, "Si hubiera en estos rasgos algún dato inexacto, no nos importaría."(IX, 1430) With this clearly established, he sums up his opinion of Jovellanos's poetic characteristics for the last time. "En la poesía, cuando Jovellanos escribe, domina el sentimiento llo-

roso."(IX, 1430)

Roughly the same basic characteristics are seen by Azorín, in Cadalso's poetry, but again, in a more balanced manner. Azorín, it seems, perceives a more integrated personality in Cadalso, than in Jovellanos. He is able to incorporate Cadalso's Romanticism into his total view of the man as an open being, assimilating and reflecting contrary influences, sorting out, rejecting, and experimenting, according to his own independent, but logical, principles. When he speaks of Cadalso's poetry, for example, he sees much more than el sentimiento lloroso. There is a clear example of this in Leyendo a los poetas.

Cadalso murió trágicamente. Estaba animado de un vivaz espíritu de curiosidad intelectual y de modernidad. Cuando hoy leemos sus poesías, algunas de sus poesías, en nuestra sensibilidad se amalgaman y funden estas dos impresiones del siglo XVIII: la de un tiempo de minué, de cascadas bordadas, de altos peinados blancos, de ironía, de frivolidad, y la de una época en que algo comienza a precisarse y concretarse, y en que unos hombres curiosos hacen experimentos con unas maquinillas misteriosas y extrañas.(VII, 724)

This integrated personality which Azorín perceives is evident in the summary of his life to which Azorín refers, before discussing his poetry. In A voleo Azorín asks, "¿Cómo se nos aparece don José de Cadalso y Vázquez?"(IX, 1206) He then pictures the intellectual, discussing, arguing, explaining to a host of literati during a tertulia literaria. Suddenly, the scene changes to a church, at midnight, and Cadalso is trying to unearth the remains of his beloved for one last look. Again the picture is changed, and Cadalso, unafraid,

heroic, is standing in a plaza in Gibraltar, unmindful of his comrades' warnings of danger, when he is suddenly killed by a bomb. All these portions of Cadalso's life are presented in one paragraph. Azorín sees them not as evidence of a multiple personality, but rather as the logical and understandable series of events in a man open to anything, experimenting with everything.

When Azorín finally arrives at the subject of Cadalso's Romanticism, it is presented from this same view point. It is part, a natural part, of the integrated whole. At first, he simply states, "Literariamente, Cadalso preludia la revolución romántica. Las Noches lúgubres son un anticipo del romanticismo." (IX, 1209) Then he explains further on how Romanticism in Cadalso is just part of the entire picture of the man, a natural consequence of his ego, and could be seen even apart from the usually quoted Noches lúgubres.

Pero aparte de las Noches, la trascendencia de Cadalso estriba, por lo que respecta a la revolución romántica, en que al hacer la crítica de los valores históricos y sociales pone frente a ellos, instintiva y fatalmente, el propio yo. Y esa es toda la vida moderna que el romanticismo, en literatura y en política, ha preparado: la liberación del individuo. Después de Cadalso, Larra afirma su yo bravía y espléndidamente. (IX, 1210)

Finally, Azorín's interest in Jovellanos and Cadalso, motivated principally by his evaluation on their modernity and continuity, is expressed, not only by treating aspects of their works which parallel his interests and problems, but also by using them indirectly when actually writing about his own concerns. In Los Clásicos Redivivos - Los Clásicos Futuros,

for example, there is a chapter entitled "Jovellanos". The chapter, however, is not really about Jovellanos. It is a fantasy, using Jovellanos, his plays, the actors and actresses he knew, as well as some of his acquaintances, in order to expound Azorín's own ideas on the theatre. It is clear that this is the case when, in one of the dialogues, Jovellanos compares certain aspects of his plays to those of Unamuno's. Though Azorín is talking about Jovellanos's El delincuente honrado, the important point made is that " ... ya saben ustedes que para mí el teatro de Unamuno es el verdadero, sólido y efectivo teatro de ahora." (VIII, 78) He uses the rest of the dialogue of this fantasy to propose the idea that the true Spanish theatre is static and extatic, as is Jovellanos's, Cervantes's entremeses, Unamuno's and Lope de Rueda's theatre. The true Spanish theatre is not dynamic like Lope's. "Lope de Vega rompe esa tradición y crea un teatro dinámico. Lope ha sido funesto para la literatura." (VIII, 79) Though he lauds Jovellanos's play, his purpose was basically a discussion of contemporary theatre.

Azorín uses fantasy and Jovellanos again in Sin perder los estribos. There is a dialogue between Saavedra Fajardo and Jovellanos. The dialogue is based on the thoughts of the two authors as expressed in their respective writings. However, the entire point of the chapter is to propose Azorín's own thoughts on the question of whether decadence comes to a nation by destiny, or whether destiny can be controlled by hu-

man actions. A related motive behind the dialogue is to attack degeneracy and falsity in government, implying that this is where decadence begins, not in the heavens. This is clear from the introductory passage to the dialogue in which Azorín speaks of the Elysian Fields, site of the conversation, as if it were a nation.

En fin, que en este país las cosas se dicen sencillamente, y si los individuos opinan una cosa, que es falsa o injusta, y otro solo opina otra, que es verdadera y buena, éste es el que tiene razón y no aquéllos. Lo cual, como sabe el lector, es lo opuesto a todo régimen parlamentario.¹

A final example can be found in Andando y Pensando, Notas de un transeunte. Azorín entitles chapter XIX, "Nación y Humanidad". In this essay Azorín discusses the stupidity of creating national rivalries, especially on the literary level, between two nations, or groups of nations. He asserts that it is even greater folly to attempt this when the groups speak the same language. He is referring, especially, to literary rivalries between Spain and Spanish America. He goes on to explain that one nation is superior to another, not in force, nor in the excellence of its literateurs, but rather in the social and spiritual level of the majority of its people. He further insists that these rivalries and debates indicate human immaturity because they imply that the rivals have forgotten the human ideal.

Por encima de las estrechas miras de una nación debemos colocar siempre un concepto supremo: el concepto de Hu-

¹Azorín, Sin perder los estribos, (Madrid: Taurus, 1958), p. 23.

manidad. En términos generales, cuando se habla, por ejemplo, de las relaciones entre España y América; cuando se intenta definir el deber moral de América respecto a España; cuando se trata de fijar cauces a la modalidad espiritual de América - con los más nobles propósitos, desde luego - se olvida que encima de España y de América existe la Humanidad. (V, 169)

At the end of his discussion Azorín quotes extensively from Jovellanos's Elogio de Carlos III, written in 1789, in which the author makes exactly the same points Azorín does on what constitutes the true grandeur of a nation. After quoting and praising Jovellanos's judgment, Azorín terminates the essay with: "y lo que importa para el noble ideal que se persigue es que entre todos haya, por encima de las fronteras, por encima de los mares, una íntima, profunda, cordial solidaridad." (V, 172)

Azorín presents Cadalso in the same way he presented Jovellanos, or rather, Cadalso by his character of continuity and modernity imposes his presence on Azorín, as Azorín discusses the problems which preoccupy him. Once again, however, because of Cadalso's pragmatic nature, there is less use of fantasy when Azorín speaks of him. Rather, he quotes him as an ultimate authority, as valid today as he was in the eighteenth century.

In Clásicos y Modernos, for example, Azorín includes a chapter on a problem that preoccupied the entire generation of '98, "La Decadencia de España". He states, and generally agrees with, the theory originated by Baltasar Gracián and Saavedra Fajardo in the seventeenth century that Spain's deca-

dence was due to wars and conquests, their cost, the drain of men and talent to the New World that could have been put to better use at home. He says that this theory started a current of opinion on the subject that lasted to the time of his writing the article. This current of opinion was kept alive in the eighteenth century by Jovellanos and his friend Caba-rrús. Cadalso also agrees, according to Azorín, but sees an even deeper cause, a less materialistic cause, for Spain's decadence. It is ignorance - in all its forms, and Azorín prefers this more balanced view.

En el siglo XVIII, Cadalso da, como causas del atraso de España, la ignorancia en que los españoles viven respecto a las ciencias, la falta de curiosidad intelectual, la incuria en fomentar los centros de instrucción, la palabrería hueca y retumbante, las vanas disputas sobre cuestiones de filosofía absurda y grotesca. "Desde el siglo XVI, hemos ido perdiendo los españoles el terreno que algunas otras naciones han adelantado en ciencias y artes." (II, 756-57)

In the "Epílogo en Castilla" of Lecturas Españolas, the same ideas are presented but in a unified fashion, with the various elements combined into one long cause for Spain's decadence.

Causa de la decadencia de España han sido las guerras, la aversión al trabajo, el abandono de la tierra, la falta de curiosidad intelectual; convienen en ello - como habrá visto el lector - Saavedra Fajardo, Gracián, Cadalso, Larra ... (II, 655)

This this is all inevitably linked with Azorín's contemporary preoccupations becomes obvious when on the next page Azorín categorically states, " ... La falta de curiosidad intelectual es la nota dominante en la España presente." (II, 656)

Another of Azorín's preoccupations was France. Azorín was a francophile and during the First World War conducted an intensive journalistic campaign that was eminently pro-French. His attitude persisted and in 1950 he wrote Con Bandera de Francia. In one of the chapters entitled "La Juventud" he attempts to picture objectively French youth, with its faults and virtues, yet, ultimately, good and heroic. He finds Cadalso's "Carta XXIX", from the Cartas marruecas, eminently suitable for his purpose, and quotes from it extensively. He claims that Cadalso had perceived the true situation of French youth and that what was true in 1768 was still true in the twentieth century. It is also possible to read the chapter as an object lesson to Spanish youth, given his previous comments on their lassitude.

This sense of modernity and quality of continuity, then, is the underlying reason for Azorín's extensive interest in both Jovellanos and Cadalso. In facing his own problems and dealing with his own preoccupations, he was able to draw inspiration, authority, and meaning from their lives and writings, which were as pertinent to his time as they were to their own. The facets that most particularly appealed to Azorín or responded to his own inclinations were their beliefs in the humanitarian ideal and their hopes for social progress, and their openness to national and international values. He was especially pleased by Jovellanos's political interests and Cadalso's enlightened view of what constitutes true

patriotism. As a literateur he also saw in the writings of these two figures, especially in their poetry and social liberalism, the beginnings of a Romanticism which was to lead ultimately to Mariano José de Larra, a Romantic especially close to Azorín's heart. In studying both these eighteenth-century authors, Azorín was able to trace ideas, theories, values, and attitudes from the Golden Age, through the eighteenth century, to his own nineteenth and twentieth centuries. To establish this possibility was one of the basic motivating forces behind his investigations of the Spanish cultural past.

CHAPTER VII

OTHER EIGHTEENTH CENTURY WRITERS

Besides the sustained interest that Azorín demonstrated in personalities like Moratín, Feijóo, Isla, Jovellanos, and Cadalso, he treated others who lived and wrote during the eighteenth century. These others, however, he discussed either in passing, or only once, or just by mention. The reasons for this type of treatment are occasionally discernible, and at other times must be ascribed either to chance, or oversight, or to the fact that those whom he considered as major figures more than served his purposes. Among the scores of eighteenth-century writers about whom Azorín has said something, there are a few that he wrote about with enough detail to enable some sort of analysis of either their importance, or Azorín's notion of their importance. The writers to whom he gives a little more than passing mention are Villarroel, Cabarrús, Luzán, Gerardo Lobo and his followers, and Meléndez Valdés.

The first mention of Don Diego de Torres Villarroel occurs in Moratín, esbozo, mentioned earlier in connection with Azorín's view of the eighteenth century in general with

regard to the status of university teaching and the disciplines. It is not difficult to see the attraction that Villarroel held for Azorín, especially during those early, more critical and bombastic years. Azorín felt at ease, and perhaps, even inspired, by the savage critical attitude which Villarroel demonstrated toward institutionalized education. It is here, in Moratín, that Azorín quotes Villarroel extensively, especially passages describing the universities as insane asylums, the students as both vicious and victimized, the disciplines as totally irrelevant.

Ten years later Azorín dedicated a chapter of Clásicos y Modernos to Villarroel. It was occasioned by the publication of Villarroel's autobiography. The attraction is still present. "Merecía el simpático Torres Villarroel ser sacado nuevamente a luz ...; pocos libros tan interesantes y amenos como su autobiografía."(II, 831)

After stating this, Azorín proceeds with a brief summary of Villarroel's picaresque-like travels, and from this draws his chief importance and characteristic. They consist, not in his dizzying changes of place and occupation, but, rather in his "ideas raras, paradojas, salidas agudas y donosuras truculentas que lanzó con su pluma y con su palabra."(II, 832) Azorín views the shock waves caused by Villarroel as due to the rarity or peculiarity of his thinking and not to his picaresque dynamism. As proof of this, he offers as an example Villarroel's Vida natural y

católica, which also bears the subtitle, Medecina segura para mantener menos enferma la organización del cuerpo y asegurar al alma la eterna salud. Azorín states, "Todo Torres Villarroel se halla compendiado en este título y en tal subtítulo."(II, 832)

Azorín explains that the book is a series of ideas, rules, and counsels referring to body and soul in a gross mixture which reflects the intellectual life of both the author and the eighteenth century in which he lived. It is at this point that some reason can be discerned for Azorín's limited treatment of Villarroel, as compared with Feijóo or Cadalso, for example. In discussing the elements of the book, Azorín writes, "Junto a una observación exacta, lúcida, penetrante, encontramos otra francamente grotesca; al lado de un consejo acertado, otro completamente absurdo."(II, 833) Perhaps it was the grotesque and the absurd that kept Azorín from treating Villarroel as extensively as he did other eighteenth century authors.

Nevertheless, when Azorín does write about Villarroel it is from the point of view that he expressed at the beginning of the discussion on his book.

... todo nuestro siglo XVIII - por lo menos en su primera mitad - está representado en el catedrático de Salamanca. Siglo en que a una muchedumbre de prejuicios, de absurdos, de errores groseros, se va mezclando una luz nueva, naciente, de fina, segura y limpiadora crítica.
(II, 832)

With this in mind, Azorín describes some of the counsels and ideas contained in the book, indicating from time to time his

basic agreement. Among the portions chosen for description are: counsels for not criticizing the literary compositions of others; advice for the propriety, elegance, and sobriety of language; satirical criticism of superstition and prejudice; and attacks on the concept of honor.

Azorín ends the chapter with a criticism of Villarroel's primitive concepts of medicine. However, in order to leave a more positive impression on the reading public, Azorín includes in his last paragraph, the following positive ideas as a summary of Villarroel's life and works:

Para terminar: don Diego de Torres Villarroel representa, por sus libros y por sus campañas universitarias, un avance del espíritu crítico, del espíritu de examen, que se inicia a mediados del siglo XVIII y va creciendo hasta el final de dicha centuria. Pero más trascendental, más revolucionaria que su obra intelectual, es otra cosa: su vida misma. Debemos insistir sobre esto al hablar de Torres Villarroel. Hay, sí, extravagancias y modalidades grotescas en la vida de Torres. Pero en la pazguata, rígida, seca, muerta, existencia de la España intelectual y universitaria del siglo XVIII - España de ergotistas y disputadores vacuos -, este hombre pone un gesto de espontaneidad, de inquietud, de nerviosidad, de afán, de sacudimiento, de disconformidad, y esto es lo que hace interesante y permanente su figura. (II, 834)

Another of the figures quoted earlier, in conjunction with the subject of education in the eighteenth century, is Francisco Cabarrús. Azorín dedicates part of a chapter on the Precursors of Costa in Clásicos y Modernos to him. Cabarrús was an intimate friend of Jovellanos, and this may, in part, explain Azorín's and others' comparative neglect of him, since Jovellanos seems to have loomed larger in both history and Azorín's mind. Nevertheless, in treating Cabarrús's

letters to Jovellanos, the subject of this portion of the chapter, Azorín does state that they were written in 1792 and 1793. "Dos años después - en 1795 - publicaba Jovellanos su Informe sobre la ley Agraria. El mismo espíritu de las cartas de Cabarrús alienta en la obra de Jovellanos."(II, 823)

Azorín opens the chapter with a brief biographical outline of Cabarrús. His life in some ways paralleled that of Jovellanos. He was a businessman, a banker, a diplomat, a political appointee, and a noble. He was also persecuted and jailed for two years. He was the type of man that Azorín, especially the Azorín of the earlier period, found most congenial. "Era Francisco Cabarrús hombre de clara inteligencia; amaba apasionadamente el progreso; profesó las más liberales doctrinas."(II, 819) Azorín then explains that his principal ideas were expressed in letters to Jovellanos, and that these letters are collected in a work entitled, Cartas sobre los obstáculos que la Naturaleza, la opinión y las leyes oponen a la felicidad pública.

Azorín sums up the ideological content of the letters with "Francisco Cabarrús anhelaba una transformación completa de la sociedad española."(II, 819) He describes Cabarrús's stand against the nobility, for divorce, and against the inhuman practices of doctors, nurses, and hospitals of the time. He explains that Cabarrús bore in his spirit " ... una innata propensión al pueblo; simpatizaba profundamente con sus dolores."(II, 820) This led him to des-

cribe the pathetic state of the poverty-stricken and the hungry and to rail against the bureaucrats and military who consumed the wealth needed to alleviate the socio-economic situation of the people.

Azorín delights in quoting such passages as "Basta salir a dos leguas de Madrid para retroceder dos siglos."

(II, 821) He then comments with Cabarrús on the cause for these conditions:

Sí; los obstáculos más formidables no son los de la Naturaleza, sino los de la opinión. "Es menester confesar que nuestros males son obra nuestra y no suya." Más que en los agentes físicos, están en la cabeza de los españoles los obstáculos al progreso. El remedio para vencerlos no puede ser más que uno: la instrucción pública. (II, 821-22)

This leads naturally into the extended plea, and proposal, for a practical education, whose strikingly modern tone was discussed previously in the chapter on Azorín's view of the eighteenth century in general. There is so much on the subject of education, as well as all the other topics mentioned by Azorín, that he and Cabarrús agreed on, that the only reasonable explanation for his not treating him again at length is the overwhelming presence of figures like Jovellanos and Cadalso. Another reason that can be adduced is Azorín's subjective approach to his studies, which is tantamount to saying that he neglected Cabarrús because he neglected him, or simply preferred to quote other authorities who for undiscernible reasons touched his sensibilidad more than Cabarrús did.

An excellent example of Azorín's subjective discrimi-

nation is his treatment of don Ignacio de Luzán. He has high praise for him as a critic and as a genuine and knowledgeable francophile - both of which qualities Azorín himself possessed. However, the rest of Luzán's work and attitudes are more or less passed over in silence. For example, when he first mentions Luzán with any detail in El Alma Castellana, he begins with the statement, "Grandes historiadores, grandes críticos, no los hay en el siglo XVIII." (I, 680) Then adding the subjective element, he announces, "No importa tampoco que haya o no grandes críticos; lo que importa es observar la evolución de la crítica." (I, 680) Having thus dismissed much of Luzán, he proceeds to single out the one aspect of his work that he can agree with. He quotes Luzán's statement rejecting the authority of Aristotle as per se binding, and accepting it only when there is no clear reason urging him to a contrary stance.

The next, and last, time Azorín treats Luzán at any length is in Entre España y Francia, (Páginas de un francofilo), and he maintains the same type of approach. He says of Luzán, "Luzán dicta la estética, da los fundamentos a las nuevas generaciones. Y Luzán es apasionado de Francia." (III, 946) He mentions his Poética and states that it is often cited, however, he will speak of Memorias literarias de París, since it is so little known, so useful for facts about France, and, one might add, more congenial in its contents to Azorín's temperament.

In his discussion of Luzán's Memorias literarias de París, Azorín limits himself to an exposition of Luzán's comments on French literature. His commentary on Luzán's comments almost constitutes a series of asides that could be set off by parentheses. For example: "El hombre a quien dedica el autor más atención es Voltaire. Cosa natural, siendo Voltaire el más insigne literato francés en aquel tiempo ... y mucho después."(III, 946) Azorín has actually said more than Luzán did, for all Luzán wrote was, "Al presente ... M. de Voltaire parece que ocupa la primera silla entre los poetas actuales."(III, 946)

The rest of the chapter continues in much the same fashion. If Azorín agrees with Luzán's comments, he adds nothing of his own. If he does not, there is some sort of aside, with or without parentheses. He quotes Luzán on Voltaire's La Henriade, Cartas filosóficas, Cartas sobre los ingleses, Historia de Carlos II, Zadia, and Babouc. His only comment occurs when Luzán says that La Henriade is Voltaire's best work. "(No opinamos así ahora.)"(III, 947) He continues with Luzán's description of the poor reception accorded Voltaire's dramas, Semíramis and Orestes. His only aside consists of, "Lo que el autor dice a este respecto es interesante."(III, 947)

In the concluding paragraphs, Azorín praises Luzán for his criticism of French comedy and tragedy as affected, as well as for his warning that if the trend is not reversed,

true eloquence will become corrupt in France. He disagrees, however, with Luzán's criticism of the Quixote. Luzán laments the destruction of the chivalric novel to which Cervantes contributed, since they preached values that every nation needs. Azorín comments: "(Esta misma idea respecto del Quijote será repetida más tarde por algunos románticos alemanes; idea que hoy, mejor sentida y comprendida la obra de Cervantes, ha sido desechada.)"(III, 948)

A few remarks on Montesquieu's Espíritu de las leyes follow, with no objection from Azorín, who then summarily concludes the chapter with:

En resolución: don Ignacio de Luzán, iniciador de una nueva estética en España, da en sus Memorias literarias de París como la introducción o la explicación de su celebrísima Poética. Y habrá que tener en cuenta este librito al estudiar la influencia de Francia sobre España - tan intensa - en el siglo XVIII.(III, 948-49)

One might easily insinuate from the reading of this chapter that Luzán is not as congenial a writer for Azorín as others from the eighteenth century and that Azorín is even trying to influence the interpretation of the Poética, by using as an introductory or explanatory preface, Luzán's treatment of some of the most liberal French authors.

More congenial to Azorín's literary temperament are those whom he calls Hijos de Gerardo Lobo and Gerardo Lobo himself. He dedicates two chapters of Leyendo a los poetas to them. One is on the hijos, among whom he numbers Moratín, padre and hijo, Iriarte, Mor de Fuentes, Salas, and others whom he does not name. The chapter, however, is on the last

named, don Francisco Gregorio Salas. The other chapter is dedicated to don Eugenio Gerardo Lobo himself.

Azorín begins the chapter on Salas with the statement that "En los finales del siglo XVIII, Salas es uno de los ingenios más simpáticos, pintorescos y atrayentes." (VII, 724) In the course of the chapter Azorín describes the poet's love for the countryside, his extraordinary vocabulary concerning flowers, plants, animals, and anything to do with the country, his mild-mannered temperament manifested in what Azorín calls a cordial aversion for the baroque, his simple, well-regulated, orderly life which he seeks to impose on architecture and his poetic descriptions, and his love for the castizo, manifested by his unusual interest in El Greco and the architecture of Madrid.

It is this last mentioned aspect, Salas's love for lo castizo - his españolismo, which is particularly attractive for Azorín, as it has been in so many other cases. Azorín ends the chapter on this note, betraying clearly where his sympathies lie.

Pero bajo el ansia de regularidad, de orden, de simetría, late el amor inextinguible a lo pintoresco y castizo. Lo pintoresco es lo que domina en la obra del poeta. Obra modesta, sí, pero significativa. No la desdeñemos. En la corriente internacionalista del siglo XVIII, hombres como Salas han sabido mantener el culto a lo genuino español. Hay otros hombres a par de don Francisco; son todos modestos, casi insignificantes; no han llegado al gran público, pero en la labor, sus libros representan un estado de conciencia nacional. En la misma línea de Salas se encuentra, por ejemplo, Mor de Fuentes. Representan toda la tradición española. Y esa tradición - color, desgaire vivo, libertad de expresión y formas, ansia de

lo popular -; esa tradición tiene su más glorioso antecesor en Lope, y luego en el siglo XVIII su más notorio y simpático representante en don Eugenio Gerardo Lobo. Hijos de Gerardo Lobo, tal puede ser la razón social de todos estos ingenios castizos españoles, por debajo de su francesismo aparente.(VII, 727-28)

The chapter on Gerardo Lobo flows naturally from the foregoing, although the two chapters were originally articles written one year apart. The chapter is constructed around Gerardo Lobo's military life. "Don Eugenio Gerardo Lobo es capitán de guardias de Infantería española; ese grado representa el de coronel."(VII, 728) Azorín further explains that don Eugenio "Tiene muchas cosas que hacer. Hace, ante todo, la guerra. Se halla continuamente en campaña. Ha peleado en Cataluña y en Extremadura."(VII, 728)

His qualities of military leadership caused him to be worshipped by his companions and underlings, and also gave him a willing audience for the recitation of poetry, especially, romances, composed between marches and battles. His military career was the occasion for his travelling the length and breadth of Spain and for making him familiar with typical Spanish lodging, food, and customs, especially of the countryside. These experiences were translated into facile and gracious romances, which, in the previous chapter, Azorín intimated, rivaled those of Lope. In the course of the article Azorín quotes seven examples of this type of poetry. The rush of military life also affected the language of his romances.

La vida de campaña no le permite detenerse en finuras y primores. Conoce perfectamente la lengua castellana. El idioma lo ha estudiado - como Quevedo, como Lope - en el habla de labriegos, caminantes, artesanos, soldados. Cuando el poeta, después de una larga marcha militar, llega a un pueblecito, por la noche, en un momento de reposo, antes de acostarse, se pone ante el blanco papel y escribe prestamente la relación de su entrada en el lugar. Las dos o tres narraciones de este género que nos ha dejado don Eugenio pueden figurar al lado de las mejores jácaras de Quevedo y junto a los más pintorescos romances burlescos de Lope. (VII, 730)

Azorín terminates the study of Gerardo Lobo, indicating that "Su poesía es española, popular. Su lengua, castiza, de hondo dejo castellano." (VII, 732) He goes on to say that his poetry represents a transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century and, further, that the color and movement in his lines is something new and transcendental in Spanish poetry. Finally, as with other poets and writers of the eighteenth century, Azorín sees in these very qualities of color and movement the faintest beginnings of Romanticism in Spain. Azorín's final comments are:

Pero el buen don Eugenio Gerardo Lobo, cuando pintaba con vivos colores sus alojamientos, y escribía rápidamente en un estilo castizo y pintoresco, preludiaba ya - desde lejos - esta innovación estética de ahora. Los romances del duque de Rivas vienen de allá, y vienen también la libertad y el movimiento del Don Álvaro, de El Trovador. (VII, 732-33)

The notion that Romanticism begins in the eighteenth century, constantly alluded to by Azorín in various works reaches its peak in the treatment of Meléndez Valdés. For Azorín, Meléndez Valdés is not only a full-blown Romantic, minus the one element of love for the archaic and the distant, but is also a summary and a result of the whole spirit of the

eighteenth century which has so preoccupied him throughout his entire literary career. It is curious, then, that he only devotes two chapters to him, one in De Granada a Castelar, and the other in Leyendo a los poetas. A facile explanation may be that his ideas on the matter are basically quite simple, and once explained, need only be mentioned or alluded to.

Both chapters contain fundamentally the same ideas. Azorín views the old world as coming to an end with the death of Calderón and the passing of the seventeenth century. The eighteenth century witnesses the economic, social and political instability of the nation, as a result of which the critical spirit is born. Everything is analyzed and seen from a new viewpoint. The human and the social assume a new importance as does the individuality, or the yo, of the writer as he witnesses external institutions crumbling before the onslaught of the new critical attitude. It is from the conjunction of all this that Romanticism, and the poetry of Meléndez Valdés, is born. Azorín summarizes these thoughts in the final passage from De Granada a Castelar.

¿Tiene el Romanticismo un origen puramente literario, o es de linaje social, político? La investigación de las antiguas querellas y rebeldías literarias, como antecedentes, nos parece cosa secundaria, de relativo valor, cuando se trata de precisar la génesis del movimiento romántico. Lo esencial es la tendencia humanitaria, salida de la crítica social del siglo XVIII. En ese humanitarismo se encuentra la verdadera génesis del arte romántico. En ese mismo volumen de Meléndez ..., los Discursos forenses, se incluye un estudio sobre la mendigüez. Se ve por ese trabajo la estrecha relación que existe entre todas las asociaciones nacientes de filantropía (relativas a pobres niños, enfermos, huérfanos, etc.) y el nuevo es-

píritu romántico, de exaltación lírica, de melancolía universal, de anhelo generoso y humano. Esas dos tendencias - lirismo, humanitarismo - se funden armoniosamente en Meléndez Valdés -..., y por eso Meléndez es el padre y el iniciador magnífico y espléndido del Romanticismo en España.(IV, 358)

Meléndez Valdés has accomplished all this, according to Azorín, not just thematically, but also in the very language of his poetry. So much so that he could say of him, "Meléndez Valdés inicia la transición en España entre el siglo XVIII y el XIX. De Meléndez Valdés procede toda la poesía moderna española."(VII, 734) His style and vocabulary are of an extraordinary opulence and can be said to have broadened and deepened the Spanish language, having incorporated into it the critical spirit of his century. This enrichment of the language has further established the base on which Romanticism could make its contributions to the language and the literature. Again this is beautifully summarized by Azorín in the final paragraph on Meléndez Valdés in Leyendo a los poetas.

Meléndez Valdés representa en nuestra historia literaria, ese punto delicado, esa rima tenue, en que habiendo acabado un mundo poético, va a surgir otro. Nada puede hacernos ver mejor esta transición nerviosa que el mismo estilo del poeta. Nadie ha puesto en circulación, en su época, tal cantidad de vocablos como Meléndez Valdés; el estilo de Meléndez Valdés puede decirse que ha ensanchado considerablemente el idioma: en su habla ha recogido todo el vibrar del espíritu crítico del siglo XVIII y ha ofrendado a la nueva poesía ... un instrumental necesario, indispensable, para la obra que es preciso realizar.(VII, 736)

Meléndez Valdés, Gerardo Lobo, Salas, Luzán, Cabarrús, and Villarroel, then, are the six personalities from the eigh-

teenth century to whom Azorín ascribes some importance, and for whom he manifests some attraction, though they do not appear through the entire course of his literary production as others do. As a group they do not possess any unifying characteristics other than the obvious. That is to say, they belong to the eighteenth century, Azorín finds them of interest, but treats them more or less scantily. Apart from this they are different and appeal to Azorín for separate reasons.

Villarroel represents the bombastic sarcasm of Azorín's earlier critical period, and appeals to him for that reason as well as for the needed criticism of the universities and status of the disciplines taught there. Cabarrús shares the limelight with Villarroel on the subject of education and for being ultra-liberal. Cabarrús, however, seems more balanced, logical and practical and captures Azorín's attention for that, rather than for the peculiarity of his thoughts or life. Luzán also appeals to Azorín for his critical qualities, but Azorín is extremely selective as to the characteristics which he presents for consideration. He places heavy emphasis on Luzán's role in bringing the French influence to bear on the Spanish eighteenth century and recounts only Luzán's comments on very liberal French authors. Salas and Gerardo Lobo are important to Azorín for their españolismo, their love of the castizo manifested in their poetry. He also presents them as examples of his theory that Romanticism's remotest beginnings must be attributed to the

eighteenth century. More important in poetry, however, than Gerardo Lobo and Salas, is Meléndez Valdés. Azorín sees him as a full Romantic and as the expression of the critical spirit of the century. He also views him as a direct transitional link with the nineteenth century, important to Azorín's theories on continuity, so often expressed in his investigation of the Spanish cultural past.

CHAPTER VIII

SOME REFLECTIONS OF AZORÍN'S INTEREST IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Azorín's manifest interest in the eighteenth century is due in part to his general interest in Spain's past, its reevaluation, and its meaning for the contemporary Spaniard. But, in large measure it is due to the affinity of spirit which he perceives between that century and his own, and between the characteristic preoccupations of the authors he singles out and the problems which he and his generation sought to solve. This becomes especially evident when quotations taken from eighteenth-century authors can easily be imagined as originally written by Azorín himself with reference to problems of twentieth-century Spain. Consequently, there are portions of Azorín's literary production that reflect the spirit of the eighteenth century which so fascinated and delighted him. It is impossible to determine whether these portions of his works influenced his view and choices in the eighteenth-century writings or vice versa. It would be more accurate, probably, to assume that both his treatment of eighteenth-century authors, and his writings on

contemporary problems, are both manifestations or reflections of a basic state of mind.

The fundamental attitude found in Azorín is criticism, both positive and negative. His goal is humanitarian, that is, social, economic, and political progress. In his contributions to the movement toward that goal he examines the status of the nation and its people and government, he discusses the role of the Church, opts for a simpler, and to his mind, truer, expression in literature, and analyzes the value of foreign influences, particularly from France. Although this posture and these preoccupations manifest themselves throughout his career, there is a heavier emphasis on criticism in the earlier period when he was more open and needed to be less prudent. Consequently, examples are easier to find from this period.

La Voluntad and Antonio Azorín, published in 1902 and 1903, respectively, abound in examples of Azorín's critical attitude, which closely parallel what he wrote about the eighteenth century. In the realm of socio-economics, for example, Azorín is aware of eighteenth-century thought on this topic. This is evident from the five page resumé of Cadalso's thoughts given in Lecturas Españolas. Cadalso, and Azorín with him (II, 572ff.), indicates that the socio-economic decadence of Spain in the eighteenth century is due, among other things, to the poor state of education, the sciences, and the arts. The result of this is an ignorant popu-

lace governed by ignorant, selfish men. He proposes as a solution: "Sólo en trabajo y en la ciencia está nuestra redención. Amemos la inteligencia y el trabajo."(II, 575).

The same concerns are found in La Voluntad and Antonio Azorín. In La Voluntad Yuste speaks of the campo and the emigration to urban centers and predicts:

Así, dentro de treinta, cuarenta, cien años, si se quiere, no quedará en el campo más que una masa de hombres ininteligentes, automáticos, incapaces de un trabajo reflexivo, incapaces de aplicar a la tierra nuevos y hábiles cultivos que la hagan producir doblemente, que hagan de la agricultura una industria.(I, 893)

In the same vein, Antonio Azorín, thinking of the people, says:

... todos(hablan), de lo que hacen, de lo que dicen, de lo que piensan los políticos. Ellos no comen, ellos van vestidos con harapos, ellos pasan mil estrecheces; pero ellos admiran profundamente a todos los elocuentísimos oradores que los han traído a la miseria.(I, 961)

In Antonio Azorín, Azorín uses the wanderings of the protagonist, especially in Part III, to comment on the primitive methods used in agriculture, and the abandonment of the campo over and over again, as he passes from one town to another. Some typical examples of his comments are:

Torrijos es el prototipo de los pueblos castellanos muertos. Entre estos hombres del centro, inteligentes y tardos, y los del litoral, vivos y comprensores, hay una distancia enorme ... La agricultura se divide entre el cultivo de los cereales y el del olivo. No hay población rural; nadie vive en el campo. No existen manantiales ni arroyos.(I, 1124-25)

Cuando se les reprocha discretamente su incuria a estos labriegos, se encogen de hombros y contestan "que así se ha hecho toda la vida".(I, 1130)

The role of the Church in Spain is closely allied to

the well-being of the people. Azorín reflects on the attitude of eighteenth-century writers toward religion, comments on them, and assumes the same attitude in the two novelas under discussion.

In Moratín he discusses the afrancesamiento of pious practices during the eighteenth century and the decadent state of pulpit oratory. He has high praise for padre Isla. "¡Qué bien hizo el padre Isla, el famoso padre que llamara Cornelio a Corneille, en traer al orden a toda esta turba gárrula de sacros charlatanes!"(I, 35)

From pious practices Azorín moves to the general state of religion in the eighteenth century. He describes the repressive narrow-mindedness of the Inquisition and the clergy's attitude toward liberals like Godoy:

... aquel ministro "inmoral, irreligioso - palabras del dulce padre Vélez -; débil por naturaleza; por principios, vil; en su palacio, un cínico o un sibarita; en su ministerio, un déspota, un sultán." ¡Que así habla la teocracia de quien no le ayuda en sus planes ambiciosos!(I, 39)

Another explicit reference to religion in the eighteenth century, and one that has occupied almost all the critics, is the number of religious in Spain. Azorín quotes at great length a report on the subject from don Melchor Rafael de Macanaz to Felipe V.(I, 39-40) It is this problem that is most clearly reflected in both the works under consideration. In La Voluntad, (I, 866ff), Antonio Azorín and Justina visit an astounding number, for such a small town, of churches, chapels, and convents during Holy Week. In Antonio Azorín,

(I, 1146), using a favorite device, he gives a statistical breakdown of the number of religious in Spain during various decades of the nineteenth century.

Azorín's general critical attitude toward religion in these two novels roughly parallels eighteenth-century writings. Two quotations will suffice to show his critical frame of reference:

España es un país católico. El catolicismo ha conformado nuestro espíritu. Es pobre nuestro suelo ... el pueblo apenas come; se vive en una ansia perdurable; ... Y todos estos dolores ... estos gestos de resignación van formando en los sombríos pueblos ... un ambiente de postración ... Así nacen y se van perpetuando en un catolicismo hosco, agresivo, intolerante, generaciones y generaciones de españoles. (II, 1145-46)

No hay en España ningún obispo inteligente; yo leo desde años sus pastorales, y puedo asegurar que no he repasado nunca escritos tan vulgares, torpes, desmañados y antipáticos. (I, 920-21)

Nonetheless, Azorín is not purely, even in these early years, an anti-Catholic propagandist. The harshness of his observations are mollified by the presentation of refined and genial clerics such as el padre Lasalde in La Voluntad and of the bishop of Orihuela in Antonio Azorín.

Under the topic of religion, education must also be considered, since it has been principally in the hands of the Church in Spain for centuries. Azorín's familiarity with eighteenth-century authors' ideas on education is seen in his discussions on the subject in Moratín and Clásicos y Modernos (I, 33-37, II, 822-23), when he quotes at length from Villarroel and Cabarrús.

Many similar notions appear in La Voluntad. When first introducing padre Lasalde, he informs the reader that the priest "... trabaja muy finos libros de pedagogía infantil para editores de Suiza y Alemania."(I, 868) He then describes the priest's pedagogical practices:

A los niños el padre Lasalde los trata con delicadeza, con una delicadeza tan enérgica en el fondo, que les pone respeto y hace inútiles los castigos violentos. El los disuade de sus instintos malos hablándoles, uno por uno, bajito y como de cosas que sólo a ellos dos les importaran; él los halaga cuando ve en ellos una vislumbre de generosidad y de nobleza. Y no grita, no amenaza, no aterra; anda silenciosamente por los dormitorios durante la noche; se fija cuidadosamente en la sala de estudio en cómo trabaja cada uno; los observa y estudia sus juegos cuando retozan por el patio.(I, 868-69)

Negative criticism of the schools is manifested in La Voluntad in the famous passage in which Azorín speaks of the hombre - voluntad and lays the blame for his abulia on his clerical education.(I, 966) In the second letter of the epilogue, Azorín relates the destruction of a town in terms of the impractical education received from the Escolapios.(I, 985) In Antonio Azorín the criticism is even more indirect. It is found in Pascual Verdú's letter to Azorín. He claims that he was not granted a prize at the University because his essay asserted that the expulsion of the moriscos was a mistake and a crime.(I, 1053)

Parallel sentiments between the eighteenth century and the twentieth century, as treated in these two novels are in evidence not only when treating of the public domain of religion, education, and socio-economics, but also in several of

Azorín's more personal characteristics. The first characteristic which clearly reflects his admiration for the qualities of the eighteenth century is his intellectual curiosity. In La Voluntad he paints the following picture of Antonio Azorín:

Azorín va y viene de su cuarto a la biblioteca. Y esta ocupación es plausible. Azorín lee en pintoresco revoltijo novelas, sociología, crítica, viajes, historia, teatro, teología, versos. Y esto es doblemente laudable. El no tiene criterio fijo: lo ama todo, lo busca todo. Es un espíritu ávido y curioso; y en esta soledad de la vida provinciana, su pasión es la lectura y su único trato el trato del maestro. Yuste va insensiblemente moldeando este espíritu sobre el suyo. En el fondo, no cabe duda que los dos son espíritus avanzados, progresivos, radicales. (I, 832)

Flowing from and joined to his intellectual curiosity is the denunciation of passivity and inertia. Echoes of the eighteenth century's critics' call to action are easily perceived in this passage from La Voluntad:

¡El reinado de la Justicia no puede venir por una inercia y una pasividad suicidas! Contemplar inertes como las iniquidades se cometen, es una inmoralidad enorme. ¿Por qué hemos de sufrir resignados que la violencia se cometa, y no hemos de destruirla con otra violencia que impedirá que la iniquidad siga cometiéndose?(I, 851)

The external source for both intellectual curiosity and the calls to action seems to be France, as far as Azorín is concerned, for both the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. Azorín's attitude toward France is the same whether speaking of Moratín and the eighteenth century, or Antonio Azorín and the twentieth century. In Moratín he writes:

La mudanza de casas reinantes es la principal causa de que se verifique más rápidamente esta evolución de nuestra idiosincracia nacional. Porque con ser francesa la nueva

dinastía, y ser Francia el país que inicia la revolución intelectual, hace que recibamos más directamente y mejor los gérmenes de la nueva vida. Grande fue la influencia francesa durante los reinados de Felipe V, Fernando VI y Carlos III, tres reyes que en vano se esforzaron por hacer entrar a España en el camino del progreso. (I, 33)

In Antonio Azorín, a more succinct passage reveals the same basic orientation toward France. "Y voy a hacer un viaje largo: me marchó a una ciudad fébril y turbulenta, donde el ruido de las muchedumbres y el hervor de las ideas apaguen mi soliloquio interno. Y esta ciudad es París." (I, 1103)

La Voluntad and Antonio Azorín are the two works in which practically every aspect of Azorín's sentiments parallel to the eighteenth century are present, scattered throughout the novels in a deliberately disorganized fashion. However, they do not represent the only example of this in Azorín's prose fiction. In less volume, and slightly more organized, the same thing occurs in Don Juan published some twenty years after these two early novels.

Azorín begins early in Don Juan to include things reminiscent of La Voluntad, Antonio Azorín, and the spirit and writings of the eighteenth century. In Chapter IV, for example, he quotes the census of 1787, with major emphasis on the statistics concerning the number and types of religious in a small provincial capital. (IV, 222-23) Chapter XIV is the occasion for a discussion on poverty and malnutrition in rural areas with the blame laid to primitive agricultural notions. Two chapters later Azorín describes a progressive school teacher who imparts learning through practical expe-

riences - visiting shops, open air study of nature - and who is concerned that the children have happy memories of their early years with him.

Chapters Eighteen through Twenty raise the now familiar questions of Azorín's early period, namely those concerning anarchy, justice, and law. There is severe criticism of social irresponsibility in general, and the condition of orphanages in particular. Azorín presents a governor who cares and has a sense of responsibility and loses his position because of the tumult his concern caused.

Towards the end of the novel, Azorín takes the opportunity to praise Paris in Chapter XVII and to return to social criticism in the touching and poignant vignette presented in Chapter XXXII, "El Niño Descalzo". "¿Son las iniquidades que cometen los hombres con los niños lo que lleva sobre sus espaldas este niño?"(IV, 263)

That which can be found in general scattered throughout this prose fiction of the earlier periods, can also be found in greater detail and with more organization and clarity in many of Azorín's essays or articles. Again the heaviest concentration occurs in the earlier periods. However, these reflections or parallelisms are present even in the later publications or re-issues. Some of the clearest examples are contained in works dealing with the topics of social satire and criticism., religion, and France.

In the realm of satire and criticism the best early

examples are Buscapiés and Anarquistas literarios, published in 1894 and 1895 respectively. Buscapiés is a series of articles written in an extremely satirical fashion attacking the general state of decadence in many things. Anarquistas literarios, especially Part II, consists of criticism, in the manner of the eighteenth century, of the entire gamut of Spanish life.¹

Azorín often attacks the frivolity and lack of purpose in Spanish youth, as was often done in the eighteenth century. In the 1896 folleto, Literatura, for example, he treats a number of writers, more or less his contemporaries. He judges them by his own social and literary ideals, and then criticizes the rest of their generation when he writes:

... Esto son excepciones que confirman la regla general. La juventud española es frívola, superficial; no toma en serio el arte, ni el derecho, ni las grandes cuestiones de la vida. Su ideal es la política, no entendida en el sentido de "arte de gobernar", sino en el de "arte de engañar". Halla sus placeres en el café; abusa del tabaco y del alcohol; lleva al dedillo la estadística de las casas del partido. No tiene fe en la marcha progresiva de la Humanidad; no comprende el sacrificio por el prójimo presente ... o futuro. Encuentra más gusto en el trato de un causeur que en el de un filósofo. No cree.

¡Qué tristeza! (I, 228)

In Los pueblos, Ensayos sobre la vida provinciana, Azorín returns to the theme of poverty, economic and social decadence, ignorance in general, and of modern agricultural

¹Both these works have been covered rather fully by Dr. James Abbott and Dr. Edward Fox, both of whose works are listed in the bibliography section of this dissertation. Rather than duplicate their research, I wished merely to indicate the general contents of Buscapiés and Anarquistas literarios, and point them out as examples of the topic under discussion.

techniques in particular. In discussing the problems of Lebrija in Andalucía, he pictures the people as willing to work, but as ignorant as to where to turn for help, hampered on all sides by the inefficiency, unconcern, and the mounds of official paper work of official bureaucrats. He uses again the device of statistics to emphasize his point.(II, 209) After thoroughly describing the poverty of Lebrija, he issues a warning to the politicians.

Ya están cansados los buenos labriegos de Lebrija; ya están cansados los labriegos de toda Andalucía; ya están cansados los labriegos, los obreros, los comerciantes, los industriales de toda España. Ya estamos cansados los que movemos la pluma para pedir un poco de sinceridad, de buena fe, de amor, de reflexión a los hombres que nos gobiernan. ¿Qué va a venir después de este cansancio?

¿No es ésta una interrogación formidable?(II, 216)

To reenforce his argument, Azorín uses the next chapter to describe the inroads of tuberculosis all over Spain due to poverty and its consequent malnutrition. He then ends the work using the old philosopher of Arcos to blame the misery of the people on the government.(II, 225)

In Clásicos y Modernos, Azorín includes a chapter entitled "La Conquista de España". It was occasioned by a talk given to the Geographical Society by a fellow journalist, Blanco Belmonte, on an unknown and totally underdeveloped region of Spain called las Jurdes, situated between the provinces of Salamanca and Cáceres. The righteous anger that Azorín feels, as he discusses the physical and psychological damage done to the inhabitants of las Jurdes by centuries of neglect and misery, causes him to appeal to the Spaniards to

observe Spain and try to correct its faults.

Volvamos los ojos a España. Lo han dicho y lo han clamado literatos, sociólogos, publicistas, parlamentarios, gobernantes de todos los partidos: urge que emprendamos la conquista de España. Necesita España caminos, canales, laboratorios, escuelas primarias, escuelas normales, escuelas de artes e industrias, museos, puertos, barrios obreros, casas sanas, transportes baratos, higienización urbana, luz a buen precio, lumbre en todos los hogares, pan en todos los hogares.(II, 799)

He goes on to criticize poor roads, poor postal services, and primitive agricultural methods. "A la sequedad de la tierra se une la ignorancia de los propios labriegos."(II, 799)

The parallelism between these paragraphs and similar writings in the eighteenth century is obvious. Fortunately, Azorín himself indicates that he sees the relationship by mentioning Jovellanos in the same paragraph and by urging educational reforms in language reminiscent of Villarroel, Cadalso, and Cabarrús.

Como hacía notar Jovellanos, a fines del siglo XVIII, son muchos los labradores que creen que el riego debilita las tierras. Necesitaríase vencer los obstáculos de la Naturaleza y los prejuicios seculares del hombre. En la escuela primaria es donde ha de realizarse esa labor. Pero no hay escuelas en España; faltan aún en la misma capital de la nación. En multitud de pueblos son las escuelas hediondas zahurdas, sin luz y sin aire. Corresponde la enseñanza superior a la ineficacia y mezquindad de la elemental.(II, 799)

He further states that the universities have not dedicated themselves to the formation of a studious, reflective, and independent youth. "... palabrería vacua e inagctable es lo que generalmente constituye la base de nuestra pedagogía oficial."(II, 799)

To conclude the chapter, Azorín recounts the miseries

of the people, gives statistics on the desertion of the provinces, and issues once more the call to reform.

Urge que conquistemos a España. La grandeza o pequeñez de las naciones no importa nada. Lo importante es que estén bien gobernadas. Lo dijo en pleno siglo XVII, Saavedra Fajardo: "Más vale gobernar bien que ampliar el Imperio."(II, 801)

Azorín reveals the same basic attitudes, not only when discussing issues, problems, conditions, institutions, but also when treating personalities. The reason for his attraction for people like Larra, for instance, is that Larra moves in the same spheres of sensibility and concern, expressed in criticism, in which Azorín and many major figures of the eighteenth century moved. In Azorín's 1916 work, Rivas y Larra, Razón social de Romanticismo en España, for example, a large portion of the work is dedicated to Larra's critical view of the Spain of his time.

He characterizes Larra himself as a rebellious spirit, admiring in him the originality and simplicity of purpose which he strove for himself and which he also perceived in many eighteenth century personalities.

Para nosotros, Larra, el fondo de Larra, la esencia de Larra, es un espíritu de rebeldía. Educado fuera de España, siente violentamente el choque con las cosas de España. Quiere siempre otra cosa; se halla siempre en pugna con la realidad. ... Ese es el espíritu de Larra; y de ahí su inquietud, su febrilidad ... y lo difícil que debiera de ser en el trato particular, siendo, como era, un hombre bondadoso y humano.(III, 518)

The conclusion of the study consists of a single paragraph to which Azorín gives the title "¿Adónde hubiera llegado Larra?" It is of particular interest because Azorín paints a

picture of a Larra that would have turned out very much like himself. It is one more indication that Azorín sees only what he wants to see, that his studies and investigations are motivated primarily by his own inclinations and interests, and that mutual influences flow only after the first sympathetic vibration is sensed by Azorín himself. He begins this paragraph by stating that Larra saw horizons of which his contemporaries barely got a glimpse. He expresses the opinion that Larra died because his dream of a better world was not fulfilled quickly enough. It is at this point that Azorín muses as to what Larra would have become, if he had lived, drawing what can easily be considered a curious self-portrait.

... la vida, la experiencia de la vida, las satisfacciones y los trabajos de la vida, hubieran ido seguramente puliendo todo lo que había en él de violento y agresivo. Le esencia de rebelión no hubiera desaparecido; pero esa íntima y profunda no conformidad hubiera tomado formas más humanas y suaves. De la consideración de las formas, Larra hubiera llegado más adentro de donde llegé en el sentido profundo de las cosas. Larra gustaba de la novela y del teatro; acaso en estos géneros (en el primero sobre todo) Larra hubiera podido espaciar su sensibilidad ... (III, 520-21)

Azorín, very much like the Larra he wished could have developed, continues basically in his critical attitude, but less violent, more human. He is motivated by the humanitarian ideal and the hope for social progress throughout his career, continuing to be attracted by the progressive qualities of the eighteenth century, and constantly commenting on every aspect that touches the human race - politics, literature, religion, progress.

Religion, more than a separate subject, is an integral part of the social concerns manifested by Azorín, since the Church is so enmeshed in the total life of the Spanish nation. Azorín's most negatively critical period toward the Church occurs in his early years - in discussions on the disproportionate number of religious, the attempts to establish a theocracy, the inhibiting attitudes of the clergy. At the same time, even during the earlier periods of his writings, Azorín tries to present a somewhat objective view by the presentation of genial, intelligent, and somewhat liberal clerics. This latter aspect comes to dominate his work, particularly after 1920. There is an implicit criticism even in this attitude, however, since what Azorín is insinuating is that he would prefer all clerics to operate in this manner. Parallel attitudes in the eighteenth century are obvious. Feijóo and Isla, for example, are in themselves examples of refined, genial and dedicated clerics. In their works they attack the abuses of religion and try to present what the ideal status of true religion should be. Fray Gerundio is not a rejection of oratory, but a denunciation of frivolous preaching. Feijóo rejects superstition, not faith, and tries to reconcile the demands of faith with the demands of reason. These were ends which Azorín pursued in his own time.

There is an article, originally written in 1904, included as a chapter entitled "La Tradición" in the 1920 publication of Fantasías y Devaneos, (Política, Literatura, Na-

turalaleza), indicating the persistence of the negative until at least that year. The chapter is constructed around a dialogue between a señor Vázquez de Mella, a conservative politician intimately involved in the negotiations for a concordat with the Vatican, and a young visitor who wishes to join the side of the traditionalists. The young traditionalist visitor, however, in expounding his views, indicates that the true Spanish tradition consists in resisting the encroaching attempts at usurpation which have emanated from Rome through the centuries.

Al llegar a este punto, el fervoroso neófito disponíase a seguir aduciendo datos y textos. "Esta es nuestra tradición gloriosa, castiza, innegable - pensaba haber dicho, como obligado corolario a su discurso -. ¿Quién la sigue? - hubiera preguntado también-. ¿Quién sigue esta tradición, fundada por insignes teólogos y prelados españoles? ¿Los que se tienen por conservadores y tradicionalistas, o los que se llaman revolucionarios?" (IV, 56)

The young visitor is courteously shown to the door.

The attitude which is to dominate, however, is seen in the presentation of don Jacinto Bejarano Galavis y Nidcs in Un pueblecito Ríofrío de Avila. He is eminently the type of cleric Azorín prefers. He is humane, balanced, non-dogmatic, somewhat liberal, and possessed of an insatiable intellectual curiosity. He also lived during the eighteenth century. The chapters on Bejarano are occasioned by Azorín's comments on a book bought at a book fair.

El volumen que hemos encontrado en la feria se titula: Sentimientos patrióticos o conversaciones cristianas que un cura de aldea, verdadero amigo del país, inspira a

sus feligreses. Se tienen los coloquios al fuego de la chimenea, en las noches de invierno. Los interlocutores son el cura, cirujano, sacristán, procurador y el tío Cacharro. La obra consta de dos tomos; los dos están impresos en el mismo año (1791) y en Madrid. Es autor del libro don Jacinto Bejarano Galavis y Nidcs. (III, 535)

Azorín uses Bejarano's book to expound his own ideas on bull-fights, rural poverty and disease, the struggle for social progress, simplicity in literary style, appreciation of the beauties of nature, and the beginnings of romanticism in the eighteenth century. (III, 535ff) In short, it is a brief summary of the more important, and now familiar, ideas of Azorín which parallel similar notions in the eighteenth century -- Feijóo and social progress, Moratín and simplicity of style, Valdés and the beauties of nature and the beginnings of romanticism.

Indicative of the tendency to emphasize only the positive in religious matters, is the return to the appealing character of el padre Carlos Lasalde, first introduced in La Voluntad, in a 1941 article included in A voleo, and in a 1946 article included in In hoc signo. "Hombre eminente éste, a quien recuerdo siempre con emoción. ... Le veo ahora, a la distancia de sesenta años ... "(IX, 1221). Even the comparison of this rector of the Colegio he attended, with his successors, shows Azorín's more humane view of the clergy. "Hubo después, durante mi internado, otros rectores: el padre Angel V. Alonso, dulcemente inquisitivo, amigo de investigar la verdad sin violencia, y el padre Francisco Miranda, un poquitién sarcástico, de inteligencia viva." (VIII, 1130)

The change in emphasis in his attitude toward the clerical education he received is particularly noticeable when he says, "Si se pide mi experiencia personal la resumiré en dos palabras: cordialidad, llaneza." (VIII, 1132) Passed over in silence are the earlier impressions recorded in La Voluntad and Antonio Azorín concerning his abulia in the famous paragraphs on el hombre-voluntad. All he wants to remember, or wants to discuss, are the benefits received from his education at the hands of the clergy. It probably also represents an exercise of prudence while living under the pro-Catholic Franco regime.

Again, however, this is not a change of attitude. It is a shift of emphasis to an aspect already present in his works, even in the early period. It is the same concentration on the positive, on the constructive, with which he approached not only religion, but most topics, when treating them in both the eighteenth and his own century.

One point on which Azorín did not change was his attitude toward France. He remained a francophile who maintained his españolismo intact. He held himself in a receptive and even admiring frame of mind, while condemning a false afrancesamiento. In this he was very much like el padre Isla, and even continued Isla's practice of hispanizing French proper names while treating the persons, institutions or things they stood for with consummate respect.

This dual, yet harmonious, stance with regard to

France and French influences is apparent from the very beginning of his literary career. In Moratín (I, 33-35) he both praises the role of France in initiating the intellectual revolution of the eighteenth century, and condemns the afrancesamiento of social customs, language, religion, and oratory.

France represents for Azorín the external source for the call to arms in the struggle to achieve the humanitarian ideal.¹ It appeals to him because he sees there the practical application of his own ideas and ideals - intellectual curiosity and ferment, freedom, concern, and constant exchange of ideas. He sees there what he would like to see in Spain. Once this basic sympathy of spirit is established, Azorín then leaves himself open to the various currents emanating from across the Pyrenees. Furthermore, he views the role of France as similar in both the eighteenth and twentieth centuries.

The notion that France is the center of intellectual ferment, the source of inspiration, appears in La Voluntad and Antonio Azorín in somewhat embryonic form. In the early folleto, Charivari, it is expressed even more clearly and with greater detail.

Hay en Francia ... un movimiento intelectual asombroso. Como Roma fue en otro tiempo la capital espiritual del mundo, el centro donde convergían las ideas, los efectos de toda la Humanidad, París es hoy la capital del orbe, la tierra donde germinan y florecen las ideas que han de servir de pasto a todos los cerebros(I, 285).

¹For a fuller treatment of all that France means to Azorín, consult: James H. Abbott, "Azorín and France", (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation), U.C.L.A. 1958.

Azorín goes on to say that " ... escribir en París es hablar para todo el mundo, ser escuchado de todos." (I, 285) The reason for this is that the intellectual movement expresses itself in an incredible number of publications: " ... en libros, un torrente de libros, elegantes, correctos, que inunda los mercados; en revistas, en folletos, en conferencias." (I, 285) Then he makes the comparison between Spain and France.

Los que material e intelectualmente viven enterrados en esta monarquía de borregos, país de Fray Gerundios y Buscones; los que ni siquiera por curiosidad se han asomado al mundo literario y científico de París, no pueden formarse idea de la actividad cerebral allí desarrollada. (I, 285)

That the position of France with regard to the renovation of Spanish intellectual life is similar in both the eighteenth and twentieth centuries is clearly discussed in the chapter on the generation of '98 in Clásicos y Modernos. Azorín states that this generation represents a renaissance of Spanish letters, but defines renaissance as the fecundation of national thought by external or foreign influences. He further insists that⁴ this has always been the case in Spanish literary history.

La vida intelectual de un pueblo necesita una excitación extraña que la fecunde. Si se repasa nuestra historia literaria, se verá que los momentos en que nuestros literatos y pensadores han estado en comunión con pensadores y literatos de otros países, son precisamente los momentos de máxima vitalidad en nuestras letras. Señalemos los que, a nuestro juicio, son los principales entre esos instantes; mejor diremos casi los únicos; únicos, al menos, en la Edad Moderna. 1600, 1760, 1830: ... (II, 909)

Sixteen hundred represents the epoch of Italian influ-

ence, but 1760 and 1830 belong to France. He states here that the French influence came in the form of "diminutas revistas"(II, 910), which found their way into every corner of Spain, especially to Oviedo and the cell of Feijóo. " ... se desparraman luego, en espíritu, desleídos, triturados, por otros cuadernos, por otras revistas, por otros libros."(II, 910) This is what caused and fed the avid curiosity manifest in the eighteenth century, as well as the critical spirit. "El impulso ha venido de fuera; lo han dado esos libros y esas revistas que saltan la frontera y se esperan por las viejas ciudades."(II, 910)

After a similar paragraph on the French influence during the nineteenth century, he writes, "En 1898 observamos idéntico hecho. Las influencias ahora son más complejas;" (II, 910). Azorín affirms that the renaissance of letters produced by the generation of '98 is principally brought about by foreign influences, among them of course, the French.

In the 1965 collection of past articles, Ni sí, ni no, Azorín included a 1917 article which summarizes this aspect of his attitude toward France. The fact that he allowed the article to be reprinted indicates no change in his basic notions over the whole course of his literary production. The paragraph dealing with France's influence in the eighteenth century, could just as easily be interpreted in reference to this century.

España se pone más íntimamente en contacto con los otros países. O todavía más exactamente: España, que antes

era poderosa, va dejando de serlo, y al dejar de serlo, sufre la influencia extranjera de modo más intenso y pasivo. Francia, especialmente, subyuga a España. Francia es un foco radiante en Europa de libertad y de pensar espontáneo. Los literatos y pensadores españoles consideran la decadencia de España, las causas de la decadencia, el origen de la decadencia, e instintivamente, fatalmente, después de poner los ojos en nuestro pasado los tornan al luminoso foco de Francia. Todo se completa y contribuye a hacer más extensa y compacta la influencia francesa: puesto que si en la región de las especulaciones filosóficas sucede esto, las altas clases de la sociedad, la aristocracia, extiende con las modas, las maneras, los hábitos del vivir, la simpatía por Francia y la imitación de las cosas francesas.

Azorín's investigation and knowledge of eighteenth-century Spanish authors, then, is reflected in other writings of his, principally those dealing with contemporary problems. However, perhaps, it is even more accurate to state that Azorín possessed a basic frame of mind, a fundamental attitude toward the problems of mankind, and that from this unique stance he investigated Spain's past and present. In doing so, he found - or even sought out in the eighteenth century attitudes strikingly parallel to his own, caused by a situation in Spain that was similar in both centuries. That is to say, in both instances he saw a general state of decadence which created a host of problems requiring radical and immediate attention, recognized by a select group of men, superior to the general mediocrity surrounding them. It was this that dictated both his selection of reading material from the eighteenth century and that caused him to write for so long, in detail and repeatedly about socio-economics, religion,

¹Azorín, Ni sí, ni no, (Barcelona: Destino, 1965), p. 26

education, and the value of foreign influences.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

Azorín's interest in the eighteenth century is manifest simply from a perusal of the titles and chapter headings of his extensive literary production. An investigation of this material in conjunction with the rest of his works reveals that his interest is partially objective, but principally subjective. It is objective in that it constitutes part of his study of Spain's literary past, whose purpose is to reevaluate, propagate, and find meaning in the Spanish cultural heritage. The motive in itself introduces a subjective element, reevaluation, to which can be added numerous similar personal determinants.

One important factor is Azorín's approach to literature and his view of literary influence. He believes that influences can neither be defined or avoided, that they are important, but do not constitute the ultimate in the scale of literary values. Nor does he consider scholarly objectivity, absolute historicity, of any greater worth. What is essential for him is that a writer touch the core of his

sensibilidad, inspiring the sources of creativity and originality, so that a past, and possibly dead or moribund, work comes to life again, with even greater meaning for the contemporary reader than it had in its own time. With this semi-philosophical basis used as the framework of his approach to literature, Azorín becomes extremely selective in his choice of reading material. He reads, or at least only writes about those things which appeal to him, for which he feels a prior sympathy, an already existent interest. A study of his works, furthermore, shows that this interest is aroused primarily by writers or writings that found themselves in situations similar to his own, facing the same problems, offering and seeking like solutions.

It is for these reasons that the eighteenth century, generally speaking, holds a special attraction for him. In his haphazard exploration of that century's literary production, he found expressed a humanitarian ideal, a hope for social and economic progress within the framework of a stable, but liberal and concerned political system. He read critical attacks on all the inhibiting factors contributing to a general state of decadence - poor schools and consequent ideological and technological ignorance, and a church with a repressive psychological, social, and moral system. As he investigated, he discovered a small nucleus of writers, Moratín, Isla, Feijóo, Jovellanos, Cadalso, Luzán, Cabarrús, Villarroel, Gerardo Lobo, Meléndez Valdés, Salas, and others, literateurs,

clerics, politicians, and scholars, who rose above the general mediocrity of the epoch. Open to the fruitful experience of outside influence, they began a reform movement which brought a ray of hope to a dismal century.

Concomitant with his readings of the eighteenth century, Azorín was engaged in the problems of his own time. He did not fail to see the unique parallelism existing between the two centuries, which, of course, further increased his interest and his selectivity with regard to eighteenth-century writers and their writings. Azorín perceived in both centuries politico-socio-economic and cultural retrogression. He saw groups of men in the two eras, superior to the mediocrity about them, who preached a reform movement which involved education, the sciences, liberalization of Church and government, and openness to foreign influences as the principal means for achieving their goals. He witnessed the beginnings of a renaissance in both centuries not only in the social, but in the cultural as well. Because of his perception of this parallelism between the two centuries, he began to use the eighteenth century as an inspiration and as a call to arms for reform. He quoted eighteenth-century authors as authorities on twentieth-century subjects, seeing them as meaningful, and even more meaningful, for today as they were in their own time. He even perceived a cause-effect, or evolutionary relationship between the two centuries, claiming that seeds planted in that era were only now begin-

ning to bear fruit. Motivated by this mutual reflection of himself, his generation, and his century, in the eighteenth century, he explored at some length and with some detail certain aspects of Moratín, Isla, Feijóo, Jovellanos, and Cadalso.

Moratín interested him principally as an outstanding neo-classical dramatist in an age when imitation of the classical was superficial, slavish, and uninspired. He was, in other words, a superior figure. This superiority also manifested itself in an afrancesamiento that was open and genuine, and that left intact a love for things Spanish, lo castizo. Azorín also considered Moratín had taken a progressive step forward in language and drama from the obscurity and pomposity of the baroque a century earlier. Nevertheless, Azorín ultimately parted with Moratín, seeing his drama as dated, and without meaning for the contemporary period. His original interest and extensive treatment of Moratín, then, may have been motivated by the notion that Moratín's reaction to the baroque, roughly paralleled the twentieth-century dramatists' reaction to the pomposity of the nineteenth century as embodied in personalities like Echegaray. Whatever the case may have been, he did not see any transcendental values in Moratín when he last wrote about him.

Isla and Feijóo, on the other hand, are far more congenial to Azorín. Their interests are broader, especially Feijóo's, and intellectual curiosity coupled with a critical

sense are values high in Azorín's estimation. Furthermore, they are priests, and the type of priest for whom Azorín shows a marked preference - intelligent, active, open, somewhat liberal, and concerned for this world as well as the next. Their most valued characteristic, however, is their transcendent quality. Azorín sees in them that mark of continuity, that meaningfulness for the present as well as the past which launched him on his investigations in the first place. They also serve him in that they represent the foundation and beginning in one of his favorite literary theories, namely, that Romanticism has its origins more in the eighteenth century, than in the nineteenth. Finally, he perceives in these two priests that receptivity to foreign, especially French, influences, without distaste for the national, which at times seems a most sensitive point in Azorín.

Jovellanos and Cadalso appeal to Azorín for the same general reasons that Feijóo and Isla do. They, too, are led by the humanitarian ideal and the hope for social progress, and he sees their preoccupations and proffered solutions as valid in the twentieth century as they were in the eighteenth. Their general ideals, moreover, found utilitarian expression in the struggle for political and socio-economic reforms. That Azorín was impressed by these particular ideas, being faced with the same situation, is obvious from the striking similarity of Azorín's La Voluntad and Antonio Azorín to Jovellanos's concepts and proposals on agrarian re-

form. They also further served in corroborating Azorín's notion that Romanticism appeared in Spain much earlier than the staging of Hernani in Paris in 1830.

Besides these five figures whom Azorín considered major and to whom he devoted a major portion of his comments on the eighteenth century, there are others whom he treated in less detail and length, and for particular, selective qualities that touched his sensibilidad. Villarroel, for example, is discussed for the rarity of his thought, which at times bordered on the absurd, but who very clearly attacked the decadent state of the universities, teaching, and the sciences. In this context Azorín also treated Cabarrús who placed more emphasis on the need for utilitarian reforms, especially in elementary education, a problem which Azorín's generation also sought to solve. Azorín, however, manifests his most selective tendencies when presenting Luzán. Recognizing the importance of Luzán's Poética for the literary world, Azorín seems to try to influence its interpretation by presenting Luzán as a genuine, open afrancesado, very familiar with, and often in agreement with the most liberal French authors of the Enlightenment. Since the only things Azorín could agree with in Luzán's work were his slight departure from the authority of Aristotle, his criticisms of affected neo-classicism, and his genuine afrancesamiento, these are the only aspects that he discusses. Also belonging more to the sphere of the literary than the social, are three

other writers whom Azorín treats - Gerardo Lobo, Salas, and Meléndez Valdés. Their importance to him is seen in his discussions on their language and tendencies. He sees once again the beginnings of Romanticism here, and in Meléndez Valdés the full corroboration of his theory. But, perhaps, more important to him were their broadening of the language, their simplification and clarification of style, and their emphasis on things Spanish. All these characteristics were being attempted by Azorín's generation as well, and the parallelism was very obvious to him.

Since Azorín was writing and studying from a basic frame of mind that sought out those aspects with which he agreed or was concerned, it naturally follows that those portions of his literary production not directly dealing with the eighteenth century will be very similar to those treating that century. It is possible to describe this phenomenon as reflections, because the aspects he sought out and studied were truly reflected, and even used as authorities, in works dealing with twentieth-century problems. However, it is probably even more accurate to say that both the portions dealing with the eighteenth century and the portions dealing with the twentieth century are reflections of Azorín's personal inclinations, attitudes, concerns, and hopes. This seems to be the only reasonable explanation for the astonishing parallelism between the two centuries found in Azorín's works. It is a parallelism, in part objective, in that it

really exists, and in part subjective, in that Azorín imposed it by his selectivity and subjectivity in the choice of reading material. That is why in the following passage, which can be considered a form of summary of Azorín's view of the eighteenth century and some of its major figures, it is possible to substitute XX for XVIII, and Baroja, Unamuno, Benavente, Ortega for Feijóo, Isla, Moratín, Cadalso and still have it read as an authentic and representative passage from the works of Azorín. It is taken from A voleo.

En los más grandes ingenios de esa centuria se da el fenómeno de una crítica de las cosas españolas aliada a un amor a las cosas de fuera. Se abomina de las corruptelas y vicios españoles; se tiene una viva simpatía por lo extranjero. Pero aun conviniendo todos en un cambio, en una reforma, en una modificación, no se llega a prescindir de lo que es la esencia del genio y de la historia de España. Así Feijóo, así Isla, así Moratín, así Cadalso. No procedamos ligeramente, tachando de extranjerizados a los escritores del siglo XVIII. ¿Habría nadie que refleje mejor que Moratín la realidad nacional, o mejor que Isla, o mejor que Cadalso? Sin embargo, todos convergen en la crítica dura, minuciosa, áspera de las costumbres y prejuicios españoles. (IX, 1207)

Azorín's writings represent not only his reasons for a sustained interest in the eighteenth century, but also explain, in part at least, one facet of Azorín's own political, social, religious and literary attitudes. Through his comments on the eighteenth century Azorín reveals clearly and succinctly his own literary and personal temperament to the extent that much of what he says is a self-portrait.

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