

The Sub-history and its meaning in Independence War of Spain against Napoleonic France^{*}

- Focused on *Episodios nacionales* and *Numancia*

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■ ABSTRACT ■

This article examines the historical view of Benito Pérez Galdós in his historical novel named “Zaragoza” and “Cánovas” by comparing with *Numancia* of Cervantes. In front of the national survival crisis, Galdós recognizes that it is necessary that Spain should recover humanity and morality on basis of the krausist ideal. The krausists warned subjective idealism, stressing on free-will and moral conscience in a harmonious balance of rationality. Without refusing patriotism, they warned egoistic patriotism deformed by national selfishness or nationalism. Giner de los Ríos insisted on a necessity of harmonizing national inclination and universal one. Galdós emphasizes that the identity of Spain is not possession of privileged class but sweat and tears of the mass of people in daily life. He represents *Efemera* as the ideal history on the basis of Unamuno’s ‘intrahistoria’, by which, instead of Lukács’ progressive history, we can peep into a historical poetics of human free nature and vividness of discontinuous and endless shifting. According to the sub-history, we come to the conclusion that Galdós and Cervantes would lay emphasis on sub-history, aiming to essence of Spanish soul originated from national landscape and people’s daily life.

Key Words

Independence War, Sub-history, Benito Pérez Galdós, Episodios nacionales, Efemera

1. Introduction

György Lukács in his *The Historical Novel* distinguishes various periods when literary historicism has become a mannerism from periods when historical genres have made authentic engagements with history.¹⁾ From this point of view, I intend to find Lukács’ so-called ‘mannerism’ in Spanish historical literary historicism. *Numancia* is a tragedy of Miguel de Cervantes which treat of battle between Romans and Numancian in B.C. 134. The town of Numancia refuses to be conquered by the Roman general Scipio Africanus. Rather than be enslaved or starve to death in the siege, they commit mass suicide, even down to the last child who bravely gives his life for the glory of Numancia.

Episodios nacionales (*National Episodes*), historic novel written by Benito Pérez Galdós(1843-1920),

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1) Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, translated Hannah and Stanley Mitchell, 1962, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969.

consists of 46 volumes in five distinct series. They depict a broad representation of contemporary Spanish history between the War of Independence and the Restoration, which serve as a backdrop for his stories. The first series, written between 1873 and 1875, includes the episodes of "Trafalgar," "Bailén," "Zaragoza" and "Gerona." In almost all of them, the protagonist is Gabriel Araceli, a young man who lives during the climax of the War of Independence. In "Zaragoza," Gabriel Araceli escape and goes to Zaragoza to join the army which is being organized with scattered forces. Fate leads him to be one of the valiant defenders of the city in the second and strongest of the "sites (Zaragoza)". Along with other characters in total literary creation, Araceli coexists with general Palafox and other historical figures who were really involved in the great popular epic. And then we treat in this article, "Cánovas" is belongs to the last series. The last series depicted events experienced by Galdós himself, but the work was unfinished and it is seldom a topic of study or discussion. The last work of this series "Cánovas" treats of Antonio Cánovas del Castillo (1828-1897), who was a Spanish politician and historian known principally for his role in supporting the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy to the Spanish throne and for his death at the hands of an anarchist assassin, Michele Angiolillo. In this novel, Cánovas del Castillo personifies the Restoration of Spain.

In this article, I will take the theme of demystification of heroism in "Zaragoza" and *Numancia*, which treat a struggle of plebeians, in that "Zaragoza" is considered as modern myth of Numancia. And I intend to look for the two writers' historical view through the analysis of "Cánovas." By this study, we can come to the conclusion that Galdós and Cervantes would lay emphasis on sub-history, which searches for essence of Spanish soul immanent in national landscape and people's daily life. And also we can deduce the true sense of the heroism on the basis of sub-history.

2. Anti-epic narration in *Numancia*

Cornelius Skpio, who is Niece of Skpio Africanus, hero of the battle of Cartago, attacked Numancia with 70,000 soldiers. At that time, there is no concept of nation; a resistance of Numancian becomes an emblem of courage, heroism and royalty. Thereafter, battle of Numancia motivated to encourage Spanish people in the War of Independence with Napoleon. David Quint designates Numancia as "an epic of the defeated in battle", indicating its anti-epic characteristic. This antic-epic means an epic which reflects voices of repressed defeated and sorrows and agony of sacrificed people of a small and weak power by expansionism and imperialism. According to Fitzroy Dearborn, some historical novels denounce a guilty consciousness.

Historical fiction as a genre often seems to be the product of bad faith or guilty conscience, and the often formidable energies of the genre spring partly from an attempt to rationalize its own apparent sins out of existence. A standing offense against both the autonomy of aesthetic form and the scientific integrity of facts, historical fiction is a perennial embarrassment liable to generate many forms of critical inquiry.²⁾

Casalduero indicates that *Numancia* expresses the collapse of genre, which is one of character of comedy of Renaissance Spain because a heroic element of conquerors and a tragic element of defeated

2) Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel* (translated Hannah and Stanley Mitchell, 1962). Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969, 13.

are mingled. Marcia Wells points out that third and fourth acts express creativity of Cervantes in that an aspiration of keeping love and honor in ruins and ashes melt the fear of war. In front of Morandro's death, Lira requests for a soldier to kill her with bloody bread taken by her husband.

LIRA Morandro, my sweet friend
Do not go, which seems to me (1555)
I see that your red blood
The sword of the enemy.
Do not make this journey,
Morandro either of my life
That if the output is poor, (1560)
Is still worse.
If I want to quench your spirit,
I call heaven to witness;
That your injury suspicion,
profit and not mine; (1565)
But if anything, dear friend,
continue this struggle,
garment carries this hug
that I carry with you.³⁾

From this point of view, it is doubtful that Cervantes should admire religious ideology of Catholic kings and prosperity of Spanish imperialism through heroic defeat of Numancia.⁴⁾ If that is true, Cervantes would write another heroic epic about Spanish history. About this, Carroll Johnson emphasizes on a humanist vision of Cervantes and does not consider a voice of inhabitants of Numancia as superiority of his nation to otherness. He stresses on the fact that Cervantes does not have reason to support Counter Reformation in order to justify Spanish expansionism. Carroll Johnson suggests that Cervantes insinuate a negative vision about unfair repression over Moriscos, an alienated class in the time of Felipe II, with battle of Numancia.⁵⁾ Américo Castro thinks that Cervantes expresses his sympathy with a alienated class such as converse or morisco and their agony caused by Counter Reformation, suggesting that Cervantes should be new Christian, far from mainstream of writers.⁶⁾ In addition, Maria thinks him of alienated group of writers, who live in the time of Felipe II with alienation between reality and ideal in front of rupture of not only Spanish imperialism and Catholicism but also of identity. The crisis of interior identity caused by dissolution of unified ideology provokes baroque disillusion and melancholy. Cervantes try to overcome interior vanity by means of Erasmus' thought. Cervantes, who emphasizes free will and human nature, recognizes that are religious ideology of the medieval times cannot express expanded human thought any more. Cervantes cannot be free from Counter Reformation's influence but recognizes a gap between religious ideal and reality and a conflict result from the gap. Cervantes suggests both what should be and what it is; defining what should be as

3) Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Tragedia de Numancia, cervantes.uah.es/ejemplares/NUMANCIA.htm

4) Willard F King, "Cervantes' Numancia and Imperial Spain," *MLN* 94 (1979), 200-21.

5) Carroll Johnson, 'The Structure of Cervantine Ambiguity,' *Ideologies and Literature* 3 (1980), 75-9.

6) Américo Castro, *España en su historia: Cristianos, moros y judíos* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1948). 357.

free will, which contains human conscience and rational thought.

Viarito [...]
And if it was perfect and pure love
I had my beloved fatherland, (2390)
Secure after this fall.
He threw himself from the tower, and says CIPION:
CIPION never seen Oh, memorable feat!
Child and brave old man chest
Numancia not only, but to Spain
Has already acquired glory on this! (2395)
With your lives and heroic virtue, strange,
Is dead and lost my right!

From this point of view, we cannot interpret the death of Bariato as courageous resistance to Roman Empire in heroic epic but as denunciation of cruelty and trick given on defeated. In other words, a shameful self-portrait of conquerors by confessing guilty conscience resulted from expansionist policy through Skipio's mouth. According to Unamuno, "our greatest shame is boasting of our past sins. (...) apologies and compromises with conscience are as a defense against regenerating penance."⁷⁾ Unamuno thinks the substance of the history is the opposite of what was once characterized as glorious elements, which are only the outer layer, the crust of the story, not the "core."

On the contrary, a love of Mirandro and Lira affords a basis for resistance from the viewpoint of a universal truth prior to religious dogma. On the basis of this thought, it is certain that *Numancia* is anti-epic narration, which speaks for mass of people, demystification imperialist ideology.

In "Zaragoza," Galdós describes the heroic death of the common people against the Napoleon military. The Montoria encouraged the people of Zaragoza to battle in the basis of religious faith of Virgin del Pilar. Being at the climax of the battle, the people became caught with madness and hatred. They set up a fender with the corpse of their family and companion. At the end of the novel, Montoria's grandson and his eldest son were dead and Maria, daughter of Candiola was buried by her lover Agustin. Candiola, Jewish miser, was accused for betraying the people of Zaragoza, informing the soldiers of Napoleon of the site of his companion for survival.

3. From the 'epic hero' to 'novelistic hero'

In many aspects, "Zaragoza" has some common with "*Numancia*", play of Cervantes. The sacrificial love of the young couples, the tragic and miserable description of battle, and the brave and heroic death of those who preferred to death in order to protect their honor. Meanwhile, in "Zaragoza" we can find the betrayal, the bitter remorse and internal conflict about the battle of the hero. Meanwhile in *Numancia*, the love of Lira and Morandro takes part in lubricating oil for heroism to sublimate poetically, in "Zaragoza", the love of Maria and Agustin becomes decisive element by which the others took a skeptical view of frantic heroism. When Candiola was executed for betrayal, his daughter also died differently. It is ironical that Galdós describes the death of Maria as that of martyr just like in

7) Miguel de Unamuno, En torno al casticismo (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1972) 35.

the conventional description in the hagiography. The mystical death of Maria mitigates the heroic patriotism of the people.

-Why is that woman dead?

-I don't know why she died.

Mary does not have any wound. She was not infectious in her face. She just lied catching her ears with her hands.

-I see. Maybe she was afraid of a gunshot.⁸⁾

A martyr's corpse used is described in hagiography as mysterious and unhurt. In this respect, Mary's corpse is able to be compared to martyr's one at the level of parody.⁹⁾ Montoria was described as frantic idealist in contrast to Candiola as shameless materialist. The two of the protagonists symbolize the extreme idea of Spain in nineteenth century. Montoria attributed his failure of the battle to Candiola as scapegoat. Maria's death from hunger in the disregard of the people of Zaragoza represents the tragic result of frantic patriotism. Not only the death of Maria but also the ruins of chapel provoke an ironical scene from the religious point of view. The Church in which Virgin of Pillar, symbol of religious patriotism is situated became the ruins where the corpse of people were piled up and drenched with blood. The irony that the church which was symbol of patriotism in basis of a religion, became ruins by their own hands, represent a fading value in the conflict between ideal and real world.¹⁰⁾ The following two citations contrast fanatical faith with its miserable result.

-Long live Saint Pillar! Let Zaragoza offer their life for Saint Pillar. Saint Pillar is with us. Don't be afraid and look at the enemy calmly. You will see God among the clouds. Long live Fernando VII. [...]

-My God, Saint Pillar!

José de Montoria said in with solemnity that it seems I haven't provoked you on purpose. I offered my fortune, even my sons to nation, faith and king. Why do you take my life before having taken my sons? My body is miserable and useless old one.⁽⁷³⁰⁾

We can find a novelistic hero, who is wander between personal interior life and super national essence. Lukács define totality as transcendent sphere between reality and essence, taking it motto to discern novel and epic. He indicates that in epic, transcendent essence coincide with personal interior life. For the reason that in epic, human spirit and exterior world or ration and aspiration constitute a complete totality, epic has a harmonious closed structure. On the contrary, novel has a profound and unconquerable gap losing the totality between essence and formal or interior life and exterior world.¹¹⁾ Lukács defines a human who has lost its totality as 'novelistic hero.'

Epic hero is not only individual but community. On the contrary, novelistic hero is an individual in the ecstasy of his own subjective world. A novelistic hero depends on his subjective world because

8) Benito Pérez Galdós, *Obras Completas*, Undécima edición (Madrid: Aguilar, 1968) 751.

9) Wolfgang Kayser, *The Grottesque in Art and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963) 33.

10) Miguel Navascus, 'Hacia una concepción tragic de Zaragoza,' *Anales galdosianos*, años XX, num. 2 (1985). 126.

11) Rafael Bosch, 'Galdós y la teoría de la novela de Lukács,' *Anales galdosianos* año III (1968). 171.

his interior world and exterior one are mutually contradictory. And epic hero makes sure his own identity but novelistic hero lose the certainty of his own being. Because a subjective ego lives in inessential and vane reality, losing life's interior meaning.¹²⁾

And also the heroic patriotism encounters the frantic religious faith. Inspiring religious faith, Montoria encouraged the people to continue the resistance against the soldiers of Napoleon whenever the people doubted they would have chance of winning. In the true sense of the word, it does not seem that the heroism of Montoria will be contrast to the betrayal of Candiola because the irrational and uncritical heroism of Montoria has a common with betrayal of Candiola in fact that his heroism made Zaragoza an infernal city. In other words, Montoria and Candiola, captured by his own madness, failed in coming to a compromise with rational idea. The frantic clinging to materialism and to patriotism made the both abandons the conflict and internal struggle between ego and external world or objects other and subject oneself. Lukács indicate that a person who has not experienced any conflict between an individual and the world that surrounds the individual, results in driving to a tragic and frantic history.

Lukács say that in the world in which the Christian value is absent, the irony replaces an objective essence, so called "the whole." In other words, irony is premised on an absence of Christian value from Lukács. Meanwhile, Galdós would not deny a Christian faith or Gad's existence itself but criticizes intolerant religious dogma or fanaticism based on 'a cadaveric faith ("Fe del carbonero").' Galdós insisted on flexible acceptance of progressive ideal, in search of a conservative ideal. On the other hand, Lukács insisted on the reform and advance as a method to conquest the limit of bourgeois democracy. We can recognize a limit of applying the analysis of Galdós' work to theory of Lukács. And then, what is a theoretical basis for which Galdós searches?

4. A Krausism and poetic naturalism

A trend of philosophy in nineteenth century is krausism, in which people searched for harmonious meeting between religion and rationality.¹³⁾ The krausists criticized on the fact that the contemporary neglect the metaphysics by influence of materialism and positivism. Because the krausism has priority humanities' recuperation to nationalism.

The krausists warned of subjective idealism, stressing on free-will and moral conscience in a harmonious balance of rationality. Without refusing patriotism, they warned of egoistic patriotism deformed by national selfishness or nationalism. Giner insisted on a necessity of harmonizing national inclination and universal one.¹⁴⁾

God of Krausists bears no resemblance to the true God, through His great mercy Christians know and love. God of Krausists is, in one aspect, the continent basis and essence of all things and in a special way of the three infinite Krausists called on by the Spirit, Nature and Humanity, and as the Krausists

12) Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, translated Hannah and Stanley Mitchell, 1962 (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969) 50.

13) Fátima Coca, "Krausismo y literatura: fundamentos estéticos en la teoría literaria de Francisco de Paula Canalejas," *Ideología, Retórica y Poética. Actas del I Seminario Emilio Castelar* (Cádiz: Fundación Municipal de Cultura y Universidad de Cádiz, 2001), 405-420.

14) Giner de los Ríos, "La enseñanza confesional y la escuela" *Ensayos sobre educación* (1882) 78.

not support substantial distinction between the things and God, hence the pantheism of your system, or what is equal, which they see the angel and the devil, souls and bodies, the earth and sky, the mineral and vegetable, the rational and the irrational The woman and man, all things are here God.¹⁵⁾

When a change of politic system by dint of the Revolution of 68 did not connect with real reformation, intellectuals look over problems and the cause of degeneration of Spain. The intellectuals of generation of 98 do not search for practical method but for reinterpretation of Spanish history in order to look for everlasting national essence of Spain. Unamuno suggest that a truthful tradition is in human mind and we should find it out in our spirit on the basis of ‘Sub-History (intrahistoria)’, which search for essence of Spanish soul immanent in nation’s landscape and people’s daily life.

The whole history of the "present moment" is nothing but the sea surface, a surface that freezes and crystallizes in the books and records. The papers say nothing about the silent life of the millions of men. The ideal history pursues a dark and silent work every day and eternal , that is similar to the sub-oceanic lays on which islands of history rise. That sub-historical life continues as the very bottom of the sea, is the substance of progress, the true tradition, the timeless tradition. No tradition fetches the past buried in books and papers, and monuments stones.¹⁶⁾

Unamuno emphasizes on human essence under the national theme of renovating Spain through human interior search. Unamuno thinks that a crisis of Spain would be resulted from a loss of universal truth and human nature in nineteenth century. He recognizes liberal thought as basic solution for recovery of humanity, emphasizing mysticism, through which Spanish pure will and spirit standing out. In a meanwhile, Clarín considers a last fort to keep him from disillusion as humanity such as moral obligation, sacrifice and charity, stressing liberating human emotion such as love, passion and fantasy from heroic character and hero or religious dogma.¹⁷⁾ At the end of 19th century, a recovery of poetic creativity would be connected directly with will of overcoming reality on the verge of a crisis from loss of religious ideal and morality. This following clamor of “a poet is the most valuable in the world, Antonio will write a poem, he will be a poet” show a pathetic mind of Clarín, who miss a absence of poem.¹⁸⁾ In this aspect, a poem is an act of describing sublime spiritual voice and human interior impression, which is beating by dint of love, hope and a fight with unfeeling reality. Cervantes also look for reconciliation between reality and ideal on the basis of a so-called poetic naturalism.¹⁹⁾ An ideal of Cervantes in connection with mysterious tradition, by which poets try to transmit spiritual sublimity through a spiritual sympathy with God, is restored on the basis of modern thought, so-called krausism.

Unamuno also looked forward to arrival of a new patriotism in the true sense of the word, getting out of a materialist tendency and of intolerant nationalism. He recognized that a crisis in the fin-de-siècle of Spain, consists in the lost of humanity. According to Pascal, it is important that we should overcome egoism compared to beasts by means of a rational authority, in search of dialectical combination between patriotism and humanity. Clarín supposes a poetic nationalism in order to describe the cold-hearted

15) Diccionario de Ciencias Eclesiásticas. (1888) 257.

16) Unamuno, Miguel de. En torno al casticismo (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1972) 27-8.

17) Leopoldo Alas, Solos de Clarín (Madrid: Amelio J. Alaria, 1881) 22.

18) Leopoldo Alas, Suúnico hijo (Madrid: Alianza Editorial) 261.

19) Leopoldo Alas, ‘La novela novelesca,’ Ensayos y revistas, Biblioteca virtual universal, Julio (1889) 153-156. libros/ 131186. pdf

reality and human internal anxiety or sensibility at the same time. Galdós also intends to overcome the limit of realism, harmonizing banality of real life and vitality with creative and free passion. In *Episodios nacionales*, appear a protagonist with a passion to transcend a vulgar reality through a dream or fantasy. The protagonists all seem to be abnormal with spiritual inspiration. Maria is described as a romantic and mysterious dreamer, who was looking forward to a happy wedding with Agustin during the battle with Napoleon's troops.

A dialectic trial to revive whole of life, in front of a political unrest between a fading illusionary value and cruel reality, connects an effort to recuperate the true identity of Spain. The revival of identity on the basis of humanity gives a possibility for convivial historical view. We are going to compare 'convivial historical view' of Galdós with 'intrahistoria' of Unamuno through 'Cánovas' of *Episodios nacionales*.

5. *Efemera* and ideal historical view

Canalejas de Paula sees poetry as an inseparable companion from the history, in that poetry provides not only new material for original works but also an intimacy of humanity in nature.²⁰⁾ In this exercise, educates and characterizes the poetic genius of the people, which, as a secret source, feeds the arts and artistic works."²¹⁾ A history appears in form of women named '*Efemera*' appear in the last novel of *Episodios nacionales* "Cánovas." She can remember only during one day and possess an everlasting and super-powerful wing.

Oh! Divine messenger, your destiny is to run, fly, bringing to the world the truth of the moment. Of all these atoms bonded by Time, she is a historical truth in decades, centuries [...]
The truth and falsehood of the facts do not fall under my jurisdiction. What concerns me is the contact of minds in the wide regions of the spirit. From one another brain skipped ideas like sparks from a fire that is the generator of the coincidence and sympathy. I pick up these sparks and communicate between people(1340).

And also she is able to transcend a space and time and practice magic to sending to us a daily history and present event. *Efemera* personifies an ideal historic view, which Galdós would search for. At the same time, *Efemera* has common with sub-history, Unamuno's historic view in history as dialectic connection between eternity and transience. In this historic view, history is not limited to a past but include continuity from past to future. *Efemera* prophesies a future like a witch but her prophecy cannot determine a destiny of individual and nation.

-*Efemera*, your name means a 'daily history' or daily event, just like a newspaper, which tells us an actual happenings.

-Ah! and so Miss Efemra becomes a living newspaper, which tells us not a written history but a oral history?(1331).

20) Canalejas de Paula, Ideología, Retórica y Poética. Actas del I Seminario Emilio Castelar, Cádiz: Fundación Municipal de Cultura y Universidad de Cádiz, 2001, 405-420.

21) Enrique Ureña, José Luis Fernández y Johannes Seidal. El "Ideal de la Humanidad" de Sanz del Río y su original alemán: Textos comparados con una introducción (Madrid: UPCO, 1992) 125.

Efemera sends a message such as rumor or a folk song which was spread among the people, national sentiment and belief through a spiritual sympathy, and a message of those who possess a supernatural power without distinguishing falsehood and truth. Levante, ego of Galdós, falls into a dilemma, when he was in process of sending a message from *Efemera* to Cánovas for not confirming the truth and falsehood of the event. Notwithstanding, Levante finds himself being falling into pure pleasure which was given by imaginary truth: "Regarding the interview with Cánovas, and the intervention of *Efemera's* good and bad, tell me that this was moved to the area of my ideological relations with *Mariclío*, establishing a kind of balance between the certain and the doubtful, and savoring the pure pleasures that I always found the truth from falsehood(1373)." Considering on the fact that Levante is ego of Galdós, Galdós intends to recreate utopia that should have been at past according to Casaldueiro: "Galdós think that the historian has to describe the past as it was, but as it should have been. He searches for the past not as imaginary history but as utopian history.²²⁾ From this point of view, "Cánovas" does not treat historic event but political ideal of Cánovas such as two-party politic system through creative imagination. In front of political crisis of nineteenth century Spain, Galdós stressed on what a history should have been. We can compare this historical view with Berman's one. She concerns with what the relationship between the historical novel and authentic history was or should be.

The poet and the historian differ not by writing in verse or in prose. The work of Herodotus might be put into verse, and it would still be a species of history, with meter no less than without it. The true difference is that one relates what has happened, the other what may happen. Poetry therefore is a more philosophical and a higher thing than history, for poetry tends to express the universal, history the particular.²³⁾

Aristotle is here, of course, making a distinction between two different kinds of truth: "history is a kind of truth-telling in that it relates that which has actually happened, while poetry is a kind of truth-telling in that it relates that which may plausibly happen in any imaginable situation."²⁴⁾ Considering the nineteenth century's political situation, we infer the poetic truth, which Galdós searches for. Galdós criticized both the Conservative and the Progressive because a clergy's political participation stiffen Spanish thought and a fantastic ideology cause social confusion. Seguismundo, Levante's friend insisted on revolutionary ideal but he resulted in was married to a daughter of aristocracy, giving up his ideal. Galdós represents to readers hypocrisy of revolutionary idealists, who search for egoistic interests because of a gap between the ideal and the Real.

I(Levante) became assimilated with my uncle Beramendi, who longs for interior resistance politically and socially. But I was poor and he was rich. I don't have any home and he lives wearing a sly disguise. Because of this basic difference, Beramendi's resistance and revolution is nothing but decoration of sublime spirit which glitters within his patriotic comrades.(1357)

A reality of Spain was contaminated by vanity and egoism without human passion and ideal, Spain

22) Joaquín Casaldueiro, *Vida y obra de Galdós (1843-1920)* (Madrid: Gredos, 1974) 139.

23) Sandra Berman, *On the Historical Novel by Alessandro Manzoni* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 15.

24) Chris Hopkins, "Historicising the Historical Novel: Introduction", Sheffield Hallam University, (<http://extra.shu.ac.uk/wpw/historicising/HopkinsC.htm>)

was hopeless just like Levante's reality. Notwithstanding, Levante come to recover his ambition when he send a Clio's political ideal such as transiency and coexistence from *Efemera* to Cánovas. Levante not only listen to news of Europe at the same age but also prophesy a death of English queen and a tragic Spanish history at the end of nineteen century. When Levante listened to *Efemera*, here presents by metaphor a clergy's participation of politics as 'altar and throne' (1359), criticizing a close relationship between politics and church. Through a voice of Levante, Galdós present coexistence and unification for history's continuity as follows: "the clearest is to reconcile under the banner of oneness (1358)" *Efemera's* fantastic character represents the poetics of Manuel de la Revilla, whose ideology is fundamentally equal to that of krausist, who says that literature, especially poetry, expresses the ideal of the society in which he lives, and literature is also the faithful reflection of life of peoples. When poetry is sensitive representation of the idea, it will come to be a powerful instrument of propaganda of ideal. Not only an instrument of propaganda but also that of popular means of education, it has influence on the lives of the people.²⁵⁾

6. Conclusion

Galdós emphasizes on the fact that the identity of Spain is not possession of privileged class but consist of sweat and tears of the mass of people in daily life.

Among People, young and old, men and women, we do not try to select special class, but we have to realize justice and truth for all the family who weep or smile, work or play in the earth so called Spain, which is cold or hot, and desolate or plentiful(1360).

From this point of view, Galdós named "interior essence of history", which is consisted of 'the mass of people's language and song and human passion and fighting spirit, and naïve faith to hope miracle(1364).' And also he thinks the interior essence of history would be the dynamic force to connect dynamically past, present and future and to let a history continue. Considering the fact that an interior essence of history stresses trivial events, which give a human motive. From this point of view, Interior essence of history would be connected with krausist historical view, which emphasizes the interior world of the mass of people.²⁶⁾ Giner stresses on sub-history within a collective spirit of the mass of people in order to search for historical truth in daily life. Giner think that a formal tradition deforms truthful Spain and that a formal history would be only a mask or disguise of interior history. Giner's sub-history coincides with the 'intrahistoria(sub-history)' of Unamuno in the fact that Giner tries to search for Spanish identity in common and collective spirit prevalent the mass of people including a desire and sentiment dormant in unconsciousness of the people. Unamuno named collective of spirit of 'intrahistoria' in which Spanish consciousness to recover humanity would be imminent.²⁷⁾ To Galdós, this consciousness would be interior cohesive force equivalent to patriotism.

25) Manuel de la. Revilla, Principios de generales de literatura (Madrid: Iruveda, 1872) 182.

26) Elena M. De Jongh, El krausismo y la generación de 1898 (Valencia: Albatros Hispanofila, 1984) 164.

27) Miguel de Unamuno, 'De la enseñanza superior en España,' Revista Nueva II, agosto-diciembre, 55 (1899), 765. In this article, I cited in the article of "Discurso leído en la solemne apertura del curso, Académico de 1900 a 1901 en la Universidad de Salamanca" by Adolfo Sotelo Vázquez, http://www.anmal.uma.es/Numero9/Discurso_Unamuno_I.htm.

People, young and old, men and women gathered by moral, interior, mysterious and informal inspiration, constitute the mass of people. They stammer without formal voice. Their stammering is palpitating in harmony with passionate rhythm. A Formal history does not the same. Because if it were not for unified cohesion force, a love for nation could not perform miracles. And so, a national destiny not depends on predominant and invincible army or material property but on the cohesion force, which is nothing but national conscience and patriotism.²⁸⁾

In this quotation, ‘the formal voice’ is exterior history, in other words, a stereotypical and idolized history in Niche’s memorial historical view, contrary to ‘sub-history’ of Unamuno or to the essence of Spanish soul of Galdós. On the other hand, ‘stammering voice’ means an informal and multi-voice of mass of people free of standardized ideology and dogma, connecting poetry to history. Galdós manifests that if ‘inspiration’ ‘ambition’ and ‘miracle’ would be on the basis of humanity; they are able to work as patriotism, cohesion of force to keep the nation safe. In 19th century, when Spain lost an immanent sense of epic heroism, Galdós emphasizes awakening of national spirit in basis of humanity and morality in front of a national crisis.

From this point of view, we can confirm that Galdós try to rewrite Spanish independent history through a mass of people’s voice free of ideological prejudice of the conservatives and the progressives in *Episodios nacionales*.²⁹⁾ This history is a popular history refused by a formal history, aiming at a coexistence, transience and conscious freedom, within a harmony with ration on the basis of Christian world view.³⁰⁾ This linking of the ideal with external reality made Sanz del Río krausist system called the formula of "rational realism", though confined within the framework of German idealism. And also it is different from Lukács’ history, aiming at overcoming a bourgeois democracy by means of revolutionary resistance. Conclusively, through *Efemera*, free of time or space, Galdós configures palimpsest history, which keeps a human nature from standardized ideological repression, by repeating remembrance and oblivion instead of Lukács’ progressive history. We can peep into a historical poetics of Galdós to recover a human’s free nature and vividness by way of an incarnation named *Efemera* of discontinuity, eternal recurrence, and endless shifting. In this respect, we can find out a difference of historical view between Galdós and Cervantes. Galdós takes discontinuity impersonated as historical model, while Cervantes’ historical model is continuity in *Numancia*. When they have a battle of Numancia near at hand, priests have a ceremony of telling fortune of Numancia. In this oracle, a dead soldier predicts Numancia’s defeat. Notwithstanding, Duero, impersonated river also predicates that goats, an offspring from Celt would conquer Roma in the future. And it predicates that the ruins of Numancia do not mean the end of Numancia, but its history continues ever after into the prosperity of Spain.

In *Odyssey*, which treats with Troy’s destruction, Cassandra aggravates Troy’s tragedy, in the meanwhile, the prophecy of Numancia announces that Numancia is the spiritual pillar of Spain and it is never tragic epic. Even if there is difference of point of view between continuity and discontinuity, Cervantes and Galdós have common in an aspect that they try to interpret expanded human thought free from dichotomy between pagan and Christian. Just like Cervantes follows Erasmus, who emphasize on recovery of humanity within the Catholicism, Galdós searches for krausism, whose idea is to reach compromise between moral conscience and religious faith in two Spain divided into the progressive and the conservative.

28) Joaquín Casaldueiro, *Vida y obra de Galdós (1843-1920)* (Madrid: Gredos, 1974) 434.

29) *Ibid.*, 140.

30) Fernando Martín Buezas, *La teología de Sanz del Río y del krausismo español* (Madrid: Gredos, 1977) 78-8.

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