The Historical Novels of Arturo Pérez-Reverte: Echoes of the Past and Voices from the Library

by

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The Historical Novels of Arturo Pérez-Reverte:
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Abstract

This dissertation analyzes the historical fiction of Arturo Pérez-Reverte to reveal the ways in which the author engages with a multiplicity of distinct echoes and voices that when taken as a whole, lay bare the author's reliance on the library as a diverse realm of discourse and knowledge that allows the author to participate in conversations and traditions that have been passed down by others. To do so, I draw upon Bakhtin's theory of dialogism in order to propose this additional way of viewing the author's historical novels, where they are not seen as solely an homage to the works of others, or as a collection of intertextual references, but rather, as rejoinder in dialogue, in which the author not only responds to prior discourses, but also engages in contemporary debates, particularly those concerning historical memory and the way that the nation is portrayed. The first chapter of this investigation traces the evolution of the historical novel, in order to show not only how genres are endlessly imitated and modified with each new engagement, but also to examine how writing about the past has evolved over time. This chapter then segues into an analysis of the historical novels of Arturo Pérez-Reverte in order to reveal how the author utilizes generic traditions as well as other stratified language that, while bound up in the library, underscore a connection to a larger whole—a network of prior conversations, traditions, and knowledge that represent both a collective inheritance, as well as a connection to others. In this regard, the second and third chapters uncover the underlying relationships that the author establishes with Benito Pérez Galdós and Pío Baroja through his recasting of their voices and modification of generic traditions, discourses, and topics that are commonly associated with the aforementioned canonical writers.

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Introduction: Library as Homeland and Epistemological Project

"Mi patria son los libros."
-Arturo Pérez-Reverte
(qtd. in Belmonte Serrano, *Los héroes* 278)

"…la patria de verdad que es la biblioteca.
-Arturo Pérez-Reverte, Interview, *La Sexta Noche*
March 14, 2015

The Library of Arturo Pérez-Reverte

In interviews and public speeches, it is not uncommon for Arturo Pérez-Reverte to profess what is evident in his writing: that his true *patria*, or homeland, resides in the immense library of texts and authors that he has carried with him throughout his life and that he rewrites in each of his novels. As he explained during the 2015 Santillana Congress on Education: "Esa memoria literaria es mi verdadera patria […]. La matriz de la que parte todo. […] lo que he hecho ha sido buscar en los viajes, en los amigos, en todo lo demás, la huella que esos libros me dejaron. Y a reescribirlos, como novelista, una y otra vez, bajo luces diferentes" ("El valor educativo"). In making frequent statements of this nature, the author aligns his identity with the realm of literature, and he displaces feelings and connotations that are traditionally associated with one's native land, including a sense of personal identity, attachment, and heritage, with the library—the sentimental territory to which he always returns.[1] That is to say, rather than placing such emotions in a political entity like the nation, these emotions are associated with an enormous literary network that allows him to both recall and connect to moments in his own life, while also pledging a devotion and deep bond to his literary forebears to which he pays homage

[1] In the aforementioned conference, the novelist followed the previous quote explaining that this literary homeland is the root of his being, linking it to his formative years: "dicen [que] el hombre intenta volver inconscientemente al claustro materno, yo, […] intento ahora, con mis novelas, […] volver a mis libros de juventud. Reescribir aquellos libros, pero a mi manera. […] Un regreso a ese origen. A la literatura" ("El valor educativo").

by rewriting their works in his own. And thus, while one cannot select the political nation into which they are born, by designating the library as his homeland, Pérez-Reverte is able to choose his predecessors, inscribe himself within a larger tradition, and highlight the profound effect that the works of these forebears have had on his life.

In another example of this frequent pronouncement, after reaffirming the library to be his true *patria* in a 2016 interview with *La Voz de Galicia*, the author further elaborated that for him a library is never just a library, as it is also: "La memoria, el origen, la explicación, el consuelo, la felicidad, la compañía. La biblioteca me reconcilia con el mundo. Shakespeare, Virgilio, Conan Doyle, Dumas, Stendhal o Mata Hari me ofrecen mundos alternativos y con sentido" (Lorenci). In addition to the wisdom and knowledge that the author receives from the library, this quote highlights the relationship to others that is palpable in his writing, as the author never loses sight of the way that the library connects him to those that came before him—predecessors, who offer different points of view and guidance for coping with the world. It is their words, ideas, patterns and themes that he incorporates in his own texts—participating in a tradition of rewriting that the author states has existed since the *Odyssey*, and that "no hace sino reelaborar temas y personajes que siempre estuvieron ahí, adecuándolos al tiempo en que el autor vive" (*No me cogeréis* 38). In his view of the creative process, each individual utilizes the material and information at their disposal—knowledge of what has already been said, of what has already been done—and reworks it alongside "las influencias conscientes o inconscientes que, unidas a la vida propia, al talento y a la imaginación de cada cual, hacen posible la obra literaria" (*No me cogeréis* 38).

Nevertheless, as much as the library is his personal homeland, which provides him with counsel and knowledge, and which he absorbs into his own works, the author also recognizes the

larger importance of the library as a collective inheritance that is passed down to each generation and that serves not only as a gateway to other eras, but also as a cornerstone of culture and as a record of history. As such, the library transcends its material nature, and becomes much more by serving as a reflection of a society and its people. These ideas are particularly evident in the essay "Asesinos de libros," in which the author expresses his views on the intentional destruction of the National Library of Sarajevo, a tragedy that he witnessed firsthand while working as a war correspondent.[2] Throughout his reflection, the author notes that the deliberate act of destroying a library is often an intent to eliminate a society and the soul of its people by erasing the records of their cultural heritage and historical memory.[3] Moreover, in severing the ties of communication and silencing the voices that give testimony to human experience and knowledge, Pérez-Reverte emphasizes that more than books are lost in the flames:

> Cuando un libro arde, cuando un libro es destruido, cuando un libro muere, hay algo de nosotros mismos que se mutila irremediablemente, siendo sustituido por una laguna oscura […]. Cuando un libro arde mueren *todas las vidas que lo hicieron posible, todas las vidas en él contenidas y todas las vidas a las que ese libro hubiera podido dar, en el futuro,* calor y conocimiento, inteligencia, goce y esperanza. Destruir un libro es, literalmente, asesinar el alma del hombre. (*Patente de corso* 46; emphasis added)

Just as a library is more than a library, a book is always more than just a book for the author, who in the previous quote highlights the way that literature can connect people across the ages in

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[2] According to Jeffrey Oxford, Pérez-Reverte worked as a war correspondent from 1973 to 1994, first for the Spanish newspaper *Pueblo* (1973-1985), and then for *Radio Televisión Española* (RTVE) (1985-1994). During these 21 years, he covered various conflicts throughout the world including "wars in Cyprus, Lebanon, the Western Sahara, Equatorial Guinea, El Salvador, Nicaragua, the Falkland Islands, Chad, Libya, the Sudan, Angola, Mozambique, Croatia, and Sarajevo, as well as the coups in Tunisia, the Romanian Revolution, and the Gulf War" (263).

[3] In this article, Pérez-Reverte specifically names the destruction of the libraries of "Alejandría, Constantinopla, Córdoba, Cluny, Heidelberg, Zaragoza, [y] Estrasburgo" (*Patente de corso* 44-5).

an ongoing and continually growing network. Furthermore, in light of the previous declarations, one can say that Pérez-Reverte's concept of literature and the library is intricately connected to life, others, and a world beyond the page. And as such, his library is always more than a collection of texts.

As a repository of knowledge, as well as of mankind's experiences, struggles and beliefs, the library for Pérez-Reverte is both individual and shared, local and universal, the part and the whole. It is not only a record that provides access, albeit limited, to the past, but it is also a way to understand the present and the trials of life. In this manner, its pages contain voices that speak to us from bygone eras, revealing and recording these prior societies on paper, while imparting lessons that are still relevant today and that are a testament of the human condition. It is also a realm that allows individuals to extend their own life by reading about thousands of others, both real and invented, permitting them to vicariously live experiences that are not their own, and engage with the shared stories that reside in the collective imagination. The library, for Pérez-Reverte, is the link that connects us to those who preceded us, creating the sensation of belonging to a tradition and a heritage that have been passed down from wise elders. Doing so provides an illusion of eternity, and thus, while political entities may rise and fall, the library emits an aura of immortality in which it symbolizes the traditions of the past, the roots of the present, and serves as a message to future generations.

Scholarship on Pérez-Reverte's works frequently addresses the author's devotion and reverence towards the library and literature through the lens of intertextuality, noting the high number of textual relations that can be found throughout his writing. And while this approach is helpful for identifying the texts that the author rewrites, alludes to, or references within his own works, it cannot account for other echoes that the author recovers from the past and which reveal

the many ways that life and the world are reflected and retained in the library. This is particularly true of the author's historical novels, which seek to portray the societies of prior eras including the distinct "voices" that pertain to certain social groups, iconic individuals, and geographical regions, as well as those that evoke other time periods, genres and systems of classification. Indeed, again, the author's conceptualization of the library and literature is much more than just a collection of texts. Given that fact, this dissertation will propose an additional way of viewing the author's customary rewriting of texts and his engagement with the library—seen not only as a way to reference and pay homage to the books and authors that he has loved and read in his life, but as a way to engage in dialogue with others—both past and present. In this way, I will consider the Revertian historical novel as a complex discursive practice in order to examine how the author utilizes socially distinct voices and spheres of language from the library to engage in larger debates concerning Spanish history, literature, culture, and society.

The present chapter, which serves as an introduction and will set the theoretical foundation for the preceding chapters, will begin by discussing representations of Spain and its national past that were circulated during the Franco regime, and with which Pérez-Reverte and those of his generation were confronted while growing up under the dictatorship. From there, I will highlight the author's reliance on the library as a didactic realm that is used to recover cultural and historical information in an effort to both contrast the image of Spain portrayed in Francoist propaganda, and also as a way to fight *la desmemoria*, a term that Pérez-Reverte employs to denote the lack of historical memory in contemporary Spanish society. In this way, I will establish the author's interest in the library as a both a cultural heritage and as a connection to the past, which can lead to a better understanding of the present. I will then transition into a section that addresses the shortcomings of intertextuality as an analytical approach to the

Revertian historical novel, and in which I suggest a Bakhtinian approach that would allow these narratives to be seen as a complex discourse that relies on the archived voices and discourses of the library, in order to rework them and engage in discussions in contemporary Spanish society, particularly those concerning historical memory, cultural heritage, and national identity.

The Library as History and Heritage: (Re)Writing against *Desmemoria*

> "Cuando ya no soporto más este lugar llamado España,
> *lo miro a través de una biblioteca*. Así puedo
> detestarlo y comprenderlo al mismo tiempo."
> -Arturo Pérez-Reverte, *Twitter*
> August 14, 2016 (emphasis added)

The literary homeland that Pérez-Reverte discusses in interviews, and that is palpable in his writing, differs greatly from the way that he perceives the *patria* that corresponds to him politically and geographically. In his historical fiction, Spain is portrayed as a hostile place of corruption and injustice that, while awarding ignorance and malice, punishes those who display personal integrity and possess a moral compass. For instance, in the following example the incompetency of those in the highest ranks, paired with their corruption and greed, contributes to the sad history of a people who suffer under their power: "el egoísmo, la venalidad e incapacidad de nuestros políticos, nuestros nobles y nuestros monarcas […] la triste historia de nuestras gentes, que siempre dieron lo mejor de sí mismas, su inocencia, su dinero, su trabajo y su sangre, viéndose en cambio tan mal pagadas: <<Qué buen vasallo que fuera, si tuviese buen señor>>" (*CA* 134).[4] However, it should also be noted that the author's criticism is not confined to a particular social class, and the social ills that plague Spanish society are portrayed as widespread

[4] The first book of the series *El capitán Alatriste* will be abbreviated as *CA*.

throughout the country as can be seen from the following example: "Y mientras los poderosos se enriquecían en negocios de escándalo, abroquelados en misas y limosnas públicas, el pueblo, de espíritu violento y vengativo, mataba el hambre y el aburrimiento besando reliquias, usando indulgencias y persiguiendo con entusiasmo a brujas, herejes y judaizantes" (*Limpieza de sangre* 132). Such representations contribute to an overall feeling of disillusionment, a prominent feature in the author's works,[5] and one that is often associated with Spain and its national history. Anne Walsh explains that the author's deep concern and preoccupation with Spain's past is due to the opposing versions of history that those of his generation were confronted with as children during the dictatorship, noting that throughout their youth they "were subjected to conflicting accounts of the past, through the school curriculum and family accounts or, indeed, the silences of families when it came to the relatively immediate past" (7). Thus, to truly understand Reverte's literary project as it concerns his political homeland and the representation of its national history, one must first understand the vision of Spain and its past that was constructed by the Francoist regime and that circulated during the author's formative years.

Under the Spanish dictator Francisco Franco, the regime employed the use of censorship and propaganda to help create and maintain the image of a strong, homogeneous State where Spanish culture and history were often reduced to a closed narrative limited to one language, one religion, and one national identity (Wright 45). Doing so ascribed a linguistic and cultural purity to the nation that, historically speaking, it never had, thus creating an "original" Spain that never

[5] See for example Anne Walsh's text *Arturo Pérez-Reverte: Narrative Tricks and Narrative Strategies* pp. 1-4.

existed.[6] Vital to the construction of this uniform and "authentic" Spain, was the deliberate distortion of Spanish history through which the regime could "circumvent the full diversity of the past, and […] recast historiography into a single-voiced discourse in the service of the State" (Herzberger, "Social Realism" 161).[7] In this way, the national past was fertile territory that could be mined, falsified, and as Carmen Ortiz argues, "invented" given that the dictatorship "appropriated historical events, mythicized them, and endowed them with new, eminently ritual and symbolic functions" (483).

Part of the regime's manipulation of the past included the establishment of a narrative that allowed their cause to be inserted within a tradition of perceived defenders of this "original" and "authentic" Spain.[8] Francoist propaganda employed to support this narrative, painted an entirely positive and idealized picture of carefully selected historical figures and episodes from the past that highlighted this noble lineage,[9] which culminated in the imperial glory of the Golden Age. Considered the pinnacle era of Spanish greatness, the Golden Age was used throughout the dictatorship to accentuate a triumphant national past "that spoke positively to

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[6] This monolithic conception of the Spanish State is also evident in slogans that promote the idea of there being only one true Spain, void of any diversity or multiculturalism. Examples of this include *España, una, grande, indivisible*, as well as *Una España, una raza, una religión*.

[7] Elsewhere Herzberger states that the regime's use of the past was also employed to provide justification and validity to their assertions of power: "The State used the past both to underpin its existence as the fulfillment of Spain's historical destiny and to give moral legitimacy to its claim of authority in the present" (*Narrating the Past* 16).

[8] A multifaceted approach was adopted in order to do so. Mike Richards writes that one way in which this was done was by comparing the Nationalist cause to a moral "crusade" that would root out foreign influences detrimental to the character of the nation: "The state would be constructed in the image of the 'crusade'—the myth of the Nationalist civil war effort as a struggle against 'anti-Spain' as represented by the Republic" (176).

[9] In this view, iconic individuals from the past such as Don Pelayo, el Cid, and Philip II, are the heroic predecessors, while those of the regime are seen as the rightful heirs to this lineage that would restore Spain to its former imperial glory. Other historic individuals of this lineage include Isabel and Ferdinand, whose marriage was seen as the birth of this Spain that Francoists exalted. Nevertheless, as Luis González Antón points out, the country was not as unified under the Catholic Monarchs as Francoist historiographers claimed it to be: "Naturalmente, para el nacionalismo franquista, España solo podía ser grande siendo <<Una>> y uniforme, como suponía muy erróneamente que había sido la de los Reyes Católicos. No cabían otras formas de patriotismo español ni otras visiones de España más plurales" (613).

Spaniards' self-perception" (Locker 658), and that communicated a sense of not only "cultural superiority and religious mission" (Großmann 770), but also military and political strength. However, the regime's mystification of the past often meant that problematic details of the historical record were disregarded or re-interpreted as not to tarnish the image of the nation. For instance, Tobias Locker points out that during the dictatorship, ceremonies and commemorations that made reference to Spain's imperial age sought "to show the harmonious world order that ruled during the historic Baroque period—more idealized than true of course" (669), and Carolyn Boyd notes that the regime thoroughly denied any validity to the *leyenda negra*, claiming instead "that the Black Legend was the invention of hostile and uncomprehending foreigners to whom Spain owed neither accommodation nor apology" (238). The image of Spain's past that was constructed by the regime is also clearly evident in textbooks designed for school children, as noted by Boyd, who studies these texts at length in *Historia Patria: Politics, History and National Identity in Spain, 1875-1975*. In her analysis of the ways in which Francoist ideology was employed to re-envision Spanish history through a nationalistic lens, Boyd writes that:

> The cultural pluralism that progressives had praised as a source of national strength was now denied or condemned; accordingly, the Inquisition and the expulsion of Jews and *moriscos* were praised as prophylactic measures necessary to eliminate "crimes," disunion, and heresy. Even linguistic diversity was challenged; in one civics text, the peninsular languages (except for Basque) were demoted to the status of Castilian "dialects." To discourage reflection on political and social issues, primary school books omitted most contemporary history altogether, leaping from the Carlist defense of "tradition" to the salvation of Spain from impiety and disorder by General Franco. (264)

These examples from Boyd's research, serve as further evidence of the regime's monolithic view

the nation, its whitewashing of problematic episodes from the national past, and its avoidance of historical events that could leave political authorities, past or present, open to critique. Moreover, the regime's absolute control over historical discourse resulted in a distorted, one-sided view of history, evident not only in the exaltation and aggrandizement of certain moments and figures from the national past, but also in the silenced voices and repressed segments of Spanish history that did not serve the nationalistic narrative. The privilege of one "official" account of the past and one particular point of view that excludes all other voices from the historical record, leads David Herzberger to conclude that: "Polyphony thus becomes the fatal casualty of Francoist historiography" (*Narrating the Past* 23).

Pérez-Reverte's historical novels deliberately contrast the regime's portrayal of the nation and its glorification of the past, which the author himself has criticized as a distorted idealization of the historical record.[10] The most pronounced differences lie not only in the author's disillusioned and pessimistic representation of the nation and its leaders, his harsh criticism of religious authorities, and in the demythification of military exploits and the national past, but also in the portrayal of a decidedly more diverse Spain, in which Pérez-Reverte looks to recover a plurality that the regime's historiography denied. As the author explained in a 2003 interview with *El País*:

> Yo hablo siempre de las Españas. España es una plaza pública hecha de Españas. España como tal no existe; España es un lugar en el cual confluyeron muchas razas, muchas lenguas, muchas religiones, muchos pueblos que tuvieron una historia en común. Lo que

[10] Criticizing the dictatorship's distortion the national past for political purposes, Pérez-Reverte emphasizes that the lack of diversity and the glorification of the nation resulted in false vision of Spanish history: "En la época del franquismo se intentaba hacer un país unido, católico, patriótico, etcétera. Entonces se abusó de la historia de España diciendo que éramos los mejores, la mejor raza, los más valientes, los más conquistadores, y se olvidó la parte oscura. […]. Digamos que el franquismo contaminó nuestra historia" (qtd. in Montaner Frutos 83).

> tenemos en común se llama España, pero esa España está hecha de muchas otras Españas […]. Volvemos a lo de siempre: el franquismo negó esas Españas. Pero yo por eso uso alternativamente España o las Españas. No hablo de una España unitaria y centralista. Hablo de una España hecha de gentes muy diversas […]. (Valenzuela)

The medley of distinct voices that populate the narrative, however, is not limited to the individuals that speak to us from the margins of history or to the linguistic and cultural diversity of the peninsula, but also extends to the author's conceptualization of the library as a diverse realm of discourses and knowledge in which voices from distinct time periods, literary genres, geographical regions, and social classes coexist and reverberate across the pages. Moreover, the inclusive space of the library does not reflect merely one point of view, but rather, thousands; in which, quoting Pérez-Reverte, one finds traces of others: "El esfuerzo, la vida de miles de hombres que dejaron en ellos [los libros] sus pestañas, su inteligencia, sus sueños" (*Patente de corso* 46). Through these texts, the library not only becomes a more authentic link to those who preceded us, but it also represents a tradition and heritage that has not been falsified into a single-voiced narrative. Rather, it is the point of access to the testimonies, experiences, dreams, and lives of others, and as such, it embodies the collective memory and soul of the people. Seen in this way, literature and the library come to represent everything that the dictatorship was not.

While the importance of the library and literature is manifested throughout the author's oeuvre, in his historical fiction, both elements are also intricately linked the author's recovery of cultural and historical knowledge in order to combat what he calls *desmemoria*,[11] a term that, as Anne Walsh points out, does not imply that the national past was forgotten, but rather, that "they [younger generations] simply never knew it" (49). In a 2002 interview with *El País*, Pérez-

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[11] In regards to this term, see Agencia EFE, "Pérez-Reverte: 'Alatriste es una lucha contra la desmemoria.'" *El Mundo*, 28 Nov. 2001, http://www.elmundo.es/elmundolibro/2001/11/28/anticuario/1006965386.html.

Reverte explains that the *desmemoria* within Spanish society is a result of both the regime's manipulation of the historical record, as well as the subsequent educational reforms after the dictator's death that failed to teach younger generations about this past: "En los últimos cuarenta años, a los jóvenes españoles se les ha despojado de su memoria y de su cultura […] El franquismo contaminó nuestra historia de glorias imperiales y la reforma educativa de Solana y Maravall cayó en el extremo opuesto, tirando toda esa historia por la borda" ("Es imposible"). In fact, it was this lack of historical information about the distant past that the author observed in his own daughter's textbook which prompted him to write the first installment of the Alatriste series: "Decidí hacer esta novela [*El capitán Alatriste*] al ver que un libro de texto que tenía mi hija el curso pasado dedicaba veinte páginas a los últimos años de la historia de España, […] y liquidaba el Siglo de Oro en página y media" (qtd. in López de Abiada 182-83). The author has gone on to explain that this novel was intended as a "lucha contra la desmemoria" that deliberately avoids the either–or fallacy of the two aforementioned extremes, stating that he sought to portray "sin alharacas un siglo que no es ni tan abyecto como se dice ahora ni tan maravilloso como se decía durante el franquismo" (Mora).

The author's aim to recover the past and remedy the effects of *desmemoria*, coincide with the didactic nature that characterizes much of his historical fiction. In fact, as multiple scholars have noted,[12] both Pérez-Reverte's interest in, as well as his approach to history, echo the sentiment reflected in the expression *historia magistra vitae*, which emphasizes the educational value of the past in its ability to serve as an example for future generations. Likewise, central to Pérez-Reverte's literature, is the notion that history not only teaches us about the past, but that it

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[12] See for example: José Perona, "Historias de libros en tres novelas de Arturo Pérez-Reverte" in *Territorio Reverte* (376); Toni Dorca, "Visiones de la Guerra de la Independencia en Galdós y Pérez-Reverte" (72); Alberto Montaner Frutos, "Introducción" in *El capitán Alatriste* (78).

can lead to a better understanding of the present, and ultimately of ourselves. For instance, commenting on the use of history in the Alatriste series, the author explains: "Es un intento de entendernos ahora mirando hacia atrás; conociendo el pasado, entendemos mejor el presente" (Cruz).[13] In this way, the narrativization of the past converts history into didactic material, which can impart lessons that speak to contemporary society.

The author's didactic intentions can also be seen in the great number of historical details and information that not only teach the present generation about their inherited past, but that also preserve this history for those yet to come. His historical novels in particular gather information from the depths of the library, incorporating a wealth of sources and data in an effort to recover and convey as much knowledge as possible without overwhelming the reader or the narrative.[14] In regards to this dense documentation, Alicia López Guntín notes that the Alatriste series encompasses multiple realms of Golden Age society, including the political environment, cultural atmosphere, social institutions, historical events, military battles, geographical space, and cartography,[15] as well as the style and appearance of literary productions that the author imitates in order to "crear la sensación de estar leyendo una obra procedente de aquel tiempo" (187-88). On this topic, Francisco Rico remarks that echoes of Golden Age literature, and ultimately of the entire epoch, can be heard throughout the narrative: "en efecto, está presente por todas partes y en todas las formas: aludida, aducida, presentada en acción, incorporada a la

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[13] Pérez-Reverte stated similar ideas on the importance of historical knowledge in a 2009 interview with Marta Caballero in which he also expressed that his understanding of historical memory extends beyond the Spanish Civil War: "La verdadera memoria histórica son 3.000 años de historia que nos hacen ser como somos porque fuimos lo que fuimos. Ni siquiera la Guerra Civil puede interpretarse correctamente si no se conoce lo anterior. […] Alatriste es, mi pequeño grano de arena para contribuir a esa memoria, que es mucho más amplia que la que esos catetos con coche oficial creen que es" (qtd. in Caballero).

[14] In fact, the Spanish Ministry of Education made the first book of the series mandatory reading in public schools (de la Fuente).

[15] López Guntín writes that Pérez-Reverte, along with his daughter Carlota, based the narrative space of *El capitán Alatriste* on two seventeenth-century maps of Madrid: "*La villa de Madrid, corte de los reyes católicos de Espanna (1635)* y *Topographia de la villa de Madrid descrita por don Pedro Texeira en 1656*" (188).

fábula, como trasfondo tácito… Alatriste lleva consigo "todo el Rivadeneyra y aledaños". Y con la literatura, la vida, la historia pequeña, y la gran historia de la España de entonces" ("Alatriste: el clásico"). This saturation of information throughout the series leads José Manuel López de Abiada to conclude that "La intención didáctica […] late en casi cada página" (186).

In addition to recreating an image of a bygone era and providing historical authenticity to the narrative, the abundance of details and information also serve the author's objective of rescuing a past from slipping away into *la desmemoria*. In his own words, the author states that in 1995 he began writing his historical series as an "intento por recuperar una memoria ofuscada por la demogogia, la simpleza y la ignorancia" (*El habla de un bravo* 9). The historical genre and the library, then, come to Pérez-Reverte as a solution to the problems of both flawed historiography under a dictator, as well as the lack of historical memory due to educational reforms that deprived younger generations of learning about their collective inherited past.

In fact, at the heart of Pérez-Reverte's historical novels, lies an epistemological project that is rooted in the preservation and reworking of tradition, a perpetual recovery and rewriting of the past that is largely based on the library as a source of cultural and historical knowledge. And while the concept of the library may bring to mind Jorge Luis Borges, Pérez-Reverte's notion of the library as a vast universe of knowledge varies slightly from that of the Argentine writer whose "Library of Babel" is an infinite labyrinth where the very excess of information, as well as its inaccessible and chaotic nature, make understanding unattainable:

> El universo (que otros llaman la Biblioteca) se compone de un número indefinido, y tal vez infinito, de galerías hexagonales, con vastos pozos de ventilación en el medio, cercado por barandas bajísimas. Desde cualquier hexágono, se ven los pisos inferiores y superiores: interminablemente. […] Por ahí pasa la escalera espiral, que se abisma y se

> eleva hacia lo remoto. En el zaguán hay un espejo, que fielmente duplica las apariencias. […] ahora que mis ojos casi no pueden descifrar lo que escribo, me preparo a morir a unas pocas leguas del hexágono en que nací. [..] *La Biblioteca es una esfera cuyo centro cabal es cualquier hexágono, cuya circunferencia es inaccesible*. (101-02)

However, in both Pérez-Reverte's essays and historical fiction, the immense universe of the library is not only a link that reaches across time and connects humanity, but it is also a didactic realm that imparts lessons and knowledge which lead to a deeper level of understanding for those that pore over the pages "persiguiendo placer, conocimiento, lucidez. En busca de respuestas a las preguntas que desde hace siglos nos hacemos todos" (*No me cogeréis* 322). Moreover, in his historical fiction, the author's use of the library as a reservoir of information never seeks to overwhelm the reader, but rather, make knowledge attainable: "Enseñar sin que se notara demasiado la intención didáctica, los aspectos fundamentales de la historia, de la literatura, de la pintura, de la política, de la vida […]" ("Historia de un héroe cansado" 11-12).

Ángel Otero-Blanco, who discusses some of the connections between Pérez-Reverte's works and the Borgesian "Library of Babel," points out that while both authors exhibit a reverence and devotion to the library and literature in their writing, Pérez-Reverte "no es uno de esos ilusos bibliotecarios borgeanos que […] fracasan en su peregrinaje hacia el libro de los libros, el libro total y absoluto" (163). Otero-Blanco argues that this is because such an idea is incongruent to Pérez-Reverte's notion of authorship, which is always understood in the plural since texts are assembled with fragments of others, citing as an example that "*Un asunto de honor* no rinde homenaje a un solo libro, a un único modelo ideal, sino a toda una serie de textos

archivados" (164). The same could be said for Pérez-Reverte's oeuvre as a whole,[16] and indeed, for his conceptualization of the library as a fundamentally diverse realm characterized by its plurality of discourses and voices. In fact, for the author, a single "voice" or text, does not have any meaning in and of itself, but must always be read in light of other works: "Para mí un libro siempre es un elemento de un conjunto. Un libro no es nada en sí mismo. Siempre conduce a otros libros" ("Escribo por nostalgia"). Consequently, from this viewpoint, no text is or could ever be absolute. Hence, the idea of a total book that encompasses all knowledge independently of other texts, runs contrary to the Revertian interpretation of the library as an enormous network woven with the knowledge that is provided by other texts, and which can grow exponentially throughout one's life, even though, as the author reminds us, we will never be able to read them all: "por mucho que vivas, nunca acabarás de leerlos todos; que la vida tiene límites" ("Libros a bordo"). Thus, Pérez-Reverte's library is fundamentally a system of knowledge that is grounded in diversity, both in the multiplicity of voices and discourses, as well as in the wisdom that can be obtained since a library extends *beyond* literature for Pérez-Reverte—it is also a heritage, a connection to the past and to those who came before us, as well as a way to understand the world in which we live.

Looking Beyond Intertextuality through the Library

> "Escribir es rehacer, actualizados, o pasados *por tus filtros, para tu mundo de ahora*, los libros que amaste. *Yo soy yo más los libros* que he leído en mi vida" (qtd. in García 116; emphasis added).

[16] Jeffrey Oxford, for instance, finds that Pérez-Reverte regards his own writing to be "a rewriting of the many books that he has read and loved in his life, manipulating them in a manner that details the historical implications and cultural influences on the modern world" (263).

A labyrinth of references and allusions, Pérez-Reverte's oeuvre contains numerous subtle nods that both recognize his literary debts to his predecessors, and pay a sentimental, and at times nostalgic, tribute to their works. Acknowledging the abundance of these connections to prior texts, the author states: "Mis libros, como sabe cualquiera que los lea, son entretejidos de otros libros. No hay una referencia concreta. Todos están llenos de sugerencias, de guiños […]. A veces está explícita y a veces es solo una frase, un comentario, un guiño, un cruce, no puedes buscar rasgos definitivos, son demasiados libros y demasiados años" (qtd. in Walsh 69). The author's customary rewriting and blending of the works of others with his own, again highlights the fact that his works never stand entirely alone, but always exist in relation to others whose presence can be felt throughout. Such relations have not gone unnoticed by scholars who have long since identified the intertextual nature of his writing,[17] serving as both a principal component of his intellectual game,[18] as well as one of the central frameworks that shapes the aesthetic and narrative structure of his novels.

Nevertheless, while this literary device provides a valuable tool for revealing the relationships that Pérez-Reverte cultivates with specific books, it cannot account for the multiplicity of other "voices" that inhabit his historical narratives. That is to say, while useful in identifying the textual connections and echoes that permeate his writing, intertextuality does not go far enough to explore the various ways that this author is in dialogue not only with literature

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[17] A brief list of studies concerning the role that intertextuality plays in his works include: Durham, Carolyn A. "Books beyond Borders: Intertextuality in Arturo Pérez-Reverte's "El Club Dumas"." *Anales de la literatura española contemporánea*, vol. 26, no. 2, 2001, pp. 465-81; Guerrero Ruiz, Pedro. "Grandeza literaria y miseria moral en la España de Alatriste (un análisis interdisciplinary e intertextual)." *Territorio Reverte: Ensayos sobre la obra de Arturo Pérez-Reverte*, edited by José Manuel López de Abiada and Augusta López Bernasocchi, Madrid, Editorial Verbum, 2000, pp. 133-145; Luengo Almena, Juan Luis. "El mundo del capitán Alatriste: Intertexto para otra lectura suspicaz." *Canon, literatura infantil y juvenil y otras literaturas*, edited by Ángel Gregorio Cano Vela, and Cristina Pérez Valverde, Cuenca, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2003, pp. 461-47.

[18] This intellectual game relies heavily on the reader's knowledge of other texts, where as Jorge Zamora states "cuanto más conozca el lector este tipo de literatura, más se verá atraído y, hasta cierto punto, atrapado por lo que a la larga resulta un abrumador juego intertextual planteado por la novela revertiana" (154-55).

and the national literary canon, but also with Spanish history, culture, and society. This is because, whereas Julia Kristeva's development of the concept of intertextuality prioritizes textual spaces and operations *within* works of literature in order to explore how texts intersect with one another,[19] the scope of Pérez-Reverte's literary project is not solely concerned with the relationships between texts, but continually references and gestures to an extra-literary world *beyond* the page, thus highlighting its connections to individuals, culture, and society, while also drawing attention to the fact that literature is always already in the world.

In fact, while bound up in the library and in literature, many of the socially and historically distinct voices that Pérez-Reverte absorbs and transforms in his historical fiction fall outside the realm of intertextuality. An analysis of these other echoes reveals a deliberate intent on behalf of the author to engage with and recover not only specific texts, but also the style or "voice" of a certain writer, the language of a social class, profession, or geographical region, as well as the speech patterns and lexicon used during a particular historical moment. Other elements that lie beyond the scope of intertextuality, but that are central to Pérez-Reverte's literature, include his utilization of genre conventions, social ideological structures such as the literary canon, and other systems of classification that correspond to hierarchies of literary value or merit, all of which rather than being inherent to the text itself, are assigned to books within a particular culture. Thus, while his works are wrought through with the voices and words of others, these echoes are not limited to intertextual references but also correspond to society, prior discourses, and contemporary debates, especially, as subsequent chapters of this dissertation will later show, those that involve cultural heritage, national identity, and historical memory.

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[19] "Any text word (text) is an intersection of word (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read" (Kristeva 37). In "Word, Dialogue and Novel," Kristeva further remarks that "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The notion of intertextuality replaces that of intersubjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least double" (37).

Kristeva's notion of intertextuality, however, not only disregards elements considered exterior to the textual space, but also, as Graham Allen observes, avoids people by substituting human subjects with the "abstract terms, text and textuality" (36). Jill Felicity Durey reaches a similar decision, and notes that by prioritizing the dialogue between texts rather than between individuals, Kristeva neglects the intentions and role of the author-writer, who is essentially erased from the creation and signification process (617-19). In fact, not only do potential dialogues between individuals become impossible, but other scholars point out that the specific historical and social situations to which the text relates, as well as the ways that the work connects to social and ideological structures, disappear as one progresses from Bakhtin's concept of dialogism to Kristeva's notion of intertextuality which at best can only connect to society, history, and even literature, in general or theoretical terms (Allen 57; Dentith 94; Frow 127). This loss of specificity and context, according to David Duff,

> limits the effectiveness of intertextual analysis as a tool for ideological critique, it also simplifies the complex modeling of the relationship between literature and history which is one of the defining features of Bakhtin's theory of genres. […] The individual text becomes a 'space' in which other texts intersect and the axis of time tends to disappear all together. (63)

As a critical approach, then, intertextuality overlooks some of the areas of greatest insight into the Revertian historical narrative, particularly in the ways that these texts relate to social and historical contexts, distinct genres, socially marked languages, and perhaps most importantly, the role that the author-writer plays in the social discourse of mankind. In fact, denying the agency, intentions, and role of the author-writer in the construction of meaning severely limits any view of this individual as an active participant in dialogue with others—either present or past. Hence,

while the omnipresence of literature and the words of others would seem to point squarely at intertextuality as an analytical model, the author's conceptualization of the library as both a record of humanity and as a diverse realm of inherited discourses and knowledge, which he seeks not only to recover, but rewrite—readjusting their voices for a modern audience and contemporary world—more closely aligns with Bakhtinian thought, specifically his concept of dialogism.

Taken as a metaphor for a broader understanding of discourse, Bakhtin's theory of dialogism highlights the notion that all language, indeed, any utterance, is produced in response to a prior discourse (what has been said) and in anticipation of potential discourse (what will be said), thus forming a 'living dialogue' in which utterances interact and are continually informed by one another. This perspective is particularly helpful in shedding light on the historical narratives of Arturo Pérez-Reverte, not only because it considers all discourse to be involved in an ongoing relationship with the words of others, borrowing, reworking, or re-accentuating previous utterances, but also because, as Bakhtin further maintains, this perpetual dialogue is inextricably bound to individuals within a sociohistorical context, where all language, including literary language, is alive—ever evolving in a diverse world and "in the consciousness of real people" (*DN* 292).[20] Within this framework, any utterance, and one could argue meaning, can be understood as part of a larger social dialogue that evolves between people and that is assembled with the remnants of other discourses and utterances.[21] "It is," as Bakhtin notes, "entangled, shot through with shared thoughts, points of view, alien value judgments and accents" (*DN* 276). As a result, one's words never belong entirely to the individual, but are also, "half someone else's"

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[20] Bakhtin specifically mentions novelists in this quote adding that these individuals include: "first and foremost, […] the creative consciousness of people who write novels" (*DN* 292).
[21] Bakhtin also viewed the novel as a type of utterance ("Speech Genres" 62).

since the word "lies on the borderline between oneself and the other. […] It becomes "one's own" only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent" (*DN* 293). This creates a "tension-filled" space that is both singular and plural (*DN* 276), and in which, according to Ken Hirschkop, individuals "must work with an inheritance of 'concrete' styles, conventions and forms. […] one's own context is assembled from the debris of the past" (16).

Within this 'debris of the past,' the words that we encounter are already filled, both with the intentions of others, as well as with sociohistorical contexts and meanings with which they are entwined. In fact, Bakhtin asserts that after Adam, not only does the word partially belong to someone else, but that it can never be neutral (*DN* 279), since all words carry with them a history of socially determined meanings, connotations, and usage that anchor them to a particular moment or identify them within a certain frame of reference: "All words have the "taste" of a profession, a genre, a tendency, a party, a particular work, a particular person, a generation, […]. Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life" (*DN* 293). To actively participate in dialogue, then, is not only to engage with the words of others, but also to interact with the many contexts, eras, values, structures, and history of use that are embedded in them, all while leaving one's own intentions behind from a particular place in space and time for another to respond to in the future.

Like Pérez-Reverte, Bakhtin also never loses sight of the many ways that life and the world are reflected and retained in one's word, nor does he disregard the role of the individual, whose utterance becomes, borrowing an analogy from the scholar and philosopher, one link in a chain of discourse that is continuously created and anticipated ("Speech Genres" 94). Furthermore, Bakhtin's concept of dialogism is particularly useful in considering Pérez-Reverte's absorption and transformation of socially and historically distinct voices that speak to

the present, while simultaneously recalling the past, and do so in the fullest sense, not only by evoking texts from other eras, but also by reconstructing previous epochs, resurrecting the language of various social classes and regional groups, and reviving prior discourses that hearken back to a distant time and space. All of which, while providing an image of a particular moment in the past, are employed in such a way that they contribute to larger, ongoing dialogues within contemporary Spanish society.

Taking into consideration the above discussion on dialogism, and keeping in mind both the author's customary rewriting of previous works, as well as his reliance on the past and one's cultural inheritance as a didactic realm which serves to remedy prior discourses established by the Francoist regime and the lack of both historical and cultural knowledge in present-day society, I propose that we can look at Arturo Pérez-Reverte's historical novels not solely as a collection of references (as occurs with intertextuality), but as a *response* to other discourses and individuals, as well as an *invitation* that awaits the participation of others. In this way, as I previously noted, the Revertian historical novel can be seen as a type of complex discourse that goes beyond the relationships between texts and examines how the author utilizes socially distinct voices and spheres of language to recover and engage in larger discourses with Spanish history, literature, culture, and society.

In addition, I contend that in his historical novels the author's engagement with these dialogues is typically linked to the library, to which my focus again returns. It should be noted that, unlike his detective fiction, in the author's historical works the library is not employed as a physical space where the characters dwell and the action unfolds. Nevertheless, its presence is felt throughout, omnipresent in the didactic intentions and in the accumulation of minute details that reveal an abundance of archival research and documentation, both of which continually

underscore the author's unmistakable connection with and reliance on the library as a source of knowledge and inspiration. That is to say, in these texts the library does not refer to a narrative setting, but rather, to the sustained use of literary, historical, and cultural knowledge that highlights its relationships to the archived voices of the library, which, ultimately, are the only way to access prior epochs, since the remote past can only be "known" through the vestiges that have been preserved within the culture and made accessible to the public. This library is not only an accumulation of literary works, but it is fundamentally interdisciplinary, as it also encompasses diverse realms of knowledge within a variety of sociohistorical contexts, which in turn serve as reflections on the world. Literature, cartography, art, history, culture, philosophy, warfare and weaponry, nautical expertise, popular speech and lexicon, customs, generic models, and so on, Pérez-Reverte continually highlights that his historical narratives exist within a larger context and tradition: to words that have already been said, to stories that have already been told, to the predecessors whose lives have been recorded, as well as to the anonymous individuals that we will never know.

Much like Bakhtin's insistence on the sociohistorical nature of the utterance, as well as his understanding of the literary text (specifically the novel) as a type of utterance, Pérez-Reverte never loses sight of the fact that the library is a social construction situated in the public sphere and woven with the voices of others, whose language, culture, and experience are intricately linked to their place within a particular epoch and social milieu. By its very nature, then, it is a storehouse of collective memory, a reflection of the culture of a people, and an archive of their historical record. As such, it is a realm that contains an insurmountable number of 'links in the chain of discourse,' whose many utterances the author reaches out to, merges with, recovers, and rewrites, leaving his own contributions behind for others to modify and add their own point of

view in the future, thus continuing the conversation. As the author states regarding his own work: "Cada artículo que publico en esta página, cada novela que echa a rodar por el mundo, es una botella con mensaje dentro, que uno tira al mar confiando en que llegue a buenas manos" (*No me cogeréis* 516).[22] Once this message is in the hands of another, that individual makes it their own, according to Pérez-Reverte: "Lo que cuenta es la confrontación del lector con el texto que le ofrezco […]. Cuando el lector pasa las páginas y proyecta en mi novela su mundo, su vida, sus lecturas anteriores […] mi libro es ahora su libro" ("El compromiso").[23]

Indeed, Pérez-Reverte is conscious of the fact that he is working within a network of inherited discourses and knowledge that has lived and breathed within the social consciousness of actual people, and whose voices he is continually reworking, reframing and re-accentuating in his own works. Much like Bakhtin, Pérez-Reverte is also keenly aware of the 'living dialogue' that exists between real people; his words, in fact, are 'partially someone else's' as Pérez-Reverte explains that his Alatriste series encapsulates "a Cervantes, a Lope, a Calderón, a Quevedo, a Pellicer, no sólo los de primera fila y con todo eso destilado, de ahí sale Alatriste" ("Escribo por nostalgia"). In the author's deliberate intent of re-accentuating the voices of others, Pérez-Reverte, gives prior utterances and discourses new life, making them relevant again within contemporary society, as the author explains in the following quote regarding his rewriting and play on known themes, or clichés: "lo bueno está en jugar con los tópicos, recuperarlos, quitarles el polvo, darles una mano de barniz y de pintura, meterles el talento que tengas en la cabeza y con eso hacer una nueva novela que se lea, que funcione y que además recupere el tópico y lo

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[22] The author has used the same comparison of a message in a bottle in other occasions to explain the communication between himself and his readers: "Es mucho lo que aprendes y lo que te diviertes, y lo que terminas por ver que antes no veías, en esa especie de espejo que es el lector amigo, enemigo, entusiasta, decepcionado, cálido, tierno, furioso, cuando te devuelve el mensaje que lanzaste en la botella " (*Patente de corso* 27).

[23] The author remarks that even his Alatriste series is no longer solely his, but belongs to each reader: "Cada lector tiene su Alatriste, y tienen derecho a que así sea" (qtd. in Munárriz).

convierta en actualidad de nuevo. Esto lo he hecho con muchas de mis novelas" ("Escribo por nostalgia"). The inclusion of various social registers, rhetorical figures, discourses, and recognizable words and phrases of specific individuals within Spanish culture has led Marie-Thérèse García to conclude that not only does Pérez-Reverte convert rewriting into a game ("el juego de la reescritura"), but that in doing so, the author becomes a disseminator of Spanish culture (116), a feat that is accomplished, fittingly, through his use of and reliance on the library. García writes that the author is "ante todo un transmisor de cultura que convierte el microcosmos del libro en reflejo del macrocosmos de la biblioteca. Escribir significa entonces reescribir" (116).

It is through the macrocosm of the library—the diverse realm of human experience, knowledge, tradition, discourses and culture—that Arturo Pérez-Reverte is able to recover not only other texts, but echoes of society, distinct genres, socially marked languages, and other eras. All of which he modifies, participating in a perpetual recovery and rewriting of the past and of tradition from his own place in space and time. The vast recovery of information, sociohistorical contexts, language, and literature has led scholars such as José Perona, to label this abundant use of minute details and documentation as fundamentally encyclopedic in nature.[24] And while his works do incorporate a variety of diverse contexts, topics and themes, Pérez-Reverte's literature is not a complete encyclopedia, nor does he intend it to be,[25] as his goal is not an attempt to encapsulate all knowledge, but rather, to direct the reader to other works, other discourses and debates, other cultural sources, and ultimately, to the library: the epicenter of any society.

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[24] See "Historias de libros en tres novelas de Arturo Pérez-Reverte" in *Territorio Reverte*, pp. 368-388, and "Historias de libros en *La Tabla de Flandes*, *El Club Dumas* y *La Piel del Tambor* de Arturo Pérez-Reverte, con una apostilla sobre *El Capitán Alatriste*" in *Espejos de una biblioteca*, pp. 267-286.

[25] For instance, in the following quote the narrator states that he is not going to provide anymore detail but he invites the reader to continue learning about the subject on their own: "En fin. Esos pormenores se encuentran de sobra en los anales de la época. A ellos remito al lector interesado en más detalles, pues ya no guardan relación directa con lo que atañe al hilo de esta historia" (*CA* 112).

In fact, all roads lead to and pass through the library in a way that goes beyond a mere identification of textual sources in the author's historical fiction. Looking beyond intertextuality through the author's conceptualization of the library, these historical works exhibit what could more aptly be called what I am coining, *bibliognosis*, or knowledge of and through the library. This includes the author's didactic intentions that aim to recover knowledge that has either been manipulated or that the author believes is in danger of being lost, as I have previously discussed, as well as the ways in which the author highlights that his works exist within a larger tradition that provides a gateway to the past, allowing one to converse with the dead, remember times and events that they have never lived, and participate in discourses that allow for a better understanding of contemporary society. Furthermore, the diverse spheres of knowledge that are recovered by the author, also serve as a way to engage a wide range of individuals in the narrative, as the author never seeks to exclude anyone from the conversation, but rather makes his writing accessible to a broad public. In using a variety of information of varying degrees of expertise, from common knowledge to more specialized knowledge, everyone is able to participate and make the text their own. For some, the narrative will contain new, but attainable information, while for others, the narrative will speak to what they are already familiar with as they perceive the remnants of other voices and discourses, many of which address the present while portraying the past and provide for a more profound reading.

Carmen Urioste has similarly emphasized the author's ability to reach a wide audience but has done so in terms of "tastes" and interests, stating that the author utilizes a variety of topics and themes in a way that appeals to a large, heterogeneous public. Employing the phrase "totalización del gusto" to describe his literature,[26] Urioste observes that Pérez-Reverte mixes

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[26] Urioste states that she borrows phrase from Javier Marías (474).

facets of both erudite and popular culture such that "aquello que le gusta a una <<minoría selecta>> cultivada, le guste también a una mayoría popular y viceversa" (474), resulting in "una aparente contradicción bipolar" (473). For Pérez-Reverte, however, such a combination is not necessarily a contradiction, but rather, another way in which diverse and seemingly opposite categories of language, literature, culture and society can relate to each other. This can also be witnessed throughout his historical narratives as the canonical and the popular, the present and the past, fact and fiction, tradition and innovation, official and unofficial history, various social classes, and genres mingle and coexist, after all, as the author has stated: "Todo es compatible en una biblioteca" ("El compromiso"). In this way, Pérez-Reverte's concept of the library again brings to mind Bakhtin, who stresses that even the most seemingly diverse, or incompatible languages "do not *exclude* each other but rather intersect with each other in many different ways" (*DN* 291). In other words, these various categories of language are not opposed to one another, nor as drawn apart as one may initially believe, but rather, as Bakhtin further states, they correspond to "specific points of view on the world" that when juxtaposed, lay bare a complex system of relationships through which they may "supplement one another, contradict one another and be interrelated dialogically" (*DN* 291-92). In addition to investigating the ways in which the author utilizes distinct voices and spheres of language to recover and engage in larger discourses, ultimately, this dissertation will show that through his play on and dialogue with socially marked language, classifications of literature, the words of others, and the many connotations that are embedded within them, Pérez-Reverte is modeling that meaning and knowledge are not fixed, but in a constant state of flux. This is significant given the author's position in Spanish society as a public intellectual, who is also a famous best-selling author. In this regard, the views that he expresses regarding the nation and the national past, in addition to carrying a certain amount of

weight within society, also regularly reach a large audience be it through his novels, articles, public appearances, interviews, or social media presence. In short, the platform that Pérez-Reverte has within Spain means that he has the ability to influence not only popular culture, but also the way that the past is viewed by a large percentage of society. It is for the aforementioned reasons that the author's rewriting and depiction of Spanish history, literature, culture, and society matters.

A Look at the Voices that Lie Ahead

The following chapters of this dissertation will address how the author relies on the library to recover voices and discourses from the past, that he then recycles in his own narratives and utilizes to participate in both traditions and larger conversations. Keeping in mind the Bakhtinian concepts outlined in the introduction, each chapter of this study will examine how the author utilizes language to underscore that he is engaging with others, both past and present, whereby he becomes a link in this ongoing and continually growing chain. To this end, Chapter 1, titled "The Historical Novel and Its Evolution: Past, Present, and Pérez-Reverte" will trace the evolution of the historical novel, in an effort to show how writing about the past has changed over time, and how the historical genre has evolved with trends in both literature and historiography. Basing my investigation on some of the most noteworthy texts and authors of this literary tradition in Europe and particularly in Spain, I will establish a foundation to discuss the present-day historical novel and show that although the genre maintains certain underlying elements, it is continually changing within society—ever evolving with each passing generation and with each new engagement with its generic traditions. The second half of this chapter will then segue into an analysis of the historical novels of Arturo Pérez-Reverte to explain how the

author utilizes the modern conventions of this genre to tell history from the margins, thus calling into question "official" historical discourse, and highlighting that every representation of the past is a construction. I further contend that Pérez-Reverte is well aware that he is working from and recycling a variety of "voices," many of which correspond to specific segments of society, while others reflect prior eras, Spanish culture, or literary traditions. When taken as a whole, I find that these echoes collectively underscore the connections between individuals, literature, and the world around us, all of which for the author are bound up in the library—seen as a homeland of knowledge and culture that links us to the past and to those that came before us.

Chapters 2 and 3 will then analyze the author's engagement with the distinct voices of two of his literary predecessors, as he echoes many of the topics, discourses, and generic traditions that they are known for, and that have come to be associated with their names. The first of these chapters, titled "Representations of a Nation in Arturo Pérez-Reverte and Benito Pérez Galdós," will specifically look at how the contemporary author follows in the footsteps of the nineteenth-century novelist through the use of generic traditions and by retelling historical events famously portrayed by the aforementioned author. More specifically, I will look at how Pérez-Reverte's vision of the nation and Spanish history, particularly the Battle of Trafalgar and the 2nd of May, compare to that of Galdós in the first series of his *Episodios nacionales*. In this chapter, I also discuss how both are noted for their didactic yet entertaining narratives that depict Spanish history and culture, while simultaneously conveying a message about this shared past to their contemporaries. Of particular interest will be how Pérez-Reverte engages with this tradition to convey knowledge about the past, while also including other "voices" that are not present in the nineteenth-century novelist's well-known depiction of these historic moments. In doing so, as this chapter will show, the contemporary author contributes to the narrative and the image of

these events, which ultimately adds to the discourse concerning the nation and the national past for his own era.

While studies analyzing Pérez-Reverte's connections to Benito Pérez Galdós have substantially increased scholarly discussions concerning Pérez-Reverte's historical narratives and his portrayal of the national past, it is the areas where the two authors do not coincide that reveal Pérez-Reverte's engagement with another "voice" from the Spanish canon—that of Pío Baroja. Chapter 3, titled "The Historical Novels of Arturo Pérez-Reverte and Pío Baroja: History, Storytelling, and Popular Literature," examines how the contemporary author echoes his predecessor in a variety of ways including through themes, patterns, ideas, and traditions that are reminiscent of Baroja. To this end, this chapter will uncover the underlying relationships that Pérez-Reverte holds with Pío Baroja, particularly in their cyclical portrayal of history, which is employed to critique the 'Eternal Spain' and depict a stagnant country that is not only plagued by the same social problems, but that is incapable of true progress. Other connections between the two authors include their use of the conventions of storytelling in war narratives to denounce the brutality and senselessness war, as well as their mutual interest in and recognition of the value of popular literature, which is incorporated in their narratives to stress that the canonical and the popular are not diametrically opposed, but rather two parts of the same whole that can work together and complement one another. These echoes that hearken back to Baroja are significant because they show that the contemporary author's focus is not so much with evoking a particular text, but rather, with the recycling and modification of conversations, patterns, and ideas that reveal that the author is working from within traditions and from the utterances of those that came before him.

Chapter 1: The Historical Novel and Its Evolution: Past, Present, and Pérez-Reverte

Part I: The Tradition of Imagining and Writing about the Past

Studies on historical fiction typically begin with Sir Walter Scott, who is almost without exception credited for single-handedly creating the sub-genre that is the historical novel. However, in recent years academics have begun to caution against this founding role suggesting that the novelistic production of Scott be viewed in a both a literary and sociohistorical context.[27] This perspective acknowledges his valuable contributions to the historical novel but emphasizes that it would be inaccurate to say that he did not have his predecessors or that he deviated substantially from them. It is for this reason that Richard Maxwell refers to Scott as the "great synthesizer" stating, "he knew what everyone before him had done and found a way to put it all together, without losing a purposeful overall direction distinctively his" (75). To reiterate, this is not to say that Sir Walter Scott did not leave his own mark on this type of literature, nor does this stance in any way diminish his literary contributions and the phenomena that were his widely read historical novels. It does, however, stress, as both Russell Sebold and Carlos Mata Induráin point out, that even the most innovative literary work, or emergent sub-genre, has its antecedents and is not created in a vacuum (Mata Induráin 25-6; Sebold 36).

The historical novel, in fact, is just one of various literary forms that developed out of mankind's interest in the past, an interest that has had a presence in every culture and each generation throughout the ages. By examining some of these antecedents it is possible to get a better understanding of the basic premise behind the historical novel which is that of the curious

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[27] See: De Groot, Jerome. *The Historical Novel*, New York, Routledge, 2009; Hamnett, Brian R. *The Historical Novel in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Representations of Reality in History and Fiction*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2011; and Maxwell, Richard. "The Historical Novel." *The Cambridge Companion to Fiction in the Romantic Period*, edited by Richard Maxwell and Katie Trumpener. Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 65-88.

blend of history and fiction; an amalgam that results in a nebulous space where the realms of the factual and of the imagined bleed into one another. Due to the vast number of examples of such literature throughout the world, the following study will be limited to those works that best serve the scope of this investigation. Furthermore, since my end purpose is to explain how the historical novel evolved among Spanish authors, and how Arturo Pérez-Reverte utilizes echoes of both the genre and of certain canonical predecessors in his own historical fiction, the investigation will focus on only the most consequential examples in Europe, with an emphasis on Spanish works. Although the historical novel is not a direct descendent of the earliest works outlined in the first part of this chapter, they provide the context for a more comprehensive view of the long-standing literary tradition of fusing fact with fiction, which the contemporary historical novel builds upon and continues to engage with for a modern era.

1.1 History and Poetic Invention in Classical Antiquity

History and literature have long been intertwined and there are numerous examples of their close relationship in Western culture, some of which date as far back as classical antiquity. The creative process involved in the composition of epic poetry, for example, treats actual events and other information that was generally regarded to be factual by the public, with an artistic license utilizing the imagination to provide what cannot be known by history alone. Such is the case of Homer's *Iliad* (8th century BCE), where history, myth and legend are combined in a poetic representation that exalts heroic individuals who perform feats of great valor. Moreover, not only did these poetic creations communicate historical and cultural knowledge to the public, they also connected the present society to past generations, highlighting their shared heritage and beliefs: "Like other Indo-European peoples, the Greeks of the early period delighted in poetry

and song which glorified the deeds and destinies of great heroes, their predecessors and, as they often believed, their ancestors. Such songs illustrated the nature of the world and showed their own connection with the gods" (Griffin 13). And although such works today are largely regarded as fiction with only strands of historical truth, Alessandro Manzoni notes in his seminal essay "On the Historical Novel" (1828-50) that literary epics like the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were considered history "by those to whom it was told or sung" (85).

The close relationship between history and poetic invention during the Classical period was not limited to literature but can also be found in the writings of historians, a fact that has not gone unnoticed by many scholars. Herodotus (484-425 BCE), for example, a Greek historian dubbed "The Father of History" by Cicero, not only mixed historical events with legendary tales and myths (Juliá 26-27), but his writing also showed a great debt to literature, particularly with Homer's epic poetry of which he showed a great knowledge (Rawlinson 6-7).[28] Suffice it to say, there were no clear boundaries between historiography and literature during this time, given that history was considered to be a branch of the former due to its reliance on rhetoric and literary techniques (Gossman 227-28; Hamnett 29). Some of these literary techniques used by Herodotus include invented speeches that are placed in the mouths of historical characters, the ability of the narrator to know the inner thoughts of these individuals, and the occasional omnipresence of said narrator (de Jong 262). Ronald Mellor also finds that Herodotus, wanting to entertain his audience as an epic poet would, exaggerated and "embellished his history with imaginative elaborations and thrilling drama" (7). Furthermore, in the introductory paragraph to his *Histories*, it is evident that the Greek historian was consciously leaving a record of the feats of past

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[28] In *The History of Herodotus*, George Rawlinson states on this topic: "He has drunk at the Homeric cistern till his whole being is impregnated with the influence thence derived. In the scheme and plan of his work, in the arrangement and order of its part, in the tone and character of the thoughts, in ten thousand little expressions and words, the Homeric student appears" (6-7).

generations, revealing that his: "purpose is to prevent the traces of human events from being erased by time, and to preserve the fame of the important and remarkable achievements produced by both Greeks and non-Greeks" (Herodotus 3). In this regard, both epic poetry and the historiography of classical antiquity sought to pass down historical and cultural knowledge so that the information would remain in the collective memory of their society, and both did so while dramatizing and fictionalizing the past—albeit to different degrees of fact and fiction.

Thus, the intermingling of history and literature dates back to some of the first known examples of both historiography and of poetic production in Western civilization. The discourse regarding the close connection between the two and the interest in establishing a clearer distinction between them have also been around since classical antiquity. Such was the concern regarding the overlapping of historical and literary productions that the Greek philosopher and scientist Aristotle (384-322 BCE) debated the common ground between them in his much-quoted *Poetics*, which includes a segment where he seeks to delineate the boundaries between the two. In this work, Aristotle finds that the distinction between poetry and history is not so much in their form (verse or prose) but in the types of material used and in the way that material is discussed: "the difference lies in the fact that the historian speaks of what has happened, the poet of the kind of thing that *can* happen" (32-33). He follows that statement by further explaining that history discusses the "particulars," or the specifics of what has transpired, while poetry portrays the "universal," or the truths of the human condition and of human nature (33).[29] Nevertheless, the issue that Aristotle does not address is when the work in question inhabits both spheres, where both the historical and literary intentions are evident, and in which the author discusses not only the particulars of actual events, but also universal truths.

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[29] "for poetry speaks more of universals, history of particulars" (Aristotle 33).

This debate concerning the ill-defined separation and overlap between history and literature was not limited to ancient Greece but extended to ancient Rome as well. Cicero (107 BCE - 44 BCE), for example, following in the footsteps of Aristotle, noted differences in the laws that govern poetry and those that govern historiography in his *De Legibus*, a work that also contains a rebuttal aimed at those who find fault with the intermingling fact and fiction, and who criticize poets for not adhering to historical truths. In a conversation between Atticus, Cicero, and Quintus, the Roman philosopher begins his apologia that poetry is not subject to the same criteria of factualness as other disciplines:

> *Atticus*: Yet people ask, concerning many parts of the "Marius," whether they are fiction or fact: and certain persons, since you are dealing with recent events and a native of Arpinum, demand that you stick to the truth.
>
> *Cicero*: And I for my part have no desire to be thought to deal in falsehood; but all the same, my dear Titus, those "certain persons" whom you mention display their ignorance by demanding in such a matter the kind of truthfulness expected of a witness in court rather than of a poet. No doubt these same people believe that Numa talked with Egeria, and that the cap was placed on Tarquinius' head by the eagle! (301)

In short, those "certain persons" are asking for the impossible, since they are requiring that the poetic reconstruction of an unrecoverable past have the accuracy of an eye-witness account of someone who was present during those times and events. Moreover, given that these bygone eras have been woven together with threads of myth and legend, they have already been fictionalized and cannot serve a forensic rhetoric. Consequently, those who hold epic poetry to the same standards as history are looking for veracity where there need not be.

In this manner, Cicero, like Aristotle, maintains that the poet is not confined to what has

happened and is at liberty to write about what can or could have happened, mixing fact and fiction freely if they so choose. As the exchange between the three men continues, this assertion is followed by a clear distinction between the rules that govern poetry and those that govern history:

> *Quintus*: As I understand it, then, my dear brother, you believe that different principles are to be followed in history and in poetry.
>
> *Cicero*: Certainly, Quintus; for in history the standard by which everything is judged is the truth, while in poetry it is generally the pleasure one gives; however, in the works of Herodotus, the Father of History, and in those of Theopompus one finds innumerable fabulous tales. (*De Re Publica*, *De Legibus* 301)

Thus, while the Roman philosopher admits that some historians blur the line between the factual and the imagined, he insists that the aesthetic value of poetry is to bring about enjoyment, while the fundamental element of history is truth. This idea is also expressed in *De Oratore* when he states that history should be honestly presented without bias or partisanship, specifying that "it is the first law in writing history, that the historian must not dare to tell any falsehood, and the next, that he must be bold enough to tell the whole truth" (*Cicero on Oratory and Orators* 99). Nevertheless, despite the insistence on factuality and truth, historians of this period inevitably included some embellishments and fictitious elements, which has led J. E. Lendon to call Roman historiography an in between, grey area where "a degree of embroidery and imagination is layered upon a basis of fact" (57).

Returning to literature, we see that composers of the Roman epic saw themselves in the lineage of a poetic tradition, and as such, they consciously utilized Homeric conventions while also including intertextual references to other Greek and Roman epics (Toohey 32). Virgil's

Aeneid (29-19 BCE), for instance, continues the epic tradition of blending history and invention, although, in contrast to the Greek epic, it adds a greater imperialistic focus that was more common among Roman poets.[30] Peter Toohey explains that in the Roman epic, the imperial power of past ages was employed to form a connection to the author's present, thus establishing continuity between a bygone era and their own: "Virgil, like Naevius and Ennius, sees this institutional power or empire as stretching from Rome's Trojan founders, Aeneas in particular, right down to contemporary Romans, such as the emperor Augustus" (37). Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that while the Roman epic intended to convey the history of the empire and an imperial legacy, that past was intertwined with the poetic, as Mercedes Juliá points out in *Ruinas del pasado* stating that "[e]l poeta latino no solo quería expresar lo universal en sus versos, sino que además deseaba que éstos estuviesen basados en hechos establecidos" (28-9).

In this brief overview of the epic and of historiography during classical antiquity, I have wanted to show not only the close relationship between history and poetic invention in the epic tradition, but also how these works, much like other types of historical writing at the time, sought to communicate historical and cultural information while preserving a record of their inherited past for future generations. Furthermore, in analyzing the previous works and writings, it is apparent that the debates and discourses surrounding the confluence of history and poetic imagination have existed from the beginning of Western civilization in some of the earliest examples of literary and scholarly writing. While the debates concerning how the past is written and remembered will evolve over time, these early examples of literature and historiography

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[30] In fact, Charles Knapp finds that "Vergil doubtless realized that he must in some way, combine legend and history. Naevius and Ennius had established for all time the convention of going back to beginnings, and of finding those beginnings in the Trojan-Roman story" (200-01).

constitute a tradition that others will engage with and continue to develop in their own ways.

1.2 History and Artistic License: Precursors to the Historical Novel in Spain

The blending of historical events and creative invention continued into the Middle Ages in both medieval chronicles and *cantares de gesta*, which relayed the strife and heroic feats of noble individuals. The most renowned example in Spanish literature being the *Cantar de mio Cid* (circa 1140-1207), which tells of actual events in the life of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar (1043-1099), such as his exile by Alfonso VI, subsequent military campaigns, and efforts to restore his honor. Continuing in the epic tradition, the *Cantar de mio Cid* passes down the history of a heroic predecessor who serves as an ethical model for those in the present society,[31] which in turn creates a connection to and a continuity with the past. The audience would have already been familiar with the legendary acts of this historic figure of the Reconquest, however, even though the *Cantar* utilizes historical information, it dramatizes the events through artistic license, distorting and elaborating on the facts to entertain and create interest, while also aggrandizing the bravery, loyalty and moral qualities of El Cid. Also like the epics of classical antiquity, there is no clear distinction between history and fiction, the real and the invented. In fact, as Mercedes Juliá observes, in both classical and medieval societies the intertwining of past events with poetic elements was not considered to diminish its historical accuracy or make the account untrustworthy, but rather "constituía otra forma de entender la realidad" (30). Similarly, Edmund de Chasca notes that the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, far from being false or unreliable, embodies two kinds of truth: "El cantar castellano, pues, tan poético como historia y tan histórico como poema,

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[31] Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar is presented as the ideal vassal, lord, family man, and Christian within the historical context of Medieval Spain.

puede servirnos como pocas obras para demostrar lo dicho en cuanto a la verdad histórica y la verdad poética" (6).

Medieval historiography in Spain was also thoroughly novelized as can be seen in the *Primera Crónica General* (circa 1260-1284), also known as the *Estoria de España*, which included prose versions of the previously mentioned *cantares de gesta*. In this text, the singular feats of heroic individuals including, but not limited to, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, Bernardo del Carpio, and Fernán González, as well as legends such as that of *Los siete infantes de Lara*, are narrated in a manner that utilizes fantasy and imagination to expound upon the particulars of each account. Carlos Mata Induráin finds that in the *Primera Crónica General*, legendary figures are treated equally as historical figures and that those in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries would have accepted these readings as historically true despite their embellishments and fantastical elements (28). In regards to this fictionalization of the past, Mata Induráin further explains that,

> No existía una conciencia histórica plena, rigurosamente científica, que permitiera deslindar claramente lo cierto y lo fabuloso, lo histórico y lo legendario, de ahí que la frontera entre verdad y poesía se presente en estas obras difuminada. En realidad, se da en ellas una visión poética de la historia, género que constituye todavía, como en la antigüedad clásica, un arte literario. (28)

What is apparent from this brief discussion of epic poetry and historiography, is that since both classical antiquity and medieval times, history and poetic invention have been intricately linked as each generation fictionalizes episodes from their collective past according to the needs of the present, societal values, and their understanding of the world. And while the historical novel is not a direct descendent of the previously discussed literary forms, there are

multiple points of contact including the blending of fact and invention, as well as the utilization of the past to entertain, instruct, caution, and provide a sense of continuity with previous generations while documenting the history of the society. The reconstruction and fictionalization of the past continued into the following centuries, and it is as early as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that some Hispanists believe that literature resembling what would eventually become the historical novel in Spain was produced, even though the word "novel," and the concept of the novel as we know it, did not exist (Juliá 31; Ferreras 57-8).

Ramón Menéndez Pidal, for example, regarded the *Crónica sarracina* (written ca. 1430) as the originator of this sub-genre of literature in Spain (lxxxix), an observation with which Juan Ignacio Ferreras concurs, writing in *La novela en el siglo XVI* that the *Crónica sarracina* is "el fundador […] de toda una tendencia novelística que ahora llamamos novela histórica" (58).[32] This text, itself a reworking of the *Crónica General de 1344*, recounts two tales, that of Don Rodrigo the last Visigoth king, and the legendary victory of Don Pelayo at the Battle of Covadonga, which together convey and propagate the so-called "fall and rise" of Spain. Produced during a time when Christian advancements in the Reconquest were at a standstill (Brownlee 121), the *Crónica sarracina* reflects the foundational myths and 'national' themes that were growing in popularity (Agnew 36), quite possibly in response to the lack of progress on the military front.

The qualities of this work that have led critics to regard it as the earliest precursor of the historical novel in Spain include its use of narrative prose in relaying legendary episodes already ingrained in the collective memory of the people, its combination of historical and fantastic elements, as well as its attention to realistic details that contribute to the illusion of historical

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[32] Similarly, Ramón Menéndez Pidal wrote that the *Crónica sarracina* was the "primera novela histórica española" in *Floresta de leyendas españolas: Rodrigo el último godo* (lxxxix).

accuracy (Ferreras 58-9; Juliá 31; Mata Induráin 31). In fact, its author, Pedro del Corral, takes great care in presenting the *Crónica* as an authentic document of historical facts. In addition to the at times exorbitant referencing of historical information,[33] the work itself has supposedly been composed by a character of the *Crónica sarracina* who "discovered" previously lost manuscripts written by historians that give eyewitness accounts of the episodes in the narrative. Such motifs were not uncommon in literature of the time and often served to amplify the supposed factualness of the work while contributing an overall sense of verisimilitude, in which the fictional and apocryphal elements are constructed in such a way as to appear authentic. Unsurprisingly, some contemporaries of Pedro del Corral believed the text to be a "fuente historiográfica legítima" (Mata Induráin 31), and a few even utilized the *Crónica* as a historical reference for their own texts (Agnew 30).[34] Others, however, including the notable historiographer Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (1376-1458) regarded the work as a pack of lies and fabrications.[35] According to Michael Agnew, the criticism and condemnation of Pedro del Corral by Pérez de Guzmán was in part due to the fact that the historian saw the *Crónica sarracina* as adversely affecting the reception of more 'serious' historiography such as his own (30). Nevertheless, what Pérez de Guzmán disliked more than anything else concerning the *Crónica* was that it was widely read, as Agnew explains: "he was not warning careless readers about a treacherous pseudo-history parading as fact but rather complaining that such fluff was popular" (30).[36]

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[33] See both Brownlee and Agnew for a discussion on how the author uses references and information in this text.
[34] Agnew notes, however, that del Corral's most glaring episodes of fiction were not used as historical references (30).
[35] In *Generaciones y semblanzas* (1456), the historian goes on at length about the portrayal of history, ultimately concluding that the *Crónica sarracina* is a "trufa o mentira paladina" (1).
[36] In recent years, scholars such as Michael Agnew and Marina Brownlee have demonstrated that the *Crónica sarracina* is ripe with nuances that demonstrate that Pedro del Corral intentionally undermines the historicity of the narrative by continually drawing attention to the fictitious nature of the chronicle, and thus, the work is more

The popularity of the *Crónica sarracina* led to a surge in publications and manuscripts with historical themes, frequently taking as subjects the heroes of the *cantares de gesta* and popular events, both real and invented, that were still located in the collective imaginary of the society (Ferreras 58-9). The reconstruction of the mythical origins of Spain would also remain a popular topic throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *Las Abidas* (1566) by Jerónimo de Arbolanche, for instance, continues this particular tradition, but adds another dimension through its exaltation of a specific geographical location and culture, which ennobles a people, region, or city.[37] This text retells the myth of Gárgoris, king of the Tartessos, and his son Abido, but portrays this imagined, pre-Roman past as originating in the Pyrenees and then spreading to the rest of the Peninsula. In doing so, the author highlights the Basque people as the founding civilization of what would become Spain. According to Javier Irigoyen-García, de Arbolanche looks for origins in this mythical and remote pre-historic past in order "to resuscitate a Spain that existed prior to the arrival of the Romans, Phoenicians, Greeks, and Carthaginians" (88). By establishing the Basque people as the surviving descendants of this civilization, he is also stressing the supposed purity of their blood (Irigoyen-García 90), an important distinction of status for citizens of early modern Spain. Juan Ignacio Fererras finds that this type of historical text became increasingly more abundant towards the end of the sixteenth century, with the origins of cities such as Toledo and Ávila being the most frequent choices of subject (57).

Another type of narrative that critics have seen as approaching what would eventually be called the historical novel is that which strives to recreate a historical universe in its totality through the inclusion of details that contribute to the particular character of both a geographic

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complex than his own contemporaries realized. In fact, Agnew writes that ultimately, "Corral never intended that his audience believe his apocryphal historians to be entirely trustworthy" (34).

[37] For Ferreras, this represents another type of narration that could be considered a precursor to what we call the "archeological" historical novel (57).

location and a specific epoch.[38] In these texts, historical figures mix freely with fictitious characters in a setting or during an event that continues to resonate in the collective memory of a society. The first part of the *Guerras de Granada*, entitled *Historia de los bandos de Zegríes y Abencerrajes* (1595) is often named within this context.[39] This work incorporates cultural, historical and genealogical information about Granada and its notable families, while also including descriptions of traditions, architecture, and the geography of the area. While academics such as Carlos Mata Induráin have commented on the poetic nature of this text (33), Diane Sieber argues that the historiographical aspects of this work within the context of the sixteenth century should not be overlooked. Sieber explains that its author Ginés Pérez de Hita (c. 1544-1619) and his contemporaries viewed this work as a factual historical discourse that was corroborated and granted authority through the incorporation of *romances* in the narrative (291-93). These *romances*, rooted in the epic tradition, were deemed authentic sources of historical information by early modern historians and chroniclers alike who, similar to Pérez de Hita, maintained that "the history of Spain lay embedded in the *romanceros*" (Sieber 294).[40] Given this information, Sieber concludes that when reinserted into the context of both the sixteenth century and of the historigraphic practices of this era, the *Historia de los bandos de Zegríes y Abencerrajes* would have been considered a work of history and not fiction (304).

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[38] Ferreras notes that this reconstruction includes "fiestas y torneos, romances y cantares" (60), while Carlos Mata Induráin further adds that the "descripciones de fiestas de toros, sortijas y cañas, de vestidos, motes y divisas, […] contribuyen a la creación del denominado <<color local>>" (33).
[39] See: Ferreras 60; Mata Induráin 32-33; Juliá 31; and Menéndez Pelayo 134.
[40] Likewise, Carlos Mata Induráin writes that the *romances fronterizos* were considered to be a source of news (32), and he quotes María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, who finds that "el crédito del romancero como fuente informativa estaba muy alto en los siglos XV y XVI" (qtd. in Mata Induráin 32).

1.3 The Past Takes Center Stage: Historical Drama in Seventeenth-Century Spain

The fluid nature between literature and history not only persisted throughout the seventeenth century in Spain, but also was cultivated through the incorporation and recycling of national themes, legends, and ballads of previous eras. Geraldine Coates, who in "Lope de Vega, the Chronicle-Legend Plays and Collective Memory" notes the connections between the medieval epic, chronicles, and the *romanceros*, also states that "[t]hese vibrant forms of medieval literature inspired Early Modern dramatists, who were quick to recognize the theatrical potential of local and national history" (132). Reaching back to previous representations of the past, these dramaturges mixed historical events and figures with invention and poetic license, often by elaborating on the collective historical imagination. Moreover, according to Kurt Spang, their reliance on relatively familiar events or material that was already known, contributed a sense of plausibility and provided credibility to these dramas (*El drama histórico* 17). It goes without saying that this made the audience more inclined to accept what was portrayed on stage since it coincided, at least in part, with popular knowledge and commonly held beliefs about the past, no matter how vague they may be. In his study on this subject, Spang further finds that the use of historical materials, which would include chronicles and popular lyrics, also allowed playwrights to save time by moving quickly through initial details and explanations at the onset of the play given that the audience would already be familiar with the basic circumstances of the story, and possibly the ending, causing a heightened interest in the ways that the events unfold, rather than in their outcome (*El drama histórico* 16).

While not the first to fictionalize the past or incorporate medieval ballads and chronicles

in theatrical form,[41] Lope de Vega was the most prolific Spanish dramatist to explore such materials and adapt the history of Spain for his dramatic productions. Some of his more known historical dramas that draw from chronicles, *romances*, and legends include: *El último godo* (1600), *Peribánez y el comendador de Ocaña* (c. 1605-1608), *El conde Fernán González* (c. 1606-1612), *El bastardo Mudarra* (1612), *Fuenteovejuna* (1614), and *El mejor alcalde, el rey* (c. 1620-1623). Many critics have remarked that Lope de Vega was well acquainted with medieval chronicles and *romances*,[42] and that he freely incorporated historical information from a variety of sources to compose his works, as Ignacio Arellano observes:

> La utilización de Lope de materiales históricos variadísimos da pie a la redacción de innumerables comedias que arrancan de datos, anécdotas y sucesos de la historia española y extranjera, de la antigüedad clásica o de los tiempos recientes, desde Roma (*Roma abrasada*, *El esclavo de Roma*) y Ciro el Grande (*Contra valor no hay desdicha*) a la conquista de Indias (*El nuevo Mundo descubierto por Colón*, *Arauco domado*) y los tiempos de Felipe II (*Don Juan de Austria en Flandes*). (180)

Nevertheless, despite his abundant use of such materials, Lope did not aspire to a faithful historical representation in his works. Instead, he favored the artistic over the factual and saw the historical chronicles and romances as starting points from which he could develop his dramatic representations.[43] In other words, although he used historical material, Lope's ultimate goal was

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[41] Coates, for example, finds that in 1575 Jerónimo Bermúdez wrote two plays which dramatized the life of Inés de Castro: *Nise lastimosa* and *Nise laureada*. Shortly after, Juan de la Cueva, inspired by popular *romanceros*, published three historical plays in 1579: *Comedia de la muerte del rey don Sancho*, *Tragedia de los siete infantes de Lara*, and *Comedia de la libertad de España por Bernardo del Carpio* (132).

[42] For instance, Coates notes that Lope de Vega was particularly familiar with the *Crónica general* of 1541 by Florián de Ocampo (135).

[43] Ignacio Arellano states that this was common for playwrights of his time, writing in *Historia del teatro español del siglo XVII* that "las fuentes y los datos históricos […] son solamente un punto de partida" (351). Similarly, DeLys Ostlund in *The Re-creation of History in the Fernando and Isabel Plays of Lope de Vega*, concurs that for all early modern dramatists "history was […] used as a springboard towards their ultimate goal of the creation of a

not historical accuracy, but rather, artistic expression, and as such, he did not feel confined or limited to the historical record. Furthermore, anachronisms and invention in historical dramas of this time were not frowned upon as long as they did not diminish the overall credibility of the work. In fact, Tracy Crowe Morey finds that during the Early Modern period, "invention and embellishment determine the dramatist's superiority over the historian" (38).

While in modern times Lope de Vega's works have been criticized for presenting Spanish history in a glorified light, Kurt Spang maintains that such a view is misguided and he asserts that "el propósito del teatro de Lope y de los demás autores barrocos no era ese [glorificar el pasado], sino justamente el contrario, sin que por ello pueda tachárseles de oportunistas o inconscientes" (*El drama histórico* 21). In fact, although the setting, characters, and events of the historical drama remind the audience of a distant and remote epoch, the situations frequently mirror problems and concerns in contemporary society with which the audience would be able to identify. Spang explains that the time period represented on stage responds simultaneously to both the distant past and the present society, and quotes Francisco Ruiz Ramón, who notes this juxtaposition in the *comedia histórica* in which: "Pasado y presente van reflejándose mutuamente. […] se imaginan, se inventan o se descubren nuevas relaciones significativas entre pasado y presente" (qtd. in Spang, *El drama histórico* 42).

This interplay between past and present temporalities carried out by Early Modern dramatists gave new life to historical events and medieval ballads, allowing them to resonate beyond their time. For instance, Alexander Samson and Jonathan Thacker find that in addition to the portrayal of actual events that took place in 1476, *Fuenteovejuna* responds to "anxieties

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work of art" (1). Ostlund further explains: "In keeping with Aristotelian thought, Golden Age theater was considered a poetic genre and playwrights, poets. […] The goal of the playwright in any play, whatever the subject matter, was poetic perfection. In order to achieve this when using historical matter, the dramatists regularly subordinated history to fiction" (7).

about status and monarchical control" and also echoes "elements of social criticism, picking up on *arbitristas*' complaints about corruption at court and the abandonment of the countryside by the traditional nobility in favour of the city" (128).[44] In another example of the use of the past to mirror contemporary society, Teresa Kirschner and Dolores Clavero observe that *El bastardo Mudarra*, Lope's rewriting of the chronicle-legend *Los siete infantes de Lara*, not only reveals seventeenth-century Spanish concerns over lineage and *limpieza de sangre*, but also reflects recent historic events, noting that the expulsion of the Moors had concluded only two years prior (1609-1610) and that "[l]a dramatización de la leyenda que lleva a cabo Lope ofrece una representación compleja de los problemas inherentes al nacionalismo y a la identidad étnica y religiosa" (130). In fact, in the conclusion to their study of close to a dozen of Lope de Vega's plays with historical and legendary themes, Kirschner and Clavero determine that "Lope recupera el pasado para cuestionar el presente" (281).[45]

1.4 History and Poetic Imagination During the Enlightenment

The fluid relationship between history and literature that had endured in Spain throughout the seventeenth century began to change during the Enlightenment as the two spheres gradually came to be viewed as separate fields that were in direct opposition to each other. Russell Sebold finds that this shift followed advancements in science and scholarship, citing publications such as *Novum Organum Scientarium* (1620) by Francis Bacon, *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia*

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[44] Samson and Thacker also note that *El caballero de Olmedo*, which is in part a poetic reworking of a popular ballad, now lost, concerning the death of Don Juan de Vivero in 1521, "also reveals Lope de Vega's alertness to the changing face of society in the early modern period" (128).

[45] For a list of other works from this time period that recover historical, legendary, or national themes, while blurring the boundaries between history and fiction see Carlos Mata Induráin pp. 33-34, and Juan Ignacio Ferreras's *La novela en el siglo XVII*, pp. 44-49.

Matematica (1687) by Sir Isaac Newton, and *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) by John Locke, which would later encourage empirical tendencies in other fields and disciplines (24). Fueled by rationalist ways of thinking and scientific principles, Enlighteners, according to Hayden White, sought to separate reason [truth] from imagination [fiction] in historiography, and held the former to be superior to the latter in the historical record (*Metahistory* 52). White also remarks that the result of viewing history through a scientific lens "meant that whole bodies of data from the past—everything contained in legend, myth, fable—were excluded as potential evidence for determining the truth about the past" (*Metahistory* 52). Consequently, the very means that previous generations and societies had used to pass down their collective memories, which not only connected them to an inherited past, but that also doubled as a way to understand their present and the world around them, were, according to White, presumed to be little more than primitive and fantastical tales created by people who lacked scientific understanding and knowledge (*Metahistory* 52).

The inherent opposition and incompatibility that was believed to exist between history and literature during this time period partially explains why the eighteenth century has typically received little attention for its role in the development of the historical novel. Nevertheless, despite the seeming lack of relevance towards the emergence of the subgenre in question, developments during the Enlightenment greatly contributed to historical fiction since the emphasis on scholarship, sources, and detailed methodology would continue to influence the subsequent generation of writers who would take up themes of history in narrative form. In fact, one of the key elements that distinguishes nineteenth-century historical narratives from those of previous generations is precisely this newfound erudition and empiricism, which eventually led to the professionalization of history, as well as to the belief that the past could be accurately

portrayed through research and documentation. Regarding this lasting influence of the Enlightenment in Romantic writers who incorporated elements of the past in their narratives, Russell Sebold explains: "la corriente filosófica y científica que llevó a los escritores a hacerse observadores sistemáticos de su mundo, y especialmente sobre la nueva erudición histórica dieciochesca, […] influyó en los novelistas románticos para que concentrasen en su observación en la sociedad humana del pasado" (24).[46] This new historical consciousness, whose seeds were planted during the eighteenth century, would continue to develop throughout the nineteenth century and would also make writing about the past decidedly different from prior artistic representations of bygone eras.

1.5 Sir Walter Scott and the Classic Historical Novel

Although other authors had written novels with historical themes prior to the publication of *Waverley* in 1814,[47] the contributions to the subgenre made by Sir Walter Scott mark the criteria that would come to be associated with the classical historical novel, and that would be imitated by others during the nineteenth century. Among these contributions, Gyrögy Lukcás states that whereas history had previously been used as background décor or "mere costumery," Scott had succeeded in portraying "the specifically historical, that is, derivation of the individuality of characters from the historical peculiarity of their age" (19). In other words, history now formed an integral part of the narrative, employed to both capture the essence of a previous age, and understand the people of a specific time and location. Other modifications that

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[46] According to Sebold, *costumbrismo*, or the depiction of mannerisms and everyday life, also developed out of this new tendency towards observation, which writers directed towards society and the world around them (25).
[47] Russell Sebold, for instance, writes that in 1793 Pedro Montengón published *El Rodrigo. Romance épico* (34), and Carlos Mata Induráin in "Retrospectiva sobre la evolución de la novela histórica," gives a list of such works written in Spain before Scott's immensely successful *Waverley* novels (147).

Lukcás emphasizes in his seminal work *The Historical Novel*, include the portrayal of history as a process (23),[48] as well as the realization that the common man is intricately bound to the changes in history, both as a participant and as a product of it (47). For Lukcás, Scott's ability to embody history in the characters, including his "middle heroes" who move easily between social classes, not only marks his ingenuity and merit as a writer (35), but also exemplifies the overall purpose of the historical novel, which seeks to provide an understanding of and compassion towards individuals of a previous age (42). As Lukcás explains: "What matters therefore in the historical novel is not the re-telling of great historical events, but the poetic awakening of the people who figured in those events. What matters is that we should re-experience the social and human motives which led men to think, feel and act just as they did in *historical reality*" (42; my emphasis). To achieve this "historical reality" in the narrative, Scott focuses on everyday experiences, and includes a variety of descriptive elements ranging from representations of the countryside and local customs, to the portrayal of actual events. According to Lukcás, the abundance of detail serves to recreate the "interaction between man and his social environment" in an attempt to capture the milieu of a prior time and bring it back to life for a modern reader (40). These details, no matter how trivial they may initially appear, contribute to the narrative reconstruction that allows readers to envision the historical setting and connect with a previous society and their way of life. As Lukcás specifies:

> The historical novel therefore has to *demonstrate* by *artistic* means that historical circumstances and characters existed in precisely such and such a way. What in Scott has

[48] For Lukcás this is only possible after the French Revolution (1788-1789) and other revolutionary wars throughout Europe (1789-1814), which brought considerable social change and "made history a *mass experience* […] on a European scale" (23).

been called very superficially "authenticity of local colour" is in actual fact this artistic demonstration of *historical reality*" (43; emphasis added).

The heightened focus on the reconstruction of a historical setting through detail and observation not only reflects the realism of eighteenth-century predecessors, but it also distinguishes what is typically considered the classical historical novel from the previous historical representations discussed earlier in this chapter. In his *Ensayo sobre la novela histórica*, Amado Alonso describes this new approach as *archeological*,[49] in which minute details of prior societies and aspects of their cultural landscapes are used in order to "reconstruir un modo de vida pretérito y ofrecerlo como pretérito, en su lejanía, con los especiales sentimientos que despierta en nosotros la monumentalidad" (143-44). In fact, for these novelists, the remains of the past were objects of study that functioned as gateways to prior eras. This view not only contributed to their approach to representing the past in the narrative, but also to the way that they saw themselves in their endeavors, as Sebold explains: "Se consideraban como estudiosos serios del pasado real, científicamente conocible y documentable a través de las crónicas y la literatura antigua. Les atraía mucho lo arqueológico de las casas, los trajes, las joyas, los muebles, la vajilla de antaño" (20).

However, at the same time that these novelists sought to resurrect the essence of a prior era through detailed descriptions and the portrayal of cultural landscapes, they also exhibited Romantic tendencies towards the exotic and picturesque, included dramatic and fantastic elements in their narratives, and were drawn to adventure, superstition, myths and legends. The

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[49] Alonso defines the term as the "estudio de un estado social y cultural con todos sus particularismos de época y de país, y cuyo sentido y coherencia no está en la sucesión sino en la *coexistencia* y en la recíproca condicionalidad de sus elementos: instituciones, costumbres, técnicas, viviendas, indumentaria, alimentación, instrumental, etc." (12; emphasis added). Richard Maxwell explains that the term in question later came to be labeled as antiquarianism, where "[t]he antiquary concentrates on studying social systems, covering "the whole subject section by section" rather than explaining things in a causal and sequential manner" (60).

seeming contradiction in fusing flights of the imagination and melodrama with this new sense of archeological erudition, has frequently resulted in the classification of the historical novel as a "paradoxical hybrid," as noted by Michael Iarocci, who finds that "[w]hile its lyrical dimensions resonate with Romanticism's expressive poetics, its reliance on painstaking archival research, its archeological verisimilitude, and its highly detailed natural descriptions reflect more empirical concerns" (384). Similarly, scholars of this genre note that the fusion of both romance traditions and eighteenth-century realism results in an irresolvable tension between poetic imagination and historical reality (Hamnett 47), thus blurring the line between fact and fiction. The fusion of supposedly incompatible opposites, such as the real and the imagined, not only highlights once again the hybrid nature of the genre, but the contrast found in this duality also marks one of its central tenets according to María Cristina Pons, who finds that "es propia del género la tensión que se entabla entre la Historia y la ficción" (68).

Nevertheless, this central characteristic has also spurred much criticism, leading some to label it as an impossible, even unnatural, genre that is both thoroughly flawed and doomed to fail. For example, in his essay "On the Historical Novel" (1828-50), Alessandro Manzoni discusses the two main accusations that plague the genre at its very core, centering on the amalgam of historical fact and poetic license that places it in a double bind. On the one hand, Manzoni notes that in this intermingling of fact and fiction, not only is the genre set up to fail in its objective of accurately portraying the past, but doing so also makes the genre ethically corrupt since it disguises falsehoods as fact, which misleads readers into believing something that is not true (63-4). Conversely, he adds, when "the author does plainly distinguish factual truth from invention; this […] destroys the unity that is the vital condition of this or any other work of art" (65). Thus, he concludes that although the genre sets out to instruct and delight (65), in the end it can do

neither, since it either masquerades falsehoods as fact, which deceives people, or it destroys the illusion and the art of fiction, which disappoints the reader. The case is a hopeless contradiction according to Manzoni, who finds that its "essential conditions cannot be reconciled, or even one fulfilled. It inevitably calls for a combination that is contrary to its subject matter and a division contrary to its form" (72). This leads Manzoni to conclude that its incongruous nature would ultimately be its downfall and undoing, stating that,

> A great poet and a great historian may be found in the same man without creating confusion, but not in the same work. In fact, the two opposite criticism that furnished the lines of argument for the trial of the historical novel had already showed up in the first moments of the genre and at the height of its popularity, like germs of an eventually mortal illness in a healthy-looking baby. (126)

1.6 The Historical Novel in Spain

While the dilemma between history and fiction did not lead to the death of the genre as prophesied by Manzoni, it did contribute to debates about its validity (Hamnett 173), as well as to increasingly harsh criticism of Sir Walter Scott, whose historical inaccuracies were easily detected by educated readers in England practically from the start (Alonso 73). Despite the factual errors and criticism, however, Scott's historical novels became vastly popular, and were widely imitated by novelists in other countries who replicated many of the primary characteristics of his works, but with episodes from their own country's national past (Fernández Prieto 85), or with stories ingrained in the popular memory of their countrymen. Spanish authors

also followed this trend,[50] although they began later than novelists in other European countries,[51] and included a distinctive tendency towards romantic suffering, the tragic, and an engagement with the sublime that differed from both the historical novels of Scott and those of his imitators (Almela 112-3; Sebold 37-9). Beyond this excess of tragedy and angst, however, Spanish Romantic novelists by and large copied the generic patterns that were made popular by Scott, providing readers with a documented and recognizable past infused with fiction, detailed descriptions of Spanish customs, regional landscapes and episodes from the chronicles, along with the incorporation of exotic and fantastic elements, as previously mentioned, seen in their inclination towards adventure, the supernatural, and legendary tales set in a Medieval Spanish past.

The aforementioned tendencies have typically resulted in the dismissal of the Spanish historical novel of this time period as fundamentally escapist literature that sought refuge and entertainment in the distant past in order to avoid problems and issues within society. And while such charges can still be found today,[52] other academics have challenged this view, finding that this is not entirely the case given that contemporary problems were often disguised in the bygone eras depicted in these novels. Michael Iarocci, for instance, notes that while the Medieval past portrayed in these narratives was attractive due to "its temporally exotic settings, its fascination with the gothic macabre, and its sustained interest in the supernatural," he points out that the Romantic historical novel also "frequently encoded a series of very contemporary nineteenth-century concerns that allowed it to be read as an allegory of the disquieting present in which it

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[50] In *El triunfo del liberalismo y de la novela histórica (1830-1870)*, for instance, Juan Ignacio Ferreras finds that there were at least 528 works published between 1830 and 1870 (208).
[51] Hamnett, in fact, writes that "The vogue for Scott in Spain started almost at the point it began to wane in France" (223).
[52] See for example: Mercedes Juliá (37) and Russell Sebold (54).

developed" (383). Examples of this abound in many of the most studied historical novels of the period. Ángel Antón Andrés and Margarita Almela, for instance, both write that the thirteenth-century political situation depicted in José de Espronceda's *Sancho Saldaña* (1834) closely mirrors the First Carlist War (Almela 114; Antón Andrés 30), and Almela further elaborates that the Spanish historical narratives of this period often utilized bleak situations in a distant past in order to "establecer a los ojos del lector las analogías entre esos tiempos oscuros de luchas fratricidas y la presente situación de la guerra carlista" (114). In a similar fashion, Mariano José de Larra's *El doncel de don Enrique el Doliente* (1834) also conceals underlying commentaries on the present in his retelling of the tragic legend of Macías, the love-struck Galician troubadour. In fact, in this novel Georges Güntert finds that the author's *cuadro de costumbres* which purports to give a faithful representation of the past, continually alludes to the ideology and politics of 1834, which leads Güntert to conclude that "lo que parecía en un principio la <<fidedigna>> reconstrucción de la vida española en el siglo XV revela ser más bien la alegoría satírica de unos tiempos muy próximos a los de Larra" (43).

The dissimulation of contemporary issues in a remote past can also be seen in Enrique Gil y Carrasco's *El señor de Bembibre* (1844), widely considered to be the best example of the Romantic historical novel in Spain, and one that exemplifies many of the previously mentioned tendencies of the genre. Set in El Bierzo (León), the novel claims to be based on a discovered manuscript that tells of the tragic love story between Doña Beatriz and Álvaro Yáñez during the fourteenth-century persecution and disbanding of the Order of the Knights Templar. Amidst the sublime descriptions of the geographical region, romantic melodrama, and fantastic elements, scholars concur that the historical events portrayed in the narrative closely parallel the author's own time, given that, according to Iarocci: "The appropriation of the Templar Knights'

properties in the novel resonates eerily with the disentailment of Church properties that the state had begun under Juan Álvarez Mendizábal in 1836" (383). Thus, Iarocci concludes that much like many other Spanish historical novels of the time: "the novel's thematic focus on the historical dissolution of all things – the Templars, the protagonists' love, the Middle Ages – speaks to the contemporary anxiety of a society that was itself in the midst of tumultuous historical change" (383). The historical genre, in fact, often served as an attempt to grapple with and make sense of the turbulent present, an urge that was also shared by readers as noted by Brian Hamnett who states that: "Popular demand for the historical novel responded to a need among the educated classes to rediscover history, in order to explain how Spain had become as it was" (223).[53] And although it is true, as Hamnett reminds us, that the Romantic historical novel would not be up to the task of providing the historical explanations that readers sought (223), from this brief discussion it is clear that from its very onset, the historical novel frequently reflected present concerns, even if these problems were not explicitly stated in the narrative, but rather, thoroughly disguised in a distant time and space.

1.7 Changing Tendencies: Realism, Benito Pérez Galdós, and the Historical Novel

The Romantic historical novel continued in vogue in Spain until the mid-nineteenth century when changing tastes caused it to fall out of fashion (Fernández Prieto 34, 106). Whereas the traditional historical novel favored fantasy, melodrama, and marvelous adventures set in the Middle Ages, the trending preference was to portray a more objective and realistic image of the

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[53] On this topic, Vicente Lloréns, in *Aspectos sociales de la literatura española*, writes that "Entre 1898 y 1930 el vacío historiográfico sobre el siglo XIX vino a llenarlo literariamente la novela histórica. A la cual debieron con seguridad no pocos españoles de la primera mitad de nuestro siglo casi todo lo que pudieron saber del anterior" (155).

past, with the belief that, like an empirical science, the past could be accurately represented through extensive research and inquiry. This belief coincides with the professionalization of historiography as historians began to stress the scientific and positivistic aspects of their work seen in their "austere dedication to "facts," and […] ascetic refusal to write anything that was not patently demonstrable" (Gossman 169). Likewise, these greater claims of objectivity, verisimilitude, and historical investigation distinguish the Realist historical novel from its earlier predecessors as is also demonstrated in the shift in archeological tendencies, which acquire a different purpose and focus in the second half of the nineteenth century. Margarita Almela, for instance, observes that while Romantic novelists were drawn to the past and to the archeological remains of a culture for the "atmósfera de ruina y de tragedia que los envuelve," Realist novelists emphasized "su naturaleza de testigo" (126), which in their view, brought one closer to an authentic and observable past reality, as opposed to an exotic or fantastic representation.

In Spain, it is Benito Pérez Galdós who is not only credited with reviving the historical genre in the Realist mode and popularizing Spanish history, but also with making important modifications to the genre that would set a precedence for those who would come after him.[54] Among these modifications, Brian Hamnett finds that Galdós utilizes the format of serial fiction to create interconnected, continuous stories, or "episodes," forty-six of them in fact, revolving around major political events of national importance, thus differing significantly from the legends or fantastic adventure tales customary of the Romantic historical novel (228). Moreover, rather than searching in a distant, medieval past for inspiration, Galdós chooses to situate his *Episodios nacionales* in a more recent past that can still be found in the collective memory of the

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[54] Madeleine de Gogorza Fletcher writes that even those who were not particularly inclined towards historical topics were influenced by the specific type of historical fiction made popular by Galdós: "The *Episodios nacionales* set the mold of the genre so that following generations of Spanish novelists, even those lacking Galdós' intrinsically historical interests, were attracted to it and tried their hand" (11).

people. According to scholars, this change in both the temporal distance and in the type of history depicted, represent a critical variation on the genre that henceforth allowed for a narrative that dealt more directly with national issues, and that also made the past seem more "alive" due to the fact that readers would already be familiar with much of the recent past (Gogorza Fletcher 2; Fernández Prieto 116). As a result of these modifications, social issues and national problems were no longer alluded to or disguised in a remote past, but explicitly expressed and depicted as pertinent to understanding contemporary Spanish society.

Nevertheless, the most significant innovation and contribution of Galdós, that of electing a more recent past for the setting of his historical fiction, is also the topic of most discrepancy among scholars of the genre. This is, for the most part, largely due to the disagreement concerning the amount of temporal distance needed between the historical time period portrayed in the novel and the author's own lifetime. Some critics, for instance, assert that at least two generations need to have passed, or about forty to sixty years,[55] while others argue that this is an arbitrary measure of distance, and that what is fundamental is that the setting and actions are presented as clearly belonging to a previous era.[56] In either case, there must be some degree of tension between the present and the past, be it through temporal distance, or by presenting an epoch that is recognizably not contemporaneous with our own.[57] It is because of the previous parameters that scholars typically only consider the first two series of Galdós's *Episodios*

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[55] Scholars of this opinion include: Biruté Ciplijauskaité (*Los noventayochistas y la historia* 13); Avrom Fleishman (3); and Carlos Mata Induráin (18-19).

[56] Seymour Menton, for instance, notes the arbitrary parameters used by others in identifying what counts as a historical past, and ultimately adopts the straightforward definition of Enrique Anderson Imbert: "We call 'historical novels' those whose action occurs in a period previous to the author's" (qtd. in Menton 16). For a further discussion on this topic see María Cristina Pons, who gives an overview of the lack of consensus among scholars concerning temporal distance in the historical novel in *Memorias del olvido. La novela histórica de fines del siglo XX* (51-3).

[57] It is important to note, as Harry Shaw writes in *The Forms of Historical Fiction*, that even when the past closely mirrors present situations in order to stress a connection between eras or to show a lack of progress, the historical novel still presents details of a society, customs, and daily life that are different from our own, given that, according to Shaw, "the very notion of history implies change over time" (26).

nacionales to be historical novels,[58] while the remaining twenty-six novels of the last three series are deemed to be either too close in proximity (the third series) or contemporaneous (the fourth and fifth series) with the author's own lifetime.[59]

Other ways that Galdós left his mark on the historical novel in Spain include his aptitude for linking the small stories of everyday life with larger episodes in history, thus intensifying the blend of fact and fiction where historical events and figures are continuously intertwined with fictional storylines and characters. Geoffrey Ribbans refers to this as the fusion of *la historia grande* and *la historia chica*, stating that: "the fictional story lends life and credibility to the historical process. The essential thing is that both major and minor happenings must interact constantly and consistently in close metonymic relation" (106). Moreover, while doing so, Galdós puts common people, particularly those of the middle class, in pivotal moments of national importance, thus writing them into history. This not only differs substantially from the aristocratic protagonists that populate the Romantic historical novel in Spain, but according to Antonio Regalado García, it also fills a void in the historiography of the time, which omitted the lower social classes (42). The immensely popular series, on the other hand, not only portrayed common people as the protagonists of Spanish history, but also as the collective embodiment of the nation—a shift that significantly contributed to the discourse on national identity which, according to Brian Hamnett, was transitioning from a former, imperial identity (231).[60]

Produced during a time of much political turmoil and instability, the *Episodios* of the first two series were intended as a message of progress and unity that sought to teach Spaniards about

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[58] Published between 1873 and 1879, the first twenty novels of the *Episodios nacionales* cover events ranging from the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805 to the death of Fernando VII in 1833.

[59] The last three series were written between 1898 and 1912 and portray events that occurred between 1834 and 1880.

[60] In fact, Hamnett writes that one of Galdós's main goals in writing the series was: "to portray Spain's struggle to break free of the *ancien régime* and absolutism, and assert a modern identity as a national and a constitutional state" (230).

their national past, while also using that past to impart moral lessons to contemporary readers. The didactic and ethical overtones are especially evident in the protagonist of the first series, Gabriel, an orphan who rises from poverty to the middle class and serves as an exemplary figure that his countrymen can emulate. Indeed, Brian Dendle specifies that Gabriel's story of upward social mobility is particularly directed at the young readers of the Restoration period, providing an example of an individual who rose above their station and became the type of citizen that Spain would need to be a modern nation (46).[61] Furthermore, as a witness to some of the most important historical events in Spain during the early nineteenth century, Gabriel not only writes the memories of his youth, but he also writes the chronicles of recent Spanish history and society, intertwining his memories with national history, which is explained through his firsthand accounts. In this way, it is not only the type of history that Galdós selected that marks a change in the genre, but also its use and purpose in the narrative, as noted by Celia Fernández Prieto, who writes that in the *Episodios*, the recent past is clearly approached as a way to explain the present, while also providing an education on Spanish history and national politics:

> Para Galdós, la sociedad actual hunde sus raíces en el pasado y el conocimiento de ese pasado le hará posible afrontar más lúcida y responsablemente el futuro. Así pues, los *Episodios Nacionales* cumplen una importante función en el sistema cultural de la época pues funcionan como un medio de educación política y vienen a llenar el vacío historiográfico existente. (118)

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[61] This is made clear at the end of the first series, which closes with the following farewell from Gabriel:

> Adiós, mis queridos amigos. No me atrevo a deciros que me imitéis, porque sería inmodestia; pero si sois jóvenes; si os halláis postergados por la fortuna; si encontráis ante vuestros ojos montañas escarpadas, inaccesibles alturas, y no tenéis escalas ni cuerdas, pero sí manos vigorosas; si os halláis imposibilitados para realizar en el mundo los generosos impulsos del pensamiento y las leyes del corazón, acordaos de Gabriel Araceli, que nació sin nada y lo tuvo todo. (*La batalla de los Arapiles* 1355)

1.8 Writing Historical Fiction After Galdós: The Generation of '98

It would be difficult to overstate the importance of Galdós and his *Episodios nacionales* in the development of the historical genre in Spain. Even after the popularity of his novels began to wane, other authors would continue to use his example as a generic archetype while writing their own historical fictions, and to this day, some scholars believe that it was not until the contributions of Galdós that the historical novel truly arrived in Spain (Fernández Prieto 118; Hamnett 223-24). The subsequent generation of writers immediately following Galdós was also clearly knowledgeable of the *Episodios*—even if they actively sought to write against them, as Fernández Prieto points out stating that: "Este modelo [el episodio nacional] funciona como referente genérico fundamental en novelistas posteriores como Unamuno, Pío Baroja y Valle-Inclán, aunque sea para cuestionarlo e incluso para destruirlo" (120). In fact, while at first glance it may seem that the writers of the so-called Generation of '98 merely employed the generic patterns established by Galdós, it nevertheless quickly becomes apparent that their portrayal and treatment of war and politics, as well as their approach to history, differ sharply from the first two series of the *Episodios nacionales*.

For instance, following in the footsteps of Galdós, the authors previously mentioned by Fernández Prieto in the above quote, also utilize a recent past for the historical settings of their works.[62] However, while turmoil in their own times, particularly the loss of the last colonies during the Spanish-American War and the failures of the Spanish government during the Restoration period, caused this generation to look back on recent events in Spanish history, they

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[62] Unamuno, for example, depicts the Third Carlist War in *Paz en la guerra* (1897), Baroja writes about the life and times of the nineteenth-century politician and conspirator Eugenio de Aviraneta in the twenty-two novels that form his *Memorias de un hombre de acción* (1913-1935), and Valle-Inclán covers both Spanish society during the reign of Isabel II in his series *El ruedo ibérico* (1927-8), as well as recent civil wars in his trilogy *La guerra carlista* (1908-09).

did not do so with the intent of portraying a progressive vision of the past with an underlying hope for a modern Spain, but conversely, to show precisely the opposite—a lack of historical progress paired with a deep pessimism that viewed Spain as a problem, eternally doomed to repeat its past failures. Moreover, whereas Galdós utilizes recent wars to portray the heroic patriotism of his countrymen who defend Spain from other nations, the civil wars and *guerrillas* depicted by the *noventayochistas* show a country constantly at odds with itself. And while they did research for their historical fiction like their predecessor, these novelists are not concerned with teaching history or portraying accurate settings, since, as Biruté Ciplijauskaité points out, their goal is not an archeological reconstruction of a recent epoch, but rather, a subjective interpretation of it ("The *Noventayochistas*" 279). In fact, for these writers, artistic representations of the past can reach a higher truth that is not possible through a scientific approach to history.[63] In this regard, they exemplify the following statement by historian Herbert Butterfield, one of their contemporaries, who in 1924 wrote that the historical novel "may be in a way true to history without being true to fact" (51).

Scholars frequently remark that many of the above tendencies reveal a strong connection to the philosophical thought of their time regarding current approaches to history, finding echoes of both Schopenhauer and Nietzsche in the historical fiction of these authors. For instance, in "Galdós y los noventayochistas frente a la historia," Biruté Ciplijauskaité notes the influence of the aforementioned philosophers in both their belief in the superiority of art over history, as well as in the way that these novelists challenge traditional nineteenth-century historiography and its supposed objectivity (210-11). Indeed, according to Ciplijauskaité, neither of the aforementioned

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[63] Take for example the following quote from Baroja that expresses this idea: "Es más exacta la novela buena para reflejar un medio social que el libro histórico excelente" (qtd. in Longhurst 133). Carlos Longhurst also discusses Baroja's views on the limitations of historiography in his book *Las novelas históricas de Pío Baroja* (127-39).

philosophers conceived history in a linear or straightforward fashion (210). Nietzsche, for instance, viewed history as cyclical, infinitely repeating itself in an eternal recurrence, while Schopenhauer refuted the notion of a logical cause and effect historical trajectory, highlighting instead the random nature of history (211). These approaches to history are reflected throughout the historical narratives of these authors, often resulting in an eternally repetitive, and at times chaotic, vision of the past that lacks any sort of progress or real change. In *Paz en la guerra*, for instance, Unamuno displays a circular notion of history through the Iturriondo family, where father and son fight in Carlist wars decades apart, but for many of the same reoccurring political reasons. Throughout the novel there is a philosophical approach to war, which is depicted as the ongoing struggle between groups of people across the ages, which again, stresses the eternal nature of conflict. Towards the end of the novel, the timeless struggle between people is likened to the undying tension between the sea and land, a comparison that according to Ciplijauskaité, aims to "show that passing events are but appearances […]. A reflection on historical events leads to an examination of one's own conscience, where time and space converge, and only the eternal unanswerable questions remain: what is the sense of wars or peace?" ("The *Noventayochistas*" 275).

Valle-Inclán, for his part, is much less philosophical than Unamuno, electing a satirical and critical approach seen in the repetition of topics and themes such as the hypocrisy of the nobility and political elite, which serves to emphasize a connection with the present and thus a lack of change or progress. Additionally, his *El ruedo ibérico* cycle employs a circular structure that also conveys this repetition of the past, as noted by Fernández Prieto, who finds that historical time in the narrative "no avanza sino que gira envolviendo y arrastrando a los personajes condenados a repetir gestos, palabras, actitudes, sin posibilidad de romper los círculos

que los aprisionan en una existencia caótica y absurda" (134-5). The result is pessimistic critique of Spanish politics and society, which are portrayed as not only corrupt and morally defective, but also as incapable of true progress or of breaking free of previous patterns.

And finally, in his *Memorias de un hombre de acción*, Baroja opts for a fragmented and at times chaotic presentation of Spanish history, which like the other authors, challenges a linear understanding of time. The narratives of this series are full of flashbacks and accounts of prior historical moments that zigzag through the past and leave it up to the reader to put the pieces together. Nevertheless, amidst the chaotic and unsystematic presentation of the past, many of the commentaries echo the same problems of brutality, fanaticism, discord and division—particularly in regards to the topic of war, which the writers of this generation, according to Mercedes Juliá, did not view as heroic (46).

While it is difficult to treat the previously mentioned authors as a uniform group due to the differences that each adds in their approach to and presentation of Spanish history, Biruté Ciplijauskaité notes that through the genre of historical fiction, these novelists sought to both reflect upon and illustrate the concerns of their era, stating:

> One might try to sum up the *noventayochistas'* intention in writing a historical novel as being at least partially an attempt to produce awareness of the problems prevalent in Spain and to reflect the general existing feelings about wars and governments. They seem to suggest, moreover, that there is no general solution, that each individual must seek his own. ("The *Noventayochistas*" 272-3)

1.9 The Decline of the Historical Novel and New Approaches to Historiography

While the previous authors adapted the genre to the novelistic trends, contemporary

issues, and historiography of their own time, the historical novel, nevertheless, began to experience a state of decline that was met with many of the same criticisms that were expressed about the genre roughly a century earlier by Alessandro Manzoni. In his *Ideas sobre la novela* (1925), for example, the philosopher José Ortega y Gasset links the demise of the historical novel to the impossible contradiction between fact and fiction, which he states not only leaves the reader in a continual state of uncertainty, but also destroys its historical legitimacy and lessens its novelistic value:

> Yo encuentro aquí la causa, nunca bien declarada, de la enorme dificultad —tal vez imposibilidad— aneja a la llamada <<novela histórica>>. La pretensión de que el cosmos imaginado posea a la vez autenticidad histórica mantiene en aquélla una permanente colisión entre dos horizontes. Y como cada horizonte exige una acomodación distinta de nuestro aparato visual, tenemos que cambiar constantemente de actitud; no se deja al lector soñar tranquilo la novela, ni pensar rigorosamente la historia. En cada página vacila, no sabiendo si proyectar el hecho y la figura sobre el horizonte imaginario o sobre el histórico, con lo cual todo adquiere un aire de falsedad y convención. El intento de hacer compenetrarse ambos mundos produce sólo la mutua negación de uno y otro; el autor —nos parece— falsifica la historia aproximándola demasiado, y desvirtúa la novela, alejándola con exceso de nosotros hacia el plano abstracto de la verdad histórica. (201-2)

And while there is a resurgence of the genre after World War II in other parts of the world (Fernández Prieto 144), Spain, which had recently suffered its own civil war and was living in a dictatorship, would need to wait a little longer to see the genre revived. The delay in its reappearance is partially explained by the control that the Francoist regime exerted over history, which usurped the past in order to create a single-voiced narrative that legitimatized their

authority.[64] Moreover, to ensure that the Regime's version of the past was the only one that prevailed, censorship was employed to monitor historical discourse and eliminate views that did not align with the agenda of those in power. Further explaining the lack of historical fiction during the dictatorship, Mercedes Juliá notes that other types of literature, such as the documentary novel and the social realist novel, were more prevalent at the time, due in part to their primary focus on the harsh realities of the present that reflected "el ambiente pesimista y agobiante que se respiraba en la sociedad española desde mediados de los mil novecientos cuarenta hasta los años sesenta" (48). That is to say, rather than evoking a bygone era and exploring its relation to contemporary issues, literature written during this period, for the most part, sought to portray more recent times in order to depict the society in which they were living.

1.10 Historiography in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century

Towards the second half of the twentieth century, contemporary thought on the scientific nature of historiography continued to move away from nineteenth-century historical concepts as scholars pointed out the inherently subjective qualities involved in writing history, as well as the role of the historian in creating a vision of the past. Among these various scholars, English philosopher and historian Robin G. Collingwood argued, as is indicated in the title of his book *The Idea of History* (1946), that history is constructed in the imagination of the individual, writing that "[a]ll history is the history of thought: and when an historian says that a man is in a certain situation this is the same as saying that he thinks he is in this situation. The hard facts of the situation […] are the hard facts of the way in which he conceives the situation" (317). Historian Hayden White would later build off this notion and identify its shortcomings, adding

[64] On this topic, see David Herzberger's text *Narrating the Past*.

that Collingwood neglected to recognize the literary elements of historiography that turn historical events "into a story by the suppression or subordination […] of them and the highlighting of others, by characterization, motific repetition, variation of tone and point of view, alternative descriptive strategies, and the like—in short, all of the techniques that we would normally expect to find in […] a novel or a play" (*Tropics* 84). White's main point is that historiography and literature have more similarities than they have differences, and in his foundational work *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1973), he coins the term *emplotment* to refer to how historical events, like the those in a literary plot, are arranged in narrative form to convey a particular meaning (7). In fact, since historical events are in themselves "value-neutral" (*Tropics* 84), White points out that they necessarily depend on a literary structure in order to make the unfamiliar recognizable, thus allowing us to make sense of the past (*Tropics* 98). Throughout his writing, White challenges both the supposed objectivity of historiography, as well as its separation from the field of literature, finding that "[t]he older distinction between fiction and history, in which fiction is conceived as the representation of the imaginable and history as the representation of the actual, must give place to the recognition that we can only know the actual [history] by contrasting it with or likening it to the imaginable [fiction]" (*Tropics* 98).

1.11 The Contemporary Historical Novel

Many of the same twentieth-century trends in historiography can also be found in contemporary art and literature, both of which, according to Linda Hutcheon, further challenge nineteenth-century assumptions concerning our understanding of the past and the nature of historical writing (*A Poetics of Postmodernism* 105). From roughly the 1960s onward, Hutcheon

notes a skepticism towards "official" accounts of the past, particularly in their claims of absolute truth and objectivity (115-20). As historiography came to be viewed as a subjective, ideological construct intricately linked to structures of power (97-8), Hutcheon writes that literature became obsessed not with "facts," but rather, with questions regarding who determines and creates these facts (116). Recognizing that we can only come to know the past through partial and subjective representations, contemporary literature, according to Hutcheon, stresses that there are multiple truths (109), and seeks to pluralize the historical record in order to rectify previous accounts of the past that excluded and silenced the marginalized (108).

Mirroring trends in historiography, Hutcheon further observes that twentieth-century writing is also keenly aware that both history and fiction are linguistic constructs (*A Poetics* 105), and she develops the term *historiographic metafiction* to refer to this type of self-reflexive literature that paradoxically "puts into question, at the same time as it exploits, the grounding of historical knowledge" (92). Historiographic metafiction has much in common with contemporary historical fiction given that the latter also frequently relies upon and problematizes historical knowledge, questions "official" history, explores the margins of the historical record, and consciously blurs the boundaries between fact and fiction. Nevertheless, as both Mercedes Juliá and Seymour Menton point out, Hutcheon does not distinguish between novels that take place prior to the author's lifetime and those that portray a contemporary time period (Juliá 59; Menton 37). And thus, while historiographic metafiction and the contemporary historical novel share many tendencies in regards to the relationship between history and fiction, the two are not synonymous.

In fact, as Seymour Menton points out, metafiction is just one aspect frequently, but not always, found in the contemporary historical novel, which also tends to utilize intertextual

strategies, as well as Bakhtinian concepts such as the dialogic, the carnivalesque, and heteroglossia (23-25). Other tendencies outlined by Menton that are often present in these works, include that historical figures are no longer relegated to the background but can serve as main characters, that history is often purposely distorted either through anachronisms, omissions or falsifications, thus highlighting its fictitious and constructed nature, and finally, that the presentation of time and history tends to exemplify three main philosophical ideas: a) that the past and reality itself is ultimately unknowable; b) that history is cyclical; and c) that history is unpredictable (22-25).

Although Menton sees the "new" historical novel as clearly distinct from the previous representation that came before it (22), my view of the contemporary historical novel more closely aligns with that of María Cristina Pons (55-69) and Celia Fernández Prieto (127), as a genre that has always evolved with current tendencies in literature and historiography, reflecting the changes in both, but while also maintaining certain underlying similarities such as the fusion of fact and fiction that is preserved alongside an irresolvable tension between the present and the past. It is for these reasons that Pons not only resists the notion of one generic archetype, but also finds, as this chapter has intended to show, that "los propósitos de la novela histórica varían no sólo de novela en novela, sino de periodo en periodo histórico y literario" which as a result has given way to "la proliferación de catálogos o categorías de variedades de novelas históricas" (55).[65]

Genres, in fact, are not fixed molds, but according to Wai Chee Dimock, "open sets" that

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[65] That said, while there is no one generic archetype, Pons does specify that there are certain common elements, stating that "la novela histórica, a nuestro parecer, tiene que remitir inequívocamente a un pasado documentado e inscrito en la memoria colectiva, y reconocible en cuanto tal en su singularidad y concreción, ya sea para re-crearlo fielmente, modificarlo, parodiarlo, afirmarlo o negarlo" (69). Pons also adds that "El texto debe presentar ciertas marcas o señales que remitan a un periodo o evento histórico específico" (69).

are "defined over and over again by new entries that are still being produced" (1379). In this way, they are continually evolving within a culture as new engagements occur and new tendencies develop. My purpose, however, in analyzing the evolution of what we call the historical novel and mentioning genre, is not to delve into a discussion on genre theory, nor debate the limitations of such criticism, but rather, to point out that genres are not only learned, imitated, and endlessly reworked by each generation, but that they are also unavoidably connected to the social and historical conditions of their time. Additionally, the variations of historical writing that are outlined in the first half of this chapter serve to highlight some of the emblematic voices and recognizable traditions that Pérez-Reverte engages with, recycles, and re-accentuates, as he adds his own intentions to them, and becomes another 'link in the chain of discourse.' In this regard, and as was stated in the introduction, the Revertian historical novel coincides with much of Bakhtinian thought. In fact, in his historical fiction, genres function as one of the many social mechanisms that not only stratifies language and recalls the voices of others, but that also highlights traditions and crosses temporal boundaries. In doing so, these works exemplify the paradoxes emphasized by Bakhtin regarding not only how one's word is also "half someone else's" (*DN* 293), but also between the present and the past, continuity and change, as Bakhtin writes: "Genre is reborn and renewed at every new stage in the development of literature and in every individual work of a given genre. […] A genre lives in the present, but always *remembers* its past, its beginning" (*Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* 106).

Additionally, Bakhtin states that genres, like other stratified languages, are important because together they reveal the aims of the author, thus operating as "deposits of an intentional process, signs left behind on the path of the real living project of an intention" (*DN* 292). On this topic, Heather Dubrow adds that the choice of genre frequently goes beyond an homage to others,

explaining that "[w]hen an author chooses to write in a given genre, he is not merely responding to the achievements and the pronouncements of others; he himself is issuing certain statements about his art and often about art in general" (10). With these observations on genre, stratified language, and authorial intent in mind, the second half of this chapter will examine how Pérez-Reverte continues this particular generic tradition, while also incorporating a wide variety of other social and historical "voices" that evoke other time periods, social classes, and hierarchies of languages and literature, while also underscoring the fact that these voices are bound up in the realm of the library, where they are continually recovered and rewritten in the present. In addition, I will also examine how Pérez-Reverte utilizes these stratified voices within the framework of the historical novel to connect to a larger whole—a chorus of accumulated conversations, knowledge, experiences and traditions. In doing so, he is able to build a bridge between the present and the past, engage in a variety of discourses concerning Spanish culture and society, and communicate his views on literature, historical memory, and the importance of the library.

Part II. Creating with the 'Debris of the Past': Tradition and Innovation through the Library

2.1 Blurred Lines: Canonical Forebears and Popular Literature

The historical novels of Arturo Pérez-Reverte recycle and recover many of the characteristics, styles, and tendencies outlined in the first half of this chapter, and they typically do so in a way that exemplifies the author's awareness that our utterances are not entirely our own but have belonged to others and thus carry with them a history of usage and prior meanings. In fact, Pérez-Reverte often writes with an overwhelming sense of tradition and historical time,

as he continually draws attention to the fact that his narratives are populated with social and historical voices of varying registers, as well as with echoes of literary predecessors, traces of various traditions, and remnants of bygone eras, all of which remind readers of different time periods and contexts. In this way, his historical novels not only attempt to retrieve the past and show its connections to contemporary society, but they also make it apparent that he is following in the footsteps of others, working within discourses and traditions that have been established and used by predecessors, even as they continue to evolve in the present.

In fact, many of the tendencies, traditions, and signature characteristics outlined in the first half of this chapter can serve as a small sample of some of the echoes that Pérez-Reverte incorporates into his own historical novels and that convey this sense of tradition and time. By way of example, Pérez-Reverte borrows from and modernizes elements of the epic tradition, as Gonzalo Navajas has noted on multiple occasions, stressing that his texts often communicate ethical values that provide a moral code for contemporary readers.[66] Moreover, further drawing from prior traditions, the Alatriste series makes use of the discovered manuscript trope that was not uncommon in medieval literature and which Miguel de Cervantes famously employed in *El Quijote.* In fact, many of the recycled echoes in his historical fiction not only hearken back to generic traditions and recycled tropes, but also to techniques or traits that are commonly associated with representative Spanish authors. For instance, the frequent incorporation of popular elements from Spanish society into a historical plot, specifically fragments of songs or sayings, recall the historical dramas of Lope de Vega, who, coincidentally, is Alatriste's favorite playwright. Moreover, the presentation of Spanish society and culture through its customs,

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[66] See for instance "De Ernest Renan a Homi Bhabha. Macrohistoria y ficción en Arturo Pérez-Reverte" in *Alatriste: la sombra del héroe* (292-319), as well as his articles "De Flandes a Vietnam: La guerra como relato de la alteridad de la nación (Pérez-Reverte, Marías, Cercas)" (113-34) and "Épica y nación en Pérez-Reverte y Galdós" (89-100).

traditions, and politics, brings to mind Larra's *cuadros de costumbres*, which in Pérez-Reverte's historical narratives also function as a social critique and serve as a way to explain the ills that plague the nation. And finally, while his didactic approach to the national past through the format of serial fiction borrows largely from the techniques used by Benito Pérez Galdós in his historical novels, Pérez-Reverte's pessimistic portrayal of Spanish history, where Spain is viewed as a problem—doomed to repeat the same errors ad infinitum, recalls those of the Generation of '98 who are commonly associated with this sentiment.

The mixing of these different echoes that bring to mind different genres, time periods and/or emblematic individuals, highlight not only that he is combining the voices of others that came before him, but that he is intentionally recycling aspects from individuals that are typically regarded to be among the pillars of Spanish literature. At the same time, however, it is important to note that these echoes from the canon coexist alongside other echoes that are considered to be less prestigious, including aspects of the adventure novel and of the nineteenth-century *folletín*, as well as elements that correspond to the cloak and dagger genre, and to the autobiographies of soldiers. Pérez-Reverte's particular way of conjuring up a multiplicity of diverse "voices" from prior eras and categories of literature, then, mixes not only the different points in time that are embedded within them, but also hierarchies of literary value or merit. This mixing of erudite and popular elements, or what is typically referred to as the fusion of "high" and "low," along with the utilization of different genres within the same text, are considered to be among the hallmarks of Pérez-Reverte's narrative. And while doing so combines a "totality of tastes," as noted by Carmen Urioste (473-74), and pays homage to his literary predecessors, Pérez-Reverte is also making a clear statement on his view of literature in which diverse categories and types are not opposed to each other, but rather, can and do coexist: "todo hay que verlo en conjunto […] no

hay géneros menores, hay géneros diferentes, que se concitan en el lector como eje de la gran biblioteca que es el mundo" (qtd. in Ocón Garrido 107). In this view, the library is a symbol of this coexistence and in fact, Pérez-Reverte writes as if he were continually drawing from the depths of the library—from the records of society and mankind—in order to blend and recover as many of the voices, socially marked languages, genres, eras, knowledge, and traditions as possible. In this sense, the author's way of writing is reminiscent of T.S. Eliot's oft-cited statement on those who write with a sense of both history and of what has been done before them given that Pérez-Reverte also writes

> not merely with his own generation in his bones, but with a feeling that the whole of the literature of Europe from Homer and within it the whole of the literature of his own country has a simultaneous existence […]. This historical sense, which is a sense of the timeless as well as of the temporal and of the timeless and of the temporal together, is what makes a writer traditional. And it is at the same time what makes a writer most acutely conscious of his place in time, of his contemporaneity. (qtd. in Richter 538)

2.2 Pérez-Reverte and the Contemporary Historical Novel: History Told from the Margins

Indeed, while Pérez-Reverte writes with a sense of tradition and of the past, he is also keenly aware of his own place in space and time. This can be evidenced through the author's engagement with the conventions and trends of the contemporary historical novel, which ultimately serve the author in not only building a bridge between his own time period and the past, but also in participating in a variety of discourses concerning Spanish culture and history, that while reflecting prior eras, simultaneously speak to more contemporary concerns. For instance, coinciding with the previously mentioned trends that developed during the second half

of the twentieth century, Pérez-Reverte's historical novels also display a skepticism towards "official" representations of the past, while paradoxically relying heavily on historical information to recreate bygone eras and historical events in the narrative. Within this skepticism, the author exhibits a concern over whose voices and stories have been recorded and remembered, and whose have typically been excluded from the historical record. In fact, according to the author, the installments of the Alatriste series are "en suma, nuestra historia contada desde el lado de los olvidados" ("Historia de un héroe cansado" 13). This sentiment, however, could also be applied to the majority of Pérez-Reverte's historical fiction in which the author seeks to give voice to those without power or political influence, particularly those of the lower social strata that have been relegated to the margins of history. For instance, the leading voices and experiences in his historical narratives typically belong to ordinary soldiers, common people, privateers, mercenaries, and *bravos*, in an effort to recover their experiences and show their participation in Spanish history. Conversely, many high-ranking political and military officials, who have been placed in the foreground of history, are often not only given secondary roles, but are portrayed as incompetent, thus undermining their privileged place in the annals of the past. In telling history from below, and in subverting the authority and reputation of some of the usual protagonists of history, Pérez-Reverte's historical fiction aligns with many of the current trends of the genre that not only question our knowledge and understanding of both the past and of these individuals, that but that also utilize fiction to expose injustices or rectify the historical record. As historian Francisco Javier Guillamón Álvarez writes: "Reverte es un ajustador de cuentas. Ha decidido ajustar cuentas con el pasado. […] desenmascara y castiga a los malos dirigentes, los chorizos y los corruptos" (157). Furthermore, by portraying these individuals in a different light, and by working in the lacunae of history, Pérez-Reverte not only plays with

history, but he also underscores the idea that while historical texts and representations are the only way through which we can "know" the past, these representations are unavoidably incomplete as they have left out a variety of other voices, specifically those without economic, social, or political power, whose lives and experiences were not typically recorded in official chronicles or history books.

2.2.1 The Use of Language in the Revertian Historical Novel. Voices from the Past: Evoking a Sense of Time and Place.

To recover the voices and experiences of these forgotten individuals, Pérez-Reverte relies heavily on marked words and language that, borrowing from Bakhtin, "taste" of another era, profession, or social class (*DN* 293). Doing so not only aligns with the conventions of the historical novel by conjuring up an image of another time and place, but it also coveys the sensation that we are hearing voices from a bygone era whose world and ways of life differ greatly from our own. Regarding Pérez-Reverte's use of language, linguist Milton Azevedo notes that the novelist often utilizes antiquated words and syntax as an "archaizing device" that serves to create a distance between the reader's present and the past ("Point of View" 23). As an example, Azevedo highlights the following passage from the first installment of the Alatriste series:

> … tras lavarse la cara y las manos en una **jofaina**, y mientras yo le remendaba unas **calzas** viejas a la luz de un **velón de sebo**, Diego Alatriste se preparó para salir… En la parte posterior del cinto se colgó la **daga vizcaína**; y vi que también introducía en la caña de su bota derecha la corta **cuchilla de matarife**… Después **se herró el cinto con la espada**… y se puso la capa… en aquel Madrid peligroso, de calles mal iluminadas y

> estrechas, esa prenda era muy práctica a la hora de **reñir al arma blanca**. (qtd. in Azevedo 22)

In the previous excerpt, Azevedo notes the quantity of period objects that would be entirely out of place in the present, and that feel foreign or "other" to the contemporary reader, explaining that "[s]uch accumulation of antiquated vocabulary invites us to visualize a scene that contrasts strikingly with our own time, when hardly anyone washes his hands in a *jofaina*, houses are not lit with *velones de sebo*, and men neither wear *calzas* nor go about carrying *dagas*, *espadas*, or *cuchillas de matarife*" (22-23). Moreover, Azevedo finds that in addition to the use of outdated lexicon, the author's incorporation of antiquated forms of address such as *vuestra merced* or *vuestra excelencia*, along with obsolete syntactic constructions such as *sentóse* or *habíalos*,[67] further serve the purpose of mimicking the speech and language of a prior era (23-4). In doing so, Pérez-Reverte demonstrates an awareness that time is embedded in language and thus can be used to conjure up echoes and images of the past, which again, not only strengthens the reconstruction of the environment portrayed in the narrative, but also, as previously noted by Azevedo, serves to emphasize a distance between then and now (23).

The author's recovery and use of language that "tastes" of another era, is not limited to lexicon and grammatical structures, but also includes songs and refrains that are used as a reflection of the society and people of a prior time and place. For instance, in *Corsarios de Levante* many of the recovered sayings are employed to corroborate the author's depiction of the lives of soldiers and privateers in the Mediterranean during the seventeenth century. In one

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[67] The contemporary forms of these constructions would be *se sentó* and *los había* as Azevedo explains, quoting from the series: **Sentóse** [mod. *se sentó*] con nosotros Calderón (*CJA*, 49)
…los últimos doce meses **habíalos** [mod. *los había*] pasado junto a mi amo, el capitán Alatriste (*SB*, 13) (qtd. in Azevedo 24).

example, after describing the difficult life onboard the galley ships and wondering if their new comrade will adjust to his new surroundings, the narrator comments: "Que la galera, rezaba el antiguo refrán, dela Dios a quien la quiera" (141). With the incorporation of this outdated saying, Pérez-Reverte not only underscores that this type of life was not for everyone, thus reinforcing his reconstruction of the historical setting and his depiction of this now bygone way of life, but in doing so, he also places the refrain in context and gives it meaning for the contemporary reader.

Another example of this can be seen in the author's use of the saying *meter en Orán cien lanzas*, which also serves as a title to one of the chapters in *Corsarios de Levante*. In this instance, after describing what life was like for those stationed in Oran, the narrator explains why this destination was particularly undesirable, stressing that not only were soldiers rarely paid, but that many were sent there against their will with little possibility of leaving once they arrived. Given the situation, the narrator states that it was difficult to get soldiers to Oran where they would be "metidos allí sin esperanza de salir jamás. No era casualidad, después de todo, que para apuntar la dificultad de una empresa, además del refrán de poner una pica en Flandes, se dijese meter en Orán cien lanzas" (80). Thus, much like the previous example, the old refrain supports the historical information given by the author, while also contributing to the sensation of hearing recovered words and phrases from another time that reflect their sociohistorical environment and the experiences of others.

In one final example that illustrates this point, in *El asedio* readers are presented with a fragment of a *copla* that is sung by one of the characters. While Pérez-Reverte does not reveal the original source of the verses, investigation shows that the fragment pertains to an actual folk song that was popular in March of 1811 and that references the Battle of Chiclana. The recovered verses ridicule the French, humorously celebrating their failed attack, and serve to

reflect some of the attitudes of the Spanish people in and around Cádiz during this time: "canturrea entre dos aceitunas una coplilla que desde marzo corre con mucho éxito por Cádiz: *Murieron tres mil gabachos* / *en la batalla del Cerro,* / *y consiguieron a cambio* / *que una bomba mate a un perro*" (206).[68] Again, like the other instances of bygone words or phrases, the incorporated verses provide a sense of historical authenticity, which reinforces the author's evocation of a particular milieu. In addition, the quantity of such examples throughout his historical fiction reveal an abundance of research and documentation on the part of the author, who recycles these echoes from the past that reflect the people and society during a particular epoch, and places them in context for the contemporary reader.

Nevertheless, despite the author's unmistakable efforts to imitate the language of another era and transport readers to a distant time and space, these words and utterances that recall the past are consciously mixed with colloquial language that corresponds to the present. For instance, while the language and setting in the Alatriste series are employed to evoke seventeenth-century Spain, Francisco Báez de Aguilar González finds that the incorporation of contemporary phrases such as "vivir sin dar golpe" create a dissonance with the period portrayed in the narrative and serve to "arrancar al lector de la historia narrada y devolverlo a su propio mundo y realidad" (54). Báez de Aguilar González notes several examples of this from the first installment, highlighting excerpts such as "Ya saben, cañonazo va, y ola viene y *todo a tomar por saco*" and "Y como el trabajo es mengua de la honra, *no trabaja ni Cristo*," where the use modern, colloquial language underscores the fact that neither statement could belong to an individual from the seventeenth

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[68] Pérez-Reverte alters the original verses, or at least the way that they are recorded in the zarzuela *Cádiz* (1886): "*Murieron tres mil franceses* / *en la batalla del Cerro,* / *pero han logrado, en desquite* / *que una bomba mate a un perro*" (qtd. in Rosal Nadales 89). For further information on these popular verses, see *Hasta morir o vencer: la Guerra de la Independencia en la zarzuela (1847-1964)*, the doctoral dissertation of Francisco José Rosal Nadales, who finds that these verses existed during the time of the siege, and were later recovered in the previously mentioned zarzuela (89-90).

century (54). This mix of antiquated and modern language cannot only be seen throughout the series, but in his other historical works as well. By way of example, *La sombra del águila* opens with a description that employs older military dress, period objects and antiquated lexicon to summon the image of a prior time, which is contrasted with colloquial language that is commonly used in present-day Spanish society:

> Estaba allí, pequeño y gris con su **capote de cazadores** de la Guardia, rodeado de plumas y entorchados, **gerifaltes** y **edecanes**, maldiciendo entre dientes con **el catalejo** incrustado bajo una ceja, porque el humo no le dejaba ver lo que ocurría en **el flanco derecho**. Estaba allí igual que en **las estampas iluminadas**, tranquilo y frío ***como la madre que lo parió***, dando órdenes sin volverse, […] las órdenes se cumplían al revés, y ***así nos lucía el pelo*** aquella mañana. (13-4; emphasis added)

Hence, while Pérez-Reverte relies on specific words and language to strengthen the historical reconstruction and create the sensation that he is recovering a variety of echoes from the past, he also playfully undermines his own reconstruction with anachronistic language that breaks the illusion of authenticity and emphasizes the fictitious nature of these accounts. What is more, the constant back and forth between the bygone era portrayed in the narrative and the colloquial language that recalls the author's present, not only creates a space where voices from the past and the present coexist, but doing so also begins to establish a connection between then and now in the narrative. The linguistic juxtaposition heard in these echoes will lay the foundation that the author will use to blur the temporal boundaries between eras. This will further pave the way for larger discussions that will employ the past to address contemporary concerns dealing with Spanish society and historical memory, where the criticisms of the past will double as a critique of present-day Spain. For instance, the continual alternating between

language that evokes either a bygone era or contemporary society means that comments like the following extend beyond the narrator's seventeenth-century setting and into the present: "En aquel tiempo, cualquier cosa en la corte de ese rey joven, […] podía ser comprada con dinero; hasta las conciencias. *Tampoco es que hayamos cambiado mucho desde entonces*" (*CA* 46; emphasis added).

Pérez-Reverte's use of language, then, not only aligns with the conventions of the historical novel by evoking a prior historical moment, but the incorporation of colloquial, modern-day language that undermines the authenticity of the historical reconstruction specifically coincides with some of the current trends of the genre as previously noted by Seymour Menton, who has pointed to the use of anachronisms in contemporary historical fiction (23). Furthermore, this mix of language that evokes both the past and the present plays an integral role in setting the stage for other juxtapositions between then and now, where, as typically occurs with this genre, the distant past is employed to reflect contemporary issues and concerns.

2.2.2 Intertextuality and Beyond: Recovering Echoes from Society and Culture

Much like other contemporary historical novels, those of Pérez-Reverte are also thoroughly intertextual. In fact, as was mentioned in the introduction, intertextuality is often identified as one of the principal characteristics of the novelist's oeuvre due to the author's prolific referencing, quoting, and alluding to other texts in his own. José Belmonte Serrano, one of the leading scholars on Pérez-Reverte's narrative, for instance, frequently refers to *El club Dumas* as displaying an "exceso de intertextualidad" and "contaminación literaria," descriptions that Belmonte Serrano acknowledges could easily apply to the vast majority of his writing (*Los*

héroes cansados 47-8). Critics, in fact, have largely viewed the works of Pérez-Reverte through the lens of intertextuality, and with good reason. From start to finish, his historical novels continually reference the works and words of others, and they do so in a variety of ways. *El húsar*, for instance, begins with a quote taken from one of the novels of French writer Louis-Ferdinand Céline that conveys an anti-war sentiment, and which according to Belmonte Serrano, becomes the thematic message of the novel (*Los héroes cansados* 45). Similarly, *Un día de cólera* also opens with several quotes taken from writings of individuals of the nineteenth century that set the tone for the novel. However, it takes this recovery and incorporation of other texts one step further by ending with a list of eighty-five historical texts, biographies, maps, and other documents that served the author as the foundation for this novel (397), and which reveal an abundant amount of research and investigation. Pérez-Reverte offers these sources to readers should they wish to compare his fictional portrayal of the *Dos de Mayo* uprising in *Un día de cólera* to the historical works of others, and in this way "deslindar […] los límites entre lo real y lo inventado" (397). In addition to exploring the boundaries between fact and fiction, by including these works he is not only encouraging readers to engage with other sources on this topic, but he is also leading readers to the library and stressing the library's importance as a repository of knowledge that can provide insight into the past.

Examples of intertextuality can also be found throughout the narratives themselves as can be seen in the previously mentioned novel, *Un día de cólera*, where, in the first chapter alone, readers are presented with quotes from French writer François-René de Chateaubriand, passages from historical documents and propaganda, verses written by the nineteenth-century poet Bernardo López García, and references to the play *El sí de las niñas*. Likewise, *El asedio*, which takes place during the Siege of Cádiz (1810-1812), cites and refers to the Greek tragedy *Ajax*

throughout the novel, and includes an array of references to dramas and *sainetes*. Moreover, the constant presence of works dealing with nature, biology, science, and philosophy, in addition to banned texts in Spain such as *L'Encyclopédie*, are evoked to emphasize both the progress on scientific and philosophical thought during the Enlightenment, as well as the forces within Spain that sought to prohibit such knowledge.

This tendency to weave the works and words of others into his own narratives can also be seen in the Alatriste series, whose seven installments are also highly intertextual in nature. And while there are references to the writings of some of the most prominent individuals of classical antiquity, including Homer, Aristotle, Plutarch, Tacitus, and Seneca, it is the overwhelming number of references to Spanish works and authors that most stand out in this series. In fact, the words and texts of Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, Calderón de la Barca, Góngora, Mateo Alemán, and Quevedo are ever-present throughout the narrative in the form of quotes, allusions, and references. Moreover, in addition to the author's recovery and recycling of some of the canonical works from this time period, there are also echoes from lesser-known individuals including José Pellicer (*LS* 255), Juan de Zabaleta (*PA* 10), Cristóbal de Virués (*CL* 31), Luis Vélez de Guevara (*CL* 263), and Cristóbal de Chaves (*OR* 175-82),[69] just to name a few. By regularly incorporating the words and texts of others, Anne Walsh notes that the Alatriste series "conjures up the ghostly presence of other books from other eras" adding that "Pérez-Reverte is not only attempting to rescue the past but also to rescue a past sense of the importance of books from that past" (72-73).

As discussed in the previous chapter, for Pérez-Reverte, part of the importance of these

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[69] In "Los juegos de la reescritura en *El oro del rey*," Marie-Thérèse García finds that Pérez-Reverte rewrites parts of Cristóbal de Chaves's *Relación de la cárcel de Sevilla* and provides a valuable side-by-side analysis of the borrowed fragments (101-4).

books from the past includes not only the knowledge and counsel that they provide, but also what they reveal about the culture and society of a particular moment. In this sense, the numerous intertextual references to literary works of bygone eras are rarely employed by the author solely to evoke a particular work, but rather, frequently transcend the text to serve as a gateway to the past, recover a bygone cultural practice, provide sociohistorical context and/or portray the lives of people. Indeed, for Pérez-Reverte, a book is never just a book, but a reflection of human experience and the world. Thus, literary and other textual references are not just allusions to other texts, but to other individuals, and can be used as a way to access prior societies and eras, as well as other ways of life.

For instance in the second installment to the Alatriste series, a chapter entitled "El acero de Madrid," not only evokes a cloak and dagger drama of the same name written by Lope de Vega, but it also refers to the now obsolete custom among Spanish women who would *tomar el acero*, or drink steel-water, to cure *una opilación*.[70] Throughout the chapter there are multiple allusions to both the events portrayed in the drama, as well as to the social function of this practice in Golden Age society beyond its medicinal purpose. Pérez-Reverte explains that some women claimed to suffer *una opilación* in order to leave the house and *tomar el acero*, which, in reality, served as an excuse to meet their suitors at a fountain in the outskirts of Madrid. What is more, this strategy is also employed by Belisa in *El acero de Madrid* when her father, worried about the family's honor, is reluctant to let her leave the house. In this way, Pérez-Reverte's engagement with elements of this drama not only recalls a prior literary work, but also seeks to recover a social context and cultural practice from a bygone era, which serve him in his reconstruction of the time period. Additionally, the author also uses this custom and cultural

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[70] Stefano Arata discusses this topic at length in the introduction to *El acero de Madrid*, Madrid, Clásicos Castalia, 2000, pp. 7-58.

information to support his criticism of Spanish society and the extreme importance placed on appearances:

> Y es que *en aquella España hipócrita y siempre esclava de las apariencias y el qué dirán*, donde padres y maridos cifraban el honor en el recato de la mujer y de las hijas hasta el punto de no dejarlas salir a la calle, actividades en principio inocentes, como *tomar el acero* o ir a misa, se trocaban en ocasión privilegiada de aventuras, intrigas y amoríos. (*LS* 88; emphasis added)

In a similar fashion in *El oro del rey*, Pérez-Reverte describes a public execution that explicitly evokes the execution scene of Clemente Pablo in Quevedo's *Historia de la vida del Buscón, llamado don Pablos*. In fact, to make this connection even more evident, Pérez-Reverte playfully positions Quevedo among the spectators in the crowd and reveals that he is in attendance in order to take notes for a passage that he is currently working on in the aforementioned picaresque work. Comparing the execution scenes from both authors, Marie-Thérèse García notes that Pérez-Reverte not only borrows specific details from Quevedo, such as the broken step and the smoothing of his moustache, but that he also reproduces the same dark humor (105-07). Nevertheless, in typical Revertian fashion, it is not only the literary connection that interests Pérez-Reverte, but also the links to Spanish culture and society. Pérez-Reverte uses the execution of *el bravo* Nicasio Ganzúa to describe the underground world of criminals, the Royal Prison in Seville, the customary last meal and vigil, as well as the protocol of the execution itself. Thus, much like the previous example, the intertextual connections are used to evoke not only the work of a canonical author, but also serve to recover aspects of a previous society with a particular emphasis on either the lower social strata, or on the customs of the general population. By using the words and texts of others to provide a window into the past and

to the people of a prior time, Pérez-Reverte seeks to emphasize a relationship between literature and society. After all, as the author has Quevedo remark while watching the accused make his way to the platform: "No siempre se inspira uno en Séneca y Tácito–dijo, acomodándose los anteojos para ver mejor" (*OR* 186).

2.2.3 Voices of Others that "Taste" of a Particular Social Stratum or Profession

The previous examples are representative of the way that Pérez-Reverte utilizes literature to connect to prior ways of life and a world beyond the page, thus underscoring the many ways that society and culture are reflected and archived in the library. However, while Pérez-Reverte seeks to recover aspects of Spanish society and culture through the words and texts of others, he also looks to recover voices from that culture that pertain to different social registers, professions, and spheres of knowledge. In this way, the many voices that correspond to the pillars of Spanish literature coexist alongside echoes of soldiers, sailors, *corsarios*, and *jaques*, not to mention the popular wisdom of the society as a collective whole that is recorded in sayings and refrains.

In fact, as prevalent as intertextual references to canonical works are in his historical fiction, specific lexicon and phrases related to a variety of social strata and to realms beyond the literary world also abound in his historical novels. An example of this can be seen in *Corsarios de Levante*, which according to José Perona, utilizes language not only to reconstruct the time period and geographical space in the narrative, but also to recreate other experiences and ways of life, particularly of soldiers and of those who live at sea ("Marco histórico" 404). Examining the lexicon recovered in Perona's study, it becomes apparent that the author relies heavily on nautical and military terminology associated with the realm of arms and weaponry, a world that is evoked with words like *moyana*, *sacre*, *culebrina*, *esmeril*, *peto*, *morrión*, *rodela*, *arcabuz*, and

mosquete. Meanwhile, other words serve to portray life at sea, and include antiquated and specialized words such as *galeón*, *jarcia*, *pañol*, *fanal de popa*, *virar*, *capitana*, *singladura*, *lebeche*, *gregal*, *meltemi*, and *sotavento*, to list but a few examples. It is important to note that while such lexicon conjures up images of a prior environment and are used to transport readers to a distant time and space, the language that is employed in the narrative is in no way an authentic illustration of seventeenth-century speech. Nevertheless, Pérez-Reverte's imitation conveys the sensation that we are hearing fragments of the past and learning about the lives of these individuals through their own words, which have been recovered by the author and recycled in a language that is suitable for the readers of today. The following passage, for instance, imitates orders shouted on board one of the galley ships while they are giving chase to their enemies. Here, specialized words and phrases that pertain to the lives of those at sea, are mixed with echoes of the past (e.g. "voto a Dios"), as well as with contemporary language (e.g. "me cago en"): "bogad, hijos, bogad, cuarta a babor, me cago en Satán, ahora un poco a estribor, bogad, malditos, bogad, amolla ese cabo, tensa aquella driza, bogad que los perros ya son nuestros, bogad u os arranco la piel, bellacos, voto a Dios y a la hostia que vi alzar" (*CL* 285). Again, while not authentic in the sense that it is a modern imitation, it nevertheless gives the feeling of being from a prior time and of having belonged to others of a particular segment of society. And it most certainly feels "other" to the contemporary reader.

These words of bygone eras and professions, however, are not only used by the author to evoke an image of the past, but also to convey knowledge about the epoch and the lives of those who lived it. In fact, often times these antiquated or specialized terms are used to teach history and culture and are typically followed with descriptions that allow readers to gain more information about the period. For instance, in *Corsarios de Levante*, after their crew seizes a

Turkish pirate ship, Alatriste suggests to Íñigo "[h]agamos galima" (44), an antiquated phrase that is likely to be unknown to the vast majority of contemporary readers.[71] The term is immediately explained and placed in context, making it understood that collecting the spoils, and even taking captives to later sell them, was customary practice:

> Así llamábamos al botín a bordo, pero apenas había. La galeota, armada por gente del puerto corsario de Salé, todavía no había hecho ninguna presa cuando la descubrimos […] levantamos cada tabla de cubierta y rompimos todos los mamparos abajo. Ni para el maldito quinto del rey apareció una dobla. […] lo único valioso eran los turcos supervivientes. […] Echando cuentas rápidas, eso suponía ochenta o cien escudos por cada uno, según dónde se vendieran como esclavos. (44-5)

In another example in which these echoes from the past are used to serve the author's didactic intentions, towards the end of the novel the narrator describes the practice of singing *salomas*,[72] sea shanties or work songs, on board the galleys. In the following excerpt, the author first describes the custom and then explains that in this particular instance the shanty was being used as an act of defiance directed towards their Turkish enemies:

> algunos empezaron a cantar, para que la escuchara el enemigo, aquella saloma que la gente de cabo solía decir cuando tiraba de las ostagas al izar entena, y que al final un numeroso coro de voces, rotas pero no vencidas, terminó coreando puesta en pie y vuelta la cara hacia los turcos: *Lo pagano* / *esconfondí*, / *y sarracín*, / *turquí e mori* / *gran mastín*, / *lo filioli* / *de Abrahím*... (*CL* 334).

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[71] This term is present in Golden Age literature. For instance, the word "galima" can be found in both *El trato de Argel* and *Rinconete y Cortadillo*.

[72] This word is also present in Golden Age literature and can be found in Lope de Vega's *La Vega del Parnaso*, as well as in Cervantes' *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, to name but two examples. The accepted spelling at the time, however, was zaloma.

This example further illustrates how antiquated and specialized words that have lived in other eras and in the consciousness of others, are now at the service of the author. In addition to teaching about a prior way of life, this particular passage uses the *saloma* as a way to depict the resilient character of these individuals, while also serving to show the diversity in their speech as a result of living in contact with other cultures on the Mediterranean. In fact, the language of the song is written in a now obsolete lingua franca that was commonly spoken in the ports of Mediterranean, and which was formed by mixing languages from these various cultures in order to communicate. Further investigation of this passage also reveals that the chorus of voices recovered in the sea shanty is not the result of the author's own invention based on his knowledge of the *lengua franca mediterránea*, but rather, has been extracted from the 1573 letter of Eugenio de Salazar, one of the few existing historical documents to have preserved these voices in song. With these examples, and through the frequent inclusion of diverse and antiquated voices that evoke either a particular geographical space or segment of society, Pérez-Reverte again underscores the way that life and the world are reflected in language and words. As is stated earlier in the novel: "La vida escribe en cada cosa y cada palabra […] y hombre de provecho es quien procura leer y escuchar en silencio" (*CL* 270).

Although the source of the aforementioned *saloma* is not reveled by the author, often times these echoes that correspond to the lives of soldiers, sailors, and *corsarios*, are supported with literary references that also serve to validate the author's portrayal of these individuals. By way of illustration, in *Corsarios de Levante* when Alatriste and his men hear news of a fellow comrade who, after three years of not being paid, deserted the Spanish ranks and joined the Moors, Íñigo states to have "remembered" a few verses from a drama that loosely relate to the situation of the renegade soldier: "En ese momento recordé, comprendiéndolo al fin, lo que había

oído en un corral de comedias un par de años antes […]: *Soy un soldado* / *que me he venido a entregar* / *por no poder tolerar* / *ser valiente y mal pagado*" (*CL* 81). The verses come from *El gallardo español*, written by Cervantes, whose words, along with those of Juan Bautista de Vivar, Francisco de Quevedo, and Luis Vélez de Guevara, just to name a few, serve to reinforce the world of these soldiers and *corsarios* presented in the narrative.[73] As citizens of the epoch, their words not only lend authority and serve as testimony to a now bygone way of life, but they also add to the mixture of "voices" recovered in the narrative, where literary voices coexist and mingle with military and nautical echoes that pertain to the world of soldiers and *corsarios*.

This mixing of voices, in fact, is a constant strategy employed throughout the series and can also be seen in the author's use of *germanía*, or the slang of criminals, which is used to evoke a lower social class of ruffians through words and phrases like *la gorja*, *poner pies en polvorosa*, *calcorrear*, *calar la cerra*, *manfla*, *durindana*, *centella*, *desmallador*, *picador* (for *ladrón*), *baldeo* (for *cuchillo*), *gurullada*, and *grullo*. Take for example, the following passage from *El caballero del jubón amarill*o, in which a *jaque* tells another ruffian how he bribed a sheriff: "De manera […] que me llego al mayoral de los bellerifes, calo la cerra, saco dos granos como dos soles y le digo al grullo, guiñándole un fanal: <<Por estos veintidós mandamientos, juro a vuesarced que el que buscan no soy yo>>" (200). As the conversation in this *lengua germanesca* continues, the *jaque* explains that his bribe was successful and that the sheriff ignored accusations regarding both his crimes, as well as those of his prostitute: "Se arrancaba el bosque, bufando que era mi marca quien le había murciado la cigarra, y que yo la encubría…

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[73] In fact, Cervantes is frequently mentioned for this reason since "de corsarios sabía mucho, por soldado y por cautivo" (*CL* 51). Pérez-Reverte directs readers to the canonical author's works, as well as to those of other soldiers, if they want to learn more about the epoch and the lives of these individuals: "Cervantes, Jerónimo de Pasamonte y otros lo vivieron en carne propia, y a su autoridad dejo los detalles" (*CL* 63).

Pero ahí Berruguete cumplió como un godo y se hizo sordo. Tal día hará un año" (200). The language of the *jaques* not only adds to the diversity of voices in the narrative, but, like other unfamiliar or archaic words, it functions as a defamiliarization technique, explained by Milton Azevedo as a way to bring to "our attention to how certain characters' nonstandard way of talking builds sociolinguistically and culturally meaningful contrasts, not only between them and other characters but also between them and the readers" ("English Translations" 199). Indeed, while the author's imitation of this *lengua germanesca* evokes a strangeness that reinforces the reader's distance from the era and situations portrayed in the narrative, it also accentuates a difference in language register between other characters and the ruffians, which draws attention to the latter's place in a particular segment of the lower echelons of society.

Additionally, much like other instances that incorporate antiquated and unfamiliar speech, the argot of these criminals is placed in context and clarified in order to teach readers about the lives of these individuals. For instance, only after explaining the situation of Nicasio Ganzúa and the custom among the *jaques* of spending time with the condemned individual on the eve of their execution, does the narrator state: "A tan singular modo de despedir al camarada se le llamaba, en jerga germanesca, *echar tajada*" (*OR* 167; emphasis added). Likewise, the previously cited passages of the *jaque* who successfully bribed a bailiff, only occur after the narrator first summarizes the conversation that reader is about to hear in *germanía*, stating: "alcancé a entender que hablaban de un encuentro reciente con cierto alguacil, resuelto no con sangre ni grilletes, sino con dinero" (*CJA* 199). Thus, much like the author does with the bygone words that pertain to soldiers and *corsarios*, the argot of these criminals is not only explained in context, but it also serves a didactic purpose by teaching the lexicon used by these individuals, and by using these words to depict aspects of their way of life.

Moreover, similar to the author's portrayal of the lives of soldiers and *corsarios*, the lives of *jaques* are both reinforced and intertwined with literary voices and textual sources. In *El oro del rey*, for instance, the author includes echoes of Lope de Vega, Mateo Aleman, Cervantes, Quevedo, and Cristóbal de Chaves, as well as a variety of other historical documents from the time period, all of which add authority and corroborate the representation of the period and of the social milieu. Of the individuals previously mentioned, it is the words of Quevedo that predominate in this installment and are often used to parallel the situations in the narrative. By way of illustration, after a confrontation with law enforcement during which several authorities were killed, the narrator incorporates verses from Quevedo's drama about the legendary criminal Pero Vázquez de Escamilla that mirror the situation that has just transpired: "*Acudió la gurullada* / *a las voces y al reclamo*. / *Acepillé a los corchetes,* / *di de cenar a los diablos*" (*OR* 105). Likewise, Alatriste's visitation of Ganzúa on the eve of his execution contains multiple echoes from *Los valientes y tomajones*, one Quevedo's *bailes*, which the author uses to discuss both the lives led by *jaques* and the death sentences that they received for their crimes. In one such instance, the narrator comments that many suffered from "enfermedad de cordel," a phrase that is borrowed from the aforementioned *baile* and which is followed by verses from the same source that also reference their deaths: "*Los años todo lo mascan,* / *poco duran los valientes,* / *mucho el verdugo los gasta*" (*OR* 167-8).

In one final example, Marie-Thérèse García similarly notes that in the scene at the Royal Prison of Seville, not only does Pérez-Reverte rewrite excerpts from Cristóbal de Chaves' *Relación de la cárcel de Sevilla* in order to imitate the language and character of the ruffians (102-4), but that the author also merges their language with language found in *Los galeotes*, another of Quevedo's *bailes*, in order to discuss those who were arrested and later condemned to

row in the galleys for their crimes (113). In the scene in question, one of the *jaques* in the Royal Prison of Seville describes his situation to Alatriste, stating in part: "Pues ya puede verlo voacé. Camino de gurapas, me tienen. Hay por delante seis años vareando peces en el charco" (*OR* 169). The language not only echoes elements of *germanía* ("gurapas") and of the lower class ("voacé"),[74] but also, as García points out, utilizes the same metaphor employed by Quevedo in *Los galeotes* to describe the punishment of a criminal that was sent to the galleys for his actions: "y por esta muerte y otras / vino a varear pescados" (qtd. in García 113).

This mixing of different social registers and categories of language not only adds to the diversity of voices recovered in the narrative, but it also strengthens the reconstruction of a bygone era, and further serves the author's didactic purpose of leading readers to the library and to what has already been said. These intentions are not only evident in the multitude of quotes borrowed from canonical figures, but are also revealed in comments like the following in which the author piques the interest of the reader and suggests the names of individuals who have already spoken on the topic that he is covering: "El resto de la cárcel, las tres puertas famosas, las rejas, los corredores y el pintoresco ambiente que en ella se vivía fue contado ya por mejores péñolas que la mía, y a don Miguel de Cervantes, a Mateo Alemán o a Cristóbal de Chaves puede acudir el curioso" (*OR* 168). Statements like the previous, again, not only gesture to cultural information that has already been discussed and passed down by others, but they also serve to continually underscore a relationship between what has been recorded in the library and the sociohistorical environment of a prior era.

In brief, as examples from this section have repeatedly shown, the contemporary author

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[74] In *Cervantes and the Burlesque Sonnet*, Adrienne Laskier Martín writes that the word "voacé" belongs to the "nonstandard vernacular" that was typical "in the underworld" of Spanish Golden Age society (111). Martín states that it is for this reason that the term is frequently employed by ruffians in Cervantine literature (111).

not only displays a pronounced interest in the words of canonical authors and of other learned individuals, but also in the lives and language of the lower social strata, whose life experience was not portrayed "en lienzos en las paredes de los palacios, pero quedó registrada en páginas inmortales" (*LS* 146). Nevertheless, Pérez-Reverte's recovery and use of their voices and experiences transcends the "páginas inmortales" on which they are recorded, as the author utilizes their words to evoke a particular era, location, social class, situation or custom, and in doing so, conjures up an image of both their world and way of life. Furthermore, throughout this section it is apparent that Arturo Pérez-Reverte is not only recovering words and experiences, but he is consciously mixing social registers and distinctions of class that are attached to individuals and that are associated with their language. And thus, while the author's interests are undeniably bound up in literature and in the library, his intentions ultimately extend beyond the merely textual, as is evidenced through his engagement with the social and cultural hierarchies that are embedded in these voices, particularly those that evoke either the lower ranks of society or those whose names have become synonymous with high culture in Spain. Through their continual juxtaposition the author demonstrates that even the most seemingly diverse categories of language are not necessarily opposed to each other but can coexist and even complement one another.

2.3 Recovering Discourses and Voices from the Library to Engage in Dialogue

Just as intertextuality cannot account for the ways that culture and society are embedded in words and utterances, or how the library can serve as a reflection of life and the world, it also cannot account for the ways that Arturo Pérez-Reverte employs the previously outlined voices to recover and partake in larger conversations. In fact, while Pérez-Reverte's use of echoes that

"taste" of a particular context serves the author in reconstructing an image of the past and of the lives of those who lived it, when viewed as a collective whole, it becomes apparent that the author is using these voices to participate in a series of debates and discourses that neither begin nor end with him. This parallels the author's view of both writing and of literature, where the writer becomes another 'link in the chain of communication' who breathes new life into topics "y los pone otra vez a circular; para su época, y hace que esos temas de nuevo funcionen dentro del mundo actual" (qtd. in Ocón Garrido 101). An analysis of the author's participation in these topics and debates, reveals that Pérez-Reverte is not only concerned with the recovery of texts and with the voices of certain individuals, but also with the preservation, renewal, and circulation of discourse and knowledge, particularly as they relate to cultural and literary debates, as well as with how the national past is remembered and presented.

2.3.1 The Discourse on Arms and Letters: The Love of Adventure and Literature

Among the discourses that materialize when the collective voices of the author's historical fiction are taken as a whole, is that of the literary topic regarding arms and letters. In fact, as is apparent from previous sections of this chapter, specialized lexicon and voices related to the realm of arms and weaponry often mingle with the utterances of learned individuals and other echoes from the realm of literature. Indeed, the two sides of this debate are often interwoven, as many of Pérez-Reverte's works that portray warfare are often replete with literary references, and similarly, the *topos* of arms and letters can be found embodied in some of the author's protagonists, including Íñigo Balboa and Diego Alatriste y Tenorio, who are depicted as men of action with a profound appreciation for literature. In fact, while the combination of arms and letters is present in all of his historical works to some degree, the Alatriste series merits

special attention for the extent that it exhibits this fusion in not only themes and fictional characters, but also through the many references to historic individuals that inhabit both of these realms. Some of these individuals include Garcilaso de la Vega (poet and solider), Alonso de Contreras (soldier, sailor, corsair, and writer), Bartolomé de Torres Naharro (soldier and dramatist), Jerónimo de Pasamonte (soldier and writer), Diego Hernando de Acuña (captain and poet), Cristóbal de Virués (soldier, poet and dramatist), Alonso de Ercilla (captain and poet), Andrés Rey de Artieda (soldier, poet, and dramatist), Luis Vélez de Guevara (soldier and dramatist), and Miguel de Cervantes (soldier and writer), who in the sixth installment is often quoted regarding the lives of soldiers and corsairs since, as the narrator explains, "de corsarios sabía mucho, por soldado y por cautivo" (*CL* 51). In addition to Cervantes' personal ties to both the realm of literature and to that of arms, his *magnum opus*, *El Quijote*, also contains one of the most well-known passages on this topic in Spanish literature. During this section of the novel, the self-proclaimed knight errant Don Quijote argues that the profession of arms is a more noble path compared to that of letters, and he laments that soldiers who risk their lives in battle are not adequately compensated for their sacrifices, often living in poverty and without the recognition he believes that they deserve. In addition to what he sees as the deplorable treatment of soldiers, Don Quijote goes on to critique modern advancements in warfare and artillery that contradict his chivalric ideals (I, 38, 394-7).

While Pérez-Reverte does not explicitly mention the renowned Cervantine passage, he does engage with some of its arguments in his recycling and renewal of the arms and letters debate. For instance, much like his predecessor, Reverte also underscores the poverty and poor living conditions of soldiers, stating for instance that in Oran they experienced, "semanas de hambre y falta de todo, pues ni las pagas llegaban, ni enteras, ni medias ni tercias" (*CL* 76). The

series further illustrates that these hardships continued when they returned from war, as they lived in the margins of society where they barely got by: "Madrid estaba lleno de viejos soldados que malvivían en calles y plazas, con el cinto lleno de cañones de hoja de lata: aquellos canutos donde guardaban sus arrugadas recomendaciones, memorials e inútilies hojas de servicio, que a nadie importaban un bledo" (*CA* 41-2). Repeated commentaries such as these paint a bleak picture of the lives of soldiers and suggest that after fighting the battles of others, they were often discarded and largely forgotten.

The contemporary series also echoes elements of Don Quijote's speech in its critiques regarding artillery and modern warfare that facilitate killing at distance, which in Pérez-Reverte's works is seen as cowardly and ignoble given that it allows individuals to ignore the severity of their actions. For instance, in the third installment of the series the narrator expresses an opinion that, much like the statements pronounced by the fictional knight errant, stresses questions of ethics, personal valor, and physical strength, arguing that:

> quien mata de lejos lo ignora todo sobre el acto de matar. Quien mata de lejos ninguna lección extrae de la vida ni de la muerte: ni arriesga, ni se mancha las manos de sangre, ni escucha la respiración del adversario, ni lee el espanto, el valor o la indiferencia en sus ojos. Quien mata de lejos no prueba su brazo ni su corazón ni su conciencia, ni crea fantasmas que luego acudirán de noche, puntales a la cita, durante el resto de su vida. (*SB* 171)

Given this critique, it is perhaps no coincidence that both Alatriste and Íñigo often use knives or swords when they fight, even though other types of weapons are at their disposal. This, however, is not linked to antiquated chivalric ideals, but rather, is a matter of personal integrity and an adherence to a certain moral code, both of which strike a contrast with the corruption displayed

in society and the questionable behavior of some of those in power. Regarding the use of firearms and the portrayal of Spanish society in the series, Sanz Villanueva similarly observes that "[l]as armas de fuego se tienen […] por símbolo de una civilización decadente, y esta idea de la decadencia de las civilizaciones se convierte en […] soporte del ciclo de Alatriste" ("Lectura" 90).

Nevertheless, although the contemporary series coincides with parts of the discourse on arms and letters found in *El Quijote*, it ultimately does not seek to exalt the realm of arms over that of letters, as the knight-errant does in his speech, but rather, sets out to show precisely the opposite. Throughout the installments, the realm of arms is demythified through both the descriptions of poor living conditions endured by the soldiers, as well as the disillusioned commentaries that stress that there is no glory in battle, and that often times the sacrifices of so many accomplish very little. Such is the case in *Corsarios de Levante*, when the narrator references the two sonnets from *El Quijote* regarding the loss of *La Goleta*. While in Cervantes' text the sonnets are used portray the Spanish soldiers as brave martyrs that won eternal glory in death, this is of little recompense in the contemporary novel, where the sonnets are evoked to highlight those that "murieron peleando solos y abandonados de su rey" (*CL* 83). The senselessness of their deaths is further underscored when after citing one of the sonnets, the narrator concludes: "Como dije, tanto sacrificio era inútil" (83).

The unfavorable circumstances regarding the realm of arms lead Alatriste to advocate for the realm of literature and education as a means for a better life. And while Íñigo shows an inclination towards becoming a soldier, Alatriste instills in him the value of letters, and encourages him to become well-read. As Íñigo recalls: "La pluma, decía [el capitán], llega más lejos que la espada; y más futuro que un matarife profesional tendrá siempre alguien versado en

libros y leyes, bien situado en la Corte" (*CL* 66). This sentiment is often repeated in the series, as can be seen in the following example where the fictional Quevedo writes in a letter: "pues aunque se revista con el arnés del mismo Marte en el tráfago del mundo la pluma sigue siendo más poderosa que la espada" (*CL* 247). In this way, while the author continually joins these two categories throughout the series, through comments such as the previous he is simultaneously framing his argument that letters provide a better path than the world of arms.

To conclude, Pérez-Reverte's engagement with this debate not only preserves the tradition concerning the discourse with respect to arms and letters, but in his recycling of this motif, he puts the topic back into circulation, making it contemporary for a modern audience. In doing so, he becomes another 'link in the chain of communication,' borrowing ideas set forth by others as he adds his own intentions to them. The author's goal is ultimately didactic, given that there is a clear interest to both pass down knowledge about both of these realms, while strongly advocating for literature and the library as a means for a more fulfilling life, not only economically and socially, but also intellectually and culturally.

2.3.2 Pérez-Reverte and the High/Low Culture Debate

Of the prior discourses that the author incorporates into his works, the most prominent and the most frequently mentioned by scholars is that of the high/low culture debate. The author's participation in this debate is marked by a fusion between canonical literature and popular genre conventions, a technique that once again lays bare the author's predilection towards uniting supposed opposites. This duality between erudite and popular literary representations comes to occupy a central role in the author's narratives and is maintained through the continual juxtaposition of not only textual references, but also of stylistic language,

generic forms and other echoes that are commonly associated with polar ends of the high/low dichotomy. By way of example, and as was indicated earlier in this chapter, references to "highbrow" literature often arise in quotes, epigraphs, and comments that directly evoke renowned works and figures of both European and Spanish literature.[75] However, critics have also noted more subtle inferences, mostly in themes, styles, and overtones that bring to mind representative texts or authors, particularly those associated with the Spanish literary canon. It is important to note that in the case of the latter, often times there is no emphasis on any particular text, as the author's focus is on recovering concepts, ideas, and other elements that are associated with emblematic individuals. Multiple scholars, for instance, have identified echoes of not only Unamuno's concept of *intrahistoria* in the author's historical fiction,[76] but also of imagery, language, and themes that bear a strong resemblance to the style of Benito Pérez Galdós.[77] Additionally, Alberto Montaner Frutos and Brian Dendle have remarked that Pérez-Reverte's depiction of Spanish society is evocative of that of Pío Baroja ("Introducción" 83; "Las novelas históricas" 130), and Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez has noted that the author's fusion of life and literature contains traces of multiple canonical individuals including Galdós, Baroja, Quevedo, and Cervantes (412). While by no means a comprehensive list of the canonical voices that resonate throughout the author's historical narratives, the previous examples again reveal

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[75] Some examples that were touched upon earlier in this chapter include quotes from French writers such as Louis-Ferdinand Céline and François-René de Chateaubriand, recurring references to the Greek tragedy *Ajax*, comments mentioning the writings of Homer and Seneca, as well as the frequent incorporation of seminal works of the Spanish literary canon.

[76] On this connection see: Juan Manuel García-Precedo. *Intrahistory, Regeneration and National Identity, Past and Present: The Reflection of Nietzschean Unamuno on Arturo Pérez-Reverte and Luisa Castro*. Dissertation, University of Exeter, 2012; Pedro Guerrero Ruiz. "Grandeza literaria y miseria moral en la España de Alatriste (un análisis interdisciplinar e intertextual)" in *Territorio Reverte* (134); and Ángel Otero-Blanco. *El segundo plano en la literature de Arturo Pérez-Reverte: El envés de la trama* (113).

[77] For more information on the multiple connections to Benito Pérez Galdós in Pérez-Reverte´s historical fiction, see: Brain Dendle "Las novelas históricas de Arturo Pérez-Reverte" in *Territorio Reverte* (123-132); as well as the 2012 edition of *Romance Quarterly* entitled, "Galdós, Pérez-Reverte, and the Spanish War of Independence," which includes articles by Stephen Miller, Toni Dorca, Germán Gullón, and Gonzalo Navajas.

that Pérez-Reverte's engagement with literature extends beyond references to other texts, as the author is highlighting not only a connection to the social ideological structure that is the national literary canon, but also to concepts and styles set forth by other individuals—wise predecessors that embody a tradition and a heritage, parts of which the author is re-accentuating in his own works.

As prevalent as these canonical voices and other "highbrow" elements are in the author's historical fiction, scholars have also noted that these erudite associations are typically mixed with popular genre conventions, resulting in what Gonzalo Navajas describes as "una doble vertiente que, por una parte, lo conecta con las formas populares y, por otra, lo asocia con la literatura canónica" (*La narrativa española* 148). In regards to the author's use of "lowbrow" or popular forms, most critics point to both the author's revival of the nineteenth-century *folletín*, as mentioned earlier, as well as his propensity toward incorporating a wide-range of generic models, some of which, according to Sanz Villanueva, include "el relato de aventuras, la narración de intriga, la novela de investigación policiaca o criminal, la novela histórica y la ficción culturalista" ("El revertismo" 413). Nevertheless, while bound up in the library and in literature, the simultaneous presence of both generic and canonical echoes again transcends intertextuality, as the author is utilizing stratified language to engage with hierarchies and categories that are assigned within a given society and that evoke structures of knowledge. In fact, the creative merger between "high" and "low" reveals authorial intentions that go beyond references to other texts, as Pérez-Reverte is also making a statement regarding the oppositional binary that frequently structures the discourse on literary value or merit. Indeed, through the integration of both erudite and popular elements connected to the realm of literature, the author once again shows that such categories are not necessarily hostile to each other, nor are they in an adversarial

relationship where one must choose between one or the other. The author, in fact, adamantly rejects such a polarized view and frequently criticizes this binary that presumes one category to be a valid form of literature, while the other is not. For instance, while speaking on this matter in an interview with Juan Manuel de Prada, the author declared: "Esa distinción es artificial, falsa, maniquea e interesada. Durante muchos años, se nos han estado vendiendo "pequeñas obras maestras", ilegibles, herméticas y vacuas, […]. *Me rebelo contra quienes han dicho que esa literatura es la única válida*." ("Arturo Pérez-Reverte" 393; emphasis added). Similarly, in the same interview, the author further expressed his opposition to these types of either-or dichotomies stating: "Faulkner es válido, pero también es válido Alejandro Dumas. Este afán por compartimentar la literatura en bandos antagónicos parece que quiere resucitar aquella división entre conceptistas y culteranos […]. Es la vieja dualidad pedante de este país" ("Arturo Pérez-Reverte" 393).

Nevertheless, it should be noted that although the author frequently defends popular genres and argues against the biases engrained in the high/low debate, he also acknowledges that differences do exist and that while all texts may be valid forms of literature, individual variances among works and authors remain: "Todos en las librerías y en las listas, digo, pero cada uno en su sitio. Por mucho que se empeñen los malintencionados y los imbéciles, ni Stephen King es lo mismo que Umberto Eco, ni Ken Follet lo mismo que Jean d'Ormesson" ("La vía europea" 367). While all four individuals are writers of best-selling literature, Pérez-Reverte does not see them as forming part of a monolithic group. The distinction for the contemporary author lies in the degree to which one engages with both tradition and literary memory (364-7). He highly values those works that are clearly in dialogue with those that came before them, while also captivating the reader's attention, thereby "haciendo compatibles tradición, profundidad y entretenimiento"

(364). Although, it is true that the same could be said in regards to the author's criteria for any work of fiction and not just bestsellers. In this sense, the previous quote regarding these individuals again reflects the author's engagement with the categories that surround literature, where in his view, not all literature considered to be "highbrow" by critics is a masterpiece, not all popular literature is inherently bad, and not all bestsellers are the same. All belong in the library, yes, but each work and each author must be evaluated on their own merits.

To reiterate then, it is not that Pérez-Reverte does not perceive a difference between literary works, it is that he rejects the limiting and falsifying binary that places literature and authors in opposing categories and assumes that these categories are either homogeneous or closed off from one another. By challenging this binary in his historical novels, the author exhibits an approach to literature that coincides with Stephanie Sieburth's observation of certain novels of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries that similarly suggested, "that the fusion of the 'high-brow' literary tradition with popular forms might be productive rather than disastrous" (13). In a comparable fashion, Pérez-Reverte's engagement with this debate through the employment of stratified language, demonstrates that a creative merger between "high" and "low" is not only possible, but may be more advantageous by creating an enriched product that fuses tradition, prior discourses, and knowledge, with entertainment.

2.3.3 *Prodesse et Delectare*: Awakening an Interest in the Past

Along the same lines as the previously mentioned debate, the author's recovery of "voices" from the library also serves to resurrect the Horatian dictum concerning the purpose of literature, which according to the Roman poet, should seek to both instruct and entertain. Of the two previous objectives, it is often the latter that is most commonly associated with the best-

selling author. And in fact, the eclectic combination of popular generic voices mentioned above is often referenced in connection with the author's particular brand of storytelling, which seeks to both delight readers, and according to Sanz Villanueva, defend "la voluntad de juego y la intencionalidad lúdica de la literatura" ("El revertismo" 417). Nevertheless, while the entertainment value of literature is ever-present in his historical narratives, the popular generic forms that are employed by the author are often used as a means to arrive at larger topics and discourses. This, according to Gonzalo Navajas, is one of the author's most notable characteristics, explaining that Pérez-Reverte utilizes "el entretenimiento como transmisor de ideas" (*La narrativa española* 164). Similarly, Sanz Villanueva also observes that

> Pérez-Reverte no cuenta […] solo para entretener, no busca una literatura de evasión que se consuma en sí misma, en las sutiles trazas de la peripecia o en la gala del artificio. Ese componente de amenidad, distracción y sorpresa *sirve de soporte al desarrollo de los grandes temas de siempre de las bellas letras.* ("El revertismo" 418; emphasis added).[78]

These "temas de siempre" that are recycled in the Revertian narrative often serve to provide the reader with lessons on life and living, thus illustrating the instructive nature of literature, which according to Pérez-Reverte offers "herramientas prácticas de la vida" ("El valor educativo"). A didactic current, in fact, runs throughout the author's historical fiction, noted not only through the communication of universal topics, values, and ethics, but also through the heavy saturation of information and evidence of research, which again, point to the library as both a source of this knowledge and as a gateway to learning about bygone eras and the people who lived them. Many of the echoes presented throughout this chapter exemplify this point, and in this sense, the popular songs and refrains, the distinct voices from different social strata,

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[78] Sanz Villanueva continues, listing some of these themes, which include "el amor, la vida, la muerte, la piedad, el honor, el idealismo, la rectitud, las apariencias, [y] la honestidad" ("El revertismo" 418).

geographical regions, time periods, or professions, along with the abundance of intertextual references, and language or concepts connected to important literary figures, do not merely function as decoration or as an attractive historical backdrop, but are used collectively to either teach readers about social, political, and historical aspects of a particular moment or evoke certain literary traditions.

Indeed, the author often displays a propensity for weaving together both didacticism and entertainment, as noted by Alberto Montaner Frutos, who writes in the "Aprobación" included at the end of *Limpieza de sangre*: "empero no diré más, sino que supera aquello de Horacio, de que *aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare poetae*, pues no solo deleita, sino que también aprovecha, y ambas cosas en sumo grado, con lo que no cabe […] mayor ponderación" (262). It goes without saying that the combination of both instruction and entertainment makes learning about the past an enjoyable endeavor, and the author finds that the historical genre in particular "abre puertas de una manera divertida, amena y sugestiva *al interés por la historia, a querer saber más*" (qtd. in Lozano; emphasis added). Nevertheless, while the genre does lend itself to satisfying these aims, ultimately the author's focus is not on adhering to a genre (it is mixed with others after all), but rather, on creating a narrative that brings the distant past into the present, placing historical knowledge into circulation and awakening an interest in prior eras. The author's engagement with the time-honored tradition of *deleitar enseñando* helps to achieve these ends by making historical knowledge both accessible and attractive to a wide public, while also cultivating a curiosity and a desire to learn more.

Finally, it is important to note that much like the author's participation in the debate concerning the high/low culture dichotomy, the author's combination of both instruction and entertainment is also closely linked to prior utterances and to what has already been said by

others. In this sense, the echoes of the Horatian ideal of *prodesse et delectare* that can be felt throughout his historical fiction, can collectively be seen as a response to previous discourses regarding the purpose of literature, as Pérez-Reverte inserts himself into the conversation, becoming another participant in dialogue, contesting those with whom he profoundly disagrees:

> Hay una falacia que todavía se sostiene desde algunos sectores académicos de la literatura de que la literatura debe ser o bien profunda y aburrida, o bien divertida y superficial. Eso es falso, debe ser ambas cosas: debe ser profunda y amena, reflexiva y divertida, fascinante y al mismo tiempo que te deje un poso y una carga interior que te permita vivir esas vidas que no vives en la vida normal. (qtd. in Amell 28)

In this way, the author not only continues the tradition of *deleitar enseñando* for a modern audience, but much like the discourse concerning "high" and "low," the author challenges perceived separations between supposedly incompatible categories, opting instead for a creative merger which results in a narrative that can both lure readers with enticing stories, while also passing down knowledge, encouraging reflection and promoting the educational value of literature, and ultimately, of the library itself.

2.3.4 *La Memoria Histórica*: Broadening the Temporal Horizon and Remembering the Past through the Library

Arturo Pérez-Reverte's interest in teaching history and in putting episodes from bygone eras into circulation, is also intricately linked to larger conversations in society regarding both the recuperation of historical memory in Spain, as well as how the past should be remembered in the present. As was mentioned in the introduction, the author initially took up such discourses in an effort to fight against *la desmemoria* and the general lack of historical knowledge in society,

which he believes were caused by both the regime's manipulation of the historical record, as well as educational reforms that failed to fully teach younger generations about the distant past ("Es imposible"). And while his historical texts respond to and attempt to rectify these prior representations that either glorified or omitted aspects of the national past, they also engage with the concept of historical memory as a whole by seeking to widen the temporal horizon to which the term generally refers. In fact, contemporary use of the phrase in Spain typically corresponds to a very specific segment of history, as noted by Jo Labanyi, who writes that the term has become synonymous with remembering solely "la Guerra Civil y la inmediata posguerra" (88). According to Labanyi, this restriction is problematic because it excludes all other periods of the national past, thus rendering them "invisible" (88). Pérez-Reverte not only shares a similar view regarding the limited and narrow scope of the term, but he also sees historical events as interconnected or as part of an ever-expanding and continuous history. And thus, while most conversations on historical memory in Spain tend to focus exclusively on the Spanish Civil War and its aftermath, Pérez-Reverte believes that neither the Civil War nor the dictatorship can be fully understood unless one has a broad understanding of the history that came before it. The author has repeated this idea on multiple occasions,[79] declaring for instance that:

> La verdadera memoria histórica son 3.000 años de historia que nos hacen ser como somos porque fuimos lo que fuimos. Ni siquiera la Guerra Civil puede interpretarse

[79] In fact, Pérez-Reverte frequently criticizes the way that the term is used in Spain and often argues that current conversations regarding historical memory in Spain are deficient, stating for instance that "el problema es que la memoria histórica analfabeta es muy peligrosa. Porque contemplar el conflicto del año 36 al 39 y la represión posterior como un elemento aislado, como un periodo concreto y estanco respecto al resto de nuestra historia, es un error, […] es desvincular la explicación y hacerla imposible" (qtd. in Berasátegui).

> correctamente si no se conoce lo anterior. Igual que los nacionalismos no se conocen sin las pugnas entre centralismo y periferia de la época de los Austrias.[80] (qtd. in Caballero)

And while the author has made it clear that the Alatriste series is his way of contributing to the discourse on historical memory, explaining that "Alatriste es, claro, mi pequeño grano de arena para contribuir a esa memoria, que es mucho más amplia que la que esos catetos con coche oficial creen que es" (qtd. in Caballero), it should be noted that this objective is also clearly present in his other historical texts. This is demonstrated in the great lengths that the author takes to recover aspects of bygone eras including various social strata, cultural information, historical knowledge, language, themes, and conversations that often pertain to areas of the past that fall outside of the dominant discourse on historical memory. His concern regarding the temporal parameters associated with the term, is also evident in the following quote from a 2005 interview in which the author emphasizes his belief that current discussions on historical memory are inadequate given that they eliminate connections and sever the ties of history on a larger scale, stating:

> estamos perdiendo la memoria o manipulándola de una manera infame. […] Cuando se habla de "recuperación de la memoria histórica" sólo se recuperan los últimos setenta y cinco años. Y yo me refiero a tres mil años. Y ése es un pequeño matiz. Sin ningún

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[80] Although it is not a historical novel, it is worth mentioning that Pérez-Reverte's 2015 illustrated children's book *La Guerra Civil contada a los jóvenes*, was intended to provide the country's youth with a basic introduction to the Spanish Civil War. Roundly critiqued by scholars, the brief text simplifies the causes, events, and consequences of the war, to the point that Sebastiaan Faber notes that the text cannot adequately teach or explain anything, and in this regard, it is for all practical purposes essentially useless ("Una lata de guerra condensada"). Other issues taken with the work highlighted by Faber include the elements that Pérez-Reverte chooses to leave out, such as the role of the Catholic Church in the war—a surprising omission given the author's frequent criticism of the Church in Spanish history in his novels—, and the centralist stance taken by the author, who labels both sides as "extremistas," and links them to other Communist and Fascist movements ("Una lata de guerra condensada"). Interestingly, while Pérez-Reverte has expressed that the book is a response to the general lack of knowledge about the Civil War among younger generations, and seeks to provide information for that age demographic (Altares; García Calero) the discontent over the final product has led others to work to remedy his portrayal. And in 2017, Silvia Casado Arenas and Carlos Fernández Liria published the illustrated text, *¿Qué fue la Guerra Civil? Nuestra historia explicada a los jóvenes*, that is a response to Pérez-Reverte's 2015 children's book on the Civil War (Baquero).

> complejo: esto es Grecia, más Roma, más la latinidad medieval, más el Renacimiento, más el Barroco, más América con naves españolas en ida y vuelta, más la Ilustración, más la Europa de las ideas, las libertades, la Revolución Francesa y todo eso. *Esto* [el momento actual] *es un resultado de tal cadena*. (qtd. in Cabello Pino 4; emphasis added)

The *cadena* to which Pérez-Reverte refers in the previous quote, is not only continuously growing, but it is also a bridge to the past that connects the here and now to prior occurrences that collectively have led up to where we are today. In this view, contemporary society is always linked in some way to the whole of history and to those that came before us. For this reason, Pérez-Reverte believes that one must know history and be familiar with conversations had before our time—not only because everything eventually repeats, but because "la memoria nos ayuda a entender el presente" (qtd. in Amell 37). Elaborating on these ideas in a 2014 interview with Laura Mafud, the author further commented on these views, explaining that: "Desde que el hombre de Occidente existe se viene diciendo, no es nada nuevo: sin Historia no hay posibilidad de acometer el presente. No te puedes mover por el presente, no puedes actuar en él. Conocer la Historia, sus mecanismos de análisis, de comprensión, te da la sabiduría del tablero" ("Arturo Pérez-Reverte"). In this interview, Pérez-Reverte went on to express his conviction regarding the importance of historical knowledge in being able to recognize larger patterns throughout time, stating: "La Historia es cíclica. […] siempre tiene pequeños cambios, pero las grandes líneas se mantienen siempre. […] Ha ocurrido mil veces. Entonces, si lees, conoces los síntomas. […] La cuestión es darte todas las herramientas para poder sobrevivir en la fase en que te ha tocado vivir. […] *Y todo pasa por la biblioteca*" (emphasis added).

Thus, once again, all roads lead to and pass through the library for the author—as it is the library that can both expand our knowledge of the past, while also providing wisdom on life and

living during one's own time. Moreover, for Pérez-Reverte, the library not only allows connections between historical events, periods, and movements, but also between people, who both record and become these 'links in the chain' that make the library a reservoir of voices, culture, and historical memory, in the broadest sense of the term. After all, in the author's view, it is in the library where these voices can still be heard, speaking beyond their time and giving testimony to a prior way of life, which can provide insight on individuals from both then and now, as the seventeenth-century narrator remarks in *El caballero del jubón amarillo*: "Por fortuna, todos siguen vivos en los plúteos de las bibliotecas, en las páginas de los libros; a mano de quien se aproxime a ellos y escuche, admirado, el rumor heroico y terrible de nuestro siglo y de nuestras vidas. Solo así es posible comprender lo que fuimos y lo que somos" (71). This, ultimately, for the author, is the larger importance of both historical memory and the library, which not only serve as methods of communication to pass down knowledge and encourage reflection, but that also allow individuals to situate themselves historically as links in this vast chain. Communicating these ideas in an article originally published in *El Semanal* in 2000, Pérez-Reverte advises:

> Fíjate bien. Eres el último eslabón de una cadena maravillosa […]; de una cultura originalmente mediterránea que arranca de la Biblia, Egipto y la Grecia clásica, que luego se hace romana y fertiliza al Occidente que hoy llamamos Europa. Una cultura que se mezcla con otras a medida que se extiende, que se impregna de Islam hasta florecer en la latinidad cristiana medieval y el Renacimiento, y luego viaja a América. (*Con ánimo de ofender* 447-48)

The author continues in the article, stressing the importance of reading the works of great minds of other eras to learn history, science, philosophy, mathematics, and language, which includes

the study of not only foreign languages, but also Galician, Basque, and Catalan—the other co-official languages within Spain that highlight its linguistic diversity (448). Moreover, the author suggests that reading Spanish literature lays bare these contributions and influences that are recorded on the pages, where, if one looks, they will find "aportaciones de todas las lenguas españolas además de las clásicas y semíticas" (449).

Hence, again, the author sees this chain as stretching back across time and space, while also reflecting cultural contacts throughout the ages. However, and perhaps more importantly, in this article the author never loses sight of the importance of the library and of the wisdom left behind by those who came before us. In fact, the author goes so far as to suggest that if individuals can travel through life with these voices "en la memoria y en la mochila," they will know "la única patria que de verdad vale la pena" (450), that is to say, the homeland of knowledge and culture—the library.

2.4 Conclusion

As we have seen in this chapter, echoes of bygone eras, professions, social classes, regions, traditions, and individuals reverberate across the pages of Pérez-Reverte's historical novels as he utilizes stratified language and "voices" to evoke prior epochs, and engage in discourses regarding Spanish literature, culture, and history. In doing so, he continually highlights that he is working within "the debris of the past," to borrow a phrase from Ken Hirschkop (16), which is viewed by the author as an inheritance left behind by those that came before him. What is more, his works further underscore the fact that these voices are bound up in the realm of the library, where they are continually recovered and rewritten in the present, as the author demonstrates by recycling these echoes and putting them back into circulation, even as he

adds his own intentions to them. Pérez-Reverte, then, not only becomes another 'link in the chain of communication,' but he connects his works and his readers to a larger whole—a network of prior discourses, experiences, knowledge and traditions that stretch across time and space. It is the library, this homeland of knowledge and culture, which encompasses a multitude of voices that provide insight on both the past and the present that the author seeks to echo in his historical fiction. The following chapters will examine how Pérez-Reverte recovers echoes that are reminiscent of two canonical authors, Benito Pérez Galdós and Pío Baroja, in order to engage with generic conventions, topics, themes and conversations that are recorded in the library and that are intricately linked to aforementioned writers, whose voices he recycles and reworks for a contemporary audience.

Chapter 2: Representations of a Nation in Arturo Pérez-Reverte and Benito Pérez Galdós

In creating a poetic representation of the past, Pérez-Reverte not only participates in the long tradition of blurring the boundaries between history and fiction, but through his choice of narrative setting and topic, he also engages with discourses concerning Spanish society and historical memory. What is more, as was also noted in the previous chapter, the contemporary author often does so through the library, recycling the utterances of those who came before him and retelling the stories that they have already told. Among the chorus of voices that reverberate across the pages recalling these prior conversations and visions of the past, the influence and distinctive echo of one predecessor in particular stands out among the rest as Pérez-Reverte mirrors many of the signature elements, and themes closely associated with of one of Spain's most emblematic novelists—Benito Pérez Galdós. And while the contemporary author does not quote Galdós in these texts, or include him in his bibliographies, the presence of Galdós can be felt throughout in aspects of the author's style, generic resemblances, and in the selection of certain topics regarding the national past. In fact, not only do several of Pérez-Reverte's historical novels take up themes related to the Napoleonic Wars and Spanish history during the nineteenth century, but a few of these works specifically coincide with events famously portrayed by Galdós in the first series of his *Episodios nacionales*. This chapter will look at two such works by Galdós, *Trafalgar* and *El 19 de marzo y el 2 de mayo,* in order to examine the precedent set forth by the nineteenth-century novelist regarding the retelling of the national past and the image that he portrays of the nation. This will be followed by analysis of Pérez-Reverte's novels that correspond to the same historical events, in order to examine how Pérez-Reverte continues the tradition established by Galdós of both utilizing the past as didactic material, while

also recasting certain historical moments as literary explorations of the nation.

2.1 Creating Visions of a Nation and a Message to his Contemporaries in Galdós' *Trafalgar*

Galdós began writing the first series of his *Episodios nacionales* following a period of much political unrest in Spain. In fact, the first installment, *Trafalgar* (1873), appeared less than a year after the Third Carlist War (1872-1876) began. Madeleine de Gogorza Fletcher adds that it was the recent tumultuous political environment and the events leading up to the Glorious Revolution in September of 1868 that got the author thinking about past failures of the nation (14). Political volatility in Spain continued as he developed his project, and Peter Bly notes that current events would have a profound effect on the author since it is in this turmoil and division that Galdós decides to form the works of the first series as "a message for the divided Spain of 1873-1876, the moral being that the Spanish of Galdós' days should bury their differences and recover the patriotism of their forefathers" (Bly 121-22).

To convey this message of unity and solidarity to his contemporaries in the first series, Galdós does two things: he recycles previous historical events and discourses with national resonance to show a united Spain that would be the beginning of a modern nation, and secondly, he presents the people as the collective embodiment of this nation. Stephan Miller, for instance, writes that Galdós based his portrayal of historic events on prior narratives and depictions that had been continually adapted and revised by others throughout the years (101-11). In his synthesis and revision of these narratives, Galdós adopts a didactic approach that seeks to inform readers about events of great national importance, while also conveying ethical and moral ideals to his fellow countrymen. These ideals lead to a message of exemplary citizenry that is embodied in the narrator and protagonist Gabriel, who serves as a role model and whose upward story of

social mobility, according to Brian Dendle, is meant to show that "la persistencia, el sentido común, los valores éticos y la habilidad para sacar provecho de la experiencia, conducen al éxito" (*Galdós y la novela* 46).

It is through Gabriel's memoirs that readers are presented with an image of the nation, which now includes the people as central to its history. This new perspective and change in his understanding of the nation, symbolically occurs moments before the first canon blast, which marks the beginning of the Battle of Trafalgar. In this lengthy reflection regarding the concept of the nation, the narrator begins by recalling that he previously identified the country with its governing rulers, heads of State, and even religious zeal, but has now come to realize that the nation is much more than that:

> Por primera vez entonces percibí con completa claridad la idea de la patria, y mi corazón respondió a ella con espontáneos sentimientos, nuevos hasta aquel momento en mi alma. Hasta entonces la patria se me representaba en las personas que gobernaban la nación, tales como el Rey y su célebre Ministro, a quienes no consideraba con igual respeto. Como yo no sabía más historia que la que aprendí en la Caleta, para mí era de ley que debía uno entusiasmarse al oír que los españoles habían matado muchos moros […]. (*Trafalgar* 80)

As the reflection continues, Gabriel envisions the homeland as a collective community comprised of its citizens. In doing so, Gabriel exhibits Benedict Anderson's oft-cited notion of "imagined communities," where although the members of this vast community may never meet, or know each other, "the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (6-7). It is this relationship of comradery and their social pact that the narrator underscores as he substitutes his previous vision of the *patria* with one that focuses on the people:

> Pero en el momento que precedió al combate, comprendí todo lo que aquella divina palabra significaba, y la idea de nacionalidad se abrió paso en mi espíritu, iluminándole, y descubriendo infinitas maravillas, como el sol que disipa la noche, y saca de la oscuridad un hermoso paisaje. Me representé a mi país como una *inmensa tierra poblada de gentes, todos fraternalmente unidos*; me representé la sociedad dividida en familias, en las cuales había esposas que mantener, hijos que educar, hacienda que conservar, honra que defender; me hice cargo de *un pacto establecido entre tantos seres para ayudarse y sostenerse contra un ataque de fuera*, y comprendí que por todos habían sido hechos aquellos barcos para defender la patria, es decir, el terreno en que ponían sus plantas, el surco regado con su sudor, la casa donde vivían sus ancianos padres, el huerto donde jugaban sus hijos [...]. (*Trafalgar* 80-81; emphasis added)

Gabriel continues his lengthy contemplation on this newfound vision of the nation that focuses on the collective group and all that can be found within the borders of the country and in the soul of its people. The nation includes everything that has been passed down through the generations—a legacy that is their own and to which they all belong. In this way, the past is seen as part of the national heritage of the Spanish people, and not just the history of the aristocracy, the royal family, and the government. Towards the end of this reflection, Gabriel is overcome with emotion when he sees the Spanish flag, which for him now represents his fellow countrymen and everything they hold dear. This representation of the nation emphasizes a collective based on fraternity and solidarity in a common enterprise, an image that Antonio Regalado García notes not only reverberates across the episodes of the first series, but that also contributes to the overall message by ultimately awarding "la victoria al pueblo y no el Estado en las luchas contra Napoleón" (23).

In fact, in Galdós's portrayal of the nation, the narrative continually criticizes the ineptitude of State leaders, whose poor decisions and overall weakness are contrasted with the heroic action and sacrifices of the people. In *Trafalgar*, one of the most common subjects of this criticism is the Prime Minister Manuel Godoy, who is depicted as having led the country into a disastrous partnership with France that disfavors the country politically and economically (48). Other comments from characters highlight the incompetence of Godoy and paint a bleak picture of society under his leadership, as Doña Francisca remarks:

> [E]se Príncipe de la Paz se está metiendo en cosas que no entiende. Ya se ve, ¡un hombre sin estudios! […] Parece que por su linda cara le han hecho primer ministro. Así andan las cosas de España; luego hambre y más hambre …, todo tan caro…, la fiebre amarilla asolando a Andalucía… Está esto bonito, sí señor… . (*Trafalgar* 48)

In addition to the criticisms of the Prime Minister, State institutions and Carlos IV are also blamed for their lack of leadership and their abandonment of the citizens that they are supposed to help, as one of the sailors explains while outlining his reasons for leaving: "No quiero más batallas en la mar. El Rey paga mal, y después, si queda uno cojo o baldado, le dan las buenas noches, y si te he visto no me acuerdo" (118). The king's neglect of these individuals is not the only moral failure presented in the narrative, and as the sailor continues, he highlights the monarch's adherence to a system of class privilege that unjustly distributes financial resources to those in the upper strata of society, more specifically, to those in his own court, including royal favorite Manuel Godoy:

> Parece mentira que el Rey trate tan mal a los que le sirven. ¿Qué cree usted? La mayor parte de los comandantes de navío que se han batido el 21 hace muchos meses que no cobran sus pagas. […] Los arsenales están vacíos, y por más que se pide dinero a Madrid,

> ni un cuarto. Verdad es que todos los tesoros del Rey se emplean en pagar sus sueldos a los señores de la corte, y entre estos el que más come es el Príncipe de la Paz, que reúne cuarenta mil durazos como consejero de Estado, como secretario de Estado, como capitán general y como sargento mayor de guardias… . (118)

In addition to criticizing those in power in passages such as the previous, Dolores Troncoso points out that Galdós is also recycling a Golden Age topic regarding the poor payment of soldiers by their kings, explaining that author updates this theme and subsequently repeats it throughout the series (325). While the author breathes new life into this topic and places it back into circulation, it also serves a specific purpose in the image that he is creating of Spain, where the people are sorely lacking "un buen hombre de Estado a la altura de las circunstancias" (*Trafalgar* 62), and where the weakness and ineptitude of those in positions of authority, ultimately make the people the pawns of French officials, such as Admiral Villeneuve, whose poor decisions are also repeatedly mentioned as contributing to the defeat.

Conversely, Spanish military officers generally fare better in the narrative and Galdós emphasizes their leadership in his retelling of the battle. With the exception of Gravina, who is blamed for allowing the fleet to leave the safety of the port (*Trafalgar* 124),[81] others are presented in a favorable light, stressing their heroism, courage, and moral fortitude. For instance, after noting the "serenidad y estoicismo" of Francisco Javier Uriarte during combat, Gabriel mentions that through his exemplary behavior he now understood, "todo lo que nos cuentan de los heroicos capitanes de la antigüedad. Entonces no conocía yo la palabra sublimidad, pero viendo al comandante del Trinidad comprendí que en todos los idiomas debía haber un hermoso

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[81] James Whiston writes that the anecdote that places blame on Gravina, in which Villeneuve insults Gravina who then responds by allowing the fleet to leave the port of Cádiz, not only reflects on "the foolish pride of the nation as a whole" (158), but that in doing so "Galdós may have wished to underline one of the lessons of the novel: that true heroism is to be found in serenity of outlook and in not allowing the passions of the moment to rule" (157).

vocablo para expresar aquella *grandeza de alma* que yo estaba viendo" (86; emphasis added). The brigadier Dionisio Alcalá Galiano, similarly inspires heroic action in his men, which causes the narrator to "[lament] that such a leader was not placed in command of the fleet" (Dendle, *Galdós: The Early Historical Novels* 29). The official that most stands out in the narrative, however, is Cosme Damián Churruca, a learned man of noble character that the narrator points out "tenía tanto corazón como inteligencia" (67). Churruca is a model commander who fights bravely even though "el gobierno le debía nueve pagas" (68), and he is favorably described as possessing "[un] grande espíritu" and leading his men through battle "con una serenidad asombrosa" (100). His refusal to surrender the ship as he lay dying towards the end of the battle, adds a legendary tone to his heroic portrayal, which is relayed by Rafael Malespina in his customary melodramatic style stating:

> [E]l héroe cayó en mis brazos. ¡Qué horrible momento! Aún me parece que siento bajo mi mano el violento palpitar de un corazón, que hasta en aquel instante terrible no latía sino por la patria. […] le vi tratando de reanimar con una sonrisa su semblante, cubierto ya de mortal palidez mientras con voz apenas alterada, exclamó: "Esto no es nada. Siga el fuego." (100)

Malespina concludes his dramatic account by emphasizing that the brigadier remained a model of strength and noble character until the end, recalling: "expiró con la tranquilidad de los justos y la entereza de los héroes, […] asociando el deber a la dignidad, y haciendo de la disciplina una religión, firme como militar, sereno como hombre, […] con tanta dignidad en la muerte como en la vida" (101). Although Gabriel comes to denounce the violence and senselessness of war after witnessing the horrors of Trafalgar (96), lessons from the event can still be extracted through individuals such as Churruca, who embody the moral message that Galdós is looking to impart

on his contemporaries by having these figures serve as examples of sacrifice, honor, level-headedness, and dignity.

The author's didactic message not only presents readers with images that are intended to convey aspects of model citizenry, but also with visions of what Galdós considers to be the faults in the nation's character, which as Brian Dendle points out, align with "los mismos defectos morales y conducta errónea que observa en sus contemporáneos" (*Galdós y la novela* 25). Some of these less admirable qualities that are criticized include, according to Dendle, "la demagogia, la indisciplina, la fatuidad, la irracionalidad, la pereza, el despotismo, la envida, la teatralidad, y el substituir la forma por la substancia" (25). In *Trafalgar*, in addition to the critiques mentioned earlier that the author utilizes in his representation of the nation, such as the ineptitude and lack of intelligence of those in power, the adherence to an unjust and archaic class system, the State's abandonment of its citizens, as well as its poor economic and political decisions, the narrative also portrays negative qualities in the gente de leva, almost always pointing out that they lack the ideals, knowledge, initiative, and virtues that are depicted in individuals like Churruca. By way of example, Rafael Malespina comments that "los navíos españoles están tripulados en gran parte por gente de leva, siempre holgazana y que apenas sabe el oficio" (*Trafalgar* 59). The same idea is later repeated by Gabriel, who later states that they are "gente […] casi siempre holgazana, díscola, de perversas costumbres y mala conocedora del oficio" (74). Additionally, Gabriel further notes that among these faults, they do not have the least sense of collective spirit or emotional attachment to the nation: "todos eran de leva; obedecían órdenes como de mala gana, y estoy seguro de que no tenían ni el más leve sentimiento de patriotismo" (*Trafalgar* 80). Notwithstanding, the battle appears to change these individuals and Malespina notes this transformation stating: "La gente de leva se había educado en el heroísmo, sin más que dos horas

de aprendizaje, y nuestro navío, por su defensa gloriosa, no solo era el terror, sino el asombro de los ingleses" (100). While it may seem that heroic patriotism ultimately ennobles these men, it is worth pointing out that the narrative never includes their point of view of the battle, and that the previous comment presents these individuals through the eyes of Rafael Malespina, who is depicted as a "charlatán" and a "fanfarrón" that repeatedly lies and tells tall tales (53, 60, 62, 63, 109, 111).[82] And whereas the experience of combat disabuses Gabriel of his previous glorious ideals of war and patriotism, leading him to think only about survival during the battle,[83] it does not have the same effect on Malespina who according to James Whiston, "fails to learn any lesson from the Battle" noting that in the narrative "Galdós links this character's fantasies of war to a misplaced pride in country" (158). In this sense, Malespina is yet another example of what Galdós views as one of many the faults in the nation's character, which not only include those that lack ideals, motivation, and a sense of ethics, but also those that exhibit an exaggerated sense of pride that promotes conflict and violence. Indeed, according to Whiston, examples of foolish pride, such as those displayed by Malespina, are presented "as one of the root causes of strife in Spanish society" (163).

To conclude, in his representation of the nation in *Trafalgar*, Galdós not only sees the homeland as the collective embodiment of the people, but through his representation, he looks to present both the flaws of society, as well as examples of heroism and model citizenry from the past that his contemporaries can emulate. Nevertheless, despite the fact that Galdós continually details the positive virtues of heroism throughout *Trafalgar*, ultimately, as Brian Dendle explains,

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[82] On this topic, Hans Hinterhäuser has noted the character's similarities to the outlandish fibber, the fictional Baron Münchhausen (307).

[83] "desvanecidos en mí los efluvios de patriotismo que al principio me dieron cierto arrojo, no pensaba ya mas que en salvar mi vida, y no era lo más a propósito para este noble fin el permanecer a bordo de un buque que se hundía por momentos" (*Trafalgar* 94).

the novel serves to call into question "la utilidad del sacrificio de las vidas españolas" (*Galdós y la novela* 26). That is to say, that even though he repeatedly points out exemplary models of conduct, they are all shown to be in vain without a government that adequately supports the people. In this sense, what most citizens have in common in this "imagined community" presented in the narrative is that they, like Gabriel, suffer "los efectos de las decisiones erróneas de los que quedan por encima […] en la jerarquía política y militar" (Navajas, "La épica y la guerra" 827). This image of a country plagued with poor leaders in the ruling class, which is juxtaposed with the author's representation of common people that are not only shown to be central to Spanish history, but that exhibit a moral character that those at the highest levels of society lack, will be a constant throughout the first series.

2.1.2 *El 19 de marzo y el 2 de mayo*: Two Representations of the Pueblo

Galdós continues his portrait of the nation in the third installment of the series, El 19 de marzo y el 2 de mayo, in which, much like he did in *Trafalgar*, Galdós not only seeks to convey an image of a prior time and of certain historical events, but he also looks to history with the belief that it can provide valuable lessons for both his contemporaries as well as future generations. In doing so, he adds to his vision of early 19th-century Spain, where the nation is not identified with the State, but rather, with its people. Furthermore, also similar to *Trafalgar*, the portrayal of this nation serves the author's didactic intentions by imparting sociohistorical knowledge, as well as moral values to his readers. One way in which the author does so in this installment is through the comments and behaviors of characters, who often relay historical information, and reflect the author's moral message in either their ethical or unethical conduct.

Some of these individuals include the excessively kind priest Celestino del Malvar, the virtuous and steadfast Inés, the stingy and amoral businessman Mauro Requejo and his equally miserly sister Restituta, as well as the *majos* from the streets and taverns of Madrid, which form part of the wide range of common people from society that populate the narrative.

In the first half of the novel, these common people reveal a portrait of society that is primarily negative, and which culminates in the Revolt of Aranjuez on March 17, 1808. During this uprising, citizens storm the residence of Manuel Godoy, forcing not only the Prime Minister from power, but also the abdication of Carlos IV, who cedes the throne to his son and rival Fernando VII. In his portrayal of the event, Galdós focuses on the actions and behaviors of the angry mob and the narrator repeatedly refers to them in contemptuous terms that stress his scorn for their actions, calling them for instance: el vulgo, el populacho, la turba, la plebe, la terrible fiera, el monstruo, la bestia, and la turbamulta (*El 19 de marzo* 299-311). Appalled and horrified at the violence and vandalism that he witnesses at the residence, Gabriel condemns the collective group for reveling in lowly instincts, including a savagery and ignorance that leads to mindless destruction:

> La multitud subía y bajaba, abría alacenas, rompía tapices, volcaba sofás y sillones, creyendo encontrar tras alguno de estos muebles al objeto de su ira; […] miraba con estúpido asombro su espantosa faz en los espejos, y después los rompía; […] el brutal instinto tan propio de los niños por la edad como de los que lo son por la ignorancia; rompía con fruición los objetos de arte, como rompe el rapaz en su despecho la cartilla que no entiende; y en esta tarea de exterminio, la terrible fiera empleaba a la vez, y en espantosa coalición, todas sus herramientas, las manos, las patas, las garras, las uñas y los dientes, repartiendo puñetazos, patadas, coces, rasguños, dentelladas, testarazos y

mordiscos. (301)

In addition to the condemnation of the group as a whole, individual characters that partake in the riot are also depicted in an unfavorable manner, thus contributing to the unsavory panorama. Brian Dendle, for instance, finds that these individuals are largely "the dregs of the population, cowardly and drunken, [they] can attack only inanimate objects or defenseless persons" (*Galdós: The Early* 41). It is also worth noting that one of the primary leaders of the revolt, Pujitos, who is described as a "majo decente" like those in the *sainetes* of Ramón de la Cruz given that he was "un majo que lo era más por afición que por clase" (*El 19 de marzo* 297), is portrayed as possessing objectionable, yet common, behavior:

> Pujitos era español. […] No sabía leer, y tenía ese don particular, también español neto, que consiste en asimilarse fácilmente lo que se oye; pero exagerando o trastornando de tal manera las ideas, que las repudiaría el mismo que por primera vez las echó al mundo. Pujitos era además bullanguero, era de esos que en todas épocas se distinguen, por creer que los gritos públicos sirven de alguna cosa; gustaba de hablar cuando le oían más de cuatro personas… . (298)

Similarly, Dendle observes that other participants of the Aranjuez revolt do not fare much better, writing that "[t]heir motives are self-interest and the indulgence of base passions; the cowardly Lopito is an illiterate who hopes for a position in a changed administration; the ignorant Pujitos fatuously plays at being a soldier; the sacristan Santurrias is a drunken rogue; [and] the lawyer Lobo is a trimmer willing to serve any master who pays him" (*Galdós: The Early* 41).

These individuals, along with their fellow citizens, are portrayed as erroneously believing that their actions were a display of patriotism carried out in the interests of the nation: "ellos estaban convencidos de que hacían un gran papel político; de que con la llama de los espinos y

de los brezos, […] estaban cauterizando las más feas llagas de la doliente España" (*El 19 de marzo* 303). Nevertheless, Gabriel points out that the event was orchestrated by "manos más expertas que las del vulgo" (301), who manipulated the public into doing their bidding. When the household objects are reduced to ash, Gabriel observes a troop of official guards that come to establish authority over the now destroyed property. This evokes a reflection regarding the extent to which those with power use their control to exploit the public for their own interests: "A todas estas llegó una compañía de guardias para custodiar la casa después de saqueada: fácil era comprender la inteligente dirección del motín de que había sido brutal instrumento un pueblo sencillo. Este [el pueblo] no hubiera podido dar un paso más allá de la línea que se le marcara sin sentir encima la fuerte mano de la autoridad" (305). The narrator thus concludes that the public was only permitted to do what those with authority and power allowed them to do. And while the rebels believe themselves to be the instigators of a spontaneous uprising in which they are the primary actors, comments like the previous point out that they are merely puppets.

Rather than taking pity on these individuals, Gabriel unleashes disdain, for it was their hatred, ignorance, and immoral character that made them so easily manipulated. The joy in seeing someone suffer, a tendency towards violence, "feroces gritos," and "aullidos de cólera," lead the narrator to proclaim that these people are "los seres más innobles de la creación" (309), adding that "Lopito no cabía en sí de satisfacción" (309). When Gabriel asks one of the rebels what Godoy did to him personally to incite such a reaction, he responds:

> Yo le aborrezco, le detesto: yo soy una víctima de sus picardías. Ha de saber usted que la tienda de calderería que tengo me la puso él, por ser yo hijo de la que le lavaba la ropa… Al año de tener la tienda me arruiné, y él me dio unos cuartos para seguir adelante; pero como le pidiese un destino donde con descanso y sin trabajar me ganase la vida, tuvo la

> poca vergüenza de contestarme que yo no debía ser empleado, sino calderero, y añadió que yo era un animal. Vea usted, ¡decir que yo soy un animal! (309)

The man's lack of appreciation for the help that he has received, along with his misplaced ire and shameless request to be given a salaried position that requires no work, are viewed as some of the problems that Galdós sees in his contemporaries. In this sense, the blind violence, ignorance, and objectionable character presented by those that partake in the Aranjuez riot illustrate what Galdós views as behavior that is not productive for the advancement of society and which must be overcome. Scholars have explained that this is one of the aims of the series as a whole, in which, according to Brian Dendle, the representations of the faults of the nation, as seen embodied in its citizens, are employed by the author as a way to point out that "[numerosas] barreras que impiden el desarrollo del individuo y de la nación deben ser derribadas" (*Galdós y la novela histórica* 27-8).

In contrast to the portrayal of the collective group involved in the March 17th riot at Aranjuez, the second half of the novel paints a vastly different depiction of the Spanish people that partake in the uprising on the 2nd of May in Madrid. While the former are associated with mostly negative terms, the latter are viewed favorably as they display heroic valor in fighting for what is represented as a just and noble cause that the narrator describes as a "movimiento impremeditado y sublime" (376), as well as a "heroica" (377), and "honorosa lucha" (376). Unlike the first revolt, the 2nd of May is shown as arising spontaneously from the people, rather than from under "la mano de autoridad" that manipulates the public to achieve political gain. Nevertheless, the political maneuvers and backdoor dealings of both the ruling class and the upper rungs of society are depicted as the reason that the people of Spain are in this situation to begin with. During the public reception of Fernando VII, in which the new monarch

triumphantly enters Madrid, the narrator comments on their conspiracy and foreshadows the upcoming domination of the city by French troops:

> El plan concebido en las antecámaras del Palacio había sido puesto en ejecución con el éxito más lisonjero. […] los cortesanos que desde los balcones contemplaban con desprecio el entusiasmo de la fiera, tan brutal en su odio como en su alegría, no cabían en sí de satisfacción, creyendo haber realizado un gran prodigio. En su ignorancia y necedad no se les alcanzaba que habían envilecido el trono, haciendo creer a Napoleón que una nación donde príncipes y reyes jugaban la corona a cara y cruz sobre la capa rota del populacho, no podía ser inexpugnable. (316)

In addition to their shortsightedness and egocentricity, by the 2nd of May much of the ruling class, as well as the court, had either left the city or was preparing to leave, as the *majo* Pacorro Chinitas informs Gabriel: "Todos se han ido y nos han dejado solos con los franceses. Ya no tenemos rey, ni más gobierno que esos cuatro carcamales de la Junta. […] Se llevan todos los Infantes. […] Los señores de muchas campanillas se han ido a Bayona, y allí andan a la greña por saber si obedecen al padre o al hijo" (362). Their departure makes it clear that the people have been abandoned to the will and authority of the French, who have occupied the city for a little over a month. In doing so, the nation's government is not only presented as caving to a foreign entity, but its portrayed weakness will function as a contrast when compared with the valor of the people in the subsequent rebellion.

Serving as a model of bravery and honorable resistance, those involved in the uprising on the 2nd of May are seen as forming a collective front that is comprised of men and women from every social class and age group. The event is depicted as coming entirely from the people, who, filled with a sense of patriotism, band together to fight against a foreign invader. It is in these

individuals and their actions that Galdós finds the essence of the nation, which is not imposed from above, but rather, arises from within and results in the formation of a national consciousness, as Gabriel indicates while reflecting on this event:

> Componíanla personas de ambos sexos y de todas las clases de la sociedad, espontáneamente reunidas por uno de esos llamamientos morales, íntimos, misteriosos, informadas, que no parten de ninguna voz oficial, y resuenan de improviso en los oídos de un pueblo entero, hablándole el balbuciente lenguaje de la inspiración. La campana de ese rebato glorioso no suena sino cuando son muchos los corazones dispuestos a palpitar en concordancia con su anhelante ritmo, y raras veces presenta la historia ejemplos como aquel, porque el sentimiento patrio no hace milagros sino cuando es una condensación colosal, una unidad sin discrepancias de ningún género, y, por lo tanto, una fuerza irresistible y superior a cuantos obstáculos pueden oponerle los recursos materiales, el genio militar y la muchedumbre de enemigos. El más poderoso genio de la guerra es la conciencia nacional, y la disciplina que da más cohesión, el patriotismo. (363-4)

Similar to *Traflagar*, this "imagined community" includes spaces, individuals, and everything within its borders that pertain to the people. It is their collective inheritance and way of life that is viewed as under attack and that the citizens are fighting to protect, as an elderly man explains to his daughters during the battle: "¡Viva España! ¿Vosotras sabéis lo que es España? Pues es nuestra tierra, nuestros hijos, los sepulcros de nuestros padres, nuestras casas, nuestros reyes, nuestros ejércitos, nuestra riqueza, nuestra historia, nuestra grandeza, nuestro nombre, nuestra religión. Pues todo esto nos quieren quitar. ¡Muera Napoleón!" (369). This idea of fighting for what belongs to the people as a collective group is later repeated in an impassioned speech given by Celestino as he shouts at the French soldiers: "¿Queréis a España? ¿Queréis este suelo?

¿Queréis nuestras casas, nuestras iglesias, nuestros reyes, nuestros santos? Pues ahí está, ahí está dentro de esos cañones lo que queréis. Acercaos" (376). Highlighting the bonds of comradeship that unite those that are fighting in defense of the nation, the kind priest further states: "Cada muerto no significa más sino que un fusil cambia de mano, porque antes de que pierda el calor de los dedos heridos que lo sueltan, otros lo agarran" (376).[84]

In fact, throughout the narrative, Galdós strives to underscore a sense of unity among the people, who collectively fight back in any way that they can, battling the French not only in the streets of Madrid, but also from the balconies of their homes, from which "salían muchos tiros de pistola y gran número de armas arrojadizas, como tiestos, ladrillos, pucheros, pesas de reloj" (367). In his description of the battle, Gabriel further observes the variety of social classes in the individuals that fight side by side, noting that next to him was the quarrelsome *maja* la Primorosa, as well as a well-dressed aristocrat, and two shopkeepers (367). Of the different types of people portrayed in this historic event, la Primorosa is one of the citizens that most stands out for her unwavering bravery and crude audacity. Referred to as "nuestra generala" (368), the *maja* takes a leadership role in the resistance, and gives orders to those around her as they are fighting against the French. Later, she fights next to the artillery officer Luis Daoíz, one of the historic figures of the uprising, and assists him in battle. Her belligerent and aggressive personality is an asset in a moment like this, and when channeled in the defense of the nation, it becomes a mark of courage:

> ¡Viva España y muera Napoleón! […] Renacuajos, volved acá. Ea, otro paseíllo. Sus mercedes quieren conquistarme a mí, ¿*no verdá*? Pues aquí me tenéis. Vengan acá: soy la

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[84] Pacorro Chinitas not only repeats this idea as he lays dying from his wounds, but he also foreshadows the upcoming battles of the Peninsular War (1808-1814): "Adiós, Madrid, ya me encandilo […] Nos quitan el parque; pero de cada gota de esta sangre saldrá un hombre con su fusil, hoy, mañana, y al otro día" (378).

> reina, sí, señores; soy la emperadora del Rastro, y yo acostumbro a fumar en este cigarro de bronce, porque no las gasto menos. ¿Quieren ustedes una chupadita? *Pos* allá va. *Desapártense pa que* no les salpique la saliva; si no… . (378)

According to Toni Dorca, la Primorosa along with the other *majos* in the narrative embody the autochthonous essence of Madrid, specifying that the "buñolera del Rastro" in particular, "encarna los defectos y las virtudes propios de la especie. Si bien su temperamento irascible y propenso a la violencia ha obligado a su marido a separarse de ella, nadie la iguala en arrojo durante la jornada del Dos de Mayo" ("Costumbrismo" 72).

To conclude, this diverse *pueblo* comprised of men and women of all social classes and ages, comes to represent the moral strength, heroic bravery, and the values of the nation that are lacking in the ruling class and in the upper strata of Spanish society. And while José Álvarez Junco finds that portraying the common people as the moral beacon of the nation breaks with "toda la tradición elitista y pedagógica del reformismo español del Antiguo Régimen," he also notes that doing so strengthens the myth of the people as the saviors of the nation, on whom all hope for the future rests (87). Similarly, Raymond Carr points out that Galdós played an important role in the propagation of the national myth regarding the people's heroic resistance to Napoleon, writing that

> Modern Spanish nationalism of a type comparable to nascent nationalism in other European countries was created by the fact of resistance to Napoleon. […] For a generation of European Romantics it created the image of a nation *sui generis*, a natural force uncontaminated by Europe, an image consecrated by the greatest writer of nineteenth-century Spain, the novelist Galdós. A myth of enormous potency, available to radicals and traditionalists alike, grew out of Spain's unique and proud resistance. (105)

While Galdós did not create these myths on his own, but rather, molded his narratives from the works of others (Miller 101-11), his extremely popular episodes and his place in the Spanish literary canon nonetheless ensured that his reimagining of these events would greatly influence both the way that they would be remembered in society, as well as how they would be retold in the future. In both *Trafalgar* as well as *El 19 de marzo y el 2 de mayo*, Galdós recycles historical information regarding the events, while creating a discourse concerning the nation that is recognizably his own, and which is greatly concerned with the didactic retelling of the national past to illuminate the present and show a united Spain. In doing so, Galdós not only informs readers about historical events, but he puts ordinary citizens in pivotal moments of national importance, presenting them as the collective embodiment of the nation. The second half of this chapter will examine how these echoes of Galdós live on and are modified by Arturo Pérez-Reverte, who both follows the model set forth by his predecessor, while also adapting his discourse concerning the nation for his own time.

2.2 Representations of a Nation: Rewriting the Past, Tradition, and Discourse as a Continuation and a Rejoinder

In studies on the Revertian historical novel, scholars typically note the numerous similarities between the contemporary author and his predecessor Benito Pérez Galdós. And indeed, as previously mentioned, even though Pérez-Reverte does not reference the nineteenth-century novelist or any of his texts in his historical novels, echoes of Galdós can be plainly heard throughout. Many of these echoes reveal themselves in generic elements, themes, and visions of the national past that are closely associated with the aforementioned canonical author. In fact, the most common comparisons made by scholars involve the type of historical events described in

the narrative since several of Pérez-Reverte's works coincide with historical events famously portrayed by Galdós in the first series of his *Episodios nacionales*. Other connections include Pérez-Reverte's interest in the portrayal of both the nation and national history, as well as his engagement with some of the generic conventions set forth by Galdós in his modification of the historical genre. In doing so, Pérez-Reverte reveals that his intentions, while reflecting a deep concern for literature, also extend beyond the merely textual. And in fact, he is not only recycling discourses concerned with national history and specific historical events, but he is also highlighting that he is working from a heritage of traditions and prior conversations that have been established by others that came before him, in this case, those of Benito Pérez Galdós. While the signature elements and distinctive "voice" of this emblematic predecessor reverberate across the pages of many of Pérez-Reverte's historical texts, the remainder of this chapter will examine the contemporary author's retelling of the Battle of Trafalgar and the 2nd of May, in *Cabo Trafalgar* and *Un día de cólera* respectively. The second half of this chapter further aims to show how Pérez-Reverte borrows certain generic traditions and discourses regarding the nation that are closely associated with Galdós, while also adding his own intentions and distinctive voice to the conversation, thus occupying a space on the border between the words of another and his own.

2.2.1 "Masters of Thought": Following in the Footsteps of Galdós

In interviews that the author has given to promote his novel depicting the Battle of Trafalgar, Pérez-Reverte was frequently asked about the influence of Galdós in his retelling of the event. Without dwelling on his predecessor, the contemporary novelist would generally acknowledge the precedent set forth by Galdós, while noting how his retelling of the event

differed from that of the nineteenth-century novelist. In one such interview, Pérez-Reverte further declared that the portrayal concretized by Galdós is the fundamental cornerstone that anyone who retells the historical event must keep in mind:

> Galdós sí que tiene una gran influencia en este libro. La suya es la obra maestra sobre Trafalgar. Cualquiera que escriba sobre la batalla tiene que tenerla presente. Aunque Galdós hizo un libro más completo en cuanto a costumbrismo: habla de Cádiz, de la vida de entonces, de la política nacional..., y la batalla la cuenta de una manera más general. Yo quería contar el combate naval, técnica e históricamente. Me circunscribo a un pedazo más pequeño de lo que aborda Galdós, y así puedo intensificar más la dosis de rigor histórico y técnico en la batalla. ("Trafalgar demuestra")

While Pérez-Reverte seeks to underscore how his portrayal of the battle diverges from that of Galdós, an analysis of his historical texts that take up the same themes reveals the multiple ways that Galdós serves as a model for Pérez-Reverte in his retelling of these national events. Pérez-Reverte's novels, in fact, borrowing from Bakhtin, can be seen as both a continuation of and a rejoinder to the conversations found in both Galdós and Spanish society regarding the nation. The aforementioned novelist, in fact, serves as the archetype to follow in more ways than one given his place in the Spanish canon, his well-known modification of the historical genre, and the popularity of his *episodios* that influenced the way that these events would be remembered in society and retold in the future. The influence of Galdós is similar to the impact of the "masters of thought" noted by Bakhtin, who writes:

> [T]here are always *authoritative utterances that set the tone* – artistic, scientific, and journalistic works *on which one relies*, *to which one refers, which are cited, imitated, and followed*. […] there are *particular traditions* that are expressed and retained in verbal

> vestments: in written works, in utterances, in sayings, and so forth. There are always some verbally expressed leading ideas of the "masters of thought" […]. ("Speech Genres" 88-89; emphasis added)

One such tradition that Pérez-Reverte imitates and follows, can be seen in his engagement with generic conventions that have come to be associated with Galdós in his reimagining of the national past. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, Galdós is credited with certain innovations to the historical genre in Spain, creating a model that has become synonymous with his name. Celia Fernández Prieto, for instance, in her study on the historical novel, outlines several of these distinctive features (116-17), some of which include:

1. Evidence of rigorous documentation.
2. A focus on historical events of national importance that are closely linked to the fictional plot.
3. A mixture of both fictional and historical characters in a narrative environment that fuses the small stories of everyday life with larger events in history.
4. Clear didactic intentions that seek to inform readers about the national past while providing moral and political lessons.

While the contemporary author adopts the aforementioned elements in both *Cabo Trafalgar* and *Un día de cólera*, there are other aspects of the Galdosian model that he does not include. For instance, while Galdós alters the genre by looking to portray a more recent past that is still found in the collective memory of his contemporaries, Pérez-Reverte tends to gravitate towards a distant past for the setting of his historical novels. Other differences between the two include that while Galdós does not question history or historical representations (Fernández Prieto 119), the contemporary author's interest in and portrayal of marginalized individuals seeks to recover the

voices of those who have been written out of history, which emphasizes the gaps in the historical record. At the same time, Pérez-Reverte's narratives often use anachronistic language that is closer to the reader's present than the bygone era portrayed in the narrative, thus undermining the authenticity of his own historical accounts. Nevertheless, despite the differences, the strong didactic undercurrent and his belief in the Ciceronian dictum *historia magistra vitae*, bear a strong resemblance to the aims and objectives of Galdós, who in addition to teaching about national history, also portrays social issues through the past and seeks to impart moral values to his contemporaries. Scholars have further noted that the legacy of Galdós lives on through Pérez-Reverte in his detailed recreation of historical periods, the abundance of historical documentation, and in his use of language to illustrate aspects of a prior society, particularly in his recovery of "términos y registros del habla popular" (Basanta 902).[85]

If, as Bakhtin reminds us, the choice of genre reveals the speaker's intentions ("Speech Genres" 78), then the accumulation of similarities to generic hallmarks associated with Galdós, reveals that the author's focus is not so much on recovering a text, but rather, with recycling and engaging with traditions, ideas, and conversations that are connected to the nineteenth-century author. Pérez-Reverte's engagement with the distinctive echoes of Galdós, in fact, is one of the ways that the author underscores that his novels take part in a larger tradition and context. In absorbing the voices of others and modifying them for a contemporary audience, he not only brings the past into the present, but he is continuing conversations and giving them new currency in contemporary society for others to respond to in the future, thus becoming a 'link in the chain of communication,' as well as an active participant in social dialogue. The remainder of this chapter will examine how Pérez-Reverte follows in the footsteps of Galdós by reimagining and

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[85] Brian Dendle also identifies many of these connections in "Pérez-Reverte y la novela histórica" (61-65).

reassessing certain episodes of the national past, in order to continue discourses regarding Spanish society and the nation, where much like his predecessor, he creates a literary representation of the past in order to convey a message to his contemporaries and respond to conversations in his own time period.

2.2.2 Representation of the Nation in *Cabo Trafalgar*

While Pérez-Reverte's representation of the nation in *Cabo Trafalgar* bears many similarities to the vision of Spain presented by his predecessor in the first installment of his *Episodios nacionales*, there are also several important differences between the two. To begin, the contemporary reimagining of the battle is not limited to a single individual like Gabriel, who retells his firsthand experience while also incorporating the testimonies that others told him, but rather, presents the battle from different angles as each chapter narrates a snapshot of the historical event by telling the individual stories of characters from different ranks. The four main characters in the narrative include the Lieutenant Louis Quelennec of the French Navy, who watches the battle from a distance, Spanish Commander Don Carlos de la Rocha y Oquendo, who provides an overarching vision of the battle as well as historical context, the naval cadet Ginés Falcó, and the drafted sailor Nicolás Marrajo Sánchez, who was forcibly recruited three days prior. While the different perspectives according to Anne Walsh "work together to show how distant the political machinations were from individual concerns" (59), the contemporary author's focus on individuals that populate the lower ranks, represents an important change from his nineteenth-century predecessor. In fact, Ángel Otero-Blanco finds that by highlighting the voices of the lower class, he moves the depiction of the battle from the center to the margins:

> La principal innovación de Pérez-Reverte con respecto al primer *Episodio nacional* de Galdós consiste en modificar las coordenadas narrativas de la batalla: no la cuenta desde el centro y desde arriba (la cubierta del Santísima Trinidad en *Trafalgar*) sino, sobre todo, desde el margen y desde abajo (la primera batería del Antilla, un barco inicialmente periférico). Desde esta perspectiva insólita, *Cabo Trafalgar* actualiza y reconfigura narrativamente el *Trafalgar* galdosiano dando voz y protagonismo a una "gente de leva" que, en terminología cinematográfica, abandona el fondo del encuadre para pasar al primer plano de la narración. (111)

Thus, while Galdós tends to focus on the exemplary bravery of the Spanish officials in *Trafalgar*, Pérez-Reverte shows less concern about the upper ranks, centering instead on the viewpoints and experiences of those whose stories by and large do not figure in the records of official history. What is more, whereas in *Trafalgar* the "gente de leva" are presented in a mostly negative way, Pérez-Reverte sympathizes with them, viewing the recruits as largely forced into a battle that they were not trained for, in a war that had little or nothing to do with them, and for which few were financially compensated. Anne Walsh similarly observes that the author's focus is clearly on portraying the common people, noting that even though the text is preceded by diagrams and maps that explain the battle, and that there is evidence of extensive research throughout the narrative, still,

> for all that, the main focus of *Cabo Trafalgar* is not on the historically accurate detail but on the stories of the 'gente llana' (the ordinary people) who have, for the most part, remained nameless in the history books. Pérez-Reverte diverts our attention from the historically famous (Nelson, Napoleon, Villeneuve) only to direct us firmly towards the historically neglected. (63)

In doing so, Pérez-Reverte responds to the way that this battle has typically been retold and remembered, seeking to add other points of view to his poetic reimagining of the event.

While the contemporary author differs from his predecessor by focusing heavily on the lower classes in an attempt to recover forgotten voices, his negative view of the ruling class and of those in positions of power, closely mirrors that of Galdós in his representation of the nation in *Trafalgar*. In fact, in *Cabo Trafalgar*, many of the same historical figures are blamed for both the sad state of affairs in the country, as well as the unfavorable relationship with France, where much like the nineteenth-century novelist, the poor decisions of Manuel Godoy and the ineptitude Carlos IV are severely castigated. In addition to the lack of good leadership, the vision of the nation that comes across in the narrative is one that is plagued with corruption, unethical behavior, and abuses of power, while also displaying an overall lack of concern for the well-being of its citizens. Examples of corruption included in this panorama depict for instance "una España donde, cuando un marinero palma, hay funcionarios, contadores y hasta capitanes que no lo borran del rol para quedarse con su sueldo" (168). And even in the Spanish Navy, the standard state of affairs entails: "corrupción en todas partes, oficiales expertos pero desactivados y sin cobrar sus pagas, marineros esclavizados sin preparación y sin incentivos, obligados a servir durante media vida sin otro futuro que la muerte, la mutilación, la mendicidad y una vejez miserable" (41-42). Comments regarding the nation, in fact, are overwhelmingly negative and frequently highlight the State's neglect of its citizens, as Commander Rocha remarks while thinking about his wife and four children: "Que tal vez sean viuda y huérfanos al caer la noche, con el desamparo que eso supone en aquella España de mierda, donde un soldado o un marino muertos, que no reclaman, constituyen una ocasión estupenda para que el Estado se ahorre pagar atrasos" (54). Criticisms such as these not only reveal a connection to Galdós in the negative

image that they present of the State and of those affiliated with power and bureaucracy in the country, but as Otero-Blanco points out, the subjects of these critiques are significant because they also show a continuation of the same discourses set forth in *Trafalgar*, noting that Pérez-Reverte's novel, "desarrolla por extenso una de las críticas políticas más explícitas del *Episodio nacional* galdosiano: los sobresueldos e incentivos económicos de las clases dirigentes y la falta de motivación de una marina Ilustrada que no recibe el apoyo de las instituciones" (115).

Also, much like his predecessor, Pérez-Reverte contrasts the ineptitude and moral failings of both the ruling class and of those that are associated with the State, with acts of valor from those who are fighting in battle. However, it bears repeating that while in *Trafalgar* these instances of exemplary behavior come mainly from Spanish officials, who have a greater role in the narrative, in the contemporary rewriting of the battle these acts widely stem from the common people, who display a sense of honor and courage that their country's leaders lack. In fact, in the largely negative portrait of the nation in *Cabo Trafalgar*, the people are presented as the only redeemable aspect of the country, as Commander Rocha notes while reflecting on the admirable actions of his crew during the battle: "en esta pobre España […] es lo único que nos salva de la vergüenza absoluta: la gente" (203). In this sense, Pérez-Reverte engages with the model set forth by Galdós given that he presents ordinary people as protagonists in major historical events, but he modifies the archetype established by his predecessor by seeking to dignify the lower classes, showing their exemplary bravery and championing these individuals for the strength that they exhibit all the while fully aware that the odds are stacked against them. This can be seen not only in the crew of the *Antilla* who refuse to surrender their ship even though they know that the battle is lost, but also in the actions of the forcibly drafted Nicolás Marrajo, who risks his life to raise the flag and in doing so becomes "a symbol of proud Spanish

resistance in the face of inevitable defeat" (Walsh 64). These examples of honor and dignity not only serve as models of ethical behavior, but the sharp contrast between the valor of the lesser-ranking members of the crew and the ineptitude of their leaders, who neglect their citizens, is further evidence of Pérez-Reverte's continuation and modification of the vision of the nation presented by Galdós in the first installment of his *Episodios nacionales.*

Another important difference between the two authors lies in the overall message and tone linked to the examples of ethical behavior presented in their fictional portrayal of the past. And for instance, while Galdós ultimately utilizes the exemplary citizenry of Gabriel of as a positive message of progress and upward social mobility, where model behavior and hard work lead to success in life (Dendle, *Galdós y la novela* 46), in Pérez-Reverte, self-sacrifice and an adherence to a code of ethics do not lead to a positive message of inspiration for the nation's future. In fact, in the author's pessimistic view of the national past, he sees little hope for change and ultimately presents Spanish history as the same story that is repeated over and over again, an idea that he has also expressed in interviews, stating for instance that: "La historia de España está llena de trafalgares, siempre pagan los mismos" (Ruiz Montilla). This bleak image is also portrayed in *Cabo Trafalgar* when the commander of the *Antilla* reflects on the admirable actions of his crew, noting: "lo de siempre, a pesar de los malos gobiernos, el desorden y la desidia, lo ha hecho la gente [luchar a pesar de todo]. Esta misma pobre gente. Hombres mal pagados, mal tratados, como los que hoy luchan en el Antilla. Infelices buenos vasallos que nunca tuvieron buenos señores" (203-4). The literary reference to the *Cantar de mio Cid* is also used to evoke a pattern that dates back centuries in order to establish a tradition of honorable individuals that are abandoned or mistreated by their leaders. This message is consistent with views presented in his other historical texts, as well as in interviews in which he has reiterated

this idea regarding citizens whose well-being is disregarded by those in power:

> Cada vez que hago novela histórica me pongo de mala leche. Esa mezcla de incompetencia y dejadez… Se le exige todo a la gente y luego se la deja tirada. Cuando uno analiza lo que fue Trafalgar es para pegarle fuego a este país, un país que permite que algo así fuera posible *y lo siga siendo*. Piénsalo: miles de desgraciados, sin preparación, sin motivación, metidos a la fuerza en barcos y llevados a una carnicería. […] Todo para que Godoy quedara bien con Napoleón […] Así que se llenaron los barcos de pobre gente con levas forzosas y se los envió a la escabechina. (Antón "Pérez-Reverte combate"; emphasis added)

The author's pessimistic outlook and skepticism towards any possibility for change, leads him to suggest that the only thing one can do, and what he wants his readers to do, is learn about the past, as he states while discussing his fictional portrayal of the Battle of Trafalgar: "No hay esperanza. La historia se repite. Lo único que pretendo es que al menos aprendamos" (Ruiz Montilla). This is the ultimate goal for the author, who believes that learning about the past can provide both "lucidez y el conocimiento" ("Arturo Pérez-Reverte: 'España no ha aprendido'"), if not to avoid past errors, then at least to be aware or "prevenido" of these larger patterns, which he believes will ultimately help the individual to understand their own historical moment (Antón "Pérez-Reverte: 'La novela histórica'"). In this regard, he also coincides with his predecessor in the belief that history is life's teacher, however, unlike the message that Galdós presents in the first series of the Episodios nacionales, Pérez-Reverte's message is one that while paying tribute to the forgotten individuals whose moral code is often superior to that of their leaders, their stories can only end in disillusion and disappointment. Indeed, the author has little hope that things will ever change in Spain despite examples of exemplary behavior: leaders will continue

to disappoint, and the common people will continue to suffer the consequences. To reiterate the author's quote from above, "La historia de España está llena de trafalgares, siempre pagan los mismos" (Ruiz Montilla).

Another element that Pérez-Reverte borrows from his predecessor is the concept of *patria* or homeland that is presented in the novel. In *Trafalgar*, as was previously mentioned, *la patria* is envisioned as an "imagined community" comprised of its citizens that focuses on the collective and "todo cuanto desde el nacer se asocia a nuestra existencia" (*Trafalgar* 81). Pérez-Reverte echoes this concept by presenting an "imagined community," but shifts the focus slightly by emphasizing the particular homeland of each individual that consists of their family and home life, as well as everyday spaces or activities. It is thus stressed that they are not only fighting for each other, but also for themselves:

> Resumiendo: gritan vivaspaña, pero pelean por su pellejo. O a lo mejor es que, en ese momento, España es precisamente eso: su pellejo, el de los compañeros que están allí tiznados de pólvora como ellos. […] Y allá, lejos, la casa, el barquito de pesca, la taberna, la plaza, el sembrado al que anhelan volver. La familia, quien la tiene. El odio que sienten hacia ese arrogante navío enemigo que se interpone entre ellos y quienes, en tierra, los esperan. (194)

The previous passage underscores that their efforts are not for the king or even a military victory, but for their own survival in order to return to what they hold dear, as Ángel Otero-Blanco similarly observes, writing that "no pelean por la patria de los políticos o por la España del discurso oficial sino por el lugar (geográfico y mental) en el que residen sus recuerdos, sus familias y su vida diaria. En *Cabo Trafalgar*, el término "patria" no sólo tiene un referente objetivo (colectivo, nacional) sino también subjetivo (personal y familiar)" (113). Hence, while

the vision of the nation that is portrayed in the narrative is overwhelmingly negative, what moves these men is a feeling of duty towards each other, their own personal survival, and the sentimental ties that they have to certain spaces and individuals that form their emotional homeland. This individual *patria*, as identified by Otero-Blanco above, is the one that is physically and emotionally felt during battle as they fight for survival, while the other, the collective and national homeland, loses importance (*CT* 235). This can be seen in the following passage that reflects on the absurdity of the latter significance of the term (the collective or national) during the battle:

> patria es una palabra desprovista de sentido en aquel desmadre […] A menos que en ese momento la patria se circunscriba a la propia piel, a la vida que alienta en el corazón y la cabeza, a los camaradas que caen al lado gritando su estupor, su locura y su rabia. Al lugar remoto, alejadísimo hoy, donde alguien los aguarda. Tantas madres, […] hijos padres, hermanos y esposas que ahora mismo, encaramados en las murallas de Cádiz o en las peñas del cabo Trafalgar, miran hacia el mar, hacia los estampidos lejanos que suenan más allá del horizonte, o están en otras ciudades y pueblos, ignorantes del heroísmo, la cobardía, la locura, la vida o la muerte de aquellos a quienes aman y esperan. (235-6)

While it is true that in *Trafalgar*, Gabriel has a change of heart during the battle and personal survival becomes his principal goal (94), this sentiment is dwarfed by the repeated comments regarding noble acts of bravery and the focus on the collective. Conversely, in *Cabo Trafalgar* there is a greater emphasis on the individual within the collective, and towards the end of the battle the narrator notes: "Es como si lo colectivo, el resultado final del conjunto, hubiera dejado de importar, y lo que contara fuese el dar y recibir […] Quizá por eso, […] hombres a quienes el rey y la patria importan en este preciso instante una puñetera mierda […] se están batiendo sin

otro motivo que devolver ojo por ojo, diente por diente, a quienes los martirizan a cañonazos" (235-34).

Robert Quirk notes that the Battle of Trafalgar has been rewritten and retold with each passing generation, creating a tradition of "reanalyzing" and "reassessing" the story as well as its significance in the national narrative (65). Both Pérez-Reverte and Galdós participate in this tradition, creating literary representations of the event to both pass down historical information within society and engage in the ongoing conversation regarding the national past. And while Pérez-Reverte continues certain well-known themes that were established by Galdós in his retelling of the battle, his vision and representation of the nation differs from his predecessor in several ways. For instance, whereas both authors portray a country plagued with poor leaders in the highest positions within society, which are contrasted with acts of valor from those fighting in battle, Pérez-Reverte includes the point of view of the marginalized, thus recovering voices that neither Galdós nor the official archives of history sought to portray. Additionally, the contemporary author also echoes his predecessor's concept of the nation and places common people in pivotal moments in Spanish history in which they are fighting together. However, in *Cabo Trafalgar*, the collective is diminished through comments that tend to focus more on the individual, revealing that ultimately, "[c]ada cual se bate por lo que se bate" (*CT* 220). Finally, the contemporary author's vision of the national past and his overall message is much more pessimistic than that of Galdós in the first series of his *Episodios nacionales*, as Pérez-Reverte sees little hope for progress or change. In fact, Anne Walsh observes that in this regard, *Cabo Trafalgar* is much like his other war narratives that function as "two-sided exposés of how the world has always worked and how it is most likely to continue to work" (65).

2.2.3 Representation of a Nation: Division and Disillusion in *Un día de cólera*

Many of the topics and themes discussed above are repeated in Pérez-Reverte's rewriting of the uprising on the second of May that Galdós famously portrayed in *El 19 de marzo y el 2 de mayo*. Similar to his retelling of the Battle of Trafalgar, Pérez-Reverte's fictionalization of the aforementioned rebellion in his novel *Un día de cólera*, both continues and reshapes concepts previously discussed by Galdós in his work that covers the same historical event. For instance, much like his predecessor, Pérez-Reverte also exalts the ordinary people for their heroic bravery in the face of impossible odds, where despite being abandoned by their country's leaders and State institutions, the people collectively fight back against the French Army. In doing so, they are depicted as possessing a sense of honor and a moral code that those in the highest positions of authority do not have. Nevertheless, there are also several important differences in both Pérez-Reverte's portrayal of the event, as well as in his representation of the nation. The following analysis will look at the ways that Pérez-Reverte adds to the discourse surrounding the event, thus contributing to the way that this segment of history is perceived and remembered in contemporary society.

One modification that the author incorporates in his retelling of the event, is that he seeks to dignify the ordinary citizens that took part in the rebellion by taking them out of anonymity and bringing them to life as he recovers both their names and their personal stories from the dustbin of history. To achieve this, the narrative continually shifts between individuals throughout the day, filling the pages with their experiences in an attempt to "devolver la vida a quienes, durante doscientos años, sólo han sido personajes anónimos en grabados y lienzos contemporáneos, o escueta relación de víctimas en los documentos oficiales" (*Un día de cólera* 7). Using historical documents, the author populates his novel with around 300 of those who

witnessed the event, including not only individuals that were either wounded or killed on the Spanish side and the French officials that fought against them, but also those who chose not to fight including upper-class members of society, the *ilustrados*, and high-ranking officials of the Spanish Army. It is through their voices that the author creates a choral text that seeks to depict multiple points of view during the rebellion. In addition to this, Pérez-Reverte portrays ideologies and perspectives that are not highlighted by his nineteenth-century counterpart, and which results in a representation of the nation that appears much less unified than that of his predecessor. That is to say, while on one hand the author follows the image set forth by Galdós, presenting the people of the uprising as heroically attempting to save the nation from a foreign invader, on the other, he underscores that not all citizens were in favor of the rebellion, thus emphasizing the divisions within society.

In fact, in *Un día de cólera*, the 2nd of May is portrayed as a popular rebellion fought primarily by individuals of the lower classes, while the *ilustrados* and *gente acomodada* witnessed the revolt from the safety of their balconies, thus disproving the myth that the insurrection was a collective undertaking by Spanish society as a whole. It is through the views of those that did not participate that Pérez-Reverte presents a negative opinion of the lower class, which these individuals regard as "gente analfabeta, cerril, [que] lo mueve más el corazón que la cabeza" (28-29). These types of comments are used to mark the tensions within society and highlight a lack of unity during the insurrection. By way of example, Antonio Alcalá Galiano (1798-1865), who comes from a well-to-do military family, reflects on the day from his balcony noting that "[s]alvo raras excepciones, sólo el pueblo bajo quiso implicarse como suele, levantisco, irracional, sin nada que perder […] gente de mala índole, escasas prendas y pocas luces" (377-78).

While the previous quotes point towards a separation between classes, other examples of division in the narrative highlight differing beliefs and aspirations for the country. It is through the intellectuals and learned individuals that the author alludes to a society that is fragmented between those who are in favor of new ideas, progress and modernity, and those who lean towards tradition and conservatism. In this regard, the author recovers the voices of *ilustrados* in order to explain both their ideology and the principles of the Enlightenment, so as to give a more complete view of Spanish society. In doing so, the author not only further underscores the lack of unity within the nation, but also he depicts the 2nd of May as bringing these conflicting ideals to the surface, resulting in an impossible dilemma between moral integrity and intellectual ideals for some of the more educated members of society. The *ilustrado* Leandro Fernández de Moratín (1760-1828) is one such character that the author presents as firmly on the side of the Enlightenment and reason, but who struggles with how to react during the rebellion. This is due to Moratín's esteem towards reformist ideals and intellectual aims that he respects in the French, and whom he hopes will be the agent of change that brings modernity to Spain. Nevertheless, at the same time, he feels a connection to his homeland and is repulsed by the injustices that are being committed against his fellow countrymen, which causes him to feel divided since, "detesta por educación y timidez la violencia ignorante, desaforada, de las clases bajas cuando se desmandan; pero al mismo tiempo se siente patriota sincero, y la escopetada francesa y las muertes de paisanos indefensos repugnan a sus sentimientos de español ilustrado" (386). The conflicted dramatist and poet who is plagued by this "doble sentimiento imposible de conciliar" ultimately sides with the French, a decision that will torment him for the rest of his life (387).

Similarly, the intellectual José Blanco White (1775-1841) also serves to present ideas of the *ilustrados*, which are used to paint a picture of Spanish society. Blanco, for instance is

described as "[un] hombre ilustrado, lúcido, cuyas ideas de libertad y progreso están más cerca de las extranjeras que del cerrado ambiente de telarañas y sacristía que tanto lo desazona en su patria" (97). Much like Moratín, he thought that the French would bring progress and modernity to Spain, freeing them from "las cadenas con las que una monarquía corrupta y una Iglesia todopoderosa maniatan al pueblo supersticioso e ignorante" (348). However, the rebellion on the 2nd of May leaves Blanco, as well as others that hold progressive ideals, caught in the middle between "las bayonetas napoleónicas o el cerril fanatismo de sus compatriotas" (348). The narrator describes their impossible dilemma as "el drama amargo de su generación: unirse a los enemigos del papa, de la Inquisición y de la familia real más vil y despreciable de Europa, o seguir la simple y recta línea de conducta que, dejando aparte lo demás, permite a un hombre honrado elegir entre un ejército extranjero y sus compatriotas naturales" (349).

By presenting the views and ideology of *ilustrados*, Pérez-Reverte not only conveys different "voices" regarding the rebellion and paints a broader portrait of the nation, but also, according to Ángel Otero-Blanco, in this way, the author is able to illustrate both what was gained after that historic day in regards to a national consciousness, as well as what was lost: "la oportunidad histórica de introducir en España las ideas de regeneración política y cambio social que se estaban extendiendo por Europa desde el siglo XVIII" (118). The author himself has also stated that the events of the 2nd of May greatly hindered Spain from progress and from becoming a modern nation, noting that "esa jornada, patrióticamente importante, fue cultural e ideológicamente nefasta" ("Quiero que el lector" 11). Indeed, in *Un día de cólera*, the day is presented as a tragedy in more ways than one: the loss of so many lives, the missed opportunity for political and social change, the vanishing possibility of instilling the ideals of reason and progress in the country, the government's abandonment of its citizens, the lack of unity and

solidarity within society, and the impossible choice of deciding between moral obligation or intellectual ideals. And hence, while the author's presentation of rebellion continues certain aspects set forth by his predecessor, the allusion to what was politically, socially and intellectually lost, along with the voices of the *ilustrados*, provides additional perspective on the significance of the uprising and adds to the discourse surrounding the event.

Another way in which the contemporary author's representation of the nation and his retelling of the historical event differ from that of his predecessor, lays in his portrayal of those who are fighting against the French as the battle wears on. While the narration begins with individuals fighting due to a combination of the rage they feel towards the French and a moral sense of obligation in defense of their country against a foreign invader, towards the end of the novel, rage leads to disillusion and any concept of either patriotic ideals or national unity is revealed to be but a fleeting illusion. In one such instance, the young Francisco de Huertas, expresses these vanishing patriotic ideals after an hour and a half of battle, finding that the idea of combat he had imagined from "estampas coloreadas con heroicas gestas militares" differs greatly from the reality he has witnessed, surrounded by "charcos de sangre coagulada en el suelo, los sesos desparramados, los cuerpos mutilados e inertes, los alaridos espantosos de los heridos y el hedor de sus tripas abiertas" (277). Disabused from his patriotic ideals, the narrator reveals that Huertas is not fighting for the nation, or even those around him, but rather, for himself and his own survival: "Aquello no se parece a lo que imaginaba cuando, al oír el tumulto, salió de casa de su tío dispuesto a batirse por la patria. En realidad está empezando a batirse por sí mismo. Para seguir vivo" (256). In another moment of reflection, it is disclosed that Huertas' only wish in that moment is that the battle would end so that he could return to his family with whom he is staying while in Madrid (277). Ultimately, then, personal survival and emotional ties

to one's own *patria*, borrowing from Otero-Blanco (124), are more lasting than a sense of duty to the country or patriotic ideals.

Similarly, towards the end of the novel Captains Velarde and Daoiz also begin to express disappointment and disillusion during the battle, although their frustration is aimed at those in power and State institutions, such as the army, that abandoned the people to an almost certain death at the hands of the most powerful army in the world. Aware that the battle is lost and with little chance for survival, Velarde laments, "[n]adie mueve un dedo por nosotros" adding that he had hoped for a better example from their leaders: "Esperaba decencia. Patriotismo. Coraje… No sé… España es una vergüenza… Confiaba en que nuestro ejemplo moviera a otros" (293). Disheartened by the lack of support and comradeship, Velarde's comments again underscore division within society, as those in power are depicted as disregarding the well-being of their fellow citizens.

The end of the novel, in fact, presents increasingly disillusioned characters, where division not unity reigns. By way of example, volunteer soldier Manuel García is reported to French officials for having fought in the rebellion by one of his own neighbors. After being imprisoned by the French, he learns about the firing squads and expresses disbelief that Spanish authorities, the official *patria*, could possibly allow the execution of Spanish citizens in Madrid by a foreign entity. Another prisoner, disheartened and disappointed by the ruling class's neglect for its citizens during the uprising, reminds him that they have already shown their lack of interest in helping the common people, stating, "Mírate y mírame. Fíjate en todos estos simples, que se echaron a la calle como nosotros. […] ya ves: nadie movió un dedo… ¡Maldito lo que le importamos a la patria!" (375).

In one last example at the end of the novel, Lieutenant Rafael de Arango recalls the

comradeship of his fellow countrymen at the Monteleón artillery park: "Era singular verlos a todos, las mujeres, los vecinos, los muchachos, pelear como lo hicieron [...] Orgullo... Me sentía así entre aquellos paisanos. Como una piedra de un muro, ¿entiendes?" (393-4). However, while this comment highlights the solidarity of his countrymen, as the lieutenant continues, he underscores the short-lived nature of this moment: "*Por un momento parecíamos* una nación... Una nación orgullosa e indomable" (393; emphasis added). His brother responds, underscoring the temporary and fleeting nature of this image of a nation, which vanishes as a new dawn breaks on the 3rd of May, stating, "Fue un espejismo, ya lo ves" (394). Here, any image of solidarity fades away with the beginning of a new day, as Gonzalo Navajas also notes writing that "Arango es consciente de que su visión es efímera y no va a prolongarse más allá de esa jornada cenital pero breve" ("Épica y Nación" 96). Navajas further adds that the brother's response serves to emphasize that Arango's vision of unity "no es fiable" given that "ni el pasado ni el presente de la nación la corroboran" (96). In this way, Pérez-Reverte ultimately undermines his own representations of national solidarity with comments and images that expose the depiction as a momentary illusion that does not stand up to historical reality or the test of time.

In many ways, Pérez-Reverte's continuation of and response to Galdós' well-known portrayal of historic national events can be seen as an attempt to write for the divided Spain of his own time. In this sense, while echoing many of the signature traits of his predecessor, he adapts the model set forth by Galdós to convey messages about the past and the present to his contemporaries. However, in his representation of the nation, Pérez-Reverte does something that Galdós never sought to do, as Pérez-Reverte's historical novels regularly include individuals from all corners of the country, exemplifying a concern for plurality not found in his nineteenth-

century counterpart.[86] In this manner, the contemporary author responds to and participates in discourses during his own time concerning not only conversations regarding historical memory, as outlined in the previous chapter, but also with debates over national identity. While Gonzalo Navajas has noted that the author's interest in the nation and national identity can be seen as a rejoinder to "la era global que ha tendido a devaluar o minimizar los puntos de referencia nacionales convencionales" ("El paradigma" 204), the author's engagement with these debates can also be seen as a response to the tensions between various identities within Spain, as noted by Stephen Miller who finds that Spaniards often "identify first with their region, second with the Europe of the European Union, and only third, if at all, with Spain" (111).[87] It is the author's response to the latter that further distinguishes his representation of the nation from that of Galdós. *Un día de cólera*, for instance, highlights the regional origins of the individuals that the novelist recycles from the historical archives of that day, underscoring that Madrid, like many other cities, was not homogeneous. Stephen Miller likewise finds that the author seeks to "stress that those who rose up against the French on 2 May 1808 were not only Madrilenians, but Spaniards from all parts of the Peninsula as well as from Spanish possessions in *ultramar*" (110-11). *Cabo Trafalgar*, similarly strives to include all regions in the narrative, not only through the characters, but also symbolically through the crew's vessel, the *Antilla*, where much of the narrative takes place. The ship is described as a product of various regions of Spain, where "bajo la línea de flotación" materials from various parts of the country come together: "roble *ferrolano*, haya *asturiana*, pino *aragonés*, jarcia *murciana* y *valenciana*, lona *andaluza*, bronce *catalán* y

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[86] Stephen Miller also makes this observation in "Galdós, Pérez-Reverte, and the Graphic-Lexical Palimpsest of War of Independence Narratives" (110).

[87] On the topic of national identity in Spain, José Colmeiro similarly writes that there are a variety of factors involved, and that Spain is "confronting a complex "post-national" paradigm, in which the crisis of the national is the result of challenges from both sub-state forms of peripheral nationalism (such as Catalan/Basque/Galician, etc), and transnational global currents (such as the European Union)" (27).

sevillano, [y] hierro *cántabro*" (*CT* 62; emphasis added). It is perhaps no coincidence that these collective representations of the nation fade away at the end of each novel, as if to be only a mirage. For instance, in *Un día de cólera* any semblance of unity disappears with the dawn of a new day, as previously mentioned, and at the end of *Cabo Trafalgar*, it is revealed that the *Antilla* never existed: "pese al minucioso detalle de su actuación en la batalla de Trafalgar, ningún navío llamado *Antilla* navegó ese día" (287). To reiterate the previous observation by Navajas as stated above, Spanish history does not corroborate these collective images of national unity ("Épica y Nación" 96), and ultimately, neither do Pérez-Reverte's historical narratives, as representations of national unity are often subverted, as they are in the aforementioned novels where national cohesion is presented as fleeting or imagined.

Despite his pessimism towards any real sense of national unity, the regional diversity of the nation that is portrayed in his historical novels is depicted in a shared space and time, which serves to underscore the interaction of these individuals with each other throughout their history. This representation coincides with what the author has expressed in articles and interviews regarding history and the connections between different cultures and groups of people in what today is called Spain. For instance, in one such article originally published in *XLSemanal*, the author writes: "España no es compresible sino como plaza pública, escenario geográfico, encrucijada con la natural acumulación mestiza de lenguas, razas y culturas diferentes […] pueblos que a veces se mataron y a veces se ayudaron entre sí" (*No me cogeréis* 181). The article, which is a response to a letter received from a Basque reader that insisted on a historical divide between the Basque people and the rest of the country, leads the author to respond:

> [J]unto a la historia de cada cual, es necesario conocer, asumir y respetar la historia común. No la contaminada por el franquismo imperial, que les puso camisa azul a Carlos

> V y a los almogávares, sino la de verdad. […] En lo que a la historia de España se refiere, te asombraría […] conocer la cantidad de nombres de paisanos [vascos] tuyos vinculados al esfuerzo común en lo bueno y lo malo, junto a catalanes, castellanos, aragoneses o andaluces. (*No me cogeréis* 181)

Much like the research that the author carries out to document his historical novels, Pérez-Reverte bases this view regarding the interactions between people and cultures, in the library and in the books that he has read, which he finds to be a window into the past and a record of the experiences of those who came before him. While respecting both "la historia de cada cual" and "la historia común," it is ultimately the library that the author highlights as a source of knowledge to which he directs readers to discover for themselves this inclusive space or "plaza pública" of which he speaks: "apelo al sentido común y a los viejos libros: ahí comprobarás que en ese lugar del que hablo cabemos todos" (182).

To conclude, in Pérez-Reverte's continuation of and response to topics and themes famously portrayed by Galdós, not only does the author recover echoes that hearken back to his predecessor, but at the same time he reimagines the nation and certain events of the national past by including other perspectives that are absent in Galdós. In doing so, he adds to the discourse surrounding these events, and contributes to the way that the national past is perceived and remembered in contemporary society. What is more, while the author's reworking of prior voices that are bound up in history and culture are used to form a didactic narrative that teaches about the past, they are also used to engage in larger debates in contemporary society, particularly in regards to discussions concerning historical memory and national identity. In fact, according to Navajas, by highlighting the interaction and shared experiences of bygone individuals (both real and imagined), "Pérez-Reverte re-abre la discusión en torno a la definición de la nación más allá

de la etnia y la lengua y la restablece de nuevo, como mantenía Ernest Renan, sobre la experiencia, […] de un pathos o trauma compartido por todos los miembros de una comunidad en crisis" ("El paradigma de la guerra" 204-05). Nevertheless, in the author's representations of this imagined community, any semblance of unity often fades away or is undermined through comments that subvert any appearance of national cohesion, revealing it to be but an illusion. Furthermore, in his pessimistic illustration of the nation and national history, the author holds little hope for change and doubts that unity or progress will ever be achieved. In this regard, Pérez-Reverte's disillusioned view of national history, differs greatly from that of Galdós as Toni Dorca also notes, explaining that the contemporary author

> discrepa de su predecesor en cuanto a las posibilidades de regeneración del país. La Guerra de la Independencia no constituye para él una epifanía que ilumina el camino a seguir en el presente, sino más bien una reiteración de las dos grandes taras morales que desde siempre han obstruido el progreso de España: la desfachatez de los poderosos y la indefensión del pueblo ("Visiones de la Guerra" 75).

With little possibility for change, given the circularity and repetition that Pérez-Reverte sees in Spanish history, the author can only convey information about the past to shed light on the present, as he does in all of his historical novels, in an attempt to awaken an interest in history and culture, while leading readers on a journey to and through the library. A source of knowledge, as well as a connection to those who came before us, the library, for the author, is also the personal homeland from which he can choose his predecessors, whose utterances he borrows and reworks, as we will again see in the next chapter that discusses the themes and traditions that the contemporary author borrows from another representative of the Spanish canon, Pío Baroja.

Chapter 3: The Historical Novels of Arturo Pérez-Reverte and Pío Baroja: History, Storytelling, and Popular Literature

While the examination of the similarities between Benito Pérez Galdós and Arturo Pérez-Reverte in regards to their representations of the Spanish Wars of Independence has done much to further the academic study of Pérez-Reverte's historical novels, there are other characteristics of the Revertian narrative that cannot be explained solely through his rewriting and modernization of Galdós and these specific events of the national past. For this reason, it is necessary to examine other "voices" that the author recycles in his web of echoes and allusions that reveal his continuous engagement with the Spanish literary canon and its most representative authors. Some scholars, for instance, have noted the likeness of Pérez-Reverte's novels to those of the Generation of '98 in regards to their tone and critical vision of Spanish society.[88] Nevertheless, such acknowledgments of resemblance are usually made in passing and rarely go beyond a brief commentary. What is more, despite the multiple similarities between the literature of Arturo Pérez-Reverte and Pío Baroja, to date there is not one substantial study of the relations between the two writers.

This chapter will analyze the connections between both authors and provide textual evidence to support the argument made in the introduction that the contemporary author's historical novels are involved in an ongoing dialogue with voices from the national literary past concerning Spanish history and culture, and as such illustrate Bakhtinian thought whereby language is not individual, but rather, comprised of the utterances of others. Hence, this chapter will provide examples to demonstrate how Pérez-Reverte, following Bakhtin, uses language that

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[88] See Alberto Montaner Frutos in the introduction to the annotated version of *El capitán Alatriste* (2009) p. 83; Brian Dendle in "Las novelas históricas de Arturo Pérez-Reverte" in *Territorio Reverte* p. 123; and Pedro Guerrero Ruiz in "Grandeza literaria y miseria moral en la España de Alatriste (un análisis interdisciplinar e intertextual)" in *Territorio Reverte* p. 139.

"tastes" of another (*DN* 293), which adds to the medley of distinct voices that echo across the pages and give meaning to the author's literary project when taken as a whole. I sustain that these distinct voices play a fundamental role in Pérez-Reverte's works given that they continually gesture to a world beyond the page, while also highlighting that the author is working from within an entire repertoire of topics, themes, knowledge, ideas, and patterns employed by those that came before him.

Reading Pérez-Reverte in this way brings to light the underlying relationships that the author has not only with prior texts, but also with other people, discourses, and genres that he simultaneously conserves and modifies for contemporary readers. For instance, by drawing on the circularity that Baroja and those of his generation are associated with, Pérez-Reverte emphasizes that Spanish society is trapped in patterns of failure and that every war is essentially the same war, fought over and over again. Furthermore, knowledge of the historical genre, in particular of Baroja's historical fiction, reveals how Pérez-Reverte echoes elements of the Basque author's works, such as the cyclical portrayal of history that is used to critique the 'eternal Spain,' as well as the incorporation of the conventions of storytelling in war narratives to highlight the brutality and senselessness of combat, while also demystifying idealized and glorified versions of war. Laying bare Pérez-Reverte's literary project also uncovers Baroja's and Pérez-Reverte's mutual interest in and recognition of the value of popular literature, specifically the adventure novel and the *folletín*, which both authors incorporate in their historical narratives in such a way as to stress that the canonical and the popular are not diametrically opposed, but rather two parts of the same whole that can work together and complement one another. Such connections to Baroja are significant not only for the study of the Revertian narrative, but they also underscore how literature is in constant movement,

continuously evolving through the utilization and rewriting of established traditions and discourses, as the voices of certain individuals and texts from the past are perpetually recycled and repurposed in the present.

3.1 Borrowed Patterns, Cyclical History, and the Eternal Return: Uncanny Resemblances

While the serial historical novel in Spain may bring to mind the *Episodios nacionales* of Benito Pérez Galdós, the pessimistic adventure hero of Pérez-Reverte's Capitán Alatriste series contains echoes that resemble the protagonists of Baroja's historical and adventure novels. The parallels, in fact, are hard to ignore. Both authors portray solitary men who lead lives of action and are the embodiment of vitality. Ironically, despite this they are profoundly disillusioned and stoic individuals with an attitude of resignation. While their similar personal qualities could be pure coincidence, it is also noteworthy to add that both series relate the adventures of their protagonists using a comparable structure. And for instance, the two authors make use of a romance pattern, evoking the archetype of the wise, older man that cares for and councils the younger man, while initiating him into the ways of society. In Baroja's *Memorias de un hombre de acción*, for example, the life of the adventurous Eugenio Aviraneta is chronicled by Pello Leguía who met Aviraneta in 1837 during the first Carlist War. Afterwards, Aviraneta becomes a mentor for Leguía who decides to adopt the older man's ways, become a man of action, and defend freedom and the Liberal cause of his era. After Leguía's death, Baroja "finds" the *Memorias* and decides to publish them. Likewise, using a similar structure, the adventures of Alatriste are told by Íñigo Balboa who, upon the death of his father in 1623, was sent to live with Diego Alatriste. While their relationship begins with Alatriste acting as a father figure for the young Íñigo, as he comes of age the Spanish soldier and mercenary becomes the mentor of the

younger man. The chronicles written by Íñigo about his time with Alatriste are found centuries later and fall into the hands of Arturo Pérez-Reverte who, like Baroja, functions both as author and editor of the discovered texts that purportedly contain the words of another. The frequently used literary device of the discovered manuscript also has its origins in the mode of romance with one of the earliest examples dating back the sixteenth-century chivalric romance *Amadis of Gaul* (1508) and is a technique that was famously used by Cervantes in his parody of the genre in *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (1605). Thus, the structure of Pérez-Reverte's historical series bears an uncanny resemblance to that of Pío Baroja. This resemblance is further strengthened through an analysis of Pérez-Reverte's literary project that, as this chapter will show, reveals both the author's underlying relationships to Baroja in their comparable perspectives concerning history, storytelling, and popular literature, as well as his engagement with literary tradition in the service of his innovation of it.

In regards to their views on history, both authors portray the past as circular, in a recurring cycle of events that endlessly replays mankind's follies. In this sense, both their notion of time and idea of recurrence are similar to Nietzsche's doctrine of the eternal return where time is infinite, but the matters that one can experience and the events that can transpire are finite, resulting in a limited number of occurrences that eventually repeat. Stressing the finite number of possibilities, Nietzsche compares existence to a dice game where

> every possible combination would at some time or another be realized; more: it would be realized an infinite number of times. And since between every combination and its next recurrence all other possible combinations would have to take place, and each of these combinations conditions the entire sequence of combination in the same series, a circular movement of absolutely identical series is thus demonstrated: the world as a circular

> movement that has already repeated itself infinitely often and plays its game *in infinitum*. (*The Will to Power* 549)

However, Pérez-Reverte and Baroja differ from Nietzsche in his notion of an "absolutely identical series" where the same individual is a prisoner in a never-ending sequence, condemned to relive the same life over and over: "This life as you now live it and have lived it, you will have to live once more and innumerable times more; [...] all in the same succession and sequence [...]. The eternal hourglass of existence is turned upside down again and again, and you with it, speck of dust!" (*The Gay Science* 273). Rather, in the works of the authors in question, the existence of any individual is finite and given that the names and circumstances change throughout the historical time periods portrayed in their novels, the sequence is not depicted to be an exact replica. Nevertheless, although the authors portray changes and advancements in society, ultimately true progress is elusive, as the characters and Spanish society are hampered by the same problems and beliefs that reappear in a cyclical fashion from one time period to the next. In other words, it is not individuals that are condemned to relive the same life, but Spanish society that is trapped in this eternal return and both Pérez-Reverte and Baroja utilize history to exemplify this circularity.[89]

Examples of this eternal recurrence can be found in Aviraneta's mentorship of Pello Leguía, where the older man instructs and equips the younger to continue the fight for future generations. In fact, although time has passed between the political climate that compelled Aviraneta to a life of adventure and conspiracy, and the contemporary issues that led Leguía to become his apprentice, the fights of both men are similar due to the fact that Baroja does not convey any sense of progress in history. Rather, he sees the passing of time as an eternal return

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[89] For more on the influence of Nietzsche in Spain, see Gonzalo Sobejano's text *Nietzsche en España (1890-1970).*

to the same dilemmas and issues. Marsha Collins in her study on Baroja's *Memorias de un hombre de acción*, notes that this type of repetition is a common theme throughout the series, stating that the author portrays

> the successive groups in power as beset by the same problems of division and self-interest. Despite the changing titles –*afrancesados* and *patriotas*, *liberales* and *absolutistas*, *carlistas* and *isabelinos*, or even factions within the same political group such as *comuneros* and *masones* or *cristinos* and *mendizabalistas*– the brutality of the wars, the demagoguery of the politicians and the general anarchy of Spanish society remain the same. (96)

This observation leads Collins to conclude that Baroja's illustration of history is that of "an endless circle of change without change" (96). In fact, in sharp contrast to Galdós and the first series of the *Episodios nacionales*, Baroja utilizes his historical fiction to show that progress is an illusion. The series does not follow a straightforward, linear sequence, but rather each installment zigzags through time. *El aprendiz del conspirador*, for example, starts during the first Carlist War in 1837, regresses to 1820, relates the birth of Aviraneta in 1792, shifts to 1808, and then narrates occurrences stretching as far back as 1789. The effect jolts the perplexed readers from one time period to another and leaves it up to them to reconstruct the historical time. However, this disorientating narrative also highlights the lack of progress in Spanish society since the narrator can jump to any point in time and yet nothing has changed; the problems may manifest themselves in different ways, but at their core the issues that plague the Spanish people are the same, trapped in a continuous repetition of the same patterns under different guises.

Similarly, Biruté Ciplijauskaité in *Los noventayochistas y la historia*, notes the image of the wheel in the *Memorias de un hombre de acción* and the symbolism that it contains, not only

for the Wheel of Fortune, but also for the evocation of cyclical time (136). An example of this can be found in the epilogue to *Los Caudillos de 1830* where Baroja writes: "Ya no pasaba nada en el pueblo. La rueda de la existencia oscura seguía girando constantemente: Nacer, vivir, morir. Nacer, vivir, morir..." (*OC* III 1009). Here the cycle of life is repeated ad infinitum, accentuated by the ellipsis as the sentence drops off. In another instance, Baroja utilizes the cycle of life and juxtaposes it with forms of political governance, drawing attention to the cyclical ebb and flow of diminution and rebirth: "Porque la libertad no muere; todo deja un germen, y de esos gérmenes vendrán nuevas crisálidas y nuevas mariposas... Se eclipsa el absolutismo, y volverá; se eclipsará vuestra Constitución y volverá después. Todo vuelve..." (*OC* III 419). Both examples demonstrate a lack of true progress; there are new generations born but little changes in the town, and similarly, political movements and initiatives do not contribute to the advancement of society, but rather are compared to the life cycle of a butterfly, eternally repeated throughout the ages.

The circular treatment of history can also be seen in the references to older literary works that Aviraneta recognizes as coinciding with the experiences and sentiments of his contemporaries. In this way, Baroja demonstrates that he does not see the past as being that different or that far removed from more recent times. In one illustration of this in *El escuadrón del Brigante*, Aviraneta describes some of the guerrilla members and their lives. He recalls that one of the members, Miguel de Lara, would recite literature at their meetings:

> Los romances del Cid, de la Infantina y de los Infantes de Lara producían gran entusiasmo. Aquellos campesinos no sentían el tiempo interpuesto entre estas viejas historias y la época nuestra, y para ellos, el Cid, el conde Lozano, Mudarra y Diego Láinez eran casi contemporáneos suyos, hombres que tenían iguales pasiones e idénticas

maneras de sentir. (*OC* III 149)

In this example, the references to medieval literature highlight the lack of progress over several centuries since the men can identify with the protagonists from the Middle Ages almost as if they were their peers. What is more, these guerrilla members serve as a reflection of what the author sees in his contemporaries. Speaking about the insurgents in the second installment, Baroja explained that between the men of 1914 and those of 1809 "de esa misma tierra, no habría apenas diferencia. Lo más lógico es que no la hubiera" (*OC* VII 1078-79). Thus, the Middle Ages, the early nineteenth century, and the present all blend together for the Basque author in a cycle of change without change, with the 'eternal Spain' in the background, untouched by the passage of time, in many ways an expression of the author's disillusion with the epoch. In his historical fiction, Baroja looks at the past and sees the present, which is another considerable difference from his predecessor of the serial historical novel, a difference that Baroja himself pointed out: "Galdós da la impresión de que la España de la guerra de la Independencia está muy lejos de la actual, yo casi encuentro la misma que hoy sobre todo en el campo" (*Páginas escogidas* 371). This particular view highlights the stagnation in the country and facilitates the circularity that permeates the narrative as seen in both the repetition of historical and political issues, as well as in the comments regarding life and literature that accentuate the eternal return. The many instances in which Baroja manifests these thoughts make the eternal recurrence one of the recognizable themes in his writing, stating in the prologue to the penultimate installment of the series, in yet another illustration of this point: "Las siluetas se desdoblan y se repiten. Todo se repite en la vida y en la literatura" (*OC* IV 984).

The previous quote is fitting because Baroja saw history as a type of literature, in so far as it is always a subjective interpretation of the events, stating explicitly that "la historia es una

rama de la literatura" (*OC* VIII 956). Baroja's interest in writing the *Memorias de un hombre de acción* stem from a curiosity about a distant relative, Eugenio Aviraneta, who he felt history had unjustly forgotten. The series is his way of filling in the gaps in the archives of history in an effort to rescue his family member from oblivion. However, in the historigraphic reconstruction of Aviraneta's life, the novelist includes comments that draw attention to both the limitations of historiography, as well as to the impossibility of a completely objective and faithful representation of the past. For instance, after reading Aviraneta's journal to acquire material for the chronicle that he is writing of his mentor's life, Leguía can not help but think about "lo incompleto y fragmentario de su relato" (*OC* III 117). Unsatisfied with the limited perspective of his account that can only cobble together fragments of Aviraneta's life, Leguía sets out to interview those who knew Aviraneta to get a more complete version of his adventures. After speaking with Ganisch, a talkative and frequent patron of the local tavern, Leguía writes: "Supongo que me dijo algunas mentiras; pero aunque así fuera, su narración me sirvió para completar las memorias de Don Eugenio" (*OC* III 118). Unbothered by the possible lies that he may or may not have been told, Leguía's comment ironically notes both the subjective and constructed nature of his chronicle. In fact, the constructed nature of the past is continually highlighted throughout the *Memorias de un hombre de acción* as Leguía pieces together facts, anecdotes, and testimony in his documentation and investigation of Aviraneta's life, knowing that each individual takes what they want from history and presents it as they see fit: "Leguía pensaba que en ese camposanto de la Historia, lleno de huesos, de cenizas y de baratijas, cada investigador escoge lo que le place y lo combina a su gusto" (*OC* IV 174). This belief is consistent with Baroja's other writings, where he expressed similar ideas, for instance in "Los datos de la historia" he stated that, "[t]odas las grandes figuras de la historia, buenas o malas, que

se tomen por auténticas están construidas, en parte inventadas, por autores que no las han conocido" (*OC* V 1140).

Arturo Pérez-Reverte shares many of the same views on history as Pío Baroja. He too, portrays history as cyclical, where only the names change while the underlying problems remain the same. Most of Pérez-Reverte's historical novels take place either during the Spanish War of Independence or during the first half of the seventeenth century. Regardless of the time period, Pérez-Reverte sees the main issues that plagued Spanish society in the past to continue to exist in contemporary Spain. Such problems include corruption, injustice, and mismanagement, as well as incompetence and a lack of morality, especially for those in the highest ranks and classes. In this way, the past is used as a mirror to reflect present-day society and serves as social critique. For instance, comments like the following criticize not only the Spain of the seventeenth-century narrator and as far back as his historical memory reaches, but also the modern-day Spain of reader: "Que si es mucha verdad que nuestra pobre España no tuvo nunca ni justicia, ni buen gobierno, ni hombres públicos honestos, ni apenas reyes dignos de llevar corona" (*El sol de Breda* 92). Here the narrator criticizes the Spain of his era, but the inclusion of the possessive pronoun *nuestra* invites the present-day Spanish reader to be included in the collective "our" especially given the fact that they too may be able to identify with being governed by a less than ideal monarchy and corrupt politicians. Pérez-Reverte looks at the past and sees it as closely resembling contemporary society, a view that he has expressed in his weekly column in *XL Semanal* and in interviews like following published in *El País* in which the author stated that his popular historical series about the Spanish Golden Age is a reflection of contemporary Spain: "Alatriste es un retrato de la España de hoy a través de la España del pasado" (Cruz).

Pérez-Reverte also sees the repetition of history in literature and has frequently noted that

the *Cantar del mio Cid* best explains the plights of the Spanish people, even stating in a 2003 interview with *El País* that "[e]sa frase del anónimo escritor del poema del Cid es la que mejor define al español. La historia de España se resume en ese verso" (Valenzuela). The phrase to which Pérez-Reverte refers in the interview is the lament: "Dios, ¡qué buen vasallo, si tuviese buen señor!" This exclamation from the epic poem has become one of the leitmotivs employed by the author, but more importantly, it is a phrase that accentuates the connections to both Spanish history and its literature, and is utilized to show a people beset by the same problems throughout centuries. For instance, in the first installment of the Alatriste series Pérez-Reverte writes: "El cronista anónimo se lo hace decir a ese mismo pueblo en el viejo romance del Cid, y uno recuerda con frecuencia sus palabras cuando considera la triste historia de nuestras gentes […] «Qué buen vasallo que fuera, si tuviese buen señor»" (*El capitán Alatriste* 134).[90] In another novel in the series, Pérez-Reverte evokes the Cid not by naming him directly, but rather by alluding to the king's unjust treatment of his loyal vassal who must then fight to recover his honor: "nunca le faltaron, vive Dios, buenos vasallos dispuestos a olvidar el abandono, la miseria y la injusticia, para apretar los dientes, desenvainar un acero y pelear, qué remedio" (*El sol de Breda* 92). In the previous quote, *le* refers to Spain, and the offenses suffered by the epic hero come to embody the continuous injustices suffered by the Spanish people throughout time.

The *Cantar del mio Cid* is not the only literary reference employed to highlight the lack of progress and circularity of history. The Alatriste series, in fact, true to its seventeenth-century setting, reflects the time period and milieu with a multitude of quotes, references, and allusions to Spanish Golden Age literature. Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, Alonso de Contreras, Cervantes, and Góngora are some of the most frequently mentioned, however, the Spanish writer

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[90] Rubén Castillo Gallego has noted that Arturo Pérez-Reverte utilizes various variations of this phrase (98).

with the most prominent place in the series is Francisco de Quevedo, who as one of the characters, doubles as a trusted friend of Diego Alatriste and the tutor of Íñigo Balboa. Nevertheless, rather than his actions, it is his disillusionment with Spanish society and his satirical, critical tone in his literature which take center stage in the series and serve as a mirror for Pérez-Reverte's own views on contemporary Spain. One example of this occurs in the third chapter of the first installment when the author depicts Quevedo writing the sonnet "Miré los muros de la patria mía," a poem that reflects both the decadence of Spain as well as a sense of being defeated by the passage of time while approaching the inevitable departure from this world. And while both of these themes can be found throughout Pérez-Reverte's oeuvre, it is Quevedo's satirical works and picaresque novel that primarily serve the contemporary author, not only as literary references, but also as reflections on Spanish society, both past and present. Speaking about the epoch and Quevedo, Íñigo states:

> Y en mitad de aquella corrupción y aquella locura, a contrapelo del curso de la Historia, como un hermoso animal terrible en apariencia, capaz de asestar fieros zarpazos pero roído el corazón por un tumor maligno, esa desgraciada España estaba agusanada por dentro, condenada a una decadencia inexorable cuya visión no escapaba a la clarividencia de aquel hombre excepcional que era Don Francisco de Quevedo. (*El capitán Alatriste* 78-79)

Los Sueños, *El Buscón*, and Quevedo's satirical poetry exemplify this image of Spain where appearances deceive, hiding a rotten interior and moral decay. It is for this reason that Pérez-Reverte places Quevedo in a prominent role in the series; for his ability to portray the society as it was, including its problems, false appearances and hypocrisy, aspects that Pérez-Reverte also sees as facets of contemporary society.

Nevertheless, in the previous quote it is difficult not to notice Pérez-Reverte's allusion to the idea of Spain as an illness, a concept that was also common among the writers of the Generation of '98. In fact, the narrator makes the connection between the time periods even more apparent when he prefaces the prior citation about the Baroque poet with: "A Don Francisco de Quevedo, eso pude entenderlo más tarde, le dolía mucho España" (*CA* 78). The obvious reference to Unamuno's "Me duele España" establishes a link between the centuries in the failures and poor leadership by those in power, highlighting the repetition of history. Both the blurring of temporal boundaries through references to canonical Spanish literature and the emphasis on similar themes in these iconic texts and phrases, create a vision of the past that curiously resembles the present reality in contemporary Spain, as the author himself has stated, explaining that the Spain of Alatriste "no está tan lejos de la España de ahora" (Valenzuela).[91] In fact, while the narrative depicts seventeenth-century Spain, the image that is conveyed also mirrors contemporary society, ultimately making the bygone era seem strangely familiar to the contemporary reader. That is to say, the past and the present are simultaneously represented by Pérez-Reverte, creating a situation where distance and closeness inhabit the same space.

Regardless of the era, Pérez-Reverte sees Spanish history as cyclical, in an eternal pattern of change without change. Whether the reference is from the Middle Ages, the Golden Age, the Generation of '98 or contemporary society, all are afflicted by the same underlying concerns and problems. While the circumstances and names are different, at their core the same issues plague

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[91] There are multiple examples that exemplify this sentiment from the author. Two illustrations of this include the use of Quevedo's satirical poem "Poderoso caballero es don dinero" in *El oro del rey*, where the famous verse becomes a leitmotiv for the novel as a whole while also reflecting corruption, greed, and economic inequalities that simultaneously speak to contemporary society. In the same novel, the satirical poem "Este mundo es juego de bazas" is also partially reproduced, emphasizing that the world is upside-down and ethically bankrupt. Furthermore, the portion that is quoted stresses the injustices suffered by the poor (87). Both examples speak to contemporary society and are understood as such not only because of their themes, but also because of the constant mirroring effect carried out by Pérez-Reverte where the seventeenth century is continually juxtaposed with allusions to contemporary society.

Spanish society. In one example of this, the narrator in *El puente de los asesinos* states:

> Pues nada define mejor *la España de mi siglo, y la de todos*, que la imagen del hidalgo pobre y miserable, muerto de hambre, que no trabaja porque es rebaje de su condición; y aunque ayuna a diario sale a la calle con espada, dándose aires, y se echa migas de pan en la barba para que sus vecinos piensen que ha comido. (207; my emphasis)

In this case, the reference is to the squire in *Lazarillo de Tormes*, a figure that symbolizes the false appearances of Spain, ridiculously obsessed with pride, honor and *el qué dirán* to the point of its own detriment. For Pérez-Reverte, literature complements historiography and allows for a more complete vision of the past. By critiquing society and recounting other versions that have typically been excluded from the annals of history, literary works frequently pick up where official versions of history have left off. In this way, the library and literature are once again presented as a source of knowledge for the author, who views literature as another way to "know" the societies and individuals that came before us.

In fact, like Baroja, Pérez-Reverte sees historiography as incomplete and wants to fill in the gaps. To do so, both authors recount history from below, from the viewpoint of ordinary soldiers or common people. However, where Leguía shows the shortcomings of historiography through the realization that the written account is always a constructed and incomplete representation of the past, Íñigo takes this one step further and shows that the historical documents and representations that we possess are incomplete at best, and have been purposely manipulated at worst; in either case he challenges the official version of history. For instance, in the third installment of the series, Íñigo narrates the last few months of the War of Flanders from the viewpoint of the soldiers and paints a picture of their lives during the military campaign. In the epilogue, Íñigo is called to see Velázquez to supply historical information and give feedback

on the painting *The Surrender of Breda*. The artist is conscious of the fact that he is creating a particular interpretation of a historical event, and that what he portrays on the canvas will be how future generations view this episode in Spanish history: "Al fin y al cabo –dijo por fin– siempre se recordará así… Me refiero a después, cuando vos y yo y todos ellos estemos muertos" (*El sol de Breda* 248). However, Íñigo, who participated in the battle, is not satisfied with the artist's representation. He recalls his personal experiences from the war as he observes all that is lacking in the artist's historical depiction, thus causing a reflection on the incompleteness of history. Through the narrator, the author stresses the injustice of being either erased from history, or limited to background decoration for the elite, as they took credit and received prestige for the work and skill of the infantry:

> En cuanto a quiénes figuraban en primer término del cuadro y quiénes no, lo cierto era que nosotros, la fiel y sufrida infantería, los tercios viejos que habían hecho el trabajo sucio en las minas [...] no éramos sino la carne de cañón, el eterno decorado sobre el que la otra España, la oficial de los encajes y las reverencias, tomaba posesión de las llaves de Breda. (*SB* 247)

The injustice recognized by Íñigo is amplified by the narrative which, figuratively speaking, takes the painting *The Surrender of Breda*, turns it one hundred and eighty degrees, and then carries out an ekphrastic representation of the masterpiece from behind to show a different perspective and fill in the gaps of history. Unlike the historical painting, in *El sol de Breda* it is the soldiers who are given a prominent place in the foreground, while the elite are reduced to the background. In the epilogue, the canvas is turned back one hundred and eighty

degrees, showcasing the official version of the event and effacing the histories from below.[92]

The novel highlights the contributions of Diego Alatriste during the Siege of Breda, however, as the modern reader knows, there is no trace of the swordsman in Velázquez's masterpiece. At the end of the novel in the editor's note, it is revealed that X-rays of *The Surrender of Breda* show a profile resembling that of the solider in question underneath the layers of paint. For reasons unknown, Alatriste had been purposely eliminated from the artistic representation of this historical event.[93] By drawing attention to the subjectivity and manipulation of historical representations, Pérez-Reverte challenges the official version of history, questions its authority, and encourages the reader to think about issues of historical representation.

Finally, in regards to history, both Pérez-Reverte and Baroja believe that the past can be utilized to explain Spain's current situation, as well as what their countrymen could be if they truly knew their own history, rather than a glorified and fictional version of it. In 1904 Baroja, elaborating on his view of history, wrote: "Si tuviéramos una idea clara y exacta de lo que hemos sido, conociéramos nuestra historia sin leyendas ni ficciones no sólo en períodos anormales, sino en el período normal de la vida, podríamos comprender fácilmente lo que podemos ser" (*OC* V 30). This idea is echoed nearly a century later, in the comments of Arturo Pérez-Reverte who also links the problems of the present to the past, and believes that without historical knowledge, these problems will only persist in the future. In a 2002 interview with *El País*, the author stated: "de una u otra forma la historia siempre se repite y que rara vez aprendemos de ella. […] Es

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[92] This text recovers Baroja's sentiment in *El escuadrón del brigante*: "Así es la historia. En cambio, ¡cuántos hombres no han muerto haciendo verdaderas heroicidades y han quedado ignorados!" (*OC* III 124).
[93] Further fictitious research shows that Alatriste was also written out of Calderón de la Barca's play *El sitio de Breda*. The discovery of the "original" verses that mention the participation of the Captain during the siege are reproduced in the novel as proof of this.

imposible entender lo que somos sin conocer lo que fuimos" ("Es imposible"). Pérez-Reverte has made similar comments regarding the importance of learning about the past and has explained that his interest in writing historical novels, as was detailed in the Introduction, stems from his concern over fighting *la desmemoria* in order to put knowledge about the past, in the broadest sense of the word, back into circulation within Spanish society. It is in this sentiment where some of the major differences between Pérez-Reverte and Baroja can be found. Both want to rescue something from the past, but for Baroja it is a distant relative whose feats had been forgotten, while for Pérez-Reverte it is an inherited past and culture, that also includes the voices of the national literary canon, as well as genres, professions, social classes, and a variety of other sociohistorical echoes from bygone eras. It is for this reason that many of his historical novels, particularly the Alatriste series, have a didactic nature to them. Some critics, such as José Manuel López de Abiada, have noticed that the author's objective in this series is palpable, writing, as was previously quoted in the Introduction, that "La intención didáctica [...] late en casi cada página" (186).[94] While his other historical novels might not be as didactic in nature, they still aim to supply information and explain the time period, resulting in a better understanding of the historical moment. Furthermore, the events in the narratives are intricately linked and presented in a linear, chronological order. Baroja on the other hand, turned to the past to rescue a Eugenio Aviraneta from oblivion, a decision that somewhat limits the protagonist since the series is based on the life of Aviraneta, although he ultimately fictionalizes his life and turns him into a literary character. The Basque writer, however, does not aspire to instruct the reader through a didactic reading, which is evident in the fragmented and confusing narratives of *Memorias de un hombre de acción* where the time period abruptly moves forward or backwards to events that are often

[94] In fact, the first book was written with his daughter to teach her about the Golden Age in Spain and she is listed as a co-author on the first installment.

loosely related. Also, unlike both Pérez-Reverte and Galdós, Baroja does not portray any sense of unity amongst the Spanish people, quite the opposite in fact, given that his characters thrive off the division found in the different factions of society.

3.2 The Tradition of Retelling Stories and Experiences: Narratives of War in Pérez-Reverte and Baroja

An aspect that both authors do share is that they are known for their storytelling, a quality that is frequently mentioned but rarely explained. Walter Benjamin in his essay "The Storyteller," writes that one of the characteristics of all storytellers is that they are able to incorporate tales and episodes from lived experience, both their own and that of others, thus leaving behind a portion of themselves in the story. In this way, Benjamin's view of storytelling is somewhat reminiscent of Bakhtinian thought given that that one's word is not only partially inhabited by others, but also since the storyteller can be viewed as a link in an ever-expanding chain. In fact, according to Benjamin, through the accounts of these individuals, the story then becomes "the experience of those who are listening" (364). Indeed, this is how the story lives on: in memory and in the retelling of stories, passed down generation to generation. In his essay, Benjamin further explains that, "Storytelling is always the art of repeating stories" (367), and that there are layers of retellings within the account that is told. For these reasons, storytelling is closely related to myth, legend and epic. Finally, Benjamin notes that the expert storytellers of bygone eras were always "rooted in the people" and that these individuals honed and improved the tricks of their trade by knowing how to capture the attention of their audience (373).

While in this piece Benjamin is expressing his regret over the loss of both this time-honored tradition, as well as the individuals who passed down these stories, his observations

regarding the characteristics involved in the art of storytelling are still helpful when examining both Baroja and Pérez-Reverte. Furthermore, while Benjamin laments the decline of storytelling due to the novel and modern means of communication, an analysis of the aforementioned authors reveals not the loss of storytelling, but the absorption of some of its characteristics into the narratives that they construct. In regards to the two storytellers in question, we see that many of their historical novels retell stories of war. Their accounts capture the reader's attention in part because of their ability to draw from their own experiences as journalists and in particular from their direct observations as war correspondents: Baroja in 1903 in Morocco for *El Globo*, and Pérez-Reverte in various countries from 1973-1994 for *Radio y Televisión Española*. Their critiques of war and their descriptions of atrocities in their novels are partially drawn from their own experiences as well as from the stories that they heard during their journalistic research. Their depictions of battle are typically vivid descriptions told from the viewpoint of those who are not in a position of power. These accounts ultimately condemn the hypocrisy, ineptitude, and brutality that they see around them.

Beatriz de Ancos Morales in her book *Pío Baroja: Literatura y periodismo en su obra*, mentions in passing that Baroja's direct observation and firsthand testimony served him well for the novels that he would write after his experience as a war correspondent, noting that traces of his time as a war reporter can be found in later works, including a selection of the *Memorias de un hombre de acción* (233). In her analysis of his journalistic writings in Morocco, Ancos Morales notes that his frequent value judgments, literary flair for descriptions, as well as the fusion of the Baroja-eyewitness and the Baroja-protagonist, result in a much more personal, subjective and novelistic approach to war reporting (232-42). Some of the examples that Ancos Morales offers to illustrate this point include passages from "Presenciando un combate," a two-

part article in which Baroja not only describes the soldiers from the front lines in abundant detail, where the author "parece mirar con lupa el aspecto de los soldados combatientes" (238), but also includes himself in the text by using the first-person plural in his account of the events, an act which communicates his participation and involvement in the story that he is telling. The examples illustrate the subjective, literary style of Baroja's war chronicles written for *El Globo*, in which the author left traces of himself and his experiences in the texts.

Returning to Baroja's historical novels, it is possible to make similar connections and observations about the ways in which his background as a war reporter carried over into some of his later works. For instance, in "Pío Baroja, corresponsal de guerra," Jorge Campos finds that the author's experiences in Morocco left a mark on his subsequent works and provides side-by-side comparisons of the author's war chronicles with passages from some of his novels.[95] Campos also notes that in his narratives Baroja frequently included parts of his own lived experience by incorporating either his surrounding reality or memories from the past (281).[96] In one such example, Campos compares part of a war chronicle to *Los contrastes de la vida* (1920), the seventh installment of the *Memorias de un hombre de acción*:

> Anclamos en la bahía y desembarcamos en un bote tripulado por unos cuanto moros, españoles y negros, que gritaban todos en árabe, armando una algarabía de dos mil demonios (*Crónica*).
>
> […] frente a Tánger y se detuvo la lancha. Unas cuantas barcas y botecillos se nos acercaron con moros y cristianos vestidos con harapos de colores y se puso toda aquella

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[95] The novels that Campos analyzes include: *La feria de los discretos* (1905), *Paradox Rey* (1906), *La ruta del aventurero* (1916), and *Los contrastes de la vida* (1920).

[96] Likewise, the author's nephew, Julio Caro, expressed a similar statement in *Los Baroja* in which he stressed that the author's works were based on experience: "Podría señalar a qué episodio de su propia vida o de la vida del país corresponden ciertos episodios de tales novelas" (80).

> gente a hablar y a chillar en una algarabía infernal. En esto nos atracó una lancha con dos remeros negros y tres moros limpios (*Contrastes* 21). (qtd. in Campos 286)

Other similarities reminiscent of his time as a war correspondent include the ample descriptions of the soldiers and their lives during combat, mostly notably in *El escuadrón del brigante* in which the author devotes entire sections to these types of depictions. In the same novel, the narrator marvels at the French army as the soldiers begin to sing patriotic hymns to inspire the troops, noting: "Aquella voz francesa, aguda, rara, sonaba para mí como algo extraordinario en el día gris" (*OC* III 200). This scene is vaguely familiar to another in the war chronicle "Presenciando un combate" where Baroja writes about a rainy day which made travel difficult, followed with a comment about the soldiers singing the Mohammedan Creed as motivation (*Corresponsalía* 118-19). Furthermore, in a revealing passage in *El escuadrón del brigante*, Baroja, through the voice of the narrator, reflects on the supposed Christianity of those fighting, however, the use of the first-person plural, the detailed description and testimony, as well as the insistence in the repetition of "los que hemos," also seem to include the author himself:

> *Los que hemos* visto tantos hombres con las tripas al aire, con los sesos fuera; *los que hemos* presenciado casi diariamente el espectáculo de ahorcar, fusilar, acuchillar, abrir en canal, presidido por gente católica y rezadora; *los que hemos* conocido a curas de trabuco que sabían enarbolar mejor el puñal que la cruz; *los que hemos* encontrado las sacristías convertidas en focos de conspiración y los conventos preparados como cuarteles, no *podemos* menos de reírnos un poco de la eficacia de la religión.[97] (*OC* III 162; emphasis added)

As a former war correspondent, Baroja excels in telling stories from the front lines. His accounts

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[97] This previous quote is also reminiscent of the value judgments inserted in his war correspondence to express personal opinions.

capture the attention of the readers and his visions of war leave a lasting impression by creating a striking, at times horrifying image paired with a strong moral critique. His scrutiny falls heavily on what he sees as uncivilized and inhumane behavior, especially when such behavior is defended in the name of religion: "ese cabecilla carlista que se dedica a fusilar, a degollar, a incendiar pueblos, ése es un bendito que trabaja por la mayor gloria de Dios. ¡Qué estupidez! ¡Qué salvajismo!" (*OC* III 163). His reflections on war in *El escuadrón del brigante* could not be more negative, as the wars that Aviraneta is involved in are seen as an injustice against humanity in which many of man's most despicable acts are committed: "¡cuánta miseria, cuánta brutalidad! Guerrear es suprimir durante un período la civilización, el orden, la justicia; abolir el mundo moral creado con tanto trabajo, retroceder a épocas de barbarie y de salvajismo" (*OC* III 162). This is not to say that everyone involved is guilty of uncivilized savagery, rather, Baroja makes a sharp distinction between honorable warfare and unethical barbarism. In fact, the previously mentioned critiques are made after Aviraneta's first combat under Jerónimo Merino's leadership which is met with deception upon his realization that not everyone has the same code of honor as himself and Juan el Brigante: "Para el cura [Merino], la cuestión en la guerra era exterminar al enemigo sin exponerse. El Brigante y yo creíamos que la cuestión era matar, pero matar con nobleza, dando cuartel, respetando a los heridos" (*OC* III 154). Against the orders of their leader they are helpless and can do nothing to change the situation, which causes Juan to shrug his shoulders in an expression of futileness: "El Brigante se encogió de hombros, como dando a entender que no quería hablar" (*OC* III 154). Their lofty ideas about respecting the injured and killing with honor are contrasted with the cruel reality that they experience under the leadership of the priest Merino, and ultimately leads to a demystification of war. This type of deception where lofty and heroic ideals are contrasted with a harsh, cruel reality can also be

found in *La nave de los locos*, in which Barrientos, another military man, confesses that he too had romanticized and false notions about war: "Yo entré engañado. […] Tenía en la cabeza una idea caballeresca y ridícula; creía que la guerra sería para los héroes; pero vi claramente que era para los asesinos y para los ladrones, para los que ansían matar y robar sin peligro" (*OC* IV 458). Barrientos, fighting under the Carlist leader Ramón Cabrera, observes brutalities similar to those witnessed by Aviraneta in *El escuadrón del Brigante*, noting that war brings out the worst in mankind, facilitating every act of violence imaginable and thus destroys any possibility of grand war ideologies.

Arturo Pérez-Reverte also describes striking war scenes in his novels, scenes that the author has explained come from his time as a war correspondent. In "Un paseo por las guerras," a 2006 interview for *El País*, the author stresses that much of what he writes in regards to war and combat stem from his exposure to such events while working as a journalist: "Uso mi biografía, o mejor aún, mi mirada, lo que yo he visto" (Antón). Even though his experiences are from the last quarter of the twentieth century and the majority of his historical novels take place in either the seventeenth or nineteenth centuries, Pérez-Reverte utilizes the images that he recalls from his time as a war correspondent and applies them to the stories that he tells, adapting them to fit the time period of the novel. His personal experience serves him especially well in describing the horrors of war, which change very little, regardless of the time period:

> sólo quedaron el herido de la cabeza vendada y el alcanzado en el vientre, que se había dejado caer de rodillas y miraba estúpidamente la sangre que le chorreaba por los muslos como negándose a creer que aquel líquido rojo brotara de su cuerpo. […] Así que era eso [la guerra]. Barro en las rodillas y sangre en el vientre, atónita sorpresa en la rígida expresión de los muertos, cadáveres despojados, lluvia y enemigos invisibles de los que

> apenas se percibía la humareda de los disparos. La guerra anónima y sucia. No había rastro de gloria en el soldado que gemía con la cabeza vendada y el rostro entre las manos, ni en el otro herido que contemplaba sus propias entrañas desgarradas como quien formula un reproche. (*El húsar* 92-3)

Scenes like the previous are frequently either accompanied by or followed with comments stressing that there is no glory in war. In the above quote, Frederic Glüntz, a trained hussar, is coming to that realization after partaking in his first battle, during which he sees the magnitude of violence and the cost of human life but finds no glory in sight. Inspired by heroic individuals that would later end up in history books, he enrolled in the military academy with the hopes of finding fame and glory in combat. Both young and naïve, he fantasizes about epic feats that will bring him honor and immortalize his name. However, he gradually becomes conscious of the fact that he has been deceived and that the reality of war is very different from the way it is presented in history books and paintings: "la guerra real no se parecía en nada a las heroicas imágenes que aparecían en los grabados de los libros, o en los cuadros de bellos colores referentes a gestas militares" (89). Rather, he begins to see himself as a pawn used by others at their whim, a realization that shatters his previous idealized visions of war and leads him towards a more sinister vision of combat:

> enviaban a miles de hombres a la muerte quizá por un mero error de cálculo, por afán de gloria, emulación u otros motivos más oscuros, al joven se le había ocurrido el más apropiado símil para describir una batalla: dos generales que cogían a puñados los soldaditos de carne y hueso y los echaban a la hoguera para contemplar después cómo el fuego los consumía. […] y esto fue lo que horrorizó a Frederic al caer en la cuenta– del antojo de un par de hombres a los que un rey o un emperador concedían el derecho de

hacerlo así, en nombre de una costumbre ancestral que nadie osaba discutir. (161)

The novel concludes with a completely demystified vision of war that is all the more pronounced given the protagonist's prior romanticized dreams of honor, fame and glory, that he felt could be attained through majestic feats on the battlefield. At the novel's close, Frederic realizes that his dreams about war were just that—dreams with little to no basis in reality: "Al diablo. Al diablo todos ellos con su romántica y estúpida idea de la guerra. Al diablo los héroes y la caballería […]. Barro, sangre y mierda. Eso era la guerra" (201). The young hussar recognizes how ridiculous his previous ideas were and in one last moment of exasperation and frustration before falling into tired indifference, he realizes that everyone present had played into the hands that had thrown them into the fire, and that was now watching them burn. They had all fallen into the trap of the "ronda macabra," a vicious cycle much larger than himself and his immediate surroundings: "Se había dejado atrapar como un imbécil. Ellos también, pobres tipos, se habían dejado atrapar. Todo el universo se había dejado atrapar, por el amor de Dios, ¿no había nadie que se diera cuenta?" (215). Echoing cyclical time, the "ronda macabra" references the violence and the war rhetoric that has been reused and replayed throughout the ages, ensnaring countless individuals in a war that is never won nor finished, but rather eternally repeated, as the author has expressed in other novels: "En realidad era siempre la misma barbarie: desde Troya a Mostar, o Sarajevo, siempre la misma guerra" (*Territorio Comanche* 91).

Pérez-Reverte's literature continually echoes aspects of Baroja's works by recovering and reworking many of the latter's most distinctive characteristics, thus provoking an association between their historical series. In addition to themes closely linked to his predecessor, such as the constructed and subjective nature of history, eternal recurrence, and the demystification of war, Pérez-Reverte, like Baroja, employs the conventions of storytelling, which according to

Walter Benjamin, allow the narrative to become the experience of others (361-78). For instance, both place tremendous focus on the senses, especially sight and sound. In fact, such is the visual importance in Baroja, that visual arts language is often used for the descriptions of his works. Carlos Longhurst in *Las novelas históricas de Pío Baroja*, refers to the episodic narrative as a series of "diapositivas" (256), while Biruté Ciplijauskaité calls them "retratos," noting their likeness to the sketches that the author would look at while composing the *Memorias*, although she also notes that his gaze moves quickly and writes that, "*el lente de la cámara* nunca se detiene demasiado tiempo sobre un solo personaje, ya que nadie es sobresaliente en su opinión" (152-53; emphasis added). Leo Barrow also mentions the optical lens in Baroja's works that provides a sensation of movement and contributes to the overall sense of vitality: "The movement or the illusion of movement is produced by the moving lens which describes it. The eyes of the observer here are in constant movement" (154). Speaking about the *Memorias de un hombre de acción*, Baroja himself stressed their visual nature by describing the works as a series of etchings: "la mía podría recordar grabados en madera hechos con más paciencia y más tosquedad" (*OC* VII 1077).

The importance of sight and the ability to envision the narrative stem from Baroja's need to see the environment that his protagonists inhabited. This desire to visualize the fiction that he was writing led him not only to study prints while investigating for his historical novels, but also to travel to the sites portrayed in the narratives. Noting the amount of investigation that Baroja devoted to his historical fiction, Francisco Flores Arroyuelo highlights the direct experience and visual nature of the novelist's research:

> hemos de tener en cuenta el alto grado de documentación visual, aparte de la impresión directa del medio y del paisaje a que llegó el novelista siguiendo su afición de

> coleccionar grabados y estampas de paisajes y de escenas de la vida. […] En todo momento de su labor de novelista histórico, Baroja manifestó la misma escrupulosidad por reproducir el ambiente aun en sus mínimos detalles. Pisó el suelo que habían pisado sus personajes del pasado, recorrió los lugares donde sus héroes habían hecho y deshecho mil lances. Y buscó y manejó todas las fuentes y noticias que pudieran darle alguna luz. (12)

Thus, it is his investigative research, as well as his ability to portray what he saw and experienced, that carry over into the images in the narrative resulting in a highly visual text. Additionally, according to Barrow, Baroja not only despised portraying scenes that he had not researched or observed directly, but criticized others for doing so (224). During his induction speech for the Royal Spanish Academy, Baroja chided the previous generation of novelists for relying too much on their imagination and not enough on actual observation and experience: "pretendían defenderse con una mayor observación, con más fidelidad en las descripciones de los tipos y de las costumbres. Los detalles realistas abundaban en las obras de estos autores. Eran detalles realistas imaginados, no vistos y vividos" (*OC* V 866). This revealing excerpt from the address accentuates the importance that he placed on incorporating experience and observation into his works, fusing reality with fiction.

The importance of sight and observation is not only evident in the amount of investigative research and detailed imagery, but also in the multitude of references to eyes, glances, looks, and stares found throughout his novels, such as the following example that emphasizes Aviraneta's eyes as indicative of his mood and determination: "le miraba al alemán con su ojo bizco y frunciendo el ceño. Cuando Aviraneta se pone a mirar así hay que temblar, porque, con la mala sangre que tiene, es capaz de cualquier cosa" (*OC* III 242). In another

comment about Aviraneta, Leguía states: "y un relámpago de ironía brilló en sus ojos. Aquella mirada y aquel perfil de aguilucho no se me borró de la imaginación" (*OC* III 317). The references to the eyes are sometimes manifested through personification, as in the following example where a house is identified with the murder victim: "Aquellas ventanas como pupilas apagadas, la cruz, el ruido del viento y el de la fuente; todo le hizo estremecerse de terror" (*OC* IV 503). The ocular references and the act of seeing intermingle with striking descriptions like the previous, creating a dynamic visual.[98] Additionally, Marsha Collins notes that the vivid images remain with the reader due to the "strong visual orientation of his art," furthermore, she finds that Baroja's oeuvre is noticeably inclined towards representing what has been personally observed by the author (110-11). The multiple ocular references, along with the constantly moving optical lens of the observer, result in a highly visual narrative that guides the reader's eyes and takes them on a journey, as Esteban Antxustegui observes: "Baroja enseña a mirar. Lo accidental, lo anecdótico, lo que durante unos segundos apareció ante nuestros ojos [...] es lo que Baroja quiere rescatar" (237-38). In this regard, Baroja, like the master storytellers of bygone eras, not only captures the reader's attention with vivid descriptions, but he also leaves parts of the story with them, in the images that remain in their imagination.

The emphasis on visual aspects, as well as the references to the eyes, the gaze, and the act of looking are also prevalent in the works of Pérez-Reverte, with the most noted example being the frequent remarks about the light-colored eyes of the protagonist Diego Alatriste, whose distant gaze corresponds to his memories and inner thoughts as he contemplates the ghosts that

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[98] While *Las inquietudes de Shanti Andía* does not satisfy enough of the characteristics of the historical novel to fall into the scope of the present investigation, the novel is an excellent example of the ways in which Baroja includes references to the eyes. In the following quote from the novel, the reflexive and contemplative qualities of Shanti Andía are conveyed through his eyes: "Me gusta mirar, tengo la avidez en los ojos; [...] Muchas veces me he figurado ser únicamente dos pupilas, algo como un espejo o una cámara oscura para reflejar la Naturaleza" (45).

haunt him. This depiction of the swordsman is presented in the first installment of the series when Íñigo, recalling his childhood, "sees" his father figure who subsequently appears before the reader in an ample description:

> pero todavía me parece *ver* a Diego Alatriste flaco y sin afeitar, parado en el umbral con el portón de madera negra claveteada cerrándose a su espalda. Recuerdo perfectamente su *parpadeo* ante la claridad cegadora de la calle, con aquel espeso bigote que le ocultaba el labio superior, su delgada silueta envuelta en la capa, y el sombrero de ala ancha bajo cuya sombra entornaba *los ojos claros, deslumbrados, que parecieron sonreír* al divisarme sentado en un poyete de la plaza. Había algo singular en la *mirada* del capitán: por una parte era *muy clara y muy fría, glauca* como el agua de los charcos en las mañanas de invierno. Por otra, *podía quebrarse de pronto en una sonrisa cálida y acogedora*, como un golpe de calor fundiendo una placa de hielo, mientras el rostro permanecía serio, inexpresivo o grave. […] botellas de vino, de esas que el capitán solía despachar a solas en sus días de silencio. Azumbre y medio sin respirar, y aquel gesto para secarse el mostacho con el dorso de la mano, *la mirada perdida* en la pared de enfrente. Botellas para matar a los fantasmas, solía decir él, aunque nunca lograba matarlos del todo. (*CA* 31; emphasis added)

In this, the first physical description of Diego Alatriste in the series, it is telling that Pérez-Reverte chooses to highlight the eyes over any other feature. It is through his eyes and his distant gaze that the reader will come to know his most inner thoughts and preoccupations, without the captain saying a word. This corresponds with what Barbara Korte finds in her book entitled *Body Language in Literature*, in which she observes that in the narrative, non-verbal, corporal language functions as an "externalizer" revealing parts of the character's personality (40-41).

Anthony Percival, who has researched body language in the Alatriste series, finds that these visual references not only supply information about the characters, they also maintain the reader's interest while assisting in the recreation and envisioning of the historical time period (361-62).

Pérez-Reverte's fondness for visual imagery has led critics to make connections between his style of narration and cinematography. Percival, in his analysis of the cues provided through corporal movements and gestures, observes that at times it is as if the narrator "tuviera una cámara de cine en mano" (364).[99] Unlike Baroja's fragmented slides that jump from scene to scene, Pérez-Reverte's narrative resembles a feature film. José Belmonte Serrano in "Un paseo por Revertelandia: La obra narrativa de Arturo Pérez-Reverte," observes the influence of film in his works, in particular in his use of light and shadow to create suspense, and in the care taken to erect a clear image of the environment, down to the smallest detail (119-23).[100] In addition to the elaborate reconstruction of the setting and geography, several of the author's historical works include maps of the city during the historical time in the narrative. *Cabo Trafalgar* is the exception to this since the action takes place at sea, and thus the work is prefaced with drawings of the maritime battle showing the placement of ships, as well as labeled diagrams of the different types of naval vessels. Both the maps and the diagrams assist the readers in visualizing the movements of the protagonists in these spaces as they were centuries ago. In this manner, they not only help in the reconstruction of the events and the historical setting, but they also, following Jonathan Culler, convey a sense of being grounded in a prior reality, which contributes

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[99] Percival also finds that Reverte provides "al mundo ficticio el sello de lo real y el efecto de la inmediatez. Nos quedamos impresionados por el espectáculo de diversos personajes inmersos en misterios, intrigas, aventuras y peligros, personajes captados casi de forma cinematográfica en sus gestos, movimientos y contactos interpersonales" (371).

[100] See also: Belmonte Serrano, José. "Arturo Pérez-Reverte y sus relaciones con el cine." *Lenguaje y textos*, no. 17, 2001, pp. 175-84.

a sense of verisimilitude to the narrative (164-87).[101]

Another way in which Pérez-Reverte invites the reader into the story, is by speaking directly to them and thus breaking the boundaries between the fictional world and reality. In the following example, the descriptions of the realities of war grip the reader's attention. The narrator then asks the readers if they are able to accurately envision the scene that has been outlined:

> Batallones exterminados sin piedad, pueblos ardiendo, animales sacrificados para comer su carne cruda, compañías enteras que se tendían exhaustas en la nieve y ya no despertaban jamás. Y mientras caminábamos sobre los ríos helados, envueltos en harapos, arrancando las ropas a los muertos, pasando junto a hombres sentados inmóviles y rígidos, con los copos de nieve cubriéndolos lentamente como estatuas blancas, el aullido de los lobos nos seguía a retaguardia, cebándose con los cuerpos que dejábamos atrás en la retirada. ¿*Se imaginan* el panorama…? No, *no creo que puedan*. Hay que haber estado allí para imaginar eso. (*La sombra del águila* 136-37; emphasis added)

In the above passage, the author makes use of the device of the interpolated reader, which fosters a sense of inclusion and invites readers to interact with the narrative by visualizing the scene and figuratively entering this fictional world. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in the previous quote, even though the author addresses the readers to encourage them to imagine the scene, in stressing that the reality of the situation was much worse than the average person could ever fathom, the readers are ultimately excluded since it is framed as beyond their comprehension and

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[101] Culler outlines five types of verisimilitude in Chapter 7 of his foundational text titled, *Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, linguistics and the study of literature* (164-187). In this chapter Culler also points out that the type of verisimilitude influences how the text is read, stating in part that guiding "our expectations about the world of the novel […] suggest[s] how details concerning actions or characters are to be interpreted and thus help to give us something to judge" (183).

lived experience.

The technique of addressing the reader is not uncommon in Pérez-Reverte's oeuvre. In fact, Íñigo frequently speaks to the reader throughout the Alatriste series, for example, in one instance he refers to the reader as "desocupado lector" in a clear reference to Cervantes (*Corsarios de Levante* 63), while in another he offers advice: "desconfíen siempre vuestras mercedes de quien es lector de un solo libro" (*Limpieza de sangre* 162). Baroja utilizes this tradition as well, but to a much lesser extent and usually only in the beginning of his novels and accompanied with irony. For example, in the beginning of *El escuadrón del Brigante*, Baroja humorously says to the reader: "Suponiendo que al lector, al menos si es aviranetista convencido, no le ha de cansar la explicación de Leguía, me he tomado el trabajo de copiarla íntegra" (*OC* III 115). Other comments take the form of winks directed towards the reader as inside jokes. In the following quote, the narrator of *Zalacaín el aventurero* notes the similarities between Zalacaín's current circumstances and situations portrayed in the *Odyssey*, but comically notes that this coincidence was beyond the literary competence of the protagonist: "De conocer Martín la *Odisea* es posible que hubiese tenido la pretensión de comparar a Linda con la hechicera Circe y a sí mismo con Ulises, pero como no había leído el poema de Homero no se le ocurrió tal comparación" (87).

In this way both authors draw upon a relation to the reader, be it through the device of the interpolated reader that is explicitly addressed, or through the complicit reader that becomes a collaborating partner who actively participates in the development of meaning. This participation, in fact, is central to Baroja given that the events portrayed in the *Memorias de un hombre de acción* are not presented in a linear fashion, but rather, change abruptly and without warning, jumping from one time period to another. Some of the storylines are abandoned and taken up

again later in the series and the narrative as a whole is labyrinthine. It is the job of the reader to reorganize the events in a more coherent order. In this way, the reader must participate in order to make sense of the story, and thus becomes a collaborator. Similarly, Ciplijauskaité compares the fragmented narrative of the *Memorias* to a kaleidoscope and finds that only by piecing the narrative together and filling in the gaps, will the reader be able to see the entire picture (*Los noventayochistas* 159). The high level of participation necessary to understand the vision of the time period presented in the series is a decidedly different approach to the historical novel when compared to those of Galdós.[102]

While Pérez-Reverte does not demand reader participation to the same extent as Baroja, he does utilize it as a narrative device, and the readers who are able to recognize the various traditions and echoes from the past that the author modifies, will take away a much deeper understanding of the author's historical fiction. For instance, as the author states regarding his intentions for the Alatriste series and the complicit reader: "quise demostrar que aprender es vivir en el roce con la calle, con los libros, con la Historia. […] Y esa mirada crítica dirigida hacia nuestro siglo XVII puede volverse también, a los ojos del lector cómplice, en un espejo que refleje la España actual, o en clave que la explique" ("Historia de un héroe cansado" 13). Nevertheless, such participation is not required by the contemporary author, who according to Xavier Moret, stated that there are two main types of readers of his novels: "el que la lee de un tirón como una novela de aventuras, y por otra, el lector cómplice que conoce las claves con las que él juega" ("Pérez-Reverte"). The author further explained that while both approaches are fine, "prefiero el segundo ya que a mí me gusta escribir poniendo campos minados" (Moret). Hence in

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[102] Whereas Galdós sought to use the epoch presented in the first series to give an overall vision of the time period and of progress in order to convey both an ethical and moral message to his contemporaries, Baroja is not interested in presenting an overall vision and focuses on the life of Aviraneta and "the historical significance of particular details" (Gogorza Fletcher 57).

summary, for the complicit readers the Revertian narrative becomes a type of intellectual game, as was mentioned in the Introduction, where they make their way through the minefields that the author has laid out, recognizing the themes, topics and ideas that the author is retelling in his own stories. While identifying the "claves con las que él juega" can be a gratifying experience that encourages reader involvement, those who do not to play his game can still enjoy the entertaining tales that the storyteller weaves.

3.3 Popular Literature in Baroja and Pérez-Reverte: Defending and Subverting Popular Genres

Pérez-Reverte's historical series not only bears a notable resemblance to that of Pío Baroja in regards to their narratives of war, treatment of history, and storytelling techniques, but both also utilize the adventure hero, as well as other aspects of popular literature, and have acknowledged the influence of popular genres in their writing. On this subject Baroja explained: "se nota, sí, la de las novelas de aventuras, porque yo he sido en mi juventud gran lector de folletines de evasiones célebres, de relatos de viajeros y espectador de melodramas truculentos" (qtd. in Collins 54). Baroja, in fact, expressed enthusiasm for all kinds of popular literary forms throughout his life, and his interest in the *folletín* as well as the traces of this genre in his literature, have not gone unnoticed by critics. Antonio Salvador Plans, for example, classifies Baroja as an "experto conocedor" of the *folletín* in his book *Baroja y la novela de folletín* in which he delineates characteristics of the genre including: a flair for the dramatic, a simplified plot or storyline that utilizes established patterns and results in a happy ending or achievement of a goal (11-20). Other fundamental characteristics according to Salvador Plans include suggestive and mysterious chapter titles, the predominance of action with scarce reflexive and descriptive

digressions, a lack of verisimilitude, and an absence of psychological development in the protagonists who are considered types rather than characters (20-32). One aspect that Baroja incorporates is his flair for the dramatic, which can be seen in his use of mystery, suspense, and intrigue in the third installment of the series in a section entitled, "Una intriga tenebrosa. Los hombres de la conspiración del triángulo," in which Leguía tells of secret societies, spies, disguises, dangerous meetings, and daring escapes. In addition, the title itself also stresses mystery and hints at the action that will take place, a clue that is easily perceived if the reader has prior knowledge of the 1816 Triangle Conspiracy to overthrow and possibly murder Fernando VII. Ciplijauskaité observes that "[l]a presencia del folletín en la obra barojiana es constante no sólo por la técnica y la creencia en la necesidad del misterio. Las alusiones al folletín a través de sus novelas son muy numerosas" (*Baroja* 93).

Other techniques of the *folletín* in Baroja's historical fiction include ending the chapters during moments of high tension to maintain the reader's interest, as well as the way in which the reading is divided into smaller segments as if to be read in installments. Additionally, there are multiple references to the *folletín* throughout the series. The narrator, for example, occasionally references this popular genre and some of its writers,[103] and it is revealed that one of Aviraneta's pastimes is that of reading *folletines* (*OC* III 529). In *Los caminos del mundo*, Baroja humorously blames the fictional Leguía for the pronounced influence of the *folletín* in the series stating: "Leguía dio a sus narraciones y a los capítulos de éstas títulos un tanto extraños y folletinescos, que yo no he querido cambiar" (*OC* III 261).

Arturo Pérez-Reverte has also expressed a similar enthusiasm for popular literature and

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[103] For instance, in *El escuadrón del Brigante* Leguía inquires about the identity of a lady that he sees and upon learning that she is the Marchioness of Monte-Hermoso, he confesses: "me parecía un título de novela folletinesca por el estilo de las que después ha escrito mi amigo Aiguals de Izco" (*OC* III 130). Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco (1801-1875) was an editor and writer of *folletines* including *María, la hija de un jornalero* (1845).

has been described as an "experto conocedor" of the *folletín* (Sanz Villanueva, "Lectura" 17). Like Baroja, he shares the same taste for action, mystery, and intrigue; additionally, his heroes resemble the adventurer type and the Alatriste series partakes in the same custom of providing mysterious chapter titles. Brian Dendle in "Pérez-Reverte y la novela histórica," observes that the conspiracies, swashbuckling swordfights, and ambushes in the Alatriste series are reminiscent of Alejandro Dumas (68), leading Dendle to declare that "[e]l amor que tiene Pérez-Reverte a la literatura popular, a sus lecturas juveniles, es evidente" (73).

However, even though both authors have been recognized for their knowledge of the *folletín* and for their utilization of the characteristics of this genre in their works, they ultimately subvert the rules of the very conventions that they are employing. For example, both authors take a type, the adventure hero, and utilize the typical elements of this variety of hero with a zest for life and a need for constant movement, as a vehicle for the action in their respective historical novels. However, they instill in them philosophical qualities not typically found in the *folletín*, which results in a surprising amount of thought and reflection in a man of action. Similarly, Ciplijauskaité finds that the life of action in Baroja's novels is always presented "desde el intelecto" and that the author includes "digresiones filosóficas, ausentes en la novela de aventuras" (*Baroja* 97). Likewise, Marsha Collins notes that Baroja's adventurer types transcend their assigned roles, stating that they are "amazingly articulate and they often discuss the most crucial philosophical, political, and scientific issues of the day—determinism, Nietzschean philosophy, the "problem" of Spain, war, [and] changes in the social structure" (156).

Thus, while Baroja utilizes the adventure hero and other structural elements of the *folletín*, he ultimately deviates from the conventions in order to carry out critiques not typically found in novels of this genre. Such is the case in *Zalacaín el aventurero*, in which the adventure hero

Zalacaín is treated ironically by the narrator and appears less than heroic at times, thus failing to fulfill the role prescribed to him. For instance, in a chapter entitled, "Como Zalacaín y Bautista Urbide tomaron, los dos solos, la ciudad de Laguardia, ocupada por los Carlistas" the protagonist and his accomplice "conquer" an almost completely abandoned city, making their actions look more like a prank and less like the heroic deed indicated in the title. The pervasive irony in the text, not only undermines the identification of the adventurer as a hero, but as Eduardo Gregori Sellés observes, the irony and parody throughout the text "reveal the inadequacy of traditional heroic patterns" (118). The parody that is present in the narrative is similar to Linda Hutcheon's definition of the term, which she extends beyond mockery, writing that "parody is repetition, but repetition that includes difference […]; it is imitation with critical ironic distance" (*A Theory of Parody* 37). The repetition in the narrative largely involves patterns and generic elements, which the author relies on while simultaneously marking his distance and difference from them as he adds his own intentions to these forms.[104] Ultimately, according to Gregori Sellés, it is the "parody of heroic elements" linked to the adventure genre and the *folletín* (both of which led this novel to be deemed of lesser quality), that allows "in fact—a very deep and conscious social criticism, a systematic deconstruction of all ideologies" (133).

A similar analysis could be made for Pérez-Reverte's *La sombra del águila*, which relies on the characteristics of the *folletín*,[105] but diverges from these conventions by including elements not typical of the adventure hero or of the *folletín*. Some of the characteristics of the

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[104] Additionally, *Zalacaín el aventurero* contains various references to canonical masterpieces and their larger than life heroes, some of which are also parodied throughout the text. Examples of the literary masterpieces include: the *Odyssey*, *La chanson de Roland*, the *Iliad*, the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, and *Don Juan Tenorio*. For an analysis of the intertextual connections in *Zalacaín,* see: Arados, Francisco R. "El *Zalacaín* de Baroja y el canto VI de la *Ilíada*." *Revista de Occidente* 8 (1965): 201-08; and Eller, Kenneth G. "Literary Masterpieces in Baroja's *Zalacaín el aventurero*" Neophilologus 77.3 (1993) 406-10.

[105] *La sombra del águila* was published in serialized novel format in 1993 in collaboration with the newspaper *El País*.

serialized novel that Pérez-Reverte employs include the use of brief chapters with titles, the predominance of action and adventure, and moments of high suspense, particularly at the end of chapters to entice the reader to continue with the story. Despite these elements that are closely associated with the *folletín*, in *La sombra del águila* there is a constant parody of war and heroism, which results in a critique of war and of its glorified representations that are found in art, literature, and historiography. The "relato ligero" begins with a caricaturesque image of the French generals and Napoleon Bonaparte who are watching a battle from a safe distance on a hilltop when they see the Spanish prisoners of war heading directly into enemy territory, in what they interpret as a glorious act of self-sacrifice for the honor of *la patrie*. In the subsequent chapters, the readers learn that what appears to be an act of heroism is, in reality, an act of mass desertion and that the would-be heroes were trying to cross over enemy lines to seek refuge with the Russians. In this humorous situation, Napoleon and other individuals in positions of power are seen not only as inept due to their misreading of both the battlefield and of the intentions of the Spaniards, but also as cowards who force others to fight their battles for them as they watch from afar. Another example of this parody of war and heroism occurs in the first chapter when one of the French soldiers reports back from a mission and strikes a pose with his horse imitating the 1812 painting *The Charging Chasseur* by Théodore Géricault: "Saltó del caballo antes de que este se detuviera encabritado entre una nube de polvo, imitando la pose del jinete de cierto conocido cuadro de Gericault" (21). The action highlights how ridiculous such an act would be in actual warfare and stresses the artificiality of glorified representations of war. Borrowing again from Hutcheon, the parody of the image depicted in the emblematic painting can be, as Hutcheon puts it, a way of "dealing with the past" and with the cultural texts that have been left behind from other eras (*A Theory of Parody* 4). Through the author's parody, this relic from the

past and the glorified image that it portrays, are revealed as completely unrealistic. In fact, throughout the text Pérez-Reverte takes what is considered to be majestic, grand or dignified in terms of combat and warfare, and parodies it so that it becomes absurd, thus converting the sublime into the comical. Napoleon and the *Grande Armée* are reduced to arrogant and incompetent caricatures, and historiography is criticized throughout for only portraying certain aspects of history, while silencing other voices from the past, in this case those of the common individual. Ultimately, Pérez-Reverte subverts romanticized visions of war, and the reader is left with the bleak realities of combat. In this manner, both Baroja and Pérez-Reverte use popular literature as a point of departure to then delve into larger issues not typically contemplated by the adventurer type, thereby transcending the formulas of the *folletín*. Their use of parody and irony is used to achieve this end, thus undermining their portrayal of the adventurer, or the soldier, as a hero.

Along these same lines, Anne Walsh in her book *Arturo Pérez-Reverte: Narrative Tricks and Narrative Strategies*, notes that the author makes use of the reader's knowledge of popular genres in order to get the reader involved, only to then break the rules and formulas, which foil the reader's expectations (33-34, 69). Walsh observes that at first his novels seem to follow the popular formulas, but they do not follow through:

> boy meets girl but they do not live happily ever after (*El maestro de esgrima*); a mystery is solved but no one can take the credit (*El club Dumas*); a villain is stopped but too late to make a difference (*La tabla de Flandes*); a hacker was revealed but murder was not prevented (*La piel del tambor*); a treasure is found but no one is better off (*La carta esférica*). In each case, there is disappointment for the reader and disillusionment for the protagonists. (110)

While Walsh focuses on Pérez-Reverte's detective fiction, it is possible to make similar observations about how he breaks generic patterns and formulas in his historical novels. The Alatriste series for example, utilizes various formulas of the *folletín* and popular literature, including: the romance pattern of the wise older man who mentors a younger man, the use of the adventurer type, and the brief chapters with a tendency towards mystery, intrigue, and action. However, as I have previously discussed, while Pérez-Reverte employs the adventurer type to propel the action in the narrative, there is a surprising amount of reflection and contemplation. Additionally, the instances in which Diego Alatriste does not adequately fulfill the prescribed role of adventure hero are many. For example, in *Limpieza de sangre*, Alatriste is called to help rescue a young girl from a convent. During the failed midnight ambush to save the girl, not only is she taken prisoner by the Inquisition, but she is later tortured and killed in an auto-da-fé that Alatriste helplessly witnesses. Similarly, in *El oro del rey*, Alatriste goes to visit a friend on death row. The expectation is that as the adventure hero, he is capable of executing a daring prison escape and saving the condemned man. Alatriste, however, reminisces with him but makes no attempt to save the man from his fate. The man is put to death in a public ceremony, during which Quevedo takes notes to write the executioner scene from *El Buscón*. And in *El puente de los asesinos*, the novel builds up anticipation for a conspiracy plot that never comes to fruition. The plan is aborted at the last minute and Diego and the others flee the city. Both the conspiracy and the reader's expectations have been foiled. Time and time again, Pérez-Reverte invites the readers to participate in the account that is being told, however, in his literary game, he employs the rules of popular literature and the *folletín*, not to gratify readers for their knowledge of these formulas, but rather he utilizes that knowledge against them to circumvent their predictions.

In an essay entitled "¡Fatalidad!," Pérez-Reverte defines what he calls the canonical *folletín* and remarks that not all is what it seems at first glance with these types of novels since they permit

> ya en su origen, dos lecturas paralelas: la de quien se sumergía en sus páginas por el puro placer del planteamiento, nudo y desenlace, y la de quien encontraba en ellas otros elementos, otras claves ocultas que daban profundidad y valor social a lo que en apariencia, y a veces incluso en la misma intención del autor, sólo era un elemental divertimento de masas. (32-33)

In the previous quote, Pérez-Reverte describes a literature that fuses entertainment with greater and more serious questions leading to a double reading. And while it is possible to read only on the surface and enjoy the adventure, mystery or intrigue of the storyline, underneath that surface lie other, more profound questions. To reach those depths, the reader must be willing to actively participate in the narrative in order to indentify and decipher the "claves ocultas." Eladio García observes a similar duality in Baroja's literature, where he finds "la existencia de dos planos de creación" (110), and states that popular literature is used as a point of departure in his art (119). In fact, both authors utilize the formulas of the *folletín* as a vehicle of action and intrigue that serves the purpose of capturing the reader's attention, however, they add another dimension to their writing by including references, themes, and debates not typically found in the *folletín*.

Thus, what these authors accomplish in their narratives is more than just an expression of enthusiasm for popular literary forms. Instead, both display a fusion of aspects of the *folletín* with elements considered to belong to "highbrow" literature. For Baroja, such characteristics include musicality, poetical lyricism, social critiques, philosophical contemplation, intertextuality, and fragmentation. Similarly, Pérez-Reverte fuses his popular literature with

social critiques, "highbrow" intertextual references to canonical literature, as well as art, music, and chess, which according to Carmen Urioste "las señalan como textos eruditos—propios de la cultura minoritaria—, integrando dentro de ellas una aparente contradicción bipolar" (473). It is evident through their historical fiction that neither Baroja nor Pérez-Reverte finds any reason why the popular and the erudite cannot coexist within the same text or why they are considered to be mutually exclusive. In fact, they put into practice some of the theories on popular literature by such individuals as Clive Bloom and John Sutherland,[106] by exemplifying that a connection to popular literature does not necessarily attest to a simplified or "lesser" literature. Furthermore, they show that nothing is created in a vacuum and that even "highbrow" literature and its characteristics are influenced by trends in society. The philosophical digressions of Aviraneta, for instance, echo the ideas of Nietzsche and 'the problem of Spain' that can be found in canonical novels of the Generation of '98. Similarly, the themes regarding the nation and national history that are found in Pérez-Reverte's historical novels, are also present in the literature of some of the most prestigious writers of the early 1990s who also write about identity and history during a time period of globalization in Spain. And finally, both of the aforementioned authors make evident that popular literature and "highbrow" literature are not incompatible opposites, located on polar ends of the spectrum by mixing the two and blurring the lines between them. In this respect, drawing from Stephanie Sieburth's proposal in her book *Inventing High and Low*, there is a need to uncover new ways that texts are connected and linked to each other, which can be done by examining the relationships between them, rather than assigning artificial divisions (8).

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[106] See for instance: Bloom, Clive. *Bestsellers: Popular Fiction Since 1900.* Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. Print; Sutherland, John. *Bestsellers : Popular Fiction of the 1970s.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.

In conclusion, by incorporating elements from some of the most renowned Spanish writers in his narrative, Pérez-Reverte is bringing the past into the present, modifying what was old and making it new again, while simultaneously paying homage to Spain's literary heritage. As I have demonstrated in this chapter, the historical novels of Arturo Pérez-Reverte echo the historical works of Pío Baroja, as the former recovers and modernizes many of latter's discourses and elements of his literary style. Pérez-Reverte's cyclical depiction of history that echoes the 'eternal return,' the use of the conventions of storytelling in his war narratives to demystify idealized and glorified versions of war, as well as the pronounced influence of the *folletín* in his historical texts, all uncover an underlying relationship with the Basque author. Both Pérez-Reverte and Baroja also recognize the value of all types of literature and despite their elite positions in the highest ranks of Spanish literature,[107] neither denied their fondness for popular literature. Nevertheless, ever the proponents of conveying lived experience in their narratives, they are well aware of the fact that life is not a *folletín*. Hence the pessimistic tone and at times stoic resignation found in their protagonists, as well as the broken literary conventions, and the parody which undermines the portrayal of the adventurer as a hero. In addition, the inclusion of aspects of popular literature alongside distinguishing marks of "highbrow" literature challenges preconceived notions of how literature should be written. In the 15th installment to the *Memorias* Baroja published his "Prólogo casi doctrinal sobre la novela" in which he sustains that the novel is open to variety since the 'classical' can coexist with the 'romantic' (*La nave de los locos* 72). Similarly, he defends that the novel can encompass and combine all types of literature: "La novela es un género multifacético, cambiante, [...] lo abarca todo: el libro filosófico, el libro psicológico, la aventura, la utopía, lo épico; todo absolutamente" (*La nave de los locos* 72).

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[107] Both authors belonged to the Spanish Royal Academy. Pío Baroja was inducted in 1935 and Arturo Pérez-Reverte in 2003.

Pérez-Reverte takes this idea one step further in an interview with *El País*, declaring that all literature is connected in an enormous literary network:

> Y eso, a mi juicio, es la verdadera literatura: la biblioteca universal, la red inmensa, borgiana, que en cualquier lector de buena ley conecta a Agatha Christie con Dostoievski, a Cervantes con Dumas, a Corín Tellado con Saramago, a Gimferrer con Stephen King. [...] El lector es quien teje, paciente, esa tela de araña maravillosa." ("El compromiso de narrar")

Thus, for both Pérez-Reverte and Baroja, popular fiction is not a separate entity, but an integral component of literature that also forms part of the universal library and, therefore, knowledge and human existence.

Conclusion

"En realidad vivo en el interior de una biblioteca."
"Lo más estupendo de una biblioteca es ser
uno mismo el propio bibliotecario."
-Arturo Pérez-Reverte, *Twitter*, July 29, 2018

In this dissertation, I have examined how Pérez-Reverte grounds his historical novels in the preservation and reworking of traditions through an ongoing engagement with and rewriting of both echoes from the past and voices of others that are rooted in the library. I contend that it is when these "voices" are taken as a collective whole that the author's project materializes and reveals that he is recasting the library in his works, where the library is not understood as merely a collection of texts, but rather, as a collective inheritance of discourse, knowledge and traditions. Indeed, for the author, as we have seen, it is a storehouse of memory that contains traces of predecessors that link the here and now to bygone eras and individuals, while awaiting the contributions and responses of others in the future. In this way, as I have previously noted, Pérez-Reverte exemplifies much of Bakhtinian thought. In fact, the contemporary author not only demonstrates an awareness that life and the world are embedded in language, but he models Bakhtin's notion that the word is in a living conversation that is in continual movement, where every utterance becomes a link in a chain of discourse that responds to previous utterances and anticipates others ("Speech Genres" 94).

Reading Pérez-Reverte in this manner, proposes and additional way of seeing the author's historical texts, where they are not viewed as solely an homage to other books or as a collection of references, but rather, as an engagement with and response to the words and discourses of others. By recovering other conversations and voices, and adding his own

intentions to them, Pérez-Reverte is further modeling that utterances, and by extension their meanings, are continually being recycled, revised, or re-accentuated. And while, as Bakhtin argues, all discourse is involved in an ongoing relationship with the words of others, what is notable about Pérez-Reverte's approach to this eternal dialogue is his use of the library as the embodiment of this living network. In fact, as we have seen, the library echoes throughout the author's historical fiction, often functioning as a reservoir of topics and information that have already been discussed by others and that he is responding to and rewriting. This deep engagement with the library exemplifies the concept of *bibliognosis* that I coined in the introduction, which in his historical fiction serves to underscore that knowledge and an understanding of both the world and human existence can be found through the many voices that are bound up in the library.

Indeed, throughout this dissertation I have shown that in many ways the library is the substratum of his historical works—omnipresent in the accumulation of details that reconstruct the setting of a prior era, reverberating in language that speaks from beyond its time, present in the recycling of generic traditions and canonical echoes, as well as in the discourses and stories that he retells and that serve as inspiration. The library is for the author, as we have seen, the cultural homeland that he rewrites again and again. This attachment and devotion to the library has been evident from early on in his career as a novelist, both in his works and in his pronouncements regarding his writing. In a gathering with readers in 1998, for instance, journalist Xavier Moret writes that while speaking to the public, the author "se refirió a los libros que leyó en su infancia como *una patria básica, un territorio fundamental que nunca le abandona*" ("Pérez-Reverte"; emphasis added). During this event, the author further expressed that as he writes, he remembers the precedent and traditions left behind by others, thus

underscoring his knowledge of and relationship to individuals that came before him: "Siempre que escribo […] tengo la suerte de que me acompañan mis lecturas anteriores. Al llegar a un punto determinado pienso: '¿Cómo resolvería esto Dumas? ¿O Agatha Christie?'" (Moret). These convictions regarding the library as a sentimental homeland, as well as the author's custom of following and imitating literary predecessors coincide with what I have shown throughout this dissertation. Pérez-Reverte, in fact, often explains what is apparent in his writing, as he not only exemplifies a devotion to both the library and to his literary forebears, but while doing so, he simultaneously proposes a different type of emotional territory, or homeland, that is not limited by one's geography or political borders, but rather, that is based on the words, stories, and ideas that are passed down by people and that serve as a reflection on the human condition.

In this sense, his view of the library as a sentimental homeland is significant because it expands the traditional concept of *patria*. As we saw in Chapter 2, the author's interest in the notion of *patria* manifests itself not only through the literary depiction of the nation that corresponds to him politically and geographically, where Spain is presented as a shared, imagined community consisting of a diverse populace, but also through the recognition of the individual *patria* of each person, which ultimately subverts images of national unity. The notion of the library as another type of homeland adds another dimension to this, representing a *patria* that is both individual and shared, local and universal—a cultural inheritance that belongs to mankind and which allows one to choose their predecessors.

Although the scope of this study was limited to analyzing the author's engagement with only a select few of these predecessors, future research on the author's historical novels could further examine how Pérez-Reverte is in dialogue with not only other individuals, but also with the conversations and hierarchies that are associated with them. By way of example, the author's

recovery of the discourse regarding the arms and letters debate, as well as both his predilection for mixing a variety of genres, and the nostalgia for books of bygone eras, are but a few of the echoes in his historical fiction that are reminiscent of topics or conversations famously employed by Cervantes. Yet, to date, there is not one in-depth analysis of Pérez-Reverte's engagement with the aforementioned author in his historical works. In fact, despite the large number of echoes from canonical authors, many of which I touched upon, existing studies generally tend to focus on the author's rewriting of the voices of Benito Pérez Galdós, Miguel de Unamuno, and Francisco de Quevedo, while others are typically only briefly mentioned. Further research in this area could more fully show how he is recasting the national canon and putting topics and themes associated with its emblematic writers back into circulation through his best-selling novels.

Additional research could also be done to show how the author mixes canonical voices and conversations with others of less prestige and notoriety, including those of Jerónimo de Pasamonte (1553-1605), Diego Duque de Estrada (1589-1647), and Alonso de Contreras (1582-1641). Of particular interest regarding the aforementioned soldier-writers would be how Pérez-Reverte recycles the genre of the solider autobiography in the Alatriste series, in a way that both modifies prior representations of this genre, while maintaining certain elements that anchor these echoes to a particular time and space, and speak to the lives of these individuals. In fact, on the topic of genre, the author's recycling of generic traditions merits more investigation to uncover how genres function in his works, and what the choice of genre reveals about the author's intentions. For instance, as we have seen in this dissertation, Pérez-Reverte uses the conventions of the historical novel as a vehicle for teaching and conveying information about the past, while also creating a particular image of Spanish history and society. The genre further serves the author to explore the gaps in the "official" historical record, include voices typically excluded

from the annals of the past, and engage with both predecessors and traditions of bygone eras. Similar investigations on genre could provide additional information regarding how the author utilizes generic traditions as a means to both communicate his intentions, and make a statement regarding literature and the library, while also continually bringing the past into the present.

Keeping the topic of generic traditions in mind, I would like to return again to my earlier point regarding the author's view of the library as a homeland that is not limited by political borders, since this also opens up the opportunity for uncovering how the author is in dialogue with other individuals beyond Spain that he views as his forebears in this sentimental territory. Such relationships of kinship are typically only briefly touched upon when discussing his historical novels, and more could be done to provide further analysis on how the author recycles, modifies, and combines the voices of popular authors such as Agatha Christie, Alexandre Dumas, and Robert Louis Stevenson in his engagement with the conventions of detective fiction, the swashbuckling genre, or the adventure novel. Other relationships that are often mentioned in passing but rarely analyzed in-depth, include the author's rewriting of the traditions of the 19th-century novel, echoing such novelists as Charles Dickens, Gustave Flaubert and Stendhal,[108] as well as his reworking of certain elements pertaining to the epic tradition, as mentioned in Chapter 1, and his engagement with well-known themes associated with Jorge Luis Borges, such as the library and the game of chess as a metaphor for life. Additional studies regarding how the author works from and revises these prior traditions, voices, and topics set forth by others, could further reveal how the author underscores that his works not only exist within a larger tradition that reaches back across time and space, but also how these echoes overlap and inform each

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[108] These individuals are among the 19th-century authors that Pérez-Reverte not only views as foundational, but are among the authors that he re-reads and that recommends to others. For more information on this topic see for instance "La vía europea al best-séller" (Pérez-Reverte 366) and "Carta a un joven escritor II" (Pérez-Reverte).

other both in his historical narratives and in the library.

While this project has focused on the author's engagement with and modification of the traditions and the voices of others, there can be no doubt that Arturo Pérez-Reverte has left his own mark on Spanish literature and culture. On this topic, the Spanish philologist Francisco Rico has noted that with the Alatriste series, the contemporary author has created an iconic figure that now lives beyond the page, and he likens the series to other classic works that reside in "el repertorio de iconos y referencias, en *l'imaginaire* común a una infinidad de lectores" ("Alatriste: el clásico, los clásicos"). The author's literary creation, in fact, has not only been absorbed into the culture, taking on new shapes as a television series, blockbuster film, and even as a comic book, but the author's novels continue to be among the most widely-sold in Spain, regularly occupying top positions on the lists of bestsellers. That is to say, the author's voice and the views that he presents, regularly reach a sizable audience, which opens the potential to influencing both popular culture and the way that the national past is remembered, while also opening up the possibility for "subsequent links in the chain of speech communication" ("Speech Genres" 94). Taking this into consideration with what this dissertation has shown regarding both the author's engagement with and awareness of the 'living dialogue' that exists between people, where his works can be seen as an invitation that awaits the participation of others, what remains to be seen is if and how future generations will respond to the discourses and topics that are now synonymous with his name. In other words: if and how echoes of Pérez-Reverte will live on, both in the library and in the utterances of others.

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